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***The creation of new occupational
patterns for cultural minorities:
The Gypsy case***

Workaló

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EU RESEARCH ON SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

The creation of new occupational patterns for cultural minorities: The Gypsy case

Workaló

Final report

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Preface

Within the Fifth Community RTD Framework Programme of the European Union (1998–2002), the Key Action 'Improving the Socio-economic Knowledge Base' had broad and ambitious objectives, namely: to improve our understanding of the structural changes taking place in European society, to identify ways of managing these changes and to promote the active involvement of European citizens in shaping their own futures. A further important aim was to mobilise the research communities in the social sciences and humanities at the European level and to provide scientific support to policies at various levels, with particular attention to EU policy fields.

This Key Action had a total budget of EUR 155 million and was implemented through three Calls for proposals. As a result, 185 projects involving more than 1 600 research teams from 38 countries have been selected for funding and have started their research between 1999 and 2002.

Most of these projects are now finalised and results are systematically published in the form of a Final Report.

The calls have addressed different but interrelated research themes which have contributed to the objectives outlined above. These themes can be grouped under a certain number of areas of policy relevance, each of which are addressed by a significant number of projects from a variety of perspectives.

These areas are the following:

- ***Societal trends and structural change***

16 projects, total investment of EUR 14.6 million, 164 teams

- ***Quality of life of European citizens***

5 projects, total investment of EUR 6.4 million, 36 teams

- ***European socio-economic models and challenges***

9 projects, total investment of EUR 9.3 million, 91 teams

- ***Social cohesion, migration and welfare***

30 projects, total investment of EUR 28 million, 249 teams

- ***Employment and changes in work***

18 projects, total investment of EUR 17.5 million, 149 teams

- ***Gender, participation and quality of life***

13 projects, total investment of EUR 12.3 million, 97 teams

- ***Dynamics of knowledge, generation and use***

8 projects, total investment of EUR 6.1 million, 77 teams

- ***Education, training and new forms of learning***

14 projects, total investment of EUR 12.9 million, 105 teams

- ***Economic development and dynamics***

22 projects, total investment of EUR 15.3 million, 134 teams

- ***Governance, democracy and citizenship***

28 projects; total investment of EUR 25.5 million, 233 teams

- ***Challenges from European enlargement***

13 projects, total investment of EUR 12.8 million, 116 teams

- ***Infrastructures to build the European research area***

9 projects, total investment of EUR 15.4 million, 74 teams

This publication contains the final report of the project 'The creation of new occupational patterns for cultural minorities: The Gypsy case', whose work has primarily contributed to the area 'Towards social cohesion in Europe'.

The report contains information about the main scientific findings of 'Workaló' and their policy implications. The research was carried out by four teams over a period of three years, starting in October 2001.

The abstract and executive summary presented in this edition offer the reader an overview of the main scientific and policy conclusions, before the main body of the research provided in the other chapters of this report.

As the results of the projects financed under the Key Action become available to the scientific and policy communities, Priority 7 'Citizens and Governance in a knowledge based society' of the Sixth Framework Programme is building on the progress already made and aims at making a further contribution to the development of a European Research Area in the social sciences and the humanities.

I hope readers find the information in this publication both interesting and useful as well as clear evidence of the importance attached by the European Union to fostering research in the field of social sciences and the humanities.

J.-M. BAER,

Director

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Aknowledgements

The report has been undertaken by the CREA team, from the University of Barcelona with the collaboration of the material drafted and revised by all the members of the Workaló Consortium

The project team thanks the Advisory council of the project and all the interviewees as well as the members of the scientific groups formed during the project.

Abstract

This Final report summarises the results and major contributions obtained from the RTD project *Workaló, the creation of new occupational patterns for cultural minorities: the Gypsy case*, funded by the European Commission as part of the V Framework Programme. On the one hand, the Workaló project responds to the European Commission's interest to identify innovative strategies towards a major inclusion of the minority groups who suffer social exclusion. On the other hand, the Workaló project also responds to Romaní organisations' demands to carry out rigorous research that identifies avenues to contribute to overcoming social inequalities and discrimination.

Workaló starts out with the following hypothesis:

- 1) The Romà have developed a series of skills that coincide with many of those required in the professional labour market of the Knowledge Society.
- 2) However, there are barriers that prevent Romà to access the labour market in equal conditions. These barriers reinforce the conditions of labour exclusion for the Romà.

The Workaló project is aimed at pointing out the obstacles that prevent Romà from accessing employment. At the same time, this project aims to have social utility by pointing out the elements that boost Romà's labour inclusion. To this end, Workaló proposes measures based on the Romà's voices, who have collaborated throughout the development of the project.

Romaní associations, as well as some internationally recognised authors, have especially valued the methodology used in this research project. Opposed to traditional research methodologies that had investigated *the Romà without Romà*, the communicative methodology includes the Romaní voice by guaranteeing Romà's participation in the research from start to finish. In this way, the results that were obtained are not only more rigorous, but also further actions have been taken as a result of this project that have been having a major social impact. Given that the research is aimed at identifying avenues to overcoming exclusion in different areas, research based on the communicative methodology does not exclude the Romà from any part of the scientific process.

The project results have been gathered in different documents and publications. In addition to two books, an article about the Romà and education was published in the 2003 winter issue of the *Harvard Educational Review*. The present guide consists of the

main conclusions of the project, after working for three years with and for the European Romani community. It also includes the recommendations that have emerged from the promoters of social and labour inclusion that have been scientifically identified. We hope that the scientific perspective offered here will continue to be present in the efforts towards a major inclusion of the Romà and other ethnic minorities in the European Knowledge Society.

Finally, another objective of this report is to highlight processes of effective change in different areas that influence access and promotion to the labour market. From these processes, different measures are formulated. The implementation of educational, economic and social measures can contribute to the labour inclusion of the Romà in Europe and are directly connected to the global objective of the project: to define innovative social and economic development strategies for the promotion of social cohesion, recognising that cultural minorities in general, and in this specific case, the Romà have a lot to contribute to social cohesion of Europe.

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. Context of the research

With the process of enlargement, the Romaní community will turn to be the largest cultural minority in the European Union (between 7 and 9 million Romà). Taking this into account, the improvement of the socio-economic situation of the Romaní people and other cultural minorities through innovative strategies becomes essential for the construction of the European social cohesion.

Currently, high unemployment rates, low skilled and precarious jobs are usually found to be above the European average among the Romà. Diverse studies show this worrying situation in the field of education and employment. With regard to education, there exist similar patterns of high absenteeism and dropout rates in different countries. For example, data stemmed from the project OPRE ROMA, financed by the European Commission, show that the absenteeism of Romaní pupils reaches the 45% of population, in contrast with the 4% among non-Romaní pupils (Giménez Adelantado, Gavarri Hernández, & Gavarri Hernández, 2001). Regarding the labour market, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) report on the situation of Romà (2000) estimated that unemployment rates reached up to 100% in some critical point within current economy, thus endangering the survival of many Romaní families.

This project arises as a response to this situation. Because labour inclusion is directly related to social participation and active citizenship, the Romaní labour situation has become an urgent issue to European policy. Currently, experiences are arising that break with the situation of social exclusion of the Romaní community and foster their participation in society. These experiences –which have been carried out in different contexts and count on the participation of Romaní individuals and associations- point to the official recognition of the Romaní people and the elaboration of integral plans for the improvement of their social and economic situation¹.

The project is based on the idea that the Romà have developed professional skills and abilities that are nowadays demanded by the information societies' economies. For instance, there is an increasing demand of highly specialised professionals who are able to adapt to the constantly changing context and to offer quick responses. The Romà have traditionally developed the ability to be flexible, to adapt to different contexts, and are

¹ Examples of official recognition and integral plan take place in Catalonia (Resolution 1046/VI, 2001 of the Catalan Parliament).

used to taking rapid decisions at the workplace. This opens up new employment opportunities for the Romà that need to be further explored.

2. The aims, hypotheses and methodology

The Workaló research intends to define an interpretative framework to study how the labour exclusion of Romà is reproduced, observing what barriers prevent their access to the labour market. Besides these barriers, the project has also studied, through the dialogue conducted with Romani individuals and organizations, the dimensions that can transform this situation of social exclusion. Although the research has been carried out in different countries (Spain, France, Portugal, United Kingdom and Romania) and its specificities have been taken into account, the documents of the project show a transnational perspective aiming at establishing global European guidelines. In this respect, the main objective of the project has been followed since its beginning:

To define innovative strategies of social and economic development oriented towards social cohesion, bearing in mind that cultural groups (and the Romani Community in particular) have much to contribute to the strengthening of European social cohesion.

On the one hand, the Workaló project responds to the European Commission's interest to identify these innovative strategies towards a major inclusion of those minority groups that experience social exclusion. On the other hand, it also responds to Romani organisations' demands to develop rigorous research that identifies avenues that contribute to overcome social inequalities.

2.1. Specific Aims

In addition to this, Workaló also works from the following specific objectives:

- 1) To further sociological knowledge in general, and of cultural groups in particular, through:
 - The descriptive analysis of the present situation, and the explanatory analysis of the reasons for the exclusion of Romà from the labour market.
 - The contribution of our innovative methodological focus to the study of social exclusion from a transformative perspective.
- 2) To contribute a series of political and social recommendations, with reference to the avenues for overcoming the exclusion the Romani community faces in the

labour market, and how policies and other institutional factors can impact on the evaluation of their experiential skills in the job market.

2.2. Hypotheses

- 1) Romà have developed a series of skills (given their historic situation of exclusion, the jobs they have traditionally held, family and community structure) that are in accordance with those required in the labour market of the Knowledge Society.
- 2) There are exclusionary dimensions that prevent equality, and that perpetuate Romà's exclusion from the labour market. These dimensions can be found in legal and institutional frameworks as well as in the attitudes shown in employers, employees in the workplace and in trainers.

In order to prove these hypotheses and contrast them with social reality, the project adopts the following methodological approach:

2.3. Communicative methodology

The methodology applied in the project has been developed through the experience acquired in previous research investigations and according to the main theories of the most relevant authors in Social Sciences. This methodological approach is one of the most suitable for social research, since it does not only analyse a certain situation of exclusion – in this case of the Romaní community from the labour market – but it also focuses on how this situation of exclusion is being overcome and what mechanisms become necessary therefore. To do so, the following postulates are taken as the starting point: a) universality of language competencies, b) the person as transformative social agent, c) common sense, d) equality of interpretative hierarchy, e) validity claims in processes of understanding, f) breaking-off of the methodologically relevant gap and g) creation of dialogic knowledge.

Organizations and individuals that represent the Romaní community have worked together with the research team throughout the project. Therefore, the plurality of voices and interpretations in research is fostered in order to overcome social exclusion. Aiming to guarantee this postulates, in addition to the inclusion of Romaní individuals in the research team, Workaló is organized around the following work teams that guarantee intersubjective dialogue and the social utility of the project:

Advisory council: Romaní and non-Romaní individuals representing different organizations carry out an in-depth debate in the course of the whole project on the

hypothesis, the state of the art, the analysis of the fieldwork, the conclusions or the political proposals that emerge from the project. This Advisory Council, in addition to the people involved in the scientific, political and/or associative work, counts also on other contributions that prove to be very important for the creation of scientific knowledge and the elaboration of proposals for action on this issue: those realized by Romaní women who are not members of associations, illiterate Romaní individuals and people belonging to other ethnic minorities. Therefore the presence of all voices in the scientific debate is assured.

Specific and flexible groups: These groups – also intercultural and interdisciplinary - carry out the daily work of the project. The proposals and reports elaborated by this group – organized according to the needs and topics to be dealt with- are subsequently presented to the Advisory Council.

Plenary meetings: In these meetings, the research team and other people that collaborate with CREA dialogue and debate on the works by the most relevant authors in social sciences. The contributions emerged from this dialogue are included in the framework of analysis of the current situation of groups like the Romaní community. This plenary meetings have given place to important theoretical conceptualisations that have been used as foundations for the analysis carried out in Workaló.

Territorial teams: This interdisciplinary teams are constituted by scientists from different regions and universities. For example, the Spanish national team has consisted of representatives from 8 universities and 6 different disciplines.

Exclusionary and transformative dimensions

When we assert that Workaló takes *exclusionary* dimensions into account in its analysis, we refer to those obstacles that Romà find to get a job. That is to say, if these barriers did not exist, Romà would have access to a job place with the same probabilities as non-Romà. In addition to these *exclusionary dimensions*-barriers, the dimensions that promote labour inclusion have also been taken into account. They have been named *transformative dimensions*. To identify them –through the dialogue with the people researched- contributes to promote the overcoming of barriers that Romà face in their access to the labour market. An example of exclusionary dimension in a speech act appears when one asserts that elders are not in the age for learning anymore (this assertion turns into a barrier in the access of elders to education). On the contrary, an example of transformative dimension appears when elders give sense to education and involve themselves in *lifelong learning* through the university access exam or training courses.

Communicative techniques

In Workaló different research techniques have been carried out. Among them, the following communicative techniques stand out:

- a) *Communicative daily life stories*. In this kind of life story, the researcher and the subject of research interact and dialogue about the life and experience of the researched person. These people's interpretations and motivations for action at present and in the past. The interpretation of what is commented in the life story is made jointly, identifying thus situations, actions or opinions with regard to social transformation and how the protagonists have overcome or can overcome situations of social exclusion.
- b) *Communicative discussion groups*. The objective of the discussion groups consists of achieving agreements for the joint generation of scientific knowledge and the transformation of the context. These groups are built upon egalitarian dialogue based on validity claims, so that the researcher is one more within the group. The analysis is not elaborated starting from then expert's contributions, but it counts on all the opinions of the group. Each contribution will be valued according to the arguments presented by the person who makes it, regardless of his or her position or training level.
- c) *Communicative observation*. This technique offers interpretations on the daily experiences of people (their attitudes, interpretations, abilities, elements that characterise non-verbal language, etc.). The researcher and the person who is the subject of the communicative observation deal with and share meanings and interpretations through a constant and egalitarian dialogue while the observation is being carried out. It can also be made extensive to other people that take part in the same context. Communicative observation breaks with the traditional one, since interactions are conducted with the subjects of the research. That is to say, a researcher that carries out a traditional observation on the role of a Romí (Romaní woman) in the street market could reach the conclusion that this Romí suffers alienation because of working as a saleswoman under the attentive look of the man. On the contrary, thanks to communicative observation, we can know, through interaction, that this role responds to strategic reasons, since most customers in the street markets are also women and they know better how to gain their attention. We know also, in this case, that the men have other functions, not less hard than women's. They both work as a team.

3. Research stages

There were eight research stages in the Workaló project:

- 1) *Theory and bibliographical review.* In the first stage, the basic objectives of the project were defined in order to start it. Among them, the most important one consisted on creating the state of the art. This document is a revision of the situation of the Romani Community in the current Knowledge Society, mainly focused on education and labour market. The innovative point of this document roots on the contributions made on these topics by the very Romani community through the Advisory Council of the project.
- 2) *Education and training policies in Europe.* This stage is devoted to identify the barriers for the inclusion of Romà in the labour market. Its results derive from a wide documental research, the analysis of 62 in-depth interviews to employers, trainers and workers and the comparison of the results obtained with those from other research projects focused on other cultural minorities.
- 3) *The communicative paradigm and its methodology.* The communicative methodology is one of the scientific contributions of Workaló. This stage gives place to the revision of communicative techniques in order to prepare the fieldwork with the Romani community of the following work package.
- 4) *Fieldwork with Romà.* In this stage, the fieldwork with Romà, its codification and its analysis were carried out. This fieldwork has included 42 communicative daily life stories, 13 communicative discussion groups and 5 communicative observations in different countries.
- 5) *Skills, competencies and needs of the Romà in the knowledge society.* The skills and competencies developed by Romà are the central topic of this stage. Besides describing each one of these skills –most of them demanded in the current labour market-, the needs of the Romani people are also described.
- 6) *Contrast analysis.* This stage has gathered all the information obtained in the other stages of the project. The data obtained from the diverse analysis on the labour market of the knowledge society (abilities, professional profiles or training) has been contrasted with the information obtained communicatively from the Romà that have participated in the project.
- 7) *Guide of the project and dissemination.* In this seventh stage, several activities for the dissemination of results and the final version of the guide of political

proposals were carried out. The dissemination also consisted of the organization of different workshops, the publication of results in quality scientific reviews as the Harvard Educational Review and two books: 1) Touraine, A; Wieviorka, M; Flecha, R. et al. 2004. *Conocimiento e identidad. Voces de los grupos culturales en la investigación social* [Knowledge and identity. Voices of the cultural groups in social research]. Barcelona: El Roure editorial. And 2) Vargas, J. y Sánchez, M. et al. In press. *El pueblo gitano en la Europa del siglo XXI* [The Romani people in Europe in the 21st century]. Barcelona: El Roure editorial.

- 8) *Repercussions of the research, spreading and evaluation.* The project concluded with the Workaló Conference in the Eastman building of the European Parliament in Brussels. This event was the framework for presenting the main results of the project and the political proposals to promote the social inclusion of the Romani people in Europe. Several MEP's (Members of the European Parliament), political advisors of the parliamentary groups in the European Parliament, members of international organizations, the European Council and the European Commission, among others, attended the conference.

4. Key findings

The main results of the project are described next. They are presented more in detail in the scientific description of results of the final report of the project.

Romani analysis of the transition from the industrial to the knowledge society

There are no studies that relate the Romani community with the transition from the industrial to the knowledge society, nor that dealt with the perspectives of the Romà with regard to current society. In this respect, Workaló intends to observe how Romà have experienced this transition taking into account the contributions by the Romani members of the research team, Romani associations and the Advisory Council. This transition presents several phases:

- Economic opportunities for the Romà during the 1973 crisis (1973-1995)

In the 60s, although the job opportunities in the industrial sector was expanding, many Romà did not have access to a job. During the 1973 crisis, with the generalised increase of unemployment, the access to the labour market of the Romà was mainly limited to travelling sales and recycling. In this period of economic crisis is when marginalized groups are most vulnerable, since they remain excluded from the formal labour market.

– Crisis of Romaní traditional jobs (Since 1995)

Since 1995, these jobs (travelling sales and recycling) enter a period of crisis and young Romà look for jobs in the formal labour market (mainly industry and construction). Currently, Romaní families do not see possibilities for the future in travelling sales; they consider that it is very important to revitalize this traditional occupation and look for other ways for employment. However, they find that those who have access to a job face precarious conditions in most cases.

Current knowledge society generates social inequalities between those that hold and those that do not hold academic degrees; people with no degrees suffer a greater exclusion. Most Romà do not possess university degrees and thus have greater possibilities to be socially excluded. This social exclusion can increase or decrease according to, among other questions, the social policies carried out by the European Union. The political proposals made in Workaló start from the objective of overcoming these social inequalities that we are currently witnessing.

Some of the skills that the Romà have developed traditionally coincide with those demanded by the new emerging profiles

In the Knowledge Society, new ways of organization are emerging in the companies, together with new ways of labour relationships and new relationships with customers. This configures a new business culture.

Desde el ámbito de la gestión del conocimiento se ha enfatizado la importancia de reconocer y recoger las diferentes experiencias y conocimientos que cada persona que trabaja en una organización aporta a dicha organización. De esta forma, las formas clásicas de organización basadas en el fordismo y en el taylorismo devienen caducas.

The importance of collecting and recognising the experience and knowledge that each person working in an organisation has –and as such can contribute to–, is being emphasised from the domain of knowledge management. Therefore, the classic ways of organization based in *fordism* and *taylorism* become obsolete.

In this framework, the skills acquired by the Romà in their labour contexts and the trust on their contributions is, more than a hope, a need in current society. Nowadays, recognising and valuing the ways of working of the Romaní community, traditionally based on cooperation, horizontality and networks, can favour the competitiveness of companies and, consequently, the economic growth.

In this respect, it has been observed that Romà have developed specific skills and competencies in their traditional jobs that include teamwork and co-operative organisation; flexibility to adapt to changes; intercultural competencies; dynamic jobs and activities and self-learning. In addition, specific forms of work organization have also been identified as being common among the Romà, for example, family-based business with essential solidarity bounds.

Barriers that have been identified

However, there are barriers identified as the reasons why this connection between skills and labour market demands is not co-ordinated.

These exclusionary barriers and processes are founded on both the legal and institutional frameworks and the attitudes and behaviours of people. Research has shown the following barriers: a) racism, b) sexism, c) educational segregation, and d) educational and socio-economic level. Employers, trainers and workers have prejudices that affect the Romà.

At the workplace, racism is manifested through very different practices and the processes of decision-making are based on a series of "internal non-written rules". For example, systematic practices that put Romaní workers in positions where they have fewer opportunities to develop new skills or to have subsequent access to new positions.

These prejudices have been detected in the analysis of 62 in-depth interviews made to employers, trainers and workers from the diverse countries in which the project has been carried out. In the transnational analysis, similar stereotypes have been observed that are characterised by:

- *The identification of the Romaní culture with marginalisation:* Romà are usually identified with jobs that are currently in crisis, as travelling sales or marginalized and illegal activities.
- *The assumption that family duties are incompatible with job responsibilities:* It is usually said that Romà do not enter the labour market because they have some cultural features, very different from those of the mainstream culture, that make it impossible. One of them is giving priority to the family instead of the job.
- *Lack of work habits:* Another prejudice appears when people assert that Romà "do not adapt themselves" to timetables and work habits.

- *Mistrust in their capacity and willingness to properly participate in society and training:* Analysis on the access of Romà to education and employment usually consider that the very Romaní culture prevents Romà to access these services.

How racism is manifested in the workplace

In the fieldwork with Romà (42 communicative daily life stories, 12 communicative discussion groups and 5 communicative observations), we observe how racist behaviours towards the Romà are manifested. The generalised lack of knowledge about the Romà community reinforces existing prejudices and stereotypes determining their selection and promotion processes.

These racist behaviours are manifested in different ways. For example, Romà are rejected because of having a certain physical aspect or feeling themselves identified with a certain culture. This is usually justified with the prejudices highlighted in the previous point, identifying criminal behaviours with all Romà or asserting that the Romà do not adapt themselves to the work someone offers to them.

Although there are official rules that condemn any kind of ethnic or cultural discrimination, there is still a lot to do to overcome these barriers and avoid racist situations in the labour market. According to the contributions by the Romaní individuals interviewed, the current labour market does not take into account the principle of non discrimination by reason of ethnic origin.

It has also been observed that, although having an academic degree gives some guarantee to enter the labour market, the barriers for achieving a job still remain because of racist attitudes and behaviours. Romà who hold academic degrees face obstacles for entering the labour market as well, since training is not a guarantee for their labour inclusion.

Racism has effects on the Romà

These actions have great impact both on the Romà that are looking for a job and those that are already working. How do these discriminatory attitudes affect the Romà?

- *Dismissal:* In some cases, when a worker has presented himself or herself as Romaní, he or she has been dismissed. These dismissals are often attributed to causes beyond the control of companies (staff reorganizations or changes) and not to the racist attitudes of some employers towards the Romà.

- *Inhibition in promotion:* Many Romà are constantly in tension to demonstrate their abilities in their jobs in order to break down the prejudices they suffer. The aforementioned prejudices also act as barriers for the labour promotion of Romà, since sometimes they are used to justify certain assumptions as, for example, their incapacity to carry out certain tasks.
- *Fear of revealing their identity:* Taking into account that it can be a reason for dismissal, Romà are afraid of revealing their identity. This is the reason why, in many occasions, they hide it.
- *Low self-esteem:* The situations of discrimination generate low self-esteem among the Romà. This is mainly the consequence of having applied to several jobs and having been repeatedly discarded. This fact has been the cause, in some cases, to stop looking for employment.

Romaní women experience a three-fold exclusion

Romaní women experience a three-fold exclusion because they are women, Romà and do not hold academic degrees. Romaní women are excluded due to the prevalence of certain negative stereotypes. For example, there exists an ethnocentric stereotypical vision that defines Romaní women as submissive, bowing to the family and to male chauvinistic values that prevent them from accessing education because of fear of losing their Romaní identity.

Demythologising these stereotypes, both men and women are contributing to support the Romaní women in their essential task for the future of their culture. Throughout Europe, Romaní women have played, and are playing, a key role in the creation of associations and also in the labour inclusion of Romà. In this respect, it is important to promote the equal representation of all sectors of the Romaní community, including that of women.

Identification of welfare policies

Many political efforts tend to only satisfy immediate needs without seeking long-term solutions to the problems. This kind of policies have been observed in the reports of the project related to employment, training and education policies in Europe. Romà have declared in the fieldwork that these policies are not helping them to overcome their exclusion, but they are reproducing it generation after generation.

Low levels of schooling deeply affect Romaní labour inclusion

Access to the labour market in the knowledge society, largely depends on academic qualifications. The low levels of schooling predominantly found among the Romà represent a serious barrier for their inclusion. This fact has been identified, to a greater degree, as a cause of school segregation, leading to low expectation tracks for Romaní children in European schools. Therefore, academic degrees and the access to a quality education are two of the main needs for the Romà highlighted in Workaló, since they can be essential for their labour inclusion.

Positive Romaní traditions useful for social cohesion

Romaní culture includes traditions and values of great worth that can be useful for social cohesion and multicultural co-existence: solidarity, inclusiveness and dialogic conflict-resolution processes.

Cultures are dynamic and the Romaní culture is an example of this dynamism. The very Romà that took part in the study emphasize that a deep collective reflection is occurring within their culture, at the same time as in the other cultures; people engage themselves in in-depth dialogues on their history, trajectory, expectations, customs, etc. Another example of dynamism and positive tradition that have arisen in our analysis is the possibility of the elders to maintain the knowledge that turn them into people to be respected in their community, at the same time that their ideas move towards new perspectives. So then, a process of questioning and debate on the criteria of authority and hierarchical relationships is occurring, and alternatives towards more and more dialogic and horizontal relationships are arising.

The role of Romaní associations

Romaní associations play a key role in the recognition of the Romà, reporting discriminatory practices and situations, and have become advocates for the compliance of anti-discriminatory legislation and basic human rights. Associations also play a key role in the promotion of the Romaní culture and their labour, social and educational inclusion. These Romaní associations promote the participation of Romà in diverse activities, like literacy or vocational training. They disseminate and promote the Romaní culture aiming to reduce the stereotyped approach that some members of the mainstream society have. These associations do not only contribute to overcome certain existing barriers in the labour market through specific programmes for labour insertion, but they let Romaní individuals relate with others, work and interact in contexts that are

different to their usual environment. This makes it possible for their contributions to be heard and to have an impact on the mainstream society.

Equality of differences

From the approach of equality of differences, a real intercultural dialogue, far from positions of power, is possible. The equality of all people and cultures that share the same territory is defended and desired, thus respecting their identity and cultural differences. As we are dealing with the real possibility and the need of sharing territory, there is a need of constructing the necessary conditions for living together and this task requires the consensus on some rules and principles that should guarantee mutual respect.

The Romà participating in the project vindicate their right to have their own life style and culture to be respected but, at the same time that they receive an equal treatment and access to the same opportunities like the rest of society

5. Key recommendations

Based on the conclusions reached above the Workaló project has been able to make the following recommendations:

European and state domain

- *Institutional recognition of the Romà*: The official recognition of the Romani people in the European Parliament, apart from a historical debt with this people, may be the first action to break with the image of marginality of the Romani community and replace it by a culture on equal terms with the rest. In the Conference against Racism, held in Durban (WCAR, 2001), representatives of the Romani people from different regions in the world expressed the need to be recognised as a single people. This official recognition has taken place in the Catalan Parliament (Spain), as the culmination of a process that has counted on the participation of Romani associations. Taking this fact as the starting point, an Integral Plan has been undertaken with the objective of eliminating social exclusion.
- *Eliminating ethnic discrimination from European educational and employment systems: Equality of differences*: 2000/43/CE² and 2000/78/CE³ European

² Directive of the Council, June 29, 2000, relative to the Application of the Principles of Equal Treatment regardless of their racial and ethnic origin.

Directives, which condemn any kind of discrimination for ethnic or cultural reasons in the labour market, are very valid instruments to protect the victims of discrimination. However, it is necessary to go on working in the fight against ethnic discrimination, not only generating laws that prohibit it, but also through policies that take into account its effects on education, the labour market and consequently, in the processes of social exclusion.

- *Affirmative action policies in educational systems:* Taking this ethnic discrimination into account, a necessary measure consists on the articulation of systems of affirmative action that allow the increase of the presence of people belonging to the most unprivileged groups at university or in secondary education. It is necessary that these measures do not only affect the access to university but also the access to secondary education, since the school absenteeism of Romaní pupils appears already in the first years.
- *A high quality education with maximum learning.* Romaní families are –as are families in the mainstream society- demanding a quality education with maximum learning for their children. In this respect, educational systems should start from successful educational experiences carried out with ethnic minorities. Experiences like *Learning Communities* (Spain), *Accelerated Schools* (USA), *School Development Programme* (USA) or *Success for All* (USA) overcome inequalities by offering the same expectations to all children, regardless of their cultural origin. These experiences take into account the following inclusive dimensions:
 - a) Opening-up the decision-making processes of educational centres to the participation of families and the community.
 - b) Inclusion of volunteers with different cultural origins in the classrooms
 - c) Organization of the classrooms as interactive groups.
 - d) Inclusion of all cultures, including the Romaní one, in the curriculum.
 - e) Hiring Romaní teachers and collaborators, and professionals belonging to other minority cultures.
 - f) Promoting pedagogy of maximums in which Romaní children, as the rest, could aspire to attend the university.

³ Directive of the Council, November 27, 2000, regarding the Establishment of a General Framework for Equal Treatment in Employment and Occupation

Work/Economic domain

- *Widening access to the European labour market: recognising the skills that Romà have developed:* APL policies, implemented in countries like France, Finland, England or Scotland, would be able to foster the social inclusion of the Romani community, if they were implemented from a European perspective and aimed mainly at the most socially-vulnerable groups. It would be also necessary that these actions do not only recognise the skills developed by Romà throughout lifetime, but also offer the opportunity to have access to higher education.
- *Creation of Romani franchises:* In the face of the crisis that travelling sales are currently suffering, it is necessary to find new formulas that promote the social inclusion of Romà taking into account the skills they have developed. The system of franchises appears as a suitable proposal in this reference. The creation of Romani franchises can offer not only jobs for Romà according to the skills they have developed in travelling sales, but also, at the same time, break the existing prejudices on the Romà and foster a positive social image. In this respect, Romani franchises: a) Promote the access to the labour market, b) Maintain the Romani identity and c) Improve the image of the Romani community.
- *Inclusion of the Romà in the ICT sector:* The ICT sector (Information and Communication Technologies), one of the sectors where there is more employment sites, have to count on the presence of Romà. Many Romà interviewed in the project assert that this sector can be a new employment site for many Romà not only in low skilled but also in high skilled jobs. To do so, political guidelines that promote the inclusion both of the Romà and other cultural minorities in the ICT sector are necessary.
- *Affirmative action policies in the labour market:* If the Romani people –as other ethnic minorities- have more difficulties to find a job because of the racist stereotypes we have observed in Workaló, policies that take into account this inequality in the access to the labour market prove to be necessary. While affirmative actions have been developed in the case of women, as they have been discriminated by gender stereotypes, in the case of Romà different affirmative actions can be promoted: a) To keep a number of jobs in the public sector for cultural minorities that have difficulties to enter the labour market caused by racist stereotypes and b) To make tax deductions to those companies that hire Romani individuals or other belonging to cultural minorities. These measures of fiscal

deductions are already implemented for vulnerable groups such as young people, women and disabled.

- *Promoting the presence of Romaní women in the labour market: The catalysts for their community's transformation.* The need to carry out policies that promote the labour inclusion of Romaní women is observed to be key for the overcoming of their three-fold exclusion: because of being women, Romaní and not having academic degrees.
- A contribution from the Romaní community to the knowledge society: making job obligations compatible with family commitments: One of the contributions of the Romaní community to the mainstream society is finding innovative ways to combine a job while maintaining family commitments. This aspect continues to be one of the political struggles for many Romà and non-Romà men and women. This combination has been made possible in the case of the Romà by carrying out tasks or jobs in which the whole family, or a part of it, has participated. This is what has traditionally occurred in travelling sales. The base of this kind of family collaboration is strong solidarity.

Civil Society domain

- Romà must be able to collaborate directly and actively in the design of employment measures: Romaní associations should collaborate with European, state and regional institutions in the elaboration of public policies. In this respect, participation channels should be created, so that civil society can take part in these decision-making processes through Romaní associations and other cultural minorities associations as well.

II. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT

1. Rationale of the project

We find ourselves in a society with inequalities, where there are serious discriminatory processes against certain people and groups. The way people from cultural or ethnic minority groups are treated is one of the main causes of exclusion in today's European society.

Some of the predominant characteristics of institutions that define and apply action policies includes: a hierarchical structure that works on the basis of power claims, does not include the voices of targeted groups, and is largely defined by the values and prejudices of the dominant culture. Therefore, there are actions being designed to address the social exclusion cultural minorities face that do not transform this situation, on the contrary, they are based on assimilation.

The Romaní Community has been living in Europe for over 600 years, however this group continues to remain excluded from participating in different spheres of society. In the case of the Romà, the methodological approaches of many of the research investigations undertaken have hindered overcoming this community's social exclusion. We encounter numerous investigations carried out about the Romà without the participation of the Romaní community, these lack in scientific rigor and are not socially useful. In Workaló we start from the premise that it is absolutely vital to work with the Romaní Community in all the research projects that approach this question. They must be involved in the whole process, on egalitarian terms, where all contributions are valued according to the arguments that are put forward not the status of the speaker.

Other cultural groups living in Europe are also suffering from unequal policies and research. Therefore, it is important to extrapolate the results of our research and use them in the creation of new processes of socio-economic transformation, equality and a peaceful multicultural coexistence.

The European Romaní Community has raised its voice in response to this social situation and exclusionary policies. They demand the need for research teams to create socially and scientifically useful knowledge, for designing social alternatives, transformative policies, and for overcoming stereotypes and racist prejudices held in mainstream society. During three years of intensive scientific work, the Romaní Community in Europe has analysed the current situation of their people and has defined future action proposals, which are aimed at achieving equal opportunities and results, and the recognition of their culture in the construction of the European identity.

2. Original and revised aims and objectives of the Workaló project

The following aims and objectives have been established to carry out this project:

a) The **global objective**:

To define innovative strategies of social and economic development oriented towards social cohesion, bearing in mind that cultural groups (and the Romani Community in particular) have much to contribute to the strengthening of European social cohesion.

This global objective arose from the hypothesis that exclusionary dimensions or barriers have prevented and continue to impede Romà from accessing the occupational structure (even with valid work experience). Based on this postulate, we have proposed to identify these exclusionary dimensions, as well as transformative dimensions that help to overcome these barriers and to develop professional profiles that promote self-employment, group solidarity, and the social transformation of a European population that has traditionally been excluded. To achieve this, we have analysed the most current spheres of employment, education, policies and cultural practices that are impeding the participation of the Romani Community in the labour market. At the same time, we have also analysed the new perspectives in training and education that help to overcome these obstacles, identifying which ones can be implemented in policy guidelines.

b) The **hypothesis**:

1) Romà have developed a series of skills (given their historic situation of exclusion, the jobs they have traditionally held, family and community structure) that are in accordance with those required in the labour market of the Knowledge Society.

2) There are exclusionary dimensions that prevent equality, and that perpetuate Romà's exclusion from the labour market. These dimensions can be found in legal and institutional frameworks as well as in the attitudes shown in employers, employees in the workplace and in trainers.

To verify these dimensions, different sources of information have been analysed: information from employment policies and from legislative frameworks, information that we received from institutions in charge of vocational training and education, and information given to us by Romà participating in European Society.

c) The **general and operative objectives** (see attached table)

From the global objective, the following general objectives have been defined

1. To further sociological knowledge in general, and of cultural groups in particular, through:
 - 1.1 The descriptive analysis of the present situation, and the explanatory analysis of the reasons for the exclusion of Romà from the labour market.
 - 1.2 The contribution of our innovative methodological focus to the study of social exclusion from a transformative perspective.
2. To contribute a series of political and social recommendations, with reference to the avenues for overcoming the exclusion the Romaní community faces in the labour market, and how policies and other institutional factors can impact on the evaluation of their experiential skills in the labour market.

Operative Objectives

A. To lay the foundations of our theoretical hypothesis
 A.1. To demonstrate the applicability of the theoretical context (the state of the art report), which constitutes the starting point of the analysis of the current context of the Romaní Community in each of the countries participating in the project (WP1)

B. To verify our hypothesis:
 B.1. To demonstrate the applicability of the communicative methodology in this objective specified in the study (strongly connected with social exclusion) (WP3)
 B.2. To analyse the relevant variables in the work for the inclusion of the Romaní Community.
 B.2.1 To carry out a preliminary study of the dimensions related to the recognition of skills and skills that Romà have acquired through experience: how they are (or are not) accredited through formal training policies or by other recognised methods, and what role racism plays in all this (WP2).
 B.2.2 The study of the exclusionary/transformative dimensions regarding the Romaní Community's position in the labour market through an in-depth analysis, structured by the Romaní participants (WP4).
 B.3. To determine specific skills and abilities developed by members of the Romaní Community (WP5).
 B.4 To determine the aspects that are hindering the occupational inclusion of members of the Romaní Community (rather than promoting them) due to racism, within the framework of all these formal/no-formal training policies and the recognition of experience/skills, (WP6)
 B.5 To propose and recommend a series of political measures that are aimed towards an efficient recognition of experiential skills.

C. To evaluate and disseminate the results so that they reach the people and institutions that are directly affected by the entire process (WP8). Through these processes, the participation of members from other cultural groups will be promoted so that it is possible to compare their situations with that of the Romaní Community. In this way, the results can be disseminated more widely and reach a broad group of people who can benefit from them.

After identifying the exclusionary and transformative dimensions (those related to recognition or not of the skills and abilities acquired by the Romà through experience), as well as the dimensions that are potentially exclusionary and transformative related to the position of the Romaní Community in the labour market, the main results obtained were compared with the situation of other cultural groups regarding the world of labour and social exclusion.

3. Key concepts of the Workaló project

Social exclusion. Although social exclusion has been one of the issues that the social sciences have been most concerned about, we maintain that today this concept still requires deep reflection and redefinition. For a long time, exclusion has been linked to an exclusively economic concept, related to poverty. The conceptualisation of other variables and factors such as, for example, cultural capital, provided the opportunity to include fundamental aspects in the redefinition of exclusion. In recent years, the long overdue re-conceptualisation of social class and of the processes of social dualisation has led some authors to deny the existence of classes, to claim the hegemony of the middle classes and to deny exclusion due to the improvement of the quality of life. However the poverty rates demonstrate another reality. For this reason, it is fundamental to start from a definition that picks up on exclusion as a process, not as an objectified reality (even though it is objective) and integrates the social, cultural and educational aspects, among others, that are a part of this process.

Social exclusion⁴ is understood as a situation that limits the participation of people or communities in economical, social, political and cultural spheres. However, in a capitalist system it would be the economic sphere that is most relevant when defining social exclusion.

Communicative Skills. In the Information and Dialogic Society, cultural intelligence takes on an important role. That is not to say that cultural intelligence did not exist before; quite the contrary. However, on the one hand, cultural intelligence was not appreciated before the Information Society and, on the other hand, there was no plausible definition of intelligence provided by the social sciences. Up until recently, the existing definitions have been strongly linked to measuring instruments (I.Q tests) and to academic intelligence. Cultural intelligence includes academic intelligence, linked to formal contexts of education, and practical intelligence linked to experience and to *hands on learning*. In this sense, we all have cultural intelligence that we develop through

⁴ We are defining social exclusion within the capitalist system in present-day society

interaction and dialogue with others. Communicative skills allow us to share and develop this cultural intelligence. Impossible to measure in any other way, cultural intelligence is demonstrated through communicative skills and their development, which are measurable.

We are all capable of using language and action, but actions differ according to the context. For example, the Romaní Community has developed communicative skills that were not valued in the past, but in the present Information Society they take on special relevance for their capacity to aid in social insertion and employability.

Cultural intelligence. As we pointed out earlier, we begin from the premise that everybody is capable of language and action. We all have competencies that we have developed, depending on the context and the opportunities that we have available to us. In light of the reductionist conception of intelligence, such as academic intelligence, we emphasise that there are other types of skills such as practical and communicative skills. Practical skills are related to our practical experience. Communicative skills include those previously mentioned; in the Knowledge Society they take on special relevance since they refer to the ability to resolve situations through dialogue.

Equality of differences. Only from the equality of differences is a real intercultural dialogue possible, one that is removed from positions of power. From this stance, equality is defended and sought out for everybody and every culture that shares the same space, respecting differences in identity and culture. However, it is also about laying the foundations to create more open and egalitarian conditions for dialogue and consensus amongst people. Given that we are talking about the real possibility and the need to share territory, we must construct the conditions necessary to live together. In order to do this, a *consensus of norms and principles* are required to guarantee mutual respect.

Societal Community. In the methodological design of the research, we have kept in mind the most important contributions made in the study of social structure, such as those made by Talcott Parsons in the study of social subsystems: economy, polity, culture and societal community. In the societal community subsystem, we include contributions that refer to the role that the articulation and legitimisation of norms play in the process of social and labour exclusion or inclusion of the Romaní Community. It is observed how today, the Romaní Community – just like all other cultures- is reflecting deeply on their current situation, their customs, identity traits, cultural contributions made towards mainstream society, their expectations, changes, transformations that favour greater social cohesion, and actions that are detrimental to themselves.

III. SCIENTIFIC DESCRIPTION OF PROJECT RESULTS AND METHODOLOGY

1. General description of the methods used in the empirical research

In the Workaló project, we have worked from the communicative theoretical and methodological paradigm to validate the explanation of dynamics, situations and interactions, and especially to investigate into the mechanisms of exclusion and how to overcome them. The application of this methodology is one of the main contributions Workaló has made to the study of social exclusion.

In this section, we explain the following methodological aspects:

- a) The explanation of this paradigm: postulates and the theoretical basis.
- b) The communicative organisation of the project.
- c) Dimensions: transformative/exclusionary.
- d) Communicative techniques.

1.1. Critical communicative paradigm

CREA's development of the communicative methodology references the main theories in the social sciences recognised by the international scientific community (work sessions with Habermas, Beck and Elster, as well as direct and in-depth knowledge of the works of Mead, Garfinkel, Giddens and Chomsky). Starting from this framework, we have developed an exhaustive theoretical work based on a critical conception of the communicative paradigm proposed by the authors cited.

This critical communicative methodology is along the same lines as current debates in the social sciences and is one of our main contributions to the scientific community and to a research of excellence with ethnic minorities. In its search for social transformation, this methodology starts from the following **postulates**:

- a) *Universality of linguistic competencies*. Everyone has the capacity to interact through dialogue.
- b) *People as agents of social transformation*. The capacity for reflection provides the possibility for people to create their original practices, at the same time as influencing and modifying the social structures. People are capable of making reflexive interpretations and creating knowledge.

- c) *Common sense*. We cannot affirm that we know why an action is produced without taking into account people's common sense, which is developed from one's cultural context.
- d) *Interpretative equi-hierarchy*. The ontological premises of the researched individuals can have just as much solidity if not more than the researchers.
- e) *Validity claims in the processes of reaching understanding*. Argumentation is the means that is used to arrive at agreements, based on validity claims rather than on power claims.
- f) *Breaking the relevant methodological gap*. Researchers participate in the same conditions as the rest, in this way breaking the methodological gap throughout the whole research project, including the interpretations of actions.
- g) *Creation of dialogic knowledge*. While the positivist perspective seeks a form of knowledge that is based on objectivity (objective knowledge) and interpretative perspective aims to reach knowledge based on the subjects (subjective knowledge), the communicative perspective can generate dialogic knowledge through the intersubjective analysis between the "researchers" and "researched".

1.2. Communicative organisation of Workaló

Knowledge from the academic context is what has mainly been recognised and given preference. In the current Knowledge Society it is essential to also recognise knowledge that comes from cooperative and practical contexts. In this way, the interconnection of everyone's knowledge and their different points of view (valuing the arguments for their strength not on the status of the speaker) can multiply knowledge about a specific situation. Respecting and recognising the plurality of opinions favours communicative interaction, situations based on consensus and social transformation.

In the case of Workaló, Romani individuals have collaborated since the setting out of the hypothesis to the elaboration of reports, throughout the fieldwork, the interpretation of the data gathered, its analysis and the final conclusions. In this way, the Romani community has included their voices in creating a rigorous research that seeks social utility.

In order for CREA to guarantee equality, egalitarian dialogue and to ensure objectivity, the following communicative organisation has been used:

- We relied on the contributions of different forms of knowledge (science, experience, practice and interactions) in order to understand and transform reality, through the coordination of actions.
- A universal orientation has been sought, starting from egalitarian dialogue between people from the scientific community and that are involved in the study of reality – Romani Community and different socio-educational collectives -.
- They have worked jointly with organisations, representatives from the Romani Community and other ethnic minorities –as much in the establishment of the project’s objectives as in the documentary analysis, the application of theories and the development of theories -.
- This participation requires that in the day-to-day work, (information searches, provisional drafting of documents, contact with the European partners...) all voices are relied on at every moment- something that is guaranteed by interculturality, that is to say, by the participation of people from different groups in the research. The voices that define this project from start to finish are Romà and non-Romà, Arab, men and women of different ages, groups at risk of social exclusion and those not at risk, sharing the same objective: to overcome social exclusion. All of these groups, along with the participation of different state-run universities, ensure the inter-disciplinary nature of the project.

Advisory Council ⁵	Flexible and specific groups	Plenary meetings	Territory teams ⁶
In these meetings, the agreements are based on the best arguments, and not on having an academic degree or on the position of responsibility that one occupies.			
Romà and non-Romà from different entities: -Contribute knowledge. -Revise documents. -Guide the project. -Check that all voices are taken into account. -Evaluate the research process and the conclusions. -Ensure that the results contribute to transforming the reality of the collectives and people for whom the project is directed.	- Managing efficiently the work and its organisation. - To develop proposals and take them to the Advisory Council.	In the meetings, there is analysis, debate and consensus on the reports and proposals elaborated by the different work groups, which, subsequently, are taken to the Advisory Council.	These teams serve to share, disseminate and spread the project in the scientific community.

1.3. Analysis of the transformation process. Exclusionary and transformative dimensions.

Exclusionary dimensions are barriers that some people or groups face when attempting to take part in a social practice or benefit. If these barriers did not exist, such practices and benefits would be available for everyone. These dimensions do not only refer to external, objectifiable and quantifiable elements outside of the person, but also to aspects that have been internalised and interpreted; for example, social class, ethnicity, gender, educational level and age are not simply indicadores, but dimensions that people

⁵ The organisations in Spain are: *Fundación Ujaranza*: a foundation that has amongst their objectives achieving equality of results among Romà and non-Romà people in the labour market; *Drom Kotar Mestipen*: Romaní women's association that aims to overcome the dual inequality that they suffer as women and as Romaní; *Alhiwar*. This study group about the Arab and Muslim world is made up of members of the Arab-Muslim community and individuals from other origins. Its overall aim is to overcome the barriers the Arab-Muslim community face, and to foster intercultural coexistence; *FACEPA*, the Federation of Cultural and Adult Education Associations is a federation that fights to overcome social and educational barriers, defending a social and democratic model of adult education.

⁶ The team from Catalonia is made up of people from three Catalan universities and from six different departments. Eight universities represent the State team from Spain. CREA, the research centre of the University of Barcelona, as coordinator of the project has relied on the regular participation of other universities both from Catalonia and all of Spain, with the objective of disseminating the project and sharing knowledge.

internalise and interpret, such that at times they are exclusionary and other times they are transformative. On the other hand, transformative dimensions overcome or contribute to overcoming barriers that obstruct or complicate the access and incorporation of people and groups to a given social practice or benefit.

For example:

- a) Age acts as an exclusionary dimension when adults say that they are now past the age to learn; it is transformative when they see that it is a socially generalised idea which is overcome when, upon attending a training process, they see how their experiences and practice helps them to acquire new academic skills.
- b) Gender is an exclusionary dimension when women are prevented from participating, for example, in political parties or in formal educational processes. Gender acts as transformative dimension when conditions are created to overcome these situations of inequality in relation to men.

In the WORKALÓ project, the skills developed by the Romaní Community and labour policies have been observed together with variables such as age, gender, the socio-labour situation, and the educational and socio-economic level. From these variables, we have identified the exclusionary dimension and how to overcome them through transformative dimensions. The definition of the latter have enabled us to develop some recommendations that assist in overcoming the socio-labour exclusion that the Romaní Community encounters.

1.4. Communicative orientation techniques

In the different projects carried out by CREA we have been developing the base theories and techniques that support the critical communicative methodology. In Workaló, communicative techniques have been applied in the fieldwork carried out with the Romaní Community, which corresponds with the work blocks (WP4, WP5). They have been undertaken in the countries involved in the project: forty-two communicative daily-life stories, thirteen communicative discussion groups and five communicative observations. In the following table, we present the characteristics of the different techniques:

Communicative daily-life story	Communicative discussion group	Communicative observation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - It is the result of interaction between the researchers and the participants who, through dialogue, reflect upon and interpret their daily life. - It is basically focusing on the present. The interpretations are used as much for showing future expectations as for interpreting present or the immediate past aspects. - It is focused on the importance and validity of the participant's interpretations and the meaning they have for them. Everyone has something to say. - The story brings together the thoughts, reflections, ways of acting and the interactions with which the participant develops their social constructions and applies them to resolve specific situations. - It is made up of a cooperative process of understanding and reflection. - The story is oriented towards transformation. - The story is normally carried out over one session. Subsequently there is a second session with the objective of broadening the information and developing the conclusions together. - It is neither the technique itself nor any of the intrinsic qualities of the person carrying out the techniques which guarantees the reliability of the story, but rather it is the relation of equality between the researcher and the participant that allows a correct realisation of the technique and of the subsequent objective interpretation. - The interpretation is realised together and on egalitarian terms. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The objective of the discussion group is to arrive at a consensus and to jointly generate scientific knowledge and the transformation of the context. It is also possible that a consensus is not arrived at. - A prior consensus is required to set up the group and to develop the work. A consensus about the basis of the investigation must be reached and the group evaluates its usefulness. There is never exploitation of the group. - The group has to be natural, that is to say, its participants have a common link, by taking part in some activity or coinciding in a physical space. - There is not a fixed number of people. - It is advisable that the researcher gets to know the group. - It is based on egalitarian dialogue, in a way that the researcher is simply another member participating in the group. - There is a collective interpretation of reality by everyone in the group, favouring those who normally participate the least. It is a cooperative interpretation based on validity claims. - The group meets a second time in which new topics based on the information gathered are discussed - The corroboration of information and the writing up of the conclusions is done with everyone's participation. - The analysis is not based on the know-how of an expert; it must rely on everyone in order to be a profound analysis. This process eliminates the situation that only one person must face the complexity of the analysis. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - By means of observation, we manage to express tacit knowledge. - People must participate voluntarily and on the grounds of knowing, sharing and seeing the usefulness of the research. - Opinions about people's normal behaviour, their attitudes, interpretations, skills, characteristic elements of non-verbal language, etc are gathered. - A list is made, which picks up on the aspects that are to be observed and that are considered appropriate. - The researcher and the participant in the communicative observation discuss and share meanings and interpretations on egalitarian terms. - There is a prior dialogue in which the person is informed about the research and where the conditions of the observation are agreed upon. - The observation must be undertaken in the usual place in which the activity is carried out, bearing in mind not to distort the activity. - There is a constant dialogue between the person being observed whilst the observation is taking place: this can also be widened to include other people who are participating in the context. It is not about empathising with people. - The interpretation is decided upon in a discussion with the participants after the observation. In this discussion there is dialogue about what was observed in the observation.

2. The research process

Work-package	Objective	Methodology	Duration	Results
1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To base our hypothesis on strong evidence. - To demonstrate the applicability of the theoretical context as a springboard to looking at the current context of the Romani Community in each country participating in the project: revising the theoretical debate and the most important contributions; demonstrating the applicability of the theoretical context; defining a strong theoretical framework. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Documentary information, analysis of the scientific literature and theoretical debate in the social sciences and education. 	<p>3 months (October 2001-December 2001)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - State of the art report - The creation of a web page for the project, updated regularly. It will be linked to the CORDIS web page. http://www.neskes.net/workalo
2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To prove our hypothesis. - To analyse the relevant factors in job inclusion and exclusion of the Romani Community: carrying out a preliminary study of the factors related to the recognition of skills and abilities that are demanded in the Knowledge Society, starting with education policies or other methods of recognition: a) the role that racism plays in education policies, accreditation and hiring of staff, b) to analyse employment, education and training policies, c) to establish the relation and/or separation between policies and the analysis of scientific theories. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Documentary research and analysis - In-depth interviews - A comparison of the Romani Community results with other projects focusing on minority groups. 	<p>7 months (January 2002-July 2002)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Report on the results of the WP2 fieldwork. - Report on the skills demanded in the Knowledge Society. - Report on the present professional profiles. - Report on the education, training and employment policies in Europe. - Training Report - Report on the preliminary identification of barriers for inclusion of Romà in the labour market and in society. - Comparison report of the results with other ethnic minority groups.

3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To prove our hypothesis - To see the applicability of the communicative methodology: <p>Giving support to the implementation of this methodology in the development of the project: demonstrating its adequacy and validity in the identification of the group needs and aims of Workaló; clarifying its correct implementation and use in the research.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The revision of techniques of the communicative methodology and its implementation in the fieldwork with Romà. 	1 month (August 2002)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The construction of an analysis table to identify the needs and skills of the Romaní Community, and the exclusionary/transformational dimensions in accessing the present labour market.
4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To corroborate our hypothesis. - To analyse relevant variables: - To study the exclusionary/transformational dimensions related to the Romaní Community accessing the labour market. - To identify the skills and abilities acquired by the Romaní Community. - To carry out a preliminary analysis: identifying the traditional professional profiles of the Romaní Community that are appropriate for new occupational requirements, and carrying out a comparative analysis to define common tendencies. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - WP4 fieldwork with Romà. - An analysis of exclusionary and transformational dimensions - A documentary analysis and fieldwork of the profiles of Romà. - Comparison of the fieldwork results and the situation of other ethnic minorities. 	8 months (September 2002-April 2003)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Preliminary report on the European scope of the Romaní Community's professional profiles. - The systemisation and categorisation of collected data in the analysis table. - Report on the exclusionary and transformational dimensions of the Romaní Community and their inclusion in the labour market. - Comparative report of the results with other minority groups. - Workshop in Lisbon (Portugal)
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To identify the cultural skills and abilities acquired by the Romaní Community. - To determine the learning needs and specific skills and abilities developed by the Romaní Community. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Implementation of the analysis of learning needs in the workplace (ANAT) and the analysis of competencies in the workplace (ACOT) 	6 months (May 2003-October 2003)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Report on the skills and needs of the Romaní Community.

6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To determine what aspects make occupational inclusion difficult for members of the Romaní Community. - To carry out a contrast analysis. - To define the problem and to draw up useful proposals for analysis. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To make a contrast analysis between the fieldwork results and the documentary analysis developed in the WP2. -To develop work roles to be discussed with the participation of researchers from the Romaní Community. 	3 months (November 2003- January 2004)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Contrast report of the exclusionary and transformative dimensions for the labour inclusion of the Romaní population in each of the participating countries. - European report on the exclusionary and transformative dimensions.
7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To propose and recommend a series of political measures aimed at an efficient and current recognition of life-experience skills. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Internal debate about the elaboration of the guide and the carrying out of national Workshops. 	5 months (February 2004-June 2004)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Proposed policies guide. - The development of a dissemination plan. - The carrying out of Workshops in Paris, Barcelona, UK and Romanía.
8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To disclose and evaluate the results so that they reach the people and institutions directly affected by the whole process. 		3 months (July 2004- September 2004)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conference in Brussels. - Proceedings of the Brussels' Conference.

3. Scientific description of the project results

The scientific description of the results obtained in Workaló are organised in three sections in which we can find the different analyses a) how the Romani community has lived through the transition from the Industrial Society to the Knowledge Society, bearing in mind their present educational and labour situation, b) the demands of the current labour market, keeping in mind the profiles and skills that are required in this market and the skills that Romà have developed, and lastly, c) the obstacles that Romà encounter in access to employment and the dimensions that can promote not only the social inclusion of the Romani community but also the inclusion of other cultural minorities.

For the carrying out of these analyses, a review of scientific literature in the social sciences and of the different research projects was carried out. These projects in the education and labour fields are in some way related to the Knowledge Society as well as to the reality of the Romani community in different countries within the European Union⁷. To carry out this revision, a programme of systematising information has been followed, paying attention to the following criteria:

- If a reference towards the Romani community is made.
- If the gender dimension is considered.
- If the skills required in the Knowledge Society are addressed.
- If professional profiles are considered.
- The exclusionary and transformative dimensions that are shown to be linked to the Knowledge Society.

3.1. How the transition from the Industrial Society to the Knowledge Society affects the Romà.

3.1.1. Romani analysis of Knowledge society

Just as the methodology section emphasised, the key to Workaló's analysis is that it explains the social change of European society that has taken place during the last 30

⁷ The theories and scientific literature emphasised are subsequent to 1995. The authors considered are those most referenced in the most relevant databases in the social sciences such as Socio-file or ERIC, and the primary sources are examined, when possible. This analysis has kept in mind the situation of other countries within the European Union that have not participated in the project, in order to be able to present a better trans-national perspective

years, whilst including the voice of Romà. The contributions from the Advisory Council and from Romaní individuals about their specific reality and their cultural identity were key for specifying how the Romaní community lived through the shift from the Industrial Society to the Knowledge Society and until the present.

The perspective that this work offers is focused not only on the countries in which the project was carried out⁸, but it also centres on a trans-national perspective that includes the analysis of policies and actions that are being set out by the European Union.

In the description of the Romaní community during the period of transition from the Industrial Society to the Knowledge Society (1973-1995), the existence of discriminatory actions and racist attitudes in the educational, training and labour spheres has been confirmed. Examples of these actions are: the *porrajmos romaní*⁹, the specific attacks on this community in the war in former Yugoslavia and Albania, the 1969 Spanish law on social danger and likewise, the implementation of assimilation and hegemonic policies aimed at minority cultures such as the Romà. An example of these policies is the imposition of a sedentary lifestyle on the Romaní community, hindering their nomadic lifestyle. This was also the case with the Romà integration in 1970 in Romania, as well as *the criminal justice and public order act* of 1994 in the United Kingdom. Also in Portugal, until very recently, municipalities tried to avoid and create laws to ban the nomadic way of life of Romà¹⁰. This process of forcing the Romaní community to be sedentary has prevented them from accessing the formal labour market due to an economic crisis during 1973-1995 and unemployment, as a global effect, developed in Europe. The problem has been increased due to the fact that this process was not accompanied by the possibility to access different services and basic rights such as education and health.

During these two decades, many Romà survived by starting jobs related to the travelling sales in marginal conditions and in a precarious socio-economic situation. In the frameworks of the welfare state, different constitutions and European treaties appeared favouring the recognition of Romà as citizens with complete entitlements to egalitarian conditions to which everyone benefits. Nevertheless, the Romaní culture is not recognised, nor is the historic discrimination that they have suffered.

⁸ These countries are: Spain, France, Portugal, United Kingdom and Romania

⁹ The *porrajmos romaní* is the term in the Romanó language for the genocide of Romà during the Second World War

¹⁰ These types of actions are still being passed in the courts of some countries in the European Union. One of the most recent cases is *LOPSI (Loi d'Orientation et de Programmation sur la Sécurité Intérieure)* of 2002 in France.

It is during the years from 1973-1995 that knowledge started to be the economic basis for transforming the distribution and organisation of work and constituting a relevant factor in the socio-economic sphere. In this process, the accentuation of differences is divided between the people who have access to the resources and educational processes and those who do not (Castells, 1997). This difference creates a social split and duality, in which the 'haves' have many more opportunities for having a privileged position, with stable employment and high qualifications, while the 'have nots', consisting of a large majority of the population are destined for a precarious situation of employment or inactivity, poor qualifications and situations of exclusion. From this perspective, people from the Romaní community who do not possess the necessary academic skills nor have access to the new Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) run a great risk of finding themselves in precarious jobs and being confronted with social exclusion.

During the first phase, the majority of studies on the Knowledge Society did not include the inequalities that were being generated in their analyses, except for a few research investigations that were working with the excluded sectors (Flecha et al., 1994); but nowadays, we see the risk of social exclusion that many people and groups can and do suffer.

With the emergence and spread of the Internet, the second phase of the Knowledge Society in the ICT sector began. In this phase production is consolidated and the work of companies is increasingly based on the Internet. Similarly, the European Commission (1995) identified the existence of a strong inequality in access to education and the labour market, and the possibilities offered in the Knowledge Society to reduce this tendency. The proposed guidelines are: equal access to education for men and women, to ensure that disadvantaged contexts and groups (such as rural communities, the elderly, ethnic minorities and immigrants) have the same opportunities to access the new technologies and learning in order to avoid that they become second class citizens. In this way, proposals are being suggested that consider the inclusion and participation of the Romaní community and other disadvantaged groups in the labour market.

This context coincides with the Romaní community in that:

- a) There is the possibility for some Romà to access jobs in the formal labour market, although they might be temporary and precarious.
- b) There is an increase in the participation of Romà and Romaní movements within the European framework and in the studies and research investigations being carried out.

- c) Romaní families are searching for new jobs and claim the right to receive quality education and training.

3.1.2. An inclusive education is one of the main needs of the Romà to escape social exclusion

If the general problem of the Romaní community regarding the Educational System during the first phase of the Knowledge Society had to do with limited school attendance, we have now reached a point where they are working to overcome this fact¹¹. In this sense, different countries reflect how the schooling of Romaní children is on the rise, even though it is a far stretch from the schooling of non-Romà. For example, the information from the Co-ordinator Secretariat of Multicultural Education Programmes in Portugal indicates how, between 1993 and 1998, the number of Romà enrolled at schools in Lisbon increased by 25%. In other countries, such as Hungary or Croatia, the rate of school attendance in 2000 reached 70% and 50% respectively (OSCE, 2000).

In Europe, one of the common characteristics that stands out with respect to the link between the Romaní community and the educational system is the high rate of school failure. The high rates of absenteeism and school abandonment (above all in secondary school) are examples of this failure. As a consequence, Romaní adolescents have low educational levels, making it more difficult to have access to the labour market. For example, even though school attendance in Spain is a proven fact, data about school failure indicates a rate of school failure between 60% and 70% amongst the Romaní community (López Escudero, 2001).

Thanks to the information from various reports, it has been possible to observe that there are similar patterns of high absenteeism and school failure rates in different countries. For example, a study carried out in Romania shows how only 7% of Romaní students reach secondary school (Cozma et al., 2000, p. 282). Data from the [OPRE ROMA7](#) project, financed by the European Commission, show that Romà's absenteeism reaches 45% of the student population, whilst in comparison, only 4% of the non-Romaní students are in the same category. (Giménez Adelantado, Gavarri Hernández, & Gavarri Hernández, 2001).

¹¹ It is worth emphasising that although this fact is changing, there is still at present, a large number of illiterate Romà that cannot access the labour market. In Europe, the rate of illiteracy amongst Romà is very high. The Save the Children report (2001) shows that 26% of Romà are illiterate, in comparison with the 1.3% of the general population (EUYDICE, 2002). This report points out that there are areas of the European Union, such as Greece, where these rates of illiteracy amongst the Romà reach up to 80%.

So, what are the reasons for this high rate of school failure? Why do Romà not like European mainstream schools?

Julio Vargas and Jesús Gómez asked this question in an article published in the Harvard Educational Review (Vargas and Gómez, 2003) ¹². The authors reached the conclusion that the education usually given to Romaní children is based on minimums, rather than maximums. Romaní are usually directed towards special attention tracks or classes, without considering their abilities. In this way, Romaní children are isolated from an educational track of maximums in which they could reach university studies.

Data that demonstrates this fact appear in various reports and studies. For example, the European Romà Rights Centre (ERRC) report points out that in the Czech Republic, 46% of Romaní children can be found in schools for the mentally disabled, compared with 3% of non-Romaní children. (Cahn & Chirico, 1999). It is due to these educational processes of minimums that there is a low level of participation by Romaní with European secondary and higher education. For example, in Hungary, only 0.2% of Romaní attend university in comparison to 12% of the non-Romaní population. Or, in Romania, where only 0.3% of the Romaní population reach university in comparison to 10.5% of non-Romaní (Revenge et al., 2002, p. 24).

It is important to note that to pass or to fail at school has an enormous influence on the future access to the labour market. CECD studies in 1997 about the European Union show how 83% of people with higher education studies have an occupation, as opposed to those with only secondary or primary levels of education (72% and 52% respectively). In this way, school failure and absenteeism negatively affects access to the labour market. (OECD, 1997).

In the current Knowledge Society, where the border of exclusion means, at least, getting a secondary education, the fact that many Romà do not obtain either this or a university degree, leaves a great majority outside the processes of political, economic and social decision-making.

Are there successful experiences in which school absenteeism disappears?

There are a few experiences in which school absenteeism for students from cultural minority groups practically disappears. These experiences, such as Learning Communities, School development program, Accelerated Schools or Success for All,

¹² Gómez, J. & Vargas, J. 2003. Why Romà do not like mainstream schools? Voices of a people without territory. in *Harvard Educational Review*. Vol 73 Num 4. Harvard University: Cambridge.

consider community participation a part of education, thereby ensuring the presence of different cultures in the classroom. In this sense, it has been demonstrated that there are mechanisms that help overcome school absenteeism for the Romà and other minority cultures in European schools, providing they consider the following factors:

- a) Opening up the decision-making process of educational centres to ensure the participation of families and the community.
- b) Voluntary inclusion of different cultures in the classroom.
- c) The organisation of interactive groups in the classroom.
- d) Inclusion of different cultures, including the Romaní, in the curriculum.
- e) Employing teachers from the Romaní community and from other cultural minorities.
- f) Promoting the teaching of maximums in which Romaní children, like the others, can aspire to university studies.

3.2. The present labour market and options for the inclusion of the Romà

In what is referred to as the labour market, information about unemployment rates in the Romaní community reflects a serious problem of social exclusion of this community. In 1999, whilst unemployment in Europe was around 16%, in the case of the Romaní community the figure was raised to about 30-40% in the same year. Given that knowledge is now not only considered as a tool, but a value in itself, the problem is worsened by the exclusion of avenues to access to education and training. Measures against unemployment or for overcoming economic inequalities cannot be established without bearing in mind that the key element in the Knowledge Society is lifelong learning.

In what follows we highlight:

- a) What skills are being demanded in the Knowledge Society and the skills that can be found in the Romaní community.
- b) The kind of policies that are being implemented in Europe about the labour market and training.
- c) Emerging professional profiles in the Romaní community and in the Knowledge Society.

3.2.1. Skills required in the Knowledge Society

One of the main objectives of the WORKALÓ project consists in proving whether the competencies that Romaní have traditionally developed correspond with those that are required by the majority of jobs. One of the first activities of the research consisted in carrying out a report about the demand of these skills and competencies of today's society. This information complemented the different fieldwork undertaken, which observed what skills had been developed by the Romà and what they had to say in regards to these skills.

We have all developed skills or competencies in the different areas of daily life (labour, academic, social, personal and cultural) to resolve and transform the different situations that can appear in a given context. To do this, we also use different types of knowledge (academic, practical or co-operative) that we have acquired throughout our lives. This perspective allows us to visualise a wide range of skills since it not only is from the labour or academic spheres, but also from the personal sphere, cultural identity and all the interactions carried out by people in their respective environments. From this perspective, the concept of *cultural intelligence* emerges (CREA, 1995-1998), a concept that incorporates academic, personal and co-operative skills to the premise that all human beings have the capacity to act and converse.

Everybody has cultural intelligence; inequality is generated with its different developments of in diverse environments. Some people do well in mechanics exams, others know how to fix a car when it breaks down on the road. The transit from one field to another (from classroom to the road or vice versa) can be always carried out, given certain conditions. The main one is that the person making this transition as well as those interacting with them, have the conviction that they can achieve it and that there is the opportunity to do so (Flecha 1997:21).

With the emergence of the informational sector (Castells 1997), information itself as well as information and communication technologies transform the production process for all economic sectors along with the transformation of professions. The difference between having and not having competencies related to this sector generates a duality in the labour market. Whoever has these competencies will occupy the best jobs, whoever does not possess them will face unemployment, precarious work, with little stability and badly paid. Carnoy (2001), upon analysing the structure of employment and occupations in advanced societies, concludes that a decrease in industrial employment and an

increase of jobs that require high qualifications and occupy a large part of the occupational structure are occurring. Tezanos (2001) achieves similar conclusions, stating that an important increase in the proportion of professionals, technicians, directives and white collar workers in general is taking place together with a reduction in the proportion of agricultural and manual workers of the industrial sector.

To reach the product (information) means first, selecting, using and managing it, in a process that enriches and multiplies it when people work in teams. Thanks to *cultural intelligence* all people have the capacities to develop these processes. This involves, in its turn, the possibility that all individuals and groups could take part in the creation and use of this information, which has a labour, social and cultural character.

Taking into account this context of the knowledge society, after an exhaustive study of diverse documental sources, the report *Skills demanded in the Knowledge Society*¹³ has been written. This document presented the main skills demanded in the labour market, which are gathered in the following list:

Skills demanded in the Knowledge Society	
<i>Skill</i>	<i>To be able to:</i>
Cooperative work and teamwork:	-To be open to other arguments and achieving agreements in group.
Processing of information:	-To understand different types of texts/supports: written, oral, hypertexts, etc. -To criticise, interpret and relate different sources of information (also applied to oral information). -To interrelate concepts. -To innovate in the face of the excessive standardisation of knowledge.
Inventive solution of problems:	-To give adequate responses to concrete situations. -To plan a situation. -To take initiatives and to make decisions. -To generalise and to extrapolate situations from one context to other. -To understand the general economic system in the daily sphere.

¹³ The documental source analysed for the study of the abilities in the Knowledge Society is referenced in the bibliography

Interculturality:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -To relate to other cultures. -To communicate, interact and learn through intercultural coexistence. -To learn new languages.
Learning from mistakes:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -To analyse one's own actions through individual or collective reflection. -To analyse critically through interaction. -To judge a situation and draw conclusions. -To assume risks and trust one's own decisions.
ICT usage:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -To manage and process information. -To use ICTs in concrete activities.
Flexibilisation:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -To organise work in any situation, place and moment, adaptation to changes. -To adapt to changes.
Self-learning and learning in collaboration:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -To learn throughout life, in any situation, age and moment. -To know how to apply and use different notions, concepts and tools (calculus, writing, reading, etc.) acquired in any sphere.

Source: own elaboration

These skills are both instrumental (linked to academic contexts), and practical and cooperative (linked to diverse contexts). Besides the need to learn academic skills, cooperative and practical competencies are also being taken into account and demanded. In this reference, the recognition of these skills is a motor that fosters the inclusion of people and cultural minorities.

3.2.2. Skills and needs of the Romà

The communicative perspective was also taken into account for carrying out the analysis of the skills and needs of the Romà. In contrast to a one-sided study, only conducted from the perspective of expert knowledge –as it has been done traditionally–, we have elaborated an analysis of the skills and needs through the ANAT & ACOT techniques already commented in the methodology section.

Romaní individuals have developed several skills through their participation in their family, community, associative and labour environment. For example, the relationships established among the members of a Romaní family and the community in general constitute a network that requires learning and implementing different organisational and communicative skills also demanded today in the labour market. The same occurs in their practice and experience in the associative and labour spheres, where they develop a range of skills also transferable to the formal labour market.

We have observed that Romaní individuals have developed competencies like teamwork. This collective work is based on non-hierarchical networks of solidarity that have been traditionally created within their familiar, community and labour networks. The Romà use arguments and dialogue to achieve agreements and to solve diverse problems. Their voices show this reality:

We talk very much within the family, and this is very important; we are now lacking this in the mainstream society, the lack of communication (Rom).

Thanks to the relationships with other ethnic minorities and with the mainstream society, the Romà have developed communicative skills and skills for intercultural coexistence. This proves to be essential in a society where the different ethnicities and cultures increasingly tend to share the same territory. As a consequence of the actions of the governments for the eradication of shanty towns and nomadism, the Romà in different European regions settle in the quarters, where they live together with other cultural groups, and in the associative activities and neighbouring communities. In this way there are new spaces for intercultural relations in which common problems, objectives, interests and needs are brought together. All this has fostered the development of intercultural competencies in which solidarity appears as a key and transversal element.

The world of the association have been useful for me to have a view or a perspective from the Romaní community and the non-Romaní community, both views. Since always, because my grandfather was one of the founders of the Romaní associationism. (Rom).

Also, the possibility to interact with different people and cultures has provided the possibility to some Romaní individuals of learning other languages.

My father spoke and wrote several languages: Portuguese, Spanish, French, English, Italian and German. And without attending anywhere! (Romí¹⁴).

Romaní associationism claims the need for training for the Romaní community as one of its priorities. Therefore, it has also been promoting the learning of academic and practical skills, closely related to emerging job profiles.

¹⁴ A Romí is a Romaní woman

Women today are very involved in the issue of Romaní associationism. Then we see that there is a change, we have more Romaní girls than boys with a degree, this is very important, isn't it? I think that we are also moving forward because in the Association Romí, in my experience, there are more and more girls that are studying Garantía Social (Social Guarantee programme), there are girls that are studying computers, now they are going to organise a course for people to have training in order to obtain a job afterwards (Rom, Spain).

It seems that in fact Romà are constructing a new perspective of school.

All that I know was at school... in a certain way, it opened up my eyes and it's useful for my professional life (Rom)

In a certain way, a little course that I took for six months, nothing else... it served, at least, for the rest of us (Rom)

Romà have never been linked to or claimed their right to any concrete territory. These circumstances have contributed to the fact that many Romà have developed their capacities for openness and autonomy.

The capacity to be weighed down of a Romà person is smaller than a non-Romà person. And in order to react in the face of certain circumstances, looking for a job, you can lose your job and look for another one and you don't get disheartened because the Romà have been nomads, they have been from one place to other, they have always lived this kind of life (Rom).

Likewise, the Romaní community traditionally has conducted jobs that require versatility, the capacity to adapt oneself to changes and the flexibilisation of timetables. It is for this reason that many Romà have these capacities.

We are more practical because, of course, in theory we are more "delicate", aren't we? But any job adapts to us, actually, we adapt ourselves to any job, because we have, I don't know! It is the sixth sense that we have developed more than other people, because of the spirit of subsistence I suppose; to contribute with new formula if it's possible, there can be a lot...(Romí).

We see, then, that the members of the Romaní community have developed a series of competencies that can help them to overcome their situation of exclusion through the

access to new jobs. We refer to jobs related to services in daily life, for the improvement of quality of life or those related to leisure, tourism and the environment.

You have to see how she or he moves, talks, how he or she treats other people and that's all. This is the most important thing. Well, if you were about to work with machines, but you are going to work with people, because you are going to be surrounded by a human team and because you are going to offer services to people, then this is the most important (Romí).

Jobs related, for example, to taking care of the elderly or attention to children and youth require using a series of skills that a great part of the Romaní community have developed in their familial and community spheres. These contexts have also facilitated the development of skills that are essential for having access to jobs related to mediation and advising in the peaceful solution of conflicts.

We have this ethic: education is first; with elder people or children we are educated. We are parents and we take care of our children, we are not step-parents. We always want to be parents and offer them the best that we can. Now, the education of the Romà is first (Rom).

There is a sector of the adult Romaní population that has traditionally worked in collection and classification of recycled materials, above all, scrap metals. Although these jobs have practically disappeared, we can see a set of skills that can be transferable to the new occupations of the current labour market, for example, to the jobs linked to the environment, recycling, etc. With specific complementary training, these people would be prepared to occupy higher-skilled jobs. This would be especially interesting in neighbourhoods with low infrastructure and services, because it generates employment as well as the improvement of the living conditions of the neighbourhood.

Similarly, the labour experience of the majority of the Romà in activities such as travelling sales is characterised by changing and adapting. Today, these realities are becoming more and more present in the current labour market. It is not unusual for a person to change his/her job different times and to adapt to constant changes of schedules and spaces.

We have verified one of the Workaló hypotheses: The Romà have developed a set of skills required in the labour market of the Knowledge Society.

3.3. Tendencies of the labour market policy and training in Europe

From the analysis of the different activity plans we can observe several **opportunities** that can favour the social inclusion of the Romaní community:

- a) The transnational coordination of policy that favours the recognition of the Romaní community as a European cultural minority without territory.
- b) The identification of actions that are being implemented in the Union member states for the social inclusion of the excluded groups: fostering egalitarian participation, including the voices of all groups and facilitating egalitarian access.

During recent years in the European Union, this situation of exclusion is promoting the intensification, advance and continuity of practices that motivate policies and actions to improve the situation of cultural minorities in general and the Romaní community in particular. In fact, the configuration of the European Union and the growing interest in obtaining social improvement on a global scale is a suitable framework of reference and transnational coordination of policies that eradicate social inequalities.

The measures to overcome this exclusion start from different treaties, guidelines and councils that have been promoted by the European Commission in recent years:

- a) Vienna Summit (1995). In this summit meeting a proposal emerged with the aim of combating discrimination, promoting full equality and the necessary conditions to preserve the identity of minority groups as well as their languages, religions and traditions. In this summit meeting, the *Intergovernmental Committee of Experts on Issues relating to the Protection of National Minorities*¹⁵ (*DH-MIN*) was also created.
- b) Council of Europe (1996). A development of common actions against racism and xenophobia.
- c) European Commission (1997). Constitution in Vienna of an Observatory for racist and xenophobic phenomena.

¹⁵ A large part of the documents that refer to racism and xenophobia distinguish between national minorities and those constituted by persons from other countries. All of them have social exclusion in common. With regard to foreigners, the situation is made worse for legal reasons, as it affects the people's fundamental rights. As this analysis is centred on social cohesion, we will not take this distinction into account

- d) Treaty of Amsterdam (1997). *Article 17* refers to the possibility of bringing actions against any form of discrimination. They include the first employment guidelines in the European Union for the member States.
- e) European Commission (1998). It creates legislative action plans, policy and community programmes against racism and at the same time there are new models and interchanges on this matter.
- f) Tampere Summit (1999). A definition of the rights and obligations of European citizenship for immigrants are defined and actions for the fight against discrimination, racism and xenophobia.
- g) Directives 2000/43/CE¹⁶ y 2000/78/CE¹⁷ are approved condemning any kind of discrimination on the basis of ethnicity or culture in the labour market.
- h) Lisbon Summit (2001). In this summit meeting, the importance of generating the most competitive knowledge based economy in the world was underlined, taking into account social cohesion as one of the principal axes.
- i) Since 2001, there are different actions that aim at achieving the labour and social inclusion of the most vulnerable groups. These policies are: *Objectives in the fight against poverty and social exclusion* (2001), *European guidelines of employment* (2001, 2002, 2003), *eEurope 2002 An informational society for everyone* (2000-2002) or the EQUAL initiative 2000-2006 which contemplates the elimination of discrimination in access, promotion, training and employment conditions; the legal protection of those who suffer employment discrimination, rights and basic goods.

There are specific measures that the European Council established in 1993 regarding the Romaní community, addressed to overcoming exclusion, racism and intolerance. In 1995, the *Committee of Ministers of a Specialist Group on Roma/Gypsies* is created with the aim of analysing the Romaní community in Europe and the fight against human rights violations and the deprivation of basic goods of the Romà. In different European

¹⁶ Directive of the Council, June 29, 2000, relative to the Application of the Principles of Equal Treatment regardless of racial and ethnic origin.

¹⁷ Directive of the Council, November 27, 2000, regarding the Establishment of a General Framework for Equal Treatment in Employment and Occupation

countries concern about the situation of exclusion of different ethnic minorities is also demonstrated¹⁸.

Another example to emphasise is the Catalan case. The Parliament of Catalonia (Spain) saw the need to make the political recognition of the Romà a reality together with the need to carry out interdepartmental policy actions to overcome the social exclusion that many Romà face.

The process in Catalonia has been the following:

- 1) **Recognition of the Romà in the Parliament.** In November of 2001, the Parliament of Catalonia unanimously approved the proposal to recognise the contributions made by the Romaní culture to the Catalan culture (BOPC; Resolution 1046/VI).
- 2) **Elaboration of a scientific study about the needs of the Romà.** The resolution also relied on the realisation of a research investigation to emphasise the current situation of the Romà and their needs. This study was the starting point for carrying out and implementing the Romaní Integral Plan.
- 3) **Implementation of the Romaní Integral Plan.** Thanks to this study that was carried out in collaboration and through a dialogue with Romaní associations and the Romà from Catalonia, it was possible to observe the main areas of action and Romà's main needs. The areas the Integral Plan is based on are the following: education, health, housing and work.

A similar proposal was presented in the European Parliament. The written declaration¹⁹ presented by the different political parties stated the need to create European actions taking into account the Romà and their situation in a Europe that is opening to the East. With the inclusion of the Eastern European countries, the Romaní community has become the most numerous cultural minority in Europe (between seven and nine million population). Europe can opt to follow the Catalan model, recognising the Romà on an institutional level in the European Parliament and to work jointly with Romaní associations and people from different parts of Europe for the realisation of the Integral

¹⁸ Different countries have created ministries for national minorities as in Estonia or Romanía, and, Advisory Councils in Austria or Cooperation Councils of Sami matters in Norway, Sweden and Finland

¹⁹ Written Declaration/DC522378.

Available in :

[http://www.europarl.eu.int/document/2004/P5_DCL\(2004\)0006/P5_DCL\(2004\)0006_en.doc](http://www.europarl.eu.int/document/2004/P5_DCL(2004)0006/P5_DCL(2004)0006_en.doc)

Action Plan with European perspective. In the section on political recommendations we highlight why these kinds of actions are necessary.

3.3.1. Educational and occupational training policies

The importance of education is another area of interest for the European Commission, which must act as an essential aspect for inclusion and overcoming situations of discrimination and inequality. This can be verified in the following documents: *White Paper on Education and Training. Teaching and Learning* (1995), *Towards a Europe of Knowledge* (1997) and *Making a European Lifelong Learning a Reality* (2001).

We can observe in different countries as the *lands* in Lower Saxony and Westphalia²⁰ in Germany, in Romania and in the UK there are specific programmes addressed to Romà that combine education and labour insertion. Apart from pointing out the importance of education in social inclusion of cultural minorities, there are actions in different countries and regions of Europe in which cultural aspects are recognised by the Romaní community itself. Some examples of this are the recognition of the Romanó language in countries such as Sweden, the UK, Romania or the Baden-Wuttemberg area of Germany, or the demand for a quota of Romaní teachers in Finland.

In relation to Vocational Training we find the development of institutions and programmes such as: a) the CEDEFOP (European Centre for the Development of Professional Training), or b) the Programmes of the European Union (Socrates, Leonardo, Urban, Equal, among others) that, starting from objectives and concrete guidelines of action, offer great possibilities for labour inclusion. The elaboration of guides for good practices and proposals for training that start from the demands of different collectives, can favour –through the EU approaches– the development of vulnerable groups. We can find examples such as: the Leonardo Programme that takes into account the participation of these groups in the outline, analysis of the products, lines of intervention and conclusions; the URBAN proposal favours the participation of the institutions, local and social entities; the EQUAL initiatives contemplates the most discriminated persons and groups, which include cultural minority groups.

In the project we have highlight the importance for this training to be based on a Curriculum of Maximums²¹ in order to overcome the circle of social exclusion that the Romà are facing in access and continuity in the labour market. In this line we find the

²⁰ The participation of the Romaní community is motivated in the familial sphere in connection with adult education programmes.

²¹ CREA implements the following in the results of the *Caló* project: *Self-employment-Ethnic Minorities* (Leonardo Da Vinci Programme 1999-2000) a guide of applicability of the Curriculum of Maximums.

APEL policies²², systems of accreditation for employability that are promoted in different countries of the European Union and that will require a more transnational policy that is addressed to vulnerable groups like the Romani community.

In the experiences carried out in the different European countries we can see that the organisation of courses for the Romani community is more effective when global actions are taken, when innovative methodologies are used in research, when the identity of the Romani is taken into account, when we start from the needs of the different collectives, when high expectations are pursued and the courses are oriented towards professions with social prestige.

3.3.2. Needs of the policies related to training and labour market

The research has allowed us to define a set of aspects that European policies must include in order to assure the social inclusion of Romani community in the labour market.

To foster social inclusion, employment policies should start from the following aspects:

- To take emergent profiles into account.
- To take into account those skills that are being demanded in the labour market.
- To follow up the incorporation to the labour market from the observatories of occupation.
- To start from the actions agreed upon by all the member countries, validating training through the recognition of the different communicative abilities ²³ (practical, academic and cooperative).
- To count with the contributions of the Romani in the whole action process.
- To take into account a territorial planning that contemplates the development and socio-economic transformation of the context.

In the sphere of private companies and institutions, it is indispensable to foster inclusionary policies from the European or national institutions, such as:

²² *APEL-Assesment of Prior Experiential Learning* (Socrates Programme) coordinated by the Université Catholique de Louvain –Unité FORG, Dpt des Sciences de l'Education, in which CREA participated as a partner

²³ CREA 1995-1998. *Habilidades comunicativas y desarrollo social*. DGICYT, Dirección General de Investigación Científica y Técnica de Madrid

- The creation of enterprises with new financial formulas: fostering Romani franchises (see the paragraph about policy recommendations), training courses (ICT training, basic education, Lifelong Learning, management and processing of information, taking into account the emergent profiles and the skills demanded in the labour market).
- The revalidation of qualifications and the recognition of citizens' rights of cultural groups.

In conclusion, the European policies formulate positive aspects, but they are sometimes very general. Likewise, the lack of recognition and omission of certain cultural minority groups, such as the Romà, is visible in the majority of the policies.

In the policy recommendations section, A few current policies that include the specific proposals made of the Romani community, which reflect their needs and are thus having positive results.

3.4. New profiles and employment in the Knowledge Society

In the analysis of emerging professional profiles, identifying Romà with low qualified occupations was avoided. For this reason, this has been a transformative study that bears in mind that Romà can opt for high skilled positions in today's society, in this way overcoming existing prejudices, and keeps in mind the skills that these people have developed.

The Workaló report on *Professional Profiles in Europe*, changes in traditional professions were identified, as was the increase in job opportunities for young people and women. The existence of a series of requisites in the emerging profiles related to the skills, which we have already commented on, was also highlighted (team work, flexibility or networking with others); these are skills that in many cases the Romà have acquired throughout their experiences.

The majority of employers interviewed emphasise that the main requisites for jobs are experience and qualifications in handling the ICTs, as well as the capacity to select and process information.

Well, they have to have experience in our field of work, which is basically new technologies. They have to have some kind of professional qualifications. Basically the two things that are required are; experience and professional qualifications. (Employer)

When asking about the skills that are in demand, communicative skills, on-going learning, skills that are related to the technologies, degrees and qualifications, and the ability to work in a team (among other things) are emphasised.

- *What are the competencies or skills that one must have for this job?*

- *Well, above all, I believe that first you have to have communicative skills, and then comes knowing how to survive in the world of technology, followed by learning, learning and more learning...*

- *What skills and competencies were asked of you to get the job that you have?*

- *Well, above all I believe that it is about being able to go on learning, as if it was a new job, a new business, a new approach..., adapting the knowledge that I already had from my training and education to the technologies. (Worker)*

However, the main criteria for getting a job today are academic degrees and qualifications. Beginning with research that demonstrates the elevated labour insertion of people with degrees (INE 2001; Eurostat 1996) and the lines taken by authors relevant to the study of the Knowledge Society (Castells 1998, 2001), it becomes evident that in the Information sector priority is being given to those professionals with university degrees.

In the face of this reality, Romà encounter many barriers to gain positions that demand high skills, since they do not generally possess degrees. On top of this, many of the courses in labour insertion programmes aimed at the Romani community focus on low skilled jobs.

Then we have the Romà. They are unqualified people, or it's that they have had, at some point, jobs that have had no qualification: unskilled labourers, construction and the rest. Or it could be the case that they have never even done this, so that they have no qualifications. Working here does not give them a qualification. This is why I was saying that social skills are given priority here because this sort of training does not hand out qualifications. They don't leave with a degree of any kind. (Trainer).

It is not only that jobs from the ICT sector are a good mechanism for the inclusion of Romà, but that Romà demand to be present in this sector.

Romà, like those from other cultural minorities, are conscious of the changes taking place in society and of the importance of a quality education that prepares them to respond to the demands of the present job market. Education is central to their demands.

The sale finished like all the rest, the deal and the junk and all the rest. In a few years time, there won't be a market or it will have to change, transforming to improve. To look for other levels of work, I believe that the only solution is to prepare men and women for the new jobs being created by society. There is no other option. (A member of the Workaló Advisory Council)²⁴

What I want to do is to take this course, in case in the future the market will really be coming to an end, to have a source of earning money. (Rom)

Throughout the fieldwork, it has been observed that the Romà interviewed insist on the need to acquire instrumental knowledge such as languages, mathematics or using the Internet with the objective of processing information from the web.

However much is known, there is always more. The person that knows how to operate a computer is guaranteed for life. Today as you already know, the computer commands everything. (Rom)

Education does not focus so much on a specific period in life but, given that knowledge is learnt in a given moment and in certain context, is constantly modified throughout life. Increasingly, there is a need to access information and education, to renew and access knowledge. In this sense, being able to layout information on the Internet is provoking changes in the norms of learning. It is no longer necessary to memorise all information, but instead it is a matter of knowing where to look for it, how to select it and how to manage it. Thus, learning about the operation of the ICTs is becoming a basic element for training.

In this way, some Romání associations²⁵ are promoting and carrying out activities for accessing and learning the ICT. These initiatives, with the Romà in mind, try to respond to some of the training demands of the labour market, as well as being a way for Romà to obtain an academic degree.

²⁴ Act of the Advisory Council of WORKALÓ, held the 17th of September of 2002.

²⁵ For instance, the Romí's Association of Granada has organised courses on the management of new technologies.

3.5. New ways of labour and social organisation

In today's society, there are new forms of organisation for work and labour relations that are shaping the new labour and business cultures. The hierarchical business model of the Industrial Society is experiencing great changes. New organisations are now being structured as networks because the hierarchical type is no longer efficient in the Knowledge Society (Vilaseca, Torrent, Díaz 2002). This non-hierarchical way of working demands for the ability to work in teams or cooperatively, which implies the development of dialogic processes and processes of consensus between workers. This also generates dynamics that are more cooperative and collective rather than competitive and individualistic.

This form of organisation has many parallels with the non-hierarchical networks of cooperation in which the Romani community has organised itself throughout its history. This type of organisation is expressed in the kind of family interactions and relations of solidarity that the Romà establish with the whole community. The network as a form of organisation is, therefore, a fundamental cultural identity trait that Romà bring to all areas, including the sphere of work.

The use of technologies can either favour exclusionary dynamics or foster transformative processes and new ways of interactive organisation based on non-hierarchical relations, dialogue and agreement in the field of labour as well as the personal, social and cultural spheres.

In this sense, Internet is the most paradigmatic case. Authors such as Virilio (2001) observe that this can result in a phenomenon of panic, rumours and suspicion that will provoke the revolution of virtual misinformation, a phenomenon of ideological contamination without precedence. It is true that it is now easier to disseminate, for instance, racist perspectives. But it is also easier to present information and remedies for diseases, obtain and contrast information about facts and realities and interact quickly with people in the farthest regions of the world through instantaneous communication. It is evident that the Internet has been assumed to be a tool of democratisation for the extensive information that it provides and has generated a new conception of the organisation of communities and people. In this sense, it is increasingly necessary for everyone to have access to the Internet.

The demands made by social movements for a Knowledge Society for everyone is geared in the same direction. Today, different cultural groups, including the Romà, have used the Internet in order to overcome institutional obstacles, consolidate their own links, make themselves known, share ideas with other communities and extend their demands.

Initiatives to be highlighted in this context are for instance, the *ROMNET-L*²⁶, a list of e-mails created with the aim of exchanging information on matters about the Romani community; *Romnews*²⁷, a website that aim to include and disseminate information about the Romà; or the websites of any Romani organisation²⁸. In this way, a network relationship in a virtual space is created, just as the Romà generate it in the everyday context.

The organisation and structure of Internet coincide with the networks of solidarity that the Romà have historically maintained. It is not a coincidence that the Romani movement on a transnational level has been consolidating and increasing their work since 1995, as Miranda Vuolasranta²⁹ states. In this line, we highlight how, thanks to the use of the Internet, Romani social movements have acquired a recognised organisation and visibility in Europe, fostering at the same time a feeling of European citizenship that goes beyond the borders of the different nation states.

In conclusion, to foster the social inclusion of the Romà, we need to create and promote experiences of democratic access to the ICT so that the Romà may develop their own skills in this sector. An education of quality for the Romà that allow them the access to higher skilled jobs of this sector is also necessary.

3.6. Exclusionary and transformative dimensions for the labour inclusion of the Romani Community in the Knowledge Society

The second hypothesis of the project is that although the Romà possess most of the skills required by the Knowledge Society, they face a series of barriers that prevent them from having access to a job or to keep it.

Workaló has exhaustively analysed these barriers and why they are occurring. This section is divided in two parts: in the first one, we emphasise the prejudices that employers, trainers and workers have regarding Romà, and in the second part we emphasise the voices of the Romà stating how these prejudices have become racist actions and how they have had an influence in the hiring of staff or in some cases, in the firing of staff. In this second part, we also highlight other barriers that have been

²⁶ listserv@netcom.com

²⁷ <http://www.romnews.com>

²⁸ There are an endless number of webs of Romani organisations. As an example, we quote the *European Romà Rights Center* (<http://www.errc.org>) in Europe and the *Unión Romani* (<http://www.unionromani.org>) in Spain.

²⁹ Proceedings of the Workaló's conference in Brussels held the 29th of September of 2004. Available at: <http://www.neskes.net/workaló>.

detected in the analysis of the fieldwork as well as other aspects that can promote social transformation.

3.6.1. Non-Romaní voices in the access to the labour market: how do prejudices influence the hiring of staff

Between the months of December 2001 and January 2002, seventy two in-depth interviews were carried out with non-Romaní individuals from three sectors, encompassing the views of employers, trainers and workers. We divide the analysis of the interviews distinguishing between exclusionary and transformative dimensions, indicating respectively those that hinder or foster the participation of Romà and other cultural groups in social practices.

The objective of this fieldwork is to observe how education, training, culture, socialisation and the work experiences that we possess have an influence on our perceptions of reality and consequently in the selection of the people that will follow a training or carry out a job.

3.6.2. Confirmation of prejudices and racist attitudes towards the Romaní Community

The racism that arises in the Knowledge society – after the demythification of many of the biologist explanations- is manifested under declarations that state that cultural differences prevent multicultural coexistence. According to Flecha and Gómez (1995), this “post-modern” racism generates a relativist perspective that denies the possibility of having universal ethical principles and rejects different cultures and immigration through an exclusionary discourse that states that cultural differences produce more conflicts and that the social inclusion of certain minorities is impossible (Flecha & Gómez, 1995).

The presence of this vision in daily life is influencing Romà’s school success and access to the labour market, as it is considered – from this widespread perspective- that the Romaní culture does not value education or work. On the basis of the relativist perspective it is justified that training or the inclusion of Romà in the labour market would be an imposition.

In the fieldwork carried out, we have found these sort of racist statements that stigmatise the Romaní culture. These declarations, as we will see in what follows, appear in different forms when individual attitudes are generalised to a whole community. For instance, although the great majority of employers interviewed hardly knew the Romà, many of them spoke about the Romaní community in general as a group with a bad reputation and in constant conflict with the local residents due to their cultural traits and

traditions. On the contrary when, in the interviews, something positive was said about a Rom or Romí it was not generalised, but instead it was seen as an exceptional case.

Next, we can observe how certain prejudices about the Romaní community can have a considerable influence on the perceptions not only of employers, but also of the trainers and the workers.

a) About the access to education and employment

When the access to education or employment for the Romà is emphasised, oftentimes it is considered that it is their culture that is hindering them. On the one hand, it is stated that many Romà see formal education as an irrelevant element for their lives although, at the same time, the great value that literacy has for accessing any job is recognised. From the different sectors and collectives that have been interviewed, the Romà are referred to as having deficits, i.e., for the fact that they do not have qualifications. Starting from such prejudices, it is also generalised that the Romà do not have social skills. Some people from the training sector consider that the skills that the Romà possess do not have any validity in socio-labour sector:

Because they come from a different culture with different habits. The fact of being able to live from day to day, and see what they will do and knowing that they will not have a penny. It would be hard for me to live with this stress, wouldn't it? I do not think they are less or more, but that they have developed different skills (...) these are certain skills that perhaps are poorly valued in the socio-labour world and does not give enough (...) over the technical and professional recognition because it is the point where they lack more (Trainer)

Romà don't go any further because they don't want to (Employer)

b) About the identification of the Romà with marginalisation and unlawful behaviour

There are many prejudices and stereotypes about the Romaní Community, such as "carelessness" or a "lack of hygiene", that may make employers hire non-Romà over Romà. Other prejudices found in this fieldwork are expressed in statements about Romà and people from other cultural minorities, such as Moroccans, that "they cannot work", "they steal" and "they are used to not obeying the norms". Romà are also considered for jobs that are in crisis nowadays such as travelling sales or marginalised and illegal activities.

As thieves, usurers, drug addicts, you know. It's the reputation, like everything, it's like the Moors, like the Moroccan that are thieves, it's the same thing. Then it's the same as the Romà. (Worker).

In the Romaní issue, that is what concerns us a great deal, we find that the entrepreneur has sometimes prejudices with no basis, they have prejudices because they knew that something happened to someone, they don't know who it is but they have heard a rumour. Or not even that, even more unfounded, stereotypes, the Romà steal, or the Romà are not very trustworthy, this is clearly shown among some employers: I want no Romà and that's it. (Trainer).

c) About the adaptation to schedules and work guidelines

Another prejudice that stands out is the adaptation to schedules and work guidelines. These prejudices bring about some contradictions when declaring stating that the Romà want to work autonomously without adapting to fixed schedules, highlighting the fact that they are less and less flexible to the labour changes of the Knowledge Society.

A lot of Romaní individuals live in the Unión street, and are... they all work in the street markets, you arrive at 7:30 in the morning, and they are all loading their van, with the clothes... to sell in other places, which is a very worthy job, but the Romà generally don't like working inside a warehouse, in an office with a strict schedule and with very strict norms like most companies have. Maybe they work better as small entrepreneur with their small stall selling or whatever. (Entrepreneur).

Lack of habits, due to a different work schema, habits consisting of being punctual, of calling to say that they will not be in. All this, in daily work makes Romà's access to jobs difficult. (Trainer).

At the same time, they admitted that:

A large part of the Romaní community doesn't have... how to put it... doesn't have education rules from their parents (...), I do believe that the large part of them doesn't have enough education for normal behaviour (Rom)

The work that the members of the Romaní Community have developed throughout their lives is not considered as real work, since, in the field of training, the only thing that is considered to be work is what the hegemonic culture does. Those employers that

admitted that they were reluctant to hire Romà highlighted the fact that their decisions were based on coexistence and that they had to represent the interests of their clients more than their own feelings since, otherwise, they could lose customers.

d) On the reconciliation between labour and family

One of the accusations that the Romaní culture bears linked with the labour field is that they prioritise the family over their job. The view of some trainers is that there are social barriers that influence access to the labour market. It is thought that the Romà will not join the labour market because they have very different cultural characteristics from the ones the mainstream culture has, and that this prevents them from being a part of this sphere.

From the perspective of the Romà and their characteristics they can have greater difficulty to have access to a job, but from their perspective, from their point of view, there is a series of family priorities. They have family priorities and a different work schema. (Trainer)

e) On the social inclusion of Romà

Some interviewees made comments about the idea that the Romaní Community is very closed and does not interact with non-Romà, resulting in self-exclusion. Some people also stated that Romà do not desire to improve their quality of life. There were also people who declared that the Romà have all the conditions for integration and that they simply do not want to be integrated:

I don't think I know any problems of racism in this case I know and I think that in my company it wouldn't happen, because it wouldn't, the only thing that matters are the results. So I think that the Romà are not discriminated against, by living as such I think that it is possible that they discriminate against themselves. There are exceptions but they also give me the impression that they are the Romà that do not want to relate to others, they do not want to accept our culture. (Worker).

3.6.3. Confirmation of racist prejudices and attitudes towards other cultural minorities

In the Workaló research, it is not only the situation of the Romaní Community that was observed. In the fieldwork, prejudices towards other minority groups were also observed.

These prejudices also have an influence, like in the Romaní case, on opening or closing the doors to the labour market for them.

In this sense, many times immigrant cultural differences are linked with a lack of civility, which leads to very harsh statements like the one that states that it is necessary to teach them politeness. It is also presumed that their cultural and religious habits have negative impacts in the labour field.

Another kind of generalisation leads towards a link between immigration and unlawful activities.

What should be taught them when they arrive here, there was a subject called courtesy, in schools and I say: it should be in fashion again. Nonsense... I sound like an old man. (Employer).

Native people are given preference over immigrants when hiring due to the mistrust that exists towards them. Some people explicitly recognise that they are afraid of the unknown and that there is some racism.

What makes me more afraid particularly is the unknown, (...) then I think that this is the issue and that we cannot doubt that our society that is the one I know, I wouldn't be that hard, there is always a bit of racism in society. (Employer).

The presence of immigrants is seen as a problem; the view is that they fill jobs or create businesses that natives could do. According to these people, this could increase crime since there is not work for available for everyone.

Of course, on the other hand, I would like to know how to link it with the fact that, you know, there is also unemployed people here, you have to understand the comment: ah it's that my son has no job and they have hired this man that comes from Morocco, then, you know, they put you in a difficult situation because you think oh it's also true, if the world was so beautiful that we could have jobs for all the Spanish people, plus for all the ones that would come it would be great but it's not like that, and then when someone has no job, what does he have to do?. He in the street all day, I suppose that this leads to the habit of providing for oneself and to provide for oneself you need to commit offences that become greater and greater and it becomes a spiral that is bigger and bigger. (Employer).

The qualifications that immigrants have are hardly recognised, making them have access to lower skilled jobs than the ones they had in their countries, leading them to precarious jobs.

It's what happens, what all employers complain about, that the people that enter come poorly motivated, or maybe it's also because they already have that level of studies and maybe they wait. (Employer)

The mainstream society places barriers for immigrants, hindering their access to training or to the recognition of their previous experience; this brings about problems in access to the labour market.

3.7. Romani voices: barriers and possibilities for their social inclusion

After having noted the existence of prejudices that some employers, trainers and workers have about the Romà, we asked the Romà if there were barriers for having access to the labour market and the main ones they encountered.

The fieldwork consisted in carrying out forty-two communicative life stories, thirteen communicative discussion groups and five communicative observations with the Romà from different countries in Europe. They were asked not only about the main barriers that they had found in obtaining a job but also about the transformative dimensions that could foster their labour and social inclusion.

The information gathered on barriers and transformative dimensions was classified on the basis of an analysis chart that included different subsystems: Economy, Polity, Culture and Societal Community¹. The first subsystem, economy, is one of the most important subsystems for the Workaló project, since it takes into account what occurs in relation to the labour and socio-economic needs of the Romà. However, we have to highlight that the information gathered in the other subsystems is also highly connected with their labour and social inclusion as well as that of other ethnic minorities. One example of this is the culture subsystem where all the information linked with the world of values and education has been gathered; these are key aspects for social inclusion in the Knowledge Society.

3.7.1. Economy

In the analysis of the experiences of the Romà in the labour market, the following barriers have been highlighted:

Ethnic discrimination in the labour market

In the analysis of the labour market, we have shown how racism plays a key role in the opportunities of the Romà for accessing a job or for promoting themselves in the work sector. These discriminatory attitudes that come from the prejudices highlighted before, are an impediment for the social inclusion not only of the Romà but also of other cultural minorities in Europe. In what follows, we offer testimonies of the Romà that illustrate how these prejudices are influencing labour selection:

I do not know if what they are looking for is the colour of my skin, because I think that if I was fairer skinned it would be resolved, because you can work on your accent a little and that's it. It is unbelievable, many times when I have been (in the places where I finally got a job), but more than the workers that were working there, I even thought they were silly. And still it can be that they already see you as... (for being Rom) inferior, unable, suspicious and all that stuff, the prejudices. (Rom).

A colleague of ours applied in a place and started working, then, I don't know how, they discovered she was Gypsy and just because of tha, she was fired... (Rom)

Racist attitudes about the Romà appear when they are rejected on the grounds of having a certain physical appearance or because they identify themselves with a certain culture. As we have stated before, these attitudes are often justified by linking illegal behaviour with all the Romà.

The communicative life stories highlighted how some entrepreneurs do not hire Romani individuals when they are identified as Romà. On the contrary, when the applicant does not fit the social image that the entrepreneur has, he or she does not get hired for the job.

In this way, some people state that they were dismissed when they were identified as Romà in the workplace.

Some time ago I was fired because of that, because when they found out that I was Romà they started to shout at me. Finally they fired me. And I had been working there for four months in the firm and they fired me. When they found out that I was Romà. (Rom)

If we look at the importance placed on personal and social image in the access to certain positions, racist prejudices become real obstacles, above all in those jobs that require dealing with customers. This is paradoxical in the case of Romaní individuals, as we observed in the section on skills, many Romà know how to handle people and, thus, would have no problems in carrying out these types of jobs.

Although there is legislation that condemns any kind of ethnic or cultural discrimination such as the *Declaration about Race and Racial Prejudice* (General Conference of UNESCO, 1978), the *Declaration of Human Rights* (General Comment No. 18: Non-discrimination, 1990) and the Directives 2000/43/CE³⁰ and 2000/78/CE³¹, we have been able to verify in the fieldwork that there is still a long way to go to overcome these barriers and prevent racist situations in the labour market. According to the contributions of the Romà interviewed, the current labour market does not take into account the principle of non-discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin.

We have also observed that, while obtaining an academic degree represents a big advantage for access to the labour market, the barriers to finding a job persist due to racist attitudes and behaviours. Qualified Romà also find obstacles for accessing the labour market since education is not the only guarantee for their social inclusion. For instance, in the communicative life stories with Romaní women this fact has been observed:

After a training process for a Social Guarantee Programme, a Hairdressing programme, job offers come, don't they? Then our students (that are not students anymore but professionals now) apply for the job and straight away the Hairdressing employer tells them " Oh, I am so sorry, but I can not take you. I can not take you because we are interested in people that are non Romà, because not even a dressing gown can hide it. (Rom)

³⁰ Directive of the Council, June 29, 2000, relative to the Application of the Principles of Equal Treatment regardless of their racial and ethnic origin.

³¹ Directive of the Council, November 27, 2000, regarding the Establishment of a General Framework for Equal Treatment in Employment and Occupation

Racism is expressed through manifested and latent actions in different spheres of labour. In many hiring processes, the knowledge and abilities that the Romà have developed throughout their lives is not taken into account or it is discredited.

Effects of ethnic discrimination

Besides the difficulties found in the access to jobs, the Romaní individuals that were able to get a job stated that there is also ethnic discrimination in the workplace. In the fieldwork we have identified several effects that ethnic discrimination has both in access and within the workplace itself. These effects are:

- a) *Difficulty in labour promotion and in the search for a job*
- b) *Dismissal*
- c) *Devaluation of the work carried out*
- d) *Low self-esteem*

a) Difficulty in labour promotion and in the search for a job

In some cases, discrimination on the job involves obstruction for labour promotion. In the communicative life stories and discussion groups the way the Romà are not taken into account in labour promotion was highlighted:

As Romà, in this job I only remember one barrier. It was when they realised that I was Romà, when they had to choose a boss for the team, they did not choose me, and I think it had a lot to do with the ethnic issue. (Rom)

In the fieldwork, the Romà have demonstrated to be unwilling to continue the search for a job, due to the discriminatory way they were treated in the jobs they applied for

b) Dismissal

Another effect of discrimination is the treatment in the workplace. It is observed how the Romà are assigned tasks or jobs that are not linked with their profile or studies. It is also stated that the Romà are dismissed for being Romà.

From the way they talk and the way things are, you know quickly if they want to throw you out or if it is true that there are too many people. The business then looked for other applicants. (Rom)

c) Devaluation of the work carried out

Many Romani people point out the conditions of inequality they face in many jobs as a consequence of the devaluation of the Romani Community.

I had been working in another company, I do not remember what it was called. It was about assembling the memory of a computer, to assemble it and there they did not notice that I was a Rom. Why? Because there were comments like " you dress like a Rom", "you're so dirty, you're dirtier than a Rom", and "you behave like a Rom", and so on, much of that...And of course, if someone starts to mess around, they fire me, and you have to deal with all of this. (Rom)

The devaluation of the Romani culture, together with all the negative stereotypes about them, increases the pressure on many of them, who have to demonstrate their capacity for working much more than others.

It's that... the Rom, qualified or not has to demonstrate seven times more than the non-Rom. (Rom).

Our analysis points out that Romani individuals constantly have to prove their skills in order to have their professional worth recognised.

They put us in the category of the lazy ones and therefore we have to prove twice as much as any other person working in the same job our worth, yes, yes, that happens oftentimes. The idea that you cannot count on the Romà because they are lazy, it's that you have to prove twice as much that your work is valuable. (Rom)

d) Low self-esteem

While the mistakes of the people belonging to the mainstream culture are not usually ascribed to their culture, any mistake made by a Romani person at his or her job is easily attributed (by employers and fellow workers) to their culture and ethnic identity. This is even stronger in the case of Romani women.

Stereotypes also have consequences on the relationships that the Romà establish with people from other cultures, generating mutual mistrust that complicate intercultural coexistence and low self-esteem of the Romà about their abilities for working in a job within the formal labour market. This process was observed by Edwin Lemert (1967) when he defined the Labelling Approach.

Discriminatory norms in hiring systems

We have also observed how discrimination on the job does not only have effects in daily relationships and interactions among people but in the job hiring systems. This discriminatory behaviour is part of the internal guidelines of the companies, which was found in the research: there are norms that demand not hiring people from certain cultural minorities beforehand:

At the beginning the temp recruitment agency does not say anything to you, but afterwards the person goes to the firm and seeing that he/she is a Rom/Romi, is told "no", that enough with the Romà, but it also happens the other way around. The temp recruitment agency says to the colleague: "I need to look for three girls or three boys for certain positions, but please no Romà". (Romi)

This fact is a real obstacle for those Romaní people who want to opt for a job and attend agencies that, following the instructions given by employers, are not hired in the end.

Besides these barriers found in the labour sphere, a series of obstacles exist today in other fields that are indirectly having an influence in the labour inclusion of the Romà.

3.7.2. Polity

Absence of the political recognition of Romaní cultural difference

Political discourse and actions tend to neglect the recognition of Romaní cultural difference, which obstructs the elimination of the effects of discrimination. The recognition of the different social positions and barriers that the distinct social groups face is essential to complement the legal orders that protect all individuals from discrimination without exception. Nowadays, the recognition of national minorities in the countries of the European Union differs to a great extent in every state's reality since there is no recognition on a European scale.

We are lacking some necessary elements because nothing exists in the European Union. (Rom)

Some participants in the fieldwork point out the need to open a political space (for the Romaní community) that contributes to the proposal of governance criteria that are sensitised with this community and that favour the proposal of political measures directed to non-discrimination and to attaining equal opportunities and equal results:

To make the countries in the European Union acknowledge the damage they have done with their policies towards the Romani community, because there is no acknowledgement like that given to the Jews, if it is not given to the Romani, this damage will last forever, so there is still work to be done in general, in order to recognise this persecution, Spain has eliminated the language, they have separated the families so that they are not in groups, we know the Spanish policies. In France it is different, there Romani camps that were persecuted and exterminated by hunger and sickness during the Second World War, in Germany, it was Nazism, in Belgium it was something else, in Sweden it was the same, they sterilised the women, in Sweden they sent them to psychiatric hospitals. A transnational policy is needed to overcome these situations of inequality. (Rom)

This recognition is necessary to overcome the exclusion of the Romani community and to foster its inclusion in the decision-making mechanisms. Authors such as Amartya Sen (1992) have theorised on the inadequacy of establishing a formal system of access to certain social spaces that does not really take into account, the ability of people to use it. In this way, Sen points out the need to take into account other components that make real access a possibility. Our study has revealed that laws that forbid ethnic discrimination are not enough for the Romani to have regular access to certain jobs. It is necessary that their reality is recognised by social and employment politics.

According to employees, access on egalitarian terms to the labour sector requires specific actions that overcome situations of discrimination that affect the Romani community. These actions must go beyond solely assistentialist measures and respond to the needs stated by the Romani:

Many things should be done. In the first place, changing policies. Policies are stated from the non Romani perspective, and when it is asked, for instance, what needs there are, the needs that you have, for example, you know them. Romani know the needs the Romani community has. So, the policies that are done are not done thinking of the needs of the Romani but thinking of what they want for the Romani. (Rom)

In the last years there are political and social actions that indicate a change in the course of this trend. The recognition of the Romani and carrying out integral policies, considering the specificity of this minority, is occurring in different political spheres in Europe. Apart from the Catalan case mentioned beforehand, several political representatives have the

intention of presenting political proposals in this same line at the national and European Parliaments. An example of this occurred in the Workaló Conference held in September 2004 in one of the meeting spaces of the European Parliament. In this conference, Josep Andreu – deputy in the Spanish Congress-, committed himself to unanimously approving the political recognition of the Romà as a people in the Congress of Deputies during this legislative term (2004-2008).

Welfare intervention policy for the Romani community

In the political and administrative sphere, through policies, there have been attempts to alleviate the inequalities that the Romani community faces. But these policies have not effectively responded to the real causes of the problem. These actions are strongly questioned by the Romani community, which has seen the attempts to resolve the various problems “from outside” of the reality of their lives.

Because of this, in the good sense of the word, the politicians do not want full integration. Because nowadays, for any problem they always send you to the Welfare Services. If it's a problem of education, to the welfare services. If it's a labour problem, to the welfare services. (Rom)

Even though these aids from public administrations are valued by many Romà, at the same time they reflect upon the inadequacy of attempting to overcome social exclusion from merely an assistential point of view.

They are working from the pieces, not with a whole vision. (Rom)

In this present study, the collected evaluations point out that more adequate policies have to combine an action that is as much directed at the consequences of social exclusion as its sources. In this way, it is considered essential to make the Romani community visible in political life and to include their voices when implementing public policies.

3.7.3. Societal community

The disintegrating role of institutions

Coexistence between cultures needs to be made a reality; this means a reality that respects differences and creates a set of norms that make egalitarian co- existence and social cohesion possible. A part of making this egalitarian and integral coexistence real is found in the possibility of accessing the labour market. Institutions have the duty to ensure that these norms of coexistence serve to foster the inclusion of the Romani

community in all of the social spheres. Nevertheless, on some occasions they play a part in social segmentation, contributing to the exclusion of ethnic groups. They also can generate dynamics and processes of exclusion for Romà and other cultural minority groups, excluding them from the educational system and condemning them to a future of slim promises in the labour market. The educational institution has a duty of integration.

In reality, certain colleges...Romà, foreigners of certain nationalities are more rejected than the rest. (Romi)

A kind of teaching that has nothing to do with this ethnic minority, it is not prepared: they aren't prepared, teachers aren't prepared, the staff isn't prepared, in a word, school is not prepared. (Trainer)

In the process of social inclusion or exclusion of Romà, another element that must be emphasise is *the media*, for the critical role it plays in disseminating information and generating public images. The way in which this information is transmitted can influence in different ways: it can help to overcome stereotypes or it can perpetuate or aggravate them.

An event...one person has killed his wife. If he is non Romà, they say "an individual – and so on and so forth- has killed or presumably killed his wife", but they do not say the race of the person. And if it is a Rom that did it: "a Romà has killed so on, so forth". Isn't this true? (Rom)

Only making situations public where Romà are seen in a negative way generates an image that promotes a greater distancing of the non-Romà from the Romani community's culture and values. At the same time, the Romà may take on these negative images as well as feeling that they are far from the possibility of creating a set of norms and common values for living together in equality. These stereotypes can play a very important role when applying for a job, as the employers may be influenced by the negative images portrayed in the media.

A lack of respect for human rights

Respect for human rights favours multicultural coexistence and the integration of all cultural collectives that are living together in a society.

It is like that. You are innocent until proven guilty, lie, the police are going to treat you like: -you are guilty until you prove to your innocence-, that is the way Romà are treated. (Rom)

There is a bit of everything in all races, it is not because of that that one is going to steal, that I'll do the same, or that one is going to kill that I'll do the same, this happens in all races, I don't know why people only think like that in relation to Romà (Rom)

They get limited because they are Romà (Trainer)

These situations of inequality have repercussions on the lack of recognition of the Romaní culture. The unequal treatment that the Romaní community receives has an impact on Romaní individuals, leading to an internalisation of this inequality.

You know what happens, we, as I mentioned before, hide ourselves, I don't know if it is all of us, but we tend to avoid the racism because it really hurts. And each time you go out and you feel those looks, the way people talk to you, the way they look, and even the suspicions they have make you feel...sometimes you even end up believing you are inferior. (Rom)

Lack of knowledge about the Romà

The exclusion suffered historically by the Romà did not arise from knowledge about their cultural values, but instead from a lack of knowledge:

That happens oftentimes and then there is a great lack of the Romà. There is much ignorance about it. Things that for us are very normal, daily life things for us are for others perhaps...oof!, they are surprised, they are really amazed... (Rom)

This lack of knowledge has come together with the emergence of stereotypes that contribute to considering the actions of Romaní individuals in a negative light. This generates mistrust and oftentimes fear towards members of the Romaní community. Through the fieldwork we have confirmed that many people who have never lived around Romà adopt a negative view of them, as a consequence of the information they receive and the social transmission of the aforementioned stereotypes. Some testimonies note that sometimes the consequence of this has been that non-Romaní people reject having relationships with Romaní individuals.

A friend of mine, who is an immigrant from Colombia, came, and she is a friend of mine and at the beginning her neighbours told her: "be careful, don't go around with Romà, do not relate with them because they will kill you, and so on..." Of course, when she first saw us at school

she went away running and I said, "but, what happened?" Later we became friends ... 'Everybody told me not to hang out Romaní people because they will kill me'. (Rom)

This exclusion, characterised by a rejection and undervaluing, makes it very difficult for the Romaní community to feel like they are a part of the societal community. Not having access to the labour market, influenced by this lack of knowledge, continues to perpetuate an ignorance about the Romaní culture and the obstacles to achieving a multicultural coexistence in the work place.

To hinder the coexistence and the multicultural cohesion

As pointed out, the social transmission of prejudices and negative social images about the Romà enormously hinders the creation of conditions for a multicultural coexistence and cohesion. The mistrust that is generated from these interactions is manifested in different sectors: the school is one of them. Romaní girls and boys suffer this lack of understanding and rejection by the mainstream society at a very early age. We could observe this in the fieldwork, where the Romà express their idea about what racism is, having faced it in their own lives.

I am letting everything out. About racism: the boys do not understand what racist is nor what it is to despise, because he is Rom or non-Rom, another boy. This is worked out within the family. The core of the problem about racism lies in the family, because children go to school and do not think ...Yes, I have had the whole class full with non-Romaní and Romaní children, and they did not know who was Romà and who was not, among them...But within the family, indeed: "watch out with that Rom, and so on, and so forth"; " do not hit him, or otherwise the whole family will come and kills us, they will pull out their knives...", " you don't go to him, don't do anything...". Such things... (Rom)

Everyone has their own language, everyone has their own colour, but... the blood is the same (Rom)

The discriminatory attitudes that people participating in the fieldwork have expressed show the barriers they have to face. Having to deal with these difficulties in school, when wanting to buy a flat, in leisure and free time contexts, or when trying to find a job, demonstrates that unequal relationships in our society place the Romà, in this case, at a very disadvantaged starting positions.

They were going to rent a flat in ...and they were told no. And they were told no because they were Romà, and they turned around (between brackets "they turned around") and they rented the flat to someone else, some other people that belonged to their race...These are things that hurt a lot because..., people sometimes...Actually we are not tolerant, not tolerant at all. We have to have a chance and rent a flat. If later you see that they are not doing it right, not paying monthly and so, then put them out. (Rom)

Including the supermarkets they also reject them, they do not want Romà and all that after the Sarkozy law and even before. But the Sarkozy law has made the pressure rise.(...) There is too much racial discrimination, there is a lot of hate, violence towards the Romà, we are rejected a lot. (Romí)

The Romà that have been contacted demand a more egalitarian treatment in all of these domains and to have the opportunity to demonstrate their desire for a peaceful intercultural coexistence. For this to occur, however, there must be a fundamental element in place beforehand, which means that non-Romà (who have them) must overcome prejudices and exclusionary attitudes. Romaní individuals denounce the fact that negative characteristics that may be encountered in one or some individuals, or at times invented, are attributed to the whole culture, or the other way around; this is having very harmful consequences on the establishment of positive social interactions (between Romà and non-Romà):

When they see me like this, darky, then in many places they all mistrust, and maybe behind my back. But there are many places where "someone came..." or "just now someone like you came and I bought him/her...". This person is not seeing me like a person, is not individualising me, but is treating me as a group, as a whole community, and I am a person. (Rom)

Some interactions that are occurring that are addressed to the Romà illustrate the perpetuation of these prejudices. In the framework of the Universal Forum of Cultures-Barcelona 2004, located right next to *La Mina* neighbourhood in Sant Adrià de Besòs, Barcelona (with a large Romaní population) some recent events demonstrate the existence of the barriers mentioned in this report. The deployment of the autonomous police corps in the province of Barcelona has become the first action in the transformation of *La Mina* neighbourhood. A study about this neighbourhood declares

security as a starting point, while social participation, work and education are ordinary points within the actions to be carried out (CIREM, GES & TRS, 1997). On Saturday March 7th, 2003, about 500 people gathered in the Avenida Camarón, in *La Mina* of St. Adrià de Besòs. The *Centro Cultural Gitano* (Roma Cultural Centre) of *La Mina*, the *Federación de Asociaciones Gitanas de Cataluña* (Federation of Romani Associations of Catalonia), the *Iglesia Evangélica de Filadelfia* (the Evangelical church of Philadelphia) and the *Partido Nacionalista Caló* (Caló Nationalist Party) gathered to report the repression that is taking place in the neighbourhood since the beginning of the year and they agreed on the actions in a show of dialogue and search for solutions for the situation in which the Romà live (*Nevipens Romaní, noticias gitanas*, (romani news) núm. 353 1-15/Abril 2003, p. 3).

3.7.4. Culture

Persecution, discrimination and folklorism

The Romani culture is present in Europe for 600 years, throughout which they have faced persecutions and strong discriminations. Various traveller Romani generations have created a culture throughout history with their own norms to maintain the organisation of the community. At the same time, the cultural exchanges carried out by the Romani community have been as important as their unity about their identity; this has been key for resisting the discriminatory historical-political context in which they have coexisted with the non-Romani community, where their historical mobility and their interactions with members of other dominant cultures have traditionally been met with rejection for their difference.

On other occasions mainstream society has associated the Romani culture to folkloric dynamics, ignoring the depth and authenticity of their knowledge and cultural values, at the same time as their interests and needs. This is something that the people who have been interviewed in the fieldwork have explained to us:

The journalists came and interviewed people, but they came to say...That is, they didn't come to ask about education or the Romani culture. They only came to see someone play guitar or see if someone would start singing. And it was a Romani person who told them "What's happening, do you think that all we know around here is how to sing and dance?" But, why would a Romani person have to start...? It was a meeting. Afterwards, of course we had a party, but it was a meeting for...we spoke of education and that sort of thing. (Rom)

The stereotypes that are generated by mainstream culture with regards to the Romani community, in this case, provoke people, like those interviewed, to rebel against these stereotypes given that they hinder the possibility for the Romani community to make contributions with regards to other spheres, reproducing their marginalised situation.

Educational segregation

As stated, the educational sphere is one of the contexts where the Romani community's social and economic exclusion is most evident. The educational institution is key in the current society due to the importance of the production, use and dissemination of knowledge today. The universal access to education is a legitimate demand in today's society, although it still remains to be achieved in the case of certain groups, like the Romà. Without education equality in the access to the labour market will never be a reality, Romà will continue to be relegated to the most precarious jobs, to the submerged economy and unemployment.

A curriculum and a school that does not contemplate the cultural characteristics of the Romani students hinders their access. The discrimination suffered generally by Romani students in the classrooms of schools can be defined in different ways. We highlight how the 'conflictive' students, or the students that are considered to be 'slow', are frequently separated out from the classroom group, first as a separate group within the classroom and then taken to another classroom, oftentimes being expelled, out of the school. Similarly, the assessment of the learning processes of Romani students tends to be marked by a series of prejudices that are automatically associated with their culture, such as a lack of motivation, a slower learning pace, absenteeism or a lack of interest.

When I was studying where they were doing the thing on auxiliaries...we were a group almost entirely of non Romi and only two Romà, a girl and I. I wouldn't go to the class, I felt low, I felt horrible, everyday...I would be on the verge of tears. "I am not going...", and they would say "why won't you come?", "because I feel low, they know how to do this and I don't know how to explain it"...On top of that they put me alone in an extra help class, and I felt even worse. The other's would go out for break or for coffee, and I had to stay so they could explain me these things, well I felt awful. (Rom)

These exclusionary processes are generating very important social and cultural inequalities that prevent social cohesion, which is one of the main objectives for the European Union for the next years:

There were two sections in the school, one section where there was only non-Romà and those like the non-Romà, in the other part Romà that have a teacher for Romà and a teacher for Arabs that understand Arabic, if they cannot communicate as they are foreigners, that was the school, I started at when I was five. (Rom)

Where do the majority of the Romà go for professional training or continue High School?

It is always professional training.

Who orientates them?

The teachers. (Rom)

Another example of the educational segregation that the Romà encounter can be seen in their utter absence in the organisation of schools and the curriculum. The schoolbooks do not include the Romaní culture, nor do the Romà participate in the decision about the schedule and other organisational aspects.

In part, I think society doesn't let us evolve. (Rom)

The second hypothesis stated in Workaló is thus confirmed: the Romaní community finds itself with a series of barriers to have access to the labour market in the Knowledge Society.

3.8. Transformative dimensions for Romaní labour inclusion

3.8.1. Economy

Skills of the Romaní Community for its labour inclusion

Throughout the project, we have stated that the Romà have developed a series of skills in the different spheres of action: these include cooperative and team work, flexibility, creativity and dynamism, the ability to take risks, confidence in own's decisions, and intercultural competencies.

In this sense, together with the need for recognising these skills in different spheres, as a way of labour promotion and social inclusion, the Romà are making a series of proposals for the creation of labour and to improve the functioning of the labour market. Many of these proposals - approached from the skills developed by the Romà-, point towards the promotion of family enterprises, self-employment and the participation in other

enterprises. Therefore, there is a need for the collaboration of different entities and administrations, funding means (as the micro credits) and the knowledge of the legal requirements necessary for the creation of enterprises.

The Romà, what we should do with our skills is to start up our own companies, this is the first thing Romà should do. (Romí)

The city hall sets out a programme of social intervention in neighbourhoods. Then the programme is carried out by a company which is the one we belong to, after a year time we become partners of that one. (Rom).

Another one of the proposals that are key for the labour and social inclusion of the Romaní community is the creation of integral plans. An example of this is the project *Romaní City* promoted by the Ujaranza Foundation. This project includes the participation of the Romaní community in the design of the economic infrastructures for the creation of employment of a cultural and social type (luxury restaurant, interactive museum and fashion franchises).

3.8.2. Polity

Romà participating in the Workaló project have emphasised the importance of considering the following elements in the labour guidelines of the public policies: a) the link between the demands, the competencies acquired in their daily activities and the emerging profiles, b) the access of programmes for the generation of quality employment, c) the relationship between education and labour market and d) to take into account an integral and interdepartmental perspective of the public policies.

The social worker needs to take a picture of the whole family, people do not work globally and it is important to work globally. (Romí)

Examples of this can be found in the transition to the labour market through coordination between training and labour (Brussels summit, 19998), in the search of the best work, health and security conditions for underprivileged groups (Maastricht treaty, 1993) and the integral actions³² that combine employment, training, healthcare and housing (Lisbon summit, 2000).

³² In Spain, the Community Initiative EQUAL (2000-2006), derived from the Title VIII of the Treaty of Amsterdam is focused on handling the information and communication technologies, and on issues such as housing, education and health. In the same line, the PNAE (2000), following the orientation of the eLearning

There are also political actions specifically designed for the Romà. An example of this is one of the axis of the European Social Forum in Spain (2000-2006). The association Anaquerando in Granada, that together with the Regional Government of Andalusia carries out a programme for the training and labour insertion of Romaní youth, which includes care and sales of medicinal plants, and the Pluriregional Operative Programme of Fight against Discrimination of the Romaní community inscribed in the Acceder Plan³³ This programme³⁴, coordinated by the *Fundación Secretariado General Gitano* (General Romà Secretariat Foundation), has an impact on the access of the Romà to the labour market, in the creation of services to improve quality of life and to foster the hiring of Romaní youth.

With regards to gender, one of the pillars established in the Luxembourg Summit (1997) makes special emphasis in the equality of opportunities. In this sense, the National Action Plans for employment in the last years dedicate a special section to this, fostering the participation of women in different domains and non discrimination. In Spain there is the programme of Advisory of Autonomous Women Entrepreneurs and specifically related to Romaní women there is: Romaní Association for Labour Reinsertion (included within the Leonardo Programme of the European Union), with the module of Romaní history and culture and the versatile occupational training, to work in big commercial malls through agreements with renowned brands.

3.8.3. Societal community

Institutional Recognition of the Romà

The Romaní community encounters attitudes and situations of discrimination³⁵ and segregation that have a direct impact on their social and labour exclusion. To alleviate this process it is necessary to take a first step towards the cultural recognition of the Romà.

initiative which arose from the Lisbon Summit, has an impact on the access to a digital culture especially for less privileged groups.

³³ It is to be found in the axis VII of the Political Framework of reference for the development of the human resources and organisms of the Autonomous Regions and City halls related to the employment, labour and social services. ACCEDER. (2004): “ Evaluación de resultados intermedios de las actuaciones gestionadas por la *Fundación del Secretariado General Gitano*”. ACCEDER. *Programa de acceso al empleo 2000-2006*. To be found at: <http://www.fsgg.org>

³⁴ FSGG.2000. Programa Acceder. Main labour activities of the Romaní community. Data in *Gitanos. Pensamiento y cultura*. Núm. 2. 1999. Madrid. ASGG.

To be found at: <http://www.fsgg.org/acceder/acc03.htm>

³⁵ Today, some European countries have increased their denunciations in relation to ethnic discrimination. In Spain they have quadruples

I really hope that the recognition of the Romà is achieved in the 21st century, because to the extent that the Romà can be called juridical and legally as Romaní unity or people, I am convinced that then all the obstacles that are now preventing us from getting out of this situation of exclusion and marginalisation, of identity, housing, employment, etc. will be removed. (Romí).

This demand was already carried out by representatives of the Romaní community in the World Conference Against Racism (WCAR, 2001). In this same year, the institutional recognition of the identity of the Romà was unanimously approved by the Catalan parliament³⁶.

In the Romà there should be the same form for the same equality, that one has the same opportunities that a Muslim child or Indian, to put it in a way, that he or she is able to know about his or her origins and to know who she or he is, where he or she come from. (Romí).

The institutional recognition of the Romà has to be founded on the principle of the equality of differences, that is, in the right to be different – defining the elements that characterise the Romaní culture- and to be equally valued. This form of recognition must go hand in hand with processes of implementation of concrete and effective measures that avoid discrimination, and assure processes of dialogue and inclusion of the Romà's voices, respect and reciprocal knowing.

The Rom that integrates into the non-Romaní society has to have basic knowledge to understand this. The non-Romaní must also be thoughtful and understand Romaní society since we are also a people. (Rom).

Cultural dynamism

Through the fieldwork, the possibility and existence of a cultural dynamism has been confirmed. Cultures are not static; they are transformed through interaction, knowledge and contribution of their knowledge and values. From this perspective, coexistence is characterised by: the inclusion of the cultural aspects that do not endanger the freedom of the people, mutual reflection and the use of egalitarian dialogue in the establishment of norms.

³⁶ Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya (DOGC) (diciembre de 2001). Resolució 1046/VI del Parlament de Catalunya, sobre el *reconeixement de la identitat del poble gitano i el valor de la seva cultura*. Cinquè període. VI legislatura. Núm. 240, 41.

n the one hand, we the Romà should adapt certain things that in today's world do not correspond to this new system and in the global world of this sort of things and on the other hand, the dominant society has a series of things that are very common to the culture and that are innate and I don't think they mean any attempt against society or against any values or anything like that whatsoever. It is an exercise of reciprocal flexibility. (Rom)

As many of the people participating in the project confirmed, multicultural coexistence is an intersubjective transformation process of the different cultural groups that share the same territory.

That its entities are recognised just like any other, then this problem goes in two directions, that is, if there is no progress both from the Romaní society and the non-Romaní society, that will be brought to a standstill because if we are going to have we Romà through...., training, come...do a course...in the society...not only regarding employment, regarding coexistence, if there is no continuous change...and the change is very, very slow. (Romí).

The society in which we live is increasingly multicultural. The way we approach this reality can contribute to social inclusion and cohesion, or on the contrary, it can contribute to their segmentation. Its inclusive components include: knowing and respecting the different cultures, openness to the richness that diversity brings, equality of subjective rights, drawing on the most important and necessary elements for coexistence and social cohesion and stating the means to achieve it.

Interculturality, so much talked about recently, that is ideal, it is not ideal that I move to the other side, or that the others come to my side, there are some minimums that I have to allow, I have to take the good parts of that culture, but I don't need to change it if I don't want to change. (Romí)

Many of the claims of the Romà and Romaní associations are about gender, ethnicity, education and work. From this perspective, the associations of Romaní women are fighting –both in their community as well as in society- for equality, access to a decent and qualified work, and for participation in the different domains. For instance, on an international scale, the *International Romà Women's Network (IRWN)* is creating a virtual network to organise actions and generate projects of intervention and research.

From feminism, Romaní associations see their voices, interests and demands taken into account in feminism, which is based on the dialogic approach (Beck-Gernsheim, Butler, Puigvert 2001)³⁷. Dialogic feminism in which the different identities are reflected represents the ideal framework for the fight for equality between men and women. Furthermore, it represents the context to state the different contributions (non-hierarchical and solidarity based work and family organisation, reaching agreements for coexistence, respect for the elderly, the role of Romaní women in the transformation of the Romà, connection between the individual and the collective, etc.) of Romaní women. Romaní women are being the catalysts for transformation and agents for social and educational change for their community, and together with men they are participating in debates, conferences, seminars, to attain more egalitarian relationships and overcome situations of exclusion, without giving up the Romaní identity.

*Romaní women, we are fighting, fighting for our reality to be seen, so that both non Romaní women and men see what we are able to do and how we do it. We want our needs to be taken into account, what we want and how we want it*³⁸. (Drom Kotar Mestipen 2001)

3.8.4. Culture

Education as an opening for social inclusion

Education for children is very important, they want to go to school all year round and it is important for them. (Romí)

Training is one of the keys to overcoming inequalities and to inclusion into the different spheres. In this sense, everyone of us: people and cultural groups have the right to a quality training that makes it possible for us to have access to a decent job and to be part of the Knowledge Society.

Some of the different guidelines of the European Union³⁹ and the contributions of the fieldwork carried out are in this line. In this sense, the training has to attend to the needs of the people and the groups, learning and continuous and actualised self-learning for all

³⁷ We can find the approach of dialogic feminism in: a) Puigvert, L. (2001) *Las otras mujeres*, El Roure, Barcelona, b) Beck-Gernsheim, E.; Butler, J; Puigvert, L. (2001): *Mujeres y transformaciones sociales*, El Roure, Barcelona.

³⁸ Drom Kotar Mestipen, I Jornadas de Trabajo: les Dones Gitanes de Barcelona al segle XXI. 30 de novembre de 2001 (I Seminar about Barcelona Romís in the XXIst century). Barcelona: Parc Científic de Barcelona.

³⁹ White Paper on Education and Training. Teaching and Learning. (1995) Por una Europa del conocimiento (1997), Making a European Lifelong Learning a Reality (2001), e-Europe 2002 una sociedad de la información para todos.

people of all ages, the adaptation to labour, social and cultural changes and to the possibility of access to qualified jobs and a good quality of life.

From Romaní women's associations⁴⁰, seriously excluded from training⁴¹, actions are being taken in order to emphasise the importance of an education of maximums, the access to training, the incorporation to decent and egalitarian conditions in the labour market and the recognition of their culture. Apart from influencing the vision about the Romaní community, they are helping to overcome the stereotypes about this community (Sánchez 2003⁴²).

Examples of actions of Romaní women in the educational sector can be found in: the Grupo Promotor FSGG (FSGG promoting group), that organises programmes of scholarships and courses for the development of new occupations; the Romaní Women's Association Drom Kotar Mestipen⁴³ that is demanding for right to a quality education so that Romaní girls and women can have access to higher education and participate in the labour market, in more egalitarian conditions; the federation of Romaní women KAMIRA; and the association of Romaní University women from Andalucía AMURADI.

Education as an opening to the labour inclusion

Some of the proposals arising through the fieldwork, from the professional training sphere state the need for taking into account emerging profiles and professions that are arising in today's society, rejecting training that does not serve for gaining real access to the labour market:

*Here what it is intended to do is what we call training à la carte. It is a bit to see what is demanded both from the users and by the enterprises.
Not making training just because. (Romí)*

⁴⁰ In Spain, Romaní associationism arose in the 60's. Romaní women who were already taking part in associations and spaces, founded the first association of Romaní women: *Romí*, in Granada in 1990.

⁴¹ Only 1% of the Romà has access to University training (Carmen Santiago in: Marcos (2001): "Gitanas en el Congreso payo. Nueve mujeres romanís piden a la presidenta del Congreso educación para sus hijos". En *El País*, June 16, 2001, El País, Madrid.

More about the situation of Romaní women to be found: a) in the project: *Brudila Callí*, where the school drop of Romaní girls and adolescents is analysed and alternatives for overcoming this situation is presented. CREA (2001- 2003): *Brudila Calli: Las mujeres gitanas contra la exclusión. Superación del absentismo y fracaso escolar de las niñas y adolescentes gitana*,. I+D+I, Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, Instituto de la Mujer, b) CREA (2002- 2004): *Callí Butipen. Mujer gitana y mercado laboral*. I+D+I Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, Instituto de la Mujer.

⁴² Sánchez, M. (2003): "Las mujeres gitanas superando la exclusión social" en *V Jornadas de Cambio Educativo y Social. Comunidades de aprendizaje: calidad para todos y todas*. Barcelona, April 7 and 8, 2003.

⁴³ Drom Kotar Mestipen (2001): Seminar proceedings: I Seminar about Barcelona Romaní women in the 21st century. Barcelona. <http://www.dromkotar.org>

Many of the employees also state that the updating of vocational training is based on interactive learning that is given in the work place and in the establishment of networks of solidarity. This helps to develop both the predisposition for learning and the opening to different situations; these being the aspects that are referred to and demanded in the current hiring conditions.

I think that the dynamics that are being searched nowadays, always ask people to be open, with a predisposition for learning and without any sort of complex to be able to be dealing with diverse and good people, always open to any sort of situations. (Rom).

On the other hand, there are actions of labour insertion from Romaní women as in the case of the *Course for leisure time trainers* organised by the Romaní Women's Association Drom Kotar Mestipen. It focuses on fostering the inclusion of the voice and the involvement of Romaní women (mothers, grandmothers) in education centres for formal and non-formal education, so that they serve as models for Romaní children and in order to incorporate elements of their own culture.

Education as a promoter of multicultural coexistence

Another of the training aspects that are highlighted in the fieldwork carried out is related to the knowledge of the different cultures and the opening towards the multicultural coexistence.

Coexistence and education is the only combination for achieving deep social education. (Rom)

As today's society is more and more like this, but we should acquire more knowledge when dealing with one another, within the training that currently teaches us certain contents in some subject then it is simply that you know the cultures that there are in Spain, the ones with which we work, perhaps just norms for coexistence. (Romí)

Romaní associationism⁴⁴ plays a key role for the inclusion of the Romà and the promotion of its culture. Many of the Romaní associations are characterised by decentralisation and solidarity, and by contributing to overcoming barriers that prevent access to the labour market and participation in different spheres, insisting on the importance of the training processes:

⁴⁴ Examples of this are: Romaní General Secretariat in Spain, that participates in the ACCEDER programme, which acts above all in the hiring of Romà in different jobs.

All the Romani associations in Spain are fighting for this, for the Rom to study and study and study. (Rom)

All these contributions, along with the ones that highlight the values and abilities of the Romani community like interactions based on solidarity and the role of women, respect for the elderly, are showing us elements geared towards the equality of differences, towards the possibility of equal of rights and the respect for cultural identities.

From this perspective, there are successful educational experiences, like the project *Comunidades de Aprendizaje*⁴⁵ or Learning Communities (Elboj et al. 2001), with the objective of reaching inclusion, multicultural coexistence, equality of results and a learning of maximums, through the interaction of all the pupils in the classroom and the participation of the community and the different entities and administrations.

⁴⁵ Elboj, C; Puigdemívol, I; Soler, M; Valls, R. (2002): *Comunidades de Aprendizaje. Transformar la educación*, Graó, Barcelona. More information can be obtained about this project and about other community educational experiences: <http://www.comunidadesdeaprendizaje.net>.

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

This section is divided in three sections: a) the main conclusions of the project, b) new questions that have arisen after the research and c) the proposed policies that have emerged from the results.

1. Conclusions

In referring to the conclusions of the research, we initially want to emphasise the importance of the communicative methodology.

The Framework of the critical communicative paradigm contributes to the study of social exclusion and its overcoming.

- With the critical communicative methodology, exclusionary researches have been surpassed. In particular, researches based on communicative methodologies overcome those research works that have not considered the voices of Romà in the whole research process and that do not propose alternatives for the social exclusion of the Romà or of other underprivileged cultural minorities.
- Communicative organisation is established in the project for example with multicultural research teams. This organisation guarantees: egalitarian participation, the overcoming of an instrumentalisation of the research, the increase of solidarity, social transformation and social cohesion.

The establishment of an egalitarian and intersubjective dialogue in the research between Romà and non-Romà to ensure the objectivity of the results

- The inclusion of Romà voices and of different types of knowledge in the research ensures the objectivity of the results⁴⁶. The inter-subjectivity of all the different agents favours the creation of objective knowledge.
- Egalitarian dialogue ensures a process in which different types of knowledge coming as much from science as from experience, practice and interaction contribute to the creation of new knowledge.
- Egalitarian dialogue between members of the scientific community and who are involved in the study of reality brings up the universal dimension to the study.

⁴⁶ Romà researchers, Advisory Council, Romani associations from different European countries, socio-cultural associations, territory teams from the University scientific community.

- By identifying the **exclusionary and transformative dimensions**. In addition to the study of those barriers that impede some people and collectives from social opportunities, a study of social transformation dimensions is also included (that is to say, processes and elements that favour their access). These dimensions, related to employment and the Romà socio-economic needs, are placed into the following subsystems: economy, politics, culture and societal community.
- The communicative analysis of the skills and needs of Romà people overcomes the unilaterality of expert knowledge, something that has previously been done in traditional research.

After emphasising these aspects of the methodology, we highlight the following conclusions of the results:

A Romà analysis of the transition from the industrial to the information society

- In addition to training and employment, policies analysis, a review of the scientific literature, the contributions of the Advisory Council have been included. These contributions refer to the Romà community experiences in the passing from the Industrial Society to the Knowledge Society and their current situation. These contributions offer a new and unbiased approach for overcoming the constant discrimination of the Romà community in research and therefore, also in Society.
- The explanation of the Romà community's position in the passing from the Industrial Society to the Knowledge Society and at present is made from a trans-national European perspective. It can also be applied to the experiences of other cultural minorities.

Barriers for the Romà community to access the labour market in the Knowledge society

- There exist **discriminatory and racist practices and attitudes** in the access and maintenance of an employment, held by business people, employers and educators:
 - Exclusionary generalizations of individual attitudes to the entire Romà Community.
 - Rejection in the hiring of a person because of their physical appearance.

- The assignment of jobs and tasks irrespective of the qualification and academic degree that is held.
- The devaluation of the Romaní culture.
- Explicit and implicit internal norms of not hiring Romà and members from particular cultural groups.
- **The Romaní Community is excluded from the formal labour market, even though they have the skills that are demanded in the Knowledge Society.** Competencies (such as flexibility, self-employment and cooperative team work) that are demanded in the current labour market, and which many Romà are in possession of, are not being considered in the access proposals for the Romaní community to the labour market nor in vocational training.
- Labour inclusion programmes aimed at the Romaní community only focus on low skilled jobs.
- Policies stemming from a social assistance perspective and with an assimilatory nature.
- Negative images and the reproduction of stereotypes about the Romà in the media.
- Ignorance, discrimination and disrespect of the Romaní culture by mainstream society.
- **Educational segregation.** A great number of Romaní students are doomed to paths of low academic education by reason of pertaining to a cultural group. In a learning of minimums, where their abilities are not considered, these students are prevented from going on to higher education; damning them not to access high skilled jobs.

<p>Avenues for the Romà to access the labour market in the Knowledge Society</p>

- Two main vehicles for Romà social and labour inclusion: The work of Romaní associationism and the inclusion of the Romí (Romaní woman) in education and in the labour market. Social and labour inclusion.
 - The associations and Romí are contributing to the social labour transformation and to the overcoming of the inequalities facing their people: promoting training courses that include the Romaní culture, demanding a quality

education for Romà children that allows them access qualified positions of work, including programs that guarantee Romaní women access to education and employment in conditions of equality.

- Romí – together with the men – are participating in debates, seminars and conferences with the objective of overcoming processes of inequality and social, cultural and labour exclusion, without having to renounce the Romaní identity.
- One of the ways of overcoming the socio-labour exclusion of the Romà consists of the establishment of European policies of access to the labour market that are based on social inclusion and counting on the participation of the Romà.
- To obtain social and labour inclusion of the Romà and to fight ethnic discrimination, education must promote a **learning of maximums** and the **access to higher educational studies**.
- **The organisation of educational centre has to be open to the participation of the families and the community:** volunteers from the community, interactive groups in the same classroom, incorporating different cultures into the school curriculum to learn about them and to open the way to co-existence, and hiring teachers from different cultural minorities. European and State educational policies have to bear in mind these elements to achieve social and labour success for everyone.
- One of the elements for achieving social and labour inclusion is the obtaining of higher education degrees. To carry this out, it is necessary to create **inclusive paths for the access to higher education**.
- **Institutional recognition of the Romà and the recognition of citizens' rights** for cultural groups. After this preliminary step, the development and implementation of specific policies may arise.
- The political and institutional measures for the labour inclusion of the Romaní Community, and of other cultural groups, has to be based on **successful experiences** that consider the following aspects:
 - Egalitarian participation of all groups, cultures and collectives in the elaboration of employment programmes.
 - Accreditation of prior experience.

- Inclusion in the ICT sector.
 - Affirmative action policies.
 - Accreditation of academic qualification.
 - The promotion of businesses with new organisational and financial formulas (family businesses, self-employment, franchises, etc).
- Labour policies have to connect with: labour market demands, recognition of competencies acquired through practice and experience, emerging labour profiles, programmes generating quality employment, quality education throughout one's whole life.
 - Academic, practical and cooperative skills are being asked for in the labour market. So it is in this respect that Romà are asking that cultural intelligence should be considered. In addition they are also demanding the **recognition of skills learnt in different contexts**, as ways of promoting the inclusion of different cultural groups.

The Romà Community have developed different skills that coincide with those that are being demanded in the Knowledge Society labour market

- Education needs to contemplate the emerging profiles and employment sites. For the possibility of Romà people opting for qualified positions from developed skills, the analysis of emerging professional profiles is the key to achieving this education from a transformative perspective, to overcoming existing prejudices about this Community and to eliminate education that does not have any real use for access the current labour market.
- The relationships established by the Romà in the extended family, in the community, in associations as well as the different jobs they have traditionally carried out, have favoured the learning of a series of skills, with solidarity being the transverse linking element.
 - Cooperative teamwork based on horizontal network of solidarity.
 - The use of arguments and dialogue to reach agreements and to settle different situations of daily life and work life.
 - The capacity to be multi-functional.

- The ability to adapt to changes and a flexibility of working hours.
- Intercultural competencies
- **The fact that Romà people are not, nor demand their right to be, connected to a specific territory, has favoured the development of their capacity for openness and autonomy.**

The skills that have been developed by the Romà are transferable to the Knowledge Society labour market and to cultural and social fields.

- Through the establishment of horizontal and supportive organisation networks, it is possible to overcome the constant exclusion of the Romaní community in a society where a plurality of different culture and lifestyles predominates (and is considered a viable possibility). The interaction between different people and cultures need not provoke conflict. On the contrary, it has the potential for inter-subjectivity based on equality and respect of differences. Compared with previous times, the present multicultural reality makes it possible to have more equal relations in different contexts of participation.
- **The Romaní Community contributes transformative elements to the labourmarket, social cohesion and multicultural coexistence.**
 - Horizontal organisation (something which is used by the Romaní community in different fields) considers the ability to work cooperatively and in a team and involves putting into practice: processes of dialogue and consensus, the overcoming of individualistic and competitive dynamics, the improving of the work environment. In turn, this horizontal organisation contributes transformative elements for interpersonal relations, social cohesion and for multicultural coexistence.
 - The Romaní Community can contribute transformative aspects to society such as family and work organization characterised by horizontality and solidarity, the possibility to reach agreements about coexistence by means of dialogue, respect for elders, the role of Romaní women in the transformation of the Romà, and the connection between private and collective matters.
- **Cultures are dynamic:** in multicultural coexistence an inter-subjective process of knowledge, action and change occurs. Multicultural coexistence has to include cultural contents and human rights, reflection and egalitarian dialogue in the establishment of social norms. In this process, people have to design ways and

means that foster consensus and that promote social and labour inclusion from equality of differences.

- The inclusive dimensions in multicultural coexistence and social cohesion are: knowledge and respect of different cultures based on the equality of differences, being open to the richness that diversity contributes, equal rights, and lastly the design and definition of projects and the means to carry these out that stem from a process of egalitarian dialogue.

From the point of view of equality of differences, from the opening of the dynamic and open character of different cultures and their cultural richness, their cultural intelligence and the abilities and skills they possess – and not their deficits- a change in the attitudes and expectations about the different cultural groups will be possible.

2. Emergent questions and further developments

Having indicated the current situation of the Romà in the European labour market and the existence of ethnic discrimination as being one of the key dimensions of social exclusion, we want to highlight the need to carry out different steps to be followed in the construction of a Europe that is committed to social cohesion and the social inclusion of cultural minorities, as stated in the Summit in Lisbon (2000).

In the case of the Romani community, besides official recognition of the Romà people in the European Parliament and in the Parliaments of different E.U. member states, it is necessary to carry out extensive social research that considers:

- a) The present situation of the Romà in all fields (housing, health, work, education, etc.)
- b) Current European policies.
- c) Direct and indirect participation of Romà people in research through the communicative methodology.

Thanks to these aspects, integral and inter-departmental social policies in the European context can be made from this research or from scientific research.

In the Workaló project, a few actions have been pointed out which can promote the labour inclusion of Romà people. These policies are the following:

3. Policy implications on the three domains: State, Work and Civil society

Based on the conclusions reaches above, Workaló project has been able to make the following recommendations:

3.1. European and State domain

Institutional recognition of the Romà.

In some regions where the Romà have been recognised as a people, as is the case in Catalonia, inter-departmental programmes have been created to put an end to their social exclusion. This recognition is a demand that comes from the Romaní Community itself. For example, in the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance held in Durban in 2001, the Romaní Union, in collaboration with other Romaní organisations from different parts of the world, presented a statement that was emphasising the desire that the Romà population be recognised world-wide as a people with their own voice⁴⁷. Other examples are the statements of Romà people interviewed that advocate this recognition:

I really hope that in the 21st century Romà people will be recognised. Because insofar as the Romaní community is concerned, I am convinced that the institutional recognition will remove all the obstacles which, up until now, have prevented us from escaping this situation of exclusion and marginalisation in identity, housing, employment. etc. (Rom)

This institutional recognition is a step towards a major social cohesion. Coexistence between cultural groups creates the need for revising and generating new norms where differences are observed and respected without hiding inequalities or injustices. Due to the historical discrimination Romà have faced, it is necessary to acknowledge the fact that Romà are in a disadvantaged position. It is important to start from the equal basis for the inclusion and institutional recognition of different cultures. Creating channels of dialogue between the institutions and associations turns into a key element for a socially cohesive Europe.

Eliminating ethnic discrimination from European educational and employment systems: Equality of differences.

The existence of ethnic discrimination is a clear fact in education and in the labour market, as has been highlighted in the project. In turn, implicit and explicit racial

⁴⁷ This statement can be found at: <http://www.unionromani.org/new2001-09-03.htm>

behaviour has obvious social consequences for some cultural minorities such as the Romaní community.

Ethnic discrimination is displayed through different ways that perpetuate social inequality:

- a) On the one hand, giving response to cultural diversity through unequal treatment of the minorities. For example, it is often the case that when justifying the guidance of young Moroccans or Romà towards lower level tracks, the preferences of these young people are not considered, nor is the fact that they can have access to university studies.
- b) And on the other hand, linking illiteracy and poverty as intrinsic facts of the Romaní culture. In this way, their exclusion is justified as an own cultural fact that reproduces social inequalities.

In this respect, to avoid ethnic discrimination the European Directives 2000/43/CE⁴⁸ and 2000/78/CE⁴⁹, which condemn any type of discrimination by ethnic or cultural reasons in the labour market, are good instruments. Even so, the fight against ethnic discrimination needs to be continued, not only with the generation of laws that forbid it, but also through policies that take into account the effects of discrimination in education and in the labour market.

Affirmative action policies in the educational systems.

The representatives from the Romaní community in the Workaló Advisory Council see affirmative action as a mechanism that can improve their educational problem.

There exist affirmative action experiences in the USA and in Romania regarding the Romaní Community specifically that work with the idea of compensating the effects of discrimination that some cultural minorities have suffered from. For instance, the affirmative action in Romania consists of reserving university places for Romà students in areas such as education, social work, law, economics, music or philology. As well as carrying out this system in Romania, affirmative action with the Romaní Community or with other cultural minorities can be implemented without the need of establishing quotas. For example, primary and secondary schools and universities can actively

⁴⁸ Directive of the Council, June 29, 2000, relative to the Application of the Principles of Equal Treatment regardless of their racial and ethnic origin.

⁴⁹ Directive of the Council, November 27, 2000, relative to the Establishment of a General Framework for Equal Treatment in Employment and Occupation

participate in the inclusion of these minorities by considering not only their academic qualifications but also their socio-economic background.

In the case of the Romà, this sort of action has to start from the initial stages of the educational systems, since school failure of Romaní children starts to appear in these stages. In this respect, the project's Advisory Council reached the conclusion that one of the measures to apply in Europe can be the *Percent Plans* that are being implemented in the states of California, Florida and Texas. These programmes consist of admitting a percentage of the best students of certain minority groups, through a scholarship system, into high schools and public universities.

A high quality education with maximum learning.

The Workaló project starts from the premise that the acquisition of academic skills by the Romà is necessary for them to find high skilled jobs. In this sense, educational institutions have to consider the demands from Romaní movements and Romà people when they say that they prefer high skilled jobs or training courses that can guarantee their access to employment.

In this respect, educational systems have to take into account those successful educational experiences based on high expectations. Experiences such as *Learning Communities* (Spain), *Accelerated Schools* (USA), *School Development Programme* (USA) or *Success for All* (USA) are overcoming inequalities, offering the same expectations for Romà or Afro-American children as for the rest of the students.

These experiences bear in mind the following inclusive dimensions:

- a) The opening of decision-making in educational centres to the participation of the families and the community.
- b) The inclusion of volunteers from different cultures in the classroom.
- c) The organisation of the classroom into interactive groups.
- d) The inclusion of different cultures, including the Romaní, into the curriculum.
- e) The hiring of Romà teachers and those from other cultural minorities.
- f) The promoting of a teaching of maximums in which Romaní children, like other children, can aspire to studying at university.

3.2. Work/Economic domain

Widening access to the European labour market: recognising the skills that Romà have developed.

The Romà have developed a series of skills and abilities required by the Knowledge Society that are not recognised as such. In this sense, the very Romaní people are demanding to the public institutions that they recognise these skills and that they are complemented with the training of academic skills for them to have access to high skilled jobs.

In this line, it becomes necessary to create European guidelines based on prior experience:

The APL policies, implemented in countries such as France, Finland and United Kingdom, could foster social inclusion of the Romaní community if they would be implemented from a European perspective and they would have as a main objective those socially vulnerable groups. It would be also necessary that these actions would not only recognise the skills that Romaní people have developed throughout their lives but would also offer the opportunity to have access to Higher studies. In the project, we have been able to confirm that the Romà that have been interviewed bear in mind the need to obtain Higher studies to attain a high skilled job.

Creation of Romaní franchises.

With the travelling sales currently in crisis, it is believed to be necessary to find new formulas to foster social inclusion of Romaní people taking into account the skills they have developed. Which sort of emerging companies can take into account the skills developed by the Romaní people?

Franchises can represent this opportunity. The creation of Romaní franchises can offer not only employment to Romaní people and families in relation with the skills they have developed through the travelling sales but also through breaking the existing prejudices towards Romaní people fostering a positive social image. In this sense, the Romaní franchise:

- **Foster the access to the labour market**
- **They maintain the Romaní identity**
- **Improve the image of the Romaní community**

During these last three years, projects aimed at promoting self-employment of cultural minorities as a form of overcoming social exclusion have been identified. They all take into account skills such as a natural way with people or traditional autonomy developed by the Romà in social and labour contexts. An example of this kind of project is the *Romaní City* in Barcelona.

The Romaní City project is aimed at promoting economic development of the Romà by the creation of jobs in the tertiary sector, such as hotel trade, sales and working with the public. The project sets out various phases that start with the opening of a luxury Romaní restaurant that will give priority to employ Romaní youth. Subsequent phases include the creation of shopping malls through a system of franchises of a registered Romaní brand; the creation of cafes-restaurants; and finally, a Romaní museum. Through this sort of projects, priorities set in the European employment plans such as the promoting of new employment profiles or labour insertion for the most disadvantaged workers are supported. All these are Romà-led initiatives that attempt to make Romà labour insertions possible in the emerging jobs.

Inclusion of the Romà in the ICT sector.

In the ICT sector, one of the sectors where we currently find more new employment sites has to take the Romà into account. Many Romà that were interviewed in the project state that this sector can be an occupational opportunity for many Romaní people, not only in those jobs that do not require a high academic qualification, but also in the ones that do demand it. Therefore, political guidelines are needed to promote the inclusion of the Romani people and other cultural minorities in the ICT sector.

Affirmative action policies in the labour market.

If the Romaní people as well as other cultural minorities have more difficulties to access employment due to the racist stereotypes that we have highlighted in Workaló, policies that are taking into account this inequality in the access to the labour market, become essential. Just as in the case of women affirmative actions have been generated to foster employment due to the sexist discrimination suffered by women, in the Romaní case, several affirmative actions can be fostered. Some of them are:

- a) To reserve places in public employment for cultural minorities, such as the Romaní community, that have difficulties of access to the labour market due to the racist stereotypes.
- b) In the private sector, deductions can be done to those companies that can hire Romaní people or from other cultural minorities. These measures of tax

deduction are being carried out with vulnerable groups such as youth, women or disabled people.

As well as these measures, political actions can also be promoted in order to promote the staff selection in companies taking into account the ethnicity as well as other personal situations (for instance socio-economic ones) that can have an influence in the access to a job. Private and public enterprises can work in programmes with schools with Romani students to foster their access to the labour market.

Promoting the presence of Romi (Romani women) in the labour market: The catalysts for their community's transformation.

The Romani women have overcome twofold discrimination: by reason of gender and by reason of ethnic origin. Romani women play a key role in the social transformation of the Romani community. They are overcoming the stereotypes that exist about themselves about the fact that they are subordinated to the men and concerned only with their families. On the contrary, these women declare they have an active role both in their family environment as well as in the creation of associations for the improvement of their situation and to actively report the violations of the human rights.

A contribution from the Romani community to the knowledge society: making job obligations compatible with family commitments.

One of the contributions of the Romani community to the mainstream society is finding innovative ways to combine a job whilst maintaining family commitments. This aspect continues to be one of the political struggles for many Romà and non-Romà men and women. This combination has been made possible in the case of the Romà by carrying out tasks or jobs in which the whole family, or a part of it, has participated. This is what has traditionally occurred in travelling sales. The foundation of this kind of family collaboration is strong solidarity.

In this sense, the political proposals mentioned for the creation of businesses and franchises can lead to a major labour inclusion, what the Romà have been carrying out for years: Employment without having to give up family.

3.3. Civil Society domain

Romà must be able to collaborate directly and actively in designing employment measures.

Romaní institutions should collaborate with the European, national and regional institutions in the elaboration of public policies. In this sense, participation channels should be created so that the civil society, through the Romaní associations and those of other cultural minorities can take part of these decision-making processes.

One of the contributions that the Romà interviewed propose is to improve social and labour inclusion actions, meaning that their voice and participation must be taken into account. This would foster the improvement of the functioning and the efficiency of the administrations, as the actions would not arise only from the voices of the hegemonic culture.

The racist and exclusionary situations can be surpassed when the Romà are active subjects of the political decisions and the educational and employment policies that are carried out for them. According to Romaní people interviewed, the labour market and training courses access have not been guaranteed when only the officers have created actions and programmes. A step beyond must be taken in order to carry out more cooperative proceedings, where knowledge about the demands of the market and the needs of the Romà is present.

To conclude, it is not only that the Romà are asking for direct participation in the political decisions and in the European institutions but it is the projects and proposals that include their voices that are being successful in achieving their social inclusion.

4. Overview of the measures necessary to widen the labour opportunities of the Romà, and other cultural minorities

General	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Official Recognition of the Romà. - Eliminating ethnic discrimination from European educational and employment systems. 	
Educational field	Labour market field
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Recognition of cultural diversity in all the aspects of the experience of students (curriculum, organization, timetable, calendar...etc.). - Romaní teachers and staff in educational centres. - Programmes to foster the participation of Romaní families in educational centres. - High quality (interactive, dialogic, intercultural, based on solidarity and sustainable) learning to access the labour market with success and to participate in socio-cultural activities. - Learning based on high expectations: all Romaní children can access university. - Promotion of lifelong learning policies: attaining qualification throughout life. - Guaranteeing the acquisition of academic skills: to overcome racist prejudices so that Romaní people can access new and high-qualified jobs. - Affirmative action policies in the educational system. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Widening access to the learning of new communication technologies and to related jobs. - Development of European guidelines to accredit the abilities and competences acquired through previous experiences. The accreditation process will not only open up more ways in the labour market but will also further access to higher education. - New employment programmes to promote the creation of Romaní franchises in which the Romà take the lead role in all their aspects. - The creation of labour insertion programmes in collaboration with Romaní associations. This collaboration will make it possible to taking into account the interests and expectations of the people for whom they are intended. - The creation of training programmes for jobs related to the ICT sector, which are at the same time bridges for university access. - Affirmative action measures in the labour market targeting specifically the Romà and other cultural minorities.

V. DISSEMINATION AND EXPLOITATION OF RESULTS

		Activity	Description
Transversal dissemination		Advisory Council: This group is composed by Romani people, Arab-muslims and participants in adult education. They meet each other in order to observe and check the results obtained.	Since the beginning of the project, meetings with the several work teams have been held. They will continue along the current 2004 and till the end of Workaló. These teams, composed by people from diverse social spheres, have made valuable contributions not only from an academic perspective, but also from the experience of the social movements and Gypsy individuals.
		Catalonia team: This team, which gets together once every three months, is composed by researchers from different Catalan universities.	Besides these permanent collaborations, we have also done teams for concrete tasks. In Spain, a national team of people from different universities got together to collaborate specifically in the WP4. The contributions from this team were very useful for the analysis and the carrying out of the fieldwork
		National team: This team – formed by several researchers from different parts of Spain – met in June 2003 to exchange opinions on the project, on how it was functioning and on the results that were appearing.	
		Web-site and database	Updating of web site and database on: http://www.neskes.net/workalo

Project presentation	<p>Multiculturalism and social cohesion in Europe. The Gypsy⁵⁰ Community Case</p> <p>in the "Afternoons of European Research": OPER (Office of European Research Projects of UB " March 20th, 2002</p> <p>European Commission Office (Barcelona - Spain)</p>	<p>The main researchers from two of the participant countries were present in this presentation: Teodor M Alexiu (Romania) and Peter Jarvis (United Kingdom). These researchers talked about the situation of the Romaní Community in their respective countries and the contributions that Workaló can make to improve it. From CREA, Ramón Flecha and Julio Vargas participated and, after referring to the general situation of the Romaní Community, they focused their intervention in the communicative methodology in which the Workaló project is based and emphasized the participation of the Romaní people, linking the contributions this project offers with the social cohesion in Europe. The event had the participation of researchers and professors of the University of Barcelona, from the Ramon Llull University, members of the UNESCO and professionals that work in the labour insertion of excluded groups. It also had the presence and the enriching contributions from members of the Romaní Community and from the Advisory Council of the project.</p>
Workshops	<p>Seminar: A Comunidade Cigana: Conhecer para Intervir</p> <p>27th of February 2003</p> <p>Instituto Cervantes (Lisbon – Portugal)</p>	<p>This seminar was organized by ISSSCoop-Cooperativa de Ensino Superior Intervenção Social. The seminar was held at the Instituto Cervantes de Lisboa, gathering representatives of ISSSCoop, Instituto Cervantes and the High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities. Presenters included Fernanda Reis of the Obra Nacional da Pastoral dos Ciganos, Augusto Sousa from Rumo-Cooperativa de Solidariedade Social, CRL, Manuela Marinho and Inés Amaro of ISSScoop, Adérito Montes as representative of the Romaní Community from Portugal, Jesús Gómez Alonso and Julio Vargas from CREA (Centre of Research in Theories and Practices that Overcome Inequalities). The seminar was a first step towards the reality of and research with the Romaní Community in Portugal.</p>

⁵⁰ *Gypsy* was the initial denomination in 2002, and then we changed the term *Gypsy* to *Romà*, according to vindication made in the Durban World Conference against Racism, held in 2001. In this Conference, the Romaní NGO,s agreed to use the term *Romà* to refer to all groups (gypsy people, romà, romanies, gitano, sinti and nomads). (Romaní Union, 2001)

	<p><i>Voices of cultural minorities in scientific research Seminar</i></p> <p>March 6, 2004</p> <p>École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (Paris - France)</p>	<p>This seminar presented the interventions of speakers such as Alain Touraine, Michel Wiewiorka, and Ramón Flecha. This workshop was the result of the work done by CREA, in which CADIS collaborated. The lines of research of CREA and CADIS involve an important contribution to the knowledge and overcoming of the social problems suffered by cultural minorities in Europe. This Workshop created a space to foster quality research within the field of cultural minorities. It presented the research of Workaló as an example of inclusion of the voices of cultural minorities, gathering their contributions through their participation in the research process, and promoted the research by young researchers in this field.</p>
	<p>Workaló Workshop in Spain</p> <p>April 29, 2004</p> <p>European Commission Office (Barcelona-Spain)</p>	<p>April 29th, the presentation of the Workaló project results was held at the Office of the European Commission in Barcelona. As well as presenting those results and making political proposals, workshops linked with education, labour, politics and Romaní women were also held. The event counted on the participation of many people (Romaní and non-Romaní) from the scientific, public administration officers and political worlds.</p>
	<p>Workaló Workshop in Romania</p> <p>May 26, 2004</p> <p>West University of Timisoara (Timsoara-Romania)</p>	<p>The Workshop of Timisoara where Workaló was presented along with its significance for the Romaní Community took place the day prior to the 5th International Meeting. At this seminar, the system of affirmative action that the Rumanian Government is carrying out with the Romaní Community was presented. The Workaló project was also introduced and opinions were exchanged between different Romanian Romà.</p>
	<p>Workaló Workshop in UK</p> <p>June 28, 2004</p> <p>(London-United Kingdom)</p>	<p>In the United Kingdom seminar held in London, the main results of the project were presented. This seminar counted on the participation of the research team from the University of Surrey coordinated by Nick Walters, had also the presence of Thomas Acton from the University of Greenwich and Julio Vargas from CREA – Universitat de Barcelona.</p>

	<p>Brussels Conference</p> <p>September 29, 2004</p> <p>Eastman Building European Parliament (Brussels-Belgium)</p>	<p>On September the 29th, the presentation of the results from the RTD Workaló research took place in the Eastman building of the European Parliament. The Conference was divided into different parts: a) the presentation of the research, b) the presentation of the results found, c) a vision of the present situation and the future prospects of the Romà, and d) the presentation of the proposed policies that are derived from the research results.</p> <p>The Conference was attended by a wide audience which included Members of the European Parliament (MEP), assistants of the MEPs, advisors from European political parties, representatives from the General Directorates of Employment and Social Affairs, Education and Culture and Research from the European Commission, representatives from the Council of Europe, consultancy firms, Romani Associations, NGOs working with Romani people and representatives from international organisations such as ILO (International Labour Organisation) or CEDEFOP (European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training), among other organisations. More information about it can be found in the proceedings set as an annex to this final report.</p>
Publications	<p>Gómez, J. & Vargas, J. (2003). Why Romà do not like mainstream schools: Voices of a people without territory. <i>Harvard Educational Review</i>, vol. 73, núm. 4, winter 2003, pp.559-590. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.</p>	<p>This article opens doors so that other scientists that are researching with cultural minorities know communicative methodology as a method of research that guarantees scientific quality, starting from the participation of minorities in the research process. We also wish to highlight that Harvard Educational Review is the journal with the greatest circulation in Education internationally.</p>
	<p>Mircea Alexiu, T. (2003). The Gypsy Community Excluded from the Knowledge Society? – in <i>Journal of Educational Sciences</i>, year IV, nr. 1-2 (6-7), Timisoara Ed. West University.</p>	
	<p>Amaro, I & Marinho, M. (2003). Os Ciganos em Portugal – aproximação I” in <i>Revista Intervenção Social</i>, nr. 27. Lisbon: ISSSCoop.</p>	
	<p>AA.VV. (2004). Workaló. <i>Àmbits</i>. Review of the Col-legi de sociòlegs i politòlegs de Catalunya (COLPIS). Barcelona: COLPIS.</p>	<p>Publication of a monograph composed by 5 articles related to the Workaló project in the Àmbits review. This monographic aims at explaining the research and its goals, as well as disseminating the importance of including the voices of the people participating in research to obtain rigorous and quality results.</p>
	<p>Touraine, A; Wieviorka, M; Flecha, R. et al. (2004)</p>	<p>This book is fruit of the Voices of cultural minorities in scientific research Seminar held in</p>

	<p><i>Conocimiento e identidad. Voces de los grupos culturales en la investigación social.</i> Barcelona: El Roure editorial.</p>	<p>the EHES in Paris. The texts from this book focuses on the Workaló project dealing with the need to overcome stereotypes that have been the base of many publications about the Romani people.</p>
	<p>AA.VV. (in press) <i>El pueblo gitano en la Europa del s. XXI.</i> Barcelona: El Roure Editorial.</p>	<p>This book has the objective of scientifically disseminating the situation of the Romani Community in Europe and how research on them has been conducted on it. Along the different chapters, the authors will deal with issues like the self-image of the Romani people, the racist images appearing in studies about the Romà, the Workaló project, the analysis of the Information Society made by Romani people, the importance of education as a priority, the overcoming of the labour barriers that the Romani people face, the role of Romani women as catalysts of social transformation, how the issue of the Romà is dealt with in the European policies of social cohesion and, finally, Romani people and affirmative action as a way of transforming situations of exclusion.</p>
	<p>Monographic in Lan-Harremanak, Revista de Relaciones Laborales: Minorías culturales y nuevas tecnologías. Bilbao: Hartu-emanak.</p>	<p>Monograph of the labour relations review of the Universidad del País Vasco about the Workaló project. In this number, 8 articles about the results of the project are published.</p>
Papers	<p>Vargas, J.; Sánchez, M. and Ríos, O. (2001) Nuevos patrones ocupacionales para las minorías culturales: el caso de la comunidad gitana [New occupational patterns for cultural minorities: the Romani community case]. VII Congreso Español de Sociología. Convergencias y divergencias en la sociedad global [8th Spanish Sociology Conference. Convergences and divergences in the global society]. Organised by the Federación Española de Sociología. Salamanca, September 20th-22nd, 2001.</p>	
	<p>Garcia, C; Herrero, C; Prieto, O; and Serrano M. A. (2002) La metodología comunicativa aplicada a la recerca amb minories ètniques [Communicative methodology applied to research with ethnic minorities]. II Congrès de Joves sociòloges/gues de Catalunya [2nd Catalan Conference of young sociologists]. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, December 2002.</p>	
	<p>Flecha, R. (2003) Investigación dialógica. [Dialogic research] 2nd Trijornadas of Adult Democratic Education. Bilbao, June 26th 2003.</p>	
	<p>Herrero, C; Lleras, J; Sordé, T and Vargas, J. (2003) Voces de un pueblo sin territorio [Voices of a people without territory]. 10th Conferencia de Sociología de la Educación [X Conference of Sociology of Education]. Valencia, September 18th-20th 2003.</p>	
	<p>Elboj, C. and Serradell, O. (2003) Social, cultural and educational implications of racism in Europe: from modern to postmodern racism. European Sociological Association Conference. Murcia, September 23rd-27th 2003.</p>	
	<p>Elboj, C. and Vargas, J. (2003) The inclusion of the identity of the Gypsy people within the framework of the information society. European Sociological Association</p>	

	Conference. Murcia, September 23rd-27th 2003.	
	Prieto, O.; Ramis, M.M. and Vargas, J. (2004) Investigación social de calidad. metodología comunicativa y utilidad social [Quality social research, communicative methodology and social utility]. VII Congreso Español de Sociología. Convergencias y divergencias en la sociedad global [VIIIth Spanish Sociology Conference. Convergences and divergences in the global society]. Alicante, 23-25 de septiembre 2004.	
Workaló in press	Article in the newspaper (April 30, 2004)	Article of the Barcelona Workshop in the ABC national newspaper. Madrid, Spain.
	Article in the newspaper (May 2, 2004)	Article of the project results in the regional newspaper El Punt diari.. Barcelona, Spain.
	Interview in a Radio programme (May 3, 2004)	Interview in the Històries programme on ONA CATALANA radio. Barcelona, Spain.
	Interview in a Radio program (May 10, 2004)	Interview in the La lletra petita programme on ONA CATALANA radio. Barcelona, Spain.
	Interview in a Radio program (May 11, 2004)	Interview in the La gent del món programme on Radio 4, Radio Nacional de España. Barcelona, Spain.
	Interview in a magazine (May 17, 2004)	Interview in the "Epoca" magazine. Madrid, Spain.
	Interview in a Radio programme (May 20, 2004)	Interview in a programme on Radio Exterior, Radio Nacional de España. Barcelona, Spain.

VI. REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

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VII. ANNEXES

1. List of Reports done in Workaló project⁵¹

No.	Title of the Deliverable	Month Due	Deliverable
1	State of arts in each country (Theory and literature review)	3	Y
2	European state of the art (Theory and literature review)	3	Y
3	Skills required in the Knowledge Society	5	N
4	1st Progress Report	6	Y
5	Report on educational, employment and training policies in Europe	8	Y
6	Report on Training in Europe	8	N
7	Preliminary view of the professional profiles required in each participating country	8	Y
8	European preliminary view of the professional profiles	8	Y
9	In depth analysis of the employers, trainers and workers' interviews	8	N
10	Preliminary view of the barriers that Romaní people find in the labour market	10	Y
11	Comparative report of the Romaní situation with other ethnic minority groups (WP2)	10	Y
12	2nd Progress Report (Annual)	12	Y
13	Report on the Workaló communicative methodology	18	Y
14	Comparative report of the Romaní situation with other ethnic minority groups (WP4)	18	Y

⁵¹ You can check these reports in the project website: <http://www.neskes.net/workalo>

15	3rd Progress Report	18	Y
16	Report on professional profiles of Romaní people	22	N
17	Communicative analysis of exclusionary and transformative components to the social inclusion of Romaní people	23	Y
18	Transnational comparative analysis report of the needs and skills of Romaní people	24	Y
19	4th Progress Report (Annual)	24	Y
20	Contrast analysis of the exclusionary and transformative components to the social inclusion of Romaní people in each country (WP6)	25	N
21	European Contrast analysis of the exclusionary and transformative components to the social inclusion of Romaní people in each country (WP6)	26	N
22	Draft Guide	27	Y
23	5th Progress report	30	Y
24	Final version of the Guide	31	Y
25	Conclusions and evaluation of the Workshops	34	Y
26	Brussels Conference Proceedings	36	N
27	Final report	36	Y

Y= Yes N= No

2. Analysis grid used in Workaló

	Economy	Politics	Culture	Societal Community
Gender (a), Ethnicity (b), Age (c), Social Class (d), Educational level (e)				
Exclusionary components	1	2	3	4
Transformative components	5	6	7	8

3. International meetings

Nº	Dates	Place	Agenda
1	October, 4 – 6 2001	Barcelona (Spain)	<p>Thursday, October 4th</p> <p>16:00-16:30pm Welcome and partners' introduction</p> <p>16:30-16:45pm Agenda</p> <p>16:45-17:15pm Short introduction to the project</p> <p>17:15-17:30pm Project contract Cooperation Agreement</p> <p>17:30-17:45pm Coffee-break</p> <p>17:45-19:00pm Explaining of and questions about the Theoretical framework</p> <p>Friday, October 5th</p> <p>9:00-9:45am General introduction to all the Work packages</p> <p>9:45-10:30am Work package 1: tasks and timetable Steps to follow in the State of Art</p> <p>10:30-11:00am Coffee-break</p> <p>11:00-12:00am Work package 2: tasks and timetable. Steps to follow in all the reports</p> <p>12:00-13:00pm Work package 3: tasks and timetable</p> <p>13:00-14:00pm Financial aspects of the project</p> <p>14:00-15:30pm Lunch</p> <p>15:30-17:00pm Introduction to the communicative methodology</p> <p>17:00-17:15pm Coffee-break</p> <p>17:15-18:00pm Definition of economic areas (interviews)</p> <p>Saturday, October 6th</p> <p>9:00-11:00am Steps to follow in the fieldwork: outline of the interviews and schedule of analysis</p> <p>11:00-11:30am Coffee-break</p> <p>11:30-12:30pm Proposal of the Workaló website Databases</p> <p>12:30-13:00pm Agreements reached and closing</p>

2	July, 22 - 23 2002	Marseille (France)	<p>Monday, July 22nd</p> <p>9:00-9:30am Welcome and agenda presentation 9:30-11:15am Presentation of WP2 results 11:15-11:45am Coffee-break 11:45-12:00am WP3 presentation 12:00-13:00pm Methodology report: Communicative organisation 13:00 Lunch 15:30-16:30pm Fieldwork: Table of analysis of exclusory and transformative factors 16:30-17:00pm Coffee-break 17:00-18:30pm Fieldwork: Analysis of the skills and needs in the access to the labour market. ANAT (Analysis of the learning needs in the workplace) & ACOT (Analysis of the abilities in the workplace)</p> <p>Tuesday, July 23rd</p> <p>10:00-10:15am Agenda of the day 10:15-11:30am WP4 presentation 11:30-12:00am Coffee-break 12:00-13:00pm Presentation of the ECOBAZ report 13:00pm Lunch 15:00-17:00pm Definition of fieldwork: Communicative discussion groups, daily-life stories and Communicative observation 17:00-17:30pm Coffee-break 17:30-18:00pm Project dissemination: database and website 18:00-18:30pm Project references in our publications 18:30-19:00pm Agreements, proposals and closure</p>
3	February, 2003	Lisbon (Portugal)	<p>Friday, February 28th</p> <p>9:30-9:45am Welcome and agenda presentation 9:45-11:15am Changes in the organisation's development 11:15-11:45am Coffee-break 11:45-13:15pm Presentation of the preliminary results of the WP4 fieldwork 13:15pm Lunch 15:00-16:30pm Discussion on the proposed analysis to develop the fieldwork report 16:30-17:00pm Revision of the WP4 tasks still pending</p> <p>Saturday, February 29th</p> <p>10:15-10:30am Agenda of the day 10:30-11:00am WP5 Presentation 11:00-11:30am Coffee-break 11:30-13:00pm Skills and needs of the Romani community in the WP4 fieldwork 13:00pm Lunch 15:00-16:00pm Project references in our publications 16:00-16:30pm Dissemination of the project 16:30-17:00pm Proposals, agreements and closure</p>

4	October, 24 & 25 2003	Surrey (United Kingdom) (Wates Room, Wates House, University of Surrey Campus) (Old Billiard Room, Guilford Institute)	<p>Friday, October 24th</p> <p>9:00-9:15am Welcome and agenda presentation 9:15-10:30am Development of the project 10:30-11:00am Coffee-break 11:00-11:45am Presentation of the final results obtained through the WP4 fieldwork (barriers) 11:45-12:30pm Guidelines for the WP6 report on exclusionary factors 12:30pm Lunch 14:30-16:30pm Presentation of the WP5 results: skills and needs of the Romà 16:30-17:00pm Presentation of the comparative report on ethnic minorities.</p> <p>Saturday, October 25th</p> <p>9:00-9:15am Agenda of the day 9:15-10:30am Presentation of the guide's structure and agreements 10:30-11:00am Coffee-break 11:00-11:45am Transformative factors: scientific and political proposals 11:45-12:30pm Guidelines for the WP6 report on transformative factors 12:30pm Lunch 14:30-15:30pm Definition of future work and agreements 15:30-17:00pm Scientific dissemination of the project (Books, scientific publications, national workshops, the Voices of Cultural Minorities in scientific research workshop and the Brussels Conference.)</p>
5	May, 27 & 28 2004	Timisoara (Rumania)	<p>Thursday, May 27th</p> <p>9:30-9:45am Welcome and agenda presentation 9:45-10:30am Development of the project and presentation of the WP4 and WP5 carried out in France 10:30-11:00am Coffee-break 11:00-12:30pm Presentation of the WP6 reports (barriers and transformative components) -Romania -Portugal -United Kingdom -Spain 12:30-13:00pm Presentation of the WP6 transnational report (Spain) 13:00pm Lunch 15:00-17:00pm Presentation of the guide and agreements about its dissemination</p> <p>Friday, May 28th</p> <p>9:30-9:45am Agenda of the day 9:45-11:00am Brussels Conference. Presentation of the project and agreements 11:00-11:30am Coffee-break 11:30-12:30pm Presentation of the dissemination done in every country (Workshop, scientific publications, etc.)</p>

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Romania -Spain -United Kingdom -Portugal <p>12:30-13:00pm Books on Romà research and Workshop 13:00pm Lunch 15:00-16:30pm Future work and agreements (Final report)</p>
6	September, 30 2004	Brussels (Belgium) European Commission DG Research Building	<p>Thursday, 30th</p> <p>9:00-9:30am Welcome, project development and agenda presentation. 9:30-10:30am Final report, future work and agreements. 10:30-11:00am Coffee -Break 11:00-12:30pm Project impact, future dissemination and new projects.</p>

4. Workshops leaflets and publications

Leaflet of the Workshop: Voices of cultural minorities in Scientific Research

ORGANISED BY



CREA, Centre for Social and Educational Research, University of Barcelona
Scientific Park, Barcelona / Vall d'Hebrón Campus, University of Barcelona

WITH THE COLLABORATION OF:




INSCRIPTIONS

CREA
University of Barcelona
Tel: + 34 93 403 50 99
+ 34 93 403 51 64
Fax: + 34 93 403 51 71
E-mail: crea@d5.ub.es
Web: www.pcb.ub.es/crea/

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Name	
Surname(s)	
Address	
Country	
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Occupation	
Company/ Institution	

(*) Details necessary to formalise the inscription by e-mail, fax or telephone

FREE INSCRIPTION UNTIL THE 24TH OF FEBRUARY, 2004

Translations will be provided and there will be a translation area.

Organising Centre:
CREA Centre de Recerca Social i Educativa, Universitat de Barcelona

Collaborating Centre:
CADIS Centre d'Anàlisi et d'Intervenció Sociològiques, EHESS (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales), Paris

**Workshop:
Voices of cultural minorities in Scientific Research**

www.pangea.org/crea/inicio.htm

**6th of March 2004
09.00-17.30 hours**

Place: EHESS (École des Hautes Études en

9-9,30	<p>Presentation: Michel Wieviorka, CADIS Director. Jesús Gómez, CREA Representative. Fadila Boughanemi, Scientific officer of European Commission Research Directorate General. Vania de Gila-Kochanowski, President of Romano Yekhipe Association. Julio Vargas, Researcher from CREA.</p>
9,30-10,30	<p>Conference: From conflict to shared living in a multicultural society. Michel Wieviorka, CADIS Director..</p>
10,30-10,45	<p>Break</p>
10,45-11,45	<p>Conference: Research from the equality of differences. Ramón Flecha, CREA Director.</p>
11'45-13	<p>Round table: Changes for multicultural research in the Knowledge Society.</p> <p><i>Migration and new technologies.</i> Dana Diminescu, Researcher from Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris.</p> <p><i>New professional profiles for ethnic minorities in the Knowledge Society. The gypsy case.</i> Julio Vargas, Researcher from CREA.</p> <p><i>Migration and the labour market.</i> Ababacar Thiakh, Researcher of AL-HIWAR, Group for Arabic and Muslim studies from CREA.</p> <p><i>Educational and labour inclusion of the minority groups.</i> Nick Walters, Professor at the University of Surrey, Guildford.</p>

	<p><i>Alter-globalisation and multiculturalism.</i> Geoffrey Pleyers, PhD student in Sociology in CADIS and the University of Liège.</p> <p><i>Affirmative actions in favour of the gypsy community in Romania.</i> Valentin Repezel, Social Work student in the University of Timisoara.</p>
13-15	<p>Lunch</p>
15-16	<p>Conference: Social subjects and women. Alain Touraine, Founder of CADIS and emeritus professor at EHESS.</p>
16-17'30	<p>Round table: Women and multiculturalism.</p> <p><i>Romani women in the 21st century.</i> Emilia Cleveria, President of the Roma association for Women, Drom Kotar Mestipen, Barcelona.</p> <p><i>Romà Feminism</i> Montse Sánchez, Director of studies about the Roma population in Catalonia, University of Ramon Llull, Barcelona.</p> <p><i>Equality of Differences for Arab women..</i> Lena De Bolton, CREA researcher.</p> <p><i>Social policies related to Roma women in Portugal.</i> Manuela Marinho, Senior Researcher (ISSSL, Instituto Superior de Serviço Social de Lisboa).</p> <p><i>The position of women in the manouche community.</i> Monia Reinhardt, Member of the Roma association ARPOMT, Strasburg.</p> <p><i>The feminine body of the magrebi</i></p>

	<p><i>immigration in France and the myth of double culture.</i> Ourda Harir, PhD student in Sociology at CADIS.</p>
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PRESENTATION

This seminar is organised by CREA (Centre for Social and Educational Research, at the University of Barcelona, Spain) who has counted on the collaboration of CADIS (Centre d'Anàlisi et d'Intervenció Sociològiques, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, EHESS, Francia). This event is registered in the frame of *Workaló*, an RTD project (Research and Technological Development) from the European Commission, which hopes to define innovative strategies of social and economical development. Lines of research like those of CREA and CADIS, mean an important contribution to the knowledge and overcoming of the social problems of cultural minorities in Europe. "Voices of Cultural minorities in Scientific Research" hopes to create a space in which to promote investigations of quality in the area of cultural minorities. It intends to give a voice to the members of cultural minorities in Europe, collecting their contributions through participations in this type of investigations, as well as promoting investigations of young students in this area.

Leaflet of the Seminário A Comunidade Cigana: Conhecer para Intervir



Seminário A Comunidade Cigana

27 de Fevereiro de 2003

Instituto Cervantes - R. St.^a Marta, 43 E r/c

Programa

09h30

Abertura do secretariado e entrega de documentação.

10h00

Sessão de abertura

- Direcção da ISSScoop: Dr. João Pissarra*

- Alto-Comissariado para a Imigração e as Minorias Étnicas: P. António Vaz Pinto*

11h00

Painel *Intervenção com População Cigana*

- Obra Nacional da Pastoral dos Ciganos - Dr.^a Fernanda Reis*

11h45

Intervalo para café

12h00

- Rumo - Cooperativa de Solidariedade Social, CRL - Dr. Augusto Sousa

12h45

Intervalo para almoço

14h00

Painel - *Projecto Workaló*

Metodologias de Investigação como Instrumento de Empowerment

- Equipa espanhola - Dr. Jesus Gómez Alonso

- Equipa portuguesa - Dr.^a Inês Amaro

15h30

Intervalo para café

15h45

Painel *A Comunidade Cigana Vista de Dentro*

- Experiência espanhola - Dr. Júlio Vargas

- Experiência portuguesa - Dr. Hugo Maia*

17h15

Sessão de Encerramento

Coordenadora da Equipa de Investigação - Dr.^a Manuela Marinho

Departamento de Formação & Prestação de Serviços

Leaflet of the Workshop CREATING DIALOGUE – NEW DIMENSIONS:

Roma, Gypsy and Traveller Communities

Monday 28th June 2004

Frienonds House, 173 Euston, London

The Conference is for those who wish to look behind the media headlines and understand the range of difficulties experienced by these communities. (free event)

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

09.00 Registration and Coffee
10.00 Introduction
10.10 Keynote 1 Prof. Thomas Acton, University of Greenwich
10.30 Workalo
11.00 Break
11.30 Keynote 2 Prof. Peter Jarvis, University of Surrey
12.00 Lunch Break
1.00 Workshops
2.00 Refreshments
2.30 Workshops
3.30 Break
3.45 Plenary (Feedback Q & A)
4.30 Close

WORKSHOPS

1. Roma in Research: Methods and Ethics
2. Dialogue and Political Representation
3. Law and Accommodation Issues
4. Sharing Experience of Inclusion

BOOKING FORM – PLEASE TEAR OFF AND RETURN

Name.....
Address.....
...
.....Postcode.....

Telephone No.

Name of group/organisation (if any)
.....

Return booking form to: WORKALO, Dept of Educational Studies, Guildford
Institute of the University of Surrey,
Ward Street, Guildford, Surrey GU1 4LH
Telephone 01483 562142, email V.Cosgrove@surrey.ac.uk

Please indicate 2 workshops that you would most be interested in from options

- A: Roma in Research: Methods and Ethics
- B: Dialogue and Political Representation
- C: Law and Accommodation Issues
- D: Sharing Experience of Inclusion

Please feel free to photocopy for multiple bookings

Leaflet of the Workaló Workshop in Barcelona

Boletín de inscripción	
Nombre	
Apellidos	
Dirección	
Teléfono/ Fax	
E-mail	
Profesión	
Institución	
Grupos de trabajo (Escoger una opción)	<input type="checkbox"/> Política <input type="checkbox"/> Educación <input type="checkbox"/> Mercado de trabajo <input type="checkbox"/> Mujer gitana

Asistencia gratuita

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CREA

Pg. de la Vall d'Hebrón, 171
 Campus UB/Mundet 08035 Barcelona
 Teléfono: 934035099/934035164
 Fax: 934035171
 Mail: crea@ub.edu



Centre Especial de Recerca en
 Teories i Pràctiques Superadores
 de Desigualtats



Oficina de la Comissió
 Europea a Barcelona

PRESENTACIÓN

Con motivo de la culminación del proyecto RTD europeo Workaló les invitamos a la presentación de los principales resultados de la investigación. El acto tendrá lugar el próximo día 29 de abril de 2004 en el Aula Europa de 9 a 14:00 horas.

Workaló, *the new occupational patterns for cultural minorities: the Gypsy case* es un proyecto RTD del V programa marco de investigación de la Comisión Europea, coordinado por CREA, cuyo objetivo es definir estrategias innovadoras de desarrollo social y económico orientado a la cohesión social, teniendo en cuenta que las minorías étnicas, en general, y la Comunidad Gitana, en particular, tiene mucho que aportar a la cohesión social en Europa.

Además de la presentación de los resultados principales, también se presentará una guía de propuestas políticas para la inclusión social del pueblo gitano en España y en Europa, así como la apertura de diferentes espacios de debate.

El acto tendrá lugar en el Aula Europa
 Oficina de la Comisión Europea
 Passeig de Gràcia, 90
 08008 Barcelona

Workshop de Workaló

The creation of new occupational patterns
for cultural minorities: The Gypsy case

29 de abril de 2004

Oficina de la Comisión
Europea en Barcelona




PROGRAMA

9'00-9'30	Inscripciones
9'30-9'45	Bienvenida y Presentación del seminario Josep Coll (Director de la Representación de la Comisión Europea en Barcelona) Tania García (Coordinadora del Workshop)
9'45-10'30	Presentación de los Resultados del proyecto y de la guía de propuestas políticas Montse Sánchez (Directora del estudio sobre la población gitana en Catalunya, Universitat Ramon Llull) Manuela Fernández (Investigadora de CREA)
10'30-11'30	Grupos de trabajo
11'30-12'00	Descanso
12'00-13'00	Presentación de las conclusiones de los grupos de trabajo y debate
13'00-13'40	Importancia de la metodología comunicativa para la realización de un proyecto de investigación con minorías culturales: el caso de Workaló Ramón Flecha (Director de CREA) Julio Vargas (Director del CEO)
13'40-14'00	Debate y Clausura

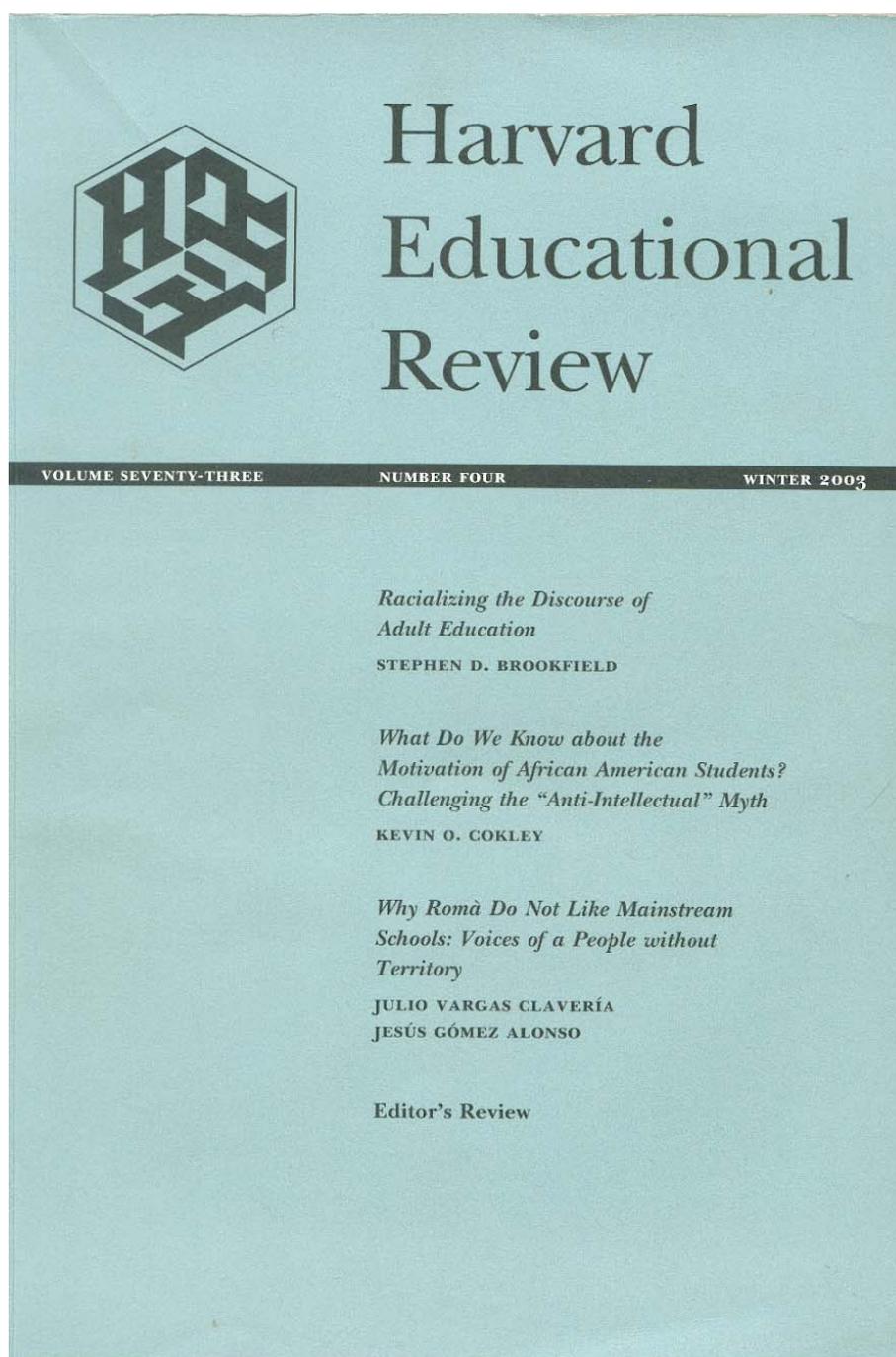
Agenda of the Brussels Conference

9:00 - 9:30	Arrival & Registration
9:30 – 10:00	<p>Opening remarks Angelos Agalianos, European Commission, DG Research</p> <p>Presentation of the Conference Julio Vargas, director of the Centro de Estudios Gitano, University of Barcelona</p> <p>Overview of the Workaló project Ramón Flecha, project coordinator, and director of the Centre of Research in Theories and Practices that Overcome Inequalities (CREA), Science Park of Barcelona, University of Barcelona</p>
10:00 – 11:15	<p>Key conclusions from the Workaló project: Barriers that impede the labour inclusion of the Romà Nicholas Walters, University of Surrey Manuela Marinho & Inês Amaro, Instituto Superior de Serviço Social de Lisboa Chaired by <i>Montse Sánchez, Universitat Ramon Llull</i></p>
11:15 – 11:30	COFFEE BREAK
11:30 – 12:45	<p>Key results from the Workaló project: Facts to take into account for the labour inclusion of Romà Teodor M. Alexiu, West University of Timisoara Marta Soler, University of Barcelona Chaired by <i>Ignasi Guardans, Member of the European Parliament</i></p>
12:45 – 14:00	LUNCH
14:00 – 15:30	<p>Perspectives from the European Romani community Emilia Calvería, Drom Kotar Mestipen Florina Zoltan, University of Surrey Miranda Vuolasranta, Council of Europe Chaired by <i>Josep Andreu, Member of the Spanish Parliament</i></p>
15:30 – 16:30	<p>The inclusion of the Romà in the European labour market: Policy recommendations Jesús Gómez, CREA, University of Barcelona</p> <p>Affirmative action policies in Europe Julio Vargas, Director, Centro de Estudios Gitano, University of Barcelona Chaired by <i>José Silva Peneda, Member of the European Parliament</i></p>
16:30	<p>Final remarks & closing Julio Vargas, Director, Centro de Estudios Gitano, University of Barcelona Emilia Clavería, Drom Kotar Mestipen Chaired by <i>Bernat Joan, Member of the European Parliament</i></p>

Publication of one article related to the project in the Harvard Educational Review

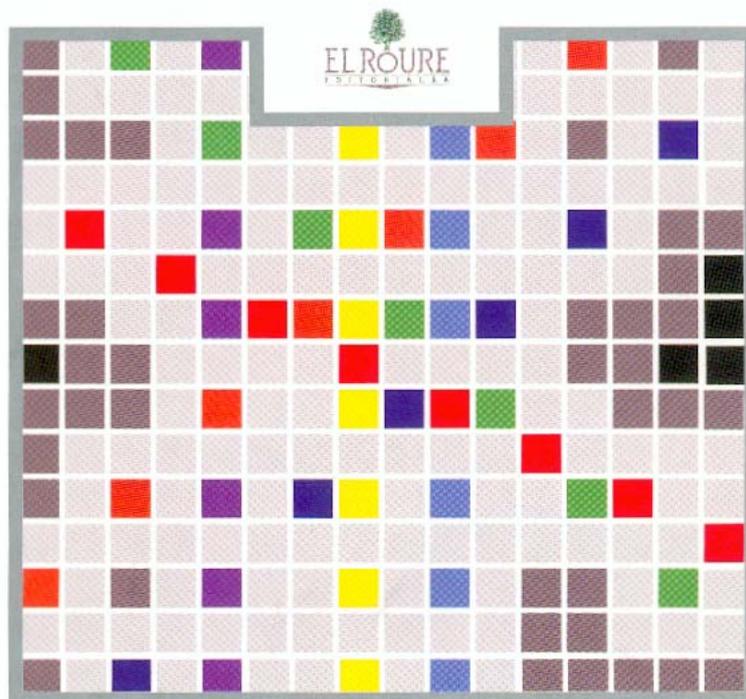
Gómez, J. & Vargas, J. (2003). Why Romà do not like mainstream schools: Voices of a people without territory. *Harvard Educational Review*, vol. 73, núm. 4, winter 2003, pp.559-590. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.

You can obtain this article in the following web page:
<http://www.neskes.net/workalo/why.htm>



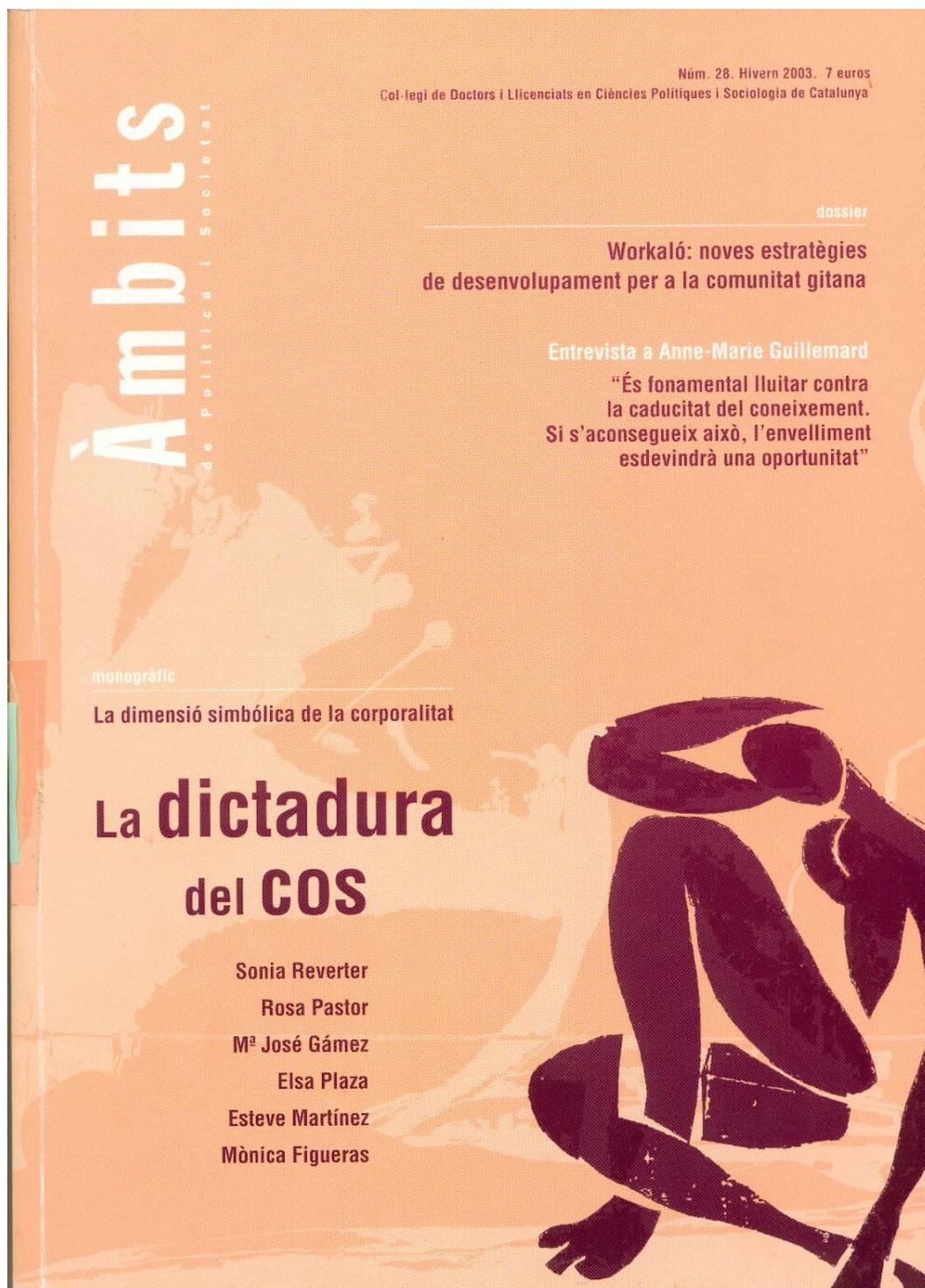
Publication of the book "Knowledge and identity. Voices of cultural groups in the social research"

Touraine, A; Wieviorka, M; Flecha, R. et al. (2004) *Conocimiento e identidad. Voces de grupos culturales en la investigación social*. Barcelona: El Roure Editorial.



Colección Apertura

Publication of a monographic in the Àmbits review



Publication of one article related to the project in the *Intervenção Social* Review
Publication of one article related to the project in the *Intervenção Social* Review

Amaro, I. and Marinho, M. 2003. Os ciganos em Portugal – aproximação I *in Intervencao Social*. Lisboa: ISSSL. Amaro, I. and Marinho, M. 2003. Os ciganos em Portugal – aproximação I *in Intervencao Social*. Lisboa: ISSSL.

Artigos

A deontologia dos Assistentes Sociais como ética profissional
Michael Knoch

Empowerment: possível estratégia da prática profissional em direcção à cidadania activa
Manuel Menezes Silva

História e mutação da profissão de Assistente Social em França
Brigitte Bouquet

Regulação social tardia: característica das políticas sociais latino-americanas na passagem entre o segundo e terceiro milénios
Aldaíza Sposati

Os ciganos em Portugal – aproximação I
Manuela Marinho e Maria Inês Amaro

Os ciganos e o RMG: direitos sociais e direito à diferença
Francisco Branco

Rendimento mínimo e inclusão social
Maria Helena Nunes

O associativismo no tempo da globalização: voluntariado e cidadania democrática
Ernesto Fernandes

Notas e Documentos

Ciência, sociedade e serviço social
Duarte Vilar

Beneficiários e avaliação de impactes do RMG
Maria José Queiroz

Economia social e Estado-Providência
José Pereirinha

In memoriam: Maria Augusta Negreiros

Apoios


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FCT Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia
MINISTÉRIO DA CIÊNCIA E DO ENSINO SUPERIOR

ISSN 0874-1611



Proceedings of the Conference on the Workaló RTD project

September 29, 2004

European Parliament

Brussels

Last September 29, the conference on the Workaló project was celebrated in Eastman building of the European Parliament (Brussels). The Conference covered different aspects of the project that are relevant for current policy developments.

The objectives of the Workaló project are on the one hand, to define innovative strategies for social and economic development orientated towards social cohesion, keeping in mind that ethnic minorities, in general, and the Romaní community in particular, have much to contribute to the social cohesion of Europe. On the other, Workaló is aimed at advancing the sociological knowledge in general, and of ethnic minorities in specific, by providing an analysis of the causes for exclusion in the labour market for the Romà and contributing with the communicative methodology to the study of social exclusion and the overcoming of it.



General views of the Conference

The Conference on the Workaló project counted on the participation from a wide audience which included Members of the European Parliament (MEP), assistants of the MEP's, advisors from European political parties, representatives from the Directorate Generals of Employment and Social Affairs, Education and Culture and Research from the

European Commission, representatives from the Council of Europe, consultancy firms, Romani Associations, NGO's that work with Romani and representatives from International organisations such as ILO (International Labour Organisation) or CEDEFOP (European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training) amongst other organisations.



*Livia Jároka, Romani MEP and Sabine Overkämping, Liesbet de Letter, Member of
Conseiller principal of the Bureau de Liaison de the EQUAL, DG Employment
l'OIT avec les Communautés Européennes et les and social affairs
pays du Benelux*

Research that lays the bases to contribute overcoming social exclusion

Scientific officer Angelos Agalianos opened the Workaló Conference. In his introductory speech, Agalianos placed the Workaló project in the tendency in social sciences research within the Framework programs (IV, V and VI) to be aimed at studying aspects related to social exclusion, education, employment and European citizenship participation. The scientific officer also pointed out the need for more research that have as an objective to identify mechanisms and scientific bases that contribute to overcome the social exclusion, like the Workaló project focus on the Romani case.

Research that creates spaces for the exchange and creation of knowledge among the plurality of voices

Julio Vargas emphasised the historical importance of the conference for the Romani history. Vargas also emphasized the need to create spaces for the exchange of knowledge and debate with a plurality of voices.

From objectivity to intersubjectivity: The inclusion of Romaní voices in the research allows for more rigorous and excellent findings

The *Workaló* RTD project represents a shift in the way traditional research has dealt with Romaní issues. The *Workaló* project coordinator Ramón Flecha introduced the research and the communicative methodology. Flecha highlighted the need to overcome exclusory investigations that have ignored the voices and experiences of the Romà, developing a discourse on exclusion that excludes the excluded from this analysis.

Workaló has counted on the participation of many Romà from all around Europe. This project has brought together Romà and non-Romà researchers and members of the Romaní community from around Europe with the aim of identifying why Romà across Europe are excluded from work and concrete ways of overcoming this problem. It analyses the skills that Romà have developed as a social group and identifies how these skills can contribute to the enrichment of the labour market and social cohesion. Furthermore, exclusionary investigations do not propose strategies for the social inclusion of the Romaní community and/or of other cultural minorities.

The dialogue between Romà and non-Romà people enriches the research process and its results. The inclusion of the Romà has been crucial for arriving at rigorous and more scientific results. An example of this occurred at the seminar of the project which was held at the EHESS (École de Hautes Études in Social Sciences) in Paris where Michel Wieviorka rethought his theory, thanks to the contributions from the Romà present at the seminar.

Additionally, the *Workaló* advisory council comprised of Romà and non-Romà representatives from different organisations has supervised the research process and the conclusions reached in each stage of the project. To undertake the fieldwork and the different state-level workshops, the participation and collaboration of Romaní associations from different countries that have been carrying out the research were also counted on. Flecha also observed that this research project has been recognised by the Harvard Educational Review in which Julio Vargas and Jesús Gómez, researchers for the *Workaló* project, published an article about some of the results of the project and the methodology used.



Julio Vargas, Ramón Flecha, and Jesús Gómez, researcher and Theodius Angelos Agalianos during the Lennon, director of the Directorate K: Social Sciences and Humanities, attending at the conference.

Discriminatory practices, together with the lack of qualifications, are the main obstacles to accessing and retaining employment

Montse Sánchez, director of the study on the Romà in Catalonia commanded by the Catalan Parliament, chaired the first roundtable of the conference. Nicholas Walters, researcher at the University of Surrey (UK) highlighted the barriers that Romà encounter in accessing the labour market.



Montse Sánchez

Walters pointed out that ethnic discrimination is one of the main barriers that the Romaní community encounters combined with the lack of qualifications. Discriminatory practices do not only appear in daily life relations between businesses and workers, but also in the norms and guidelines of the contracting systems. Ethnic discrimination has many effects on the Romà. It plays an important part in their prospects of finding a job, of improving their work situation or of coexistence between colleagues in the workplace.

The responsibility of the labour inclusion of the Romaní community falls onto not only the Romà people but onto non-Romà as well. The Romaní community has remained excluded from the formal labour market, although many Romà have the skills that the Knowledge Society demands. Presently, the Information society is asking for more and more flexibility, self-employment, outsourcing; aspects that Romà know all about but that the

majority society as well as European and state politics have not taken into consideration up until now.

Social exclusion can be overcome by establishing access programs for the labour market largely based on social inclusion and the participation of Romà. Walters stated that; "Romà identity and Romaní Associations are questioning the European policy established from the states and under their responsibility. When there is a problem, it is demanded to be approached from a trans-national perspective."

Two motors for social inclusion: the Romaní associations movement and the inclusion of the Romí (Romaní women) in education and the labour market.



Inês Amaro and Manuela Marinho (Researchers)

Amaro and Marinho emphasized the existence of transformary components which could be vital in the labour inclusion of Romà. In the Workaló project, it was analysed the important role Romaní associations play a very important role in the organisation of the Romà. Training courses are being undertaken in which a profession is learnt increasing labor opportunities. Romaní associations are also demanding a better education for

Romaní children with the objective that in the future they will be able to access jobs which they have traditionally been excluded from.

Romí (Romaní women) are the motor of social transformation of their community. Many Romí are committing themselves to a better education for their children as well as accessing, more and more frequently, higher education. Amaro and Marinho affirm that this process could be on the increase or could be curbed, depending on if the majority society bears in mind or not the needs of Romà, and in particular the Romí. They are leading the most important advances that are originated within the Romaní community.

Towards a major social inclusion: A high level of education and the institutional recognition of the Romani community.

Ignasi Guardans (MEP) presided the second roundtable of the conference. in which Marta Soler (Researcher, University of Barcelona, Spain) and Teodor M. Alexui, professor at the University West Timisoara (Romania), presented other findings of the Workaló project.



Marta Soler emphasized the need for a high quality education for Romà children and the institutional recognition in the European Parliament of the Romani Community as two major steps towards social inclusion

Marta Soler (Researcher) and Ignasi Guardans (MEP).

In reference to education, what was emphasised was that it has to be about maximum learning, promoting access to higher education whilst still respecting diversity. Soler pointed out that specific experiences of success exist in Europe and in other countries that have these objectives, in which "all children are treated equally, respecting the cultures of their origin", *Learning Communities, Success for All* or *Accelerated School* form part of these projects in which the community participates in the decision-making at the school. The European educational policies need to consider these approaches to offer an education towards a successful process for all.

Soler also emphasized another specific aspect that is derived from the results of the project: the recognition of the Romà by the European Parliament. Institutional recognition opens the door to the elaboration of specific policies for overcoming the situation in which the Romani Community lives. Marta Soler showed a particular example of this being the recognition of the Romani Community in the Catalonia Parliament. From this acknowledgement, it has been possible to carry out an Integrated political action plan from the Catalanian Government, which has as its main objective the social inclusion of the Romà.

Teodor M. Alexui presented some of the findings of the Workaló project regarding the abilities developed by the Romà.

- a) It was highlighted that Romà have developed a series of skills that are required in the present Knowledge Society and that they are very often not been recognised.
- b) Also highlighted was the need to create inclusory paths and methods to higher education as it is this education that opens doors in the labour market of the Knowledge Society.

Towards the recognition of the Romà by the Spanish Parliament

Josep Andreu, member of the Congress of Deputies of Spain, chaired the roundtable of Romà representatives. Andreu committed to work towards the recognition of the Romà in Spain within the present legislature. Taking as a model the Catalan case, the MP noted that the recognition would be the start of a new focus, a serious political program and of a real coming together of cultures.

At the roundtable of future prospects for the Romà, Emilia Clavería, president of the Romaní Association of women *Drom Kotar Mestipen*; Miranda Vuolasranta, specialist advisor for Romaní issues at the Council of Europe, and Florina Zoltan, Romí researcher from the University of Surrey, spoke about the need to carry out specific policies to eradicate the situation of social exclusion.

Quality education from the Romaní culture



Emilia Clavería, *President of the Association of Romaní women DROM KOTAR MESTIPEN* and, **Josep Andreu**, *member of the Spanish Parliament*.

Emilia Clavería emphasised that one of the basic needs of the Romaní community in present-day society is education. Clavería indicated that if Romà do not receive a quality education, the situation of exclusion in which many Romà find themselves will continue. Clavería also put emphasis on the need to consider the social transformation of the Romí (Romaní women) and of guaranteeing that the women gain admittance to education and employment in conditions of equality.

Romaní Political representation: The European Romà Forum

Miranda Vuolasranta specified the different activities promoted from the Council of Europe regarding the Romà. These activities are centred on the fight against ethnic discrimination and in the carrying out of policy recommendations for education and access to employment. "These projects and recommendations are being undertaken jointly with the European Union and they are becoming more and more related to its expansion." Vuolasranta also highlighted that these policies are the product of growth in the Romaní movement and from their trans-national and/or European demands from the beginning of the 1990's. Since then, the trans-national Romaní movement have increased finding now itself in a transitory stage.



Miranda Vuolasranta

Political Recommendations



From left to right, José Albino Silva, MEP and the researcher Jesús Gómez.

José Albino Pineda Silva (MEP) chaired the roundtable dedicated to present the policy recommendations arisen from the Workaló project. Jesús Gómez and Julio Vargas presented some of the policies that are derived from the results of the investigation.

Involving the Romà in the policy making process

The inclusion of Romaní voices becomes a necessary condition to guarantee that political efforts respond to the people's real needs. Nowadays, it is unacceptable to create a committee for gender equity composed by only men. It is also urged to reject political plans for the Romà that have been designated without the Romà. Some advancements need to be highlighted. For instance, the Integrated political action plan is being carried out jointly with Romà people and Romaní associations, and the European Romà Forum has been also created by Romaní representatives.

Accreditation for Prior Learning Policies

Accreditation of prior experience policies have been carried out in different countries of the European Union such as France, England, Finland or Scotland. Gómez pointed out the need for APL policies (Accreditation for Prior Learning) from a European perspective, which bear in mind the specific situation of the Romaní community and that provide the possibility of accessing higher education.

Romaní franchises

Romaní franchises would favour access to the labour market improving the social image of the Romaní Community without renouncing the Romà identity. An example was offered: the *Romà City* project, in process of being developed in Barcelona. A part of this project consists in the construction of franchises with a registered Romà trademark.

Inclusion in the ICT (Information and Communication Technologies) sector

Gómez pointed out that for a full inclusion in the Knowledge Society it was necessary that Romà access qualified jobs from the ICT sector. The researcher also remarked that it is not only training oriented to access better jobs but also it should favour access to a higher education.

Affirmative Action Policies

Julio Vargas highlighted the need for affirmative action policies as much in the educational system as in the labour market. Vargas pointed out the importance of these sorts of measures, one of the main political recommendations arisen from Workaló.

- a) Vargas also pointed out the need that European institutions take proactive role in the inclusion of ethnic minorities in general, and the Romà in particular. Affirmative actions in education have been developed in other contexts, such as

the North American or Romanian, where students from socially excluded groups access higher education. Vargas stated that "Affirmative actions, in the case of the Romà, have to start from the first stages at school, given the low presence of Romà students in secondary education."

- b) In reference to the labour market, the need for carrying out measures that promote employment was emphasised, as well as the developing of positions in the public sector for Romà or tax reductions for private companies that hire members of this group. Other affirmative action policies can be taken in the labour market. For example, governments can encourage private companies to develop and implement their own affirmative action plans.

The need for policies based on scientific evidence

Bernat Joan (MEP), Julio Vargas and Emilia Clavería closed the Conference. All emphasised the success of the Conference in presenting political recommendations based on scientific evidence. Julio Vargas pointed out the most important results of the research project:

- Analysis of the transition from the Industrial to the Knowledge Society has not taken into account the Romaní experience. At that time, access to the labour market was limited to travelling sales, scrap metal or cardboard dealers. However, since 1995 these jobs have been in decline and Romaní youngsters accessed mostly to precarious jobs.
- Romà have developed specific skills and competences in their traditional jobs and some of which coincide with new emerging occupational profiles. However, different barriers that impede the Romaní labour market inclusion have been identified. Some of these barriers are different ethnic discrimination practices in the access to employment, promotion, low-levels of schooling and the lack of academic qualifications.
- The equality of differences principle helps to overcome the tension between equality and difference. The Romaní people participants claim their right to have their lifestyle and cultural traditions respected, and at the same time that they receive equal treatment and access to the same opportunities like the rest of society.

European Commission

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