

**POWER, LEGITIMACY, AND COLLECTIVE POLICY
MAKING: THE CASE STUDY OF FERYP AND TERNYPE
ROMA YOUTH NETWORKS**

By

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Authors Declaration

I, the undersigned **Jashar Jasharov** hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. To the best of my knowledge this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made. This thesis contains no material which has been accepted as part of the requirements of any other academic degree or non-degree program, in English or in any other language.

This is a true copy of the thesis, including final revisions.

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Abstract

The Roma represent Europe's largest transnational minority. Since the Roma are mainly composed of young people, the intent of a well comprehension of their impact within the Romani movement is essential. To that end, this thesis represents a qualitative research centered around the two most prominent Roma youth Transnational Advocacy Networks, the Forum of European Roma Young People and the International Roma youth network ternYpe. This thesis answers the questions *How are FERYP and ternYpe placing themselves as relevant actors in the EU representing the issues faced by Roma youth?* and *How can these two entities enhance their power and legitimacy for creating a sustainable context for Collective Policy Making on a EU level?* and confirms its hypothesis that due to the fact that these are the most prestigious entities representing Roma youth interests on a European level, they do in fact possess a great deal of significance, however, they do not adequately use their power as actors within the transnational policy-making realm.

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List of Abbreviations

CoE - Council of Europe

Decade - Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015

ERGO - European Roma Grassroots Organizations Network

ERRC - European Roma Rights Centre

ERTF - European Roma and Travelers Forum

EU - European Union

FERYP - Forum of European Roma Young People

NGO - Non-Governmental Organization

NRIS - EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020

OSCE-CPRSI - Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe - Contact Point for Roma and Sinti Issues

OSCE-ODIHR - Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe - Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights

OSF - Open Society Foundations

OSF-RIO - Open Society Foundations - Roma Initiatives Office

OSI - Open Society Institute

OSI - RPP - Open Society Institute - Regional Roma Participation Program

REF - Roma Education Fund

RYAP - Roma Youth Action Plan

TAN - Transnational Advocacy Network

ternYpe - International Roma youth network ternYpe

Introduction

The Roma are the largest ethnic minority living in Europe (Mitchell, 2005). Estimates suggest that there are from 10 to 12 million Roma living throughout this continent (CoE), thus making them the largest transnational minority in Europe. The Roma had arrived in Europe before the year 1200, and until the year 1450 they have settled in a variety of countries (CoE, 2002). Even since their first arrival in Europe they have faced prosecution and expulsion, in Romania they have been slaves for five centuries (Hancock, 1987), and even more than 500.000 of them have been killed by the Nazis during World War II (Barsony & Daroczi, 2008). Since then, the large persecution toward Roma led to endeavors at creating a social and political consciousness among them. The first successful international gathering was the first World Roma Congress in 1971. This year's 8th of April marked the 45th anniversary of this congress, where the Romani anthem and flag was adapted, and the need of Romani self-reliance as well as unity was articulated (Donald, 1971). To that end, Liegeuis (2008: 213) suggests that after World War II the rise of Roma non-governmental organizations (NGOs) immersed in several European countries, acting as agencies that would serve the political and social interest of Roma.

Little sufficient change can be distinguished within the arena of European transnational policy-making, concerning Roma, from 1971 until the start of the 1990s. The 1990s presented the start of what can be noted as years from which the Romani movement underwent massive transformations and the movements agenda progressed, in a stable manner, at both national and international scenes. In particular, this was at large due to the establishment of the Regional Roma Participation Program (Krizsán & Zentai, 2004), at the Open Society Institute (OSI), under the leadership of Mr. Rudko Kawczynski (Nirenberg, 2009), as well as the establishment of the

European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) (Krizsán & Zentai, 2004) in 1996, under the leadership of Dimitrina Pertova. The establishment of these organizations can be noted as the milestone historic momentums, from which the shaping of Romani civic organizations, as we now know them today, began. In particular, the middle of the 1990s represent a period when the establishment of Roma NGOs took a widespread across Europe. These NGOs acted as principle Romani agencies through which rights of mobilization along ethnic lines was promoted as a "guaranteed and facilitated" claim (Rostas, Rovid, & Szilvasi 2015: 8). To that end, Rovid (2012) articulates that the Roma NGOs have had three distinctive shifts in terms of work. The author argues that Roma NGOs from the 1970s until the 1980s brought forth "claims of self-determination at the forefront", in the 1990s and the beginnings of the 2000s the NGOs had a shifted focus toward "violations of human rights", and lastly from the 2000s NGOs stirred their focus toward "social and economic integration of Roma," setting it as a central priority (2012:9).

On a conference in 2003 entitled *"Roma in an Expanding Europe: Challenges for the Future"* the created shift toward social and economic integration reached its highest peak (World Bank, 2003). Namely, this conference set the playfield for an decade's worth of transnational effort, stirred toward social and economic integration of Roma, and the planning of the framework "Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015" (hereinafter Decade) started. The Decade initiative began with the participation of eight governments, later expanding to 12 participating countries, by framing a commitment for integration of Roma people, while putting a primary focus on four pillars: housing, employment, health, and education (Decade of Roma Inclusion, 2005). The Decade's participating governments were countries that were not part of the European Union (EU) during its start in 2005. Therefore, as an answer to the continuation of Roma integration commitment, by member states of the EU, in 2011 the European Commission

adopted an 'EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020'¹ (NRIS), a framework that is in nature nearly an exact copy of the Decade initiative.

One can clearly note that a variety of NGOs and transnational initiatives have taken a clear and relevant stand in regard to the formation of equality and justice for Roma. However, what is missing from the holistic picture of an abundance of initiatives and frameworks, is the active participation of Roma youth. The Roma in Europe are mainly composed of young people. Estimates suggest that 35.7% of them are at ages under 15, which when compared to the overall population within the EU they compose 15.7%. To that end, the average age of the overall population in the EU is 40, while the average age of Roma is estimated at 25 (European Commission, 2011). With that in mind, active participation of youth in decision-making is essential. The Council of Europe (CoE), an international organization composed of a 47 member states, articulates that youth participation at both local as well as regional level is vital. To that end, the United Nations argue that "through active participation, young people are empowered to play a vital role in their own development as well as in that of their communities, [...] to participate effectively, young people must be given the proper tools, such as information, education about and access to their civil rights" (United Nations, 2013). In this context, Roma youth play a pivotal role in the formation of an equal and just society, where Roma are integrated and take part in the discourse of the public sphere.

In recent years there have been several entities working toward the creation of a Roma youth who have a well developed political consciousness, take part in advocacy efforts, and decision making at both national and international level. At large, entities working toward this

¹ For more information on this EU framework see:
http://ec.europa.eu/justice/policies/discrimination/docs/com_2011_173_en.pdf

are transnational organizations such as: the Open Society Foundations - Roma Initiatives Office (OSF-RIO), the Roma Education Fund (REF), the Council of Europe (CoE) through its Youth Department, as well as the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe - Contact Point for Roma and Sinti Issues (OSCE-CPRSI). Moreover, in the past years, entities that have taken part in working with Roma youth are the 'Pakiv European Roma Fund Initiative' and the Diplo Foundation. The above mentioned entities, however, do not work explicitly with Roma youth, their scope of work moves well beyond these topics. Furthermore, due to their structure, mandate, mission, as well as outreach, at the most part these entities cannot be a Roma youth representative body on a transnational level.

Having said this, entities explicitly working with Roma youth who have the capacity of acting as representative bodies on a transnational European context are two Roma youth transnational advocacy networks (TAN's). Namely, these are the 'Forum of European Roma Young People' (FERYP)² and the 'International Roma youth network 'ternYpe'³ (ternYpe). Having articulated the holistic picture of the Romani movement and transnational efforts, as well as stressed the importance of Roma youth, the thesis at hand is centered around FERYP and ternYpe youth networks, as entities that represent the interests of Roma youth. It analyzes their power and legitimacy, the way they interact as actors on a transnational European level, as well as the means they use for collective policy making. In this light, my hypothesis is that due to the fact that these are the most prestigious entities representing Roma youth interests on a European level, they do in fact possess a great deal of significance, however, they do not adequately use their power as actors within the transnational policy-making realm. In this context, the thesis

² For more information please see: <http://www.feryp.org/index.php>

³ For more information please see: <http://www.ternype.eu/about-ternype>

answers the following questions: *How are FERYP and ternYpe placing themselves as relevant actors in the EU representing the issues faced by Roma youth?* and *How can these two entities enhance their power and legitimacy for creating a sustainable context for Collective Policy Making on a EU level?*

This topic is of significant importance due to several reasons. On the one hand, the Romani movement has received a fair amount of attention by scholars who have analyzed several aspects of it, including transnational representation of Roma through NGOs and TANs (McGarry, 2010; Liegeouis, 2008; Marushiakova & Popov, 2005; Vermeersch, 2006; Klimova-Alexander, 2002; Kenrick, 1971; Sigona & Trehan, 2009; etc.) However, Roma youth have really been addressed in academic discourse, and there is a very limited set of scholarly work available explicitly related to Roma youth TANs and their impact on a transnational level. Therefore, this thesis represents a *sui generis* knowledge production, significantly contributing to the overall academic discourse on Roma representation, and in particular that of Roma youth. On the other hand, in recent years a 'sizzling' academic debate in the disciplines of international relations and international law has been closely related to the role of international entities, such as organizations and networks, in terms of their presents in the transnational policy-making realm, mainly highlighting the questions of their power and legitimacy (Atack, 1999; Clark, 2003; Collingwood, 2006). To that end, the legitimacy, accountability, as well as effectiveness of the two networks has been debated among Roma, mostly from Roma at the grassroots level. Therefore, this thesis takes a step further by elaborating on these issues through the prism of Roma youth networks and contributes further to the scholarly work done in regard to legitimacy and power. Lastly my aim with this thesis was only that of providing a significant scholarly contribution, but also a comprehensive written narrative which can be used by the two networks

in enhancing their efforts of strengthening the question of Roma youth at a transnational European level.

For a comprehensive analysis and elaboration on findings the thesis first outlays a chapter elaborating on the methodology of this thesis, describing data collection, and limitations of the methodology itself. Then, the second chapter outlays the literature review. While from the third chapter onward this thesis descriptively introduces the work done by international entities dealing with Roma youth, further justifies the chosen units of case analysis, FERYP and ternYpe, and lastly presents the analysis and research findings. Finally, the thesis ends with a conclusion and recommendations.

Chapter 1 - Methodology

For answering the research questions *How are FERYP and ternYpe placing themselves as relevant actors in the EU representing the issues faced by Roma youth?* and *How can these two entities enhance their power and legitimacy for creating a sustainable context for Collective Policy Making on a EU level?*, and confirming my hypothesis that '*due to the fact that these are the most prestigious entities representing Roma youth interests on a European level, they do in fact possess a great deal of significance, however, they do not adequately use their power as actors within the transnational policy-making realm*' this thesis will follow a qualitative research methodology. Namely, data collection and analysis, as well as secondary data analysis. There is a very limited set of scholarly work and primary data available explicitly for the topic at hand, therefore, secondary data sources and interviews present themselves as the most reliable source of evidence and analysis. Guided by the model presented by Yin (2009) I collected a variety of information such as, documents available online as well as internal documents from FERYP and ternYpe, and interviews, in order to arrange a contrasting range of information throughout the thesis. The internal documents were mainly used to identify and analyze the formation of the two networks, establishment, mandate, structure, and agenda. To that end, I also aimed at collecting a variety of contributions related to the topics of power, legitimacy, and means of transnational policy-making of policy networks, contributions that relate to the context of FERYP and ternYpe. To that end, I also make use of the "case study" analysis research strategy. As Yin (2009) argues "as a research method, the case study is used in many situations, to contribute to our knowledge of individual, group, organizational, social, political, and related phenomena" (Yin 2009, 4). Therefore, I make use of this strategy in order to set forth comprehension on how the two networks influence the transnational policies in practice.

The interviews were aimed to set forth a source of data that serves for analysis and discussions based on following grounds: (1) Character of representation; (2) Sequence of accountability; (3) Transnational influence within international entities - cooperation and alliance formation; (4) Factors of legitimacy and power; (5) Funding - regarding limitations to impact and scope of work⁴.

The criteria for sampling interviewees are: people whom are actors within the governing structure of the networks, and experts in the field of youth representation. For the purposes of this thesis I conducted six interviews in total, out of which four were in-depth interviews (people within the governing structure of the networks), and two (expert interviews) which followed an unstructured explanatory pattern.

My decision for conducting in-depth interviews is due to the fact that they provide with an entry point toward the interpretation of others (Weiss, 1994:1), and moreover a variety of viewpoints can be unveiled in regard to one subject (Weiss, 1994). Furthermore, as McCracken articulates "the long interview [in-depth] gives us the opportunity to step into the mind of another person, to see and experience the world as they do themselves" (McCracken, 1988: 9). To that end, Marshall and Rossman (1999) articulate that in-depth interviewing is a "conversation with a purpose", and this provided me with the ability to gather great amounts of data in a efficient and effective manner. As McCracken (1988) articulates, such interviews do make available large volumes of data, therefore this author suggests that the limit should be set on eight interviewees. In regard to the unstructured interviews with the experts, I chose to conduct them due to the fact that they enable the researcher to generate free questions, and it does not insist that detailed

⁴ The interview protocol is available in the appendix of this thesis.

categories of information are to be collected. Moreover, this approach allows the interviewer to follow linkages that emerge as informative and propitious. (Crano, Brewer, & Lac, 2014).

1.1 Data collection

For gathering the above mentioned data on the TAN FERYP I conducted two in-depth interviews. My first respondent was Cristina Marian a Romani national from Moldova, who is a board member of the network since 2011, and Beata Bislim Olahova a Romani national from Slovakia, who has been involved in FERYP since 2004 and has served twice as elected Secretary General of the network. From the ternYpe network on the other hand my first respondent was Vicente Rodriguez Fernandez (Magnet) a Roma national from Spain, who is vice-president of the network and has been involved in the network since its second meeting, and Anna Mirga a Romani national from Poland, who is a board member of an NGO who is within the governing structure of the network. As for the expert interviews my first respondent was Denis Durmish who is a employee at the Council of Europe's Youth Department, within the framework of the Roma Youth Action Plan (RYAP), and my second respondent was Orhan Usein, who was selected due to the fact that he had represented the FERYP network within the Council of Europe's Advisory Council on Youth for 18 months. Moreover, Usein has been Program Manager of the Decade of Roma Initiative Secretariat Foundation, and is now serving as the Action Team Leader of the new 'Roma Integration 2020 Initiative', of the Regional Cooperation Council.

What is important to note, however, is that the expressed views from the analysis, and conclusions based from the interviews, that are expressed in this thesis are the sole responsibility of this author and they do not necessarily reflect upon the unanimous views and opinions of the interviewed persons listed above.

1.2 Limitations

There is no research available that is not prone to at least some forms of limitations. To that end, I recognize two main limitations of this thesis in regard to its methodology. The first limitation I identify is the number of analyzed units, however, this is justifiable since the TANs FERYP and ternYpe to date remain the most prestigious entities dealing with Roma youth. This is, however, something that will be further elaborated on in the upcoming chapters. The second main limitation I identify is the low number of interviewees. This limitation became a reality due to the fact that the research time frame of this thesis was strict and short. If time was not a barrier, I would have conducted at least two more interviews with individuals from the two networks, and at least two more interviews with experts from the field of youth representation. Moreover, I would have tried to conduct focus groups with constituency from the networks, as well as extended members. However, this is something that can serve as a reference point for further research.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

The purpose of this chapter is to set forth a theoretical background on the concepts of TANs, mainly in regard to formation, legitimacy, representation, and power. This chapter further takes note on the aspect of social movements. One limitation that I identify in the literature review, however, is that it unfortunately does not fully cover the concepts of political participation, empowerment, and top-down and bottom-up implementation theory, and deliberation, negotiation, and advocacy. These are concepts that would have significantly improved comprehension on the overall discourse of the TANs FERYP and ternYpe, however, due to the word limitation of this thesis this was not possible to achieve.

Over the past decade TANs have played a significantly increasing role in the transnational policy-making realm. In this light, they have received notice in the academic discourse, mostly in regard to their dissemination of influence and power within international discourse (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Risse et al. 1999). It happens often that international NGOs and TANs are observed as one in regard to their formation as well as functioning. Although they have a similar outlook of structured representation, the differences are apparent especially when looking at the reason of existence, scope of work, and performance. Risse and Sikkink argue that TANs are formations of "relevant actors working internationally on an issue, who are bound together by shared values, a common discourse, and dense exchanges of information and services" (Risse & Sikkink, 1999:18). The authors further articulate that TANs are "organized to promote causes, principled ideas, and norms", thus involving a set of "individuals advocating policy changes that cannot be easily linked to a rationalist understanding of their 'interests'" (Keck & Sikkink, 1998: 8-9). To that end the authors take note that TANs

have the predisposition of coming into sight when "the linkages between domestic groups and governments are restricted or when communication paths are ineffective for conflict resolution; when activists believe that networking will strengthen social movement campaigns and further promote the issue; and when international conferences and contacts create opportunities for network building" (Keck & Sikkink, 1998: 12). In terms influence they are most often effective in "issue creation and agenda setting; influence on discursive positions of states and international organizations; and influence on institutional procedures" (Keck & Sikkink, 1998: 25).

Social movements tend to make use of TANs, and in terms of the Romani movement one can note that TANs have held a great deal of significance in regard to representation on a transnational level. Social movements are best defined as a "distinct social process, consisting of mechanisms through which actors engage in collective action: they are involved in conflicting relations with clearly identified opponents; are linked by dense informal networks; and share a distinct collective identity" (della Porta and Diani, 2006: 20). To that end, transnational social movements are recognized to take form in a longstanding collaboration/coalition among sovereign grassroots movements (Herkenrath 2011: 14), such as the Romani one whose very beginnings can be noted, as early as the middle of the 19th century, within the Balkan peninsula (Marushiakova & Popov, 2005), and since 1971 the movement as such has taken a transnational character. These coalitions or transnational networks represent the "collaboration of movement organizations in at least two countries that exchange information and experiences, provide mutual support, have at least partially organized social base, and engage in joint strategic campaigns" (Bandy and Smith 2005: 231). In this light the author Batliwala (2002) argues that:

“The rise of transnational grassroots movements, with strong constituency base and sophisticated advocacy capability at both local and global levels, is an

important phenomenon in this context. These movements are formed and led by poor and marginalized groups, and defy the stereotype of grassroots movements being narrowly focused on local issues. They embody both a challenge and an opportunity for democratizing and strengthening the role of transnational civil society in global policy.” (Batliwala 2002: 393)

Vermeersch (2001) articulates that there has been an expanding growth of Romani TANs, and with this phenomena there has been an opening for vast political mobilization, however he points out that the expansion of these TANs has made some divisions within the local movements, and an debate has arose in line with the legitimacy of Roma representation within policy discourse on a transnational level. To that end, Trehan (2001) articulates that TANs for Roma may have immerged and made impact on the transnational level, however, they are apt at neglecting the actual needs of Romani constituency on the local level. Moreover, the author states that the TANs “are not required to be accountable to any constituency, apart from a limited number of donors, who often subscribe to agendas that may or may not reflect the most critical needs of the communities in question” (Trehan, 2001: 138).

McGarry (2008) states that by creating TANs as structures of representation Roma claim their collective interests which are formed and presented by the Romani elites. Therefore, the author argues that it is accurate to state that TANs represent the "interests of the Roma social movement" rather than state that they "represent the interest of the Romani community." Moreover the author asserts that Roma within the local level are unaware of such TAN structures of representation as well as the rhetoric they have (McGarry, 2008: 464). Brubaker to that end claims that "the beliefs, desires, hopes and interests of ordinary people cannot be uncritically inferred from the ethno-political entrepreneurs who claim to speak in their name” (Brubaker, 2006: 80).

There is an ongoing debate whether TANs are legitimate bodies of representation. The main argumentation is that they in fact are short of legitimacy on the basis of lacking procedural checks and balances, having a deficit of effectivity, and the fact that they validate their actions among the lines of values (Collingwood 2006, 454). Among these lines McGarry states that TANs "do not justify their representation or advocacy in terms of democratic processes, or public accountability; they instead emphasize specific values, group identity and shared interests. (McGarry, 2010: 136). Nicolae Gheorghe once noted that "Roma activists and intellectuals are beginning to work together to create a network of groups and organizations which can tap into the corridors of power in the European Union in an effort to improve the social, economic and political situation of Roma in Europe. (Gheorghe, 1991; cited in Guglielmo & Waters, 2005). In later years, Mirga and Gheorghe articulated that factors of achievement within the Romani movement are to be reliant over the capability of linking the small number of self-appointed *elite* Roma and the grassroots Roma (Mirga and Gheorghe 1997, 34). In this light, Steiner (1991) sets forth argumentation that TANs are actually "élite institutions, managed bureaucratically by bourgeois intellectuals and activists, socially and culturally isolated from the constituencies [. . .] that they assist' (Steiner 1991, 74). This turns to the question are TANs are achieving such grounds? In the case of FERYP and ternYpe, on the one hand they have been successful at deliberating their stands within international entities such as CoE, on the other they have also been successful at gathering masses within their scope of work through a variety of international events. If legitimacy is based on the ability to mobilize masses and maintain interaction with Romani constituency at the local level, as suggested by McGarry (2010), then we can actually have a presumption that the TANs FERYP and ternYpe hold a good amount of legitimacy. Edwards (1999) takes into account that legitimacy is also about "having the right to be and to do

something in society, a sense that an organization is lawful, proper, admissible, and justified in doing what it does and saying what it says, and that it continues to enjoy the support of an identifiable constituency" (Edwards, 1999: 258). However, taking a step beyond FERYP and ternYpe, other Romani TANs have argued that one of the many characteristics of them is that they do not they in fact act as representatives of Roma, but rather advocate in their behalf (McGarry, 2010). Atack (1999: 855-863), has provided for four criteria by which legitimacy can be determined: a) representativeness; b) distinctive values; c) effectiveness; and d) empowerment. In the later chapters of this thesis the legitimacy of FERYP and ternYpe will be asserted through these four criteria.

But what is representation anyway? Before articulating on the concepts of representation one must first articulate the definition of the public sphere. Noted by Habermas (1974), the public sphere is the realm of peoples social life's, its where public discourse is shaped and formed, and moreover, it represents a right of entry guaranteed to all peoples, except for the state. Citizenship is a key aspect to this, as T. H. Marshall (1950) argues one of the distinct rights that comes with citizenship is the right to vote and take part in political processes, but it also corresponds to the right to represent. The concept of representation has been deliberated on by a wide variety of scholars. What seems evident is that most seem to agree that representation is a constantly developing phenomena which shifts in order to be useful for citizens (Eulau & Karps 1977; Philips 1995).

Pitkin (1967:41) makes available a central explanation of political representation, the author argues that political representation constitute the activities through which people make their preferences, voices, and opinions heard within bodies that hold decision making power. Moreover, Pitkin (1967:11) additionally asserts that there are four specific forms of

representation, namely these are formalistic, descriptive, symbolic and substantive forms of political representation. Andrew Rehfeld (2006:2) on the other hand, provides for a wider explanation of political representation, he affirms that there is a immense deal of significance to the very identification of the group, which in turn articulate on who is to be person serving as a representative body, for achieving specific grounds. The grounds of representation are making present that which is absent (Birch 1971; Pitkin 1972). Melucci elaborates that "representation means the possibility of presenting interests and demands; but it also means remaining different and never being heard entirely" (Melucci 1992: 10–11).

However, representation is frequently insufficient when unaccompanied, an added link that must exist is legitimacy because without it, representation will remain as a unfilled structured approach. Collinwood (2006: 447–448) provides a set of seven legitimacy sources: "notions of justice; reference to international legal norms; impartiality – financial and political independence; an extensive membership; 'giving voice'; expertise; partnership with powerful actors". McGarry (2010) argues that for Roma the one of highest relevance is the "giving voice", he states so because the Roma movement has increased its advocacy efforts and connection with "norm-setting international organizations" (McGarry, 2010: 56). Moreover, McGarry argues that "legitimacy is conferred on an organizing structure of representation by a constituency particularly if the purpose of a structure is to represent an identifiable constituency [...] the key is to establish a relationship built on trust and recognition which can only be secured through informal and formal localized interaction" (McGarry, 2010: 56-57). These are concepts that will be further articulated and analyzed throughout the chapters of this thesis, through the lens of FERYP and ternYpe. Legitimacy, in regard to representation, is widely accepted and determined as a person or agency operating on a democratic mandate. However, when discussing TANs and

their legitimate right to represent we must note that, for example, both FERYP and ternYpe constitute a primary membership of grassroots NGOs. Thus, guided by the assumption that these local agencies are well recognized within the grassroots level they are to an extent legitimate bodies for representing and advocating for the interest of their constituency. Harold Laski once articulated that "associations exist to fulfill purposes which a group of men have in common" (Olson, 1971:6). To that end, Olson (1971) articulates that the very idea of NGOs is to present added value for the constituencies they represent, toward a variety of agencies. Diamond, states that NGOs are explained as "the area of organized social life that is open, voluntary, self-generating, at least partially self-supporting, autonomous from the state, and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules" (Diamond, 1999: 221).

In the Romani movement, NGOs have played a crucial role at representing grassroots interests at the national level of their states. However, guided by the premise that multiple states within the European continent govern with a high dose of anti-gypsyism⁵ sentiment, the next logical step is advocating and representing Romani interests is on the transnational level. Hence, the establishment of a variety of Romani TANs throughout the years. Corresponding to this, Melucci further asserts that social movements have the propensity to "acquire a transnational dimension" (Melucci, 1992: 9). This points out that by joining TANs, grassroots Romani NGOs do not in fact lose their legitimacy nor representative power. In fact, this only points out that their decisions to do so, is plainly a structural approach of the wider/macro social movements. Moreover, the Romani people do represent Europe's largest transnational minority, to that end,

⁵ Due to the limitations of this thesis the concept of anti-gypsyism will not be elaborated on. However, for more information in this regard please see Nicolae, Valeriu (2006). Towards a Definition of Anti-Gypsyism. Available at: <http://www.ergonetwork.org/media/userfiles/media/egro/Towards%20a%20Definition%20of%20Anti-Gypsyism.pdf>

joining a forum of a transnational political character further adds to the logical approach of strengthening the movement itself.

The Romani movement at both national and transnational levels are guided by a high level of emotions, emotions through which they further empower individuals at pursuing acts of active citizenship, and political participation. Vermeerch (2014), also argues that emotions are a driving force of politics within the Romani movement, and as such he articulates that the emotions arise from the claim of equality and recognition. Jasper, has a vast amount of work done into the detailing of the emotions when it comes to acts of political participation. He argues that the trigger to political action comes through the trust and respect citizens have within the movement, the author moreover, argues that people join organizations due to the set of emotions one has toward the cause (Jasper, 1998). However, political participation does in turn holds a twofold meaning, "it means both taking part, that is, acting so as to promote the interests and the needs of an actor as well as belonging to a system, identifying with the general interests of the community" (Melucci, 1992: 10-11).

In regard to defining the power of TANs, there have been a number of different approaches, and to that end how does one even define power itself? As Dahl (1957) notes scientists are yet to set forth an well articulated definition "that is rigorous enough to be of use in the systematic study of this important social phenomenon" (Dahl, 1957: 201). Beetham, argues that the groundwork for "systematic relations of dominance and subordination lie" in the 'rules of power', the author further states that these are rules that act as ideology leading the rule-out "from access to key resources, activities and positions of command" (Beetham 1991, p.63). However, Dahl puts power in perspective as the "relation between people, which is expressed in simple symbolic notation" (Dahl, 1957: 201).

Chapter 3 - Transnational Entities Working with Roma Youth

The previous chapter introduced the theoretical concepts of TANs, and their legitimacy, representation, means of influencing policy, as well as power. Within the introduction of this thesis the overall holistic picture of the Romani movement was introduced, therefore, as the next logical step this chapter lies forth the overall holistic picture of the most relevant actors within the transnational social Roma youth movement. It does so by dividing the chapter into three sub-chapters each descriptively introducing relevant actors within the Roma youth movement. The first section introduces the work of inter-governmental organizations, the second one introduces the work of international organizations, and the third introduces the work of Roma youth TANs. This is important because it provides with a much needed background, and further comprehension of why FERYP and ternYpe were chosen as units of analysis, however this is something that is further discussed in the next chapter of this thesis entitled "Case Selection and Analysis."

3.1 Inter-governmental organizations

The beginnings of what is now known as the OSCE are traced back to the 1970s with the creation of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which in 1994 was changed to the OSCE we know today. The membership of the OSCE constitutes a total of 57 member states, out of which all receive an equal stand, moreover, all of the decision this organization makes are decided upon a consensual basis (OSCE, 2016). Within its structure there is a Warsaw, Poland based program entitled Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR). The ODIHR has five structural divisions that correspond to the objectives of assisting member states in achieving the commitments within the field of human rights and democracy,

mainly by observing elections, promoting and monitoring human rights, as well as by providing democracy assistance projects throughout the OSCE regions (OSCE-ODIHR, 2016). The structure of the OSCE-ODIHR can be further graphically illustrated below:

ODIHR's structure



Figure 1: OSCE-ODIHR Structure. *Source:* (OSCE-ODIHR 2016)

The OSCE-CPRSI is part of the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR). In its beginnings Nicolae Gheorghe had a curtail role within this division, by among the others provide for funding opportunities for Romani activist and their international activities (Nirenberg, 2009). Moreover, Vermeersch (2001) articulates that it had began direct involvement in Roma political participation by the year 2000. To that end, in the course of the past two years this office has increased its activities with working on Roma youth participation. In 2014 they organized a conference where about 40 Roma activist discussed ideas about Roma youth mobilization, empowerment, and political participation as well as involvement in decision-making (OSCE-CPRSI, 2014). This led to the publication "Activism, Participation and Security among Roma and Sinti Youth" in 2015 where Romani Junior Experts presented their views on this issue (OSCE-CPRSI, 2016).

The CoE represents Europe's oldest institution created in the year 1949. This organization has a long tradition of working with Roma that dates back to the year 1969 when the first text on Roma was issued by this organization. In 1995 an intergovernmental committee was set up to oversee Roma issues, then 10 years later the ERTF witnessed its establishment within the structures of this organization (Liégeois, 2012). Moreover, Nirenberg (2009) notes that the CoE had financially contributed toward the creation of two Roma TANs, the International Roma Women's Network and the FERYP. Liégeois (2012) further elaborates that following a training course for Roma youth, the directorate of Youth and Sport decided to organize a seminar for young Roma in September 1996, which sparked the establishment of FERYP. The aim was, according to Liégeois, to promote Roma youth within European agencies.

The CoE had also initiated the creation of the Ad Hoc Committee of Experts on Roma Issues (CAHROM) in 2011 (CoE, 2011), as well as a Roma Specialist Group, and the Special Representative of the Secretary General for Roma Issues of the Council of Europe. In terms of Roma Youth the RYAP was also adopted which represents a "response of the Council of Europe to challenges faced by Roma young people in Europe, particularly in relation to their empowerment, participation in policy decision-making processes and structures at European level, and multiple realities of discrimination" (CoE, 2011). Partners of the RYAP include FERYP, ternYpe, Phiren Amenca, OSF, ERRC, REF, as well as the OSCE-ODIHR.

3.2 International Entities

The ERRC is an international organization based in Budapest, Hungary working toward the advancement of Roma rights, mainly through strategic litigation, advocacy, policy and research development, as well as human rights education. While the organization's mission,

vision, and mandate does not explicitly state that they work with Roma youth, they do in fact have a long track record of empowering them. In the past they have offered scholarships to Romani nationals studying law or public administration. In 2003 they have awarded 31 such scholarships (ERRC, 2004). Moreover, since their early years of work they have provided internships, and in recent years they have provided two year traineeships for young Roma. The ERRC also offers human rights summer schools each year aimed at increasing and strengthening Romani activist throughout Europe (ERRC 2013).

The Open Society Institute - Regional Roma Participation Program (OSI-RPP), established in 1997, where the main program activities involved:

"[...] to participate in the majority society in which they live; to open the ways for the Roma leading peaceful lives amidst the general population, while at the same time retaining their identity, to encourage the Roma to take part in the democratization process and to use their own potential to improve their situation in the region; and to empower the Roma to fight for an open society in which they can take part as equal partners" (OSI 1996: 141–2 quoted in Krizsán & Zentai, 2004: 176).

And in terms of working with Roma youth they have has offered internships for young Roma activists⁶, and have supported FERYP in its early beginnings.

The Open Society Foundations - Roma Initiatives Office (OSF-RIO) operates in three strategic areas, out of which the Barvalipe (Roma word for 'richness') component of the program "invests in building the capacity of an emerging generation of young [...] to take a leadership role by involving them in voter education and community mobilization campaigns, and providing

⁶ Information from informal conversation with a former employee of the program who was Program Qualifications Officer from 1997 until 2000.

training that gives Roma activists the skills and confidence to be a force for social change" (Open Society Foundation, 2016).

The Pakiv European Roma Fund's first project was a two year training program for 20 Romani nationals from Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and Slovakia. This program focused on enhancing skills related to business administration, leadership, management, writing applications and overall knowledge of the non-profit sector. At the end of this two year program, its participants have had the opportunity to apply for a 15.000 US grant, for an income-generating project (Pakiv, 2014).

The Diplo Foundation on the other hand, had developed a one year "Roma Diplomacy" project back in 2004. This project had 25 participants, who were Romani nationals from all over Europe. Unlike the Pakiv project, this one had a wider outreach in terms of geographical outreach. The project aimed at enhancing the participants skills in capacity building, research, and among the other they had academic courses on diplomacy. The participants also had the opportunity to conduct internships in EU institutions, international NGOs, and they participated in a wide range of conferences where they could act as panelists and learn from leading experts in the field of diplomacy and awareness building (Nicolae & Slavik, 2007).

As a result of the Decade a new international organization in 2005 was created, namely the Roma Education Fund⁷ (REF). The REF's articulates its mission and goal, as an effort of sealing the educational gap between Roma and non-Roma, namely, through the support of their grant-making and scholarship programs (Roma Education Fund, 2005). Through its Scholarship Program, the REF has significantly contributed to the overall access of Romani students into

⁷ For more information about the Roma Education Fund see: <http://www.romaeducationfund.hu/>

higher education institutions. If in the beginnings of the Romani movement the educated elite composed a handful of individuals, today this number corresponds to more than 7000 Romani university students to date (Roma Education Fund, 2016).

The Decade initiative was based on the pillars of housing, health, housing and education. As mentioned above as direct result of this initiative the REF was brought forth. And to that end while they have not exclusively targeted Roma youth, one of their meetings in Croatia in 2013 was devoted to the topic of Roma Youth Activism and Participation. This meeting had participating delegates from both FERYP and ternYpe, as well as representatives from the OSF, namely, from the former Program Manager of the Balvalipe portfolio of the OSF-RIO and a program coordinator of a former Roma related program at the OSF. Among the others, the head of education and training unit of the youth department of CoE was also present (Decade, 2013). Their conference outcomes included ten concluding and recommending remarks⁸ toward the Decade secretariat and the participating countries of the Decade initiative. Unfortunately, this conference alone represents the only attempt from the Decade initiative aimed at strengthening Roma youth activism and participation.

3.3 Transnational Advocacy Networks

The European Roma Grassroots Organizations Network (ERGO) is a TAN founded in the Netherlands, with an operating office in Brussels. This TAN is constituted by a total of 26 local NGOs from a wide European context (ERGO 2016b). Thus the TAN argues that they comprehend local dynamics, and create a "bottom-up pressure on administrations to take positive action to address Roma exclusion. As such, ERGO uniquely bridges the gap between grassroots

⁸ The Recommendations of the Youth Conference to the Governments are available here: http://www.romadecade.org/cms/upload/file/9282_file1_recommendations-roma-youth.pdf

level and European level" (ERGO 2016a). This TAN has a structure that is built around four pillars through which they aim to bring about change. These strategic pillars constitute: a) Network Building - through which they work toward empowerment and enhancement of leadership of Roma (primarily Roma youth); b) Campaigning - through which they aim at improving the overall public image that the mainstream society has toward Roma; c) Advocacy - through which they aim at improving the public policies stirred toward Roma; and d) Knowledge Building and Sharing - involvement in Roma related projects. These four strategic pillars are graphically illustrated bellow (ERGO, 2016).



Figure 2: ERGO four building blocks that help them to bring change. *Source:* (ERGO, 2016)

Among the wide range of ERGO members the TAN ternYpe also constitutes a close and strategic partner. Some of their main project involving Roma youth have been the 'Young Roma Advocates' project supported by EU DG Education and Culture. The RomaReact online platform which is "built seeking social change and justice [...] RomaReact mobilizes young people to actively participate in society and become agents in their own lives as well as equal and

respected citizens" (ERGO, 2016). And the Typical Roma campaign "where young Roma addressed and challenged the stigmatization and prejudiced stereotyping" (ERGO, 2016).

Another TAN that is highly active at its work with Roma youth is the 'Phiren Amenca' TAN or Roma and non-Roma volunteers. Its mission constitutes "creating opportunities for non-formal education, dialogue and engagement, in order to challenge stereotypes and racism", moreover this TAN achieves its goals through their guiding principles, namely, "volunteering and voluntary service, non-formal education, dialogue and engagement, and by challenging stereotypes and racism" (PhirenAmenca, 2016).

Through my initial research for the purposes of this thesis I found mentioning of an Roma youth TAN named 'East Meets West'. However, through the research there is only empirical evidence that this TAN is a member of the TAN European Roma and Travelers Forum (ERTF, 2016), and that its registered in Germany but apparently run by a Macedonian Roma national (Sveriges Radio 2016).

FERYP started as a non-formal network back in 1997, and was officially registered as a European Roma Youth Association in Strasbourg, France in 2002. Argued by Liégeois (2012) ten years after the creation of FERYP its membership extended to 5000 members. A membership composed of individuals as well as Romani NGOs from more than 10 European countries. However, an internal document of the organization, namely an annual report from 2009, states that its membership actually expands to around 10 000 members – Roma Youth associations and individuals, in more than 15 European countries. The objectives of FERYP, include: Provideing information and training to young Roma and Roma leaders at European level; Promoting the role of the young Roma as actors to combat racism and discrimination and as promoters of the

integration of the Roma community; Encouraging and providing opportunities for networking between the Roma communities; Supporting the development and encouraging the participation of the Roma Youth at national and European levels; Implementing projects and activities aimed at sharing culture and strengthening the identity of the Roma Youth; Representing its members at European level. And to that end, for the achievement of its objectives FERYP can organize and implement by itself or in co-operation with other organizations the following type of activities: European training, seminars and meetings aimed at improving the capacity and the competencies of its members; Publications and information bulletins; Research; Youth exchanges, language courses and other international activities aimed at promotion of co-operation and dialogue between the Roma communities in Europe; Fundraising activities aimed at providing the necessary means for the work of the organization; Audio-visual activities aimed at raising awareness within the European society about the situations and the aspirations of the Young Roma as well as to provide information related to this.

TernYpe as a Roma youth TAN was founded by a variety of Roma youth organizations from Albania, Bulgaria, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Slovakia, Spain and Poland in January 2010. Since 2006 their awareness raised and they realized that they want to further develop a space for young Roma, where they can become active citizens and to make the voice of youth heard. At their first General Assembly in January 2010, in Kraków, Poland they finalized their mission, structure, membership criteria, and common understanding of a long-term networking process. After the European Roma Youth Summit in April 2010, they signed a Memorandum of Understanding as the basis of the informal network during their 2nd General Assembly in Cordoba, Spain. At the same time their experience grew in local and national youth work, through a variety of projects, campaigning as well as through outstanding initiatives such as the European Roma Youth

Summit and the international youth seminar “The Roma Genocide” in Auschwitz/Kraków. During the 3rd General Assembly in Nove Mesto nad Vahom (SK) they started the “ternYpe European Youth Campaign for All in One Society” (ternYpe, 2011). TernYpe's mission is to "creates space for young people to become active citizens through empowerment, mobilisation, self-organisation and participation [...] they believe in the common efforts by creating trust, and mutual respect between Roma and non-Roma youth” (ternYpe, 2016).

Chapter 4 - Case Selection and Analysis

The aim of the previous chapter was to provide an overview of transnational entities that work with Roma youth. This was important to set forth as it gave an overall holistic picture of relevant actors, thus allowing me to now narrow the discussion on the case selection of the units of analysis that are centered in this thesis. Therefore, this chapter is divided in two sub-chapters, the first further elaborates on the chosen units of analysis and provides for a final justification as to why they are selected as units of analysis. Then the second sub-chapter sets forth the analysis of FERYP and ternYpe.

4.1 Case Selection

I selected FERYP and ternYpe because they indentify and strengthen the interests of Roma youth from local and national level upward toward the international one. Both TANs have the same target group, a similar approach in regard to their scope of work, and moreover have a similar governing structure. They are the most persistent and eminent Roma youth TANs on the European level.

FERYP was the first Roma youth TAN to ever emerge in the Romani movement. The very fact that it has nearly 20 years of working experience behind it alone gives us plenty of hints in regard to its significance in the field. This TAN has had a great track record with its work done through the CoE, and has received and enjoys a high reputation at CoE agencies.

While ternYpe is a relatively new TAN who started as a informal network, and then formalized its structure in 2015, and was registered as a TAN in Brussels, it is very significant to the Romani movement because in a short amount of time they have become relevant actors on a

European level, and have reached a very high level visibility at both transnational and local level. They have in recent times also gained a high level of reputation within the CoE structures, but also within agencies of the EU.

However, there are apparent differences between the two as well. One major difference is that FERYP has an exclusive membership of only Romani individuals and organizations, while ternYpe takes pride in its wide membership taking both Roma and non-Roma within its structure. Moreover, another major difference is that while FERYP has a high dose of concentration within agencies of the CoE, ternYpe targets a range of transnational agencies on the European level.

The previous chapter introduced the work done by other TANs as well, they are not taken under consideration because the TAN ERGO does not operate exclusively with Roma youth, although they constitute one of their main working target groups this TAN operates on a boarder spectrum. Phiren Amenca was not chosen as a unit of analysis because as a TAN they only aim at enhancing opportunities for non-formal education, discussion, and engagement. To that end, the TAN East Meets West is unfit for any type of analysis since there is absolutely no track record of its existence let alone its track record of activities. In this light the reason for choosing FERYP and ternYpe as units of analysis is now fully justified.

4.2 Analysis

Now that the selection of units of analysis have been elaborated on and fully justified, this sub-chapter will present the analysis itself, based on the five factors: (1) Character of representation; (2) Sequence of accountability; (3) Transnational influence within international entities - cooperation and alliance formation; (4) Factors of legitimacy and power; (5) Funding -

regarding limitations to impact and scope of work. To that end, this sub-chapter is further divided into two sub sub-chapters, each elaborating and evaluating one unit of analysis. The arguments presented bellow are based on the data I gathered through the interviews, I end each sub sub-chapter with summative points and concluding observations.

4.2.1 Forum of European Roma Young People

When it comes to the character of representation FERYP aims at representing its members and associates on the European level, and co-coordinating and implementing activities with European and National dimensions, mainly guided by the premise - 'For and by Young Roma'. FERYP's constituency currently covers 18 European countries, 20 youth NGO's and more than 50 individuals. Their scope of work aspires to support, encourage and enhance active Roma youth participation in decision-making processes with the aim to mainstream Roma issues in youth policies and youth issues in Roma policies and programs. In this light the interview with Orhan uncovers that actually during his 18 month mandate at the Youth Advisory Council representing FERYP, he wanted to establish a mainstreaming of Roma issues in youth policies, and youth issues in Roma policies. To that end, what was done during his mandate was having advocating for a member of the CAHROM, to take part within the RYAP coordination body. To a certain extent this enabled the question of the RYAP itself to be positioned within the structured work of CAHROM. Further elaborating on their structure, and in turn sequence of representation this TAN is elected of experienced young Roma professionals who are ready to address Roma youth challenges and strongly support Roma youth initiatives in Europe. In this light, FERYP is currently the only Roma organization, representing the Roma youth in the Advisory Council on Youth of the CoE.

In terms of their sequence of accountability this TAN is accountable at first instance to its members and its partners and stakeholders. In regard to the membership, since 2009 it has expanded its membership and strengthened the communication and networking between its members, through the formation of their e-group, website, social media, during the activities, etc. Toward taking account at the local level, FERYP has disseminated a number of information and promotion materials, which are providing some expertise, not only on general Youth issues, but also on specific themes such as Human Rights Education, Roma Migration, Roma Youth Participation, etc. Among these lines FERYP members during study sessions have worked on the development of concrete project proposals.

Now in regard to their transnational influence within international entities, cooperation and alliance formation, FERYP identifies firstly its main alliance with the network of 20 youth NGO's and more than 50 individuals as active members. Members of FERYP argue that they have significantly contributed to increasing the capacities of Roma Youngsters from all over Europe to be able to advocate for their own and the rights of their community. More than 300 Roma youth went through the trainings, seminars and conferences organized by FERYP in the last few years. And about 10% of them are holding vital leadership positions in different Roma and non-Roma formal entities in Europe. Going back to the membership this TAN is open to 2 categories of members: a) associations, institutions and foundations, national and local, all who have to have Roma with their governing body; and b) individual members. The individual membership through its existence has constituted more than 5000 young Roma members from more than 10 countries in Europe. Through its projects that have been implemented since 1997 the majority of the members have been participants in various FERYP activities and have signed up for membership. However, over the years they have become passive members. Going back to the

transnational cooperation, the development of the RYAP represents one of the occasions when the FERYP and ternYpe have worked together. These two TANSs also share membership at the working group for implementation of RYAP. To that end, on the Decade initiative conference in Croatia, Orhan was witness of the great possibilities for cooperation between FERYP and ternYpe, he articulated that when they are together at the same table they act very articulated, prepared, and to the point. In terms of its cooperation and influence with other agencies FERYP is represented in the Advisory Council on Youth of the CoE since 2009, and moreover claims to represents its members in the following structures: CAHROM (Ad Hoc group for Roma ,CoE); European Roma Traveler Forum (until 2014); European Commission through the Roma platform, and the Committee of International NGOs of the CoE. Orhan, moreover, pointed out that FERYP had an immense role during the first phase of the creation of the RYAP, and as such they set fourth priorities that reflected the needs of the Roma youth population at the local level. Moreover, most of these priorities were implemented by CoE, through a variety of events, study sessions, trainings etc.

My interviewees further argued that trough active participation in these agencies, young Roma people from local level have direct access to policy makers and actively contribute to EU policy framing. In this light some of their achievements include: Empowering Roma youth through participation: effective policy design at local and regional levels (RESOLUTION 366, 2014), preparation of a migration booklet, active participation in the creation of a 'Rights to Remember' handbook for Education of young people on Roma Genocide, and FERYPs members recommendations for the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities⁹, these recommendations are relevant as they were directly proposed by Young Roma themselves and were widely

⁹ For more information about this CoE agency see: http://www.coe.int/t/Congress/default_en.asp

distributed to policy makers. To that end the main challenge that was articulated was the lack of active exchange with all FERYP members at local level.

In terms of factors of legitimacy and power, my interviewees stated that power goes in hand with legitimacy and what has been done for Roma youth. To that end, it was argued that since the creation of FERYP to date this TAN had been present in all important decisions, structures, bodies, that have made decisions on Roma youth. And to that end, this TAN gained this power through its activities from the two decades of its work. FERYP did this by bringing Roma youth together, and indentifying their needs for an international level, and made them visible. It was further expressed that they have cooperation with OSCE, CoE, and now in October they the first Roma youth conference organized by Slovakia, because it runs the EU presidency, FERYP was invited as a partner. Cristina argued that "so the power is the name we have created, and the invitations we get as relevant actors for representing Roma youth".

Funding does bring forth limitations to their impact as well as scope of work. FERYP has no permanent or long term financial supporter. The CoE has been regularly supporting FERYP activities based on the credibility and usefulness of the ideas that always elevated from the Roma youngsters. In 2012 they introduced a fee for members however, they have not had much success in this and have not since then introduced such a fee. It was indentified that the lack of financing impacts the TANs capacity at maintaining their activities regularly.

This is all well, however, it was indentified through the interviews that in recent years recent times, the members and management of FERYP have slowly lost sight in regard to what they can really accomplish. FERYP actually has a great capacity of being an actor on the international level due to their creation within the hubs of the CoE, and the respect it enjoys

within the variety of European agencies. Moreover, having in mind that in the first decade of its creation FERYP focused and relied exclusively on the CoE cooperation funding etc. they forgot that they could have advocated within the EU, or more specifically advocating on a structured level at the NRIS, especially since nation states when implementing any strategy on Roma take a structural dialog with meaningful stakeholders. While Denis pointed out that within the framework of the CoE youth department until the year 2020 the commitment for Roma youth remains a priority, the FERYP still needs to consider expansion of advocacy at the least toward other EU agencies.

4.2.1 International Roma youth network - ternYpe

The TAN ternYpe was a informal network from 2009, but in order to secure their role as a stakeholder they needed have a legal body, therefore in 2015 it was formalized as an TAN and it had been registered in Brussels. ternYpe has general assembly's organized twice a year, participatory meeting, where the core members meet and talk about the work done, what has to be done and define a common action plan for the future. They indentify their constituencies as firstly their members, then each member organization, and lastly through these members the final constituency represents the grassroots constituencies. By that they build up the bottom-up toward regional, and then to the international. Informally, they want to reach out to as many youth as possible. It was also indentified that their work does not affect grassroots in the long term. What they do is to prepare a next scenario where in the future there will be young Roma who can take over the structure, so they build a structure, a space, for them to take over.

In terms of accountability as a formal TAN they are accountable to their members, and by this, the accountability drops down to the grassroots, toward the constituency that their members have. Anna said that "this process might now always be so visible, and evident, and might not

happen with all member countries. but we try at least to be as transparent as possible in terms of showing what we do, and where we are active, through websites, and social media".

Within the transnational arena this TAN ternYpe has made itself quite present, and they have some accomplishments that have happened by, among the others, their work as well. In this light as the biggest accomplishment that was indentified was the recognition of the Roma genocide by the European Parliament, by its resolution which passed in April last year¹⁰. Among these lines this TAN aims to evidently show the fact that they continuously work on a dialog with policy makers. To that end, they try to impact policy making by using both bottom-up and top-down approaches. Vicente (Magnetio) stated that *"We try to take a bottom-up approach, but at the same time this depends where we place our self, and since we are not at the bottom, but somehow in the middle there is no two dimensions (bottom or top), but there is a whole spectrum in the middle. Therefore, I will state that we are taking somehow a middle approach. But in theory it's mostly a bottom-up approach."*

In this light, in terms of cooperation with FERYP it was acknowledged that in early years of this TANs formation there had been a time when there was competition between them, especially while ternYpe was emerging and got its recognition. However, overtime this was been overcome. While they don't cooperate on a day to day basis, there is a collective support, and both are present when big youth events are happening. Moreover, there are also friendship ties between members of the two networks. My interviewees stated that the two TANs have different roles, and while there is an overlap it is not a complete one, moreover, it was stated that FERYP mostly concentrates on CoE, while ternYpe aims both CoE and the agencies of the EU.

¹⁰ For more information about this see: <http://2august.eu/ep-recognition/>

In terms of power it was argued that the biggest power they have is firstly the fact that they have a lot of members who are well prepared, passionate activists, educated, are very articulated and sophisticated when they speak, but also down to earth and from the community. Moreover, they identify their power in terms of their discourse, the narrative, which they are changing, the paradigm on how the Roma issues are looked at as well as how they look at their own self's. TernYpe's composition is mainly made out of proud and well prepared Roma, thus making them compelling to donors and policy makers, which in turn further contributes to their power. To that end, they use this power skillfully because they managed to quickly become visible as a Roma youth stakeholder, especially on a EU level. Another big power that ternYpe recognizes is their name, as Vicente (Magnet) said *"One of the biggest powers of the network is its name, people recognize it. The power of the reputation, the fact that we are a self-made organization, which started from nine people and becoming something huge, but also the power of networking because we are very well connected"*.

Both my interviewees articulated that legitimacy is a "tricky" question. It was stated they do not aim to represent the "only" Roma voice, but rather, they aim at securing the interest of Roma young people. To that end, it was articulated that there is a strong current towards mainstreaming of the Roma youth voice within the youth voice in general. Their members are part of national and local youth councils, and in this light and they are visible on transnational level representing youth, thus giving ternYpe a dose of legitimacy. Moreover, Vicente (Magnet) said that *"ternYpe is not a political structure its objective is not representation, its objective is to create a space, now if there is no other voice for Roma then of course we will be there"*.

This in turn takes us to ternYpe's visibility. It was argued by Anna that it actually varies from country to country, members roles are to communicate as much as possible with grassroots

and have them participate. To that end, there is a uneven knowledge of ternYpe, but since they have a lot of events, youth project, and campaigns, through the national members they aim to bring people from grassroots. In Poland, for example, it was affirmed that ternYpe is very visible, because there they do massive events in multiple cities. In these events they bring young Roma from communities and involve them in their actions. In Macedonia, went in Shuto Orizari - Shutka, Europe's biggest municipality governed by Roma, and had activities with people living there. Moreover, in Poland they have an artist that goes in Roma communities and does artistic projects there with the kids from communities.

Vicente (Magneto) argued *"We are very visible, now the question if we have developed a sustainable relation with the youngsters within grassroots, well that's another thing. From a critical point of view, follow-up and sustainability to really create a sense of identity and pride for youngsters who will take over is necessary, however we were not able to create this for everyone. For me on a individual level it worked, but not for everyone, because sustainable work with young people is a real challenge."*

Both of my interviewees acknowledged that they have a diversified source of funding. The EU has been a major funder, but also the CoE, OSCE, and a lot of funds come from private foundations as well. They argued that they have skilled people for fundraising. Moreover, it's about knowing how to identify the right type of funders, not only funding per say.

Through my research it is evident that ternYpe has taken a clear and relevant stand as a transnational actor in European transnational policy making, but also as actor contributing to the overall Romani movement, and the youth Roma movement in particular. While this TAN is relatively young when compared to that of FERYP, within its short life span it has actually brought forth plenty of results. One activity that further represents its great competence is the

organization of the 70th anniversary of the 2nd of August Roma Genocide Remembrance Day. They managed to gather over 1000 youngsters from not only a European context, but wider. Through the internal documents which I analyzed it was noted that they really took note on other TANs and organizations working with Roma youth, and to that end, they have managed to create a unique effort at advancing Roma youth.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This thesis represents one of the very rare scholarly contributions toward the elaboration of the Romani youth movement. While there is an abundance of research done on TANs and the Roma movement in general, Roma youth and their story remain underrepresented within academia. With this thesis I centered the focus on the Roma youth TANs FERYP and ternYpe, the research, as entities that represent the interests of Roma youth. I analyzed and showcased their means of power relations, their legitimacy, and their stand as actors within the policy-making realm on the transnational level. My hypothesis was proved right, indeed these two TANs are the most effective and prestigious actors on a European level. To that end, in terms of their power I would argue that in fact they really do not take full advantage over their power.

The answers to my first research question is that, they are placing themselves as relevant actors at the European level through a variety of events, campaigns, seminars, workshops and trainings. This increased their visibility, thus making them relevant agents who are well recognized by European agencies. And among these lines they have the power to shape opinions of higher structures when they have the ability to '*sit on the same table*' with them, and set forth their opinions about what needs to be a priority for Roma youth. Answering the second research question, they can enhance their power and legitimacy in a number of ways. I would state that these two TANs can have a greater impact if they, figure out how to cooperate on a further level. Other than one Decade conference, and the CoEs RYAP, they have no real connections.

This reminds me partially on the relations between the International Romani Union (IRU), and the Roma Nation Congress (RNC). It was acknowledged by one of my interviewees that there is a need of bridging the gap of elder Romani leaders and the newly emerged Romani

youth leaders. And while I truly agree with this, it is also of great essence that the two TANs take note of the historical background of similar structures that dealt with the question of Roma in past, and their cooperation. There is much to learn from the cases of IRU and RNC, in this respect only through effective and efficient cooperation can the FERYP and ternYpe create a sustainable sequence of events for further advancement of Roma youth.

Secondly, they have to make use of their members constituency on the grassroots level. Only through a two way stream of pressure can they manage successful advocacy at national and transnational levels. Throughout this thesis it was confirmed that their membership is significant in numbers, now the question is whether they remain using this membership for articulating top structures that they have a voice that is high in numbers and broad in geographical terms, or they will figure streams of gaining further visibility in grassroots thus creating a real shift of paradigm in terms of Romani advocacy. Vicente (Magnet) pointed out that the question of what is next in the Roma youth movement is essential, and to that end I would state that FERYP and ternYpe are the ones that need to figure this out.

As I pointed out in the beginning of my concluding remarks the topic at hand has yet to be attributed in scholarly discourse, to that end while it does represent a *sui generis* knowledge production, it actually only barely scratched the surface. In this light this thesis can serve as a starting point for many researchers.

Appendix

Interview questions:

Warm up phase:

- Could you tell me about your professional background?
- How long have you been involved with the [network]?
- What is your role within [network], and what are your tasks?
- What are the main working areas of [network]?

Main phase:

- Can you describe the governing structure of [network]?
- How many organizations and/or individuals compose [network]?
- How does [network] define its mandate?
- Who does [network] define as its constituencies?
- What is the outreach and visibility level of [network] at the grassroots (local) level?
- In your view what defines the power of [network], and how does it use this power?
- In your opinion how and why is [network] a legitimate entity for representing Roma youth on a transnational level?
- To whom is your [network] accountable to, and how does [network] account?
- How does [network] place itself within the transnational policy making arena, and does it take a bottom-up or top-down approach toward tackling policies?
- What do you consider to be [network] main achievement and impact on a transnational level, and what has been the biggest challenge that [network] has faced in this regard?
- What are the ways through which [network] realizes its goals and objectives?
- From the viewpoint of your position, what are the most pressing issues that [network] should work on, and in what ways should these issues be addressed by [network]?
- What are [network] main sources of funding, and does funding define your areas of work?
- Does your [network] form alliances with other youth networks, why?
- Does FERYP/ternYpe cooperate with ternYpe/FERYP, why/how?

Cool down phase:

- Is there something relevant to that topic that I haven't asked you, and would like to address it?
- May I for the purposes of this thesis disclose your name?
- Would you like a copy of the thesis upon its completion?

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