Vilnius University

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

Eastern Europan and Russian Studies

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Assimilation, accommodation, and exclusion: integration of the Romani Community in Lithuania after the independence

MASTER THESIS

Tutor:

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25th of May 2020

Vilnius

Conclusions of the tutor of the Master's thesis (concerning the public defence):

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(date)   (name, surname)   (signature)

The Master's thesis has been submitted to the Commission of Defence:

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(date)   (signature of the secretary of the Commission of Defence)

Reviewer of the thesis:

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(name, surname)

Evaluation of the Commission of Defence:

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Head of the commission:

Members of the commission:

Diaz Raudales, Ian Gabiel: Assimilation, accommodation, and exclusion: integration of the Romani Community in Lithuania after the independence: Master in Eastern European and Russian Studies studies program, Master thesis / Vilnius University Institute of International Relations and Political Science; tutor: Vilius Mačkinis. Vilnius, 2020. – 53 pages

Motivated by the observation about the discrepancy between the politics of nation-building and minority integration in Lithuania and missing theoretical inclusion of the EU into the explanatory framework. This thesis demonstrates the applicability of H. Mylonas theoretical model for the explanation of the choice of Roma integration policies in Lithuania during the period 2000-2020. Using the method of strategic document analysis, this master thesis demonstrates that Lithuanian strategies can be conceptualized as accommodation, despite some attemtps to exclude or assimilate the Roma minority. It argues that this choice of policies was related to the EU's requirements. In this manner, this thesis demonstrates that H. Mylonas framework is suitable for the explanation of contradictions in the Lithuanian national building and Roma integration and might be applied to study its relations towards other minorities as well. Moreover, it might be applied to a more diverse type of external actors, not only neighboring states.

Key words: Roma, Integration, Accommodation, Assimilation, Exclusion, EU

Summary (maximum: 700 characters)

The research puzzle that is guiding this research emerges from two (one empirical and one theoretical) observations.

The first one is related to the apparent discrepancy between Lithuanian contempt towards the Roma community and the state choice of integration policies targeted to them in the context of nation-building. Not always, people attitudes manifest through state intervention. However, in the context of an intense nation-building process that encourages national sentiments, such attitudes are more likely to reveal a collective state of mind. Therefore it is not hard to imagine that the negative attitudes towards the Roma are an example of a broader national sentiment (ethnos). However, the Lithuanian state has targeted the Roma with a mixed type of policies. Some reflect this negative sentiment and are predicted clearly by the ethnic-based theories of nationalism. From these theories perspective, Lithuania's ethnic character of nation-building explains why language is so important to outline what is consider national and what is not like the Roma language, for example.

Even when from an ethic/civic perspective, some policies that "betrayed" the "ethnic sentiment" like Lithuanian citizenship can be justified neither of these perspectives can account for what determinates the choice of a state.

This leads me to my second, theoretical observation. The insufficient ability of traditional nationalist theories to clearly account for all the types of policies a state is likely to take in cases like the Romani.

The integration of minorities is a part of diverse literature focused on nation-building. The way different theories explain and define the relations between the state and its minorities is strongly related to their understanding of the nation. While some theories, called primordialist by some typologies, see the nations as fixed and given, others consider them as fluid and changing, modernist, for example. However, the studies on the choice of integration policies are strongly influenced by the ethnic theories that see only two possible outcomes of integration: exclusion or assimilation.

An alternative to solve address this limitation is presented by Harri Mylonas and his politics of the national building framework. According to Mylonas, the dichotomies of assimilation versus exclusion do not capture the full range of the observed variation. In his proposal, Mylonas extends a bridge between nationalism studies and international relations, focusing on the importance of international and geostrategic concerns for nation-building policies. (Mylonas 2012, 5)

From a reversed-neoclassical realism, Mylonas proposes that a state choice of integration policies towards a particular group is determined by the states' foreign policy goals and the presence of external power. In the case of Lithuania and the Roma community, this choice of policies would be conditioned by the European Union in its role of an external power and sponsor for the Roma community.

Summing up, motivated by the empirical experiences and observation about the discrepancy between the politics of nation-building and minority integration in Lithuania, this thesis sets out to explain it, by including the external actor (the EU) into the explanatory framework while at the same time testing Mylonas framework applicability for the Roma case in Lithuania.

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Introduction

When my plane finally landed at Vilnius Airport, I immediately felt at ease. It was 2015, and I had just traveled 40 hours from my home city, Tegucigalpa in Honduras. It was my first time in Lithuania, and I was meant to spend the following three months living in the country. I quickly committed fully to the role of a clumsy tourist and set myself on a path to "experience" the country. Real is beautiful. For weeks everything seemed to be going according to the plan as I discovered post-card worthy sights across the country that reaffirmed my beliefs about Lithuanians.

This reassuring feeling did not last long. From inside of a bus, framed by the window, I saw three ladies waiting in line. Short, with dark hair, brown skin, and colorful clothes, they did not fit into my narrow-minded idea of Lithuania, so I was surprised to learn that they were locals. Furthermore, those women belong to the Roma community, although they are called pejoratively "Gypsies" or "Čigonai" in Lithuanian. The Roma have been living in these lands as a more or less as a distinctive ethnic group, since the days of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 15th Century.

Despite it, a quick survey between my acquaintances revealed that their presence is not exactly appreciated. Negative perceptions about Roma are common among Lithuanians. "They are not Lithuanian," someone warned me, "They have always been their own people, and not even the Soviets managed to integrate them," another person said. These testimonies are not isolated incidents; quite the opposite, they reflected a broader attitude towards the Roma. This sentiment can be denominated as Anti-Gypsyism

(European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2018). The countless stories, halfway between a folktale and a sensationalist late-night news report that depict the Roma under a negative light, are clear examples of *anti-gypsyism*. In these stories, Romas are portrait as schemers, drug dealers, uncivilized, uneducated, and lazy, to say the least. The latter has perpetuated the notion that the Roma belongs to a lesser culture. Although the perception of the Roma has varied across centuries (Mróz, 2015) sometimes towards more positive depictions, currently, it stands in a negative place.

Although there are several attempts to justify this negative attitude towards the Roma as a persistent historical phenomenon, there are several pieces of evidence of the contrary. According to Aušra Simoniukštytė, in the period of Polish-Lithuania Commonwealth, some of the Roma families were sedentary, wealthy, and famous. For example, the Marcinkevičius family had their palaces, gardens, and lands. Jonas Marcinkevičius, belonging to this family in the 18th Century, was appointed governor of the famous Smargonys Bear Academy (Gritėnas, 2018). Moreover, many Romani people consider the interwar period as the best period for their people, as their nomad lifestyle was recognized as a part of Roma identity, and their groups were allowed to wander (ibid.). During the USSR, Roma people were forced to settle, and the biggest their settlement, Kirtimai, formed on the outskirts of Vilnius.

Since its independence, Lithuanian society engaged in the process of (re)construction of its national state, at the same time, building itself as a Western democracy. Given that personal development constitutes one of their cornerstones, the successful integration of vulnerable minorities to the system is usually used as an indicator of success for young and still developing democracies. The successful integration of different into Lithuanian society became one of its priorities.

The Romani-Gypsie community has a very extended presence across Europe. Although considerably small in Lithuania, the overall European context has kept the issue relevant from a Human Rights perspective and as a development-related issue.

The inclusion of Roma issues in the field of Lithuanian policy was partly encouraged by the international context and the influence of international organizations. In order to become a full member of some international organizations, Lithuania had to adopt international norms and principles to comply with international standards for the protection of ethnic minority rights

Particularly since their independence, the Baltic nations have implemented different generations of programs targeted specifically towards improving Roma living conditions. In Lithuania, this has translated into the adoption of several legal acts like the National Anti-Discrimination Act for 2006-2008, and strategies aimed to improve the quality of life for the Roma community, and their integration into Lithuanian society. In total, there have been four generations of programs approved by the Lithuanian Government targeting the Roma integration: 2000-2004, 2008-2010, 2012-2014, and 2015-2020. This attention had a strong impetus from the European Union, which is interested in the situation of the Roma as they constitute the most significant ethnic minority within its borders (European Commission).

However, although nearly 20 years have passed since the first Lithuanian Roma integration strategy, the trust and inclusion of the Roma people in Lithuanian society have not advanced a lot. The percentage of those not willing to live next to Roma neighbors grew from 59% to 66% between 1990 and 2015.[1]

The lack of success of in the integration of a small minority group, taking place in the context of nation-building, and the integration into the EU makes the Lithuanian case interesting

Summing up, in this master thesis, I analyze the policies that the Lithuanian state uses to integrate the Roma population and the reasons behind these choices.

Research puzzle

The research puzzle that is guiding this research emerges from two (one empirical and one theoretical) observations.

The first one is related to the apparent discrepancy between Lithuanian contempt towards the Roma community and the state choice of integration policies targeted to them in the context of nation-building. Not always people attitudes manifest through state intervention. However in the context of an intense nation-building process that encourages national sentiments such attitudes are more likely to reveal a collective state of mind. Therefore is not hard to imagine that the negative attitudes towards the Roma are a asample of a larger national sentiment (ethnos). However the Lithuanian state have targeted the Roma with a mix type of policies. Some reflect this negative sentiment and are predicted clearly by the ethnic-based theories of nationalism. From these theories perspective Lithuania's ethnic character of nation-

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[1] http://www.romuplatforma.lt/en/lithuanias-society-attitudes/

building explains why language is so important to outline what is consider national and what is not like the Roma language for example.

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This leads me to my se**cond, theoretical observation. The insufficient ability of traditional nationalist theories to clearly account for all the type of policies a state is likely to take in cases like the Romani.**

The integration of minorities is a part of a diverse literature focused on the nation building. The way different theories explain and define the relations between the state and its minorities is strongly related to their understanding of nation. While some theories, called *primordialist* by some typologies, see the nations as fixed and given, others consider them as fluid and changing, modernist for example. However, the studies on the choice of integration policies are strongly influenced by the ethcnic theories that see only two possible outcomes of integration: exclusion or assimilation.

An alternative to solve address this limitation is presented by Harri Mylonas and his politics of national building framework. According to Mylonas the dichotomies of assimilation versus exclusion do not capture the full range of the observed variation. In his proposal Mylonas extends a bridge between nationalism studies and international relations focusing on the importance of international and geostrategic concerns for nation-building policies. (Mylonas, The politics of nation-building : making co-nationals, refugees, and minorities, 2012, p. 5)

From a reversed-neoclassical realism Mylonas proposes that a state choice of integration policies towards a particular group is determinated by the states foreing policy goals and the presence of an external power. In the case of the Lithuania and the Roma community this choice of policies would be conditioned by the European Union in its role of an external power and sponsor for the Roma community.

Summing up, motivated by the empirical experiences and observation about the discrepancy between the politics of nation building and minority integration in Lithuania, this thesis sets out to explain it, by included the external actor (the EU) into the explanatory framework while at the same time testing Mylonas framework applicability for the Roma case in Lithuania.

The objective of the thesis

- To demonstrate the applicability of H. Mylonas theoretical model for the explanation of the Roma integration policies in Lithuania during the period 2000-2020

To achieve this goal, this thesis formulates the following specific objectives:

1. To present the limitations of traditional theories of nationalism both in terms of conceptualization of integration policies and in the explanation of their choice.
2. To present the Mylonas theoretical model and to demonstrate how he addresses the gaps in the nationalist literature
3. To operationalize the Mylonas model to the empirical study of Lithuanian-Roma case
4. To apply the theoretical framework to the study of four generations of the Roma integration strategies
5. To formulate conclusions about the suitability of the Mylonas framework for the Lithuanian case, and the implications of this research on the studies on minority integration.

Research design: theory, method, time and data

This master thesis is structured as a hypothesis testing case study, as it seeks to demonstrate the applicability of Mylonas' theoretical model of minority integration to the case of the Lithuanian-Roma community relations. While I discuss the model in part 1 of the thesis, at this point, I would like to clarify its main assumptions and concepts as they are used in the text.

Mylonas formulates what can be called a "geopolitical calculus" framework for the explanation of the choice of minority integration policies. Three main elements of his model are relevant for this research: new concepts, the expanded typology of integration policies, and the inclusion of external power into the explanation of the choice of integration policies.

As for the first one, he proposes to substitute the concepts of *dominant majority* and *minority*, by the *core* and *non-core* groups. They are distinguished as the first one has a definite "*national type*" defined by language, national historiography, religion, common cultural customs, and/or some form combination of physical attributes. In contrast, the second one does not fit in it. Following Mylonas, this thesis uses these terms.

Second, besides *assimilation* and *exclusion* - two policies, commonly foreseen by different authors more focused on the inter-ethnic relations - Mylonas proposes to distinguish the third policy, the one of *accommodation*. This allows accounting better for varied practices of majority-minority relations.

As for the third, Mylonas observes, that if the nation and ethnicity can be constructed, this process should be affected not only by internal but also the external actors and processes. By basing its assumptions on reverse neoclassical realism, he formulates a theoretical model, where the presence of external power is matched with its relations with the minority group and the territorial ambitions of the host-state. Given that Mylonas model is created and tested bearing in mind Bakan experience, I make some modifications, more thoroughly presented in part 2 of the thesis.

Due to my objective to test if Mylonas theory is right, and the Lithuania-EU relations affect its choices of Roma integration strategies, the object of this research is the Roma integration strategies and policies.

- **Dependent variable:** the integration policies, classified as accommodation, assimilation, and exclusion.
- **Independent variable:** EU policies for Roma integration (support vs. oblivion) and Lithuania's attitude towards the EU (friend vs. enemy)

The main hypothesis tested in this research is

With the growing EU support for the Roma community and Lithuanian ambitions to join the EU, Lithuania should seek to accommodate this minority and avoid assimilation and exclusionary policies.

To test this hypothesis, this thesis uses mostly documents (Lithuanian strategies, reports elaborated by the EU and Lithuanian agencies and NGO's), together with some statistical data (surveys) and press articles. The period of the analysis is defined as 2000-2020, as it encompasses the duration of all four Roma integration strategies.

In this thesis, I do not attempt to evaluate the success or failure of Roma integration policies or to discuss all the elements related to the policy design or implementation, concentrating, instead, on the motivation behind the Lithuanian state choice of policies targeted to the Roma.

Research limitations

The main difficulty when conducting this research was related to linguistics. Various documents that could be considered as valuable, especially ethnographic studies of Roma in Lithuania, are not available in English, especially those from the early 2000s. This limitation is valid for both official governmental documents, reports from NGOs

and other social organizations, and academic research. Some of the documents were translated. Moreover, in cases of doubt, the information has been checked with native speakers. However, there is the possibility that some information was literally and figuratively "lost in the translation."

Relevance of my research

This research contributes to the field of nationalism studies and overall academic research in Roma integration in Lithuania in three ways:

First, in regards to the object of the study. While the Polish and Russian minorities have received an extensive interest in researchers, the same cannot be said about the research focused on the Roma in Lithuania. While their history has been studied, there are fewer accounts and attempts to theorize different integration policies and the reasons behind their choice, especially from the perspective of political science.

Studies primarily focused on Roma minority, often are mostly descriptive. For example, we can mention the title of two pieces of research: "The peculiarities and situation of Roma integration in the education system and The professional expectations of Roma teenagers. This thesis, meanwhile, attempts to propose a theory-guided analysis of the Roma integration process.

Furthermore, the majority of researchers who studied the Roma community in Lithuania were writing in the Lithuanian language. This master thesis aims to contribute to the comparative research, putting the integration process taking place in Lithuania into a framework more suitable for comparison.

Regarding a theoretical innovation, research on minority integration, and nation-building in Lithuania is dominated by an ethnopolitics approach, usually limiting the research to domestic issues. By applying the Mylonas framework, this thesis expands the scope of minority integration research in Lithuania, incorporating in the picture the role of external powers.

Applying the Mylonas framework to the Lithuanian case required a methodology innovation. Originally, the author has only applied his theory in the Balkans. To apply the framework to the Lithuanian case, it needed to be adapted. For example, the level of conflict between core and non-core groups is different; thus, this thesis expands the understanding of violence. In this manner, this thesis expands the potential of adaptation of the Mylonas framework.

While this research is focused on the Roma case exclusively, the methodological adaptation and Mylonas framework can be used to study the process of integration of other non-core groups in Lithuania or the Baltic countries.

Finally, this research is relevant as the type of external power analyzed is not a nation-state and has a different rationale for the support of ethnic groups. The last observation is critical, bearing in mind that different international actors (organizations, states, NGOs) are attempting to solve ethnic conflicts in different countries. The Mylonas model seems to be useful also for those willing to plan and foresee the consequences of their support for specific minorities in different contexts.

Outline of the thesis

The first part of this thesis briefly presents the typology of nation-building theories and discusses how their basic ideas affect the typology of integration policies and explanations of their choices. Criticizing the gaps that these theories leave, I further present Mylonas theoretical framework that expands the typology of integration policies and includes the external actors into the explanations of their choice. I conclude, arguing that this model is more suitable for the analysis of the choice of Roma integration policies in Lithuania after independence.

In the second part of the thesis, I briefly discuss the methodology guiding this research. As the Mylonas model was created and applied to conflictive Balkan countries, I propose some modifications to the Mylonas framework, I detail them and propose how to operationalize the model, making it suitable for the objectives of this thesis.

The third part of the thesis presents empirical research. First, I demonstrate that the Mylonas model can be applied to the Lithuanian case, pointing out that there are distinguishable core and non-core ethnic groups, the state controls its territory, and an external actor, the EU, openly targets Roma integration. The second section presents the discussion of four generations of Lithuanian Roma integration strategies.

The last part of the thesis presents conclusions and discusses avenues for further research.

1. Theoretical part

The following section presents the main elements of Mylonas' theoretical framework. I start placing the Mylonas' proposal in a broader context of nationalism studies, to show

what theoretical gaps he addressed. Then the chapter proceeds, presenting the main conceptual innovations that the author proposes. It ends, stating that the primary input of Mylonas to the nationalism studies is a sound framework for an explanation of the choice of different integration policies that include the role of external actors.

Since they first appeared in the Eighteen Century, nationalism studies have been subject to the intense debate regarding some of their foundational statements. Two main questions inspired most of those discussions: "*When did nations come to be*?" and "*What is exactly the nature of the "nation" itself?*" The way different theories have answered those questions influenced how they have approached the study of nationalism, nation-building, and the subject of this research: a state's choice of the type of policies targeting non-core groups (minorities). Clarifying this genealogy helps to see the shortcomings of existing theories that Mylonas is trying to address and, consequently, to understand his proposal better.

This summary also allows us to gain insight into the ideas that have guided previous research on the Roma situation in Lithuania. This way, we can highlight how the implementation of the Mylonas framework contributes to a more accurate understanding of the process of integration conducted by the Lithuanian state. Mylonas does not seek to disqualify previous studies completely, willing instead, to complement some possible blind spots.

1.2. Basic typology of Nationalism/ Nation Building Theories

Although typologies can vary slightly from one author to another, as we mentioned earlier, the majority of scholars for their classification use a theory's view on the origin of nations. Given a lack of definitive agreement about the typology of nationalism theories, for this research, I use Atsuko's Ichijo's, and Gordana's Uzelac's typology of "classical" authors. In their book, "When is the Nation?" (Ichijo & Uzelac, 2005) the authors classify nationalism studies in the following manner:

Primordialists: This trend includes such prominent names as Clifford Geertz, Edward Shils, and Pierre van den Berghe. For the primordialists, the nations are "naturally" occurring social groupings, often marked by cultural features such as a shared language, a single religion, shared customs and traditions, and shared history. Geertz sums this approach stating, "The primordial approach to nations and nationalism focuses on what is regarded as the non-rational, ineffable yet coercive power of nations" (quoted from

Ichijo & Uzelac, 2005, p. 52). On some occasions, primordialist arguments can be perceived as similar to those from another trend, the ethno-symbolists. This confusion is understandable as some scholars tend to associate the primordialists like Daniel Moynihan with a group referred to as "the new ethnicists." This group brings together figures like Walker Connor, who does not subscribe to primordialism. For Ichijo and Uzelac, the difference between these theoretical currents lies in how each side perceives the ethnicity. Most orthodox primordialists see it as fixed, therefore not subject to change. The new ethnicists on their side are willing to accept that "(…)identities are malleable but under certain conditions operate as if they are fixed" (Mylonas, The politics of nation-building : making co-nationals, refugees, and minorities, 2012, p. 18).

Modernists: Although several perspectives fall in the modernist "camp," they all can be distinguished from the primordialists by their belief that nations and nationalism are not an inherent part of human nature. Instead, they are products of social interaction. Even more, they are a consequence of the processes that mark the modern period of social development (Ichijo & Uzelac, 2005, p. 20). The modernists include such renowned names as Hans Kohn, Ernest Gellner, Benedict Anderson, Michael Mann, Eric Hobsbawm, among many others.

Ethno-symbolism: Ethno-symbolism, as it was advanced above, deserves special attention, as they can be related both with the primordialists and modernists. On to one hand, according to Ichijo and Uzelac, most scholars find it hard to "offer a coherent summary of the main premises of ethno-symbolism without comparing them with the so-called modernist approaches" (Ichijo & Uzelac, 2005, p. 89). Just as the modernists, the ethno-symbolists reject the primordialist argument about the "fixed" or already "given" nature of nation and nationalism. Yet they are unable to dismiss the impact of "ethnic" bounds completely. So, while assigning "ethnicity" a key role in the formation of nations just as the primordialists do, they understand it as a phenomenon rooted in history and shaped by social relations, in this manner, having a perspective closer to one of the modernists. Besides Walker Connor mentioned before, another influential ethno-symbolist was Anthony D. Smith.

1.3.   Nationalism typology and attitudes towards minorities

As we have seen in the previous section, the way, a theory understands the origin of nations sets the basis of its overall worldview. This worldview inevitably affects the way they comprehend a process of nation-building. Following this line of thought,

Mylonas presents a complementary typology that relates a theory's understanding of the nation to its assumptions on how a state is more likely to address minorities. The main ideas of the author, already briefly presented in the previous section, are resumed in Table 1.

Type of Theory	Justification	State attitude towards minorities
Primordialists	People who do not want to lose their ethnic identities and core communities do not want to contaminate the purity of their groups.	More likely to exclude or accommodate populations that do not share the same pre-modern ethnic identity.
***Ethno-symbolists**	Modernization and democratization have provided motives and rationalizations for the pursuit of specific attitudes towards *ethnic** groups.	The ethnic character of politics posits a direct link between ascriptive characteristics and ethnic identities.
Modernists		***Ethnic Antipathy*** The previously disadvantaged group takes control of the state; its ruling political elites are likely to target the previously advantaged group(s) with exclusionary policies.
		Reputation Governments faced with few secessionist non-core groups are more likely to pursue exclusionary (or assimilationist) policies than governments with fewer non-core groups to signal resolve and discourage future challengers.
		The Dark side of democracy The international diffusion of the ideal of popular rule during democratization puts pressure to convert demos into ethnos, this, in turn, generates organic nationalism, and it ultimately encourages ethnic cleansing of those that do not fit the definition of the ethnos.
		Homeland Non-core groups with an external homeland are more likely to be targeted for exclusion than assimilation because of the security threat they pose and the high cost of assimilation.

TABLE 1 THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS REGARDING STATES ATTITUDES TOWARDS MINORITIES. SOURCE: AUTHOR, BASED ON (MYLONAS, 2012)

Regarding the official attitudes towards minorities, Mylonas establishes that given the role that the primordialists believe the ethnicity plays in nations, the state should be prone to address differences or minorities with antagonism or even rejection in the worst cases. The modernist or ethno-symbolists are more flexible, foreseeing different

potential policies depending on different political circumstances such as a non-core group having an external homeland, or one group holding a grudge over another.

Considering this analysis still incomplete, Mylonas adds an additional layer to this analysis, distinguishing between different levels, where the factors affecting the nation-building process might appear. According to him, while some theories focus only on the elements of nation-building taking place at the domestic (or national) level, others also include in their analysis the international sphere (Mylonas, The politics of nation-building : making co-nationals, refugees, and minorities, 2012, p. 18).

Factors explaining the choice	Type of Theory	Justification	State attitude towards minorities
Domestic	Primordialists	People who do not want to lose their ethnic identities and core communities do not want to contaminate the purity of their groups.	More likely to exclude or accommodate populations that do not share the same pre-modern ethnic identity.
	*Ethno-symbolists	Modernization and democratization have provided motives and rationalizations for the pursuit of specific attitudes towards *ethnic** groups.	The ethnic character of politics posits a direct link between ascriptive characteristics and ethnic identities.
	Modernists		*Ethnic Antipathy*
			Reputation
			The Dark side of democracy
International			*Homeland*

TABLE 2 CLASSIFICATION OF DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL EXPLANATIONS OF INTEGRATION POLICY CHOICES. SOURCE: AUTHOR BASED ON MYLONAS (2012)

Table 2 illustrates some of the shortcomings in the overall theoretical approach of nationalism studies to the subject of the state's attitudes towards minorities. First, the majority of theories focus heavily on the domestic factors in their explanations for the state's policies towards minority groups. Second, even when the theory does include international factors, their approach is too narrow (Mylonas, The politics of nation-building : making co-nationals, refugees, and minorities, 2012, p. 21). Third, the majority of theories foresee only two potential types of policies: exclusion or assimilation.

1.4. H.Mylonas: Politics of Nation-building

Departing from the theoretical shortcomings presented in the previous section, this part of the thesis discusses more in detail Mylonas' framework in this manner, also justifying the choice of this author as a basis for this research.

1.4.1. Three "conceptual moves."

The framework proposed by Mylonas relies on three "conceptual moves" or changes to some of the fundamental premises of the traditional nationalism theories (Mylonas, The politics of nation-building : making co-nationals, refugees, and minorities, 2012, p. 189):

A. Breaking the Dycotomy Inclusion/exclusion

While there are multiple ways to conceptualize nation-building policies, the majority of theories use a categorization based on two opposing terms. The first one, *inclusion (assimilation),* means all actions (policies in this case) that aim to incorporate one group into another. The second, the *exclusion* describes the opposite process. Mylonas considers this dichotomy reductive and insufficient for the analysis. Although other authors have already made proposals addressing this issue (McGarry & O'Leary, 1994) Mylonas settles for introducing a simpler alternative of its own (Mylonas, The politics of nation-building : making co-nationals, refugees, and minorities, 2012, p. 21) in line with the scope of his framework.

As can be seen in Table 3, besides assimilation and exclusion, Mylonas includes the policies that can be called "accommodation."

Category	Traits
Assimilationist	Educational, cultural, occupational, matrimonial, demographic, political, and other state policies aimed at the adoption of the core group culture and way of life by the targeted non-core group. States use assimilationist policies to create co-nationals.
Accommodation	Refers to situations where the "differences" of a non-core group are more or less respected, and institutions that regulate and perpetuate these differences are put in place. Accommodation produces national minorities.
Exclusionary	Policies that aim at the physical *removal* of a non-core group from the host state (or specific areas of it). It can also take the form of internal *displacement* or *segregation*, which does not involve the physical removal of the non-core group. Exclusionary policies produce refugees and victims of state violence.

TABLE 3 CATEGORISATION OF CORE GROUP POLICIES TOWARDS THE NON-CORE GROUP. SOURCE: AUTHOR BASED ON MYLONAS (2010)

According to Mylonas, the assimilation reflects policies when a core group (or ruling elites representing it) "pursue educational, cultural, occupational, marital, demographic, political and other state policies aimed at getting the non-core group to adopt the core group's culture and way of life." Alternatively, they can adopt exclusionary policies, physically removing the non-core group. Finally, accommodation refers to policies where the non-core group is retained in the state and granted exclusive minority rights. Specific "differences" of the non-core group are respected, and institutions that regulate and perpetuate these differences are put in place (Mylonas, 2010, psl. 84-85).

To Mylonas, the most crucial element for exclusionary policies is violence, and he understands this violence quite explicitly, as a population exchange, deportation, or mass killing. Assimilationist policies could be either violent or non-violent. Accommodation refers to non-violent policies. One can conclude that what distinguishes the accommodation from assimilation is the core-group acceptance (or not) of the people sharing the same "nation type" (defined as a religion, language, phenotype, and culture).

B. Re-defining the actors

This "conceptual move," as Mylonas calls it, is meant to address the problem the originates within ethnic politics studies. According to the author, using terms like a minority or dominant majority reinforces the false assumption of a quantitative quality in the description of the groups involved in the nation-building process. Consequently, such terminology obscures the essential points of inter-ethnic relations. To solve this problem, Mylonas proposes the use of the following terms

- "*Core group" instead of a "dominant majority." Mylonas* defines a core group as having a definite "national type" that is being actively propagated within the territorial borders of the state. A national type can be defined by an official language, national historiography consensuated by most of the core group members, an official (or state-favored) religion, common cultural customs, and practices or some form of phenotypic stereotype (a combination of physical attributes).

- *"Non- core" group instead of the "minority."* According to Mylonas, a "non-core group" can be called aggregation of people who are conscious of their difference from the dominant "national type" without necessarily being mobilized around this difference.

C. Expanding the role of third parties

As explained before, some frameworks find the reach of their analysis limited by their own conceptual strains. For instance, a more ethnic influenced theories (the primordialists, for example) assume that the only relation that can justify a third party sponsorship of a non-core group is the existence of some kind of ethnic ties. As a result, these theories have limited capacity to explain situations involving an actor ethnically unrelated to a non-core group.

 To address this issue, Mylonas substitutes the concept of "home state" for "external power.*"* This external power is understood as a neighboring state, a great power, a diaspora group, or a combination – any actor involved in the political fate of a non-core group in the host state.

Concluding, by breaking down the dichotomy between potential policies towards minorities, Mylonas created a new category, enabling a more nuanced understanding o inter-ethnic relations. Moreover, by changing the vocabulary, he indicates that the antagonism between ethnic groups is not inevitable. Finally, Mylonas proposes a coherent way to include the external actors in the analysis of the relations between the core and non-core groups.

1.4.2. Implementation of analysis

Applying his theory to the situation in Balkan states, Mylonas analyzes how the presence (or lack) of external actors and their relations with the core and non-core groups affect the integration policies.

The Dependent Variable: **Nation-Building Policies**	Independent variable: **the causes for the "host state" to implement one of the three types of policies**
What kind of policies is the state implementing For each studied country, he identifies all groups perceived as non-core groups by the various governing elites in the Balkans at the end of World War I (T). **- When ruling political elites accommodate a non-core group, he assigns the value "0";** **- when they pursue assimilationist policies he assigns the value "1";** **- when they adopt exclusionary measures, he assigns the value "2."**	1. Is the non-core group supported by an external actor? 2. Is the external actor and ally or an enemy? 3. Is the host state the revisionist or status quo type 4. Does the non-core group have a "nation-state" of their own?

TABLE 4 SUMMARY EMPIRICAL H. MYLONAS MODEL

He foresees four potential relation models, leading to different integration policies. First, when non-core groups do not have a so-called „external sponsor, "they tend to be assimilated. However, if such an external actor exists, the critical defining characteristic would be its relation to the core-group. If it is an ally, sponsoring some minority, the outcome of such an interaction should be the accommodation of the non-core group. If, however, this external force is an enemy, the policies will be defined by the host state's self-perception. If it is a revisionist country that has lost some territories (especially to the foreign sponsor), the non-core group would be excluded. If it is interested in keeping the status quo (e.g., it gained some territories), it will be willing to assimilate the non-core group supported by the external ally.

		External Power		
		Yes: Interstate Relations		**No**
		Ally	**Enemy**	
Host State (Foreign Policy Goals)	**Lost Territory** (Revisionist)	Accommodation	Exclusion	Assimilation
	Gained Territory (Status Quo)	Accommodation	Assimilation	

FIGURE 1 SUMMARY OF MYLONAS FRAMEWORK. SOURCE: MYLONAS 2012, P 37.

1.5.   Importance of Mylonas framework and its implications for the Baltic states

Summing up what has been said in this part of the thesis, the primary input of Mylonas for nationalism theory is his complementary analysis of the reasons behind the choice of integration policies, including into the equation the external actor. The creation of a new group of integration policies (accommodation) allows accounting for more varied policies, that can be empirically observed in different countries (not all the inter-ethnic relations end with the assimilation of violence). Moreover, Mylonas addresses a significant feature of nation-building: a rational calculus related to the host state's foreign policy. Thus, the framework proposed could be called as "geopolitical."

This inclusion of foreign power policy priorities is an important element that could explain the contradictory trends between the nation-building and minority-integration

policies in Lithuania. As the integration to the EU was a core part of Lithuania's democratization, and Westernization process, the "Europeanization" of different policies should have affected the ethnic relations as well. The following parts explore how Mylonas framework can expand our understanding of integration policies, first adapting and then applying the framework presented for the empirical analysis.

2. Methodology

Starting from the conclusion of the previous part, this part of the thesis presents how Mylonas conducted his research. Later it discusses the modifications made to his framework willing to adapt it to the study of the Roma integration in Lithuania. The methodological observations end with the framework that guides the empirical analysis.

The goal of this thesis – to demonstrate the applicability of Mylonas theoretical model of minority integration to the case of the Lithuanian-Roma community – suggests the chosen research design: a case study. George and Bennett (2005, 5,17) define a case study as "the detailed examination of an aspect of a historical episode to develop or test historical explanations that may be generalizable to other events." In this case, the Lithuanian strategies for the Roma integration are seen as case integration efforts taking place in the context of the nation-building and the presence of external power supportive for minorities.

The basic typology of case studies proposed by Levy (2008) lists four potential strategies: idiographic, hypothesis-generating, hypothesis-testing, and a plausibility probe. This research presented in this thesis can be considered as hypothesis-testing, as it replicates (though with some modifications) the approach of Mylonas, seeking to test the validity of its conclusions. Due to that, the methodology used is strongly based on the original approach.

To apply the model of Mylonas, one needs to prove that the theory can be applied to the Lithuanian case. The thresholds (Mylonas, 2012, psl. 27-28) for that are:

a)   **DEFINED CORE GROUP. The** core group has a clear national type;
b)   **STATE CAPACITY.** The capacity of the state to directly rule population;

c)   **DISTINGUISHIBLE NON-CORE GROUP.** There has to be a clearly distinguishable non-core group with a distinctive political identity that can be of ethnic, tribal, religious, linguistics, racial or cultural nature;

d)   **EXTERNAL POWER.** There has to be external power, potentially interested in the situation of minorities in the host state.

Hence, the empirical part starts demonstrating that the Lithuanian case fits all these criteria.

Second, for the empirical analysis, similarly to Mylonas, we distinguish two key variables, coding them with different values:

- **Dependent variable (a type of integration policies)**

Following Mylonas, I classify integration policies using two key variables: the presence of violence and the tolerance for the non-core group's "nation type." As this concept is rather broad and difficult to operationalize, in this thesis I approach it through analysis of *language* (if they allowed/encouraged to keep their language); *religion* (if they are allowed/encouraged to keep their religion); and what I call their *representation* (if they are associated with positive or negative things).

	Acceptance of other's national type			
	Violence	Language	Religion	Representation
Accommodation	-	+	-	+
Assimilation	+/-	-	-	-/+
Exclusion	+	-	-	-

TABLE 5 OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE. SOURCE: AUTHOR, BASED ON H.MYLONAS

According to the model presented in the theory section, the policies that ruling elites were pursing are coded as follows:

a.   If the ruling elite pursued *accommodation* policies, it was assigned the value 0;

b.   If the ruling elite pursued *assimilationist* policies, it was assigned the value 1;

c.   If the ruling elite pursued *exclusionary* policies, it was assigned the value 2.

- **Independent variable (relations with the main external power)**

The independent variables were coded like this:

a.   The non-core group supported by an external power – **Externally supported**

1. The external power has a bilateral alliance or is in the same alliance bloc- Supported by an ally, it was assigned the value 0;

2. The external power is perceived as in competition with the host state – Enemy supported. it was assigned the value 1;

b.   The non-core group not supported by an external power – **Not externally supported,** it was assigned the value 2.

It is expected that the independent variable should be stable – externally supported by an ally and coded as 0. Thus the EU policy is described at the beginning of the empirical part when discussing the thresholds necessary to apply the theory to the Lithuanian case.

Later I analyze the dependent variable. Based on the analysis of strategic documents, the Roma integration policies during the period 2000-2020 are classified as assimilation, accommodation, or exclusion. Each category is operationalized through questions, presented in Table 6.

	Questions operationalizing the analysis of data	Sources	Method
Violence	Were there any violent acts of Lithuanians against the Roma community?	HR organization reports, Interviews Declarations of Romani community Newspapers/Journals	Document analysis
Language	Are there opportunities to learn in Romani languages (are they promoted?) Is it possible to communicate with the official institutions in Roma language? Is the protection of/right to the language mentioned in the official Lithuanian documents/	Lithuanian strategies for Romani inclusion Reports	
Displacement	Are there cases/situations of physical segregation of the Roma community? Are Roma nationals physically removed from any locations?	HR organization reports, Interviews Declarations of Romani community Newspapers/Journals	

TABLE 6 OPERATIONALIZATION OF THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY OF LITHUANIAN-ROMANI RELATIONS

The primary sources used for this research are official strategies and written reports, articles, and documents published by different non-governmental organizations. Also, though with some limitations of language, we study the official discourse regarding the Roma population, appearing in the articles published in the most significant news portals, such as DELFI and 15min.lt. Similarly to H. Mylonas, this thesis seeks to use a variety of sources for analysis. The main goal is to have varied "voices," not only the official documents as those elaborated by the "core-group" might be partial and embellish its policies. Thus, written documents are complemented with polls and some demographic data. However, different than Mylonas himself, this thesis does not apply comparative statistical analysis (as it is the study of single country and minority case).

Some more methodological modifications to the original framework were made, adjusting it to the Lithuanian case. First, the framework proposed by Mylonas contemplates several configurations combining dependent and independent variables. However, given that this research focuses on the Romani case, only elements directly associated with such configuration are taken into account. For example, Lithuania does not have any territorial ambitions it might long; the EU's relation with different minority groups are not inspired by their ethnic origin. Even more, the Roma community do not have a homeland that would influence their position.

Second, as the framework was created for and tested in the volatile context of the Balkans after WWII, Mylonas focused on the presence of physical violence. However, for the Lithuanian – Roma context of the '00s, this characteristic might not be precise enough. I propose to define violence more broadly: taking into consideration its "structural elements," as a forced adverse action towards the non-core group, such as displacement, (political, social, and economic) marginalization and segregation.

One issue worth mentioning concerning the coding is the possibility of part of a group being subjected to one type of policy (assimilationist, for example) while another to other types of policies. For example, the displacement of *taboras* in Kirtimai has not affected the Roma community in other towns. In that case, it leans towards a "dominant policy" approach: when at least 80 percent of the population of a non-core group is subjected to the same type of policies, regardless of the experience of the remaining

20%, the coding for that particular group will be applied according to the dominant policy.

I sustain that these modifications do not change the "spirit" of Mylonas theory, instead of demonstrating the adaptability of the framework for different cases.

Generation of integration policies	2000-2004	2008-2010	2012-2014	2015-2020
Type of integration policies	0/1/2 (expected 0)	0/1/2 (expected 0)	0/1/2 (expected 0)	0/1/2 (expected 0)
EU-Lithuania Relations	0	0	0	0

TABLE 7 THE FRAMEWORK OF THE RESEARCH

Summing up, using the method of document analysis, this thesis classifies the integration policies pursued by Lithuanian state towards the Romani minority and compares them against the EU's support for such an endeavor. Table 7 resumes the framework, and the following part presents its application to the Lithuanian case.

3.   Co-nationals, refuges or minorities: Roma population in Lithuania, 2000-2020

The empirical part of the thesis begins with the demonstration that the Lithuanian case can be studied using the Mylonas framework and a brief introduction into the core and non-core group relations and the EU policies regarding Roma integration. Second, it briefly introduces the history of integration policies promoted by the Lithuania state towards the Roma minority and analyses each generation of integration policies using the framework elaborated in the previous section. The chapter concludes analyzing how exactly Mylonas' predictions were fulfilled in the Lithuanian case.

3.1. The thresholds

Mylonas defines four thresholds that allow applying his framework: the presence of a core group with a clear national type and a non-core group with its distinctive political identity. Moreover, there has to be an external power, potentially interested in the situation of minorities in the host state. The fourth threshold, the capacity of the state to directly rule the population, for this case, can be considered as irrelevant.

Core and non-core groups

According to the last available population census of 2011, in Lithuania, there were 2115 Roma people (Department of National Minorities under the Government of the Republic of Lithuania). During the survey, one-third of them lived in Vilnius, the majority in the Kirtimai district, in an illegal settlement called "*taboras*." In 2020 the last person abandoned the Kirtimai settlement (Šimašius, 2020) as people step by step were settled in the social accommodation all around Vilnius.

Roma in Lithuania

- Vilnius county
- Kaunas country
- Šiauliai county
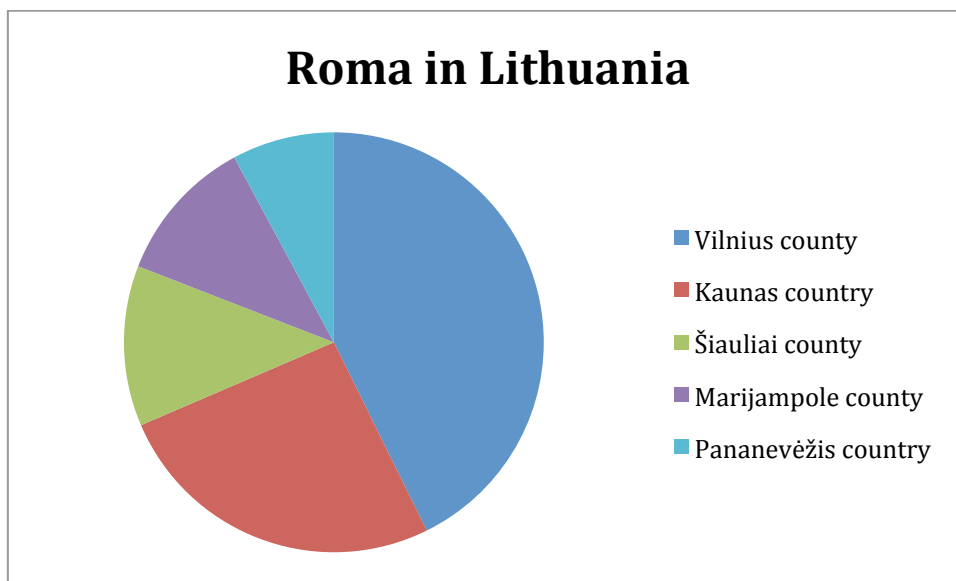- Marijampole county
- Pananevėžis country

FIGURE 2 ROMA IN LITHUANIA. SOURCE: LITHUANIAN POPULATION SURVEY 2011

The Roma people living in Lithuania do not have a common religion. *Litóvska romá* (Lithuanian Roma) - the historical and most numerous ethnic group of Lithuanian Roma and *lotfítka romá* (so-called Roma living on the border with Latvia) are Catholics; *kotliár*, people who moved to Lithuania from Moldova after the World War II, are Orthodox. Finally, there is a Roma Protestant community in Žagarė (Department of National Minorities under the Government of the Republic of Lithuania). The majority of Lithuanian Roma speak a "Baltic Roma," a dialect of Roma language (Romų platforma, 2020). Some of them also speak Russian.

Currently, the group still faces various social, economic, and integration problems. As for the social issues, according to the research conducted by the Office of the Equal Opportunities Ombudsman in 2015 (Lygių galimybių kontrolieriaus tarnyba, 2015), 56% of Roma households do not have a bathroom or shower, 51% toilet (in the general population the percentage is 15-16%). According to the same survey, 43% of Roma

households cannot afford to eat meat, fish, or similar vegetarian food at least every other day (compared to 21% for the general population); only 33% have a computer (general population - 57%) (ibid., p. 7). The average income of Roma household was 313 euros per month (compared to 854 for the general population), and 75% of children were not attending pre-scholar education (ibid., p. 8). As presented in Figure 3, the majority of Lithuanian Roma had only primary education, and, worryingly, it seems that there has been a decline in the over educational achievements between 2011 and 2015.

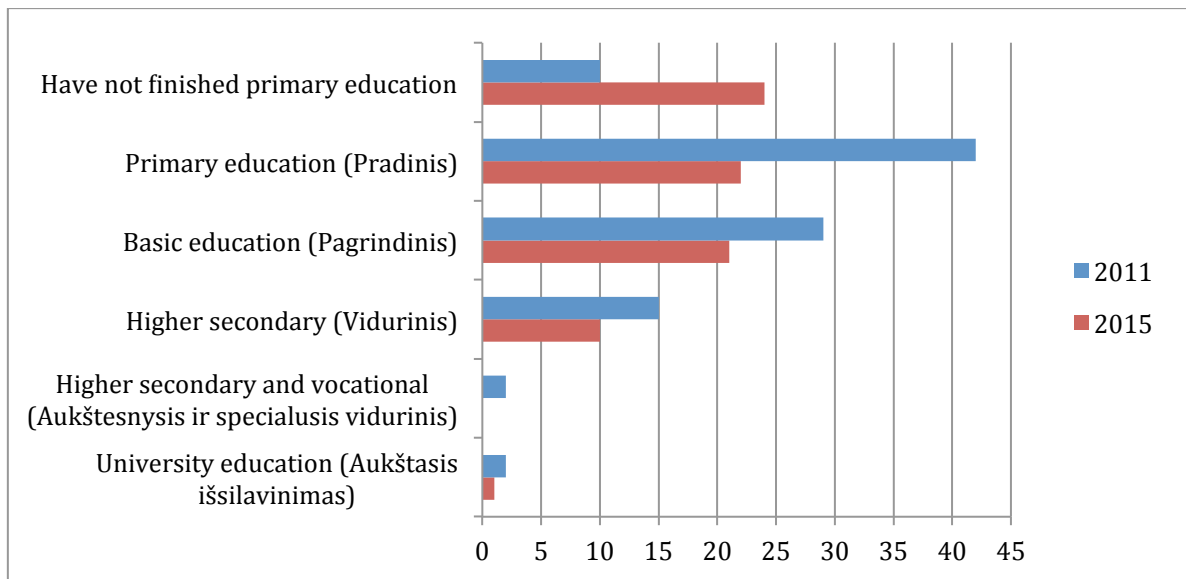**FIGURE 3 ROMA EDUCATIONAL LEVEL. SOURCE: LYGIŲ GALIMYBIŲ KONTROLIERIAUS TARNYBA (2015, 10)**

 The majority of the population in Lithuania has very negative perceptions of the Roma community. According to the survey conducted in 2019, 63% of inhabitants of the country would not like to live next to Roma neighbors, 39% would not like to work with them, and 65% would not rent them an apartment (Lrytas, 2019).

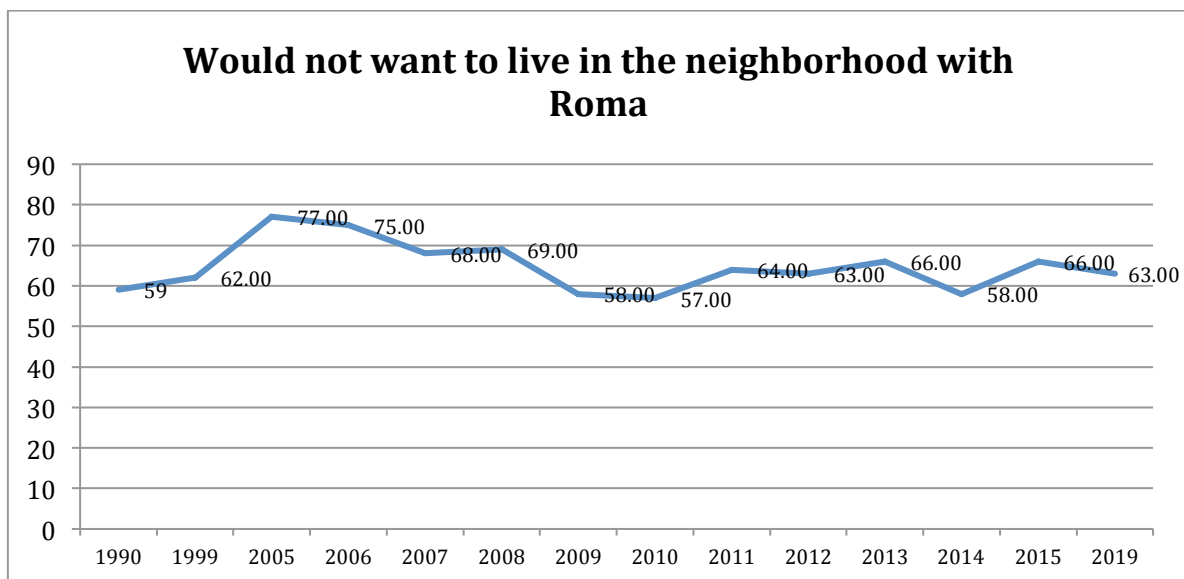**Would not want to live in the neighborhood with Roma**

FIGURE 4 SHARE OF PEOPLE WHO WOULD NOT LIKE TO HAVE A ROMA AS A NEIGHBOR. SOURCE: ROMUPLATFORMA.LT AND LRYTAS, (2019).

Local politicians sometimes used Roma for their political goals. For example, a Vilnius mayor Arturas Zuokas in 2012, demonstratively promoted a campaign to destroy "*taboras*" by any means, in this manner feeding negative feelings of its voters (Lrytas, 2019).

The negative attitudes of Lithuanians towards the Roma minority often are explained with the historical, ethnical features of the Roma community. However, the analysis of old written sources paints a more complex picture (Mróz, 2015, p. 25)as sometimes Roma is depicted in a rather compassionate attitude, and presented as "travelers" that introduce themselves as religious cast-outs with some questionable noble origin. In other cases, gypsies appear as authority figures such as judges or royal messengers.

 "Cygan," as the term Gypsy can be translated, appears to have been the most popular word to describe them at their arrival to Poland in the 15th Century. It is considered that Roma people moved to Lithuania due to the persecution that was taking place in Western Europe (Department of National Minorities under the Government of the Republic of Lithuania). Even though the term "Cygan" probably was not exclusively used to designate the members of one distinctive community at first, it did imply ethnic features like dark hair, dark skin, and others. As the word appeared with their arrival, there is no doubt that there was an ethnic community for which the term was used until eventually they got stuck with.

Roma integration into their host countries, especially the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, was not held the same throughout the next couple of centuries, neither their community was regarded equally across different communities. As observed by the anthropologist Aušra Simoniukštytė, in Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Romas faced hostility: the Second Statute of Lithuania (1566) differentiated between sedentary and nomadic Roma, urging the latter to stop wandering and settling down. Otherwise, they were threatened with expulsion. The Third Statute of Lithuania (1588) required the governors to "strictly ensure that [gypsies] do not enter our lands." Nonetheless, both Statutes were directed only against nomadic and newly arriving Roma and did not attack sedentary, local Roma people (Gritėnas, 2018).

It is not until the 18th Century that the Gypsy term became a synonym for a free spirit (careless, at worst) attitude towards life and nomadic behavior. This ideal was promoted by bohemian artists from all sorts of disciplines. Influenced by romantic ideas, artists selectively chose those passages from history that suited best their own craves for "freedom," leaving out any trace of the "average" behaviors from a community living in a foreign country. Therefore, their pursuit of integration by assimilating the host's language, as well as their desire for a stable source of income through regular activities, are rarely mentioned.

These 18th-century mischaracterizations contributed to stereotypes that even today affect the possibilities of Roma inclusion into "imagined community" in their host country. It is not unheard of that minorities are subject to harmful stereotypes by other dominant populations. Or that these stereotypes were base on historical misconceptions or, in the worst cases, shameless lies (Acton & Le Bas, 2009). Neither is groundbreaking to say that the stereotypes' adverse effects go beyond the daily life of those who suffer any kind of discrimination, taking control over the policymaking process in all areas of Government. However, the reality of Roma's life in Lithuania demonstrates that during different periods they were treated differently.

A. Simoniukštytė observes that many Romani people consider the interwar period as the best period for their people. In Lithuania, nomad lifestyle was recognized as a part of Roma identity, and their groups were allowed to wander (though only in counties where they were assigned). At the same time, Lithuanian beggars continuing a centuries-old tradition of Medieval travelers could have been thrown in jail for such a lifestyle. The counties where the Roma family was inscribed turned to be their "homelands" where

they buried their relatives. According to A. Simoniukštytė, one might conclude that Romani people had a strong relationship with their native lands, identifying themselves not with the whole Lithuania but with a specific region (where their extended family used to wander). She tells that different interviewed Romas who were deported to working camps in Western Europe decided to come back, despite considering "not willing to come back to those soviets" (Baranauskaitė, 2017).

The Romas suffered greatly from the Nazi Holocaust: according to Lithuanian historian V. Toleikis, every third Roma of Lithuania has been killed (Jackevičius, 2015). The following Soviet occupation was more benevolent; however, it left a lasting effect on the Roma lifestyle and their relations to Lithuania. In 1956 an order (according to A. Simoniukštytė maybe the only directed to a precise ethnic group (Baranauskaitė, 2017) of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR forbade to Roma to wander in the territory of USSR. The chairmen of the collective farm in Kirtimai allowed Roma to stay there and register. The man, called *'ciganskij tata'* ("father of gypsies"), helped the community to settle and comply with the rules. This was the beginning of the Kirtimai "taboras." The Soviet administration had built a one 8-apartment-building for Roma families. As all the Romas could not fit there, they started building their own houses. The Government did not intervene, happy that the problem of housing is solved. This manner, a half-illegal village of nomad Romas from all over Lithuania and even abroad was formed. At some point, all people of taboras were registered at the same address: Dariaus ir Girenas street 185 (15min.lt). The Soviets attempted to assimilate Roma people – the children were sent to schools and, given that being unemployed was considered a crime, the adults (mostly male) were forced to work.

The economic insecurity and instability affected the Roma community strongly. On the one hand, different systems that during the Soviet times, ensured that children would go to school and their parents would work, disappeared. On the other, different trade routes, important for Roma traders "speculators," disappeared, leaving many families without an income. While there, the information is not precise, it is considered that drugs "entered" tabor at the end of the last decade of the 20th Century. Since there, more and more Roma were involved in drug trafficking, and Kirtimai started being considered as a place similar to "a basement, storage or attic, where you do not want to go, because it is messy, nook, there is no feeling of security" (Šimašius, 2020).

Concluding, Roma people clearly do not share a common "national type" with the core-group (ethnical Lithuanians): their phenotype is clearly different, and often they can be distinguished from the crowd by their look. While they share the history with Lithuanians, and, as presented in the previous section of this thesis, the relations not always were conflictive, they still are placed somewhere "next" to the general history of Lithuania. Tellingly, while minorities such as *Karaims* and *Tatars* seem to be more integrated into the Lithuanian imaginary (e.g., they have a special exposition for them in Trakai castle), Roma people are clearly seen as "not Lithuanians." While their religious beliefs do not distinguish them from the core-group, the phenotype, language, and lack of a shared cultural experience indicate that Roma can be considered as a non-core group in Lithuania.

External actor: the EU's support for Roma

While in Lithuania, Roma is among the smallest minority groups, they are the largest Europe's minority, as more than 6 million Roma are living in the continent (European Commission). The EU consistently supports the integration of this minority group in the member states, at least partially due to the provisions foreseen in its core treaties. For example, Article 2 of the Treaty of European Union claims that "The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, nondiscrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail" (TEU, Article 2). Moreover, Article 10 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union establishes the EU's aim of combating discrimination on the grounds of racial or ethnic origin by means of action by the Council (TFEU, Article 19).

Among other documents relevant for the topic of Roma integration is the Council directive on equal treatment (the racial equality directive), prohibiting discrimination on the grounds of racial or ethnic origin in various areas (Council of the European Union, 2000), together with the Council Recommendation of 9 December 2013 on effective Roma integration measures in the Member States. In 2011, with the new EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies (the EU Roma Framework), the

Commissions' first-ever strategy targeting a single minority and started to issue annual reports, using information from every country. The EU Roma Framework set ambitious goals to close the gap between Roma and non-Roma in the key policy areas of education, employment, housing, and health by 2020 (Naydenova & Matarazzo, 2019, p. 4). Moreover, it expressed an obligation to protect Roma against discrimination.

The majority of the EU financial support for Roma integration (as a part of a support for social inclusion) is provided through the European Social Fund and the European Regional Development Fund in the context of the EU's cohesion policy (European Court of Auditors, 2016, p. 17). While the exact number of the funds dedicated to Roma integration is not recorded, the European Court of Auditors estimates that during the 2014-2020 period, around 1.5 billion euros has been designated for the socio-economic integration of marginalized communities such as Roma (European Court of Auditors, 2016, p. 18).

As observe (Ram, 2014, p. 16), "while scholars have duly acknowledged the EU's differential impact on minority rights of candidate countries and various limitations to its influence <…> few would argue that attention to Roma and specific efforts to improve their situation in CEE have not been influenced by the EU enlargement process. Indeed, many scholars and practitioners believe that the positive steps taken to improve the situation of Roma would not have occurred without the EU's influence." While the author casts doubt on the success of the EU's policies (calling its outcome a "Europeanized hypocrisy"), it still confirms that the process of integration was a strong initiative for the "Europeanization" policies targeting Roma integration.

Concluding, this section demonstrates that Lithuanian-Roma relations can be studied using the Mylonas framework. Here we can distinguish core and non-core groups, marked by tenses relations, and an external ally that supports the Roma community in the host-state – the EU. The next section of the thesis demonstrates how the Lithuanian Roma integration policies during the period of analysis, reflected both: its desire to please the EU and, on the other hand, attempt not to change ethnic relations too much, due to the existing prejudice and exclusion of Roma population.

3.2. Lithuanian strategies: accommodation, assimilation or exclusion

Since the beginning of the 90s, different Roma organizations were created in Lithuania. Parallelly, the Baltic nations have implemented different generations of programs

targeted specifically towards improving Romani-Gypsy's living conditions. In Lithuania, this has translated into the adoption of several legal acts like the National Anti-Discrimination Act for 2006-2008, and strategies aimed to improve the quality of life for the Roma community and their integration into Lithuanian society. In total, there have been four generations of programs approved by the Lithuanian Government concerning the Roma integration: 2000-2004, 2008-2010, 2012-2014, and 2015-2020. Below each strategy is analyzed using the framework formulated in the methodological framework.

The strategies follow what at first glance, seems like a consistent structure. Each strategy starts with a general assessment of the situation of the Roma community based on demographic data. Consequently, this assessment leads to a list of priority areas where the government's efforts are meant to focus.

Further analysis reveals several key differences between strategies. The most apparent inconsistency is the time frame each plan is designed for. The periods vary from four years for the initial plan, to two years for the following two strategies, and five years for the last one. It is also worth noting there are two gaps in the 20 years the strategies have been issued. It seems that 2005-2007 and 2011-2012 the integration of the Roma community (if any) was following the guidelines set by the last, expired, strategy. Another noticeable difference is the variation in the list of priority areas. For example, a document can incorporate a particular problem into one group, while the following plan incorporate the same issue in another group. In addition, the order of priorities can also change sligthly. These variations reflect changes from one category of policies (assimilation, accommodation, or exclusion) to another.

Below each strategy is analyzed using the framework formulated in the methodological section.

Action Plan for Roma Integration into the Lithuanian Society for 2000-2004

The first action plan was adopted in July of the year 2000, and it was set to expire in 2004. The main goals of the plan are:

1. To create conditions for the people belonging to the Roma ethnic minority to be fully integrated into the life of Lithuanian society;

2. To provide ways and means of preserving and developing the national identity of the Roma, taking into account their specific living conditions.

The plan divided the actions for that period in five categories: Social problems, educational problems, health problems, migration problems, and one final category called "other problems."

Area	Main problems
Social problems	1. Lack of legalization of housing
	2. Unemployment
	3. Drug trafficking, drug addiction
Educational problems	1. Absence or non-completion of schools
	2. Failure to speak the state language
	3. Adult illiteracy
	4. Lack of learning motivation
Health problems	1. Unavailability of treatment services
	2. Prevalence of chronic diseases among Roma
	3. Lack of sanitary hygiene skills
Migration problems	1. Unregistered 'migrants' are unable to access social guarantees because of the lack of identification
Other Problems	1. Widespread prejudice
	2. Poor participation of Roma women
	3. Roma culture is incomprehensible or little known
	4. The public doesn´t perceive Roma as part of their 'group' recent them for receiving help at the expense of other vulnerable populations

TABLE 8 MAIN PROBLEMS OF THE ROMA COMMUNITY DIVIDED BY PRIORITY AREAS, 2002-2004. SOURCE: SURVILA (2010, 51)

As can be seen in Table 8, the first category, "*Social Problems*," is quite broad grouping together very different problems. Two items listed in this category deserve special attention as they provide valuable insights about the type of policies the Roma community was targeted with.

The first one is the *housing issue* listed as a social problem. As it is noted by Eglė Kučinskaitė in her article about the Kirtimai settlement (Kučinskaite, 2002) this situation can be easily considered as an exclusionary, as it prevents the Roma to access equal opportunities granted by fundamental human rights. Even when the Lithuanian government passed a law aimed at granting Lithuanian citizens private ownership of their houses, something forbidden in the USSR, the same consideration was not applied to the Roma settlements in Kirtimai. This situation not only prevented the Roma from enjoying their right to housing as any other citizen but also leave them vulnerable to other abuses. "The fact that Romani homes in the settlement are not legally registered allows for arbitrary searches by police. Thus, with a single search warrant (issued for the only legally registered house in the settlement), police can search every single house located in the settlement" (Kučinskaite, 2002). Furthermore, the court ordered several Roma homes to be demolished in 2004 (Advisory Committee On The Framework Convention For The Protection Of National Minorities, 2008). Although eventually in 2007, a court ruled out in favor of 20 persons from the Roma community for damages caused, the situation proves the exclusionary nature of the actions taken regarding the housing problem.

The second issue worth mentioning is the *association between drug trafficking and drug addiction and the Roma community*, while not mentioning that drug use is a problem FOR the community not only for those living outside of it. Any other information regarding this issue is framed under the light of security, police enforcement, and criminal activity, presenting the Roma as the source of the problem. While these policies do not include direct violence, the emphasis on security indicates that they can be considered as exclusionary.

In comparison to the housing, when it comes to *culture and language,* the document leans towards accommodation, as it highlights the Lithuanian states' role in protecting Roma culture and language. However, the document also a few times states the importance of Roma learning and using the state language (Lithuanian). Even when it

states that many Roma speak Russian, it still considers that one of the reasons why they remain segregated is their lack of command of the Lithuanian. Nevertheless, even if the intention is to facilitate the learning of Lithuanian, the plan encourages authorities to consider the development of the Lithuanian Roma education.

There is no specific mention of the "spiritual" life of the Roma. There are no references to places of worship, religion, or other similar.

The plan's introduction dedicates a significant amount of space to highlight Lithuania's legal framework concerning minority rights. It is the only plan to make such an extended reference to this subject. There is also a specific statement about Lithuania's "aspiration to fully integrate into European political, economic, and security structures." (Government of the Republic of Lithuania, 2000) This statement is followed by a list of the EU's institutions and laws that address Roma's human rights and integration process.

Concerning *civil society engagement*, in particular Roma organizations, the strategy is quite poor. There are only two references to the organizations created in the early '90s dedicated to representing Roma's interests. Furthermore, the document includes provisions for the creation of a small number of organizations within the state to help protect Roma's rights.

2000 - 2004 PLAN						
	Violence	Language	Religion	Territory	Representation	Organization
Assimilation	-	-	-	-	-	-
Accomodation	-	+	-	+/-	+	+
Exclusion	-	-	-	+/-	+/-	-

TABLE 9 CATEGORY ANALYSIS OF THE POLICIES IMPLEMENTED IN THE 2000-2004 PERIOD. SOURCE: AUTHOR

In conclusion, presented in Table 9, the analysis indicates that the 2000-2004 plan reveals a mix of accommodation and exclusion policies. The intentions of accommodation are dominant; meanwhile, the intentions of exclusion appear only in a moderate manner.

The non-existing Action Plan 2005-2007

Before analyzing the 2008-2010 integration plan is necessary to refer to the four-year gap between the end of the 2000-2004 strategy and the adoption of a new plan in 2008.

While some documents mention the existence of a 2005-2007 plan (Tadas Leončikas, 2005 p 44), it appears it was never formally adopted by the Lithuanian government. It is hard to single out one specific cause as the main reason for this omission. In general, it can be attributed to poor governmental planning and a lack of long term goals in the sphere of Roma integration (Survila, 2010).

While there were a couple of other important documents that were released during this period, neither of them is meant to address the integration process of the Roma community exclusively. Consequently, I do not analyze them thoroughly, instead of recurring to the observations of Arūnas Poviliūnas, presented in his study "Promoting Social Inclusion of Roma. A Study of National Policies."

First, as part of EU provisions for Lithuania's accession to a full partnership, the government prepared Lithuania's Joint Memorandum on Social Inclusion (JIM). The objective of the Memorandum is to "prepare the country for full participation in the open method of coordination on social inclusion upon accession. The Memorandum outlines the principal challenges concerning tackling poverty and social exclusion, and presents the major policy measures taken by Lithuania in the light of the agreement to start translating the EU's common objectives into national policies, and identifies the key policy issues for future monitoring and policy review." (Government of the Republic of Lithuania, 2003)

Although the JIM addresses the Roma situation, its approach was not sufficiently mainstreamed (Poviliūnas, 2011, p. 19). The European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) noted that "the Lithuanian JIM has omitted to mention racial discrimination as a factor depicting the social situation of Roma in Lithuania." Another issue highlighted by the ERRC is the use of the term "gypsies" across the JIM when referring to the Roma community. Taking into consideration that since the adoption of the 2000-2004 plan, it was established that the use of the word "gypsy" could carry discriminating tones, this misstep is not insignificant.

A similar discriminatory attitude is reflected in the National Report on Strategies of Lithuania for Social Protection and Social Inclusion 2006–2008 as they did not include the Roma ethnic minority in any form. In general, Poviliunas observes that for some period the Roma disappeared from the national integration process. (Poviliūnas, 2011, p. 32) This could be further confirmed, when the Law on Support for Employment

issued in 2007 did not include the Roma people into the list of the Persons Additionally Supported in the Labour Market despite including other groups.

The analysis of the policies implemented turned into the following results:

2005 - 2007 LEGISLATION						
	Violence	Language	Religion	Territory	Representation	Organization
Assimilation	-	-	-	-	-	-
Accommodation	-	+	-	+	+	-
Exclusion	-	-	-	-	+	-

TABLE 10 CATEGORY ANALYSIS OF THE POLICIES IMPLEMENTED IN THE 2005-2007 PERIOD. SOURCE: AUTHOR

The particular circumstances of the 2005- 2007 made the analysis harder, due to the lack of information. Nevertheless, a couple of documents discussed above provide evidence about the state intentions regarding Roma integration. | Table 10 resumes the analysis. Persistent omissions, misrepresentation, and the invisibilization of the community reveal an exclusionary intention, at least in terms of representation. The rest of the policies appear to follow the accommodation trend of the 2000-2004 plan.

Action Plan For Roma Integration Into The Lithuanian Society For 2008-2010

The 2008-2010 plan begins to set itself apart from the previous version right from the start. Besides general objectives remaining the same, the introduction with the detailed account of the legal national and EU level framework, regarding minority rights have disappeared. Additionally, the strategy states that the plan was designed taking into account the demographic information presented by the Housing and Population census from 2001, two sociological pieces of research and the reports submitted to the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI). This once more confirms the definite role the EU played in designing the strategy.

Area	The main problems
Education	1. High illiteracy rate
	2. Failure to speak the state language
	3. Early school leaving

Participation in the labor market	1. Lack of profession
	2. High unemployment rate
	3. The negative attitude of employers towards Roma
Health	1. Short life expectancy
	2. Poor health
	3. Drug use
Housing	1. Poor housing quality
	2. Poor living conditions
	3. Undeveloped housing policy measures
Intolerance and discrimination against Roma	1. Growing public intolerance
	2. The inability of the Roma to properly defend their rights
Organizational and administrative capacity	1. Lack of information required by Roma NGOs
	2. Lack of management skills of Roma NGO leaders

TABLE 11 MAIN PROBLEMS OF THE ROMA COMMUNITY 2008-2010. SOURCE: SURVILA (2010, 56)

Table 11 resumes the main problems identified in the report, once again grouped in different categories. The *"social problems"* have been substituted by individual sections accounting for *housing problems*, *housing, and participation in the labor market* problems. It is quite significant that the previously strongly securitized drug problem is not enlisted anymore as a "social problem" but instead as a health issue. In this manner, the document seems to be more sympathetic towards Roma, as it avoids portraying them only as a security risk. Instead, it recognizes that drug trafficking is a problem affecting the Roma too. This change in representation is more in line with accommodation than exclusion.

The issue of *homelessness* is now presented within housing problems. In this category, the text enlists a more specified number of problems related to the poor housing conditions the Roma community experience. Some of these issues are lack of water, unlighted streets, and road without pavement. Again this reflects an attitude leaning towards accommodation.

The texts also make references to the difficulties related to the organizational state of the Roma community. This is important, as it implies that to move forward in the

integration process, the Roma's participation through their organizations remains an indispensable condition.

The document also makes an effort to outline more clearly the problems associated with the representation and perception of Roma in society. The ambiguous title "other problems" disappears, and the intolerance and discrimination against the Roma category are created.

2008 -2010 PLAN						
	Violence	Language	Religion	Territory	Representation	Organization
Assimilation	-	-	-	-	-	-
Accomodation	-	+	-	+	+	+
Exclusion	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 12 POLICY TYPE ANALYSIS IN THE ROMA INTEGRATION INTO LITHUANIAN SOCIETY PLAN 2008 - 2010

Based on the documents from the 2008–2010, it is possible to conclude that the Lithuanian sate intentions leaned to the side of accommodation (as seen in Table 12). However, the complementary information provided by the Poviliunas study reveals a different situation.

Taking into account the prevalence of exclusionary attitudes prevalent in some policies from 2005 to 2007, the adoption of the Programme for the Integration of Roma into Lithuanian Society 2008-2010 in 2008 was thought to be a very positive step forward by many (Poviliūnas, 2011, p. 20). Unfortunately, between 2008 and 2010, the program was cut short by the lack of funding. Even more revealing is that throughout its existence, it received less than 84% of its initial budget. (Šukevičiūtė & Bakker, 2013, p. 42) Thus, its implementation was minimal. This underfunding can be explained in at least two ways:

1. The 2008' crisis forced the government to cut social programs. If this is the case, the policy analysis conclusion remains the same (Lithuanian policies reflected the state's desire to accommodate).
2. This lack of funding for the 2008 – 2010 plan is just another example of a trend that has remained the same since 2004. This would mean that the policy type analysis should incorporate the presence of a violent exclusionary attitude (Lithuanian policies reflected the state's desire to exclude).

Given that the 2008 economic crisis was an extraordinary event, the first option seems to be more plausible. Therefore, we can conclude that despite funding issues, the Lithuanian government was willing to accommodate the Roma minority. Even more, the tendencies of accommodation grew stronger, while exclusionary trends have weakened.

The non-existing Action Plan 2010-2012

As it happened before, after the end of the 2000-2004 plan, the integration process remained guideless for two years. After the previous plan 2008-2010 ended abruptly due to the lack of funding the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Lithuania was responsible for drafting the Roma integration program for 2010-2012. Still, the National Strategy for the Integration of Roma was never adopted nor drafted (Sabatauskaitė & Andriukaitis , 2011, p. 44). Later, it was reported that the integration of Roma into Lithuanian society for 2010-2012 began in July of 2010. Still, since then, the strategy of only remained as a draft version. (Šukevičiūtė & Bakker, 2013)

Besides these accounts, there is no more information available on the lack of an action plan. However, it is worth mentioning this information does contribute to the overall analysis. With the information available about the period from 2004 until 2012, we can conclude that:

a. The process of integration for the Roma community remained without a consistent strategy for almost a whole decade.

b. Although there were several documents in place addressing the integration process, the lack of commitment from the authorities kept these policies at the desk level.

Due to the lack of information, it is impossible to define the type (accommodation, exclusion or assimilation) of the policies.

Action Plan For Roma Integration Into The Lithuanian Society For 2012-2014

The third action plan was adopted in March of the year 2012, and it was set to expire in 2014. There were some major changes in the plan from the institutional dimension. Institutionally this is the first time plan supervision falls under the Minister of Culture. Previously it was the Department of National Minorities and Diaspora that was in charge of overseeing the implementation of the plan.

Another significant change is related to the framing used to establish the main objective and goals of the plan. In previous versions, both objectives and goals were crafted around the aspiration of integrating Roma into "Lithuanian society." For example, the 2000 - 2004 plan states, that "the main goals of the program are: To create conditions for persons belonging to the Roma ethnic minority to be fully integrated into the life of Lithuanian society (…)"

Nonetheless, in 2012-2014, the "Lithuanian society" part is nowhere to be found, and "the plan is aimed at promoting the participation of Roma in public life, reducing social exclusion..." Furthermore, the document as an objective seeks to "create conditions for intercultural dialogue."This is the first time any of the documents associated with the plans used the term "intercultural dialogue" These changes could appear superficial at first. Nevertheless, there is enough evidence to argue that they were part of a deeper conceptual shift about the way the process of integration was understood in previous plans.

The evidence to support this idea start with the scale of scale of the plan.

Area	The main problems
Education	1. Early school leaving
	2. Adult illiteracy
Participation in the labor market	1. Lack of professional instruction
Development of Roma social skills	1. Lack of social skills and human resources in organizing their community effectively.
Promotion of public tolerance with regard to Roma	1. Predominant discriminatory stereotypes

TABLE 13 ROMA COMMUNITY MAIN PROBLEMS ACCORDING TO THE ACTION PLAN FOR ROMA INTEGRATION INTO THE LITHUANIAN SOCIETY FOR 2012-2014

As Table 13 shows, the plan was reduced considerably. It could be argued that this cut is a reflection of the economic crisis that was forcing the government to reduce spending by cutting social programs. If that were true, it would still provide information about the government intentions towards the Roma. However, once the extent of the cutback is analyzed, it does not seem motivated by economic reasons, but instead, it appears to be

guided by a shift from a multidimensional understanding of the integration process to a comprehension focus mostly on cultural conflict.

To prove this point is enough to look at the fact that all housing and health issues were cut. These categories included some problems associated with economic exclusion. Nevertheless, these issues are left behind and replaced by problems associated with the lack of social skills.

This cultural shift not only seems to be dominant in the plan, but also it appeared to be lean to present the Roma community in an unfavorable manner. In the previous report, when the participation in the labor market was mentioned, it enlisted as reasons for the lack of professional instruction as a reason as well as the employers' negative attitude towards Roma. On this occasion, the latter disappeared.

This does not mean that there is any mention of the Roma being the subject of discrimination; the plan included one section referring to that matter. However, the emphasis on this problem has diminished significantly.

2012 -2014 Plan						
	Violence	Language	Religion	Territory	Representation	Organization
Assimilation	+ / -	-	-	-	+ / -	-
Accomodation	-	+ / -	-	-	+	+ / -
Exclusion	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 14 POLICY TYPE ANALYSIS OF THE ACTION PLAN FOR ROMA INTEGRATION INTO THE LITHUANIAN SOCIETY 2012 – 2014

Table 14 shows that the shift towards strengthening a cultural approach in 2012-2014 is indicative of assimilation attempts. However, the accommodation that still prevailed.

This assimilationist attitude, though, did not go unnoticed. Seven Roma organizations released a resolution questioning the adequacy of the action plan and sent it to the European Commission. In their statement, the organizations referred to some of the issues excluded from the plan as the poor Roma housing conditions, health care problems, discrimination, and drug use. The European Commission, though, expressed a positive reaction to the promotion of Romani culture, history and folklore, day centers for children, and other related actions in the plan. Nonetheless, the European Commission recognized the lack of attention over health issues as a weakness (Šukevičiūtė & Bakker, 2013, p. 32).

Action Plan For Roma Integration Into The Lithuanian Society For 2015-2020

This plan is the longest the most comprehensive of all the previous ones. It starts with a brief summary of demographic information about the Roma in Lithuanian. It must be noted that the information on average percentages is presented in comparison to the average numbers of the Lithuanian society as a whole. This way, it provides the numbers with a contextual reference while expressing a clear relation between the host state, Lithuania, and the non-core group.

Another distinctive characteristic is that for the first time, the plan incorporates goals and sub-goals, which allows understanding the process better. It should be noted that as in the 2012-2014 plan, the goal of promoting intercultural dialogue is mentioned.

In terms of the conceptual framing, it is necessary to point out the use of the term "Lithuanian Roma" as it is the first time it appears in the plans. The use of this term is conceptually speaking an important indicator for accommodation policies as it reflects perfectly the intentions where the "differences" of a non-core group are more or less respected, and institutions that regulate and perpetuate these differences are put in place. If you consider the use of Lithuanian Roma and the stated goal of intercultural dialogue, an image of the type of policies starts to emerge from the beginning.

Area	The main problems
Education	1. Prevalence of secondary or higher education
	2. pre-school and pre-primary education
	3.Special educational needs
	4. Adult education
Health	1. Lack health coverage
	2. Prevalence of addictive disorders
	3. Lack of information
Participation in the labor market	1. Prevalence of informal occupations
	2. Illiteracy, lack of occupational skills and Lithuanian language
	3. The exceptional age structure of the Roma (a lot of people under 18)
	4. Prejudice

	5. Cultural and familiar values
Roma Women	1. Employment situation worse than men
	2. Early marriage and motherhood
	3. Limited participation in public and political life
Housing	1. The dwelling of worst quality than the average Lithuanian household
	2. Landlords' Prejudice against Roma
	3. Lack of ownership over their dwelling
Public attitude towards Lithuanian Roma	1. Persistent prejudice against Roma
	2. Poor knowledge about their rights in the Roma Community
Representation and participation	Only a few of the Roma organizations are not active anymore

TABLE 15 ROMA COMMUNITY MAIN PROBLEMS ACCORDING TO ACTION PLAN FOR ROMA INTEGRATION INTO THE LITHUANIAN SOCIETY FOR 2015-2020

As table 15 shows, the overall plan is far more detailed and inclusive than its predecessor. Regarding the *educational problems,* it establishes issues at almost all levels of education. Besides identifying the prevalence of high numbers of kids dropping out of school as problematic, it also mentions the lack of access of Roma children to pre-scholar education, despite this right being guaranteed by the state. For the first time, the plan incorporates the concept of special education needs. It is necessary to mention that although the command of Lithuanian language is included in the plan as a consideration, it is not mentioned in the section on education but instead in the access to the labor market part. In addition to being more detailed, the section concerned with education incorporates some significant conceptual changes that indicate a comprehensive characterization of the problem that avoids highlighting cultural differences as a factor. This is a clear sign of accommodation.

The component of *health* is once again incorporated into the integration plan in this version, as it focuses on the issue of health coverage. Besides the statistical data and particularities of the health needs of the Roma community, the document identifies two causes for the lack of access to health care services. First, the prevalence of adverse attitudes from the people working in the health care system, something that has been

brought up before. However, it mentions as a second cause the lack of identification documents for the Roma. "(...) The failure to process the necessary documents in a timely manner results in the deprivation of the right to receive personal health care services." This is important as the issue of personal identification has received very little attention in the plan documents since it was first mentioned in the 2000-2004 strategy. In the same manner, as in the 2008-2010 Action Plan, the prevalence of disorders associated with drugs is mentioned. Nevertheless, the document states that the information available concerning this issue is not very scarce. The efforts to approach the health-related problems with a multidimensional perspective, talking about citizenship rights, for example, is evidence of accommodation.

It is noteworthy that *participation in the labor market* is one of the most consistent sections in all the plans, as it appeared in 2008-2010, 2012 - 2014, and in this last document. Nevertheless, in this plan, participation in the labor markets sets apart from the previous versions. In the first place, it brings back again the existence of prejudice as one of the causes that limit the Roma to access to work. This is important in terms of representation as one of the most common stereotypes against the Roma is that they are lazy. To fight against this prejudice, the plan uses a 2011 statistic that states, "the majority of the working-age Roma registered in the Lithuanian Labour Exchange applied to the Labour Exchange with the hopes to receive job offers (68%)". Another important detail to consider for the policy type analysis is the reinforcement of language as a valuable skill. It is not the first time that the language is associated with participation in the labor markets; however, it is the first time in any of the plans that this is the only way it is mentioned. This is significant as it frames the language as a practical tool instead of a cultural asset moving from assimilation to accommodation.

The plan also mentions the "exceptional age structure of the Roma national minority," emphasizing the prevalence of minors. According to the document, such a demographic composition signifies a larger number of dependents per adult and a relatively large share of economically inactive residents. All of these statements that try to characterize the Roma community less negatively also indicate intentions of accommodation.

The section about Roma women deserves special recognition. Although it is brief, this is the first time that any type of desegregated analysis by gender is part of one plan. The document highlights some information that, without being completely new, do help to

provide a necessary gender perspective. Statistically, women represent something around 50% of the Roma population; therefore, the plan recognizes, that the active engagement of Roma women in the integration process is indispensable. There is a short reference to cultural factors as one of the causes of the situation of Roma women; however, it does not appear inseparably linked to the Roma culture; therefore such an approach is in line with the accommodation type of policies.

Housing, like health, is one of the problems that disappeared from the 2012 - 2014 plan. On this occasion, it is brought back focused on two issues: property ownership and poor living conditions. Like in the previous decade in 2016, Vilnius' mayor office announced a project to break up the Kirtimai settlement. As before, this policy seemed to be closer to exclusion for several reasons. On the one hand, to be reinforced in requires violence. On the other, the project contemplates relocating the people living in Kirtimai to social projects, essentially leaving them in the same situation at the expense of the government without the possibility of own any property. Even when the plan appears to take into account this fact, further developments showed that the policy of resettlement was executed as planned. This is considered an exclusion type of policy.

The category, dedicated to the p*ublic attitude towards the Lithuanian Roma* is consistent with the intentions showed across the whole plan. The issue of the public attitude toward the Lithuanian Roma is presented from a perspective that is balanced for the Roma community. The structural nature of the segregation they are subjected to is pictured by referring to it at cross-cutting cause to all the other problems. This is also consistent with accommodation.

There is a final section dedicated to the Representation and participation of Roma in Public Life. This is mostly a summary of the Roma organizations that are still active. In general, terms are established that there is an institutionality that represents the interest of the Roma community and looks after their rights. This recognition is an important element of the accommodation as it validates the existence of the non-core group as an organized and unifies group.

2015 -2020 Plan						
	Violence	Language	Religion	Territory	Representation	Organization
Assimilation	-	-	-	-	-	-
Accomodation	-	+	-	+	+	+

| Exclusion | +/- | - | - | +/- | - | - |

TABLE 16 POLICY TYPE ANALYSIS OF THE ACTION PLAN FOR THE ROMA INTEGRATION INTO LITHUANIAN SOCIETY 2015 - 2020

As it can be seen in Table 16 the 2015-2020 plan indicates more clearly than all the previous documents, the intentions to accommodate Roma minority. However, an exclusionary attitude towards the issue of housing persists even 20 years after the first plan was adopted.

Few factors remained constant in this period except for those described by Mylonas framework (host state, core group, non-core group). Through the analysis of the documents, it is also possible to identify the mechanism (agreements, institutions, etc) the external power (the EU in this case) can use to exercise its influence.

Conclusions and theoretical implications

The analysis applied individually on each one of the Action Plans for the Roma Integration into Lithuanian Society adopted from 2000 – 2020 reveals that the choice of policies adopted by the Lithuanian towards the Roma community remains steady throughout the whole period. Furthermore, the evidence supports the idea that it is the European Union in its role of External power and a sponsor for the Roma community, is a decisive factor defining the type of policies chosen by Lithuania.

These results also contribute to reaffirmed the feasibility of Mylonas framework to predict a state choice of policies for integration towards a non-core group in an environment outside of the Balkans where it was initially tested.

Some slight variations in the state intentions are identified in different moments during the period of analysis, mostly motivated by domestic elements like the lack of budget to finance a particular program.

The detailed analysis of all the documents confirms that the inclusion/exclusion type of analysis usually associated with the ethnic-based theories on nationalism is insufficient to describe existing variations in the state policies. The introduction of a third category, accommodation, makes it possible to describe more accurately the type of policy implemented by a particular state.

My research has a theoretical contribution and a practical application. By applying Mylonas theory, I manage to adapt it to the context of Lithuania. This adaptation can be further developed to study the process of integration of other minorities.

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