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DECADE OF ROMA INCLUSION PROGRESS REPORT¹

¹ This paper was authored by Eben Friedman; it does not represent the official views of UNDP, the United Nations, or its member states. The author wishes to thank the Decade of Roma Inclusion Secretariat Foundation for valuable comments on an earlier version of this report, as well as for permission to reproduce the graphic presented in the report as Figure 1. Jaroslav Kling provided not only extensive access to unpublished survey data and comments on draft materials, but also guidance throughout the process of designing and preparing the report. Last but not least, a debt of gratitude is owed to Samet Skenderi of the Initiative for Social Change (Skopje) for allowing use of unpublished survey data on Roma in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

Synopsis: This report provides an overview of progress made during the 2005-2015 Decade of Roma Inclusion, up until 2013. Following an introduction to the Decade's origins, key commitments, and structures, it offers an analysis of available evidence (both quantitative and qualitative) on changes in the situation of Roma since 2005 in education, employment, health, housing, anti-discrimination, gender equality, and poverty reduction. The report also examines adherence to the principled commitments made at the outset of the Decade, including adopting and funding national action plans targeting Roma, involving Roma in the design and implementation of initiatives undertaken within the framework of the Decade, and gathering data and reporting on the situation of Roma. The report concludes that substantive progress in the situation of Roma, and adherence to key Decade commitments, have been uneven. It also proposes a set of strategic guidelines for consideration in planning such efforts.

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Executive summary

- This report provides an overview of progress made in the course of the 2005-2015 Decade of Roma Inclusion. It offers an analysis of available evidence on changes in the situation of Roma since the beginning of the Decade in the priority areas of education, employment, health, and housing, as well as in relation to the cross-cutting issues of anti-discrimination, gender equality, and poverty reduction. Also assessed in the report is adherence to the principled commitments made at the outset of the Decade, including adopting and funding national action plans targeting Roma in the four priority areas, involving Roma in the design and implementation of initiatives undertaken in the framework of the Decade, and gathering data and reporting on the situation of Roma.
- The formal decision to establish the Roma Decade was taken at the 2003 conference “Roma in an Expanding Europe: Challenges for the Future”, held in Budapest with funding from the Council of Europe Development Bank, the European Commission, the Open Society Institute, the United Nations Development Programme, and the World Bank, as well as from the governments of Finland, Hungary, and Sweden. Participating in the Decade since 2005 are the governments of Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, and Slovakia. Albania (in 2008), Bosnia and Herzegovina (2009), and Spain (2009) signed on to the Decade as full members; Slovenia, the US, and Norway joined the Decade as observers in 2009, 2012, and 2013, respectively.
- At the launch of the Decade, the prime ministers of the participating governments signed a declaration committing their governments to systematic improvement of the situation of Roma, Romani participation in designing and implementing relevant initiatives, and to monitoring and evaluating the implementation of these initiatives. Its Terms of Reference designate education, employment, health, and housing as the Decade’s “priority areas”, with poverty, discrimination, and gender mainstreaming to be taken into account by participating governments as cross-cutting “core issues”.
- Available data suggest that education is the priority area in which the most progress has been made in improving the situation of Roma, relative both to what it was at the beginning of the Decade and to the situation of non-Roma. This is particularly apparent in advances in literacy and in the completion of primary and secondary education. Smaller bodies of available data on and variations among participating countries in achievements in the priority areas of employment, health, and housing make drawing conclusions more difficult. However, quantitative and qualitative assessments suggest that more progress has been made on Roma health since the beginning of the Decade than has been the case with employment or housing.
- Joblessness rates among Roma have improved relative to the situation at the beginning of the Decade and to the situation of non-Roma, but developments in relation to wages have been more mixed. Documented progress in access to improved sanitation stands in contrast to more ambivalent developments concerning access to improved water sources and secure housing, as well as in relation to rooms and space per household member.
- With the partial exception of anti-discrimination, cross-cutting issues have generally been neglected. This is most evident in relation to poverty reduction, which has for the most part been left alone not only by government policies, but also by external assessments. The situation

with regard to gender equality is better primarily insofar as the lack of sustained government attention to Romani women as a distinct target group has been documented with a consistency lacking in the case of poverty reduction. Issues of discrimination have received attention from governments as well as in external assessments, but available information suggests that modest advances made in the first half of the Decade may now be rolled back as relations between Roma and non-Roma deteriorate in some participating countries.

- Although most of the countries participating in the Decade have adopted national action plans covering education, employment, health, and housing, the interventions foreseen in the different priority areas do not generally amount to an integrated approach. Government funding allocations have generally been insufficient, while the effects of EU funding on the situation of Roma are not well documented and the documented effects are somewhat ambivalent.
- The picture in relation to Romani participation in the course of the Decade is more positive. The growth (both quantitative and qualitative) in the presence of Roma in designing and implementing activities associated with the Decade is palpable in most participating countries, as well as in some of the key international partner organizations. The Decade has made an important contribution to raising awareness about the situation of Roma. On the other hand, participating governments have not fulfilled their commitment to measure progress in a transparent and quantifiable way. The Decade Progress Reports submitted on an annual basis by participating governments since 2010 suggest that government commitments to monitoring and evaluation are more formal than substantive. Efforts to increase ethnically disaggregated data collection since the reporting requirement was introduced are not apparent.
- Key recommendations of this study are the following:
 - The many successful initiatives undertaken in the priority area of education since the beginning of the Decade should be continued and scaled up where this has not already been done. The overrepresentation of Romani children in special schools and classes for the mentally disabled should be addressed on a priority basis.
 - More effective alternatives to the Roma-targeted employment programmes implemented to date should be found. Discrimina-

tory employment practices require urgent attention in light of their apparent effects not only on employment rates, but also on participation in education and on migration patterns.

- Anecdotal evidence on the effectiveness of health mediation programmes should be supplemented by rigorous evaluation as a basis for possible scaling up and cross-country replication.
- The lack of clear progress in Roma housing in most Decade countries and the deepening of housing gaps between Roma and non-Roma in some Decade countries calls for a rethinking of efforts by authorities at both central and local levels, with particular attention on forced evictions and residential segregation as forms of discrimination.
- There is a clear need to increase participating countries' levels of engagement with the cross-cutting issues of anti-discrimination, gender equality, and poverty reduction. The observed growth in discrimination against Roma in some Decade countries in the form of events which directly threaten Roma's safety must be reversed as a pre-condition for the success of initiatives undertaken in all other areas.
- An increase in the gap between Romani men and women in employment greater than the corresponding increase between non-Romani men and women calls for appropriately targeted measures.
- Efforts to reduce poverty among Roma should not neglect the situation of non-Roma living in poverty.
- If efforts for improving the situation of Roma in relation to any of the priority areas or cross-cutting issues are to succeed, the governments of the Decade countries must put their principled commitments into practice. National action plans must be designed and funded to be implemented in their entirety, with the complexity of Roma marginalization reflected in integrated policies linking initiatives across priority areas and addressing cross-cutting issues.
- The considerable increases in the levels of Romani participation at national and local levels in participating countries should be cemented institutionally, with efforts stepped up to secure the participation of Romani women.
- The collection of ethnically and gender-disaggregated data should be designed and coordinated at the national level, and implemented at both national and local levels so as to ground targeted policies and to supplant the emphasis to date on inputs with increased attention to outputs and outcomes.



The Decade of Roma Inclusion

Report structure and purpose. This report provides an overview of progress made during the 2005-2015 Decade of Roma Inclusion (up until 2013). Following a brief introduction to the Decade's origins and to key Decade commitments and structures, it offers an analysis of available evidence (both quantitative and qualitative) on changes in the situation of Roma since the beginning of the Decade in the priority areas of education, employment, health, and housing, as well as in relation to the cross-cutting issues of anti-discrimination, gender equality, and poverty reduction. Also assessed in the report is adherence to the principled commitments made at the outset of the Decade, including adopting and funding national action plans targeting Roma in the four priority areas, involving Roma in the design and implementation of initiatives undertaken within the framework of the Decade, and gathering data and reporting on the situation of Roma. The final chapter of the report consists primarily of conclusions concerning on the one hand the extent to which participants in the Decade have made headway "toward eliminating discrimination and closing the unacceptable gaps between Roma and the rest of society" (as promised in the Decade Declaration signed by the prime ministers of participating governments at the official launch of the Decade in 2005), and on the other hand the extent to which Decade participants have put into practice key principles adopted at the beginning of the Decade. Presenting evidence that both substantive progress in the situation of Roma and adherence to key Decade commitments have been uneven, the report takes a glance at evidence that societies in the countries participating in the Decade remain open in principle to a continuation of efforts to eliminate gaps between Romani and non-Romani populations. It concludes by proposing a set of strategic guidelines for consideration in planning such efforts.

Origins of the "Roma Decade". The formal decision to establish the 2005-2015 Decade of Roma Inclusion was taken at the 2003 conference

"Roma in an Expanding Europe: Challenges for the Future". The conference was held in Budapest with funding from the Council of Europe Development Bank, the European Commission, the Open Society Institute (OSI), UNDP, and the World Bank, as well as from the governments of Finland, Hungary, and Sweden. In attendance were government representatives from Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Romania, (the then-State Union of) Serbia and Montenegro, and Slovakia, all of which have participated in the Decade from its founding. Albania joined the Decade in 2008, with Bosnia and Herzegovina and Spain joining in 2009. Slovenia, the US, and Norway joined the Decade as observers in 2009, 2012, and 2013, respectively.

Founding international partner organizations of the Decade were (in alphabetical order) the Contact Point for Roma and Sinti Issues of the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, the Council of Europe, the Council of Europe Development Bank, the European Roma Information Office, the European Roma and Travellers Forum, the European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC), OSI, UNDP, and the World Bank, with the European Commission participating from the beginning of the Decade as an observer. Whereas the Roma Education Fund (REF) has served as an international partner of the Decade since its establishment in 2005, international partners joining later included the European Network Against Racism, the Forum of European Roma Young People, the International Romani Union, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the World Health Organization (WTO), and the United Nations Human Settlements Programme.

An important piece of groundwork for the Decade was the 2002 UNDP report entitled *The Roma in Central and Eastern Europe: Avoiding the Dependency Trap* (Ivanov et al., 2002). Prepared as part of UNDP's work on ethnically disaggregated data and indicators, the report provided detailed information on the situation of Romani populations in Central and Eastern Europe. It noted the importance of Roma integration ("as opposed to exclusion or assimilation") for the successful expansion of the European Union (EU), and called on international actors to coordinate among themselves while partnering with national governments in order to address the situation of the Roma (Ivanov et al., 2002: 5-6).

Decade commitments. Running throughout the Decade are commitments to systematic improvement of the situation of Roma, to Romani participation in designing and implementing relevant initiatives, and to monitoring and evaluating the implementation of these initiatives. At the launch of the Decade in early 2005, the prime ministers of the participating governments signed a declaration committing their re-

spective governments to “work toward eliminating discrimination and closing the unacceptable gaps between Roma and the rest of society”, “to support the full participation and involvement of national Roma communities in achieving the Decade’s objectives and to demonstrate progress by measuring outcomes and reviewing experiences in the implementation of the Decade’s Action Plans” (International Steering Committee, 2005: 2). As presented in the Decade’s Terms of Reference, Romani participation in decision-making is an instrument for accelerating improvements in the situation of Roma. The Terms of Reference also reiterate the promise of the Decade Declaration to measure progress, specifying that this will be done “in a transparent and quantifiable way” (International Steering Committee, 2005: 3). Additionally, the Terms of Reference designate education, employment, health, and housing as the Decade’s “priority areas,” with poverty, discrimination, and gender mainstreaming to be taken into account by participating governments as cross-cutting “core issues” (International Steering Committee, 2005: 3).

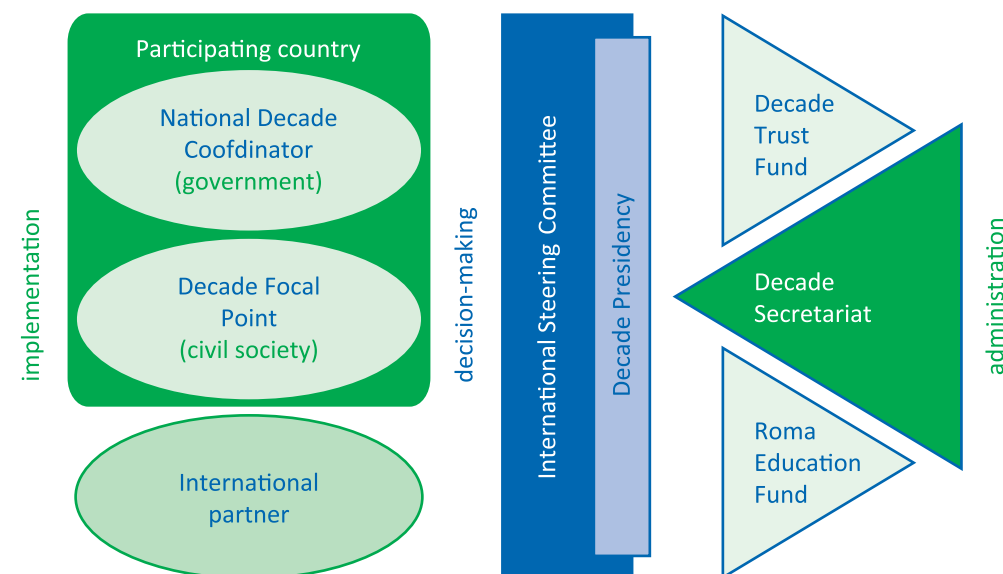
The Decade’s Terms of Reference define the duties and responsibilities of participating governments, international partner organizations, and Romani civil society. Consistent with the near total absence of Roma in governmental institutions and international organizations at the launch of the Decade, Romani civil society is tasked with ensuring that Roma play an active role in the Decade by contributing to the implementation and monitoring of relevant initiatives, and by mediating communication between national and local authorities on the one hand and local Romani communities on the other. Expectations vis-à-vis international partner organizations relate largely to coordinating, with an eye to producing synergy effects and to providing needed expertise, with contributions to the budget of the Decade (Decade Trust Fund) and support for national consultative mechanisms of Romani civil society mentioned as optional activities.

The bulk of responsibility for producing results under the Decade is accordingly placed on the participating governments. Central among the various duties and responsibilities of governments participating in the Decade are the following:

- Development, adoption, and implementation of national action plans (NAPs), with sufficient funding allotted for this purpose;
- Ensuring the effective participation of Romani civil society in bodies established to implement and monitor the NAPs; and
- Establishing mechanisms for measuring national progress in NAP implementation, and making available ethnically disaggregated data in accordance with international standards on the collection and protection of data.

Decade structures. The Decade’s Terms of Reference establish three regional-level governing organs: the International Steering Committee (ISC), the Decade Presidency, and the Secretariat of the Decade Presidency (Figure 1). As the Decade’s “highest decision-making and co-ordination body,” the ISC consists of all participating governments and international partner organizations, as well as representatives of the national Romani civil societies (International Steering Committee, 2005: 6). The Decade Presidency rotates annually among participating governments, with the Secretariat of the Decade Presidency to rotate together with the Presidency and to be staffed by persons from the country whose government holds the Presidency. This arrangement was modified on the basis of an ISC decision in late 2006, to establish a “Technical Support Unit” for the Decade in Budapest; this brought about the establishment of the Decade of Roma Inclusion Secretariat Foundation (hereafter “Decade Secretariat”) with OSI support. Beginning operations in early 2008, the Decade Secretariat’s roles include organizing Decade events, coordinating among stakeholders (i.e., national governments, international organizations, and Romani civil society), supporting the Decade’s expansion to additional countries, supporting NAP development and updating, serving as a clearinghouse for information on and relevant to the Decade, and disseminating information on achievements under the Decade for the purpose of garnering political and financial support.

Figure 1: Structure of the Decade of Roma Inclusion as of 2013



Source: Decade of Roma Inclusion Secretariat Foundation

Also established at the outset of the Decade were the Decade Trust Fund (DTF) and Roma Education Fund (REF). The DTF was designed to pool annual contributions of participating governments and international organizations to finance joint activities and is administered by the World Bank; the REF was founded as a partnership between OSI and the World Bank and subsequently registered as a foundation in Switzerland (in 2005), Hungary (2006), and Romania (2009). The REF's mission is to contribute to closing the gap in education outcomes between Roma and non-Roma, with an emphasis on desegregating educational systems in the countries participating in the Decade.

At the level of the individual participating countries, the Decade's Terms of Reference foresee the appointment of a National Coordinator by the respective prime minister (International Steering Committee, 2005: 6). Although there is an expectation that National Coordinators are high-level government officials who bring together stakeholders relevant for the inclusion of Roma in their respective countries and who represent their countries in Decade activities including but not limited to ISC meetings, neither the Decade's Terms of Reference nor any other publicly available document specifies the professional profile and tasks expected of the National Coordinator. This lack of specification is reflected in the range of appointments by participating governments, extending from deputy prime minister (as in Bulgaria and Croatia as of late 2013) to retiree (as in the initial years of Bosnia and Herzegovina's participation in the Decade). Additionally, several countries have experienced extended periods without a National Coordinator, usually as a result of government reshuffles following parliamentary elections.

Consistent with the lack of specification concerning the National Coordinator, mention of an institution responsible for the day-to-day coordination of Decade activities is absent from Decade documents. As a result, participating governments have been free to assign human and material resources for this purpose as they see fit. This has sometimes resulted in shifting institutional responsibilities with changes in government as newly formed governments attempt to improve function, showcase Romani participation, or lower the priority of the Decade. External observers have accordingly pointed to problems with the capacity and influence of the institutions responsible for coordination in all Decade countries except Croatia (where the level of Romani participation in Decade coordination has been and remains a concern). EC Progress Reports have expressed recurrent concerns on similar issues in relation to Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (European Commission 2008a; 2009a; 2009b; 2009d; 2010a; 2010e; 2011a; 2011c; 2011f; 2012a; 2012b; 2012d).

Also suggested (but not elaborated) in the Decade's Terms of Reference is that participating governments facilitate and support the work of a

Romani consultancy body for the Decade (International Steering Committee, 2005: 4). After several years in which multiple approaches to Romani participation in the Decade were supported in participating countries by the Roma Initiatives Office of the Open Society Foundations with various results, in 2012 the Decade Secretariat issued an open call for Decade Focal Points. Objectives included securing the participation of Romani civil society in Decade and other relevant international events, and more effective advocacy and dissemination of information at national level. From the applications submitted in response to the call, the Secretariat selected one Romani civil society organization each in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Slovakia, and Spain, with Decade Focal Points for Croatia and Romania selected in 2013.



Assessing progress

This chapter focuses on changes in the situation of Roma since the beginning of the Decade. It is composed of thematic analyses of available evidence concerning the Decade's four priority areas and three cross-cutting issues. For each theme, regional and country-specific quantitative data are presented, followed by relevant findings from qualitative assessments on the situation of Roma conducted by governments, international organizations, and actors in the (respective) civil societies of the Decade countries. Where the evidence allows, the analysis attends not only to changes in the situation of Roma over time, but also to how the situation of non-Roma has changed over the same period, with an eye to providing a picture of the extent to which the Decade's goal of "closing the unacceptable gaps between Roma and the rest of society" has been realized to date.

Box 1: Data collection in the Decade

Due to the persistent absence of ethnically disaggregated official data on the situation of Roma in the Decade countries in the priority areas of education, employment, health, housing (as well as in relation to the cross-cutting issues of anti-discrimination, gender equality, and poverty reduction), international organizations have taken the lead in the collection of data useful for measuring progress under the Decade to date. Particularly noteworthy are the regional surveys commissioned by UNDP in 2004 and by UNDP, the World Bank, and the European Commission in 2011. These surveys provide internationally comparable time series data on the situation of the inhabitants of Romani communities, as well as in their closest non-Romani neighbours, in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe with relatively large Romani populations, including but not limited to those participating in the Decade (see Ivanov et al., 2006; 2012; UNDP, 2011). With regard to the cross-cutting issue of anti-discrimination, regional surveys commissioned by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) in 2008 and by FRA and UNDP in 2011 generated comparable data on discrimination against Roma in EU countries in relation to selected aspects of the four Decade priority areas (see European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2009; UNDP, 2011). Also important from the standpoint of comparisons over time are the Eurobarometer

surveys, which pose the same question about Romani friends and acquaintances in the course of the Decade (Eurobarometer, 2007; 2009; 2012).

Due in large part to the efforts of UNDP, Slovakia is the Decade country for which the greatest volume of quantitative data on Roma is available. Prior to participating in the UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011, Slovakia had already taken part in a regional survey by UNDP and the International Labour Organization in 2002, as well as in country-specific household surveys commissioned by UNDP in 2005 and 2010 (see Ivanov et al., 2002; Filadelfiová et al., 2007; Filadelfiová & Gerbery, 2012). Developments in the situation of Roma in Slovakia over time are also documented in the "Atlases of Romani Communities" (Jurasková et al., 2004; United Nations Development Programme, 2013). Additionally, Slovakia has been the focus of quantitative (as well as qualitative) research on the overrepresentation of Romani children in schools and classes for children with mental disability (Friedman et al., 2009), as well as of two studies on the use of EU funds for Roma (Hurrle et al., 2012; Kriglerová et al., 2012).

Other important efforts at gathering quantitative data with due attention to Roma in the countries of the Decade have come in the form of the Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys designed by UNICEF. Conducted in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in 2005-2006 and 2011 and in Serbia in 2005 and 2010, these surveys have generated data that allow the tracking over time of gaps between Roma and the general population concerning key indicators falling under the Decade priority areas of education, health, and housing (Petrović et al., 2007; Stojanovska et al., 2007; Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2011; Ministry of Health et al., 2012).

Where qualitative data are concerned, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia stands out among Decade countries for the largely comparable qualitative surveys conducted by civil society actors on representative samples of the Romani population in 2008, 2010, 2012 (see Bojadzieva, 2009; 2010; Friedman et al., 2013).² These surveys are particularly useful for conveying the views of Roma from all walks of life on their situation and how this has changed over time. In the 2012 survey, a majority of respondents indicated a lack of improvement in the situation of Roma as a result of state action in the priority areas of employment and housing, as well as in relation to the cross-cutting issues of anti-discrimination, gender equality, and poverty reduction. Only in the priority areas of education and health did a majority of respondents point to improvement in the situation, with the majority citing improvement in education quite clear (80 percent) and consistent with the findings of similar surveys conducted in 2008 and 2010 (Bojadzieva, 2009: 61-62; 2010: 46-47). In the case of health, on the other hand, the absolute majority of positive responses in 2012 constituted a change relative to the previous surveys and may be linked to the introduction of a health mediation programme in the year the survey was conducted.

Assessments of progress over the course of the Decade have been held back by the paucity of relevant data. Most of the relevant quantitative data available for this assessment have been collected through initiatives led by international organizations, particularly UNDP and UNICEF (see Box 1). Additionally, differences in the methodologies used in different studies sometimes result in conflicting findings.

Education. A comparison of the data from the UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011 with data from the 2004 UNDP Vulnerable Groups Survey suggests that the situation of Roma in the priority area of edu-

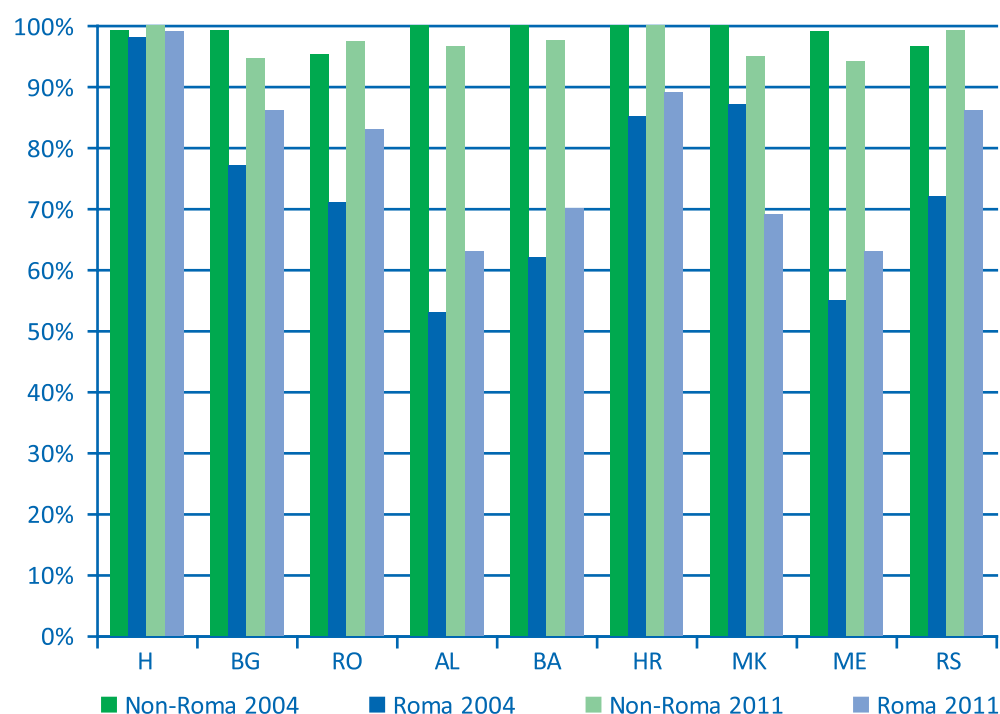
² The 2012 survey was conducted within the framework of the civil society monitoring coordinated by the Decade of Roma Inclusion Secretariat Foundation in cooperation with the "Making the most of EU Funds for Roma" programme, and the Roma Initiatives Office of the Open →

→ Society Foundations. Selected findings from the survey are presented in Friedman et al., 2013.

3 H = Hungary;
BG = Bulgaria;
RO = Romania;
AL = Albania;
BA = Bosnia and Herzegovina;
HR = Croatia;
MK = The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia;
ME = Montenegro;
RS = Serbia.

cation improved, both relative to Roma's previous situation and in comparison with non-Roma. In all countries except for the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Serbia, an increase was recorded between 2004 and 2011 in the share of Roma aged 15-24 who consider themselves able to read and write, with the frequency of positive responses to this question 66.6 percent or higher in all countries in 2011. Further, as shown in Figure 2, the share of Roma aged 14-20 who have completed at least primary education (ISCED 1) increased in all countries between 2004 and 2011. Changes observed in rates of primary education completion were similar for males and females (Brüggemann, 2012: 20-21). Moreover, the gap between Roma and non-Roma in relation to completion of this level of education decreased in all countries except the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, where it increased by almost thirteen percentage points. Nonetheless, gaps of more than ten percentage points remained not only in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, but also in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, Romania, and Serbia. Gaps in Albania, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Montenegro were of more than 25 percentage points.

Figure 2: Shares of Roma and non-Roma living in close proximity aged 14-20 who have completed at least primary education (ISCED 1)



Sources: UNDP Vulnerable Groups Survey (2004) and UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011.³

Rates of completion of at least lower secondary education (ISCED 2) among Roma aged 17-23 also increased between 2004 and 2011 in most countries. The exceptions were Montenegro (no change) and Albania, Croatia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Serbia (slight drops). Roma completion rates at this level remain below 50 percent in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, and Romania. Additionally, a significant gender gap in favour of males was observed in Bulgaria, Croatia, Montenegro, and Romania (Brüggemann, 2012: 21-22).

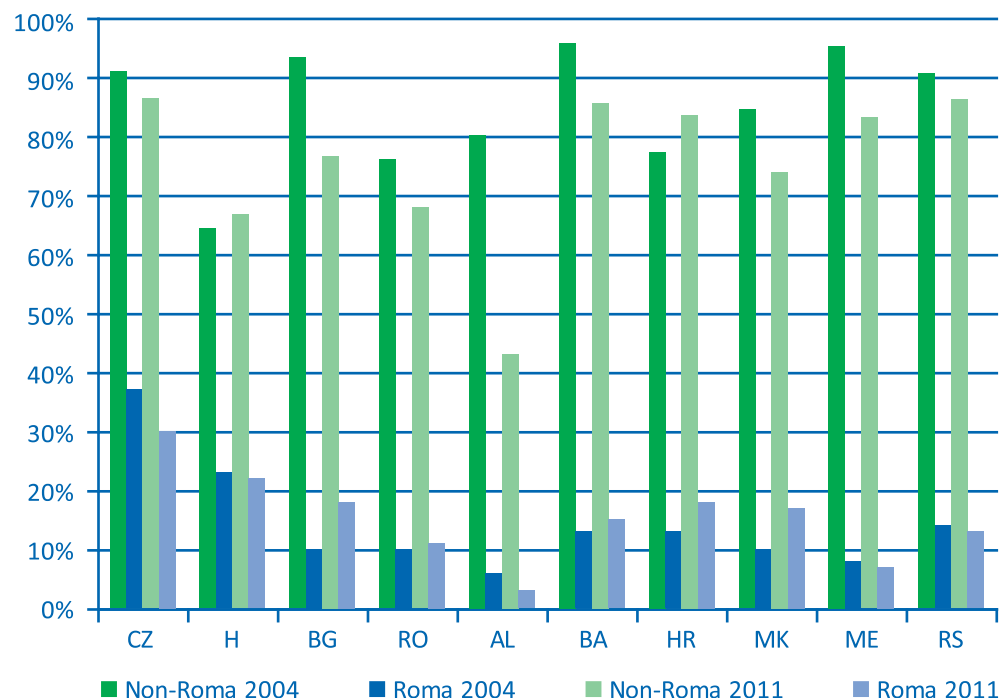
At the level of upper secondary education (ISCED 3), completion rates among Roma aged 20-26 increased in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia between the two surveys (see Figure 3). In all countries except the Czech Republic and Hungary, completion rates among Roma remained below twenty percent in 2011. While the gap between Roma and non-Roma on this indicator decreased from 2004 to 2011 in all countries except Croatia, the Czech Republic, and Hungary (in all of which the gap increased by fewer than five percentage points), the reduction in the gap between Roma and non-Roma is to be explained mostly in terms of a decrease in the share of non-Roma aged 20-26 who have completed upper secondary education. Moreover, a gap of at least 40 percentage points remains in all countries, with gaps of more than 70 percentage points in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Serbia. The only significant gender difference observed among Roma at this level of education was in Montenegro, where a higher percentage of male Roma completed upper secondary education than did their female counterparts (Brüggemann, 2012: 22-23).

Household surveys conducted in Slovakia in 2005 and 2010 show little change in the frequency with which Roma are enrolled in special education for children with mental disabilities. Whereas 17 percent of Romani children six years or older in the school system attended special primary schools in 2004, the corresponding figure for 2010 was 15 percent (Filadelfiová & Gerbery, 2012: 102).⁴ Roma rates of enrolment in special classes in standard primary schools changed even less over the same period: from five percent to four percent. Also relatively stable is the frequency with which Roma are enrolled in standard primary education: 71 percent in 2004 versus 72 percent in 2010. Both surveys also show that Roma from segregated settlements are more likely to attend special education than are Roma from other types of settlements.

The results of the Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS) conducted in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia with the support of UNICEF in 2005-2006 and 2011 point not only to improvements in the situation of Roma on several education indicators included in both surveys, but also to considerable reductions in the gap between Romani

⁴ Data from the 2004 survey provided by UNDP.

Figure 3: Share of Roma and non-Roma living in close proximity aged 20-26 who have completed at least upper secondary education (ISCED 3)



Sources: UNDP Vulnerable Groups Survey (2004) and UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011.⁵

⁵ CZ = Czech Republic;
H = Hungary;
BG = Bulgaria;
RO = Romania;
AL = Albania;
BA = Bosnia and Herzegovina;
HR = Croatia;
MK = The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia;
ME = Montenegro;
RS = Serbia.

⁶ For relevant data from the Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys, please consult Annex 1.

and non-Romani populations in the areas of women's literacy; primary school enrolment and attendance; and transition rates to secondary school (Stojanovska et al., 2007; Ministry of Health et al., 2012).⁶ Some progress was made also in reducing the gap in completion of primary education, while increases in Roma's participation in early childhood and secondary education had less effect on the gap due to similar increases also in the general population. On the other hand, whereas gender parity in primary education was achieved between 2005 and 2011 within both Romani and general populations, in secondary education higher participation among girls (both Romani and non-Romani) was replaced in the same period by higher male participation rates.

MICs conducted in Serbia (also with UNICEF support) in 2005 and 2010 yield similar data on changes in the situation of Roma in that country (Petrović et al., 2007; Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2011). As in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the results point to improvement on several indicators in both surveys, as well as to some reduction in gaps between Roma and non-Roma, with the greatest reductions in relation to gaps in women's literacy and primary education enrolment and attendance. More modest progress was made in

reducing gaps in completion of primary education and in secondary school attendance. A more than doubling (from 3.9 to 8.2 percent) of early childhood education attendance rates among Roma was overshadowed by a larger absolute increase within the general population. Where transition rates to secondary school are concerned, however, a drop among Roma alongside a slight increase in the general population made for growth in the gap between Roma and non-Roma. Finally, with regard to gender parity, the situation of near-parity in primary education remained stable in both Romani and general populations, while considerable progress was made within the Romani population toward gender parity in secondary education.

From the first Decade Watch report,⁷ education has stood out as the priority area in which many countries have coherent and sustained programmes and policies rather than sporadic measures and pilot projects (see Hauptert, 2007: 25). The 2009 Decade Watch survey accordingly revealed neutral to positive expert assessments of the impact of the Decade on early childhood and preschool, primary and secondary, tertiary education across the Decade countries taken as a group, with similar assessments of the impact of the Decade on all polled aspects of education emerging in relation to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Hungary, Romania, and Serbia (Müller and Zsigo, 2010: 53-54). Assessed neutrally to negatively, on the other hand, were adult education, desegregation, employment of Roma in the education sector, and inclusion of Romani language, culture, history, and identity. Whereas the overall assessment of the impact of the Decade on education was neutral in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, in Albania, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Montenegro, Slovakia, and Spain the overall assessment fell between neutral and negative.

The European Commission's progress reports on the participating countries of the Western Balkans note progress in the educational situation of Roma more frequently than progress in the other priority areas. In similar fashion, surveys conducted on representative samples of Roma in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in 2008, 2010, and 2012 show consistency in the perception that education is the priority area in which the most is being done (Bojadzieva, 2009: 61; 2010: 46).⁸ A survey of experts and decision-makers in Romania in 2010 yielded a similar finding (Stoian et al., 2010: 37).

Notwithstanding overall improvement in the area of education, serious problems remain and have been documented extensively not only by actors in civil society, but also by the European Commission. Arguably the most pressing of these is the overrepresentation of non-disabled Romani children in special primary schools and classes intended for children with mental disability (see, for example, Amnesty International, 2008; European Commission 2008c; 2012d; 2012h; Friedman

⁷ Decade Watch was a series of assessments conducted by coalitions of actors in civil society in the countries participating in the Decade. Supported by the Open Society Institute and the World Bank, the initiative produced three regional reports on progress under the Decade (see Hauptert, 2007; Danova, 2008; Müller & Zsigo, 2010).

⁸ Data from the 2012 survey, conducted in the framework of the civil society monitoring coordinated by the Decade of Roma Inclusion Secretariat Foundation in cooperation with the "Making the Most of EU Funds for Roma" programme and the Roma Initiatives Office of the Open Society Foundations, provided by Initiative for Social Change.

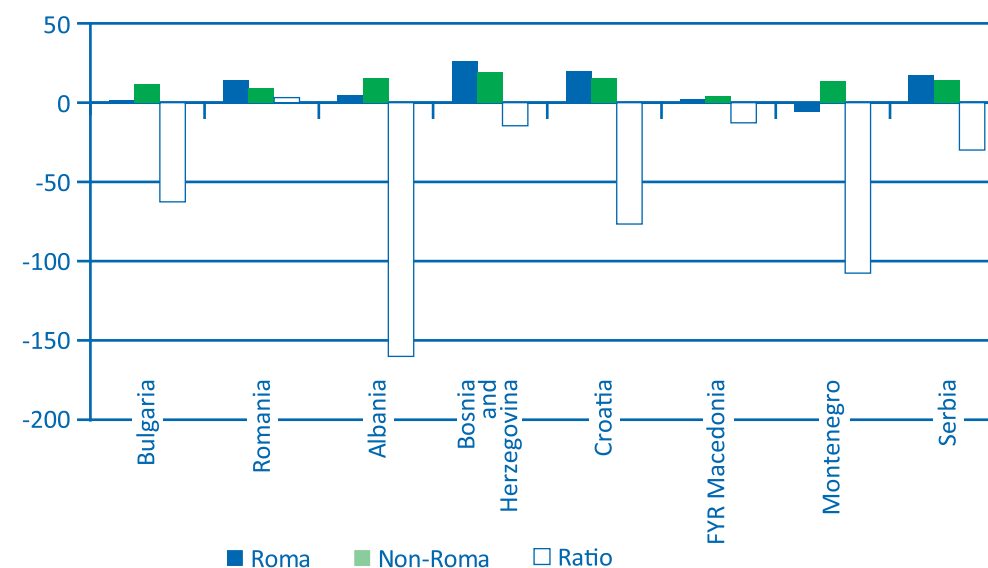
et al., 2009; Mihajlović et al., 2010; European Roma Rights Centre and National Roma Centrum, 2012; White, 2012; European Roma Rights Centre, 2013a; 2013b; Hurre et al., 2013; Lajčáková, 2013). Another persistent problem is segregation in standard education, which often results in Roma receiving education of inferior quality despite the lack of a nominal difference between the schools and classes they attend and those attended by their non-Romani peers (see Hauptert, 2007; Danova, 2008; European Commission 2010b; 2010d; 2010e; 2011d; Dimitrov et al. 2013; European Roma Rights Centre 2013a).

Employment. Comparison of data from the UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011 with data from the 2004 UNDP Vulnerable Groups Survey suggests that progress in closing gaps between Roma and non-Roma in employment has been mixed. On the positive side, the wage gap decreased (for women as well as men) in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, and Romania, with the greatest reduction (35 percent) observed in Albania and slight increases (less than two percent each) in Bulgaria and Serbia (O'Higgins, 2012: 32, 34). As shown in Figures 4 and 5, the gap in joblessness between Roma and non-Roma also decreased during 2004-2011 (with the exception of Romania, where a slight increase was observed). However, this drop may have had more to do with higher rates of participation in education among Romani youth than with improved employment prospects (O'Higgins, 2012: 32, 35). In fact, as shown in Figures 6 and 7, with the exception of slight increases in employment rates among female Roma in Bulgaria and male Roma in Montenegro, employment rates dropped among both Roma and non-Roma in the Decade countries between 2004 and 2011, with the gap between Roma and non-Roma on this indicator widening except in Albania, Bulgaria, and, for women only, Serbia (O'Higgins, 2012: 31-32).

In the absence of cross-national studies focusing directly on discrimination against Roma in the area of employment, O'Higgins (2012: 45) observes on the basis of data from the UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011 that "differences in educational level—and other individual characteristics—are not on the whole sufficient to explain the gap in employment opportunities and wages between Roma and non-Roma". Data from this survey further indicate that poor employment prospects are a key factor in both Roma and non-Roma decisions to move to another country (Cherkezova and Tomova, 2013). In this context, the higher frequencies with which Roma express an intention to migrate and cite better chances of finding employment as the main reason for leaving their current country of residence suggest that discriminatory employment practices exert an important (if indirect) impact on migration patterns.

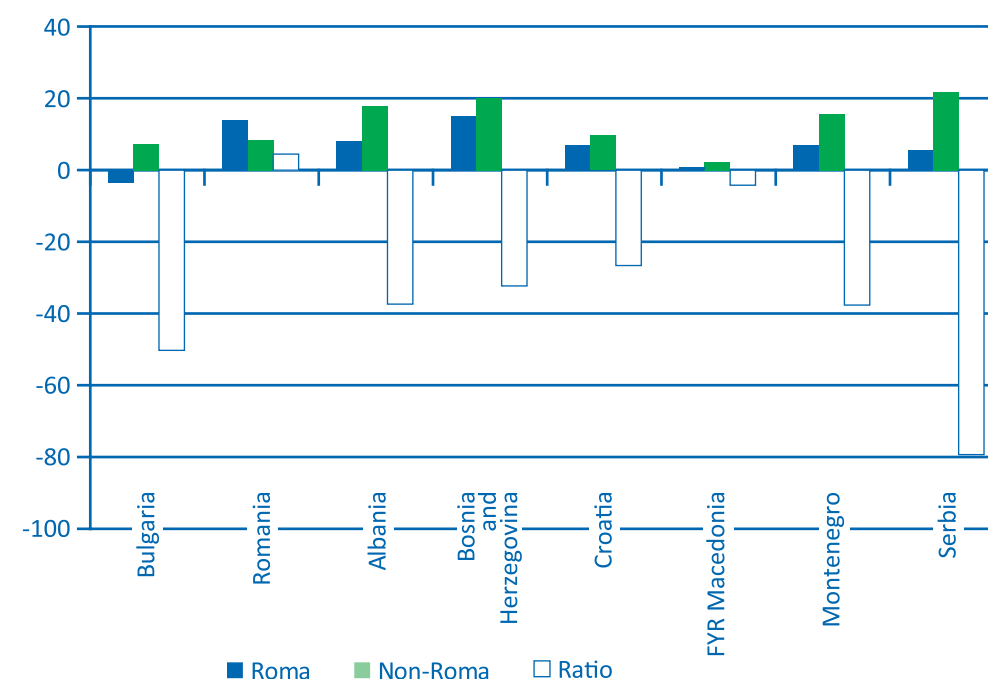
Household surveys conducted in Slovakia in 2005 and 2010 point to

Figure 4: Changes in joblessness rates of male Roma and non-Roma from 2004 to 2011

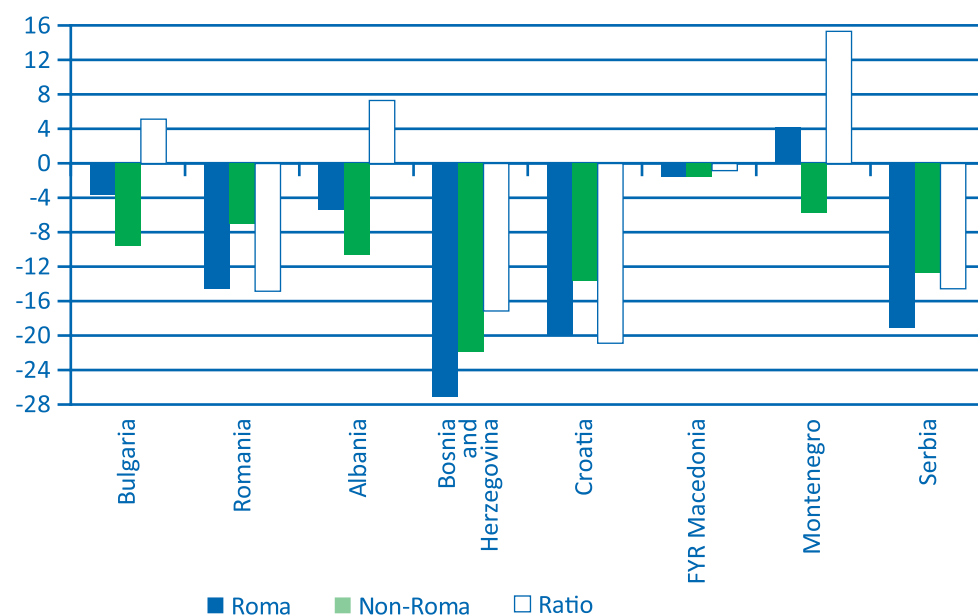


Sources: UNDP Vulnerable Groups Survey (2004) and UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011

Figure 5: Changes in joblessness rates of female Roma and non-Roma from 2004 to 2011



Sources: UNDP Vulnerable Groups Survey (2004) and UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011

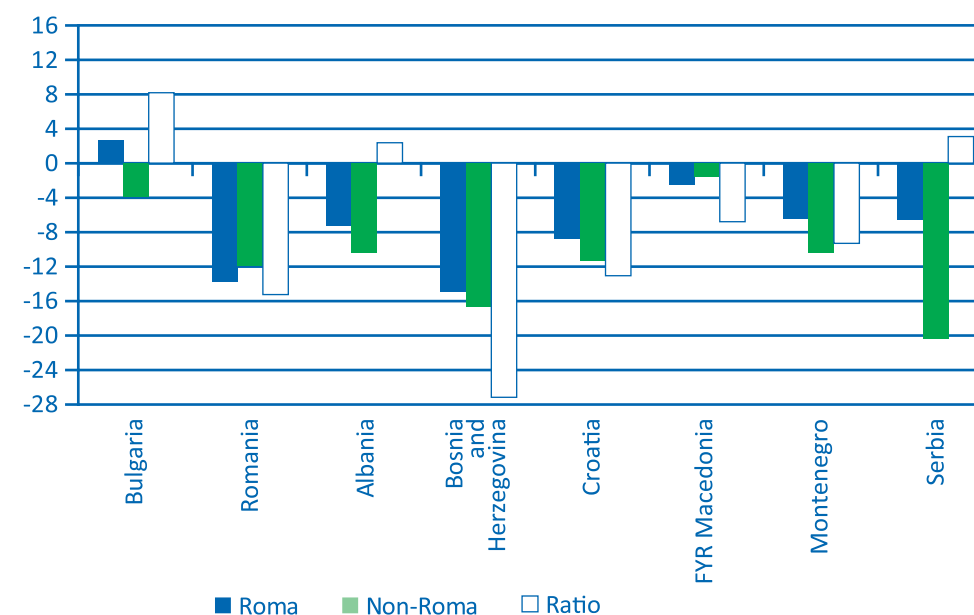
Figure 6: Changes in employment rates of male Roma and non-Roma from 2004 to 2011

Sources: UNDP Vulnerable Groups Survey (2004) and UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011

a drop in long-term unemployment rates among Roma. However, the fact that the proportion of registered unemployed Roma out of work for more than two years decreased from 57.9 percent to 46.9 percent over that period while the proportion of registered unemployed members of the general population without work for more than two years dropped from 60.8 percent to fifteen percent over the same period suggests a growing gap between Roma and non-Roma in the area of employment (Filadelfiová et al., 2007: 76; Filadelfiová & Gerbery, 2012: 159).

Fragmentary data provided by participating countries in their annual Decade Progress Reports⁹ on the employment of Roma who took part in targeted programmes administered by national employment agencies suggest that completion of such programmes rarely leads to a job. As shown in the table below, the most successful program for which data are provided in the Decade Progress Reports is Hungary's "Roma Employment Organizing Activity", which contributed to the employment of nearly two fifths of its beneficiaries between May 2009 and December 2011 (Government of Hungary, 2012: 21). All other programmes featured in the table were less than half as successful, with EU-funded programmes for stimulating Roma employment sometimes criticized for having little impact on participants' employment prospects and for emphasizing awareness raising and training over more concrete mea-

⁹ Following up on a proposal endorsed at the twentieth ISC meeting in Prague, participating governments have generally submitted Decade Progress Reports to the Decade Secretariat on an annual basis since 2010 (see Decade of Roma Inclusion Secretariat Foundation 2013b).

Figure 7: Changes in employment rates of female Roma and non-Roma from 2004 to 2011

Sources: UNDP Vulnerable Groups Survey (2004) and UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey (2011).

asures to support entrepreneurship (Hurrel et al., 2012: 75; Stoian et al., 2010: 25). Moreover, even were such programmes to be much more successful in improving participants' employment prospects, in most countries their effect on the employment situation of the Romani population as a whole would be limited by their small scale (cf. O'Higgins, 2012: 36).

Table 1: Employment resulting from targeted programmes for Roma

Country	Year	Numbers of Roma participants	Employment	
			Numbers of Roma employed	Success rate (%)
Hungary	2009-2011	4,723	1,824	38.6
Czech Republic	2011	No data	No data	17.0
Czech Republic	2012	No data	No data	11.4
Bulgaria	2011	8,248	1,384	16.8
Bulgaria	2012	21,663	3,375	15.6
Romania	2011	50,149	5,492	11.0
Serbia	2012	839	79	9.4

Source: Decade Progress Reports

¹⁰ Assessed sub-fields were training and retraining, job placement, self-employment, and equal treatment.

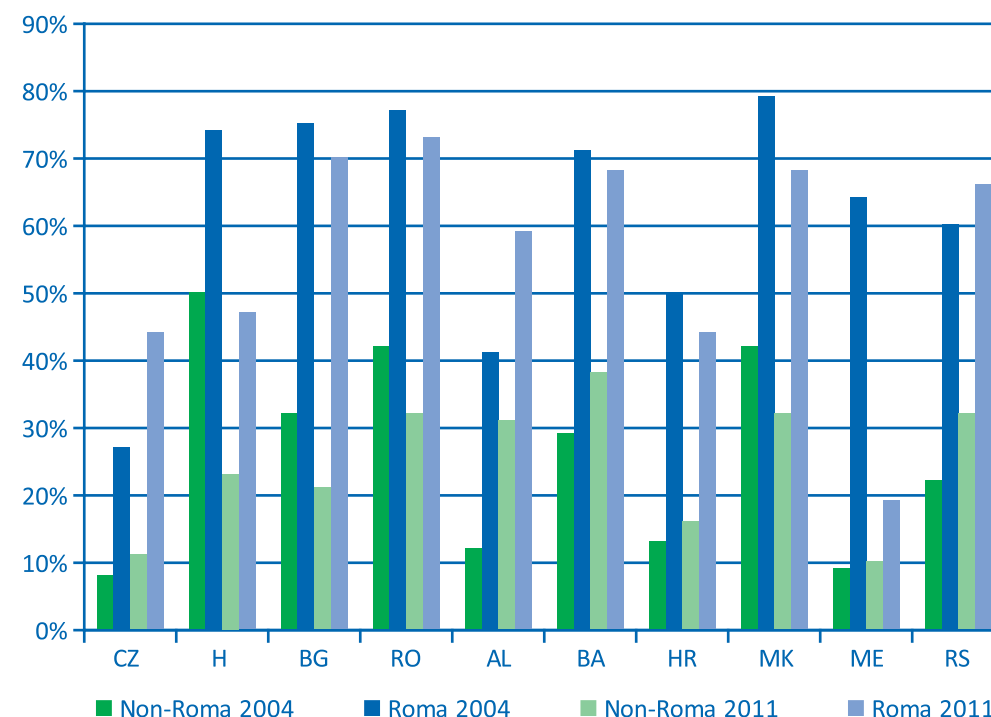
In the area of employment, Decade Watch findings point to wide variation from one country to the next (Hauptert, 2007: 25), and to only modest impact of the Decade overall, in its first five years; training and retraining are the only employment policy fields assessed as better than neutral (Müller & Zsigo, 2010: 56).¹⁰ Whereas overall assessments less positive than neutral characterized Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Montenegro, and Slovakia (assessed most negatively of all participating countries), Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Romania, and Serbia received overall neutral-to-positive assessments from survey respondents. For its part, the European Commission has consistently singled out employment in its Progress Reports on the participating countries of the Western Balkans as an area in which there has been a lack of progress in relation to the situation of Roma.

Country-specific qualitative assessments by actors in civil society in the countries of the Decade provide a similarly mixed picture to that presented above. An assessment conducted in Hungary in 2010 found that a prominent employment programme targeting Roma expanded public employment at the cost of reinforcing social barriers between Roma and non-Roma and did not provide a means for programme beneficiaries to transition to other forms of employment (Bogdán et al., 2010: 26). In the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, respondents to surveys conducted on representative samples of Roma in 2008 and 2010 characterized employment as an area in which more was being done than in the area of housing, but less than in education or health (Bojadzieva, 2009: 61-62; 2010: 46-47). The findings of a similar survey conducted in 2012, on the other hand, show employment ranked last among priority areas.¹¹ In similar fashion, an evaluation conducted in Serbia in 2012 identifies employment as the priority area in which the least progress has been made (Anđelković et al., 2013: 34).

Health. The relatively small body of data from the 2004 UNDP Vulnerable Groups Survey and the UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011 for tracking changes in the health situation of Roma suggest modest progress in this priority area, with findings of the MICSSs conducted in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Serbia providing a more detailed yet ambivalent picture. On the one hand, as shown in Figure 8, the financial affordability of medicines for Roma increased between 2004 and 2011 in all countries covered by the regional surveys except in Albania and the Czech Republic, where the share of Roma unable to afford medicines increased by fifteen and thirteen percentage points, respectively. On the other hand, although the gap between Roma and non-Roma in access to medicines decreased between the two surveys in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia, only in Bos-

¹¹ Data from the 2012 survey, conducted in the framework of the civil society monitoring coordinated by the Decade of Roma Inclusion Secretariat Foundation in cooperation with the Making the Most of EU Funds for Roma program and the Roma Initiatives Office of the Open Society Foundations, provided by Initiative for Social Change.

Figure 8: Share of Roma and non-Roma living in close proximity who are unable to afford medicines



Sources: UNDP Vulnerable Groups Survey (2004) and UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011.¹²

nia and Herzegovina and Montenegro were reductions of more than ten percentage points registered. Moreover, in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, and Romania, growth in the gap between Roma and non-Roma in the financial affordability of medicines is evident, with the growth in the Czech Republic stemming from deterioration in the situation of Roma relative to their situation in 2004. Finally, as of 2011, the gaps between Roma and non-Roma in access to medicines were more than twenty percentage points in all countries except Montenegro, which successfully reduced the gap in this regard from 55 percentage points in 2004 to nine in 2011.

Montenegro stands out also for an increase in the share of Roma households living within three kilometres of a general practitioner (from 27 percent in 2004 to 78 percent in 2011) amid an observed decline in physical access to healthcare in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Hungary, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Serbia (cf. Mihailov, 2012: 55).¹³ Not surprisingly in light of the magnitude of the increase in physical access to healthcare in Montenegro, the largest reduction in the gap between Roma and non-Roma on this indicator was observed there as well. In Serbia and Croatia, relatively small gaps

¹² CZ = Czech Republic;
H = Hungary;
BG = Bulgaria;
RO = Romania;
AL = Albania;
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HR = Croatia;
MK = The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia;
ME = Montenegro;
RS = Serbia.

¹³ Data from the 2004 survey provided by UNDP.

between Roma and non-Roma in physical access to healthcare were nearly eliminated, while small gaps in favour of Roma were reversed in Bulgaria, Hungary, and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Finally, responses to similar (but not identical) questions on perceived health status in the 2004 and 2011 surveys may suggest that such perceptions have become more positive for both Roma and non-Roma in the period between the two surveys, with larger gaps between Roma and non-Roma in perceived health status in 2011 than in 2004 observed only in Croatia and Hungary. In both of these countries Roma were less likely to report chronic health problems than were non-Roma.¹⁴

The findings of the MICs conducted in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in 2005-2006 and 2011 point to unevenness in progress to date in the area of health (Stojanovska et al., 2007; Ministry of Health et al., 2012).¹⁵ On the positive side, gaps between Roma and non-Roma in coverage by skilled antenatal care and measles immunization were reduced considerably, with a gap in the presence of a skilled attendant at delivery actually reversed to the (slight) advantage of Roma in the period between the two surveys. There was also a decrease in the frequency of stunting among Romani children in the same period, but less than the corresponding drop within the general population.¹⁶ On the negative side, gaps between Romani and non-Romani populations in relation to low weight at birth, underweight in childhood, and wasting among children grew as a result of increases in the frequency of these phenomena among Roma, opposite drops within the general population.¹⁷

Health-related trends suggested by the results of the MICs conducted in Serbia in 2005 and 2010 are broadly similar to those apparent in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (see Petrović et al., 2007; Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2011). On the one hand, gaps between Roma and non-Roma in the presence of a skilled attendant at delivery were largely eliminated, with some progress made also in reducing (relatively small) gaps in access to skilled antenatal care and underweight in children. On the other hand, gaps in relation to low weight at birth, stunting, and wasting grew slightly, with an increase in the frequency of low birth weight infants among Roma contrasting with the trend apparent in the general population.

Whereas the first Decade Watch report notes that Roma health initiatives in most participating countries had not yet been institutionalized (Hauptert, 2007: 27), subsequent qualitative assessments by civil society actors paint a picture of uneven progress similar to that generated on the basis of the quantitative data presented above. Health policy sub-fields included in the 2009 Decade Watch survey, and for which the regional average was neutral to positive in relation to the impact of the Decade in its first five years, were women's health, children's health,

¹⁴ Whereas the question on the 2004 survey referred to "chronic illnesses", the question on the 2011 survey asked about "any long-standing illness or health problem." Also see Mihailov (2012: 34). Data from the 2004 survey provided by UNDP.

¹⁵ For relevant data from the Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys, please consult Annex 1.

¹⁶ The term 'stunting' refers to a reduced growth rate, measured in terms of height for age.

¹⁷ The term 'wasting' refers to low weight for height among children.

Figure 9: Share of Roma and non-Roma in close proximity who live within three kilometres of a general practitioner



Sources: UNDP Vulnerable Groups Survey (2004) and UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011.¹⁸

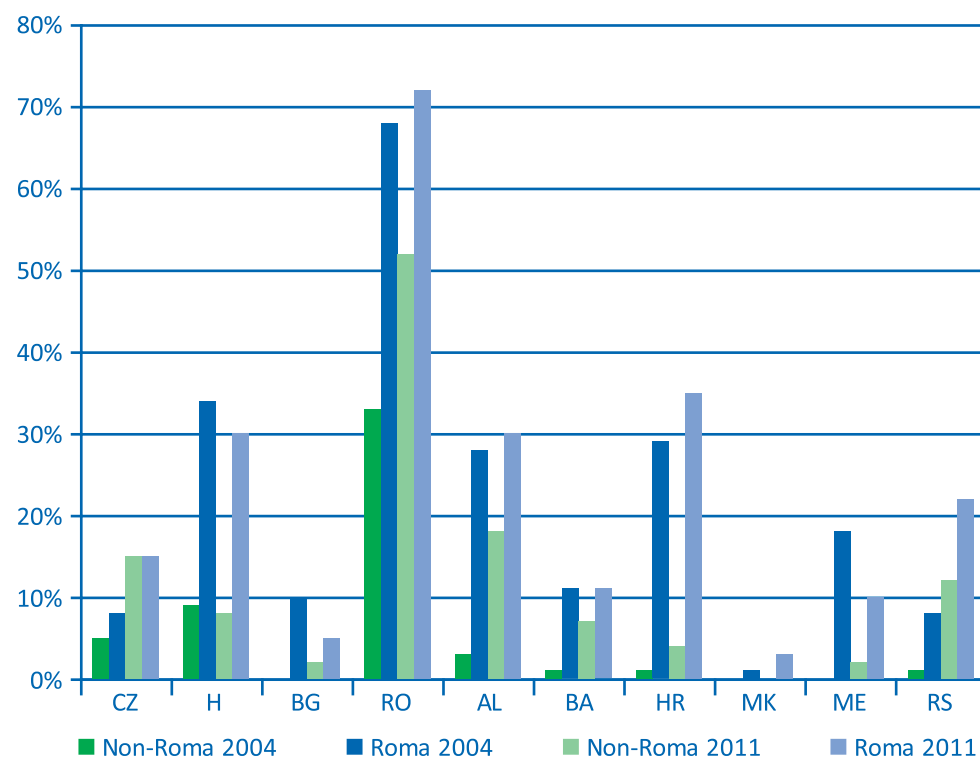
access to health insurance, and access to primary health care (Müller and Zsigo, 2010: 58). Negative to neutral assessments applied at the regional level to the promotion of healthy lifestyles, access to medicine, access to specialized treatment, and promotion of Roma employment in the health sector. At the level of the individual participating countries, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Hungary, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Romania, Serbia, and Spain received overall assessments between neutral and positive, while overall assessments with regard to the impact of the Decade in the area of health in Albania, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Montenegro, and Slovakia were on the negative side of neutral. Finally, surveys conducted by civil society actors with Roma in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in 2008, 2010, and 2012, and with experts and decision-makers in Romania in 2010, reveal perceptions of health as the priority area second only to education with regard to progress under the Decade (Bojadzieva, 2009: 61-62; 2010: 46-47; Stoian et al., 2010: 37).¹⁹

Housing. Housing is the Decade priority area for which the largest body of comparable data from the 2004 UNDP Vulnerable Groups Survey and UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011 is available. Overall, these data suggest that progress in housing under the Decade has

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¹⁹ Data from the 2012 survey, conducted in the framework of the civil society monitoring coordinated by the Decade of Roma Inclusion Secretariat Foundation in cooperation with the Making the Most of EU Funds for Roma program and the Roma Initiatives Office of the Open Society Foundations, provided by Initiative for Social Change.

Figure 10: Share of Romani and non-Romani households in close proximity that lack access to an improved water source



Sources: UNDP Vulnerable Groups Survey (2004) and UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011.²⁰

20 CZ = Czech Republic;
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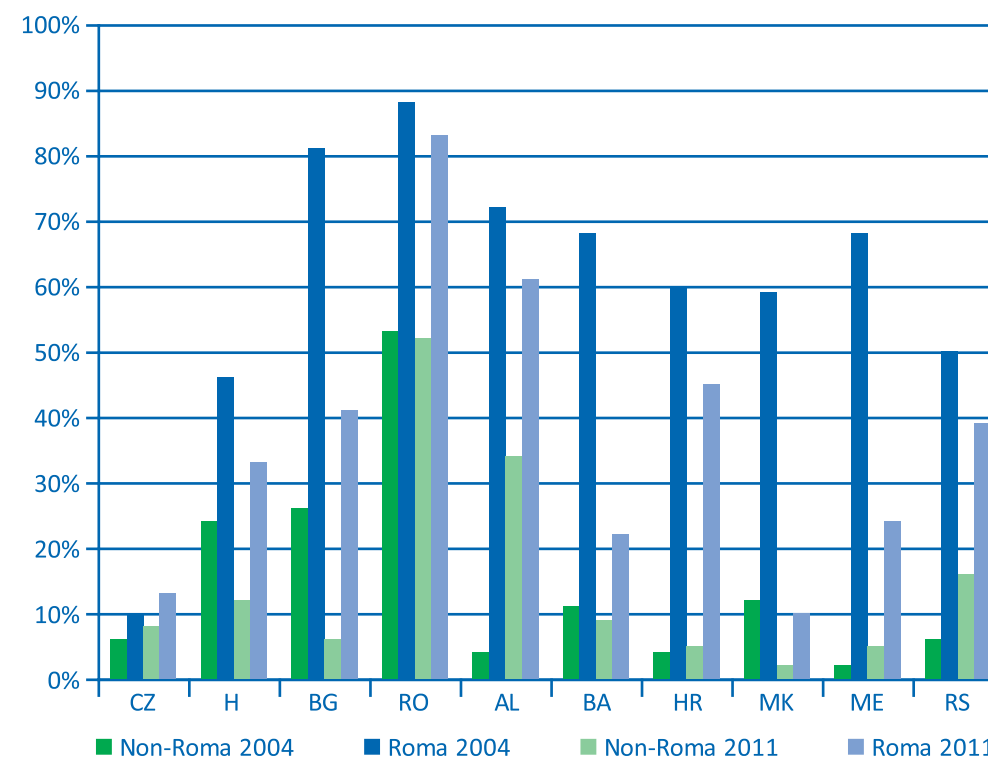
21 Access to an improved water source means having piped, potable water inside the dwelling or in the yard outside the dwelling.

22 The term 'improved sanitation' refers to the presence of a toilet or bathroom inside the dwelling.

been unimpressive. Of the countries covered by the two surveys, Roma access to improved water sources only increased in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Montenegro.²¹ These countries also experienced a reduction in the gap between Roma and non-Roma on this indicator. Other countries in which the gap between Roma and non-Roma in relation to access to improved water sources decreased are Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Czech Republic, and Romania. However, these decreases reflect stagnation or deterioration in the situation of Roma amid (greater) deterioration in the situation of non-Roma. Slight increases in the gap between Roma and non-Roma in access to improved water sources in Croatia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Serbia all involve a drop in access among Roma.

With regard to access to improved sanitation, Roma's situation advanced relative to the 2004 baseline in all countries except the Czech Republic, which was also the only country in which the gap between Roma and non-Roma on this indicator increased.²² In all other countries, the gap was reduced, with the greatest reductions registered in Montenegro (47 percentage points), Bosnia and Herzegovina (44 per-

Figure 11: Share of Romani and non-Romani households in close proximity that lack access to improved sanitation



Sources: UNDP Vulnerable Groups Survey (2004) and UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011.²³

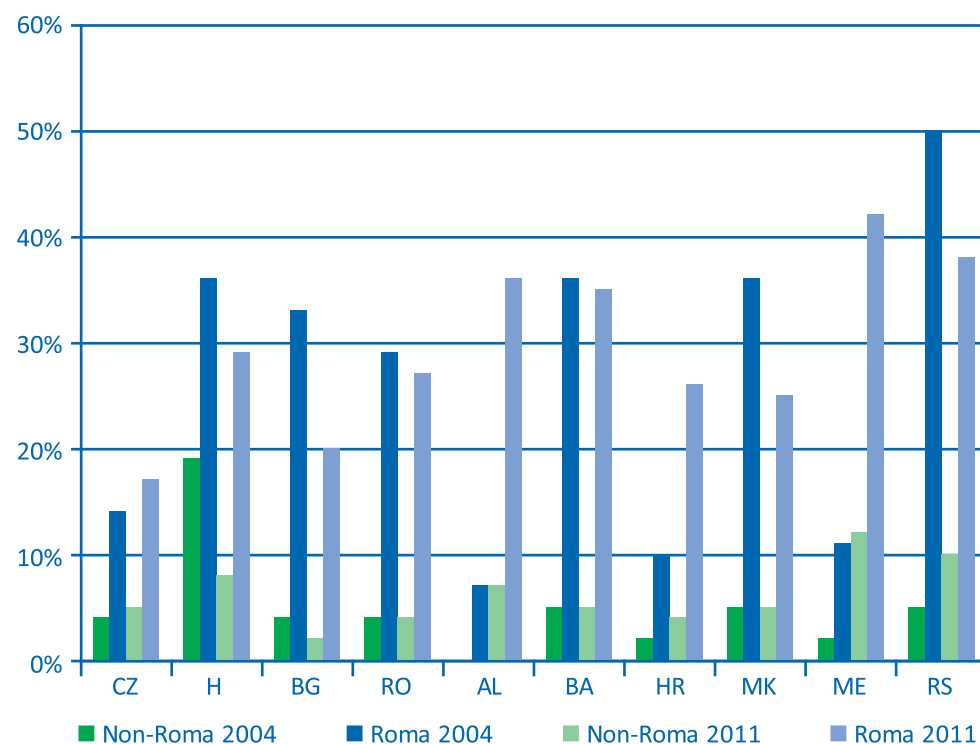
centage points), and Albania (41 percentage points). Remaining gaps in the countries covered by the two surveys range from five percent (in the Czech Republic) to 40 percent (Croatia).

The proportion of Romani households in insecure housing decreased from 2004 to 2011 in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Hungary, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Romania, and Serbia.²⁴ The gap between Roma and non-Roma in relation to secure housing also decreased in these countries, with the exception of Hungary, where the gap increased slightly as a result of greater improvements in the situation of non-Roma. In Albania, Croatia, the Czech Republic, and Montenegro, where the situation of Roma deteriorated between 2004 and 2011, the gap between Roma and non-Roma widened over the same period.

Between 2004 and 2011, the average number of rooms per household member increased among Roma in Albania, Bulgaria, and Hungary, while the gap between Roma and non-Roma along this indicator decreased in Albania, Bulgaria, and the Former Yugoslav Republic of

23 CZ = Czech Republic;
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24 The term 'insecure housing' refers to houses in a poor state of repair and/or slums.

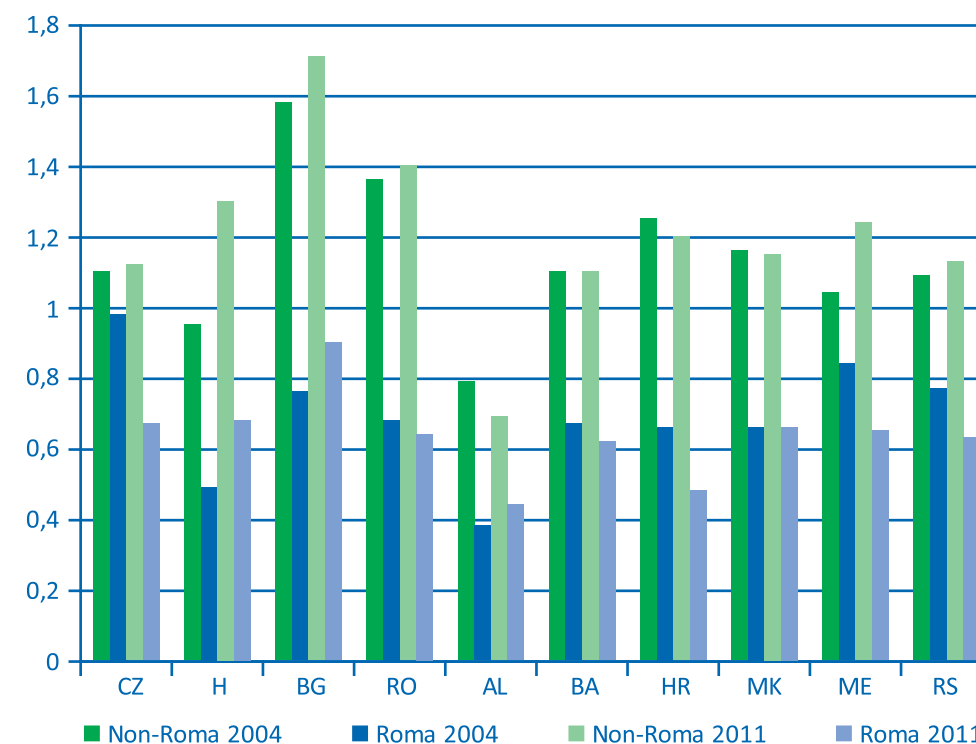
Figure 12: Insecure housing among Romani and non-Romani households in close proximity

Sources: UNDP Vulnerable Groups Survey (2004) and UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011.²⁵

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Macedonia. Whereas the reduced gap between Roma and non-Roma in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia was due not to any change in the average number of rooms per Romani household member between 2004 and 2011, but rather to a (slight) drop over the same period in the average number of rooms per non-Romani household member, the gap between Roma and non-Roma in Hungary grew due to a larger increase in the average number of rooms per household member among non-Roma than among Roma. The greatest increases in the gap between Roma and non-Roma in relation to the average number of rooms per household member were observed in the Czech Republic and Montenegro.

Average space per household member increased from 2004 to 2011 among Roma in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Hungary, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Montenegro. In the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, this increase contributed to a reduction in the gap between Roma and non-Roma on this indicator. The gap between Roma and non-Roma in relation to average space per household member decreased also in Albania and Bulgaria, but the observed reduc-

Figure 13: Average number of rooms per household member in Romani and non-Romani households in close proximity

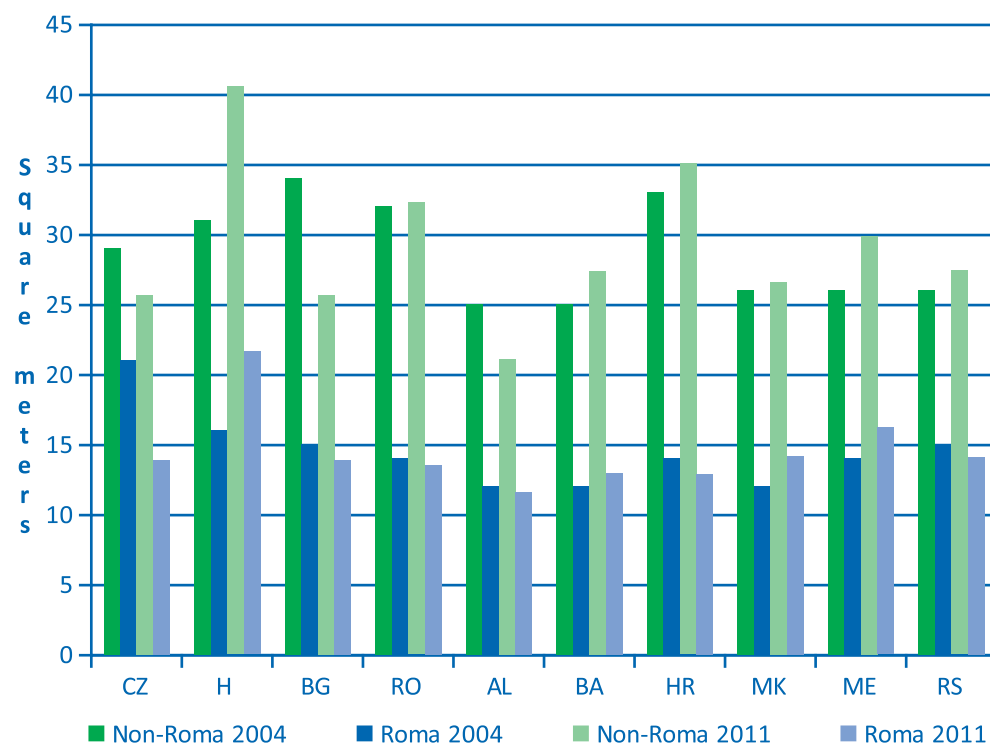
Sources: UNDP Vulnerable Groups Survey (2004) and UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011.²⁶

tions reflect drops in the average space per household member among non-Roma larger than those experienced by Roma over the same period rather than an increase in space available to Roma. Growing gaps between Roma and non-Roma in average space per household member were registered in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Montenegro, Romania, and Serbia, with the growth in Croatia, the Czech Republic, Romania, and Serbia attributable in part to reductions in average space per household member among Roma.

The findings of the MICs conducted in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Serbia paint a largely negative picture of developments in the course of the Decade in access to improved drinking water sources and sanitation. Only the finding in relation to access to improved sanitation in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia differed qualitatively from the findings of the 2004 UNDP Vulnerable Groups Survey and UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011. Whereas a small gap between Romani and general populations grew slightly between the two surveys in that country, a small gap in Roma's favour in relation to the latter in 2004 became a small gap in favour of the gen-

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Figure 14: Average space per household member in Romani and non-Romani households in close proximity



Sources: UNDP Vulnerable Groups Survey (2004) and UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011.²⁸

²⁷ CZ = Czech Republic;
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²⁸ For relevant data from the Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys, please consult Annex 1.

²⁹ The results from the 2013 mapping are preliminary and do not include results for 50 municipalities.

eral population in 2011 (Stojanovska et al., 2007; Ministry of Health et al., 2012).²⁸ In Serbia, a small gap between Roma and non-Roma in access to improved drinking water sources was reduced slightly, while a gap in access to improved sanitation grew as the situation deteriorated for both Romani and general populations, but more for the former than for the latter (Petrović et al., 2007; Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2011).

The two rounds of sociographic mapping of Romani communities conducted in Slovakia in 2004 and 2013 provide valuable material for an analysis of progress in the course of the Decade in the priority area of housing (Jurasková et al., 2004; UNDP, 2013).²⁹ As shown in the table below, a comparison of the preliminary findings of the 2013 mapping with the results of the previous one points to overall improvements in access to infrastructure, despite a slight increase (from sixteen to nineteen percent) in the proportion of shacks among all dwellings in the communities surveyed.

Whereas the first Decade Watch report noted wide variations across

Table 2: Access to infrastructure among Romani communities in Slovakia in 2004 and 2013

Type of infrastructure	Share of communities/dwellings with access, by year	
	2004	2013
Electricity (dwellings)	89%	91%
Gas supply system (communities)	41%	55%
Public sewage (dwellings)	13%	30%
Public water supply (communities)	63%	77%

Sources: Jurasková et al. (2004); United Nations Development Programme (2013).

countries in the priority area of housing (Hauptert, 2007: 28), the 2009 Decade Watch survey yielded neutral to negative overall assessments in all housing policy sub-fields (Müller and Zsigo, 2010: 55).³⁰ Most positively assessed overall in the area of housing—and the only country with an average assessment falling between neutral and positive—was Bosnia and Herzegovina. By way of contrast, Bulgaria and Slovakia received the most negative average assessments, with both falling between negative and very negative. Concerns about deterioration in the housing situation of Roma in Slovakia are expressed also by the Slovak government in its 2011 Decade Progress Report: “Housing is undoubtedly one of the areas in which the gap between Roma on one hand and the majority population on the other is ever deepening” (Government of Slovakia, 2012: 9). Reports from civil society actors suggest that the frequency of forced evictions has increased in recent years in the Czech Republic, Serbia, and Slovakia (see Hurre et al., 2013; European Roma Rights Centre, 2013a; 2013c; 2013d; Lajčáková 2013). Insufficient attention to residential segregation as a form of discrimination was noted in 2013 by civil society actors in Albania, the Czech Republic, Hungary, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Slovakia (Cabiri et al., 2013; Hurre et al., 2013; Balogh et al., 2013; Friedman et al., 2013; Lajčáková 2013).

Among the participating countries of the Western Balkans, the European Commission singles out Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia for progress made in addressing the Roma housing situation (European Commission 2008b; 2009c; 2010c; 2010d; 2011c; 2011d; 2012b). In the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, surveys conducted by Romani NGO activists in 2008 and 2010 revealed a widespread perception that housing is the priority area in which the least is being done. The findings of a similar survey conducted in 2012 point for the first time to more progress in housing than in employment, but less than in educa-

³⁰ The included sub-fields were communal services, improvement of current housing, quality social housing, formalization of informal settlements, and prevention of homelessness.

³¹ Data from the 2012 survey, conducted in the framework of the civil society monitoring coordinated by the Decade of Roma Inclusion Secretariat Foundation in cooperation with the Making the Most of EU Funds for Roma program and the Roma Initiatives Office of the Open Society Foundations, provided by Initiative for Social Change.

tion or health (Bojadzieva, 2009: 61-62; 2010: 46-47).³¹ In similar fashion, an evaluation conducted in Serbia in 2012 observes less progress in housing than in education and health, but more than in employment (Anđelković et al., 2013: 34).

Anti-discrimination. The Decade Watch survey conducted in 2009 probed expert assessments of changes in discrimination over the previous five years—both in general, and in each of the four priority areas. With regard to discrimination in general, overall assessments in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia pointed to stagnation or deterioration in the situation, while in all other Decade countries the situation was assessed as having remained stable or improved (Müller & Zsigo, 2010: 52). Of the priority areas, changes in the situation with regard to discrimination in education were assessed positively by the largest share (45 percent) of the experts surveyed, whereas the smallest share of respondents (30 percent) gave a positive assessment of changes in relation to discrimination in housing (Müller and Zsigo, 2010: 70). Additionally, although positive assessments of the change in discrimination exceeded negative in all four priority areas (as well as in general), the share of respondents providing a negative assessment of the (then-) current situation in relation to discrimination was nearly three times larger than the share of respondents offering a positive assessment (i.e., 46 percent versus 15 percent).

The European Commission has made note of widespread and continuing discrimination against Roma in all participating countries of the Western Balkans at least once, often in a single sentence referring to all four priority areas of the Decade. Consistent with these observations, surveys of Roma in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia conducted in 2008, 2010, and 2012 reveal that a majority see a lack of progress in relation to discrimination (Bojadzieva, 2009: 61; 2010: 46).³² In the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia, on the other hand, assessments by actors in civil society point to growing discrimination against Roma, manifested increasingly in the form of organized events and violent attacks (see Bogdán et al., 2010; Balogh et al., 2013; European Roma Rights Centre, 2013a; 2013d).

Regional surveys commissioned by FRA in 2008 and by FRA and UNDP in 2011 provide insight into trends in several types of discrimination against Roma in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, and Slovakia (among other EU countries):³³

- In all five countries, the proportion of Roma who had experienced discrimination over the previous twelve months when looking for work decreased, with the greatest improvement registered in Hungary (from 47 percent to 25 percent).
- The percentage of Roma who had experienced discrimination in

the workplace over the last twelve months decreased in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Romania, while increasing slightly (five percentage points) in Slovakia.

- Modest improvements were registered in all five countries with regard to Roma experience over the past twelve months with discrimination by healthcare personnel.
- The frequency of Roma experiences over the previous twelve months with discrimination by housing providers and school personnel increased between the two surveys in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Romania, and Slovakia, while dropping in Hungary.

Table 3: Roma survey responses regarding incidents of discrimination during the past twelve months

Context of discrimination	Percentage of respondents experiencing discrimination									
	Bulgaria		Czech Republic		Hungary		Romania		Slovakia	
	2009	2011	2009	2011	2009	2011	2009	2011	2009	2011
When looking for work	29%	19%	45%	37%	47%	25%	19%	15%	38%	28%
At work	7%	6%	27%	11%	25%	6%	12%	5%	4%	9%
By housing agency/landlord	0%	3%	13%	26%	16%	11%	3%	13%	10%	23%
By healthcare personnel	11%	9%	18%	13%	18%	6%	11%	9%	17%	11%
By school personnel	2%	4%	11%	17%	17%	9%	4%	7%	6%	10%

Source: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2009).³⁴

Eurobarometer surveys conducted in 2006, 2009, and 2012 suggest that social relations between Roma and non-Roma have improved on balance in the course of the Decade. Net increases are observed in the share of respondents claiming to have Romani friends or acquaintances in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary (despite a decrease from 2009 to 2012), Romania, and Slovakia. Also worth noting are the relatively large country-to-country differences on this indicator in 2006. So is an apparent tendency toward convergence (with the notable exception of the Czech Republic) in 2012.

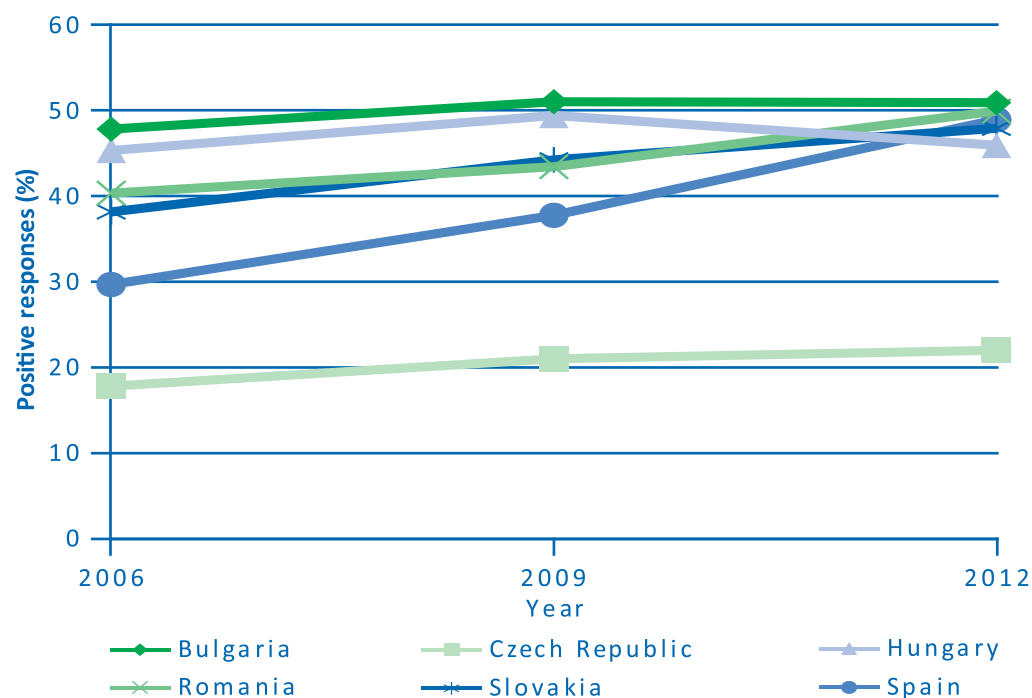
The results of the 2011 UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey further suggest that increases in the frequency of friendships between Roma

³² Data from the 2012 survey, conducted in the framework of the civil society monitoring coordinated by the Decade of Roma Inclusion Secretariat Foundation in cooperation with the Making the Most of EU Funds for Roma program and the Roma Initiatives Office of the Open Society Foundations, provided by Initiative for Social Change.

³³ See European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2009: 162-163). Data from the 2011 survey provided by UNDP.

³⁴ Data from the 2011 survey provided by UNDP.

Figure 15: Frequency of Romani friends and acquaintances in Decade countries of the EU



Source: Eurobarometer (2007; 2009; 2012)

and non-Roma have not yet led to widespread acceptance of mixed marriages among the members of either group. Only in Croatia did majorities of both Romani and non-Romani respondents indicate that such marriages are acceptable. Majorities of Romani respondents in Hungary and Slovakia expressed similar views.

Gender equality. Data from the 2004 UNDP Vulnerable Groups Survey and the 2011 UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey allowing comparisons over time in the situation of Romani women relative to Romani men suggest some progress in reducing gender gaps in education and health. They also point to deterioration in the area of employment (Cukrowska and Kóczé, 2013). In education, while gaps between Romani women and Romani men in relation to dropout rates and educational attainment decreased, there was little change in the gender gap in relation to literacy rates. In the area of health, a tendency toward convergence between Romani men and women was evident between the two surveys in the frequency of (self-reported) chronic illness. By contrast, the gender gap in employment increased between 2004 and 2011 among both Roma and non-Roma, but more among the former.

The 2009 Decade Watch survey yielded an overall neutral-to-positive

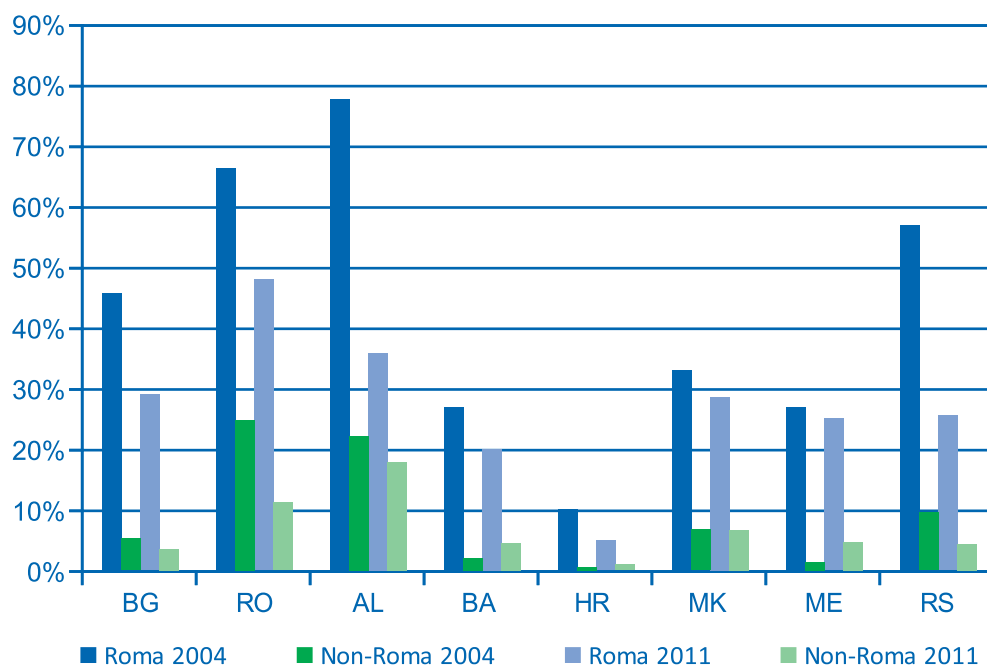
regional average on the impact of the Decade's first five years on women's health (Müller and Zsigo, 2010: 58). At the level of individual countries, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Romania were assessed most positively in this sub-field, with the most negative assessments applied to the Czech and Slovak Republics (Müller and Zsigo, 2010: 57). On the other hand, the findings of the same survey suggest at the very least that attention to issues of gender is not prominent in the programmes implemented within the framework of the Decade. Overall, more than half the respondents either indicated that relevant programmes in education, housing, employment, and housing did not address gender issues at all; or they expressing a lack of knowledge about the extent to which these programmes addressed gender issues (Müller and Zsigo, 2010: 63). Survey responses further suggested that attention to gender issues is greatest in health and least in housing.

Lack of attention to gender issues has been (and remains) a persistent problem in the Decade countries. While mention of Romani women in strategic and policy documents on Roma—sometimes in terms of multiple discrimination—is not unusual, gender equality is frequently neglected as a cross-cutting issue. As a result, women are often not seen as a distinct target group for measures aimed at Roma—even when Romani women are particularly affected by certain problems (Müller, 2011). Likewise, treatment of Romani women in broader strategic documents on gender equality is inconsistent (Friedman, 2013b).

Of the countries participating in the Decade, two have at one time or another adopted a NAP for Romani women: the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Serbia (see Ministerstvo za trud i socijalna politika, 2008; 2010; Ministry of National and Ethnic Communities, 2004; Ministry of Human and Minority Rights, 2010). Adoption of a separate NAP devoted to Romani women could help integrate gender issues in the design, implementation, and assessment of initiatives in the four priority areas as well as in relation to anti-discrimination and poverty reduction. However, treatment of gender equality as a cross-cutting issue in both countries has not been helped by the lack of a clear fit between the NAPs for Romani women on the one hand and the NAPs for education, employment, health, and housing on the other (Friedman et al., 2013; Perić, 2012a). Further, in a rare example of direct criticism with regard to the handling of the situation of Romani women, the European Commission's 2012 Progress Report for the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia observes that "[i]nsufficient support to the National Action Plan for Roma Women renders its implementation almost impossible" (European Commission, 2012d: 54; cf. Roma Centre Skopje, 2013).

Perhaps not surprising in light of the preceding discussion, surveys of Roma conducted by civil society actors in the Former Yugoslav Republic

Figure 16: Expenditure-based poverty among Roma and non-Roma living in close proximity



Sources: UNDP Vulnerable Groups Survey (2004) and UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011.³⁵

35 BG = Bulgaria;
RO = Romania;
AL = Albania;
BA = Bosnia and Herzegovina;
HR = Croatia;
MK = The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia;
ME = Montenegro;
RS = Serbia.

36 Data from the 2012 survey, conducted in the framework of the civil society monitoring coordinated by the Decade of Roma Inclusion Secretariat Foundation in cooperation with the Making the Most of EU Funds for Roma program and the Roma Initiatives Office of the Open Society Foundations, provided by Initiative for Social Change.

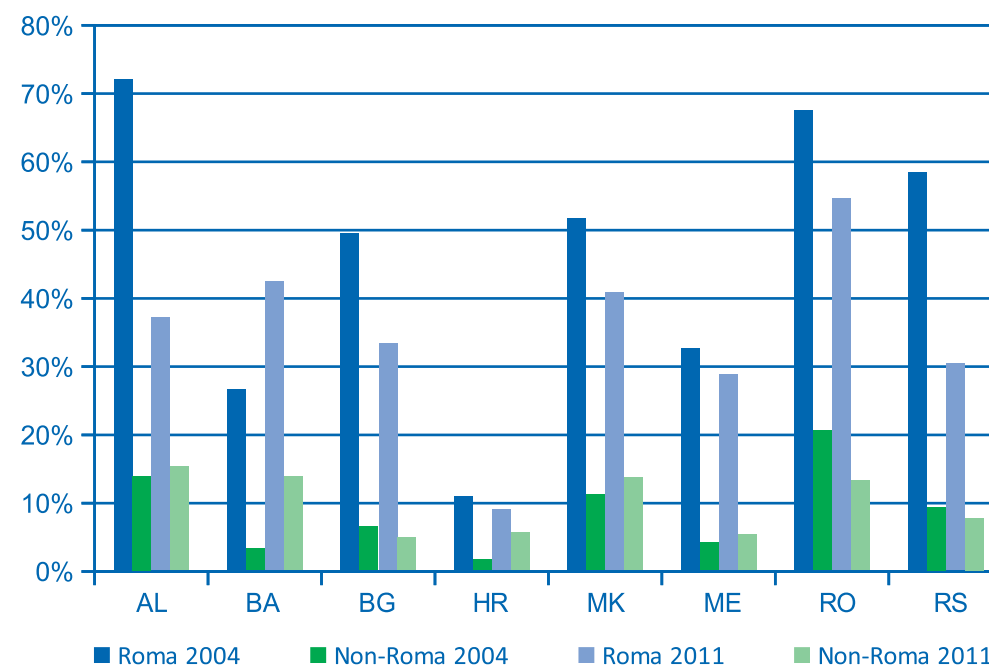
37 As expressed by participants in focus groups conducted in

of Macedonia in 2008, 2010, and 2012 reveal that a majority see a lack of progress in relation to gender equality (Bojadzieva, 2009: 61; 2010: 46).³⁶ In fact, of all the assessments produced by actors in civil society and consulted in preparing this report, perhaps the most positive in relation to attention to gender equality comes from Spain. This assessment acknowledges that considerable attention has been paid to the situation of Romani women—while still noting that this has not been sufficient to eliminate their disadvantage relative to both Romani men and non-Roma in general (Laparra et al., 2013: 56).

Poverty reduction. Despite the widespread perception that “[i]n design and practice, the focus has been on the poverty dimension,”³⁷ there are relatively few data available on the extent to which poverty among Roma has been reduced during the Decade. Coverage of poverty in the Decade Watch reports is limited to an observation in the 2007 report about the lack of relevant data (Danova, 2008: 17). The European Commission’s progress reports on the Decade countries of the Western Balkans also pay little attention to poverty as such.

Internationally comparable assessments of the extent to which poverty among Roma has been reduced since the Decade began should be based on the 2011 UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey and from

Figure 17: Income-based poverty among Roma and non-Roma living in close proximity



Sources: UNDP Vulnerable Groups Survey (2004) and UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011.³⁸

the 2004 UNDP Vulnerable Groups Survey (see Ivanov and Kagin, 2014). These data suggest both that monetary poverty has been reduced among Roma, and that the gap between Roma and non-Roma in absolute poverty rates has decreased in the period between the two surveys.³⁸ Moreover, as shown in Figures 16 and 17, regardless of whether poverty is measured on the basis of estimated income or estimate expenditures, gaps between Roma and non-Roma have generally decreased. The sole exception to this generalization is Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the gap in income-based poverty increased slightly in contrast to the observed reduction in the gap in expenditure-based poverty.

The findings of surveys conducted in Slovakia in 2005 and 2010 suggest that access to long-term consumer goods such as computers, refrigerators, and washing machines among Roma increased in the years between the two surveys (Filadelfiová et al., 2007: 76; Filadelfiová and Gerbery, 2012: 159). Surveys of Roma in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia conducted in 2008, 2010, and 2012, on the other hand, reveal that a majority see a lack of progress in relation to poverty reduction (Bojadzieva, 2009: 61; 2010: 46).³⁹

late 2012 and early 2013 with representatives of participating governments and civil society in all Decade countries except Bulgaria and Slovakia as well as with international partners (Working Group on the Decade Future, 2012: 2).

38 Absolute poverty is measured in terms of the share of people living on less than 4.3 purchasing power parity-adjusted dollars per day.

39 Data from the 2012 survey, conducted in the framework of the civil society monitoring coordinated by the Decade of Roma Inclusion Secretariat Foundation in cooperation with the Making the Most of EU Funds for Roma program and the Roma Initiatives Office of the Open Society Foundations, provided by Initiative for Social Change.



Assessing adherence to Decade commitments

Whereas the previous chapter examined changes in the situation of Roma since the beginning of the Decade in education, employment, health, and housing (as well as in relation to the cross-cutting issues of anti-discrimination, gender equality, and poverty reduction), this chapter explores how key commitments made at the beginning of the Decade have been put into practice. It examines the adoption and funding of national action plans targeting Roma in the four priority areas, Romani participation in designing and implementing initiatives undertaken within the framework of the Decade, and monitoring and evaluation under the Decade. While the current chapter is primarily qualitative in approach, numbers occasionally find their way into the analysis as markers of the extent to which these commitments have been understood as something beyond mere formalities.

National Action Plans. While all participating countries except Hungary and Romania had adopted NAPs covering the entire duration of the Decade by the end of 2006, subsequent revisions of NAPs and related strategic documents have seen delays in adoption also in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Serbia. As of late 2013, Romania still had not adopted any NAPs; revisions to the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia's NAPs (to replace those that expired at the end of 2011) were in the planning stages; and Serbia's NAPs for 2012-2014 had not yet been adopted. In the absence of such an agreed framework for initiatives aimed at improving the situation of the Romani population, issues of funding, Romani participation, and monitoring and evaluation are largely moot.

Funding for the implementation of the measures contained in the NAPs has often been identified as a problem. Of the EC Progress Reports issued during the participation of Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia in the Decade, at least one such report for each country criticizes as insufficient funding allocations for implementing activities under

the Decade (see European Commission, 2005a; 2005b; 2006a; 2007a; 2008a; 2008d; 2009b; 2010a; 2010e; 2011a; 2011f; 2012a; 2012b; 2012d). Perhaps not surprisingly, also receiving mention in relation to Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Montenegro (but not in relation to Croatia and Serbia) is slow NAP implementation (European Commission 2008c; 2009a; 2009d; 2010a; 2010e; 2011f; 2012b; 2012d; 2012e). To take a concrete example, Bosnia and Herzegovina's annual allocation of EUR 1 million for implementing the housing NAP compares favourably to the corresponding allocations in some other Decade countries. However, full implementation of the NAP would cost more than EUR 216 million (Müller 2011: 17). By way of contrast, Spain stands out for incorporating a specific budget line for the Roma Development Programme in the general state budget since 1989 (see Laparra et al., 2013: 33).

Notwithstanding encouragement in the Decade's Terms of Reference for participating governments to make use of EU funding and policy instruments in developing and implementing their Decade NAPs (see International Steering Committee, 2005: 9-10), access to EU funds for Roma has been a persistent problem in the Decade countries. Both within and outside the EU, increased reliance on EU funding has often meant less funding for Roma due to the administrative and financial demands of applying for and managing funds provided by the EU. The continued operation of some recipients of EU funding has at times been called into question due to delayed or withheld reimbursements by national managing authorities (see Bogdán et al., 2010; Friedman et al., 2013; Hurrell et al., 2013; Kriglerová et al., 2012). At the same time, reduced availability of other funding sources has in some cases negatively affected NGO independence from their respective governments, which have taken on increasingly important roles in managing EU funds (Friedman et al., 2013; Kullmann et al., 2013; Rorke, 2013). Further, evidence from Slovakia suggests that EU priorities which are also central to the Decade (e.g., anti-discrimination) may get lost in translation into national programme goals (Hurrell et al., 2012: 96). Of the projects funded under an ESF call for education of members of marginalized Romani communities, none addressed directly what is arguably the most pressing problem of Roma in Slovakia's educational system: their overrepresentation in special schools and classes for the mentally disabled (Kriglerová et al., 2012). Finally, a lack of clarity about the extent to which EU-funded projects ostensibly targeting marginalized Romani communities in Slovakia actually reach larger numbers of Roma than non-Roma points to problems in targeting (Hurrell et al., 2012: 43, 48).

Beyond issues related to the adoption and funding of National Action Plans, the NAPs have also been subject to criticism on more substantive grounds. Notwithstanding the frequency with which Roma's marginal-

ization is characterized as complex (often in terms of vicious circles linking the four priority areas), integrated policies that address this marginalization in a complex way have been the exception rather than the rule (see, for example, Cace et al., 2013: 18-19; Müller, 2011: 14). The cross-cutting issues of anti-discrimination, gender equality, and poverty reduction have been neglected in particular. As a result, NAPs sometimes amount to “collections of possible interventions” rather than to coherent sets of policies (Müller, 2011: 14; cf. Hauptert, 2007: 18). As noted by Stephan Müller (2011: 14) in relation to Decade NAPs adopted in the Western Balkans, the combination of inadequate funding, the lack of an integrated approach, and methodological weaknesses (discussed below) create situations in which the NAPs cannot be implemented in their entirety, and in which governments have complete discretion to implement (or not implement) any or all of the measures contained in the NAPs.

Romani participation. While complaints about the level of Romani participation in Decade-related programming at both regional and national levels continue, such complaints have become less frequent since the beginning of the Decade—supporting the assertion that “[t]he adoption of Roma policies at the national level has led to intensified interactions between Roma civil society organisations and governments at all levels” (Müller and Jovanović, 2010: 40; also see Redzepi and Bojadzieva, 2009: 26). At the regional level, qualified Roma play an active role in the leadership of the Decade: Roma comprise a considerable proportion of those employed in the Decade Secretariat and the Roma Education Fund, as well as in relevant OSI programmes in Budapest.

Notwithstanding the increase in contacts between Romani NGOs and governments in the course of the Decade, the picture at national level with regard to Romani participation in the Decade remains varied. Whereas legal provisions promote the political representation of minorities in Croatia, Hungary, Montenegro, Romania, and Serbia, Romani women’s participation in developing relevant strategic and policy documents has generally been limited. On the other hand, in most Decade countries Roma have played key roles in designing and/or implementing initiatives undertaken at the local level within the framework of the Decade, serving as focal points in local government, employment and/or health mediators, and/or teaching assistants. Representatives of Romani civil society supported by the Decade Secretariat have served as national-level Decade Focal Points in all Decade countries.

Taking into account differences among the countries participating in the Decade, the bullet points that follow provide an overview of Roma participation in national management and advisory bodies in each country:

- In Albania, Romani participation in decision-making has been largely limited to the one Rom each on the State Committee on Minorities (an advisory body to the government) and in the Technical Secretariat for Roma within the Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs, and Equal Opportunities.
- In Bosnia and Herzegovina, Roma participate in the Committee on Roma (formed in 2002 as an advisory body to the Council of Ministers) and in the Coordination Committee for Monitoring the Action Plan on Employment, Housing, and Health established in 2008. However, the division of labour between these two bodies is unclear.
- While no Roma are employed in Bulgaria’s National Council for Cooperation on Ethnic and Integration Issues (the body responsible for day-to-day coordination of NAP implementation), Romani experts support relevant ministries.
- In addition to participating in the Council for National Minorities, Roma in Croatia have accounted for a considerable (if varying) proportion of the Commission for Monitoring Implementation of the National Programme for Roma. On the other hand, concerns about Roma’s capacity to provide needed expertise have been raised in activist as well as official circles (European Commission, 2006a; 2007a; 2008a; 2009c; 2010d; Redzepi & Bojadzieva, 2009).
- Within the Government Office of the Czech Republic, Roma account for two of the five employees of the Department for the Protection of Minorities and half of the Council for Romani Community Affairs, which serves as an advisory body to this Department. Another Rom is employed in the Department for Social Inclusion.
- In Hungary, seven Roma are employed in the State Secretariat for Social Inclusion within the Ministry of Human Resources responsible for day-to-day coordination of NAP implementation. Additionally, the Coordination Body for Roma Inclusion includes some Romani NGOs as well as representatives of the National Romani Self-Government.
- The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is exceptional for having established three Romani-specific bodies in the course of the Decade: the National Coordinating Body (formed in 2005); the Unit for Implementation of the Strategy and the Decade of Roma Inclusion and the National Strategy for Roma (created in 2008) within the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy; and the Cabinet of the Minister without Portfolio and National Coordinator for the Decade of Roma Inclusion and the Strategy for Roma

(appointed in 2008). While the National Coordinating Body has functioned only sporadically since 2008, Roma comprise the (entire) staff of the two more active bodies.

- In Montenegro, a total of two persons from the Romani and Egyptian communities participate in the eleven-member Commission for Monitoring the Implementation of the Strategy for Improving the Position of Roma and Egyptians in Montenegro. Additionally, two members of the Romani, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities are employed in the Department for Advancement and Protection of the Rights of the RAE Population within the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights.
- Romania's National Agency for Roma, which is responsible for day-to-day coordination of NAP implementation, has been headed by a Rom since its establishment in 2004. Roma are also employed in the Agency's seven regional offices, as well as in County Offices for Roma. A Rom also serves as National Contact Point for the Romanian Roma Integration Strategy, but the function of this position is unclear (see Moisă et al., 2013: 31-32).
- In Serbia, there have consistently been Roma employed in the institution responsible for the day-to-day coordination of NAP implementation (currently the Office of Human and Minority Rights). Roma have also participated in the Council for Improvement of the Status of Roma and the Implementation of the Decade of Roma Inclusion, as well as in ministerial working groups formed to implement the government strategy and NAPs.
- Day-to-day coordination of NAP implementation in Slovakia is the responsibility of the Office of the Government Plenipotentiary for Romani Communities (currently situated within the Ministry of Interior), which has been headed at various times by non-Roma as well as by Roma. In addition to operating five branch offices throughout the country, the Office of the Plenipotentiary chairs the Inter-ministerial Commission for Romani Community Affairs. Missing, however, is institutionalized cooperation between the Office of the Plenipotentiary and the Committee on National Minorities and Ethnic Groups, an advisory body to government with four Romani members (Lajčáková, 2013: 23-24; cf. Redzepi and Bojadzieva, 2009).
- In Spain, the main institution responsible for coordinating activities related to Roma is the Roma Development Unit within the Ministry of Health, Social Services, and Equality. However, there has never been a Rom employed in this unit or in the directorate general to which it belongs. A State Council of the Romani People created in 2005 as a consultative body to the government

involves Romani NGOs, but has not been effective thus far in increasing or focusing attention on the situation of Roma (Laparra et al., 2013: 33-34, 37).

Monitoring and evaluation. Notwithstanding the emphasis on evidence-based policy making on the part of the Decade's international partners, progress in monitoring and evaluation under the Decade has been sketchy. It is apparent more in the increased regularity of reporting than in growth in the volume or availability of official data on the situation of Roma. As noted in the initial Decade Watch reports on the progress of the Decade in its first two years, the concern remains that "[s]ystematic outcome monitoring, in particular comparable across countries, is currently impossible because of significant data gaps" (Hauptert, 2007: 19; also see Danova, 2008: 15; McDonald and Negrin, 2010; Müller and Zsigo, 2010: 19-20, 22; Bennett, 2012: 24-25, 44; Hurrelle et al., 2012: 90; Ivanov, 2012: 4; Kullmann et al., 2013: 42). Such data gaps allow governments to justify not having targeted policies while also leaving room for ungrounded speculation on such sensitive issues as migration, demographics, and reliance on the social welfare system.

In an initiative designed to complement the view from Romani civil society provided by Decade Watch, in 2006 UNDP began work on a methodology for assessing the progress of the Decade with an eye to supporting participating governments in meeting the goals laid out in their respective NAPs. As part of this work, an analysis of provisions for monitoring and evaluation in the NAPs conducted by the European Centre for Minority Issues in late 2006 and early 2007 revealed a set of widely present barriers to meaningful assessment of progress under the Decade. These included (and remain):

- The absence of comprehensive planning and insufficient funding allocations for monitoring and evaluation;
- The failure to specify responsibilities for monitoring, evaluation, and reporting, with inadequate institutional arrangements for coordination of these activities;
- The lack of clarity in relation to the types of reports to be produced, review processes, timeframes, and data to be consulted;
- Inattention to the availability, sources, collection, compilation, and analysis of data;
- Treatment of stakeholder participation in monitoring and evaluation as an abstract principle (none of the NAPs contain details on how stakeholders can be involved in designing, carrying out, and applying the findings of monitoring and evaluation activities);
- Conceptual confusion regarding project-cycle and results-based

management, so that goals, objectives, tools, instruments, activities, indicators, and targets are often mixed, quantified targets lacking, and available data not taken into account; and

- Neglect of outcomes and impact in favour of inputs and outputs (UNDP, 2007: 4-8; cf. Müller 2011: 24).

This review concluded that “[t]he sparseness of provisions in the NAPs on outcome and impact assessments and on external evaluation yields the overall impression that M&E does not constitute an integral part of NAP design” (UNDP, 2007: 9).

Following up on expressions of interest in the UNDP methodology on the part of some participating governments, subsequent years saw the elaboration of monitoring and evaluation frameworks in Bulgaria, Croatia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Romania, and Serbia. At the regional level, a Decade Working Group on Indicators was formed and produced a framework for measuring progress and outlining options for collecting the data needed to measure integration (see Kahanec, 2009). Additionally, in 2010 the International Steering Committee decided to introduce annual progress reporting by participating governments, with the Decade Secretariat developing a template for this purpose.

While participating governments have not always made full use of the framework or collected the needed data, they have submitted annual progress reports since 2010 (the only exceptions being Hungary in 2010 and Romania in 2012). However, the quality of these reports is often compromised by the shortage of the ethnically disaggregated data needed to fill in much of the template. As a result, these reports are usually dominated by input data; as such, they contain little information on the progress of the Decade in improving the situation of Roma (Croatia’s consistent reporting of figures on Roma’s enrolment in primary and secondary education constituting an important if partial exception in this regard—see Government of Croatia, 2011; 2012; 2013). Perhaps not surprising in light of the sparse data, the reports pay little attention to issues of gender (although Hungary’s 2012 report suggests that an improvement may be underway—see Government of Hungary, 2013). Finally, despite these considerable shortcomings, critical self-assessments are exceptional, being largely limited to the Czech Republic’s report from 2010, Slovakia’s reports from 2010 and 2011, and Bosnia and Herzegovina’s 2012 report (Government of the Czech Republic, 2011; Government of Slovakia, 2011; 2012; Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2013). Civil society monitoring reports commissioned in 2012 by the Decade Secretariat in cooperation with the “Making the Most of EU Funds for Roma” programme and the Roma Initiatives Office of the Open Society Foundations provide a more critical view as well as alter-

native sources of information on progress under the Decade in Albania, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Romania, Slovakia, and Spain (see Cabiri et al., 2013; Dimitrov et al., 2013; Hurre et al., 2013; Balogh et al., 2013; Friedman et al., 2013; Moisă et al., 2013; Lajčáková, 2013; Kullmann et al., 2013).

EC Progress Reports on countries participating in the Decade have often made note of inadequate monitoring and evaluation in relation to the situation of Roma (see, for example, European Commission, 2005b; 2006c; 2008d; 2009d; 2010b; 2011c). Nonetheless, the contribution of EU funding to the availability of data on the situation of Roma has been compromised by a tendency to focus on inputs at programme level, with limited attention to outputs and even less to project-level outcomes (Bernard Brunhes International, 2010; Centre for Strategy & Evaluation Services, 2011; Hurre et al., 2012). As a result, much more is known about how much money has been spent in the name of Roma than about how much difference the money has made in Roma’s situation.

Although some improvement has been observed in the quality of the census data on Roma collected in the course of the Decade (apparently as a result of increased Roma participation in carrying out the census in many Decade countries), the value of such data for purposes of comparison over time is generally limited by the timing of the censuses. In most of the Decade countries the most recent census was completed in 2011. Since previous enumerations were carried out between 2001 and 2003, this leaves considerable room for speculation that changes in the situation of Roma observed from the previous to the current census may have taken place before the Decade began in 2005. In Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, no census has been conducted in the course of the Decade. Comparison of census data on Roma over time in Albania and Spain is rendered impossible by data collection practices: Albania’s 2001 census did not offer participants the possibility of indicating Romani ethnicity; and Spanish census policy continues to preclude the collection of data on ethnic origin.

Barriers linked to the selection of data from the census, for publication in ethnically disaggregated form, should be easier to address. Basic demographic data on Roma from the censuses conducted in 2011 in Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, and Slovakia are publicly available. However, no ethnically disaggregated data on education, employment, health, housing, (or on discrimination, gender equality, or poverty) have been published. In this sense, the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (2013) stands out for making available on its website even limited ethnically disaggregated data on education and employment from the 2011 census.

IV

Conclusions

This chapter presents an overall assessment of progress in the course of the Decade of Roma Inclusion (as of late 2013). Drawing on the preceding analysis, it examines progress in closing gaps between Romani and non-Romani populations on the one hand and adherence to key Decade commitments on the other. Following this critical look at the achievements of the Decade to date, the chapter offers a brief look to the future on the basis of recent data on public opinion in the Decade countries. It concludes with a set of strategic guidelines for use in thinking through the remainder of the Decade and beyond.

Situation of Roma. Available data (qualitative as well as quantitative) suggest that education is the priority area in which the most progress has been made, relative both to what it was at the beginning of the Decade and to the situation of non-Roma. Advances have been documented inter alia in literacy and completion of primary and secondary education. Smaller bodies of available data and variations in performance among participating countries in other priority areas make drawing conclusions there more difficult. Still, the combination of quantitative and qualitative assessments suggests that, since the beginning of the Decade, more progress has been made in health than in employment or housing. Comparing progress in employment and housing is more difficult still. While joblessness rates among Roma have improved relative to the beginning of the Decade and to the situation of non-Roma, trends with wages have been more mixed, and employment rates have declined both among Roma and relative to non-Roma. In housing, on the other hand, documented progress in access to improved sanitation (relative to both the situation at the beginning of the Decade and the situation of non-Roma) stands in contrast to more ambivalent trends in access to improved water sources and secure housing, as well as in relation to rooms and space per household member. Difficulties in establishing a ranking among priority areas notwithstanding, it is nonetheless clear that a “lack of coherent policies regarding housing and

employment affects negatively the efficiency of programmes in the fields of education and health” (Stoian et al., 2010: 53).

With the partial exception of anti-discrimination, the cross-cutting issues have generally been neglected. This is most evident for poverty reduction, which has for the most part been ignored not only by government policies, but also by external assessments. The situation with regard to gender equality is better, in that the lack of sustained government attention to Romani women (as a distinct target group) has been documented with a consistency lacking in the case of poverty reduction. By contrast, issues of discrimination have received attention from governments as well as in external assessments. However, available information suggests that modest advances made in the first half of the Decade may now be rolled back as relations between Roma and non-Roma deteriorate in some participating countries.

Taking the Decade as a whole, recent qualitative assessments suggest that conclusion of the first Decade Watch report still rings true: “[D]espite some progress, the Decade has not reached the critical point that would guarantee success” (Hauptert, 2007: 18; cf. Kóczé, 2012: 45; Working Group on the Decade Future, 2013: 2). The 2009 survey of independent experts conducted within the framework of Decade Watch provides insight into these perceptions in most participating countries, revealing overall assessments of the Decade’s impact ranging from neutral to positive, with those in Czech and Slovak Republics closest to neutral and those Albania and Spain most positive (Müller and Zsigo, 2010: 47). The survey also found that the general impact of the Decade was assessed more positively in the participating countries of the Western Balkans than in the EU member states (Müller and Zsigo, 2010: 44).

More recently, a Eurobarometer survey found that the most common view in the six EU member states participating in the Roma Decade was that efforts made in the country in question for the integration of Roma in the fields of education, employment, health, and housing had not been effective (Eurobarometer, 2012). In four of these states (Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia), responses in this category constituted an absolute majority. Only in Romania was the difference in frequency between negative and positive assessments of integration efforts to date relatively small.

As far as the participating countries of the Western Balkans are concerned, the European Commission has made the most positive general assessments of progress in the situation of Roma in Croatia (see the European Commission, 2005a; 2006a; 2007a; 2008b; 2009c) and the most negative such assessments in relation to Albania (see European Commission, 2008a; 2009a; 2010a), while registering accelerated progress in recent years in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Former Yugoslav Republic

Table 4: Effectiveness of efforts for Roma integration⁴⁰

Country	Aggregated responses		
	Not effective	Moderately effective	Effective
Bulgaria	51%	20%	18%
Czech Republic	69%	19%	8%
Hungary	64%	21%	10%
Romania	32%	28%	29%
Slovakia	67%	18%	9%
Spain	45%	32%	17%

Source: Eurobarometer (2012).

⁴⁰ The following survey wording was used “Using a scale from 1 to 10, please tell me if you think that the efforts made in (OUR COUNTRY) for the integration (in the fields of education, health, housing and employment) of its Roma population are effective.”

of Macedonia, and Serbia (compare European Commission 2010c with 2012b; 2006b, 2007b, 2008c, and 2009d with 2010e, 2011f, and 2012d; 2006d, 2007d, 2008e, and 2009f with 2010f and 2012h).

Principled commitments. If progress in education, employment, health, and housing, as well as in relation to the cross-cutting issues of anti-discrimination, gender equality, and poverty reduction, has been uneven, so has adherence to the principled commitments made at the beginning of the Decade. While most participating countries have adopted NAPs in the four priority areas, the interventions foreseen in the different areas only rarely amount to an integrated approach. Moreover, government funding allocations have generally been viewed as insufficient; concerns have also been raised about the alignment of the support that is available with what is most needed (see Working Group on the Decade Future, 2013: 2). Finally, the effects of EU funding on the situation of Roma are not well documented, and those effects that are documented effects are ambiguous.

The picture of Romani participation in the implementation of Decade activities is more positive. Although in many participating countries there remains considerable room for improvement in both the quantity and quality of Roma involvement in both the design and implementation of Decade activities, the growth (both quantitative and qualitative) is palpable in most of the Decade countries, as well as in some of the key international partner organizations. Romani activists as well as representatives of governments and international organizations credit the Decade for institutionalizing policy dialogue between Roma and the relevant institutions (Kóczé, 2012: 45; Working Group on the Decade Future, 2013: 1). Closely related to this, the Decade has made an important contribution to raising awareness about the situation of Roma

(Bogdán et al., 2010: 33; Kóczé, 2012: 45; Working Group on the Decade Future, 2013: 1).

The empirical record on the gaps between Romani and general populations in the Decade countries remains incomplete, mostly because participating governments have not fulfilled their commitment to measure progress in transparent, quantifiable ways. The Decade Progress Reports submitted on an annual basis by participating governments since 2010 suggest that participating governments’ commitment to monitoring and evaluation is more formalistic than substantive. Increased efforts to collect ethnically disaggregated data on the situation of Roma since the introduction of the Decade reporting requirements have not been particularly visible. Thus, while “[t]he situation of Roma is far better documented and understood” than was the case at the beginning of the Decade, monitoring and evaluation efforts have been inconsistent at best (Working Group in the Decade Future, 2013: 1). Nonetheless, the Decade has provided an important forum for the cross-country replication of ostensibly successful models (often with the facilitation of the Decade Secretariat), most notably in education and various forms of mediation.

Mirroring the advice in the Decade’s Terms of Reference to participating governments to make use of EU funding and policy instruments, by the middle of the Decade the EU was taking its cue from the Decade in calling on member states to draft and adopt National Roma Integration Strategies for the period 2012–2020 (European Commission 2011e; also see Rorke, 2013: 13; Working Group on the Decade Future, 2013: 1). On the one hand, the adoption of the four Decade priority areas in the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies can be seen as evidence of the Decade’s success in keeping attention focused on improving the situation of Roma. On the other hand, the shortcomings in the strategies that were produced—even by the five EU member states that have been participating in the Decade since 2005—suggest that crucial lessons have not been learned (European Commission 2012g; Friedman, 2013a; Rorke, 2012; 2013). Thus, like the Decade NAPs produced at the beginning of the Decade, the national Roma integration strategies produced in the Decade’s second half suffer from lacunae in ethnically disaggregated data and in provisions for making effective use of EU funds, as well as from a failure to address the multiple discrimination faced by Romani women in a context of insufficient attention to issues of discrimination in general.

On a more optimistic note, the 2012 Eurobarometer survey which found that general populations in the six EU member states participating in the Decade did not generally view efforts in the four Decade priority areas as having been effective also produced the finding that (with the notable exception of the Czech Republic), the view that society stands

Table 5: Potential for society to benefit from better integration of Roma⁴¹

Country	Aggregated responses	
	Agree	Disagree
Bulgaria	64%	25%
Czech Republic	47%	48%
Hungary	72%	24%
Romania	63%	25%
Slovakia	59%	36%
Spain	68%	21%

Source: Eurobarometer (2012)

⁴¹ The following survey wording was used: "Please tell me whether you totally agree, tend to agree, tend to disagree or totally disagree with each of the following statements: Society could benefit from a better integration of the Roma."

to gain from improvement in the situation of Roma predominates by a considerable margin.

The results of the 2011 UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey provide more detail on the extent to which both Roma and non-Roma are prepared to address these gaps through measures involving preferential treatment for members of disadvantaged groups (including but not necessarily limited to Roma). In the priority area of education, over 85 percent of Romani and non-Romani respondents in the countries covered by the survey agreed with providing scholarships for children from poor families, with more than seven in ten respondents taking the view that language support for children with insufficient fluency in the language of instruction is acceptable. The prospect of preferential acceptance of members of disadvantaged groups in secondary and higher education was more controversial, with agreement ranging from 40 percent among non-Romani respondents in Romania to 92 percent of Romani respondents in Bulgaria. At least three quarters of all respondents viewed the provision of subsidies to companies for employing persons from disadvantaged groups as acceptable. Likewise, public employment measures for persons from disadvantaged groups were supported by more than two thirds of all respondents.

Applying learning from the Decade to date. The above assessment of progress under the Decade can also provide a basis for identifying a set of strategic guidelines for consideration in planning future efforts in relation to the four priority areas and three cross-cutting issues:

- **Education:** The many successful initiatives undertaken since the beginning of the Decade should be continued and scaled up where this has not already been done. Given its central role to

date in piloting and promoting such initiatives, the Roma Education Fund can continue to support efforts in this direction. The overrepresentation of Romani children in special schools and classes for the mentally disabled should be addressed on a priority basis.

- **Employment:** More effective alternatives to the Roma-targeted employment programmes implemented to date should be found, with the improvement of concrete prospects for finding a job or starting a business emphasized over awareness-raising and training. Among relevant programmes implemented in Decade countries, Spain's Acceder program merits consideration as a potential model (see Laparra et al., 2013: 73). Discriminatory employment practices require urgent attention in light of their apparent effects not only on employment rates, but also on participation in education and on migration patterns.
 - **Health:** Anecdotal evidence from several Decade countries suggests that health mediation programmes—often implemented primarily by Romani women—in local Romani communities are effective in improving Roma access to health services, by facilitating communication between Roma and (non-Romani) health-care workers, providing health education, and undertaking social work. This evidence should undergo rigorous evaluation, as a basis for possible scaling up and cross-country replication.
 - **Housing:** The lack of clear progress in Roma housing in most Decade countries, and the deepening of housing gaps between Roma and non-Roma in some of these countries, calls for rethinking efforts by authorities at both central and local levels. Particular attention should be paid to preventing forced evictions and residential segregation as forms of discrimination. The efforts undertaken to date in Bosnia and Herzegovina may merit closer examination for possible replication in other Decade countries.
- There is a clear need to increase participating countries' levels of engagement with the cross-cutting issues of anti-discrimination, gender equality, and poverty reduction:
- **Discrimination:** The observed growth in discrimination against Roma in some Decade countries, in the form of events which directly threaten Roma's safety, must be reversed as a precondition for the success of initiatives undertaken in all other areas.
 - **Gender:** An increase in the employment gap between Romani men and women that is greater than the corresponding increase between non-Romani men and women calls for appropriately targeted measures.



- **Poverty reduction:** In the interest both of fairness and of securing broad social support for Roma integration, efforts to reduce poverty among Roma should not neglect the situation of non-Roma living in poverty (Ivanov and Kagin, 2014).

Finally, if efforts for the purpose of improving the situation of Roma in relation to any of the priority areas or cross-cutting issues are to succeed, the governments of the Decade countries must place greater emphasis on putting their principled commitments into practice. In particular:

- **National Action Plans** should be designed to facilitate their implementation in their entirety, with the complexities of Roma marginalization reflected in integrated policies linking initiatives across priority areas and addressing cross-cutting issues. Financial allocations must be adequate for full NAP implementation, and should take into account the availability of funding in general and EU funding in particular.
- **Participation:** The considerable increases in Romani participation in the Decade at national and local levels should be cemented institutionally, with efforts stepped up to secure the participation of Romani women.
- **The collection of ethnically and gender-disaggregated data** should be designed, coordinated at national level, and implemented at both national and local levels, so as to ground targeted policies while minimizing room for speculation on such sensitive issues such as migration, demographics, and reliance on the social welfare system. To this end, the emphasis on inputs should give way to increased attention afforded to outputs and outcomes.

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VI

Annex 1: Selected Data from Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys in the Former Yugoslav Republic Of Macedonia And Serbia

This annex presents selected findings from the Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys conducted in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Serbia in the course of the Decade of Roma Inclusion. (Information on the Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys in general as well as reports and datasets from individual surveys are available from UNICEF at http://www.unicef.org/statistics/index_24302.html.)

Table A1.1: Selected education indicators from MICs conducted in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

Indicator	MICS 2005-2006		MICS 2011		Comparison		
	General population (%)	Roma (%)	General population (%)	Roma (%)	Gap 2005-2006 (%)	Gap 2011 (%)	Reduction of gap from 2005 to 2011
Early childhood education attendance	10.7	3.5	21.8	3.9	7.2	17.9	-10.7
Literacy among women aged 15-24	96.8	60.4	97.4	76.6	36.4	20.8	15.6
Net intake in primary education	95.2	63.1	91.2	84.3	32.1	6.9	25.2
Primary school net attendance ratio (adjusted)	94.9	61.1	98.3	85.6	33.8	12.7	21.1
Secondary school net attendance ratio (adjusted)	63	17.4	82.7	38.2	45.6	44.5	1.1
Net primary completion rate	82.6	44.6	97.4	67.1	38	30.3	7.7
Transition rate to secondary school	94.6	26.9	98	98	67.7	0	67.7
Gender parity index (primary school) [not %]	0.96	0.88	1	1	0.08	0	0.08
Gender parity index (secondary school) [not %]	1.15	1.31	0.96	0.8	-0.16	0.16	-0.32

Table A1.2: Selected health indicators from MICSs conducted in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

Indicator	MICS 2005-2006		MICS 2011		Comparison		
	General population (%)	Roma (%)	General population (%)	Roma (%)	Gap 2005-2006 (%)	Gap 2011 (%)	Reduction of gap from 2005 to 2011
Underweight prevalence (-2 SD)	2.3	5.8	1.3	7.6	3.5	6.3	-2.8
Stunting prevalence (-2 SD)	8.7	16.6	4.9	16.5	7.9	11.6	-3.7
Wasting prevalence (-2 SD)	2.3	1.5	1.8	4.5	-0.8	2.7	-3.5
Low birth weight infants	6.4	6.9	5.5	11.2	0.5	5.7	-5.2
Measles immunization coverage	88.4	74.7	96	96.3	13.7	-0.3	14
Antenatal coverage at least once by skilled personnel	98.1	78.5	98.6	94	19.6	4.6	15
Skilled attendant at delivery	98.1	81.8	98.3	99.5	16.3	-1.2	17.5

Table A1.3: Selected housing indicators from MICSs conducted in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

Indicator	MICS 2005-2006		MICS 2011		Comparison		
	General population (%)	Roma (%)	General population (%)	Roma (%)	Gap 2005-2006 (%)	Gap 2011 (%)	Reduction of gap from 2005 to 2011
Improved drinking water sources	99.3	99	99.6	99.1	0.3	0.5	-0.2
Improved sanitation	92.9	93.9	92.9	91.1	-1	1.8	-2.8

Table A1.4: Selected education indicators from MICs conducted in Serbia

Indicator	MICS 2005-2006		MICS 2011		Comparison		
	General population (%)	Roma (%)	General population (%)	Roma (%)	Gap 2005-2006 (%)	Gap 2011 (%)	Reduction of gap from 2005 to 2011
Early childhood education attendance	32.5	3.9	43.8	8.2	28.6	35.6	-7
Literacy among women aged 15-24	95.6	52.4	99.3	76.5	43.2	22.8	20.4
Net intake in primary education	93.6	66.2	94.9	90.9	27.4	4	23.4
Primary school net attendance ratio (adjusted)	98.4	73.6	98.7	88.5	24.8	10.2	14.6
Secondary school net attendance ratio (adjusted)	83.8	10.2	89.3	19.3	73.6	70	3.6
Net primary completion rate	90.7	28.1	92	35	62.6	57	5.6
Transition rate to secondary school	97.1	77.4	98.1	68.1	19.7	30	-10.3
Gender parity index (primary school) [not %]	1	0.94	1.01	0.96	0.06	0.05	0.01
Gender parity index (secondary school) [not %]	1.08	0.42	1.02	0.72	0.66	0.3	0.36

Table A1.5: Selected health indicators from MICs conducted in Serbia

Indicator	MICS 2005-2006		MICS 2011		Comparison		
	General population (%)	Roma (%)	General population (%)	Roma (%)	Gap 2005-2006 (%)	Gap 2011 (%)	Reduction of gap from 2005 to 2011
Underweight prevalence (-2 SD)	1.6	7.7	1.6	6.6	6.1	5	1.1
Stunting prevalence (-2 SD)	5.9	20	6.6	23.6	14.1	17	-2.9
Wasting prevalence (-2 SD)	3.3	4.1	3.5	5.2	0.8	1.7	-0.9
Low birth weight infants	5	9.3	4.8	10.2	4.3	5.4	-1.1
Antenatal coverage at least once by skilled personnel	98.2	85.8	99	94.5	12.4	4.5	7.9
Skilled attendant at delivery	99	92.9	99.7	99.5	6.1	0.2	5.9

Table A1.6: Selected housing indicators from MICs conducted in Serbia

Indicator	MICS 2005-2006		MICS 2011		Comparison		
	General population (%)	Roma (%)	General population (%)	Roma (%)	Gap 2005-2006 (%)	Gap 2011 (%)	Reduction of gap from 2005 to 2011
Improved drinking water sources	98.9	96.7	99.5	97.7	2.2	1.8	0.4
Improved sanitation	98.8	91.9	97.8	85	6.9	12.8	-5.9