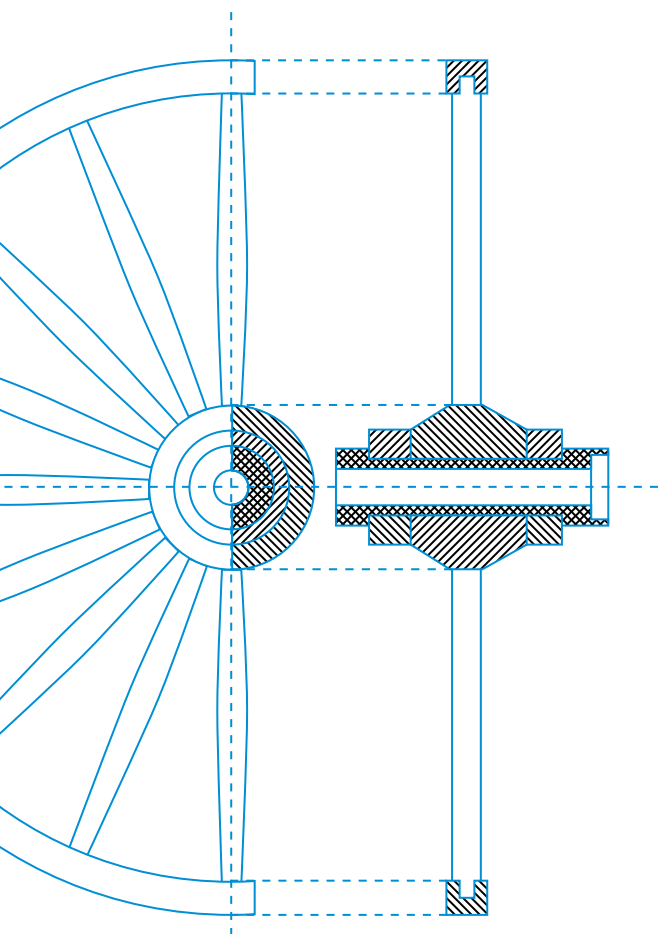


Roma Inclusion in the Croatian Society: a Baseline Data Study

SUZANA KUNAC, KSENIJA KLASNIĆ, SARA LALIĆ



EUROPEAN UNION



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Fulfilling conditions for Roma integration on the local/
regional and the national level. This publication was made
with financial support from the European Union and
the Government Office for Human Rights and Rights of
National Minorities.

FROM A PEER REVIEW BY DR. NENAD KARAJIĆ, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR:

“... Scientific in tone and empirical in the multi-layeredness, this book joins the handful of studies of the Roma population conducted so far in Croatia and abroad, which have been singled out as the contextual substratum for current scientific and research work. Most notable among these are three studies, the 2011 UNDP, World Bank and European Commission study, EU MIDIS I of 2008 and EU MIDIS II of 2016. As the authors inform us in the summary, the entire empirical research was conducted using a threefold analysis.

In the first stage, so-called pre-research, mapping was carried out “with the primary goal of establishing the Roma population as a precondition for sampling and describing the community, as well as gathering data on the specificities of the locations inhabited by members of the Roma national minority (e.g. data on the availability of public services, transport connections, access to social events and facilities, utilities infrastructure etc.)

The second stage concerned “conducting semi-structured interviews with representatives of the relevant institutions at the level of local self-government units and members of the Roma national minority, as well as conducting seven focus groups with representatives of the relevant institutions at the county level”. Hence, this is a comprehensive (the overall number of participants in the qualitative research is 281) and excellently done work of applying the qualitative methodology of social sciences (in-depth interviews and focus groups).

The third stage, quantitative research using the face-to-face survey method, merits special attention. “The quantitative dimension, as the central and key segment of this study, concerned researching the experiences of the Roma national minority itself, with the aim of gathering baseline data needed to monitor the implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy.” Considering the methodological difficulties in ensuring sample representativeness in studies of the Roma population (dispersion of interviewees, seasonal oscillations and migrations, interviewees’ low education, difficulties establishing ethnic identity, social ‘mimicry’ etc.) that are well known in the profession, this project will earn an enviable reputation both today and in the near future precisely on the merit of its grounding in a systematic and strict scientific methodology whose use has allowed it to overcome all the general and specific difficulties characteristic of such studies. Let us single out at least two ‘exciting’ indicators presented in the study that speak in favour of such a judgement of the methodological seriousness and excellence with which the project has been carried out: the carefully designed and correspondingly precisely determined total number of members of the Roma national minority in the Republic of Croatia and the exceptionally large encompassed sample and described structure of the Roma population in relation to the general population of Croatian inhabitants...”

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RECENZENTI: Olja Družić Ljubotina i Nenad
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Research team

HEAD RESEARCHER: Suzana Kunac

FIELD RESEARCH MANAGER: Ksenija Klasnić

CORE RESEARCH TEAM: Branko Ančić,
Lana Jurman, Sara Lalić, Danijela
Lucić, Jasna Račić, Petra Rodik, Izvor
Rukavina and Iva Zenzerović Šloser

Istraživački tim

GLAVNA ISTRAŽIVAČICA: Suzana Kunac

VODITELJICA TERENSKOG ISTRAŽIVANJA: Ksenija
Klasnić

UŽI ISTRAŽIVAČKI TIM: Branko Ančić, Lana
Jurman, Sara Lalić, Danijela Lucić, Jasna
Račić, Petra Rodik, Izvor Rukavina i Iva
Zenzerović Šloser

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Roma Inclusion in the Croatian Society: a Baseline Data Study

SUZANA KUNAC, KSENIJA KLASNIĆ, SARA LALIĆ

*Collection and monitoring of the baseline data for an efficient
implementation of the National Roma Integration Strategy*

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ABBREVIATIONS:

- AFLA** / Act on Free Legal Aid
- AMPEU** / Agency for Mobility and EU Programmes
- APNRIS** / Action Plan for Implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy for the period from 2013 to 2015
- AVETAЕ** / Agency for Vocational Education and Training and Adult Education
- CBS** / Croatian Bureau of Statistics
- CES** / Croatian Employment Service
- CETTA** / Croatian Education and Teacher Training Agency
- CHIF** / Croatian Health Insurance Fund
- CSO** / civil society organisation
- ECRI** / European Commission against Racism and Intolerance
- ES** / elementary school
- EU MIDIS** / European Union minorities and discrimination survey
- FRA** / European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights
- Framework EU – An EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020
- HS** / high school
- LALI** / local adult learning institutions
- LSGU** / local self-government units
- MDFYSP** / Ministry of Demographics, Family, Youth and Social Policy
- MI** / Ministry of the Interior
- MJ** / Ministry of Justice
- MSE** / Ministry of science and education
- NCEEE** / National Centre for External Evaluation of Education
- NRIS** / National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020
- OHRNM** / Office for Human Rights and Rights of National Minorities
- RNM** / Roma national minority
- RNMC** / Roma National Minority Council
- SAB** / state administration body
- SAORC** / State's Attorney Office of the Republic of Croatia
- SWC** / Social Welfare Centre
- UNDP** / United Nations Development Programme
- UNHCR** / United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

FOREWORD

The Government Office for Human Rights and the Rights of National Minorities, which is tasked with reporting on and monitoring the National Roma Inclusion Strategy for the period from 2013-2020, understood relatively quickly that monitoring the implementation of this strategy as defined in the document is difficult, or even impossible, and that, in the situation in which we do not know what is the yardstick for measuring something, we risk pronouncing all that has been executed either a success or a failure.

Hence, the idea for this project was born already in late 2014, and the final confirmation of the need to turn the idea into action came in the form of the findings of an external evaluation in early 2015. That is to say, one of the key findings of the external evaluation suggested a lack of so-called baseline, or initial values for measuring effects. In other words, a lack of data on which to measure the success or failure of our efforts to fully integrate our fellow-citizens, members of the Roma national minority.

Thus, the first reason for starting the entire project, but above all the research that constituted its key activity, was: to define the initial, that is, baseline data from which to measure the effects not only of the overall national, but also regional as well as local interventions in the following period.

From the idea until today, when we proudly present you the key result that we equally proudly share with a like-minded team comprising representatives of the Roma community, the private, non-profit and public sectors, which tangibly approaches the concept of “results-oriented governance”, a series of obstacles had to be overcome, remaining steadfast and determined.

Our intention was to offer all interested parties (from central state administration bodies, through regional and local self-governments, public services, all the way to the not-for-profit sector, including members of the Roma national minority), an adequate analytical framework for designing short-term and long-term action priorities, both at the national and the regional level. Although we are aware that it will only be possible to judge the practical value of this publication after its influence has been seen in concrete use in drafting public policy activities at all levels, we believe that this initial intention has been realised, and that now the second step needs to be made.

We wish to use the results of this study in the best possible way. We want the findings of the research to provide us with a signpost in planning interventions at all levels, to help us finalise the drafting of a new Action Plan for Roma inclusion 2018-2020, to underpin the drafting of a new strategic document post-2020, but also to provide a foothold in advocating measures and activities contained in documents under the purview of other state administration bodies.

Moreover, we hope that data obtained in this research will facilitate the procedures of programming both individual projects (drafting operation summaries, drafting of tender documentation etc.), and planning future financial envelopes of European structural funds.

Finally, it is our desire that this study is used by members of the Roma national minority, the esteemed Member of Parliament and Roma national minority councils and representatives, but also all members of the Commission for Monitoring the Implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy – whose mandate is precisely to monitor and to highlight the absence of improvements on the indicators established in this study.

In the end, allow me, on behalf of the members of the Roma national minority, without whose participation it would not have been possible to carry out this study, and whose response amounted to an exceptional 80%, to invite everyone to make this publication and the dedicated work of all who were involved in this undertaking – worth it. To take the next step together, and use new measures and activities to balance the life conditions/circumstances of members of the Roma national minority and those of the remaining Croatian population.

OFFICE DIRECTOR

Alen Tahiri, univ. spec. pol.

INTRODUCTION

Implementation of numerous strategic documents, both international and national, focused on improving the position of the Roma in our society has not been a success so far. The reasons for this are numerous, but I would single out above all the absence of political will, but also a lack of precise and adequate baseline data on the situation in which the Roma in Croatia find themselves – whether in education, employment, health or status issues as areas specially singled out as problematic.

We often hear from state institutions that they do not record the number of unemployed or socially at-risk Roma, as that would constitute a form of discrimination. And, naturally, the Roma are wary of being registered, it would not do for institutions to arbitrarily register the Roma, as I stressed at the unveiling of this project – the Roma are tired of being researched and volunteering.

However, the Roma community, lead by the Union of Roma in the Republic of Croatia, “KALI SARA”, as the umbrella organisation gathering the largest number of Roma representatives and activists, has nevertheless recognised the good intentions of the initiators of the project, “Collection and monitoring of baseline data for an efficient implementation of the National Roma Integration Strategy,” to finally conduct a systematic research that would enable us to find out the precise data on the problems which we have been warning of for years, data that will help us to jointly influence public policy and improvement of the position of the Roma in our society, as its most excluded and discriminated-against group.

It is important to underline that in this study, the Roma community was not an object, but carried out the research together with the researchers and project collaborators, and opened up their intimate spaces for the betterment of the Roma community. I would like to use this opportunity to specially thank the Roma whose patience and understanding contributed to this project being implemented, thus providing us for the first time with data to allow us to take the first step together. My special gratitude goes to the tireless Centre for Peace Studies team and their partners, as well as the Government Office for Human Rights and the Rights of National Minorities.

As the Roma representative in the Croatian Parliament, I must emphasise that we are acquiring this data too late. Strategic documents for the Roma have existed for nearly

twenty years, the problems have been detected long ago, but until today, we have not been able to transpose these good wishes into legislation and public policy.

I trust that the data we have at our disposal today will help both myself as a Member of Parliament to put pressure on the institutions, but also state institutions, to remove us all from Council of Europe reports and reports by various international non-governmental organisations highlighting the especially poor situation of the Roma national minority in our society year after year.

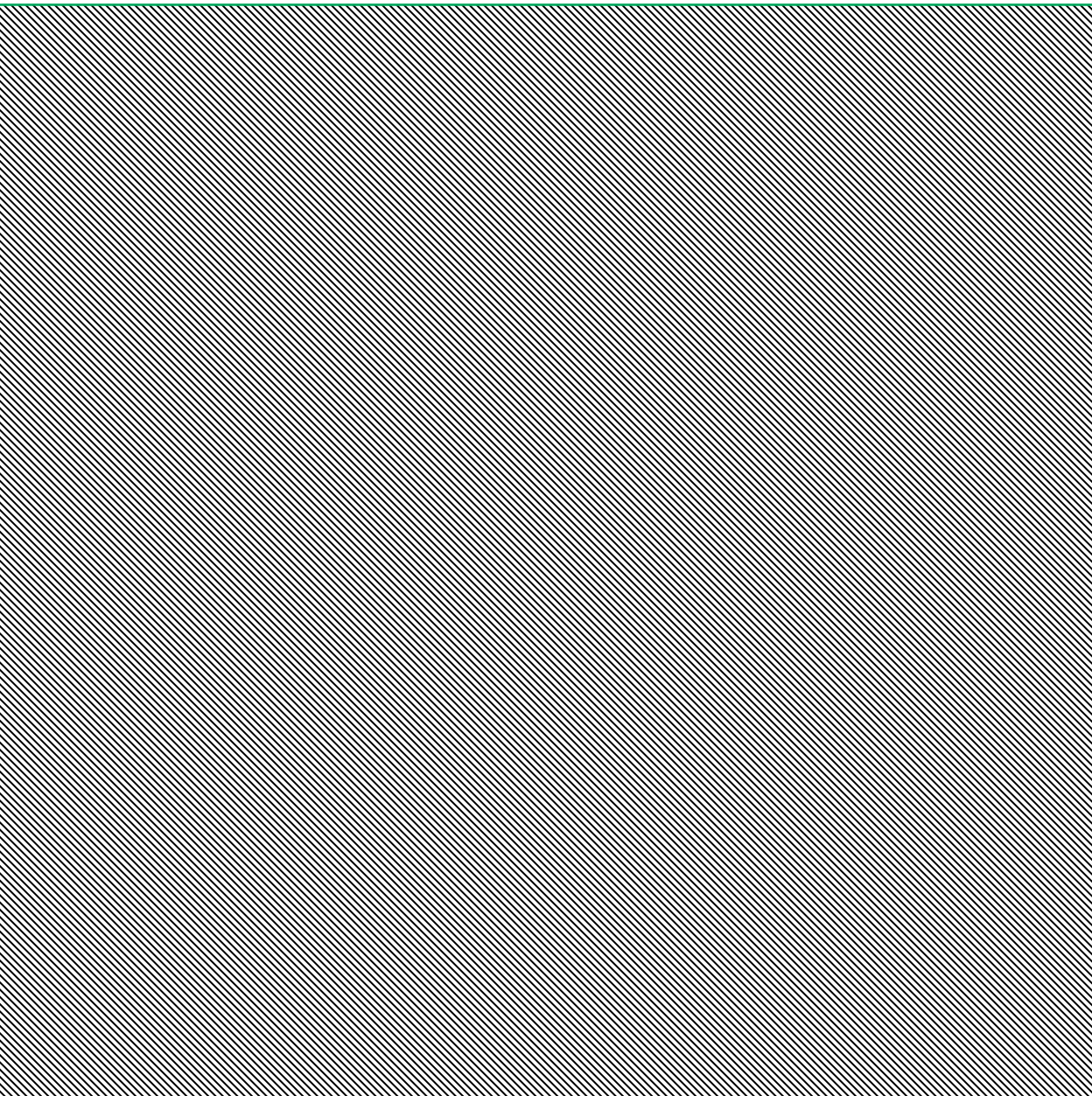
Creating a better future is a task for all of us, and this process begins with the work we undertake today. We can continue in the way it has been done up till today, or we can start systematic work, which implies hard work, special effort and joint cooperation to make a true step forward. I am exceptionally happy that precisely this generation of Roma leaders, leading the youngest population in our country, will be part of the beginning of a new kind of action on the part of the Roma community, which will leave the younger generations the foundations for progress that we ourselves did not have.

The publication presented to you is one of these foundations, and all I can promise in my name is that as the representative of the Roma community in the Croatian Parliament, I will continue to do everything in my power to use my position to warn all those in positions of authority at all levels, and invite them to do everything in their power to improve the lives of my Roma people!

Veljko Kajtazi

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

1 / SUMMARY



The findings of the evaluation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy 2015 showed that “Despite the considerable attention to issues of monitoring and evaluation in NRIS and AP, there is no overarching system in place for gathering data on the implementation of planned measures and the realization of strategic objectives.”¹ Friedman and Horvat (2015) state that baseline values were given for only 11 of the total of 111 indicators defined in the NRIS AP. Thus, due to a lack of baseline values, it is impossible to reach conclusions either on the achieved progress or on the final effect of the implemented measures contained in the strategy. This is the key reason why in its recommendations, the evaluation report highlights the need to define initial (baseline) data that will make it possible to make conclusions regarding the extent to which goals defined both in the implementation and the strategy documents have been achieved, as well as to build capacities for monitoring and evaluation by means of educating the relevant stakeholders, with a special emphasis on building the capacities of the members of the Roma national minority (that is, Roma minority councils and representatives, and members of Roma civil society). This evaluation conclusion served as the basis for the Government Office for Human Rights and the Rights of National Minorities’ terms of reference for a public tender for the services of “Fulfilling the preconditions for Roma integration at the local/regional and national levels,”² according to which this study has an objective to: “Gather and observe baseline data for an efficient implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy,”³ define baseline values for measuring the effects of the NRIS and NRIS AP at the national, regional and local levels, and define the needs of Roma communities, as well as the obstacles to inclusion of the Roma national minority at the local/regional and national levels.

For the needs of the study, the entire empirical research was carried out across three separate segments: 1) Pre-research/mapping, with the primary goal of establishing the Roma population as a precondition for sampling and describing the community, as well as gathering data on the specificities of the locations inhabited by members of the Roma national minority (e.g. data on the availability of public services, transport connections, access to social events and facilities, utilities infrastructure etc.); 2) the second segment concerned qualitative research methodology – conducting semi-structured interviews with representatives of the relevant institutions at the level of local self-government units and members of the Roma national minority, as well as conducting seven focus groups with representatives of the relevant institutions at the county level, while 3) the third and key segment concerned quantitative research using the survey method (face to face). In other words, the entire research was carried out using what is known as mixed methods.

1 Friedman, E., Horvat, M., *Evaluation Report: Evaluation of Croatian National Roma Inclusion Strategy*, Zagreb, Government Office for Human Rights and Rights of National Minorities, UNDP – Croatia Office, 2015.

2 The consortium of bidders for this project comprised the experienced international consulting holding company Ecorys and the Centre for Peace Studies, an association with great experience in analysing and advocating public policies, trainings and educations for civil servants, research in the field of human rights, as well as developed expertise and network of contacts in the field of protecting the rights of marginalised groups, such as members of national minorities.

3 The project, “Collection and monitoring of the baseline data for an efficient implementation of the National Roma Integration Strategy”, was carried out by Ecorys Croatia ltd. and the Centre for Peace Studies, for the benefit of the Government Office for Human Rights and Rights of National Minorities.

The quantitative dimension, as the central and key segment of this study, concerned researching the experiences of the Roma national minority itself, with the aim of collecting baseline data needed to monitor the implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy. A correlational research design was used, which seeks to establish links between the measured constructs.

One of the key findings in the study was reached in the preliminary research, that is, mapping. Thus, according to pre-research data, there are 24,524 members of the Roma national minority living in the 134 mapped locations across 15 counties in the Republic of Croatia, which is the first precise indicator of the volume of the Roma population in Croatia to this day. Up till now, there have been difficulties defining the volume of the Roma population in the Republic of Croatia, as according to Croatian Bureau of Statistics data from the last Croatian census, there are 16,975 Roma living in Croatia, while the Council of Europe estimated the Roma to number between 30,000 and 40,000. Now that this study has been completed, the number of RNM members from the mapping stage may be used as the relevant initial value in determining the coverage of Roma national minority members by individual measures or activities.

The research population in this study is broader than those in the studies on the Roma carried out in Croatia so far. Special attention was given to constructing a representative sample of the Roma population in the survey research. A two-stage proportionally stratified probability sample was used, controlling for quotas of interviewees by age and sex. The first level of stratification was by county, while the second level was by the location where RNM members lived. The sample was constructed according to data on the research population gathered in pre-research, and is considered age and sex representative of Roma national minority members in 12 Croatian counties for those locations where a minimum of 30 RNM members live.

Thus, the quantitative research was conducted on a sample of locations within 12 RC counties with 30 or more RNM inhabitants. The sampling frame encompassed a total of 128 locations with 4,139 Roma households, where a total of 22,486 Roma national minority members live, 10,422 of whom are 16 or older. The survey research of the Roma population was conducted on an exceptionally large sample. Data on 4,758 members of Roma households were gathered – making up 21.2% of the researched population of RNM members – that is, 1,550 households – which make up 37.5% of the households recorded in pre-research.

The qualitative research was conducted with an exceptionally large number of stakeholders, both Roma national minority members (67 interviews) and representatives of the relevant institutions (141 interviews). The total number of participants in the qualitative research was 281 (67 of whom key Roma figures, and 214 representatives of the relevant institutions, of whom 141 participated in in-depth interviews and 73 in focus groups). In choosing people to interview in the qualitative stage of the study, attention was paid to even representation of all the relevant stakeholders at the local and regional levels, which is why it is considerably more comprehensive than usual for qualitative studies and allows establishing differences across locations, as well as making conclusions regarding

the challenges and obstacles to implementing the National Roma Inclusion Strategy in the opinions of the key stakeholders at the county and local level.

The results of the study follow specific objectives corresponding to areas in the National Roma Inclusion Strategy. For instance, one of the specific objectives in the area of education is “To increase the inclusion of Roma children of both sexes in preschool education and raise the quality level of preschool education of Roma children as a component of early childhood learning, which helps reduce the differences in social origin and learning ability, and attempts to meet children’s developmental needs as best as possible, and introduce them to the world of conscious learning.”⁴

The results of the research show that as many as 69% of Roma children aged three to six attend neither kindergarten nor preschool. The reasons for not attending kindergarten or preschool cited by parents of children aged three to six point to various problems. Above all, it is the (mistaken) perception that children do not need involvement in preschool education programmes, as seen in views such as that the child is too young (cited by 49% of the parents), that someone at home can take care of the child (17%), that the child should stay with its family (3%) and in expressions of distrust towards employees of the institutions that carry out preschool education programmes (1%). These data point to the need to further raise parents’ awareness about the importance of preschool education as preparation for primary education and an essential precondition for the child’s development.

The specific NRIS objective concerning primary education states that the level of inclusion of Roma children in primary education needs to be brought up “to the average nation-wide primary education level in the Republic of Croatia (achieve an inclusion rate of 98%) and bring the level of the completion of primary education by members of the Roma minority up to the average level of completion of primary education for the Republic of Croatia (achieve a completion rate of 95%).”⁵ Looking at data from the survey research, 95% of Roma children aged 7 to 14 attend primary school, which almost meets the level of primary school coverage in the general population. However, additional work needs to be done on securing better educational attainment among Roma pupils (greater success at school, higher school completion rates and better educational outcomes), which has to do with removing the problems they face during primary education, such as insufficient Croatian language skills, insufficient parental support in learning and fulfilling school tasks, poor material conditions and a lack of necessary education supplies etc.

Additionally, data regarding another specific objective in the area of primary education, which is “to abolish all separate classes only attended by Roma minority pupils by

4 The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

5 Ibid.

2020,”⁶ show that 20% of Roma children attend classes attended exclusively by Roma national minority pupils. It is clear that additional progress needs to be made in this area.

Concerning the specific Objective 5 of the NRIS in the field of education, “To reduce the difference between average inclusion and completion of secondary and higher education among members of the Roma minority in comparison to the average inclusion and completion of secondary and higher education at the national level in Croatia,”⁷ according to the 2011 Census, the highest level of educational attainment for 52.6% of the general population in Croatia were secondary-level qualifications, while the corresponding proportion for the Roma on whom data was gathered in this research was 14.5%. The results showed that 31% of youth aged 15 to 18 attended secondary school, with a statistically significant difference by sex – 36% of boys and 26% of girls attended secondary education. Financial reasons, poor prior educational success and marriage and pregnancy/parenthood were detected as the main reasons for non-attendance of secondary education.

The specific NRIS Objective 6 in the field of higher education is “To increase the number of members of the Roma minority who enrol higher education by 2020. To increase the number of members of the Roma minority who complete higher education [and] continue on to graduate studies by 2020”. The survey research has established that the number of Roma national minority members attending or having completed higher education is very small.

Members of the Roma national minority are classed as hard-to-employ persons, both due to prejudice and discrimination in the field of employment, and the lower educational levels in this population. The specific Objective 1 in the area of employment and inclusion in economic life concerns raising “the level of social inclusion of the Roma population by enhancement of their ability to participate on the labour market”.⁸ According to research data, 18.7% of Roma are in some form of employment (7.3% work full time; 9.2% are in occasional or temporary work; while 2.1% are self-employed). Three quarters of Roma women are either unemployed or work as housewives. If the one fifth (18.6%) of members of Roma households who earned money during the previous week are analysed by age, it shows that the least active in employment are the oldest and youngest age groups, where, relatively speaking, between two to four fifths (81.3%) Roma national minority members of working age (up to 66 years of age) performed no paid work during the previous week. Viewing by sex, 92.1% of all women and 70.7% of all men on whom the appropriate data were collected did not work, which points to a statistically significant link between sex and recent work activity.

The specific Objectives 2 and 3 in the same area concern increasing competitiveness and

6 The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

employment rate among young members of the Roma minority. Research data shows that youth and women are underrepresented in employment, that is, that age and sex are connected with employment status. In addition to the fact that lower coverage of girls becomes apparent as early as during secondary education (36% boys as opposed to 26% girls), which reduces girls' chances of entering the labour market, representatives of the relevant institutions and representatives of the Roma national minority point out that there is extensive discrimination against the Roma in employment, which has to do with prejudice, and the fact that the better-educated members of the Roma national minority (who completed secondary school) likewise cannot find work. Roma representatives expressly link this to other young Roma people's loss of motivation for schooling. For these reasons, the specific Objective 2 – increasing young Roma people's competitiveness in the labour market – should see additional work done with employers to deconstruct stereotypes and prejudice towards the Roma, highlighting good practice in employing young Roma people. Roma women's less favourable position in the labour market is clearly visible in the data showing that 25% of Roma men and 58% of Roma women comprise the 41.0% of Roma national minority members of working age who have never been in work. Likewise, the information that in the past 365 days around one fifth of the women (20.8%), as opposed to half of men (54.4%), worked for money, speaks to the large gender divide in including Roma women in the labour market. Therefore, when designing measures concerning employment of Roma people, these two groups – women and the young – need to be borne in mind, that is, to target the measures in a way that takes into account these groups' inferior labour market position within the Roma population.

The specific Objective 4 seeks to achieve increased competitiveness and employment rate among long-term unemployed Roma national minority members. Overall, the average duration of unemployment for the unemployed work-capable Roma population of up to 66 years of age is a little less than 5 years, with 44% having been unemployed for up to a year, and the other 56% for longer, that is, are long-term unemployed.

The specific NRIS Objective 5 seeks to achieve a higher rate of formal self-employment in Roma national minority members.⁹ When it comes to interest in starting one's own business and becoming self-employed, 26.2% interviewees showed an interest in starting one's own business, which is a potential that should serve as the groundwork for designing future measures and activities for greater inclusion of Roma in the labour market. The specific Objective 6 in this area reads: "To raise the level of motivation among Roma for participation on the job market".¹⁰ A little more than half of the interviewees without a permanent job are registered with the Croatian Employment Service (52.3%). Of those, 37.4% are actively seeking employment, while in addition to those trying to start their own business (5.5%), there are a further 7.5% Roma not seeking a job as they do not be-

9 The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

10 Ibid.

lieve they will find one. It was established that Roma national minority members make relatively little use of the individual active employment measures of the CES relative to the unemployment rate, the only measure used with a degree of frequency being the public works hiring programme, used by 18% of Roma.

Material deprivation and poverty among the Roma population are directly related to social determinants of health, as a large portion of the Roma population live in inadequate conditions.

In the field of healthcare, the specific Objective 1 is to: “increase the health insurance coverage of the Roma population.”¹¹ Representatives of the Roma national minority themselves recognised this problem in interviews, frequently citing the problem of not possessing health insurance as the main problem of the Roma population in the field of health – unlike the representatives of the relevant local- and county-level institutions. According to the results of this study, 92.8% of people included in the survey have health insurance, that is, a valid health insurance card, while 7.2% do not.

The distribution of responses from the survey research on the reasons for not possessing valid basic health insurance may point to insufficient informedness and/or insufficient engagement on the part of the Roma population to resolve issues related to realising their right to healthcare. The issue of promptly reporting to the CHIF the cessation of any of the bases for the right to health insurance was revealed as the leading, explicitly cited reason for not possessing valid health insurance, which also indicates how demanding the legal provisions regulating this right are. It would therefore be desirable, as the National Strategy indeed states, to additionally “establish the mechanisms for systematic dissemination of information and encouragement of the Roma population to resolve the status issues that will facilitate the exercise [of] rights to health insurance,”¹² with a primary focus on informing Roma national minority members about their rights in the field of healthcare. In so doing, changes to the existing legislation need to be considered in order to secure effective and broad realisation of the right to healthcare, a right that is guaranteed by the Constitution.

This ties to the second specific NRIS objective in this area, which is “To increase availability [of] health-care services for the Roma population with emphasis on the elderly, the disabled and persons with physical impairments and special needs, and mobile Roma groups.”¹³ According to the results of the survey research, as many as 54.6% of households found themselves unable to pay for a medicine or medical service needed by a household member in the course of the year preceding the research, which points to the insufficient availability of healthcare. Moreover, according to the research, as many as 27% of interviewees did not contact their GP within the past 12 months despite needing

11 The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

medical assistance. Some of the reasons given for not contacting the GP indicate that healthcare services are insufficiently available to a part of the Roma population, with the most frequently cited reason being financial, that is, some of the participants stated that visiting the doctor is too expensive. This reason is partly related to the distance of some of the locations where the Roma live from healthcare institutions. In addition, another stated reason is the overlong waiting time for an arranged medical examination, which is a problem affecting the broader population in the Republic of Croatia as well. As far as availability of healthcare services is concerned, interviewees again cited the fact of not possessing health insurance as the reason for not contacting their GP. Likewise, it is necessary to take into account the specific NRIS Objective 3 in the field of healthcare, that is, it is important “To raise the level of the Roma population’s awareness of responsibility for their own health,”¹⁴ which should have a positive effect on the health of the Roma population complementing that of increasing the availability of healthcare. Improving women’s reproductive health, as well as prenatal and children’s health has been recognised as the specific Objective 4 within the NRIS chapter on healthcare, with an emphasis on informing and educating “Roma women [...] on reproductive health and prenatal health and the risks linked to pregnant minors.”¹⁵ Looking at data on reproductive healthcare, probably the most relevant piece of data from the survey questionnaire is the one on the frequency of gynaecological examinations, which shows that around a third of women interviewees aged 16 or more extremely rarely undergo gynaecological examinations (30.8% of interviewees last had a gynaecological checkup 3 or more years ago or never had one at all). Therefore, it is necessary to do more work on public health campaigns with the aim of increasing women’s informedness and knowledge on the important role of regular gynaecological checkups in protecting both reproductive and general health, with special attention to be focused on middle-aged and elderly women. Likewise, there needs to be awareness raising on the necessity of gynaecological protection not only during, but also beyond the fertile age. Looking at statistics on age at first birth, it is clear that in the Roma population, adolescent pregnancies are exceptionally frequent, that is, as many as half of women who gave birth to at least one child had the first child while they were still adolescent. Apart from the field of health, reducing the number of adolescent pregnancies ought to be one of the priorities in ensuring the inclusion of Roma women in other spheres of life such as education, employment etc. The last specific NRIS Objective listed in the area of healthcare is “to reduce the widespread consumption of all addictive substances among the Roma population, with emphasis on children and adolescents, and to raise awareness of the harm caused by such addictive substances,”¹⁶ which primarily implies activities raising the level of informedness and awareness on the harm caused by the consumption of alcohol, cigarettes and opiates in this population. The survey research data show that more than half the population consume tobacco-based products, identifying a sex-based difference in that the consumption of tobacco-based products is more widespread among men. Looking at alcohol consumption data,

14 The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

according to which only 15.5% of Roma population consumes alcohol, it can be assumed that it was a case of giving socially acceptable answers, as well as interpreting the question where those who frequently consume alcohol declared themselves as consumers of alcohol, in view of the fact that due to the generally expansive nature of the survey questionnaire, no scale to indicate the frequency of consuming alcohol was included. It is important to note that consumption of alcohol is likewise more widespread among men than among women, which provides good guidelines showing that information activities on the harmfulness of alcohol consumption, as well as other measures towards this goal, should be aimed more at men than women.

The research primarily determined what certain opinions and behaviours among the Roma population are in the field of health protection, as well as the availability of healthcare services, but additional research and analyses need to be conducted in order to establish the real healthcare problems faced by members of the Roma population.

Concerning the indicators in the field of employment and inclusion in economic life, it is clear that a significant proportion of the Roma population depends on social welfare to satisfy the most basic needs. In view of the exceptionally low employment rate among the Roma, it is clear that the social welfare system is extremely important in reducing poverty in the Roma population.

The specific NRIS Objective 1 in this area is "To raise the quality, availability and timeliness of social services and services in the community with special emphasis on women, children, adolescents, the elderly and the disabled."¹⁷ The research turned up indicators that can serve as a basis for ascertaining interviewees' (Roma national minority members) satisfaction with services provided and opinions on the promptness and availability of social welfare services. Among those interviewees who live in households that receive some form of social welfare or services, 61.9% stated that they are mostly or very dissatisfied, while only 18.3% of interviewees were very or mostly satisfied with the social welfare and services provided. Data on the perception of social welfare availability also point to problems in this field, at least from the perspective of the beneficiaries' and other Roma national minority members' perception, seeing as only a quarter of interviewees consider social welfare to be fully accessible. At the same time, more than half of interviewees considered social welfare to be completely responsive. Opinions on social workers shed additional light on the question of the quality of the social welfare system. Thus, the following claims encounter an exceptionally high degree of agreement among the Roma population: that poor legislation causes social workers to remove social rights and social welfare from people who need them; that social workers deal too much with paperwork and too little with people, and that social workers should visit the locations more frequently and see how individual Roma families really live.

Therefore additional work on organising the social welfare system is necessary, so as

17 The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

to increase social welfare centres' capacities for work with service users, ensure equal application of legal regulations, reduce the amount of bureaucratic work in favour of higher-quality, more available and more responsive provision of social welfare to beneficiaries. The specific Objective 2 within this area is "to raise the quality of life of Roma families with special emphasis and the well-being of children and adolescents", defined as "awareness raising, education and encouragement of members of the Roma population, families and youth for a higher quality of life inside the family and better care for children and quality parenting," specifying that "the measures to achieve this objective are aimed at vital segments of family life and child care, and they imply participation by the relevant bodies and organisations through individual or joint activities in order to achieve synergy and thus a positive impact."¹⁸ Research has shown that as many as 81.2% of children aged 15 or less are at risk of poverty. In relation to this, data on the children covered by this study show a large percentage of children living in inadequate housing conditions, which in some cases preclude even maintaining children's personal hygiene: damp conditions (78% of children covered by the study), poorly lit spaces (33.3%), no bathroom (48.3%) and no adequate sanitary system (43.8% of children). Other indicators, showing computer literacy and possession of cultural capital, likewise show material deprivation – as many as 80% of children live in households with no personal computers, laptops or tablets, while even 95% of children live in households that do not possess 30 or more books. These indicators suggest that in most Roma households some of the educational materials, that is, preconditions for a child's all-round development and progress in the education system that are considered basic in the contemporary world, are missing. Improving the situation with regard to these indicators should surely be among the priorities.

The National Strategy recognises the empowerment of the Roma community "to recognize the risks of exposure to human trafficking, sexual exploitation and other forms of violence with emphasis on women and children" as the specific Objective 3 in this area.¹⁹ Data on domestic violence and violence against women were also gathered in the survey research. Data on exposure to domestic violence show that 12% of interviewees experienced some form of domestic violence in their lives. Although no statistically significant difference was established between men and women concerning this issue, data showing the presence of violence against women by their intimate partners are worrying, as more than 10% of women experienced physical, economic and psychological violence, of which physical violence is the most frequent. As many as 8.7% of women experienced sexual violence by their intimate partners.

Significant efforts need to be invested in the prevention of all forms of violent behaviour within the family and against women in Roma communities (with special emphasis on boys and men), and members of the communities encouraged to report such criminal acts.

¹⁸ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

¹⁹ Ibid.

Overall, the results of the study show that additional effort is needed to secure the availability and responsiveness of social welfare, as well as the quality of social service provision, which are one of the factors, though not the only one, that may significantly affect the reduction of Roma poverty. However, it is important to stress that this is also contingent upon the broader socio-economic circumstances, as well as decision-makers at the national level, who need to recognise the importance of the social welfare system and ensure an increase in the financial, organisational and human capacities needed for social welfare to be efficient and have long-lasting effects.

The National Strategy has recognised the problems relating to spatial planning and property legal matters, as well as problems concerning illegal construction. Therefore, the specific Objective 1, concerning spatial planning, is “to ensure physical planning documentation for Roma settlements in order to create the conditions to improve the Roma population’s housing,”²⁰ while the specific Objective 2 is “to regulate and equip and also improve the quality of housing in legalized Roma settlements.”²¹ Related to this, the specific Objective 3 in this area states that “property rights issues in Roma settlements” need to be resolved²² pursuant to the Act on Proceeding with Illegally Constructed Buildings,²³ which should involve institutions at the national and local levels. Research data show that the issue of existing illegally built objects has partly been resolved – a total of 45% of households has been legalised or did not need to enter the process of legalisation, while 28.6% of households was undergoing legalisation at the time of the study. 14.2% of households never entered the legalisation process even though the building has not been legalised, or had a legalisation request rejected. Among those households that did not enter the process, the reasons stated were related to financial problems, that is, the inability to cover the costs of the process, as well as a lack of knowledge and the complexity of the procedure.

Concerning access to utilities infrastructure, as many as 74 of the locations inhabited by the Roma have no gas connection. In addition to lack of access to gas, 55 locations have a problem with the sewerage system, while 13 locations lack access to the water supply system. Only one location was found that had no access to electricity. Looking at how many Roma households actually use these utilities, it can be seen that 11.2% of households have no access to electricity, piped water supply is inaccessible to 43.3% of households, while as many as 73.3% of Roma households have no access to a sewerage system. Within the specific Objective 2 in the field of housing, which is “to secure housing under suitable conditions,”²⁴ the need for co-financing of “infrastructure projects for Roma settlements [...] in cooperation with and pursuant to requests from local and regional governments which are responsible for these projects, and programmes, activities

20 The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

23 The Act on Proceeding with Illegally Constructed Buildings (Official Gazette, 86/12, 143/13, 65/17)

24 The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

and measures [...] to improve the environmental and housing conditions in sites inhabited by the Roma, particularly with reference to better access to utility services.”²⁵ Other key indicators in the area of housing show that as many as 49.9% of households have no bathroom fitted with a shower or bathtub in the house/flat, 53.9% have no toilet in the house or flat, while a fifth of the 1,550 Roma households do not have a kitchen in the house. Low level of equipment with rooms with designated purpose, such as bathrooms or toilets, preclude adequate sanitary conditions and may have negative consequences, primarily for the health, but also for the overall wellbeing of members of the Roma community. When the canvassers’ appraisal, which estimated that 28.2% of the houses where the research was carried out were assessed as being in poor condition or derelict, and 4% were shacks (wooden huts or shanties), is added to this, it becomes clear that there either needs to be investment in such objects or housing programmes secured in order to improve the housing standard of the Roma population.

The specific objectives within the field of environmental protection are “to improve the environment in Roma settlements” and “to raise the level of the Roma minority’s knowledge of environmental protection and the methods for its implementation.”²⁶ Data obtained in pre-research show that of the 128 locations, in 47 there is a problem with litter in the streets, around houses and in backyards, the problem of polluted air was highlighted in 43, the problem of polluted water in 34, while large waste was highlighted as a problem in 33 locations. These data should serve as a basis for designing concrete measures for those settlements/locations inhabited by the Roma where certain specific problems have been found in order for these problems to be remedied.

The specific NRIS Objective 1 in the field of Inclusion in social and cultural life is defined as: “to achieve a positive perception of Roma culture inside the Roma minority, the majority population and society as a whole.”²⁷ As this study did not cover the majority population, the current majority perception of the Roma cannot be established. We were therefore interested in how the Roma define their own cultural identity, and how important, but also present within the Roma community and beyond, are the Roma culture, language and traditions.

As far as self-perception on which determinants of cultural identity matter to the Roma, and which make them recognisable, the Croatian Roma highlighted the Romani language (34.7%). That was followed by Romani music, which is very important to them as a key element of the Roma culture and traditions for which they would like to be recognised in Croatia. The traditional Romani dances were highlighted as the third most important

²⁵ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

element, highlighted by 15.5% of Roma national minority members.²⁸ The Roma national minority recognises the International Roma Day as a significant date, which gives the opportunity to present the specific aspects of Roma culture, folklore, music and traditions within one's own, as well as the broader community. The majority of the locations celebrate this day and invest additional effort to involve the majority population in the celebrations. An important indicator on the realisation of the specific Objective 1 in this area is the way the media report on the cultural and social life of the Roma national minority. According to the results of the study, more than a third of Roma (38.7%) believe that the media do not describe the everyday life of the Roma (at all and mostly) objectively. A total of 19.3% of the interviewed members of the Roma national minority stated that the media are doing their job well, with little difference in answers between men and women. The interviewees highlighted topics from the sphere of culture, for instance marking the International Roma Day, the Roma Genocide Remembrance Day – the Samudaripen – as the issues most frequently used in the media to represent the Roma community (47.0%). The second most frequent topic (46.2%) highlighted by the interviewees is in crime and accident reporting, where the Roma are represented as perpetrators of minor offences and/or crimes. A quarter of Roma listed issues in national politics, such as the work of the Roma Member of Parliament.

According to the NRIS, in the Inclusion in social and cultural life chapter, the specific Objective 3 is “to reinforce the capacity of associations and other forms of gathering members of the Roma minority, with special emphasis on empowering associations and other forms of gathering led by Roma women, to advocate and solve problems in the Roma and wider communities.”²⁹

According to research results, three quarters of members of the Roma national minority (74.9%) are not members of any association. A total of 352, or 11.1%, confirmed that they are members of a Roma association, while only 1.2% of Roma are members of other associations. A total of 386 responded that they are members of a Roma or other association, of whom 213 are men and 173 women. They were asked what their association did, with multiple answers allowed. In most cases those were activities in the field of promoting Roma culture and folklore, followed by education. A third were associations dealing, among other things, with youth issues (35.5%), employment (33.4%), Roma integration (33.2%) and social welfare and social rights (31.9%).

The overall goal concerning status issues resolution is defined as “to fully (100%) regulate, in compliance with the legal framework (citizenship and permanent residence), the status of the Roma who have a firm tie to the Republic of Croatia (or the former Socialist

²⁸ No significant statistical difference by age, that is, between age groups (16-30, 31-65 and 66 and over) has been established in highlighting certain elements. 7.0% of interviewees highlighted something else as the “recognisable element”, something that had not been offered as an answer. Among the rest, interviewees cited the following under “other”: the entire tradition; that we’re people like everybody else; that we’re positive; good, friendly people; films; looks; good manners; religious faith; education; honesty; achievement; harmonious families; dress sense; openness; everything; industriousness; the Roma soul, etc.

²⁹ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

Republic of Croatia) by 2020, with considerable support from the relevant bodies.”³⁰ Looking at data on discrimination against members of the Roma national minority, the situation is worrying – 28.2% of interviewees believe they experienced discrimination at least once in the past 12 months, with discrimination in the field of work and employment in the lead – of those who experienced discrimination in the past year, as many as 48.6% experienced it precisely in this sphere. Among the top spheres in which the Roma experience discrimination in their own assessment are: social welfare (36.7%), commerce and other service industries, that is, provision of goods and services (33.0%), and police conduct (31.0%). Therefore the specific Objective 1 in this area that ought to contribute to the overall goal in this area, the reduction of discrimination against the Roma national minority, is “to raise the level of public awareness on the need to fight discrimination against the Roma minority,”³¹ with an emphasis on educational and awareness-raising activities on combating discrimination, aimed at the public and the relevant actors, as well as the Roma community. It can be concluded from the data concerning the sphere of discrimination that special attention needs to be paid to educating and increasing the level of awareness of employers across all sectors, as well as those employed in the sphere of commerce and service industries on the prohibition of discrimination and anti-discrimination legislation in force in the Republic of Croatia, primarily the Anti-Discrimination Act.

Data on hate crimes show that 16.9% interviewees experienced hate crimes, that is, were physically attacked because they are members of the Roma national minority. Of those who experienced hate crimes, 43.1% state that the police did react, while half of these physical assaults were recognised by the police as hate crimes. Hence, only a fifth of physical assaults were recorded as hate crimes. The specific NRIS Objective 4, to reduce instances of violence against the Roma through police activity”³² is directed precisely at “securing the greater effectiveness of the police in the detection and prevention of violence against the Roma and violence in Roma communities” with “police officers of the Interior Ministry [to] be professionally trained to implement measures to oppose the appearance of violent behaviour [against] the Roma and raising their sensitivity in the sense of work with members of the Roma community.”³³ Such activities are key in order to obtain better quality statistics, but also to enable appropriate sanctioning of perpetrators of such crimes.

Finally, the key preconditions relating to the institutional context for the implementation of the National Strategy, on which the success of the implementation of the Roma inclusion policy is highly dependent, need to be addressed. According to research results, it is necessary to better define the division of competences and responsibilities in implementing specific measures and activities, and to improve the exchange of information, coordination and cooperation between all the actors involved, both along the

30 The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

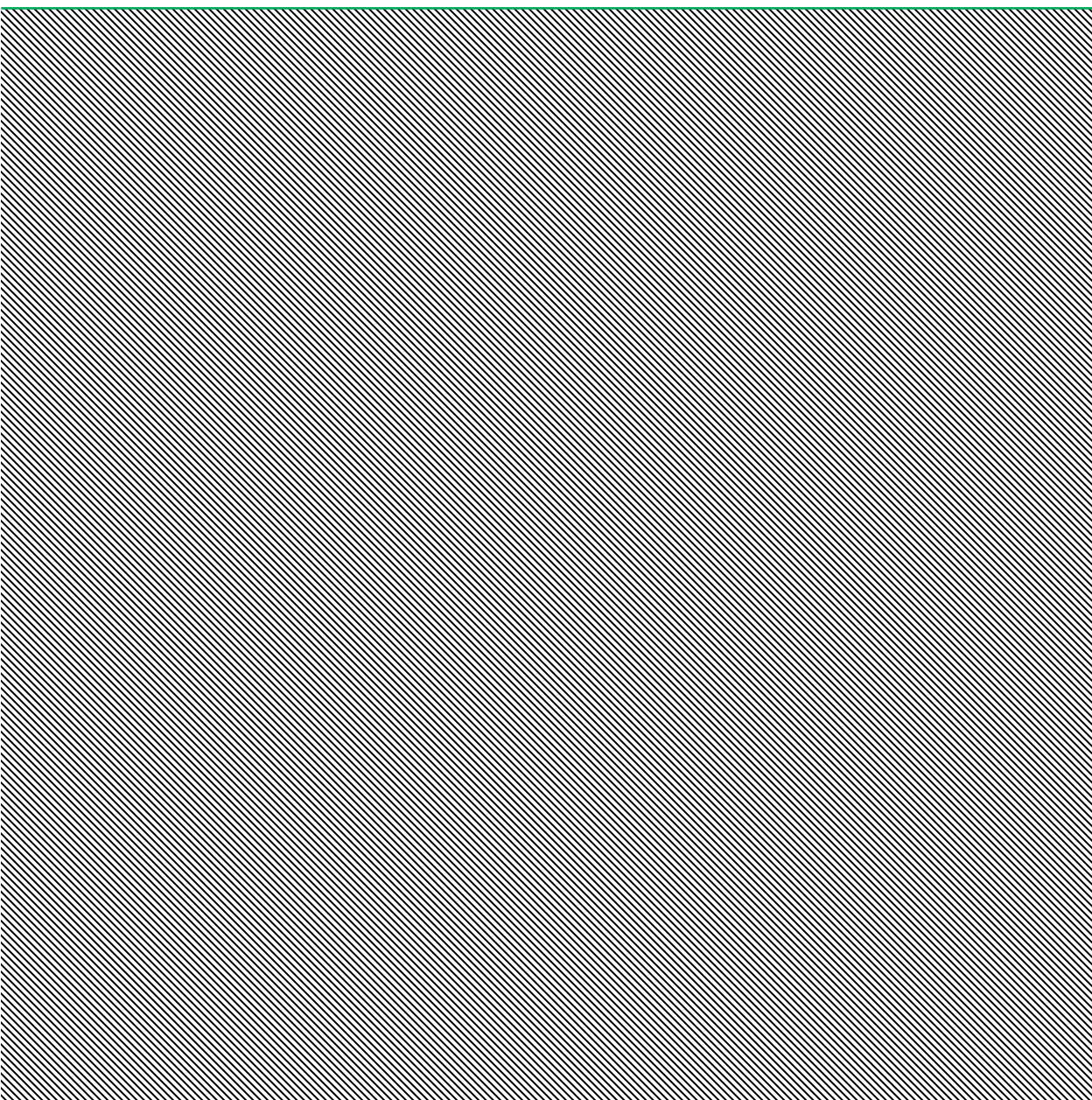
31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid.

vertical and horizontal axis. Above all, it is necessary to further enhance the financial and human capacity of national-level institutions tasked with monitoring and coordination (the Government Office for Human Rights and the Rights of National Minorities), and implementing NRIS measures. Likewise, it is necessary to ensure a higher level of informedness among all actors at the local and county levels (local and regional self-government, as well as institutions operating at the local levels) as regards their responsibilities in implementing the Roma inclusion policy, and secure financial and other support for their activities on the part of national-level institutions. Concerning the activities of local and regional self-government units, it would be advisable to introduce mandatory regular adoption and implementation of county and local action plans that should follow and complement the objectives of the NRIS and the measures of the accompanying NRIS AP. Moreover, the implementation of the planned measures and activities must be decentralised to the greatest possible extent in order to take account of all local and other particularities of the social and economic context of the Roma population. As far as coordination and cooperation in implementing the NRIS at the horizontal, local and county level, implementation of stronger intersectoral coordination between all institutions active in any given area needs to be ensured, through joint shaping of priority activities and regular exchange of information and finding solutions to concrete challenges at the local level. In so doing, members of the Roma national minority need to be involved in decision-making on the priorities in a sensible and optimal way. One possible solution is to empower Roma national minority councils and representatives in their work through increasing their members' capacities and stimulating greater involvement on the part of certain segments of the Roma population (primarily women and youth) in their activities. Additionally, the role of the councils and representatives itself needs to be strengthened so as to give them real influence on decisions concerning the Roma population at the local and county levels, on top of their advisory function. Furthermore, support for Roma national minority councils and representatives should be secured through systematic and balanced policies of financing their work.

2 / INTRODUCTORY THOUGHTS



Research policy framework

The World Bank and the Open Society Institute initiated the Roma Inclusion Decade 2005-2015, which Croatia joined together with Bulgaria, Montenegro, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Macedonia, Romania, Slovakia and Serbia.³⁴ A national Action Plan for the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015 was drafted, setting goals in the fields of education, health, employment and housing by 2015. In July 2012, the Republic of Croatia took over the Decade presidency.³⁵

At the same time, in accordance with the European Union Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020 (EU Framework), in late 2012 the Republic of Croatia adopted the National Roma Inclusion Strategy for the period from 2013 to 2020 (NRIS), while the Action Plan for the Implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy for the period from 2013 to 2015 (AP NRIS) was adopted in early 2013. “With the beginning of the implementation of the Strategy, the National Roma Programme, adopted by the Government of the Republic of Croatia on 16 October 2003, and the Action Plan of the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015, adopted by the Government of the Republic of Croatia on 31 March 2005, shall no longer apply.”³⁶

The strategy builds upon the National Roma Programme of 2003, redefining the “national priorities, implementation methods and specific measures to be taken in view of the evolving social and political environment, the progress achieved and further challenges in the process of including the Roma and enhancing their socio-economic situation.”³⁷ “The Strategy also is based on the provisions of international instruments on human and national minority rights, to which the Republic of Croatia is a party. The Strategy has been aligned with the identified needs and challenges related to the social inclusion of the Roma at all levels: local, regional, national and EU-wide. The Strategy contains goals

34 The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

35 Ibid.

36 The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *Action Plan for the Implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy for the Period from 2013 to 2015*, Zagreb, April 2013. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/Action%20plan%20for%20the%20implementation%20of%20NRIS%202013-2015.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

37 The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

and targets set as guidelines for developing public policies aimed at the socio-economic inclusion of Roma communities up to 2020. An Action Plan for the implementation of the Strategy was drafted with the aim of defining the manner of implementing the Strategy, and adopted by the Government of the Republic of Croatia at a session held on 11 April 2013.³⁸ In addition, it is important to indicate that the EU Framework outlines a comprehensive approach where combating discrimination against the Roma and promoting their social and economic inclusion are closely related.

The overall NRIS goal is “to improve the status of the Roma minority in the Republic of Croatia by reducing the multi-dimensional socio-economic chasm between the Roma and the remaining population and by harmoniously, openly and transparently achieving the full inclusion of the Roma in all segments of society and the community.”³⁹ In order to achieve this goal, the NRIS has included the following four special objectives:

- 1/ To create and develop human capital in the Roma community by raising the level of [...] education [...] and encouraging life-long learning;
- 2/ To improve the economic status of the Roma by facilitating access to the labour market, increasing employment opportunities and self-employment and encouraging equal hiring opportunities;
- 3/ To improve the health and social status of members of the Roma community by ensuring equal and adequate access to quality health-care and social welfare and improving living conditions;
- 4/ To improve the social status of the Roma through the creation of the conditions for the achievement of fundamental human and minority rights by eliminating all forms of discrimination and encouraging active participation in society and decision-making processes.⁴⁰

As already stated, the development of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy took account of the European Union Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020 and the National Roma Programme of 2003, on which the Strategy builds.

In addition to the “four key areas” in the European Union Framework (and the Roma Inclusion Decade) – 1) education, 2) employment, 3) healthcare, 4) housing – addressed in individual chapters – the National Strategy’s “priority strategy policies” also include 5) social welfare, 6) inclusion in social and cultural life and 7) status issues resolution, combating discrimination and help exercising rights.

In addition to the aforementioned areas, the NRIS also contains a separate chapter dedicated to improving the gathering of statistical data. The eight areas across which the Na-

³⁸ The Government Office for Human Rights and the Rights of National Minorities, *Report on the Implementation of the Action Plan for the Implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy for the Period from 2013 to 2015, for 2013*, Zagreb, 2014.

³⁹ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

⁴⁰ Ibid.

tional Strategy has been structured represent a larger than usual number of areas typical of similar strategies in most countries participating in the Roma Inclusion Decade. In these other countries, the strategies have been organised across five to seven areas.

The Action Plan encompasses the following areas: education, employment and inclusion into the economic life, healthcare, social welfare, physical planning, housing and environmental protection; inclusion of the Roma national minority into the cultural and social life, status solutions, combating discrimination and help exercising rights, improvement of statistical data gathering, and harmonisation of the programme with the international standards, as well as accepted agreements in the field of human rights and rights of minorities.⁴¹ The Action Plan defines the means of implementation of the general and specific aims defined in the Strategy, implementation deadlines, competent authorities and participants in the implementation of the measures, baseline values, sources and means of data gathering as well as the funds necessary for the implementation of the Action Plan for the three-year period.

In principle, the structure of the Croatian Action Plan follows the structure of chapter IV.4 of the National Strategy, with all the key strategic areas covered by specific chapters, with an additional chapter, entitled “Improvement of statistical data collection”. The Action Plan also contains a chapter that is not present in the National Strategy: “Compliance of the programmes with international standards and accepted treaties in the area of human rights and rights of minorities”. Consequently, the National Strategy covers eight strategic areas, while the Action Plan covers nine.

According to the Evaluation Report for the National Roma Inclusion Strategy, “Croatia’s AP differs from the action plans adopted by all other countries participating in the Decade of Roma Inclusion [in that the number of areas it covers is not smaller than the number of areas in the strategy on which it is based. Other countries’ action plans are] organized around 4-6 areas.”⁴² Furthermore, according to the same report, all action plans contain special chapters dedicated to education, employment, healthcare and housing, while when it comes to other subjects, culture is the best-represented area in the action plans of the countries participating in the Roma Inclusion Decade, appearing in seven countries’ action plans. Friedman and Horvat conclude that the chapters in the Croatian Action Plan on “Improvement of statistical data collection” and “Compliance of the programmes with international standards and accepted treaties in the area of human rights and rights of minorities” are unique among the countries participating in the Decade.⁴³

⁴¹ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *Action Plan for the Implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy for the Period from 2013 to 2015*, Zagreb, April 2013. https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDoc-sImages/arhiva/23102013/Action%20plan%20for%20the%20implementation%20of%20NRIS%202013-2015_eng.pdf (accessed June 2018)

⁴² Friedman, E., Horvat, M., *Evaluation Report: Evaluation of Croatian National Roma Inclusion Strategy*, Zagreb, Government Office for Human Rights and Rights of National Minorities. UNDP – Office in Croatia, 2015.

⁴³ Ibid.

The Commission for Monitoring the Implementation of the National Strategy for Roma Inclusion from 2013 to 2020 is the body tasked with monitoring, as stated in the National Strategy. According to the report on implementing the Action Plan for the Implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy for the period from 2013 to 2015, for 2013, “the Government of the Republic of Croatia has founded a Commission for the Monitoring of the Implementation of the National Strategy for Roma Inclusion for the period from 2013 to 2020 (OG 86/13, 126/13 and 40/14) [...] to monitor the implementation of the overall operative part of the Strategy”.⁴⁴ The tasks of the Commission are: to systematically monitor and coordinate the implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy; proposing measures to enhance the implementation of the Strategy and Action Plan; drafting recommendations, opinions, expert clarifications and reports, and guidelines regarding the implementation of the Strategy; suggesting amendments to the Strategy; monitoring the distribution and spending of the funds for the implementation of the Strategy earmarked in the national budget; allocation of funds for resolving Roma national minority members’ problems and life difficulties.⁴⁵ The Commission began its work on 3 October 2013, when the Government of the RC adopted a Decision naming the chairwoman, deputy-chairman and members of the Commission. It consisted of 16 members, 8 of whom were members of the Roma national minority. The Commission worked continuously from late September 2015, when it ceased work due to the dissolution of the Parliament and the RC Government and the announcement of parliamentary elections. However although the GOHRRNM implemented the procedure, submitted the decision on establishing the Commission to the Government and conducted a Public call for candidates from the ranks of Roma national minority members, the Commission could not be named during 2016 as the Government at the time was an interim administration that could not adopt decisions on appointments and dismissals.

Thus the new Commission only began its work on 23 November 2017, when it held its first constituting assembly. The new Commission consists of 22 members, of whom 11 are from the Ministries and other bodies, and 11 are representatives of the Roma national minority. One of the novelties in the work of the Commission is that its members from the ranks of representatives of the ministries, the Central State Office for Reconstruction and Housing Care, the Croatian Employment Service and the Government Office for Human Rights and Rights of National Minorities now have deputies, which will allow greater continuity of work as the deputies are mostly officials whose purviews include NRIS implementation.⁴⁶ However, according to the 2018 ECRI report, “this Commission has not actively engaged in monitoring the NRIS. Its role has been limited to reviewing reports prepared by the Office for Human Rights and Rights of National Minorities (GOHRRNM), the central body which has a largely coordination role in relation to the implementation of the NRIS. In addition, several measures under the NRIS are implemented through EU funded projects by local authorities or NGOs that do not always

44 The Government Office for Human Rights and the Rights of National Minorities, *Report on the Implementation of the Action Plan for the Implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy for the Period from 2013 to 2015, for 2013*, Zagreb, 2014.

45 Ibid.

46 Branko Sočanac interview for Manjinski forum [Minority Forum], *Strategija će dobiti novi zamah [The Strategy will Get a New Impetus]*, Manjinski forum, December 2017, p. 8.

involve members of the Roma community. Similarly, local and regional self-government units have not been sufficiently involved in the implementation of the NRIS and hence, little attention has been paid to the actual implementation of measures at local level.”⁴⁷

However the GOHRRNM implemented the National Roma Platform project “Living Equality” (from May 2016 to May 2017) precisely as an impetus for implementing the NRIS. In the words of the GOHRRNM deputy chairman Branko Sočanac, the project “was aimed at opening up space for conversation, consultations and involvement of all stakeholders, especially the Roma, in the implementation of the NRIS. The EC approved the funds through a call for proposals for awarding irreversible funds for all member states within the framework of creating national Roma platforms as a way of reaching and involving all the stakeholders relevant to the implementation of national Roma inclusion strategies at the national and local levels. The Platform also enabled sharing examples of good practice at the national and European levels by means of working meetings and regional discussions. Activities of networking competent bodies, regional and local self-government units, Roma national minority councils and representatives were stimulated, as well as harmonisation between the authorities in charge of the measures envisaged in the National Roma Inclusion Strategy for the Period from 2013 to 2020 and its accompanying AP at the national, local and regional level. In addition, regional and local priorities were defined, which should eventually lead to temporal harmonisation of the work of the authorities in charge of measures at the strategic document level. 16 regional and local project ideas were jointly drafted by members of the Roma national minority and other key stakeholders (representatives of the local and regional self-government units, representatives of development agencies, of the civil sector, of education, social and health institutions etc.). The project helped the process of raising awareness and connecting target groups – members of the Roma national minority, national, regional and local leaders, private enterprise, professional associations, the academic community, equality bodies and international organisations.”⁴⁸

In addition to the role of participant in the Monitoring Commission, the GOHRRNM “is tasked in the NRIS with gathering, processing, and reporting data from other institutions on NRIS implementation, government administrative bodies responsible for particular measures are tasked with collecting data for agreed indicators and providing an annual report on implementation of relevant measures [...] At regional and local levels, the NRIS foresees the establishment of monitoring commissions in regional and local self-government units with sizeable Romani populations (Government of the Republic of Croatia: 124). The participation of local Romani communities in data collection and monitoring is to be secured by establishing support and information centres at micro-regional level.”⁴⁹

47 Council of Europe, ECRI Secretariat, Directorate General Democracy II, *ECRI Report on Croatia, fifth monitoring cycle*, adopted on 21 March 2018; published on 15 May 2018, <https://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/ecri/Country-by-country/Croatia/HRV-CbC-V-2018-017-ENG.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

48 Branko Sočanac interview for Manjinski forum, *Strategija će dobiti novi zamah [The Strategy will Get a New Impetus]*, Manjinski forum, December 2017, p. 8. <http://www.stina.hr/> (accessed June 2018)

49 Friedman, E., Horvat, M., *Evaluation Report: Evaluation of Croatian National Roma Inclusion Strategy*, Zagreb, Government Office for Human Rights and Rights of National Minorities. UNDP – Office in Croatia, 2015.

Accordingly, the Government Office for Human Rights and Rights of National Minorities drafted a report on the implementation of the Action Plan for the Implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy for the Period from 2013 to 2020, for 2013 and 2014, while the reports for 2015, 2016 and 2017 have not yet been adopted by the new Commission for Monitoring the NRIS.

On 24 August 2017, the Government of the Republic of Croatia adopted a Resolution on adopting the Operative Programmes for 2017, thus adopting the Operative Programme for National Minorities for the period from 2017-2020. The Operative Programme for the Roma national minority envisages revising and implementing the National Roma Inclusion Strategy and enhancing the work of the Commission for Monitoring the Implementation of the National Strategy, with special emphasis on the issue of education, social integration, employment and housing.

A recommendation to revise the NRIS was also cited in the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) report: “ECRI recommends that the authorities ensure that the National Roma Inclusion Strategy (2013-2020) is accompanied by an evaluation of all integration projects implemented over recent years, on the basis of comprehensive equality data. The strategy should be revised systematically to include more targeted measures and success indicators to measure its impact and to redefine its parameters and goals where necessary. This should be done in close cooperation with regional and local authorities as well as members of the Roma community and adequate funding should be allocated for the strategy to be effective.”⁵⁰

In the report, ECRI states that “Roma remain the most vulnerable and marginalised group in Croatia [...] The country has invested significant efforts into improving the inclusion of Roma through the National Roma Inclusion Strategy (NRIS) from 2013 to 2020 and the Action Plan for its implementation (2013-2015) (the Action Plan), which are the latest in a series of strategic documents. ECRI welcomes the fact that both documents comprise a comprehensive strategy covering four ‘crucial areas’ – education, employment, health and housing – as well as other fields such as social welfare, legal status, prevention of discrimination and statistical data collection. However, ECRI notes with regret that the Action Plan for 2016-2018 has still not been adopted although it has been informed that a draft Action Plan (2017-2019) is being developed.”⁵¹ Subsequently, it states that the only evaluation report found problems, “primarily in data collection, lack of availability of baseline data, the prioritisation of activities and the role of local authorities. As often expressed by civil society representatives to ECRI, the report also revealed that despite having well-defined measures, the NRIS lacks concrete timeframes and indicators of success to measure progress. [Only 19 of 128 measures contain a specific timeframe.] In addition, most of the measures do not clearly specify sources of funding. The available data suggests that earlier strategies have resulted in significant

⁵⁰ Council of Europe, ECRI Secretariat, Directorate General Democracy II, *ECRI Report on Croatia, fifth monitoring cycle*, adopted on 21 March 2018; published on 15 May 2018, <https://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/ecri/Country-by-country/Croatia/HRV-CbC-V-2018-017-ENG.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

and visible, yet insufficient changes.”⁵² Moreover, the findings of the evaluation showed that “despite the considerable attention to issues of monitoring and evaluation in NRIS and AP, there is no overarching system in place for gathering data on the implementation of planned measures and the realization of strategic objectives.”⁵³ Friedman and Horvat (2015) claim that of the total of 111 indicators defined in the NRIS AP, only 11 have baseline values. Thus, the lack of baseline values prevents making conclusions either on the progress achieved or on the final effect of the implemented measures. This is the key reason why the recommendations in the evaluation report highlight the need to define initial (baseline) data which would allow conclusions to be made concerning the level of achievement of goals defined in both the implementation and the strategic document, as well as building capacities for monitoring and evaluation through educating the relevant stakeholders, with special emphasis on building the capacities of members of the Roma national minority (that is, Roma national minority councils and representatives and members of the Roma civil society).

This evaluation conclusion is the basis for the need to research baseline values for all those NRIS indicators for which such data are not available, in order to improve the evaluation process and allow measuring of the achieved progress on the defined goals, as well as the effects of specific measures and activities. Thus, the GOHRRNM defined the terms of reference for a public tender, stating the aim of the research component of the project: “To collect and monitor baseline data for an efficient implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy;”⁵⁴ define baseline values for measuring the effects of the NRIS and NRIS AP at the national, regional and local levels, and define the needs of Roma communities, as well as the obstacles to inclusion of the Roma national minority at the local/regional and national levels. Furthermore, the GOHRRNM cites another important reason as relevant to the implementation of the study of NRIS baseline data, which is that state bodies and public institutions mostly do not collect data categorised by ethnicity, which means defining initial data is fraught with difficulties. The existing data from administrative sources have not been consolidated, nor are they easily accessible (similar to data from previous studies conducted in Croatia), making it difficult to include them when setting initial values for public policy documents.

On top of this, there are the difficulties defining the volume of the Roma population in the Republic of Croatia. Although according to Croatian Bureau of Statistics data from the last Census, there are 16,975 Roma living in the RC, it is still a widely accepted fact that the number is an underestimate, so in addition to the data recorded by the Census, all official documents (including the NRIS 2013-2020) also cite the Council of Europe estimate, according to which the number of the Roma in the RC is somewhere between

⁵² Council of Europe, ECRI Secretariat, Directorate General Democracy II, *ECRI Report on Croatia, fifth monitoring cycle*, adopted on 21 March 2018; published on 15 May 2018, <https://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/ecri/Country-by-country/Croatia/HRV-CbC-V-2018-017-ENG.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

⁵³ Friedman, E., Horvat, M., *Evaluation Report: Evaluation of Croatian National Roma Inclusion Strategy*, Zagreb, Government Office for Human Rights and Rights of National Minorities. UNDP – Office in Croatia, 2015.

⁵⁴ The project, “Collection and monitoring of the baseline data for an efficient implementation of the National Roma Integration Strategy”, was carried out by Ecorys Croatia ltd. and the Centre for Peace Studies, on behalf of the Government Office for Human Rights and Rights of National Minorities.

30,000 and 40,000. Therefore, the question arises which of the quoted numbers it would be necessary/desirable to take as the relevant initial value in defining the coverage of members of the Roma national minority by individual measures or activities. For this reason, in the research segment of said project, the GOHRRNM defined the need to identify the communities, that is, locations where 30 or more members of the Roma national minority live. All the methodological procedures for identifying the Roma population and the sampling process will be discussed in the “Methodological framework” chapter.

Thus, the need to define initial values through research that would, by acknowledging ethical research standards, overcome the difficulties in collecting ethnically disaggregated data encountered by administrative bodies, arises as the logical precondition for a more effective public policy aimed at improving the position of the Roma national minority in the Republic of Croatia.

Basic conceptualisation of the study of NRIS baseline data

National strategies/public policies are structured differently, but it is common to state the following for each specified area of the strategy/policy: the general goal for the area, specific objectives, initial (baseline) value, progress indicators, sources of data, implementing body, realisation deadlines and planned funds. As has already been suggested, the NRIS AP has only 11 initial values (out of 111) against which the effect of implemented measures and activities to fulfil the determined specific and general goals can be measured, while progress indicators are inadequate or insufficiently coherent even to allow the measurement of an effect as regards a defined goal and its specific objectives. For these reasons, in the service of researching NRIS baseline data for each of the strategy areas and the cited specific objectives, the indicators have been modified so as to allow establishing baseline indicators using the quantitative survey method (rather than gathering data from various implementing bodies).

This process is unusual in public policies, as the baseline data should have provided the foundation for defining monitoring indicators. However, since the majority of the specific objectives in the National Roma Inclusion Strategy do not have initial values, the implementation indicators to which baseline data ought to pertain are themselves often arbitrary, and it is not clear in what way do specific defined progress indicators even speak of the degree to which the stated specific objectives have been met. This might be the greatest weakness of NRIS and NRIS AP, which is why many progress indicators in the NRIS have been additionally broken down, while some have been left out in designing baseline indicators that were later operationalised into variables for the survey questionnaire. As a total of 115 indicators were set for NRIS baseline values across all areas, the process itself of designing baseline value indicators from which research variables were operationalised later on will be described using a specific example from the NRIS chapter on education.

In view of the limited space for presenting all the methodological procedures, as well as the overall volume of the study, only one segment of the NRIS in the field of education has been laid out as an example of the way in which indicators have been constructed. In the NRIS field of education, the following general goal is defined as follows: "To improve access to quality education, including education and care rendered in early childhood, but also primary, secondary and university education with special emphasis on the elimination of potential segregation in schools; to prevent premature discontinuation of

schooling and to facilitate an easy transition from school to employment.”⁵⁵ The specific Objective 1 reads: “To raise the quality and efficiency of education of members of the Roma minority, and ensure the acquisition of the requisite knowledge and skills that will promote the personal development of pupils, and the completion of primary education with the aim of continuation of schooling and the reduction of differences between the educational accomplishments of Roma children and the average level of educational accomplishments of all pupils encompassed by the primary education system in the Republic of Croatia. By 2015, set up a system of support to educational institutions for the development of educational programmes and application of educational practices that will ensure adequate preparation of children for school and the conditions for genuine social integration while respecting diversity in the multicultural milieu, including children from needy families.”⁵⁶ The progress indicator showing the extent to which the specific Objective 1 has been met is: “Instruments adopted at the level of the MSES, Education and Teacher Training Agency (ETTA), which ascertain the programme of monitoring and support and the responsibility of individual institutions for its implementation.”⁵⁷

After nearly five years of implementation of the NRIS, this indicator has still not been met, but this does not mean that there has been no progress in meeting the NRIS specific Objective 1. Therefore, the specific Objective 1 was divided into two logical segments in order to more coherently set the indicator:

- a/ Roma children acquire the necessary knowledge and skills enabling their personal development.
- b/ In order to meet the specific Objective 1 defined like this, the following indicators have been set:
 - 1/ level of Croatian language skills (reading, writing, knowledge of orthography and grammar);
 - 2/ children’s personal development
 - / understanding basic notions and concepts in line with the regular curriculum;
 - / quality of work of teachers and Roma assistants in mastering the school curriculum;
 - / quality of work of teachers and Roma assistants for the child’s personal development;
 - 3/ Roma children’s participation in extracurricular school activities;
 - 4/ parents’ interest in their children’s continued education after primary school.
 - / Continuation of the specific Objective 1 – b) reducing differences in educational attainment between Roma and non-Roma children. The indicators for this segment of the specific Objective 1 are the following:

55 The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid.

- 5/ comparison between a portion of Roma and non-Roma primary school children in line with the adapted curriculum;
- 6/ number of years it takes to finish primary and secondary school;
- 7/ proportion of primary and secondary school and university drop-outs;
/ reasons for abandoning school
- 8/ number of years needed to complete higher education.⁵⁸

As some of the indicators could be operationalised into survey questions, while others were more descriptive (such as listing the reasons for not completing primary and secondary school), some of the data needed to establish baseline data were posed as questions in interviews and focus groups.

58 The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

Overview of selected studies of the Roma – a contextual background of the study

To assist in the designing of this study, diverse literature and sources were consulted, among which three previous studies conducted in Croatia merit special mention: a 2011 study by UNDP, the World Bank and the European Comm,⁵⁹ EU MIDIS I (2008)⁶⁰ and EU MIDIS II (2016).⁶¹ In addition to the National Roma Inclusion Strategy, which served as the basis for the conceptualisation of the study due to its goals and the aim of the research, these studies served as sources to be consulted in drafting the research methodology, to wit, research instruments and sampling.

As is well known, a sample cannot be defined without defining the population, that is, sampling cannot be carried out without precisely knowing who is being sampled. In the case of the Roma, the task of precisely defining the research population is exceptionally challenging. Studies have shown that Census results usually differ from the results obtained in expert-conducted survey research.⁶² Depending on the circumstances, this difference may vary, as in some circumstances identifying as Roma may bring certain risks, thus reducing estimates, while in others, such identification may have certain advantages, thus increasing estimates (known as the phenomenon of so-called “strategic ethnicity”).

There are two basic approaches to defining someone’s (ethnic or other) identification: self-identification and external (expert) identification. In self-identification, individuals are usually asked outright which ethnic group they belong to (as for instance in censuses), while in the external identification approach, someone else decides what a person’s or target communities’ (ethnic or other) identity is. Both these approaches were used in various studies of the Roma population, and it showed that they result in different data – population estimates based on self-identification are usually smaller than those

⁵⁹ Ivanov, A, Kling, J. and Kagin, J., *Integrated household survey among Roma populations: one possible approach to sampling in the UNDP - World Bank - EC Regional Roma Survey 2011*. Roma Inclusion Working Papers, Bratislava, United Nations Development Programme, 2012.

⁶⁰ European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), *EU-MIDIS Technical Report. Methodology, Sampling and Fieldwork*, 2009. <http://fra.europa.eu/en/survey/2012/eu-midis-european-union-minorities-and-discrimination-survey> (accessed June 2018)

⁶¹ European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), *Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS II) Roma – Selected findings*, <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2016/eumidis-ii-roma-selected-findings> (accessed June 2018)

⁶² European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), *EU-MIDIS Technical Report. Methodology, Sampling and Fieldwork*, 2009. <http://fra.europa.eu/en/survey/2012/eu-midis-european-union-minorities-and-discrimination-survey> (accessed June 2018)

resulting from external identification. However, the self-identified Roma are not simply a subset of externally (expertly) identified Roma, as there are groups of self-identifying Roma whom external experts do not identify as members of the Roma population.

Ivanov et al. believe that both these approaches to sampling the Roma population are sensible and represent part of a complex reality.⁶³ They believe that even asking the question, “which of the two approaches is better?” is mistaken, as its binary nature presents the problem as a technical situation where the correct definition merely needs to be applied, followed by tallying methods. They believe that the assumption implicit in the majority of studies conducted on the existence of a clearly identifiable research population is mistaken. Instead of asking the question, “Are you Roma?”, an ideal way to identify members of the Roma minority would imply building a detailed profile of individuals that ought to include additional ethnic markers such as questions on one’s native language, language spoken at home, neighbourhood ethnicity, as well as a long list of questions on personal values, behavioural patterns, myths, beliefs, cultural characteristics etc. Obviously, such an approach is impractical and inapplicable in practice. Nevertheless, they believe that studies, using the survey method, should apply a combination between the two abovementioned chief approaches: self-identification and external identification, even though it does not fully suffice.

Ivanov et al. provide an overview of heretofore conducted studies of the Roma. The World Bank analysed Yale University data (Ringold, Orenstein and Wilkens, 2005, in Ivanov et al. 2012) for Romania, Hungary and Bulgaria; in conducting the surveys and subsequent analysis of the data for defining the Roma ethnicity, the approaches used were those of self-identification and canvassers’ assessment.⁶⁴ Canvassers’ assessments overestimated the number of Roma people compared to Roma self-identification. The study contained both household- and individual-level questions, and a disproportional overrepresentation of the Roma with respect to their real share in the populations was used, so as to obtain more precise assessments.

The UNDP study in Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic and Slovakia likewise used a combination of self-identification and external identification. The geographical areas where the Roma live were first identified using the Census, with additional consultations with experts in ethnic relations and representatives of national agencies and Roma non-governmental organisations. Clusters for further sampling were chosen based on the distribution of the Roma. On the ground, the canvassers identified research participants with the aid of local experts. This study too saw an increased representation

⁶³ Ivanov, A, Kling, J. and Kagin, J., Integrated household survey among Roma populations: one possible approach to sampling in the UNDP - World Bank - EC Regional Roma Survey 2011. Roma Inclusion Working Papers, Bratislava, United Nations Development Programme, 2012.

⁶⁴ European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), *EU-MIDIS Technical Report. Methodology, Sampling and Fieldwork*, 2009. <http://fra.europa.eu/en/survey/2012/eu-midis-european-union-minorities-and-discrimination-survey> (accessed June 2018)

of persons that did not self-identify as Roma, although by a lesser extent.⁶⁵

The text below features a basic substantive overview, as well as a more detailed overview of the methodology of the aforementioned three Roma studies key to this research, with special emphasis on the approaches to sampling taken in each study, in order to set the groundwork for the approach to sampling used in this study.

1. UNDP, WORLD BANK AND EUROPEAN COMMISSION STUDY FROM 2011⁶⁶

This study was conducted in 2011 in 12 Central and South-East European countries. An analysis of its results for Croatia was published in 2014 by the UNDP, UNICEF and UNHCR in a special publication entitled “Roma Daily Life in Croatia: Obstacles and Opportunities for Change” [Romska svakodnevnica u Hrvatskoj: prepreke i mogućnosti za promjenu].⁶⁷ The study was carried out using the survey method, both in Roma households and non-Roma communities living in the immediate vicinity of the Roma. The study contains a thematic analysis of data on the following subjects: poverty and living standards, education, employment, healthcare, housing and status issues (using data from an additional qualitative study conducted by the Ipsos Puls agency based on the data supplied them by the Information Legal Centre association from Slavonski Brod).⁶⁸

The 2011 UNDP, World Bank and European Commission study defined the research population as follows:

- 1/ all households in Roma settlements or areas with a compact Roma population;
- 2/ non-Roma communities living in the immediate vicinity of the Roma.

This study therefore covered two sampling populations: Roma and non-Roma. The Roma population was defined as “households in Roma settlements or areas with a compact

⁶⁵ Many studies conducted by the UNDP used the Census as the basis for sampling, that is, defining the research population, which would subsequently be complemented by various approaches. For instance, in 2006 a study was carried out in Serbia, where the research sample was constructed by choosing census locations with 18 or more Roma households. Before selecting the households, this list was supplemented with newer information obtained by canvassing teams' visits to the locations where individual households' addresses were recorded. A similar approach was used in Macedonia in 2005 – a sample framework for the Roma population was determined based on the Census, taking into consideration the census areas with more than 15% Roma population. However, as the census was not up to date, canvassing teams were organised that visited all the listed households, recording which of those were Roma inhabited. Only households in urban areas were recorded, as the Census established that 95% of the Roma population live in urban areas. 70 clusters were apportioned to the Roma population, in addition to 300 clusters for the general population, and 1079 Roma households were selected for the final sample.

⁶⁶ Sources used in the study: Ivanov, A, Kling, J. and Kagin, J., *Integrated household survey among Roma populations: one possible approach to sampling in the UNDP-World Bank-EC Regional Roma Survey 2011. Roma Inclusion Working Papers*, Bratislava, United Nations Development Programme, 2012, and Bagić, D., Burić, I., Dobrotić, I., Potočnik, D., i Zrinščak, S., *Romska svakodnevnica u Hrvatskoj: prepreke i mogućnosti za promjenu [Everyday Life of Roma in Croatia: Obstacles and Opportunities for Change]*, UNDP, UNHCR and UNICEF, 2014.

⁶⁷ Bagić, D., Burić, I., Dobrotić, I., Potočnik, D., and Zrinščak, S., *Romska svakodnevnica u Hrvatskoj: prepreke i mogućnosti za promjenu*, UNDP, UNHCR and UNICEF, 2014.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

Roma population who identify as Roma.”⁶⁹ Sample design was based on the assumption that in order to achieve adequate coverage of the Roma population, a combination of external identification and self-identification was necessary in defining the sample.

In the paper, “Integrated household survey among Roma populations: one possible approach to sampling in the UNDP-World Bank-EC, Regional Roma Survey 2011,” Ivanov et al. elaborated in detail the stages of sampling the Roma population in the study conducted in 2011 that are relevant to this research.⁷⁰

The first sampling stage used the Census. Although aware that censuses underestimate the absolute number of the Roma, the research was embarked upon under the hypothesis that census data adequately describe the structural and territorial distribution of people self-identifying as Roma. In other words, Ivanov et al. (2012) assumed that the tendency towards non-identification is equal across all regions. Based on this assumption, the sample of the Roma was considered representative for those regions where the proportion of the Roma is equal to or greater than the proportion of the Roma at the national level (so-called compact areas). It is believed that the Roma are most vulnerable to exclusion in areas like these, which is why researching precisely this population constitutes the primary aim of national Roma inclusion strategy initiatives.

The basic sampling units in the study were the following:

- / In the first stage, the basic sampling units were clusters within settlements inhabited by Roma population.
- / In the second stage, the basic sampling units were households selected randomly using the random start and random route methods.
- / In the third stage, the basic sampling units were members of households aged 16 or more, selected using the first birthday method.

Overrepresentation of the Roma by including those not self-identifying as Roma was headed off in the third stage by asking the following question: “We are conducting a study of the Roma population. Do you wish to be interviewed?” Willingness to take part in the study was considered a tacit acceptance of Roma identity. The authors later defined this as “implicit acceptance of external identification.”⁷¹ This study therefore used a combination of external identification and self-identification. In the first stage (which relied on the Census) it used self-identification. The second stage used external identification by local inhabitants, non-governmental organisations and experts. In the third sampling stage (selecting participants), the results from the first two stages were confirmed or refuted through the “implicit acceptance of identification”. Experiences on the ground from the current study support such an approach. The authors reported that canvassers

⁶⁹ Ivanov, A, Kling, J. and Kagin, J., *Integrated household survey among Roma populations: one possible approach to sampling in the UNDP-World Bank-EC Regional Roma Survey 2011*. Roma Inclusion Working Papers, Bratislava, United Nations Development Programme, 2012.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

had no trouble identifying Roma interviewees' ethnicity. There were only a few situations where individuals who had been identified by canvassers as Roma refused such identification.

Beside the source of ethnic identification, an additional important aspect of defining the research population concerns whether the study can represent "all the Roma", that is, both those who are socially excluded and the socially included. Ivanov et al. favour putting the emphasis on those with the most pronounced need for support, that is, the socially excluded and frequently residentially segregated Roma. Although this approach cannot result in a sample representative of all the Roma in a certain territory, it arises from national policies and is relevant to them as it represents those Roma who are socially excluded and at risk of marginalisation, that is, precisely those whom such public policies concern.⁷²

Among other things, the study showed that the Roma in Croatia are economically disadvantaged with respect to the majority population, especially when looking at poverty indicators, that is, the rates of absolute and relative poverty.⁷³ Likewise, the study has shown that the share of social payments and child benefit in the incomes of Roma households is several times larger than in general population households, and that the average basic expenditures of a Roma household are equal to those of general population households, even though their average income is significantly lower. Furthermore, in the field of education, the study has shown that Roma children have lower participation rates in preschool education than other children, that their participation rate in primary education is similar, but that young Roma are almost half as likely to be enrolled in secondary education than young people of the same age from the general population. Likewise, an extremely low number of Roma national minority students in university has been detected, although the educational aspirations of the Roma do not significantly differ from those of the remaining population, according to the results in this study. In the field of employment, the study has established that the Roma have a lower activity rate than the remaining population, that their rate of unemployment is several times higher than that of the general population in their vicinity, and that the Roma in rural areas and women are more affected by it. However, the Roma express entrepreneurial aspirations twice as much as members of the general population do, although they have less success. Looking at results in the field of health and healthcare services, there is a large difference manifest in the inability to cover the costs of necessary medicines, which is three times as pronounced among the Roma than in the general population in their vicinity. The study has also shown that availability of healthcare is also questionable for reasons of health insurance, which a quarter of the Roma population do not possess. In this study, the Roma reported more problems with the respiratory system, as well as psychological problems such as anxiety and depression, in comparison with the surrou-

⁷² Ivanov, A, Kling, J. and Kagin, J., *Integrated household survey among Roma populations: one possible approach to sampling in the UNDP-World Bank-EC Regional Roma Survey 2011*. Roma Inclusion Working Papers, Bratislava, United Nations Development Programme, 2012.

⁷³ Bađić, D., Burić, I., Dobrotić, I., Potočnik, D., and Zrinščak, S., *Romska svakodnevica u Hrvatskoj: prepreke i mogućnosti za promjene*, UNDP, UNHCR and UNICEF, 2014.

ning population, but they gave a more positive assessment of their general health than interviewees from the remaining population. In addition, the study concluded that the housing conditions of the Roma population are inadequate, with one third the living area per member of household compared to the general population on average, and around a half of Roma households without access to a sewage connection or septic tank, toilet or bathroom in the house. Finally, the qualitative research established that unregulated legal status affects the exercise of rights in other fields, such as education, employment, healthcare and access to services.⁷⁴

2. EU MIDIS I, 2008⁷⁵

EU-MIDIS is the first large-scale attempt to study selected immigrants, ethnic minorities and national minority groups in all 27 EU member states and their experiences of discrimination and victimisation. In view of the fact that up till then, no study of this kind had been conducted in Europe, in 2007 the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) began a pilot study in six member states, to test the validity, reliability and quality of various methodological and sampling approaches, as well as the substance and application of the survey questionnaire.

Croatia was not included in the first, 2008, EU MIDIS study. Unlike the UNDP study, where there were five physically separate survey questionnaire modules, the EU MIDIS study only had one survey questionnaire (albeit very extensive), which was filled out by one randomly selected person per household. Part of the questions in the questionnaire concerned the other members of the household.

Canvassing in the 27 EU members took place during summer 2008, usually lasting several months, with a summer break in some countries. The geographical orientation was towards urban and semi-urban areas, mostly around capitals and a couple of other key urban centres. The Roma were only one of the target groups in this study (in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Slovakia), among other ethnic and national minorities in individual countries.

The primary sampling units were the clusters of surveys conducted from the same starting point. It was necessary to conduct a certain number of surveys in each given sampling unit with interviewees fulfilling the conditions. The number of interviews per primary sampling unit was allocated in advance.⁷⁶ Each cluster had an address (or street name) as a starting point. Starting from there, the canvassers were to pick every fifth housing unit.

⁷⁴ Bagić, D., Burić, I., Dobrotić, I., Potočnik, D., and Zrinščak, S., *Romska svakodnevnica u Hrvatskoj: prepreke i mogućnosti za promjene*, UNDP, UNHCR and UNICEF, 2014.

⁷⁵ European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), *EU-MIDIS Technical Report. Methodology, Sampling and Fieldwork*, 2009. <http://fra.europa.eu/en/survey/2012/eu-midis-european-union-minorities-and-discrimination-survey> (accessed June 2018)

⁷⁶ European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), *EU-MIDIS Technical Report. Methodology, Sampling and Fieldwork*, 2009. <http://fra.europa.eu/en/survey/2012/eu-midis-european-union-minorities-and-discrimination-survey> (accessed June 2018), p. 11.

Considering the complex target population and definition of area of coverage, the study had a complex sample design, using four different approaches to sampling. Of the four approaches, two relied on random sampling, that is, the random route technique and focussed enumeration, and two on the alternatives to these methods.⁷⁷ There follows a short description of each of the approaches to sampling used:

- 1/ In urban/metropolitan areas the approach of random routes with focussed enumeration was used (in the majority of countries), where primary sampling units are distributed across cities and urban areas, stratified by density (where reliable information on the population density of each stratum). Where there was no information on population density for individual strata, experts determined areas of medium and high level density for the targeted population, and the distribution of primary sampling units allocated 80% to high-density areas, and 20% to medium-density areas.
- 2/ A sample based on a register of addresses (where possible) was based on the available addresses for individual households supplied by the registry offices that identified potential interviewees according to their status as immigrants or their nationality/ethnicity (however, in many countries such private information can no longer be legally obtained). In these countries, random samples are determined from the census of the targeted population, and the randomly selected individuals (and their household members) were directly contacted by the canvassers. These samples were not clustered.
- 3/ Random routes with focussed enumeration at the national level served to cover those ethnic minorities that were not (only) concentrated in the largest urban centres. The random routes for primary sampling units were distributed over territories anywhere in the country where the target minority mostly lived (parts of cities, smaller towns and villages), based on the known density of the target population (whether from national statistics or specific larger-scale studies).
- 4/ Network sampling – this approach was designed as a potential method for situations unforeseen in the three aforementioned sampling approaches. In this scenario, starting from an initial number of contacts, a network of identified persons satisfying the target population criteria was supposed to have been sampled. Unfortunately, this method has turned out to be largely unsuccessful, as the individuals recruited to participate in the study were extremely uninclined to providing information on their network for further sampling. This approach was used only as a supplement to the first approach listed (in urban areas).

77 European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), *EU-MIDIS Technical Report. Methodology, Sampling and Fieldwork*, 2009. <http://fra.europa.eu/en/survey/2012/eu-midis-european-union-minorities-and-discrimination-survey> (accessed June 2018), pp. 18-19.

3. EU MIDIS II, 2016⁷⁸

The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights has so far conducted three survey researches on the Roma: EU MIDIS I (2008) – described in the previous segment, followed by the Roma survey (2011) and EU MIDIS II (2016). While all three studies collected data on issues such as discrimination and awareness on rights, results on living conditions such as poverty, educational attainment and housing were only gathered in the 2011 Roma survey and EU MIDIS II. Therefore, EU MIDIS II included the following subjects, that is, indicators in the following areas: poverty and marginalised living conditions; participation in the labour market; education; health; housing and discrimination and awareness on rights.⁷⁹

EU MIDIS I, the 2011 Roma survey and EU MIDIS II used similar methodology, applying a multi-stage selection of interviewees. To optimise the sampling approach, EU MIDIS II further developed the methodology applied in 2011.

In this last study, EU MIDIS II 2016, the research further improved the sampling and weighting methods developed for the 2011 Roma survey. Hence, the results of EU MIDIS II are considered more precise in their account of the situation and experiences of the Roma in the countries covered. For this reason, some relevant aspects of the methodology of the EU MIDIS II study are laid out here.

To define the Roma population, the EU MIDIS II study applied the Council of Europe definition of the Roma, and only those people who self-identified as “Roma” were canvassed. The study did not involve those “Roma” who moved from one EU member state to another. Roma people in nine EU member states were canvassed: Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Greece, Hungary, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia and Spain, in the period between October 2015 and April 2016.

The interviewees were asked for information on their personal situation and living conditions, as well as the basic socio-demographic characteristics of all members of their households. They were also asked about their experiences of discrimination, victimisation (including hate crimes), profiling and political and social activity, and their awareness on their rights was also tested.

The unit of analysis was the household. In Croatia, there were 538 households participa-

⁷⁸ The following sources were used: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), *Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS II) Roma – Selected findings*, <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2016/eumidis-ii-roma-selected-findings> (accessed June 2018); European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), *Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS II) Roma – Selected findings, Survey methodology Q & A*, <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2016/eumidis-ii-roma-selected-findings/mthodology-q-and-a> (accessed June 2018) and European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) *Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS II): Background note on survey methodology*, 2016.

⁷⁹ European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), *Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS II) Roma – Selected findings*, <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2016/eumidis-ii-roma-selected-findings> (accessed June 2018)

ting in the study, and data was gathered on 2,800 members of these households. Data from this study are considered representative of the Roma living in nine EU member states who recognise themselves as “Roma”, or as members of groups covered by the umbrella term. The study covers those geographical or administrative areas where Roma make up more than 10% of the local population. Therefore, the conclusions reached reflect the living conditions, exercise of fundamental rights and experiences of discrimination of up to 80% of the Roma living in the aforementioned nine member states. Canvassing was done in each country’s local language, or specifically – the Roma in Croatia were canvassed in the Croatian language. The canvassing technique used was CAPI (Computer Assisted Personal Interview), that is, computer-aided face to face canvassing with paper cards to facilitate understanding.

For interviewee selection, the study used a multi-stage random probabilistic sampling design. Initially, areas with a greater density of Roma (10% or more) were chosen, followed by drafting a list of addresses chosen randomly, without knowing whether a Roma person lives there or not.

On contacting the household, the canvassers would ask the selection question (“Does a person aged 16 or more who is Roma live in this household?”). In some countries the term “Roma” was replaced by a list of all the applicable terms usually used in the country that are covered by the umbrella term “Roma”. Only one randomly chosen person was interviewed in each household, while some questionnaires asked questions on the situation of every member of the household. The EU MIDIS II study sought to achieve, to the greatest possible extent, a representative probabilistic sample of each group targeted for canvassing in as many EU members as possible, to allow the results to be generalised to the target populations in each country. To achieve that, the study applied a combination of direct and indirect probabilistic sampling techniques. This involved:

- 1/ Register-based sampling (direct sampling through registers of persons and indirect sampling through registers of addresses);
- 2/ Random route techniques (in less-concentrated areas, combined with adaptive cluster sampling or focussed enumeration to increase sample sizes in hard-to-reach groups);
- 3/ Location-based sampling – for those target groups for which conventional random sampling approaches are not available, and random route techniques inefficient (for instance, when the target group in a country is highly dispersed, with a low level of concentration).

Having in mind the above, in order to map all the relevant locations where the Roma live, this study applied a combination of external identification and self-identification in an innovative way that somewhat differed from the abovementioned methods.⁸⁰

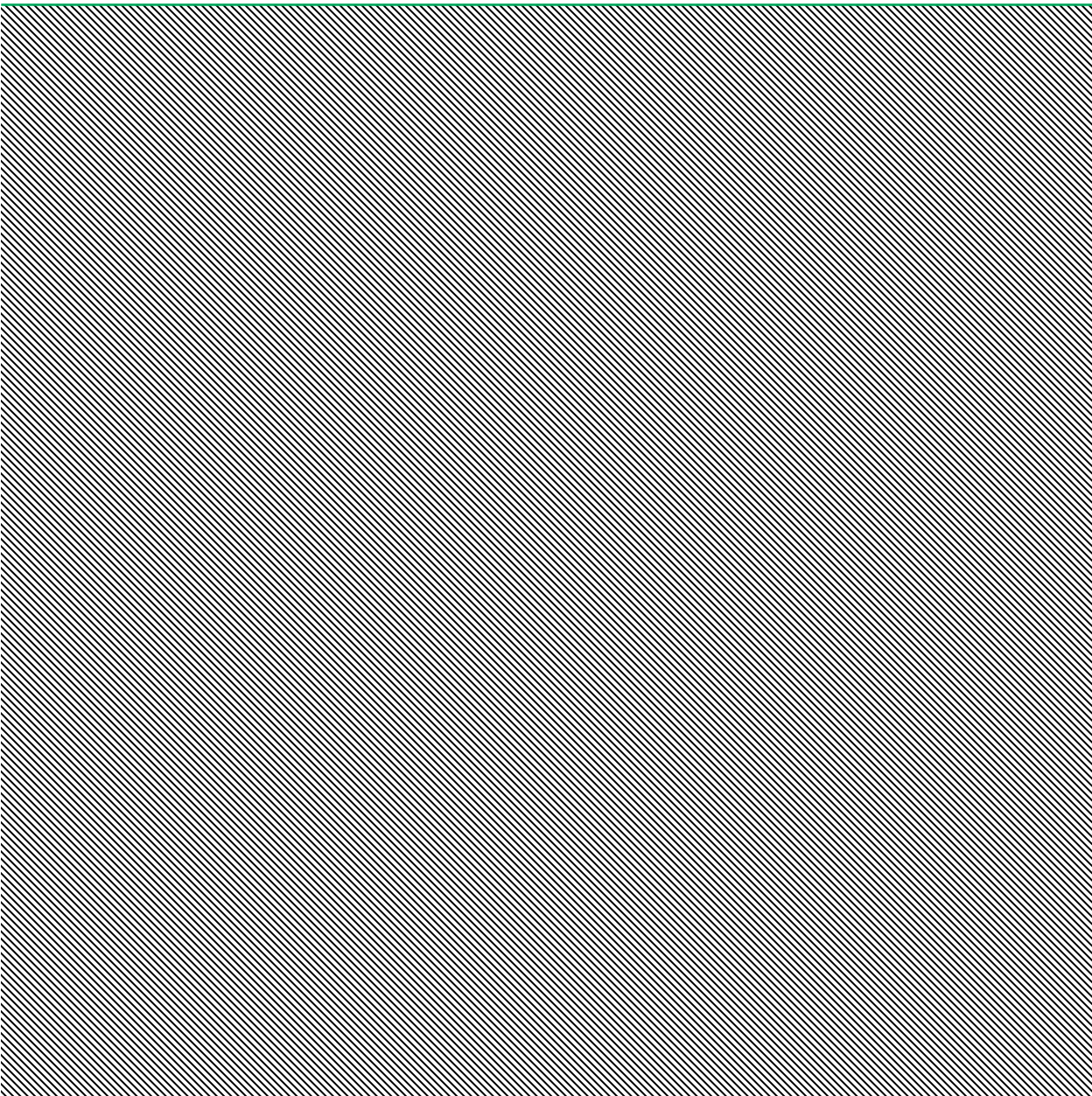
⁸⁰ More on the process itself of defining the Roma population, and on sampling in this study in the chapter “Pre-research: mapping communities as a precondition for sampling”.

In short, concerning poverty and material deprivation, the research results have shown that nearly the entire Roma population (93%) of Croatia have incomes below the national poverty threshold, and that more than a third of Roma (38%) live in households where at least one member went to sleep hungry at least once.⁸¹ Furthermore, the study has shown that more than half (62%) of members of Roma households are unemployed, while the share of paid work (in the period of four weeks prior to the implementation of the research) in Croatia is the lowest among the researched EU member states – 10%. Furthermore, data concerning the education of the Roma in Croatia show that Roma children's participation rate in preschool education programmes is very low (32%), while the proportion of the children participating in primary education is high (94%). In addition, the data show that there is a high proportion of Roma who never completed a single level of formal education, with the caveat that it is higher in older age groups (45+) than among younger people. Furthermore, the study has shown that the majority of the Roma population in Croatia has health insurance (82%). In the field of housing, the study has shown that the Roma have less living space at their disposal, that is, rooms per member of household, compared to the general population (0.7:1.2), and that a third of Roma live in households without running water inside the living area, while as many as half live in households with no toilet, shower or bathroom in the living area. As far as instances of discrimination are concerned, 37% of interviewees stated that they experienced discrimination in the past 12 months, but only a fifth reported discrimination.

81 European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), *Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS II) Roma – Selected findings*, <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2016/eumidis-ii-roma-selected-findings> (accessed June 2018)

3 /

METHODOLOGICAL
FRAMEWORK



Research goals

The project “Collection and monitoring of the baseline data for an efficient implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy 2013-2020” defined in advance the general and specific research goals, both for the qualitative and the quantitative research.

GENERAL GOAL

The general goal of the research was to define the initial values for measuring the effectiveness of the NRIS and the NRIS AP at the national, regional and local levels; and to define the needs of Roma communities, as well as the obstacles to the Roma national minority's inclusion at the local/regional and national levels.

SPECIFIC RESEARCH GOALS

The specific research goals are:

- 1/ To establish the profiles of members of the sampled Roma households by sex, age, education, work, social, legal, material and health status.
- 2/ Describe the living and housing conditions of the sampled Roma population in terms of social exclusion, material deprivation and quality of life, and ascertain the situation in terms of real estate legalisation.
- 3/ Determine the economic dynamics of Roma households: forms of access to the labour market, sources of income, living expenditures and financial burdens and priorities; describe the structure of long-term unemployed members of the Roma national minority and establish their number; establish the degree of discrimination in employment and willingness to enter the labour market, as well as the key obstacles to exercising the right to work.
- 4/ Determine what are the experiences with Roma teaching assistants and their contribution to the development of the skills of children within the education system; establish the (in)existence of evaluation of children's education, and to what extent does the existing system of Roma children's education enable the development of the skills and capacities necessary in a knowledge economy; establish the degree to which the wellbeing of children has been achieved in line with the determined indicators; establish the extent of ethnic segregation in the area of education; establish the rate of coverage for education at all educational levels, and establish what are the main obstacles and reasons for leaving the education system.

- 5/ Establish the health-insurance coverage of the Roma population; the accessibility, use and satisfaction with healthcare services among the Roma population, level of awareness about the importance of health, incidence of specific childhood diseases and other typical diseases and other medical disorders, as well as the main obstacles to healthcare accessibility.
- 6/ Establish how the social welfare system is used in terms of forms of social benefits and social services; establish the level of availability and promptness of social welfare services as well as the needs for such services that remain unmet; establish what are the experiences of domestic violence against women and school violence against children.
- 7/ Determine the level of Roma inclusion in public and political life, and their personal experiences of discrimination against the Roma in various walks of life.
- 8/ Establish the values and norms of the Roma population, such as gender equality, protecting the environment, participation in political life, approval for violence and corruption etc., as well as the perception of the Roma culture and identity within the Roma national minority.
- 9/ Determine the key challenges and obstacles to the implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy at the county and local level, in the opinions of key stakeholders.
- 10/ Determine the key recommendations (activities matching the established challenges) in order to enhance the implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy, from the perspectives of key stakeholders.

Research methods

For the needs of this study, the entire empirical research was carried out across three distinct segments: 1) pre-research/mapping, with the primary aim of determining the Roma population as a precondition for sampling and gathering data on the specific characteristics of the location inhabited by RNM members; 2) the second segment concerned qualitative methodology – conducting semi-structured interviews with the representatives of relevant institutions at the local self-government level and Roma national minority representatives, and carrying out seven focus groups with the representatives of the relevant county-level institutions, while 3) the third and key segment consisted of quantitative research using the face to face survey method. In the course of pre-research/mapping, some of the interviews with Roma national minority members were conducted to allow better acquaintance with the discourse used by the Roma for various phrases key to understanding the NRIS goals and activities, so that the clearer language structures could be included in the survey questionnaire.

In other words, the entire study was carried out using so-called mixed methods. Manuals for interviews and focus groups were constructed using previously consulted literature, and were in line with the structure of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy so as to gain a deeper insight into the achievements and challenges in implementing the strategy, seeking to use the chosen research instruments to provide answers to both the general goal and the specific objectives of the study. Moreover, questions that had not been sufficiently – or at all – encompassed by the survey were also included. As has already been suggested, the majority of the questions pertaining to education on various specific topics (for example, education on the harmfulness of consuming opiates for children and youth carried out in schools) were included among the interview questions. Thus, the qualitative research had an explanatory function for all NRIS areas, as well as for those dimensions that were not encompassed by the strategy but are important to understanding the context of the challenges to the implementation of the strategy (such as questions addressing the relationship between the Roma and the majority population, key negative trends in general, key positive trends and chief priorities), which allowed an insight into various opinions and perspectives among the Roma national minority and representatives of the relevant institutions.

The quantitative dimension, as the central and key segment of this study, concerned researching the experiences of the Roma national minority itself, with the goal of collecting the baseline data necessary to monitor the implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy.

On the basis of the previously consulted expert and scientific literature, especially the indicators for the implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy, as well as the results of part of the qualitative research, a basic concept was drawn up for use in the qualitative part of the research to aid the design of the survey questionnaire. Thus, a correlational research design was used, which seeks to establish the connections between the measured constructs.

3.2.1

Pre-research: mapping communities as a precondition for sampling

EXTERNAL IDENTIFICATION AND SELF-IDENTIFICATION OF ROMA POPULATION

With the aim of determining the precise locations inhabited by the Roma and the size of the Roma populations in these locations, as well as of achieving the highest possible sampling precision necessary for field research using the survey method, pre-research was conducted with a view to mapping the target location. The mapping involved descriptions of the communities and populations in individual sites.

In view of the literature consulted, and aiming to achieve the highest possible degree of precision in mapping all the relevant locations inhabited by the Roma in Croatia, a combination of the methods cited in the previous studies of the Roma population was applied – external identification and self-identification.

In pre-research, the approach of external identification of RNM members began with an analysis of the data on this population available in the 2011 Census, where the representation of members of the Roma national minority at the county level in relation to national representation was taken into consideration.

As Table 1 shows, according to the 2011 Census, the share of Roma national minority members at the national level was 0.4%. All the counties where the share of the Roma national minority members was equal to or larger than the national were named high Roma population density counties (counties marked yellow in the table), and were *a priori* selected for inclusion in pre-research. Seven counties were included according to this criterion: Sisak-Moslavina, Varaždin, Koprivnica-Križevci, Brod-Posavina, Osijek-Baranja, Istrian and Međimurje county. Namely, it is considered that those areas where the share of the Roma is equal to or higher than at the national level (so-called compact areas) are where the Roma are more vulnerable to exclusion, which is why research of precisely this population is essential, as it is this population that is usually the focus of national Roma inclusion strategies (Ivanov et. al., 2012).

The following step in determining the geographical framework for the research population was to research counties with a lower-than-average share of the Roma national minority (also according to the 2011 Census data, but also by consulting additional secondary literature, such as the UNDP-HR Atlas of Roma settlements in the Međimurje

county, local RNM inclusion action plans etc.) to establish whether there are sites (cities, municipalities) where more than 30 RNM members live. Those counties where at least one city or municipality satisfied this criterion were likewise included in pre-research (counties marked orange in the table). A further eight counties were included in pre-research according to this criterion: Zagreb, Karlovac, Bjelovar-Bilogora, Primorje-Gorski kotar, Lika-Senj, Virovitica-Podravina, Vukovar-Srijem county and the City of Zagreb.

TABLE 1. REPRESENTATION OF ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY MEMBERS IN THE RC BY COUNTY (EXTERNAL IDENTIFICATION APPROACH)⁸²

		SOURCE: CENSUS 2011 ⁸²		INCLUDED IN PRE-RESEARCH
		N	%	
Republic of Croatia		16 975	0,40	
1	Zagreb County	258	0,08	YES
2	Krapina-Zagorje County	3	0,00	NO
3	Sisak-Moslavina County	1 463	0,85	YES
4	Karlovac County	26	0,02	YES
5	Varaždin County	711	0,40	YES
6	Koprivnica-Križevci County	925	0,80	YES
7	Bjelovar-Bilogora County	391	0,33	YES
8	Primorje-Gorski kotar County	1.072	0,36	YES
9	Lika-Senj County	21	0,04	YES
10	Virovitica-Podravina County	14	0,02	YES
11	Požega-Slavonia County	13	0,02	NO
12	Brod-Posavina County	1.178	0,74	YES
13	Zadar County	12	0,01	NO
14	Osijek-Baranja County	1.874	0,61	YES
15	Šibenik-Knin County	22	0,02	NO
16	Vukovar-Srijem County	253	0,14	YES
17	Split-Dalmatian County	8	0,00	NO
18	Istrian County	858	0,41	YES
19	Dubrovnik-Neretva County	11	0,01	NO
20	Međimurje County	5.107	4,49	YES
21	City of Zagreb	2.755	0,35	YES

Therefore, by combining these two criteria 15 counties in the Republic of Croatia were selected and included in pre-research. The pre-research population encompassed those

⁸² Državni zavod za statistiku, Popis stanovništva 2011, 2. Stanovništvo prema narodnosti po gradovima / općinama, 2011, http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv/censuses/census2011/results/htm/H01_01_04/h01_01_04_RH.html (21.5.2018.)

locations within the 15 selected counties in the Republic of Croatia where 30 or more members of the Roma national minority live.

After external identification was applied, with the active participation and cooperation of Roma national minority representatives, internal identification was applied, with key Roma figures (assistants and persons living in specific sites) who assessed who is Roma, where they lived and how many are there, over three rounds of consultations. The first round of consultations was conducted immediately after the public presentation of the project activities. It consisted of small groups of RNM representatives accompanied by researchers passing through the previously identified locations, adding those who had not been listed there. The second round of consultations was likewise conducted with the aid of key Roma figures, while the third round involved the identified key figures, representatives of the RNM in the specific locations where they lived. The location being inhabited by a minimum of 30 RNM members was the basic criterion for adding it to the list of locations to be mapped, or possibly for removing the location from the list if the given criterion is not satisfied.

In addition to the consultation process itself, necessary for internal identification by RNM members on the locations where self-identified and non-self-identified Roma lived, these meetings were also an important element in the process of active involvement of RNM representatives in the overall study. On multiple occasions during the process, the RNM members were informed in some detail about the goals and planned activities of the pre-research and research segments of the project, with a view to creating a commitment and responsibility among the Roma themselves towards the results of all the planned activities. This way, a mutual trust was steadily built between the research team and the RNM representatives, as well as feelings of involvement in the results of the project activities on the part of the Roma themselves.

Based on the combination of the two approaches (external and internal) to identifying the locations inhabited by more than 30 RNM members, the mapping was carried out on a total of 134 locations across 15 Croatian counties (Sisak-Moslavina, Varaždin, Koprivnica-Križevci, Bjelovar-Bilogora, Primorje-Gorski kotar, Lika-Senj, Karlovac, Brod-Posavina, Osijek-Baranja, Virovitica-Podravina, Istrian, Međimurje, Vukovar-Srijem, Zagreb county and the City of Zagreb).

THE KEY STAKEHOLDERS IN PRE-RESEARCH

The process of identifying and mapping the local communities involved coordinated and structured cooperation by three types of stakeholders who performed the following roles:

Assistants / key Roma figures who chose informers and arranged their meetings with mappers;

Mappers / short-term project experts who, upon completing an education, carried out the mapping;

Informers / members of the RNM, persons living in, and well informed on, the mapped locations, who supplied the mappers with the sought information.

- 1/ The assistants were mostly Roma national minority representatives at the county, city and municipal levels, but we also included individuals from the ranks of Roma teaching assistants, Roma activists and similar. In addition to examining the lists of communities inhabited by 30 or more members of the Roma population, the assistants were also tasked with defining the community informers with whom the informative interviews were to be conducted (filling out templates for population and community descriptions), as well as other key stakeholders with whom in-depth interviews were to be conducted. They announced and arranged informative interviews and connected mappers with informers on the ground. One person could simultaneously act as an assistant in several locations (for instance, a part of a county) and an informant in the location where they lived. The assistants numbered 51 in total.
- 2/ Mappers were persons conducting the collection of data, by filling out population and community description protocols in the locations where the Roma lived. A multicultural team of 28 took part in pre-research (11 of whom were RNM members, 5 of whom women). All the mappers took active part in a one-day education for those conducting pre-research, where they were acquainted with the goal, ethics and procedures of data gathering, a simulation of the mapping process was conducted, and where they received detailed written instructions for filling out population and community description templates and their annexes.⁸³ The mappers' task was to contact informants with the help from the assistants and meet them, and with them to fill out the community and population description templates and the template annexes for community description applying the observation method. In addition to conducting three informative interviews for each location, every mapper had to take a tour of the entire location (usually accompanied by the assistant for the location) and record the required characteristics for the location, using the observation method.
- 3/ The informers were members of the RNM living in, and well informed about, the mapped locations. Their role was to provide information on the mapped locations in line with the questions in the population and community description templates. They were selected and contacted by the assistants, and they filled out the templates together with the mappers. Three informative interviews, that is, three informants were planned for each of the mapped locations, with at least one woman. A total of 371 informative interviews were conducted across 134 mapped locations in 15 counties in Croatia, 196 of which were with men, and 175 with women. There were an average of 2.8 informants per location.⁸⁴

Before filling out the templates, a mapper read the informant the introductory text, which contained, in addition to the name, goal and aim of the overall research, an explanation for the informants on what they were expected to do, highlighting that their participation is anonymous and that all the questions concern the (Roma) settlement where

⁸³ Education on the data gathering procedures in the locations inhabited by the Roma was a mandatory precondition for participation in pre-research in the role of mapper.

⁸⁴ Thus, there were 11 locations with one informant each, 10 with two informants, 112 locations with three informants each, and a single location with four informants.

they live and all the Roma living in it (regardless of whether every person self-identified as Roma or not). Moreover, the informants were instructed to consult someone in case they do not know certain sought information (for instance, phone or ask a member of their household), but if they do not find the reliable answer to leave the question empty. This way, it was ensured that the information on the mapped locations is as reliable and precise as possible.

INSTRUMENTS FOR MAPPING ROMA SETTLEMENTS IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

The main instruments for mapping Roma settlements in the RC were so-called population and community description templates and their annexes. Each informative interview involved filling out two templates: one to describe the population, and another to describe the community. There was one type of template for population description (the same for all the mapped locations) and four versions of the community description template. These versions of the community description template differed depending on the type of location being mapped, with each location having to be classed as belonging to one of the following four types:

- 1/ concentrated autonomous settlement – Roma settlements that are removed from a town or village, in a separate location
- 2/ concentrated peripheral settlement – the location inhabited by the Roma is on the edge of a town or village,
- 3/ concentrated settlement inside a town or village – the location inhabited by the Roma is a residential concentration within a town or village,
- 4/ dispersed site – the Roma living in a town or village are dispersed among the majority population.

Assessment of the type of location was performed both by the mapper arriving to the location and each informant at the beginning of an interview. The assessments needed to be aligned for the location to be declared as belonging to a single type. In case the mapper and informant did not equally categorise the location, the mappers were instructed to additionally explain the informant the meaning of individual categories and to discuss with them the criteria for each type of location. Only after the informant and the mapper have harmonised their classifications of a certain location could they begin to fill out the population and community description templates.

The templates were primarily filled out through informative interviews with key persons in Roma communities (the informants), while a smaller part of the information was supposed to be filled in independently by the mapper, before and after the informative interview.

The population description template consisted of 20 questions (60 variables) pertaining to type of settlement/location, number of Roma living there and their demographic structure (by sex, age, education, employment, legal status...), languages/dialects spoken by the Roma at the location, religious denomination of the majority of the Roma in the location, media followed by the Roma and the relations between the Roma and the majority populations.

The community description templates contained a different number of questions, depending on the type of location. The template for describing communities in concentrated autonomous settlements had the most questions (30 questions, 130 variables). Some of the questions were omitted from templates for other types of locations as their substances were unrelated to the conditions in these communities. The questions concerned the descriptions of utilities infrastructure, existence and remoteness of various social and cultural programmes and facilities, the number and type of residential and other buildings in the settlement, and the environmental and residential living conditions in the settlement. The template for describing communities in dispersed sites contained an extra question not contained in other types of templates, which was the question on street names and numbers where members of the RNM lived. These information were later used to build samples in dispersed sites, that is, as the starting addresses in the random route method of household selection. Filling out the templates with the informants took between one and two hours. Annexes to community description templates, which were filled out by mappers using the observation method, likewise varied according to the type of locality they were intended for.

PROCESSING THE PRE-RESEARCH DATA

With the aim of organising all the data collected in pre-research, a Code system was designed, according to which all data were entered. This way, a “Database of raw data” collected in pre-research was created. Processing of the data collected through population and community description templates in this database was performed exclusively at the level of individual locations inhabited by the Roma, in view of the fact that in most locations more than one piece of data was collected for each question (depending on the number of informants and their ability to provide reliable answers to individual questions). For quantitative variables such as the number of the Roma living in a location, number of households and similar, median values of the informants’ estimates for each individual location were used in interpreting the data. For nominal and ordinal variables, in cases of discrepancies between informants’ answers to specific questions for the same location, it was necessary to choose which information to consider relevant. In such cases, several data processing rules applied:

- a/ For locations where data were collected from three informants, the answer given by at least two was deemed relevant. If each of the three informants gave a different answer (a rare situation), the “mixed” answer category was introduced in interpreting the data, and each of the different answers given by the informants for each specific location were cited during the interpretation process.
- b/ For locations where data were collected from two informants whose answers to the same question differed, a “mixed” answer category was likewise introduced in interpreting the data, with all the answers obtained from the informants listed for each individual location.

The pre-research began on 25 May, and continued unbroken until 10 June 2017. Team members with greater research experience performed the function of field coordinators for individual counties. The coordinators (of whom there were ten) were tasked with

resolving the challenges typical of field research (for instance, mappers finding dispersed sites in villages where only one independent concentrated settlement had been identified, but not a dispersed settlement – for instance, Kotoriba – with inquiries on the need to map such locations being addressed to coordinators), but also with controlling and overseeing mappers' adherence to the written instructions on filling out population and community description templates. Upon completing field work, the coordinators collected the filled out templates and annexes and reviewed the quality and clarity of the filled in material.

3.2.2

Qualitative research dimension

Qualitative data, such as descriptions of the relationship between the Roma and the majority population, defining the needs of the Roma population at the level of individual regional or local communities or obstacles to Roma inclusion at the level of regional or local communities with the aim of obtaining the deepest possible insights in the perspectives of key stakeholders, were collected during the research using qualitative methods of semi-structured interviews and focus groups. The Roma national minority representatives interviewed were those who were detected during mapping as key Roma figures, while the institutional stakeholders were those whom the Roma themselves recognised as important actors, who are connected to the implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy.

It is important here to indicate that in the further text, when talking about representatives of the relevant institutions, these are relevant institutions operating at the local and county levels, that is, representatives of the local/regional authorities and representatives of public institutions key to resolving the difficulties faced by the Roma national minority at the local/regional level. In referring to people, the masculine gender has been used generically even though both female and male representatives of the relevant institutions were present among the interviewees. The term "representative" denotes a member of the Roma national minority perceived in the community as a key figure. The term, as used in the text, does not exclusively pertain to Roma national minority representatives elected in a secret ballot to participate in public life and administering local affairs. Here the masculine gender is likewise used generically although both female and male members of the Roma national minority were represented.

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

Semi-structured interviewing is best used when there is only one chance to interview someone and when a number of interviewers will go out to gather data on the ground, which was precisely the case of this study. Moreover, it is important to point out that this qualitative method provides clear instructions for interviewers and can provide reliable, comparable qualitative data. The key characteristic of a semi-structured interview is that the interviewer follows a guide – a list of questions and topics that have to be addressed during the interview – thus following the thematic paths in the interview, but able to use sub-questions to elaborate on a certain subject area when deemed appropriate.

A minimum of two people are involved in conducting the interviews, a Roma minority representative and another, chosen in consideration of their duty/role in the community, such as: mayor or town/municipality prefect; county prefect or deputy prefect, heads of county or city departments; pastors, teachers and similar.

Thus, the qualitative research included 72 local self-government units and 15 regional self-government units, and the plan was to interview 57 prefects/mayors; 34 representatives of Social Welfare Centres, 69 representatives of schools attended by the Roma, 9 representatives of the Employment Service and 21 representatives of healthcare institutions.

FOCUS GROUPS

According to the authors Skoko and Benković,⁸⁵ the focus groups method is a form of qualitative research that involves group discussion on a given subject. The basic goal of a focus group is to stimulate in-depth discussion to explore the interviewees' values or opinions on a certain problem or issue, that is, to comprehend and explain the meanings, beliefs and culture that influence individuals' feelings, attitudes and conduct. While the quantitative method of surveying a large number of respondents provides frequencies of the listed answers the respondents opted for, interviews and focus groups, in addition to this basic information, seek to discover why people have a positive or negative view on a certain subject.

Focus groups are a method of conducting a group interview where the interaction occurs between the moderator and the group, and between the members of the group. They help extract and discover information and insights with regard to carefully designed questions. The unique characteristic of focus groups lies in their capacity to generate data based on the synergy of group interaction.

Above all, the dynamic nature of the questions posed by the moderator, and the group interaction process itself produce a level of insight that is rarely obtained by one-sided methods of gathering information such as observation, surveys or less interactive interview techniques. Methods of recording and analysing information during focus groups and strategies of collecting unbiased information are the main characteristics of the credibility of this precise and useful source of information, as it is expected that a group interaction will be fruitful in expanding the spectrum of responses, activating certain forgotten details of experiences and releasing inhibitions that might, in another case, discourage interviewees from revealing information. The focus group method thus complements semi-structured interviews, while at the same time ensuring that the challenges and obstacles to the inclusion of the RNM in all fields of social and political life are put to moderated discussion among key figures, representatives of the relevant county-level institutions. Focus groups with representatives of the relevant county-level

⁸⁵ Skoko, B., Beneković, V., "Znanstvena metoda fokus grupa – mogućnosti i načini primjene" [The Scientific Method of Focus Groups – Possibilities and Modes of Application], *Politička misao*, y. 46, no. 3, 2009, pp. 217-236.

institutions were an appropriate and complementary method to semi-structured interviews at the local level precisely because of the possibility of facilitated discussion about the county-level strategic priorities and building common views on how to overcome the concrete challenges to the inclusion of the RNM in all dimensions of the Croatian society. It is these institutions that should bear responsibility for adopting county action plans for RNM inclusion as a first step in bringing the implementation of a national policy closer to a target group (in this case the Roma), which has so far been absent in the implementation of the NRIS in a large number of counties inhabited by the Roma. Focus groups with the representatives of the county institutions have been shown to be a constructive and appropriate method for gathering views and opinions of various stakeholders with multiple competences, which are in many ways different from the stakeholders who implement the specific NRIS measures directly, at the very locations where the Roma live (such as heads of municipalities or directors of primary schools). At specific sites semi-structured interviews were used to obtain the most precise possible data on the needs both of the institutions working with the RNM, but also the representatives of the RNM themselves, to allow to precisely specify the key measures and activities with performance indicators in future NRIS implementation action plans and/ or EU programme operative plans.

During the research, the plan was to conduct 5 focus groups (key non-Roma figures at the county level) where stakeholders from three neighbouring counties (representatives of public institutions and associations active at county level) would take part in a structured thematic discussion on the challenges and obstacles to RNM inclusion in all areas of social and political life and on the necessary activities to reduce or overcome these obstacles/challenges. Likewise, it was planned that each of the five focus groups should involve 15 participants each, with the following structure: county representatives – county prefect and/or deputy, a representative of the department of social affairs/ social welfare, education, spatial planning; representatives of the police authority; representatives of healthcare institutions; representatives of higher education institutions; representatives of the judiciary; representatives of open universities). Thus it was planned for the focus groups to gather the opinions of 75 key stakeholders at the county level.

IMPLEMENTING THE QUALITATIVE RESEARCH ON THE GROUND

During May and June 2017, 41 interviews with representatives of the Roma national minority were successfully conducted, while the remaining semi-structured interviews, both with key figures – both representatives of the RNM and representatives of the relevant institutions (mayors/prefects of towns/municipalities; county prefects or deputies, heads of county or city departments, teachers etc.) – who were recognised by the Roma communities as important actors, were conducted parallel to the field research (October, November 2017).

A total of 141 semi-structured interviews were conducted, 30 with representatives of social welfare centres, 53 with representatives of primary schools, 15 with representatives of health centres, 8 with representatives of the Croatian Employment Service and 35 with representatives of towns and municipalities.

A total of 67 interviews were conducted with representatives of the Roma national minority, 53 of which with men and 14 with women. The total number of participants in the qualitative research was 281 (67 of whom were key Roma figures, that is, representatives of the Roma national minority, while 214 were representatives of the relevant institutions; 141 participants in in-depth interviews and 73 focus group participants).

In the course of conducting semi-structured interviews, the interviewers were given clear instructions and rules on the ethics of collecting qualitative data for scientific purposes. When starting each interview, the person the interviewer was interviewing was familiar with the basic data about the project and the goals of the study. This basic information was sent to all interviewees in written form in the course of arranging the time and place the interviews would take place, but was repeated once more by the interviewer before the interview was to begin. Moreover, it was stressed to all the interviewees that the interview was voluntary and anonymous, and that only data obtained from databases would be used in the study, without naming their names, functions and locations where they work. Only once the interviewee felt at ease communicating to the person conducting the interview, confirmed he understood the goals of the study and that his participation was voluntary and anonymous, and allowed the interview to be recorded, would the interviewer turn on the recording device. Besides, the interviewers were strictly warned not to comment on the topics from the interview guidelines; to remain impartial and on no account to suggest answers to interviewees or lead the persons they are interviewing on to a specific answer; not to help them find the words to express their view, but to patiently wait for the interviewee to express himself as he wishes; not to interpret the meaning of a question; not to show their own agreement or disagreement with an answer, but to be neutral and professional.

Qualitative data from key persons, representatives of the relevant county-level institutions were collected through 7 focus groups.

The focus groups were held as follows:

- 1/ The focus group for the City of Zagreb and the Zagreb county were held on 30 June. 16 representatives of the relevant county-level institutions took part;
- 2/ The focus group for Bjelovar-Bilogora, Virovitica-Podravina, Koprivnica-Križevci county was held on 6 November. 11 representatives of the relevant county-level institutions took part;
- 3/ The focus group for Brod-Posavina and Sisak-Moslavina county took place on 8 November. 10 representatives of the relevant county-level institutions took part;
- 4/ The focus group for Osijek-Baranja and Vukovar-Srijem county took place on 9 November. 9 representatives of the relevant county-level institutions took part;
- 5/ The focus group for Međimurje and Varaždin county took place in Čakovec on 13 November. 14 representatives of the relevant county-level institutions took part;
- 6/ The focus group for Karlovac and Lika-Senj county took place on 16 November. 4 representatives of the relevant county-level institutions took part;
- 7/ The focus group for Primorje-Gorski kotar and Istrian county took place on 17 November. 9 representatives of the relevant county-level institutions took part.

The participants were county representatives – deputy county prefects, representatives from the departments of social affairs/social welfare, education; representatives of the police authorities; representatives of healthcare institutions; representatives of Croatian Employment Service regional offices and representatives of secondary schools. There were total of 73 participants.

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL STRUCTURE

The protocol for representatives of relevant institutions contained a total of 65 sub-questions and questions across 10 chapters that followed the areas of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy. However, it is important to highlight that the interviewers were instructed not to ask all interviewees all questions, as following the areas of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy, the questions from chapters pertaining to their purview (for instance, making chapter 2 – education – mandatory for directors of primary and secondary schools, chapter 3 – employment – mandatory for Croatian Employment Service staff etc.) had to be asked, and were mandatory for these representatives of institutions, while other stakeholders were only to be asked these questions in case they listed that specific National Strategy area among the chief priorities. Questions from all areas were to be posed to mayors, prefects, their deputies or other persons delegated by local-level decision-makers (heads of social affairs, heads of social welfare departments etc.). The introductory questions (describing the relationship between the Roma and the majority population, positive changes, negative trends, main priorities to be solved and key challenges to the inclusion of the RNM in solving their problems) and questions relating to the institutional environment for Roma inclusion at the regional and local levels were likewise mandatory for all interviewees.

The protocol for representatives of the Roma minority contained 9 chapters that followed the areas of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy, with an added chapter concerning young and elderly people's wellbeing – ten chapters in all. The representatives of the Roma national minority responded to questions from all chapters, which numbered 26 in total. In addition to these questions, the protocol also contained sub-questions, which were asked in case the interviewees did not understand the basic question. The first part concerned the description of the population and the Roma community, that is, the historic aspect of the settlement of Roma in the specific location and population movements in the previous five years; the second part concerned education, the third employment and inclusion in economic life, the fourth concerned healthcare, the fifth social welfare, the sixth children and youth, the seventh concerned spatial planning, housing and environmental protection, the eighth social and cultural life, the ninth part concerned status issues, combating discrimination and help in realising the rights of the Roma national minority, and the tenth the assessment of priorities that need resolving in each specific community.

STRUCTURE OF THE FOCUS GROUPS PROTOCOL

Questions from the focus groups protocol likewise followed the chapters of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy. The protocol for focus groups contained 20 questions in

total, structured across 10 chapters (9 NRIS areas and children's and youth wellbeing). As in the case of the interview protocol, in addition to the questions this protocol also contained sub-questions to be asked in case the interviewees did not understand the basic question.⁸⁶

The introductory part contained five questions (similar in substance to the introductory questions for the interviews with the representatives of the relevant local-level institutions) – a description of the relationship between the Roma and majority populations, positive changes, negative trends, chief priorities to be solved and key challenges to the inclusion of the RNM in solving their problems; the second part concerned education, the third employment and inclusion in economic life, the fourth concerned healthcare, the fifth social welfare, the sixth children and youth, the seventh concerned spatial planning, housing and environmental protection, the eighth social and cultural life, the ninth part concerned status issues resolution, combating discrimination and help in realising the rights of the Roma national minority, and the concluding chapter concerned institutional communication and knowledge of national and other documents involving protection of the Roma national minority.

Although the goal of the study and its specific objectives were identical in the quantitative and qualitative research, and the protocols for semi-structured interviews and focus groups were extensive in the intention to follow all areas from the chapters of the National Strategy, the limited reach of the study meant that the majority of the results of the qualitative research have not been presented in the "Research results" chapter coherently and by topic, as was the case with the majority of the data from the quantitative research. It is expected that in future thematic studies, part of the results of the qualitative research, as well as those results of the quantitative part of the study that were not published in this publication, may be separately analysed and retrospectively published.

CHALLENGES IN CONDUCTING RESEARCH USING THE INTERVIEW AND FOCUS GROUP METHODS

For the purpose of collecting qualitative data, semi-structured interviews were conducted with representatives of local self-government units, relevant staff in primary schools, health centres, Croatian Employment Service and social welfare centres personnel, and key Roma figures.

Although many representatives of the local self-government, schools, social welfare centres and other institutions tasked with implementing the National Roma Inclusion Strategy activities, were contacted several times and informed as to the goals and aim of the qualitative research, as well as with the principles of voluntariness and anonymity, before the interviews were conducted, there were a few cases where these persons did not respond to the interviewer's calls and the interview was not conducted at the arranged time. There were various reasons for this: from misunderstandings in arranging

⁸⁶ All in all, the protocol for focus groups contained 53 questions and sub-questions.

the time and place, to short-term health problems, unexpected official trips, and, in rare cases, simple failure to answer the calls.

As in-depth interviews were conducted in parallel with the quantitative field research, there was very little time for new arrangements and efficient completion of all interviews defined in the qualitative research plan. One of the (successful) mitigation strategies in such cases was to ask the person being interviewed (for instance, a municipal prefect) to contact the person from the institution where the interview had not been conducted to find a replacement (in case the person with whom all arrangements had been made was absent at the agreed time for any reason) or to organise an interview with a person with whom there were difficulties making contact on the ground (for instance, a school director). In nearly all cases where such support was requested, those interviewed who had by then acquired practical knowledge of the matter at hand and what the interviews looked like they were happy to open doors that had previously been closed to the researchers. That way, all the interviews were successfully conducted as planned, some merely rescheduled during the planned course of this segment of the study.

PROCESSING AND ANALYSIS OF DATA COLLECTED USING THE INTERVIEW AND FOCUS GROUP METHOD

Focus groups (7 of them) and all semi-structured interviews were transcribed, that is, transferred from the recordings into digital written form to allow the analysis of the data obtained to begin. To aid the thematic analysis of the transcripts of the interviews and focus groups with the representatives of the Roma national minority and the relevant institutions at the local and county level, a codebook was developed and entered into MAXQDA – Software for Qualitative and Mixed Method Research, a specialised software for qualitative data processing. Thematic analysis units were defined by the code system (for instance, one analysis unit was the relationship between the Roma and the majority populations, with answers to the questions coded separately) so that in the following stage of analysis, the answers could be grouped by frequency of category (bad relations, discrimination; high level of integration; feeling of segregation, large social distance; hate, resentment, hate speech).

Partial processing of the semi-structured interviews and focus groups, so-called coding, was performed using this program. The coding was done by a team of experienced experts (coders) with prior experience in conducting and analysing qualitative research who had previously conducted in-depth interviews in this research.

Once the initial version of the code system for the MAXQDA 18 software was developed, piloting was carried out, with individual coders⁸⁷ receiving interviews from each of the counties in the sample, each both with representatives of the Roma national minority and representatives of the relevant institutions. An intercoder agreement was calculated

87 Coders are experts with previous experience of working in MAXDA software, who went through education and piloting in order to align ways of coding in the aforesaid programme to the greatest extent possible.

for some of the interviews that were shared twice, with two coders receiving the same pairs of interviews to be coded. Inter-coder agreement is expressed as the percentage of same codes appearing in the document, which is an appropriate measure when the code system is very extensive. The percentage range varied from a minimum of 96.5 to a maximum of 98.8, which speaks to the high level of agreement among the coders, that is, that in most cases, all coders identically/similarly understand the code system and code the answers identically. Likewise, all the coders received instructions to keep notes of all the questions that appeared in the pilot coding. All the notes, agreed final changes to the code system and accompanying documentation (codebook and accompanying manual) were discussed at an evaluation meeting held subsequently.⁸⁸

3.2.3

Quantitative research using the survey method

On the basis of the previously studied and presented approaches to sampling the Roma and other difficult-to-access minority groups,⁸⁹ the quantitative stage of this study applied a combination of various approaches used in previous studies, in order to allow a representative sample of the defined Roma population in the Republic of Croatia to be obtained.

DEFINING THE RESEARCH POPULATION AND SAMPLE

According to Ivanov et al.,⁹⁰ in practical terms it is recommendable to use some kind of combination of external identification and self-identification. For the needs of this study, a particular kind of combination was applied that includes three stages of identifying Roma national minority members: external identification, internal identification by local experts and, finally, self-identification.

External identification

External identification was carried out at the beginning of the preparatory phase of pre-research. The starting data for pre-research were those from the 2011 Census, focussing on the representation of Roma national minority members in each county. This initial phase of defining the research population represents an external identification of members of the Roma national minority, as it relied on the Census. It is usually considered that the Census underestimates the size of the Roma population even though it relies on individuals' ethnic self-identification, as it is conducted by the state, with whose representatives the Roma are guarded in sharing information due to their negative expe-

⁸⁸ The codebook comprises the entire code system with accompanying notes and definitions.

⁸⁹ The 2011 Study by UNDP, World Bank and European Commission (according to Ivanov et al., 2012), the EU MIDIS I study, 2008 (according to FRA, 2009a) and the EU MIDIS II study, 2016 (according to FRA, 2016a and FRA, 2016b).

⁹⁰ Ivanov, A, Kling, J. i Kagin, J., *Integrated household survey among Roma populations: one possible approach to sampling in the UNDP - World Bank - EC Regional Roma Survey 2011. Roma Inclusion Working Papers*, Bratislava, United Nations Development Programme, 2012.

periences from the past.⁹¹

Internal identification by local experts

As already stated in the description of pre-research activities, key Roma figures determined over three rounds of consultations who is Roma, where are they and how many there are. This stage of defining the research population can therefore be considered internal identification by local experts. We use the term “internal”, as it was the Roma identifying other Roma.

During this stage of identifying Roma national minority members in the Republic of Croatia, the locations where undeclared Roma live, according to internal identification by local experts, were also identified. Although these locations were included in mapping, they were not part of the primary sampling for quantitative research, as it had been established in advance that people in these communities will not satisfy the criterion of self-identification.

Self-identification

The research stage carried out using the survey method was the third and last stage of defining the research population. In selecting interviewees, the self-identification approach was used, by asking the question: “We are conducting a study of the Roma population. Are there Roma people in your household? Do you wish to be interviewed?”, used in the UNDP, World Bank and European Commission study of 2011. This way, data collected using the survey method represent self-identified Roma in externally selected geographical areas of the Republic of Croatia, at internally (by local key Roma figures) selected locations.

GEOGRAPHIC COVERAGE AND SAMPLING FRAME

The geographic coverage of this study is tied to the definition of the pre-research population. As already explained, pre-research was conducted in 15 counties of Croatia, selected according to two criteria:

- 1/ counties where the share of the Roma national minority is equal to or larger than the national share (0.4%) - so-called high-density Roma population counties;
- 2/ counties with a smaller than average share of the Roma national minority, but with at least one established location inhabited by more than 30 RNM members.

In order to establish the quantitative research population and define the sampling fra-

⁹¹ See for instance, Pokos, N., “Demografska analiza Roma na temelju statističkih podataka” [Demographic analysis of the Roma on the basis of statistical data], in Štambuk, M. (ed.), *Kako žive hrvatski Romi* [How Croatian Roma live], Institute for social sciences Ivo Pilar, Zagreb 2005 and Ivanov, A., Keller, S., and Till-Tentschert, U., *Roma Poverty and Deprivation: The Need for Multidimensional Anti-Poverty Measures*, Oxford, Oxford Poverty & Human Development Initiative, 2015.

network using the pre-research population, an additional criterion was introduced, which is excluding locations inhabited mostly by non-self-identified Roma.⁹²

Tables 2 and 3 show the median⁹³ values of the assessments of the number of households inhabited by RNM members, and of the number of RNM members aged 16+, based on data collected in pre-research. Table 2 also includes locations with a non-self-identified Roma population, while such locations have been omitted from Table 3. Therefore, Table 2 represents an estimate of the size of the population mapped in pre-research, and Table 3 an estimate of the size of the population covered by the survey research.

TABLE 2: ESTIMATED NUMBER OF THE ROMA AND ROMA HOUSEHOLDS BY COUNTY BASED ON PRE-RESEARCH (MEDIAN VALUES) – ALL MAPPED LOCATIONS

		ASSESSMENT OF THE MAPPED POPULATION			
	COUNTY	NUMBER OF MAPPED LOCATIONS	NUMBER OF ROMA HOUSEHOLDS	TOTAL NUMBER OF ROMA	NUMBER OF ROMA AGED 16+
1	Bjelovar-Bilogora	10	262	1465	592
2	Brod-Posavina	6	271	1919	800
3	City of Zagreb	31	516	3299	1911
4	Istrian	6	112	933	282
5	Karlovac	2	63	272	132
6	Koprivnica-Križevci	11	237	1555	640
7	Lika-Senj	2	16	86	53
8	Međimurje	14	1364	6368	2808
9	Osijek-Baranja	17	493	1973	967
10	Primorje-Gorski kotar	9	281	1389	587
11	Sisak-Moslavina	11	414	2190	936
12	Varaždin	7	183	1270	766
13	Virovitica-Podravina	1	325	1315	875
14	Vukovar-Srijem	2	26	250	116
15	Zagreb County	5	39	240	139
	TOTAL	134	4 599	24 524	11 604

⁹² Based on interviews with local experts, it has been established that non-self-identified Roma live in the following locations: 1) Kloštar Podravski (365 RNM inhabitants, 59 households, dispersed site, Koprivnica-Križevci county); 2) Karlovac - Orlovac (240 RNM inhabitants, 54 households, concentrated site, Karlovac county); 3) Karlovac - Popović brdo (32 RNM inhabitants, 9 households, concentrated site, Karlovac county); 4) Doljani (60 RNM inhabitants, 12 households, concentrated site, Lika-Senj county); 5) Vrhovine (26 RNM inhabitants, 4 households, concentrated site, Lika-Senj county); 6) Pitomača (1315 RNM inhabitants, 325 households, dispersed site, Virovitica-Podravina county). These locations were therefore not included in the primary sampling plan.

⁹³ Assessments by 3 different informants were sought for each location. As the various informants' assessments for each location often differed, the median values of their assessments were calculated for each respective location. The median was chosen as the measure of central tendency used for irregular data distributions (asymmetrical, deviating from normal distribution), which is less sensitive to extreme values, and therefore more reliable in this case as a measure of central tendency than the arithmetic mean.

As Table 2 shows, according to pre-research data, there are a total of 24,524 members of the Roma national minority (11,604 aged 16 or more) in a total of 4,599 households, living in 134 mapped locations in 15 counties of the Republic of Croatia (median informants' estimate).

After excluding those locations for which pre-research has supplied information that they are inhabited by non-self-identified Roma, we arrived at the data displayed in Table 3, which served as the basis in this study for constructing a quantitative research sample using the survey method.

TABLE 3. ASSESSMENTS OF THE NUMBER OF ROMA AND ROMA HOUSEHOLDS BY COUNTIES, BASED ON THE PRE-RESEARCH (MEDIAN VALUES) – WITHOUT LOCATIONS WITH NON-DECLARED ROMA

POPULATION ASSESSMENT FOR QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH					
	COUNTY	NUMBER OF MAPPED LOCATIONS (NON-DECLARED EXCLUDED)	NUMBER OF ROMA HOUSEHOLDS	TOTAL NUMBER OF ROMA	NUMBER OF ROMA AGED 16+
1	Bjelovar-Bilogora	10	262	1465	592
2	Brod-Posavina	6	271	1919	800
3	City of Zagreb	31	516	3299	1911
4	Istrian	6	112	933	282
5	Karlovac	NON-DECLARED			
6	Koprivnica-Križevci	10	178	1190	518
7	Lika-Senj	NON-DECLARED			
8	Međimurje	14	1364	6368	2808
9	Osijek-Baranja	17	493	1973	967
10	Primorje-Gorski kotar	9	281	1389	587
11	Sisak-Moslavina	11	414	2190	936
12	Varaždin	7	183	1270	766
13	Virovitica-Podravina	NON-DECLARED			
14	Vukovar-Srijem	2	26	250	116
15	Zagreb County	5	39	240	139
	TOTAL	128	4 139	22 486	10 422

Hence, quantitative research has been carried out on a sample of locations within 12 RC counties, where 30 or more RNM members live. The sampling frame encompassed a total of 128 locations, where 22,486 members of the Roma national minority live in 4,139 Roma households; 10,422 of whom aged 16 or more. The following list of locations contains names collected in consultation with key stakeholders in the first stage of pre-research (using the internal identification approach); the names do not necessarily match the official names of the locations/streets/neighbourhoods/hamlets.

Bjelovar-Bilogora county:

Bjelovar, Šandrovac – Lasovac, Štefanje – Narta, Grubišino polje – Stalovica, Veliki Grđevac - Veliki Grđevac, Končanica, Veliki Grđevac - Gornja Kovačica, Garešnica - Veliki

Pašijan and Bjelovar – Gudovac.

Brod-Posavina county:

Slavonski Brod – Rimac, Slavonski Brod - Jelas/Krajiška, Slavonski Brod - Klis + Gornja Vrba + Livada, Vrpolje, Nova Gradiška – Bedem, Nova Gradiška – Gaj.

Istrian county:

Pula - Barake settlement, Pula, Umag, Ližnjan Jadreški, Medulin – Vinkuran and Vodnjan.

Koprivnica-Križevci county:

Drnje – Botovo, Peteranec, Hlebine, Đurđevac – Stiska, Hlebine - Gabajeva Greda, Novigrad Podravski Vlaislav, Virje, Peteranec – Sigetec, Koprivnica - Žlebice - Koprivnička Reka and Koprivnica – Herešin.

Međimurje county:

Pribislavec, Nedelišće - Gornji Kuršanec, Orehovica 2, Dravska ulica, Kotoriba – dispersed, Kotoriba - Vrtno naselje, Domašinec – Kvitrovec, Nedelišće – Trnovec, Goričan, Mursko Središće – Sitnice, Čakovec – Kuršanec, Orehovica, Podturen, Nedelišće - Parag I and Parag II and Mala Subotica – Piškorovec.

Osijek-Baranja county:

Belišće, Kneževi Vinogradi, Beli Manastir – Rupa, Beli Manastir – Palača, Beli Manastir – integrated, Jagodnjak – Bolman, Torjanci – settlement, Torjanci – village, Belišće – Bi-strinci, Donji Miholjac, Valpovo, Podgorač, Darda, Bilje and Vardarac, Osijek, Jagodnjak and Popovac.

Primorje-Gorski kotar county:

Rijeka - dispersed, Rijeka – Pehlin / Rujevica and Plasi, Crikvenica - Vinodolska 22, Novi Vinodolski - Ulica Krase, Čabar – Tršće, Rijeka - Škurinje - Mihačeva Draga, Rijeka – Drenova, Brod na Kupi / Delnice, Dedin and Omišalj.

Sisak-Moslavina county:

Petrinja, Popovača – town, Popovača – Gračenica, Glina, Sisak - Capraške poljane, Sisak - Nikola Tesla/Radonja, Sisak – Centar, Sisak – Palanjek, Velika Ludina / Vidrenjak, Novska and Kutina.

Vukovar-Srijem county:

Vukovar and Vinkovci.

Varaždin county:

Cestica, Petrijanec, Varaždin - Štosov Trg, Ludbreg - Ivana Gundulića 44, Ludbreg - Ludbreški vinogradi, Karlovac Ludbreški and Županec.

City of Zagreb:

Sesvete (Staro Brestje, Sesevtska Sopnica, Dumovec, Novi Jelkovec, Novo Brestje), Gornja Dubrava (Dubec, Poljanice), Donja Dubrava (Donja Dubrava, 7. Retkovec, Vuko-

merec), Peščenica Žitnjak (Ferenčica, Ferenčica / Donje Svetice, Livadarski put / lane, Livadice, Borongaj, Savica Šanci, Folnegovićevo naselje, Resnik, Kozari Put, Petruševac, Žitnjak, Trnava), Savica Šanci / behind the Heating Plant, Struge, Vrtni put, Trešnjevka Sjever, Trnje – Heinzelova, Plinarsko naselje, Novi Zagreb Zapad (Botinec, Sveta Klara) and Podsused Vrapče – Vučak.

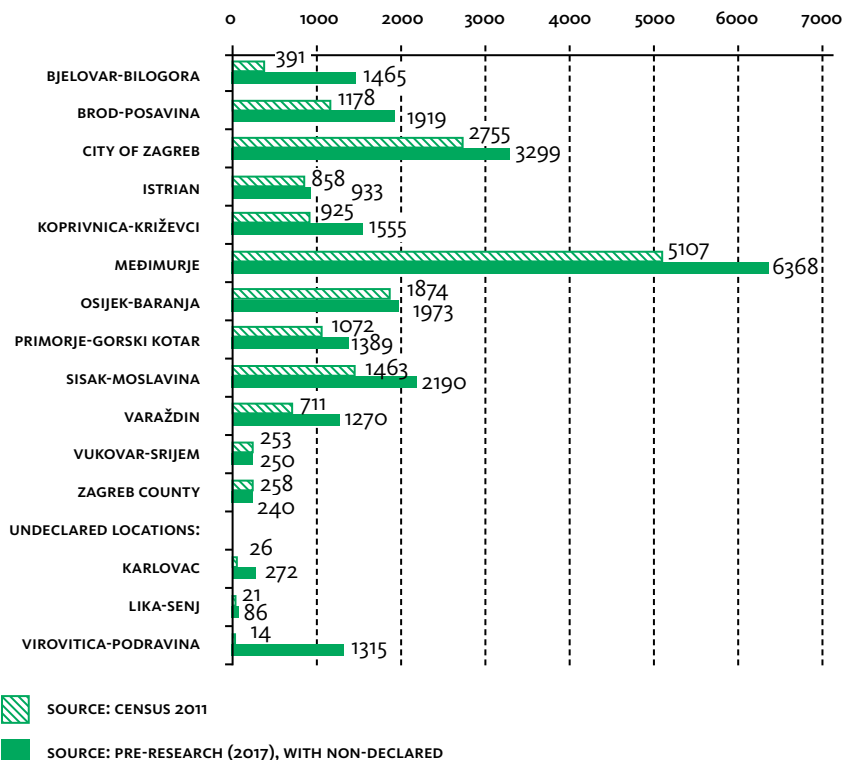
Zagreb county:

Rugvica, Orle, Velika Mlaka, Dugo Selo – centre and Ivanić Grad – Jalševac.

Likewise, it needs to be highlighted that the population the survey research concerns is broader than in studies of the Roma in Croatia carried out so far. For instance, the UNDP used the national average share of the Roma as the criterion for defining the population, while in this study, additional counties were included with a lower share of the Roma than the national average.

The assumption put forward by Ivanov et al. (2012), that census data adequately describe the structural and territorial distribution of the Roma – where the census uses self-identification to define the Roma population in all locations, and this study's pre-research defines the population through local experts' internal identification with the criterion of 30 or more Roma per location – is borne out by a comparison of the data collected in pre-research and data from the 2011 Census, as shown in Chart 1.

CHART 1: COMPARISON OF DATA COLLECTED IN PRE-RESEARCH (2017) AND 2011 CENSUS DATA.



Beside the geographical framework, when formulating the research methodology, a temporal framework for carrying out the research was also considered from two aspects.

First, an insight into 2001 and 2011 census data reveals a large increase in the recorded Roma population in the RC (from 9,463 in 2001 to 16,975 in 2011). To conduct a study six years after the last Census was carried out and take it as the foundation for the initial step in defining the population undoubtedly carries with it certain risks and discrepancies caused by the large temporal remove.

The temporal dimension is also important from the perspective of yearly, that is, seasonal fluctuations in the population. During the summer months, the Roma population temporarily migrates in large numbers to the coastal areas of the RC to do seasonal work.⁹⁴ This is why carrying out the survey research during the summer months was avoided and planned for the autumn (October and November 2017).

SAMPLING DESIGN AND SAMPLE CONSTRUCTION

In constructing a representative sample, as many relevant aspects of forming one were taken into account as possible. The sample type used was a two-stage proportionally stratified probabilistic sample, controlling the quotas of interviewees by age and sex. Multi-stage sampling signifies the use of various sampling methods used to gradually approach the final selection of interviewees, changing the definition of sampling entity stage by stage. The first level of stratification was by county. This means that the planned share of the sampled Roma households in each of the 12 selected counties corresponded to the share of each county's Roma households in the total number of Roma households in all the 12 counties taken together (according to data established in pre-research). The sampling plan was embarked upon with a planned sample size of 1,505 Roma households. The second level of stratification was stratification by location inhabited by RNM members. This means that the planned share of sampled Roma households for each location corresponded to the share of each location's Roma households in the total number of Roma households of all the locations in a single county taken together.

In addition, in forming the sample, the dispersion of the Roma population within locations was also taken into consideration, as were the age and sex of the Roma population. One of the advantages of stratified samples is to enable different sampling techniques on individual strata, depending on individual strata's particularities (Milas, 2009:420).⁹⁵ Therefore, the techniques of sampling Roma households varied depending on the type of location, with all of the locations classified respectively as concentrated⁹⁶ or dispersed, based on the pre-research data.

⁹⁴ As confirmed by numerous Roma assistants in pre-research consultations conducted in continental Croatia.

⁹⁵ Milas, G., *Istraživačke metode u psihologiji i drugim društvenim znanostima*. Jastrebarsko, Naklada Slap, 2009.

⁹⁶ Three types of locations were classified as concentrated, according to pre-research classification: concentrated autonomous settlements, concentrated peripheral settlements and concentrated settlements inside a town or village.

TABLE 4. THE NUMBER OF STRATA IN THE SAMPLING OF THE QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH BY TYPE OF LOCATION AND COUNTY (DATA BASED ON THE PRE-RESEARCH)

		KONCENTRIRANI LOKALITETI	DISPERZIRANI LOKALITETI
1	Bjelovar-Bilogora	2	8
2	Brod-Posavina	4	2
3	City of Zagreb	4	8 (27 LOCATIONS SORTED INTO 8 URBAN NEIGHBOURHOODS)
4	Istrian	1	5
5	Koprivnica-Križevci	5	5
6	Međimurje	10	4
7	Osijek-Baranja	10	7
8	Primorje-Gorski kotar	9	0
9	Sisak-Moslavina	8	3
10	Varaždin	6	1
11	Vukovar-Srijem	0	2
12	Zagreb County	1	4
	TOTAL	60	49

In order to achieve sample representativeness, selection of research participants was based on two levels of random sampling of basic sampling units: the first stage of sampling concerned the selection of a Roma household, and the second stage the selection of member of household, that is, interviewee to be surveyed.

SELECTING ROMA HOUSEHOLDS

The first stage of sampling (selecting Roma households) was different for concentrated and dispersed locations.

In concentrated locations, the method of random route was used to select households as the basic sampling unit, with a sampling interval equalling two. An interval of two was used due to the need for representing a relatively large proportion of households in the sample (approximately two thirds). Although previous research has shown that in Croatia, the Roma population's level of responsiveness to participation in survey research is exceptionally high (around 90%), this way we left enough room for unplanned unresponsiveness to allow conducting the required number of surveys of Roma households with a single starting point per stratum (location). Based on data collected in pre-research, there were a total of 60 concentrated locations. In dispersed sites, on the model of the sampling used in urban/metropolitan areas in the EU MIDIS study (2008), a random route approach with a sampling interval equalling five was used, aided by the focussed enumeration method.

In dispersed sites, each stratum was allocated a starting point (address) for the random route. The number of starting points for each stratum was determined in advance. The

starting address for each stratum was selected in one of three ways, depending on the available data collected in pre-research for each specific location:

- 1/ If more than one correct address within an individual stratum inhabited by RNM members was found in pre-research, the starting address was randomly chosen from all the known Roma addresses in the stratum.
- 2/ If only one address was known for a stratum, the canvasser was sent to that address.
- 3/ If no address, or no correct address, was known for a stratum, but only a street name, a random house number in the street was chosen as the starting address.

In all three cases, after contacting the household in the starting address, the canvasser continued his walk in line with random route rules, following the right hand and every fifth housing unit standard. In dispersed locations the random route method was aided by the focussed enumeration method. This means that in each household where contact was made with a person who was established not to be a member of the Roma national minority, the canvasser would ask:

- a/ if in an urban/local district dominated by single-family houses: Does a Roma family live in either of the houses two down or two up from you?
- b/ if in a residential building: Does a Roma family live in the flat to the left or right of you, or directly above or below you?

In case of a negative reply, the canvasser continued the selection by proceeding to the fifth housing unit counting from the one where no Roma family was encountered.

In the case of a positive reply, the canvasser would proceed to the address for which information was given that it was inhabited by a Roma family, and try to survey them. Then, he would continue the selection of households by going to the fifth housing unit counting from the one for which he learned that a Roma family lived there (regardless of whether the survey was successfully carried out in the household).

The City of Zagreb, in which 27 dispersed sites were established according to pre-research data, was divided into a smaller number of units by neighbourhood, with the 27 dispersed sites sorted into the 8 urban neighbourhoods of the City of Zagreb. That way, the neighbourhoods of the City of Zagreb containing the dispersed sites inhabited by the Roma represented individual strata.⁹⁷

Dispersed locations in all remaining counties (apart, therefore, from the City of Zagreb) comprised distinct strata. According to pre-research data, they numbered 41. When added to the seven strata in the City of Zagreb, sampling for dispersed sites was planned for a total of 48 strata.

⁹⁷ Non-dispersed locations within the City of Zagreb inhabited by the Roma were included among the concentrated locations, and were thus omitted from this approach to sampling. They were sampled as distinct strata, in line with the approach to sampling in concentrated locations.

The second stage of sampling (selection of member of Roma household aged 16 or more) was the same for both the concentrated and dispersed locations, and was based on the first birthday technique, with a quota selection by sex and age. This means that, after individual quotas (sex and age) for a location had been fulfilled using the first birthday technique, in the following steps the canvassers sought only those interviewees for whom quotas had not yet been fulfilled. If more than one member of a household satisfied the criteria of the unfulfilled quotas, the first birthday technique was again applied. Quotas by sex and age were constructed on the basis of the pre-research data. The interviewees were divided into three groups by age: 16-30, 31-65 and over 65 years of age. Each age group would be equally represented by men and women.

Therefore, the basic sampling units in the survey research were the following:

- / In the first stage of sampling, the basic sampling units were Roma households.
- / In the second stage of sampling, the basic sampling units were household members aged 16 or more, selected using the first birthday technique, with selection quotas by sex and age.

FIELD IMPLEMENTATION OF THE QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH

The quantitative field research was carried out from 23 October until 7 November 2017. The research was conducted in a total of 72 self-government units, that is, towns and municipalities that pre-research detected as inhabited by 30 or more members of the Roma population. Collection of quantitative indicators was carried out on 37.5% of the households registered in pre-research, that is, an absolute number of 1,550 households.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

The survey questionnaire was constructed so that its contents follow NRIS areas and to assist the realisation of the determined specific research goals. In constructing the survey questionnaire, measurement instruments from the 2011 UNDP/World Bank/EC study,⁹⁸ the 2004 Institute for social sciences Ivo Pilar study,⁹⁹ the 2016 EU MIDIS II study¹⁰⁰ and the 2016 study by the Ombudswoman's office¹⁰¹ were consulted.

There were two versions of the survey questionnaire, so-called A and B versions.

⁹⁸ Bagić, D., Burić, I., Dobrotić, I., Potočnik, D., and Zrinščak, S., *Romska svakodnevnica u Hrvatskoj: prepreke i mogućnosti za promjene*, UNDP, UNHCR and UNICEF, 2014, and European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), *EU-MIDIS Technical Report. Methodology, Sampling and Fieldwork*, 2009.

⁹⁹ Štambuk, M., *Kako žive hrvatski Romi*, Institute for social sciences Ivo Pilar, Zagreb 2005.

¹⁰⁰ European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS II): Background note on survey methodology, 2016.

¹⁰¹ Ombudswoman's office (ed.), *Istraživanje o stavovima i razini svijesti o diskriminaciji i pojavnim oblicima diskriminacije 2016* [Study on attitudes and level of awareness of discrimination and its manifestations], Ombudswoman's office and the Center for Peace Studies, 2016, <http://ombudsman.hr/attachments/article/1147/Istra%C5%BEivanje%20-%20odiskriminacija%202016.pdf> (accessed June 2018).

The **A version** of the survey questionnaire consisted of two main parts intended for the interviewees. The first part contained questions on the household where the interviewee lived, such as questions on the overall number and structure of household members, overall assets and ownership of specific goods in the household, ownership and legal status of real estate, living conditions in the household and the immediate surroundings, problems and necessary repairs in the household, use of social benefits and services, income sources and household expenditures etc.

The second part of the survey questionnaire concerned the profiles of all household members. It contained several sections that varied according to subject and age of household member whom the section concerned. The questions in this part of the survey questionnaire concerned the various social and demographic characteristics of all household members, their health status, various characteristics relating to education and aspects of labour market experiences.

The **B version** of the survey questionnaire comprised three main parts intended for the interviewees. The first part was the same as the first part of the A version of the survey questionnaire and pertained to the characteristics of the interviewee's household. The second part of the B version of the survey questionnaire had the same structure, subjects and sequence of questions as the A version of the survey questionnaire, but the questions did not pertain to all the members of a household, but exclusively to the randomly selected interviewee. The only questions from the A version of the survey questionnaire that were omitted here were those that concerned children under 7 years of age.

Unlike the A version, the B version of the survey questionnaire also had a third section, with questions that likewise pertained only to the selected interviewee, that is, his or her personal experiences and opinions. The topics were related to health and healthcare services, employment and economic life, experiences of discrimination in various spheres of social life, the social system and social welfare, personal values and norms, and to media, society and politics. In addition, there was a distinct set of questions for parents of children under 16, and a set of questions for women only. This set also contained the most sensitive questions in the entire survey questionnaire: those about experiences of violence by intimate partners and about women's reproductive health.

The main reason for the existence of two versions of the survey questionnaire is tied on the one hand to the extensiveness of the topics and questions necessary to cover all the relevant areas of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy, and, on the other, to the temporal restrictions on the duration of a single interview. This way, with around half of RNM members we collected numerous socio-demographic data on all members of their households, while with the other half of the interviewed RNM members we gathered data on their personal experiences and opinions related to a broad spectrum of subjects. At the same time, we collected data on the households of all the interviewed RNM members. Specifically, 780 of the 1,550 surveyed households were surveyed using the A version, and 770 using the B version of the survey questionnaire.

The particularities of researching the Roma population in Croatia

On the ground, especially in concentrated locations, support from Roma national minority council representatives and key figures in individual Roma communities has proved extremely important. Although the study had already been announced to representatives of the appropriate RNMCS, in some counties additional contacts with, and approval from key local figures in individual Roma communities was needed for certain locations, usually taking the form of private meetings with the regional coordinators. Some key Roma figures were dissatisfied with the fact that they personally, or some of the inhabitants of the Roma settlements where the surveying was to be conducted, were not engaged to do field work in conducting the surveying, but after conversations with the researchers and regional field coordinators, where the methodological and practical reasons why in this phase (unlike the pre-research stage) this was not possible, they abandoned their objections. In any case, without their support there would surely have been much more refusal to cooperate in individual locations. Where the key Roma figures personally intervened among the local population, for instance by telephoning ahead to announce the arrival of a canvasser, refusal on the part of the population to participate in the research was almost non-existent.

Nevertheless, in some locations there was frequent refusal to participate in the research due to the conviction that it was a “list of Roma” being compiled (some kind of record of the Roma and their households with a questionable purpose) or other fears concerning the potential use of the results of the study to the detriment of the Roma population. For this reason, where possible, the canvassers additionally explained the aim of the study and where, and in what form, will the collected data end up when the research is finished.

Some difficulties are specific to certain locations. For instance, in Bjelovar-Bilogora, Sisak-Moslavina and Osijek-Baranja counties there is a part of the population that the Roma community and the majority population perceive as members of the Roma national minority, but that does not identify itself as such. For this reason, canvassers in these counties were more often turned away, with an explanation that the household in question is not inhabited by a Roma family, at addresses which were assumed to be applicable for the research sample, at starting addresses and addresses within settlements.

In Osijek-Baranja, Primorje-Gorski kotar and Zagreb county, canvassers had trouble filling the established quotas as in some locations they could not find the number of RNM members that even came near the mapping estimate. Reasons for this can be found in the sudden emigration of the Roma from certain locations (whether permanent or seasonal) into West European countries, although it cannot be ruled out that the informants might have made oversized estimates of the size of the Roma population in any given location during pre-research.

Towards the end of the research process, a greater number of surveys than planned were conducted in Međimurje county to compensate for the lack of surveys from other counties.

Methodological challenges and deviations from the planned methodology

Adhering to the random route method with a sampling interval of two has turned out to be a challenge in smaller concentrated settlements, as the canvassers, having exhausted all houses observing the rule, had to go back, knocking on doors of houses they had skipped first time around. That way, the “rule of knocking” at each other door was respected during the second route, but in practice meant that actually, in some locations all, or nearly all Roma households’ doors were knocked. On the other hand, in extremely dispersed locations, random routes with a sampling interval of five was likewise shown to be inappropriate, that is, inadequate for locating sufficient numbers of the Roma population. In these cases, it was necessary to frequently post new starting addresses collected in pre-research.

Regardless of the type of location, it was most difficult to find interviewees aged 65 or older, as there are extremely few of them, many so ill and infirm that they could not be surveyed.

The majority of the canvassers answered the question whether the surveying was conducted in line with the planned methodology affirmatively (95%). In some situations the language barrier problem arose. Although the canvassers were prepared for such cases, with survey questionnaires and language cards to show interviewees in Romani Chib and the Boyash dialect of the Romanian language, sometimes other members of the household were involved in translating certain terms. In some locations there was the problem of dogs on the streets, which posed a threat to the canvassers and partly made consistent adherence to the random walk rules impossible. The question whether a household member aged 16+ was randomly selected to participate in the survey (by the first birthday method) answered in the affirmative by 79% of the canvassers. Among the remaining 21%, it was most often a case of choosing an interviewee according to the quota that needed to be filled at a location (10%), or a situation where only one person aged 16+ was at home, so random choice could not be applied (7%). None of these situations truly represent a deviation from the planned methodology.

Nevertheless, it can be concluded that in the majority of the cases, the rules for random selection of household members aged 16 or more were respected.

In some cases there were difficulties securing privacy in responding to the second group of questions in the B version of the survey questionnaire, concerning interviewees’ personal experiences, impressions and opinions. Although the canvassers were under instructions to make the greatest possible effort to ensure that the survey is carried out in private with the interviewee, this was not always possible. It was usually the brides or daughters in law who were “brought along” that did not know or were not allowed to reply for themselves.

The (in)appropriateness of the research method for the target population

As is well known, one of the preconditions for participating in studies using the survey method is a certain level of literacy in the interviewees. Obviously, the researchers must adapt the question formulations and terminology used in the survey questionnaire to the researched population, which in the case of this study was performed after the processing of the interviews with representatives of the Roma national minority.

At locations where a significant proportion of the population spent an extremely short period of time in the education system, canvassers had trouble in some households with the interviewees not understanding the questions. This was especially true of questions that dealt with more abstract concepts, such as values and discrimination, but also some of the questions concerning use of social services or experiences of certain illnesses, and even questions regarding age or household members' employment status. In some households, with especially severe cases of social exclusion, there were problems understanding the questions in general. In some cases, the canvassers noted that contradictory answers were supplied even after the question was repeated to the interviewee, which speaks either about a possible loss of focus on the part of the interviewee in filling out the questionnaire, or failing to understand the meaning of the available answers.

Notwithstanding all the efforts made by the researchers to adapt the extensive survey questionnaire to the expected literacy level of the interviewees while honouring the research goals, in some cases the survey method has proven difficult to implement.

Reasons and short descriptions of certain situations can be seen in the canvassers' comments.

“They responded to each question with a story.”

“They couldn't list all the members of the household.”

“Even with assistance from neighbours who spoke good Croatian, the interviewed woman just couldn't grasp certain concepts from the last part of the survey.”

“Many people coming in during the interview, her illiteracy, difficulty understanding questions.”

“The survey is unadjusted for the Roma, which causes frustration and distracts the interviewees.”

Nevertheless, it should be stressed that these were sporadic situations, as in the great majority of the surveys carried out, the canvassers noted no difficulty with understanding the questions.

RESPONSE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE SURVEY RESEARCH

Response to the survey was a high 82% at the level of the overall sample, varying from 63% in Istrian county to 100% in Vukovar-Srijem county, if considering only those Roma households contacted where either the survey was successfully conducted or where the household members refused to take part in the research. If, in addition, those Roma

households where persons agreed to take part but could not be surveyed as they did not fit the required quota by age or sex (6.7%), as well as those Roma households where the canvassers returned several times to find the person that fit the quota but ultimately failed to conduct the survey (3.7%), are taken into consideration, then the rate of response to the survey at the level of the overall sample works out to 73%, varying from 35% in Istrian county to 100% in Vukovar-Srijem county.

PROCESSING AND ANALYSIS OF DATA COLLECTED USING THE SURVEY METHOD

Processing and analysing data collected by means of the survey method was performed with help of the IBM SPSS software (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences), version 21. The data was first descriptively processed (determining percentages for qualitative variables, and the arithmetic means, standard deviations¹⁰² and medians¹⁰³ for quantitative variables, determining the percentages of the values missing, range of variations in quantitative variables etc.).

In addition to basic descriptive analysis, statistical tests for differentiating between individual groups of interviewees have also been carried out. A t-test was used for two independent groups, and a simple analysis of variance (ANOVA) for testing variations between more than two independent groups of interviewees, with post-hoc tests for multiple comparisons: Bonferroni's in the case of homogeneous and Tamhane's T₂ test for non-homogeneous variances. Pearson's chi-squared test with the appropriate coefficient of association was used to test the correlation between nominal variables, and Fisher's exact test for 2x2 contingency tables. All statistical tests for testing statistical hypotheses and generalising findings to the population were made with a 5% margin of error.¹⁰⁴

The results were displayed as tables or graphically (depending on suitability), with a textual interpretation of the findings.

PLANNED VS. REALISED SAMPLE

The initial size of the sample and individual strata was planned on the basis of 1,505 households across 12 counties and a total of 108 strata (60 of which concentrated and 48 dispersed).

-
- 102 The standard deviation is a dispersion measure that shows the dispersion of data around the arithmetic mean of a normally distributed quantitative variable. Around 68% of results are found within the range of +/- 1 standard deviation of the mean.
 - 103 The median is the central result in a sequence of results for a given variable, ordered by size. This means that both beneath and above the median are 50% of the results for the variable. The median is usually used as a measure of central tendency in unimodal distributions for quantitative variables that do not have a normal distribution (Gaussian or bell curve).
 - 104 The 5% margin of error is the usual level of error risk used in social sciences in the generalisation of statistical findings from the sample to the population represented by the sample. The statistically significant difference or connection derived with the 5% margin of error means that it is at least 95% likely that the effect found on the data collected in the sample also exists in the population represented by the sample. But there is also a probability lower than 5% that the effect was a result of a random error of the sample, i.e. it does not really exist in the population.

In some counties, the planned sample size could not be met. Especially problematic were Bjelovar-Bilogora county, where 50% of the planned sample was met, and Zagreb county, where only 60% of the planned sample was met.

TABLE 5. PLANNED AND REALISED NUMBER OF ROMA HOUSEHOLDS SURVEYED, BY COUNTIES

	COUNTY	NUMBER OF ROMA HOUSEHOLDS		
		PLANNED SAMPLE SIZE	REALISED SAMPLE SIZE	DEVIATION OF THE REALISED FROM THE PLANNED (% OF THE PLANNED)
1	Bjelovar-Bilogora	95	47	-50,5 %
2	Brod-Posavina	99	104	+5,1 %
3	Istrian	41	38	-7,3 %
4	Koprivnica-Križevci	66	87	+31,8 %
5	Međimurje	496	566	+14,1 %
6	Osijek-Baranja	178	182	+2,3 %
7	Primorje-Gorski kotar	100	86	-14,0 %
8	Sisak-Moslavina	151	147	-2,7 %
9	Vukovar-Srijem	10	10	0,0 %
10	Varaždin	67	69	+3,0 %
11	City of Zagreb	187	205	+9,6 %
12	Zagreb County	15	9	-40,0 %
	TOTAL	1505	1550	+3,0 %

While in line with data collected in pre-research, it was planned that the survey would be carried out at a total of 128 locations, it was successfully carried out at 118. In spite of all attempts to carry out the planned survey, it could not be successfully completed at the following locations:

- / in Bjelovar-Bilogora county: Šandrovac - Lasovac; Veliki Grđevac - Zrinska; Veliki Grđevac - Veliki Grđevac and Garešnica - Veliki Pašijan
- / in Brod-Posavina county: Vrpolje
- / in Osijek-Baranja county: Donji Miholjac
- / in Sisak-Moslavina county: Petrinja and Sisak - Nikola Tesla/Radonja
- / in the City of Zagreb: Plinarsko naselje
- / in Zagreb county: Rugvica

It was most frequently impossible to meet the planned sample sizes for individual counties and locations in dispersed sites where the Roma population is highly scattered, where there was an insufficient number of so-called starting addresses obtained from informants during pre-research and field research to realise the planned sample. The method of focussed enumeration was shown to be useful in less dispersed areas, but not in areas where the Roma population was highly dispersed.

Moreover, according to information obtained on the ground, Bjelovar-Bilogora county has seen a great exodus of Roma population, while the situation where part of the Roma population recorded in pre-research occasionally lived in the Republic of Croatia, and occasionally in other EU member states was also common. This resulted in the canvassers in specific locations often finding closed doors and empty housing units. Furthermore, in certain locations there was a very high rate of refusal to participate in carrying out the quantitative research by potential interviewees due to fear of such kind of data gathering, which stems from various prior sociopolitical circumstances (such as, for example, the Roma suffering in World War II) and experiences that are not connected to the implementation of this study (such as violence and discrimination). In addition, we only found out in retrospect that the majority in some of the locations do not self-identify as members of the RNM, making it impossible to conduct surveying there.

Deviations from the determined quotas in individual counties were compensated in the remaining counties, trying to maintain proportionality of the sizes of the planned county sub-samples. This means that the planned sample size was exceeded to the greatest level in absolute terms in the county with the greatest share of RNM members in the overall population, that is, Međimurje county, where 70 households more than planned were surveyed. This way, the planned sample size was overstepped by 3%, while maintaining as much as possible the optimal structure of the overall sample.

TABLE 6. PLANNED AND REALISED QUOTAS BY SEX

SEX	PLANNED QUOTA	%	REALISED QUOTA	%	DEVIATION
MALE	737	49,0	757	48,9	-0.1%
FEMALE	768	51,0	792	51,1	+0.1%
TOTAL	1505	100%	1549*	100%	

*THE INFORMATION ON SEX IS MISSING IN THE CASE OF ONE INTERVIEWEE

As seen in Table 6, there are no significant deviations from the planned sample stratification by sex; that is, in relation to the realised quota by sex, the planned quota sufficiently represents the population.

TABLE 7. PLANNED AND REALISED QUOTAS BY AGE GROUPS

AGE GROUP	PLANNED QUOTA	%	REALISED QUOTA	%	DEVIATION
16-30 YEARS	738	49,0	708	45,7	-3.3%
31-65 YEARS	706	46,9	781	50,5	+3.6%
66 YEARS +	61	4,1	59	3,8	-0.3%
TOTAL	1505	100%	1548*	100%	

*THE DATA ON AGE MISSING FOR TWO INTERVIEWEES

As seen in Table 7, deviations by age group are minimal. Thus, the largest is a 3.6% deviation in the 31-65 group; however, it can be concluded that the sample does represent the population by age as well.

SAMPLE DESCRIPTION: SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES OF ROMA HOUSEHOLDS AND THEIR MEMBERS

A short account of the sociodemographic profiles of Roma households will be given here, with respect to the number of members of the households on which data was gathered, county and sex; family structure; household incomes (average monthly household incomes), household members' age by county; marital status aged 16+; country of birth, employment and educational status by sex; the highest completed level of education; parental status.

There is a similar number of men and women among the 1,550 surveyed members of the Roma national minority, with one interviewee whose sex was not indicated. Concerning the types of locations where the research was carried out, the best-represented (43.6%) are Roma settlements not part of a town or village, in a separate location, followed by locations in which the Roma live dispersed among the majority population in a town or village (26.1%), with somewhat fewer (21.6%) Roma settlements on town or village peripheries, while there are 8.7% Roma settlements within towns or villages. Within the households covered by the study, data were collected on 4,758 members of the Roma national minority, 2,372 of whom men and 2,366 women household members, with 20 for whom sex was not indicated.

TABLE 8. NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF THE ROMA HOUSEHOLDS COVERED BY DATA COLLECTION, BY COUNTY AND SEX

COUNTY	SEX				TOTAL	
	MALE		FEMALE		N	%
	N	%	N	%		
BJELOVAR-BILOGORA	68	46,3 %	79	53,7 %	147	100,0 %
BROD-POSAVINA	175	50,1 %	174	49,9 %	349	100,0 %
CITY OF ZAGREB	321	51,3 %	305	48,7 %	626	100,0 %
ISTRIAN	65	49,6 %	66	50,4 %	131	100,0 %
KOPRIVNICA-KRIŽEVCI	170	55,0 %	139	45,0 %	309	100,0 %
MEĐIMURJE	916	50,4 %	900	49,6 %	1816	100,0 %
OSIJEK-BARANJA	175	45,2 %	212	54,8 %	387	100,0 %
PRIMORJE-GORSKI KOTAR	140	50,4 %	138	49,6 %	278	100,0 %
SISAK-MOSLAVINA	181	49,1 %	188	50,9 %	369	100,0 %
VARAŽDIN	112	50,9 %	108	49,1 %	220	100,0 %
VUKOVAR-SRIJEM	30	46,9 %	34	53,1 %	64	100,0 %
ZAGREB COUNTY	19	45,2 %	23	54,8 %	42	100,0 %
TOTAL	2372	50,1 %	2366	49,9 %	4738	100,0 %

* FOR 20 INTERVIEWEES SEX WAS NOT INDICATED

In Roma households (N=1,546) included in the research across 12 counties, the average number of members is 5.2. A quarter of the households has three members or fewer, half

has five or fewer members, while three quarters have seven or fewer members. There are 1.2 youngest children (0-6) and children aged 7-15, and 2.9 members per household older than 15.

CHART 2. NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS – COMPARED TO THE GENERAL POPULATION



In comparison, according to the 2011 Census, the average number of members per household in the Republic of Croatia is 2.8 (2.7 in cities, 3.0 in other settlements), with around a quarter of the households which are single-person, and a quarter comprise two members.¹⁰⁵

TABLE 9. HOUSEHOLDS BY FAMILY STRUCTURE (N=1550)

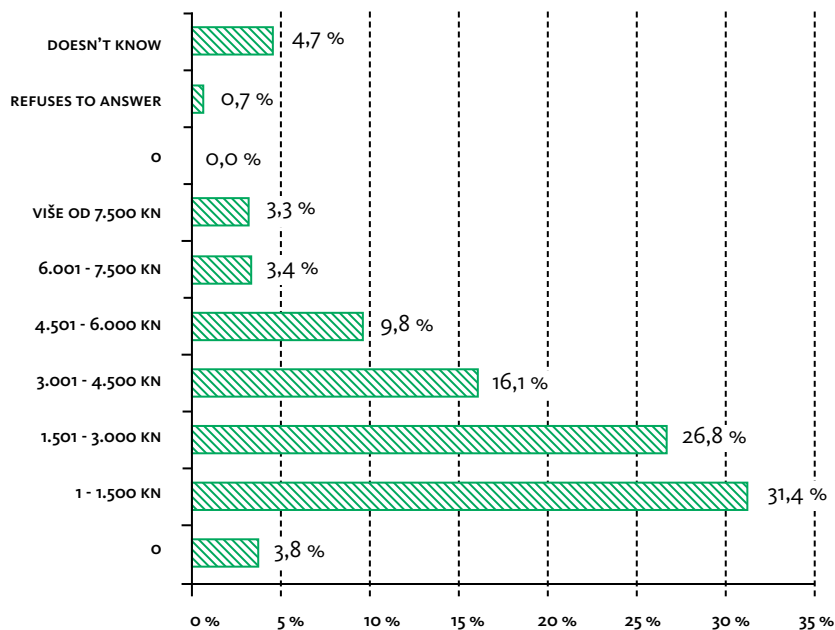
Single parent with children	9,5 %
Both parents with children	73,0 %
Grandfather and grandmother	11,8 %
Great-grandfather and/or great-grandmother	0,4 %
Another family member	2,8 %
A non-member of family	0,3 %
Married couple without children	7,4 %
Unmarried couple without children	2,8 %
Single-member household	7,3 %

The research results have shown that around three quarters of Roma households are comprised of both parents with their children, and a tenth also include grandfathers and/or grandmothers.

¹⁰⁵ Croatian Bureau of Statistics, *Popis stanovništva, kućanstava i stanova 2011. Kućanstva i obitelji* [Census of Population, Households and Dwellings 2011, Statistička izvješća [Statistical Reports], no. 1583, 2016, https://www.dzs.hr/Hrv_Eng/publication/2016/SI-1583.pdf (accessed June 2018)]

In the youngest age group, from 16 to 30, the share of single-member households is a low 2.8%, while that of married couples without children is 3.2%. In the middle age group, from 31 to 65, there are 9.0% single members and 10.2% childless marriages in the household, while in the oldest age group, of 66 or more, 39.0% are single-member and 20.3% married couples living without children. The percentage of men and women living in single-member households is identical (7.3%), but single women are on average older than single men. Single parent families make up around a tenth of the households, with nearly twice as many women than men living with their children without the other parent, a proportion that grows with age. In comparison, among family households (not counting the single-member and the negligible number of non-family multimember households) in the general population in 2011, there were 28.6% couples without children and 54.3% couples with children, and 14.4% mothers and 2.7% fathers with children,¹⁰⁶ which is a significantly different structure from that of the Roma family households.

CHART 3. TOTAL FINANCIAL INCOME OF THE HOUSEHOLD IN THE PREVIOUS MONTH, REGARDLESS OF THE SOURCE (N=1546)



Graph 3 shows that more than half of Roma households reported monthly incomes of up to 3000 HRK in the survey. The average income by household calculated on the basis of the mean income class is 2,670 HRK (median 2,250 HRK monthly). On average, this income falls to 611 HRK per member of household (median 450 HRK), or 1,070 HRK per household member aged over 15.

¹⁰⁶ Croatian Bureau of Statistics, *Popis stanovništva, kućanstava i stanova 2011. Kućanstva i obitelji, Statistička izvješća, no. 1583*, 2016, https://www.dzs.hr/Hrv_Eng/publication/2016/SI-1583.pdf (accessed June 2018)

TABLE 10. AGE OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS BY COUNTIES

COUNTY	MEAN	SD	MEDIAN	AGE OF THE OLDEST MEMBER	TOTAL N
BJELOVAR-BILOGORA	26,7	19,95	20,0	73	123
BROD-POSAVINA	21,6	16,37	18,0	86	297
CITY OF ZAGREB	27,2	19,00	25,0	82	524
ISTRIAN	27,1	20,76	21,5	76	112
KOPRIVNICA-KRIŽEVCI	17,9	15,22	14,0	77	268
MEĐIMURJE	19,0	15,89	15,0	78	1556
OSIJEK-BARANJA	29,2	21,16	25,0	87	299
PRIMORJE-GORSKI KOTAR	22,7	17,35	19,0	80	238
SISAK-MOSLAVINA	21,4	16,25	18,0	72	287
VARAŽDIN	19,4	15,34	16,0	68	186
VUKOVAR-SRIJEM	19,2	16,32	13,5	70	60
ZAGREB COUNTY	23,5	19,86	20,0	65	38
TOTAL	21,9	17,56	18,0	87*	3976

*AGE OF THE OLDEST HOUSEHOLD MEMBER INCLUDED IN THE RESEARCH

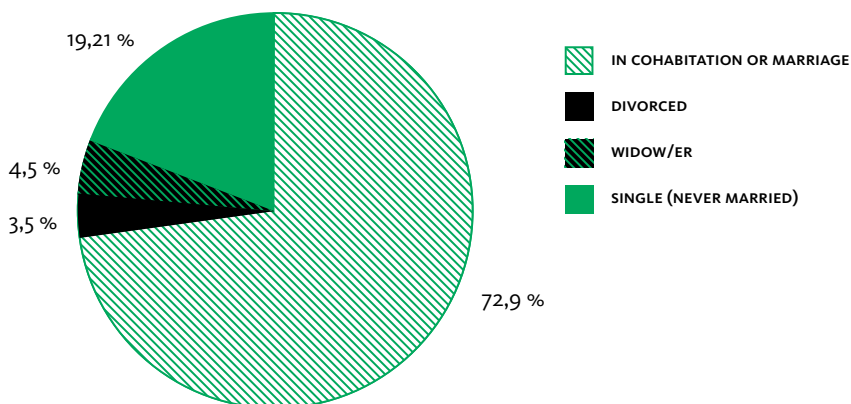
It has been established from the collected data that the average age of the Roma population is 21.9 years (median 18), with the oldest recorded household member aged 87.¹⁰⁷ Every fourth member of a Roma household has not yet reached eight years of age, half are underage and only one quarter is older than 33. In the general population, on the other hand, it is estimated that the average age has grown since the 2011 census from 41.7 to 42.8 in mid-2016.¹⁰⁸ The oldest Roma populations on average are in Osijek-Baranja county and the City of Zagreb, which are considerably different to all the counties apart from the Istrian and Bjelovar-Bilogora, where the average age of the Roma population is likewise somewhat higher.

Differences between Roma household members and the general population are drastic, both by age and by sex, especially after the age of 60. While in the general population there are 22% men and 28% women older than 60, among members of Roma households we find only 3.4% of all Roma men and 3.3% of all Roma women aged more than 60.

¹⁰⁷ N=3976; data obtained from the A version of the questionnaire, which includes all household members regardless of age, were used exclusively.

¹⁰⁸ Croatian Bureau of Statistics, *Procjene stanovništva Republike Hrvatske u 2016* [Population Estimate of Republic of Croatia], First Release, no. 7.1.3, 2017, https://www.dzs.hr/Hrv_Eng/publication/2017/07-01-03_01_2017.htm (accessed June 2018)

CHART 4. MARITAL STATUS OF PERSONS AGED 16+



Of the 2,948 members of the Roma national minority that answered the question on marital status, 72.9% live in cohabitation¹⁰⁹ or marriage. 102 are divorced, 134 have been widowed, and a fifth, or a total of 563, have never been married, that is, are single.

By far the greatest share of Roma national minority members older than 14 who are currently not in education has completed only primary school, or even less (uncompleted primary school). There are 85.0% of such cases in the Roma population, and 30.8% in the general population in 2011. The last time such a high share of people with the lowest level of education in the general population was recorded in a census was 1961, when it was 85.6%.¹¹⁰ Any kind of secondary school, with no further education, was completed by 14.5% of the members of the Roma national minority. The remaining half of a percentage point are in further and higher education. In the general population, nearly a third of the current secondary school pupils are pupils in gymnasiums, while there are less than half percent of Roma with a completed gymnasium education. Roma women are overrepresented in the lowest educational category (no school), underrepresented in the intermediate educational levels, and equally represented in the highest educational levels as men, which is approximately in line with the proportions found in the general population.

¹⁰⁹ Differentiating between marriage and cohabitation in the Roma community is not simple, as "a large majority of the interviewees live in common-law marriage, that is, marriage entered into by two future spouses by a family ceremony, recognised by the family of the spouse and the Roma community," not a marriage concluded by a registrar. Therefore, it would make sense to view these two categories of partners' shared life as a single one. See, Baranović, B., *Život Romkinja u Hrvatskoj s naglaskom na pristup obrazovanju* [Life of Roma Women in Croatia with an Emphasis on Accessibility of Education] (report with results of the study), Roma women's association "Bolja budućnost" [Better Future], 2009.

¹¹⁰ Croatian Bureau of Statistics, *Popis stanovništva, kućanstava i stanova 2011. Stanovništvo prema obrazovnim obilježjima* [Census of Population, Households and Dwellings 2011, Population According to Education Features], Statistička izvješća, no. 1582, 2016, https://www.dzs.hr/Hrv_Eng/publication/2016/SI-1582.pdf (accessed June 2018)

TABLE 11. THE HIGHEST COMPLETED EDUCATION DEGREE – BY SEX AND IN TOTAL – COMPARED TO THE GENERAL POPULATION¹¹¹

	SEX		N	TOTAL %	RC 15+ 2011. (CBS)
	MALE %	FEMALE %			
WITHOUT SCHOOL	12.4%	23.7%	440	18.2%	30,8 %
1-4 YEARS OF PRIMARY SCHOOL	16.4%	18.1%	418	17.3%	(M 23,8 %; F 37,2 %)
INCOMPLETE PRIMARY SCHOOL (YEARS 5-7)	21.5%	20.5%	509	21.0%	
COMPLETED PRIMARY SCHOOL	30.9%	26.1%	690	28.5%	
COMPLETED VOCATIONAL SCHOOL UP TO 3 YEARS	14.2%	9.2%	281	11.6%	52,6 % (M 60,0 %; F 45,9 %)
COMPLETED 4-YEAR VOCATIONAL SCHOOL	3.6%	1.8%	64	2.6%	
COMPLETED GYMNASIUM OR SECONDARY SCHOOL IN ARTS	0.5%	0.2%	8	0.3%	
COMPLETED 3-YEAR COLLEGE OR BACCALAUREATE DEGREE	0.2%	0.2%	5	0.2%	16,4 % (M 16,0 %; F 16,7 %)
COMPLETED UNIVERSITY OR GRADUATE STUDY	0.3%	0.2%	6	0.2%	
DOES NOT KNOW	0.2%	0.1%	3	0.1%	
TOTAL	100%	100%	2423	100%	100 %-unknown

¹¹¹ Data shown for 1180 Roma men and 1243 Roma women aged 15+, excluding those currently in education (N=285).

4 / RESEARCH RESULTS



This chapter presents the main findings from the research, in line with the logic of the priority areas, as listed by the National Roma Inclusion Strategy. The sub-chapters are thus as follows: 4.1. Education; 4.2. Employment and inclusion in economic life; 4.3. Healthcare; 4.4. Social welfare; 4.5. Spatial planning, housing and environmental protection; 4.6. Inclusion in social and cultural life; and 4.7. Status issues resolution, combating discrimination and help exercising Roma national minority rights. Each of the thematic chapters starts with a short introduction describing the context and the basic conclusions from previous research and other sources in the field. This is followed by baseline data, that is, results of the survey research and pre-research using the survey method. In addition, each thematic chapter includes an analysis of key stakeholders' opinions on the obstacles to the Roma national minority's inclusion and its needs in the area concerned. Each sub-chapter concludes with a discussion, conclusions and recommendations.

In addition to these thematic sub-chapters, at the end of the research results, key stakeholders' insights regarding the institutional environment for the implementation of the NRIS and intersectoral cooperation are presented.

Education

The National Roma Inclusion Strategy lists education as one of the priority areas. The general goal of the NRIS in this area is: “to improve access to quality education, including education and care rendered in early childhood, but also primary, secondary and university education with special emphasis on the elimination of potential segregation in schools; to prevent premature discontinuation of schooling and to facilitate an easy transition from school to employment.”¹¹²

Educational attainment is highly linked to social outcomes. In the European Union, the likelihood that people who have only primary education will live in poverty or social exclusion is nearly three times that of people with tertiary education (further education and university studies or more).¹¹³ In the Republic of Croatia in 2016, the level of poverty risk was as high as 37.0% for people aged 18-64 who only completed, or did not complete, primary education, while it was 15.5% for those with secondary, and only 4.5% for those with higher education. The rate of severe material deprivation for adults who only completed (or did not complete) primary education was 22.4%, nearly half that (11.0%) for those who completed secondary school, and significantly lower for those with university degrees – 3.5%.¹¹⁴

In late 2017, 7% of all employed people had completed primary school at most, 29% had higher education and the remaining 64% completed secondary school (mostly vocational).

Looking at people aged 25 to 64, the greatest difference in employment compared to the EU average is found in lower-educated people: in Croatia, only 38.1% are employed, while the EU average is 54.3%. Likewise, the level of education is also linked to self-assessed health quality and life expectancy.¹¹⁵

¹¹² The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

¹¹³ European Commission, *Education and Training Monitor 2017 – Croatia*, 2017, https://ec.europa.eu/education/sites/education/files/monitor2017-hr_en.pdf (accessed June 2018)

¹¹⁴ Croatian Bureau of Statistics, *Rezultati ankete o dohotku stanovništva u 2016. [Income and Living Conditions Survey Results, 2016]*, Statistička izvješća no. 1609, 2017, https://www.dzs.hr/Hrv_Eng/publication/2017/SI-1609.pdf (accessed June 2018)

¹¹⁵ European Commission, *Education and Training Monitor 2017 – Croatia*, 2017, https://ec.europa.eu/education/sites/education/files/monitor2017-hr_en.pdf (accessed June 2018)

The National Roma Inclusion Strategy recognised that: “there are still a multitude of problems at all levels of education concerning the practical implementation of both the national education policy and measures from the strategic documents aimed at the inclusion of the Roma minority into society.”¹¹⁶ Furthermore, it states that “the educational level of the Roma population is quite low, and the average number of years spent in the educational system is considerabl[y] lower in comparison to the majority population.”¹¹⁷ Potočnik,¹¹⁸ author of the chapter on education in the study, “Everyday Life of Roma in Croatia: Challenges and Possibilities for Transformation,” states that “the Roma in Croatia still cannot realise their full educational potential, primarily due to poverty, ethnic discrimination (and the multiple discrimination of women), (self-)marginalisation and lack of self-confidence, as well as the slow rate of change of the everyday functioning of Roma communities.”¹¹⁹ European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights studies in turn show that 95% of Roma national minority children aged 7-14 are in education, while the same applies to 35% of young members of the Roma national minority aged 15-18.¹²⁰

Concerning the abovementioned indicators linking educational level to later outcomes in life, the great importance of education in the national Roma inclusion policy is clear.

The following chapter presents the data collected in a survey research on the inclusion of the Roma in the education system at all levels – preschool education, primary education, secondary education and higher education and adult education. Likewise presented are key stakeholders’ (representatives of the Roma national minority and the relevant institutions at the local and county levels) attitudes and opinions collected by means of semi-structured interviews and focus groups on changes in the field of education in the past ten years and the basic problems regarding the inclusion of the Roma in the education system.

4.1.1

Preschool education – kindergartens and preschools

Although the National Roma Inclusion Strategy mentions the slight uptick in children in the preschool education system, underrepresentation of Roma national minority children in preschool education is still present, as the research results presented here will show.

The Ordinance on the Substance and Duration of Preschool Programmes (O.G. 107/14)

¹¹⁶ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Bagić, D., Burić, I., Dobrotić, I., Potočnik, D., and Zrinščak, S., *Romska svakodnevnica u Hrvatskoj: prepreke i mogućnosti za promjene*, UNDP, UNHCR and UNICEF, 2014.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), *Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS II) Roma – Selected findings*, <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2016/eumidis-ii-roma-selected-findings>, (accessed June 2018)

foresees that the “preschool programme is mandatory for all children for a year before enrolling in primary school. For children attending kindergarten, preschool programme is integrated into the regular kindergarten preschool programme.”¹²¹ However, there are no practical sanctions for not attending a preschool programme.

The preschool programme is carried out between 1 October and 31 May, with a total duration of 250 hours per annum for children who do not attend regular kindergarten programmes in line with the work organisation of an education institution, with a smaller timetable (not less than 150 h) only where the 250-hour programme cannot be carried out due to an exceptionally small number of children (up to five), difficult conditions for children’s arrival or stay and other objective difficulties.¹²²

According to the NRIS: “the under-representation of children of the Roma minority in preschool education has multiple causes, from their parents’ lack of awareness of the importance of preschool education through a shortage of finances in local governmental budgets and continuous preschool programme financing and the insufficient capacity in kindergartens, to the lack of awareness of the need for long-term planning of Roma community inclusion at the local level.”¹²³

Data collected in pre-research for 463 children aged 3-6 show that 68.9% are not in preschool, kindergarten and/or primary school. Only 11.4% of children attend preschool, and 13.0% are in kindergarten. Looking at results concerning children in the age of six, the data is somewhat different. As many as 29.7% of children that age attend preschool, and a further 24.3% go to kindergarten, so there are 54.0% six-year-olds covered by some form of preschool education. A further 20.7% of children aged 6 attend primary school (which was left out of the chart), while there are less than 2% of children for whom interviewees answered “other” or refused to answer. Among seven-year-olds, 3.8% are outside the education system, and an equal number attend preschool. 91.3% attend primary school, and one is in kindergarten. As for seven-year-olds currently in primary school, interviewees claim that three quarters attended some form of preschool education; 14.9%

121 Ordinance on the Substance and Duration of Preschool Programmes (Official Gazette, 107/14)

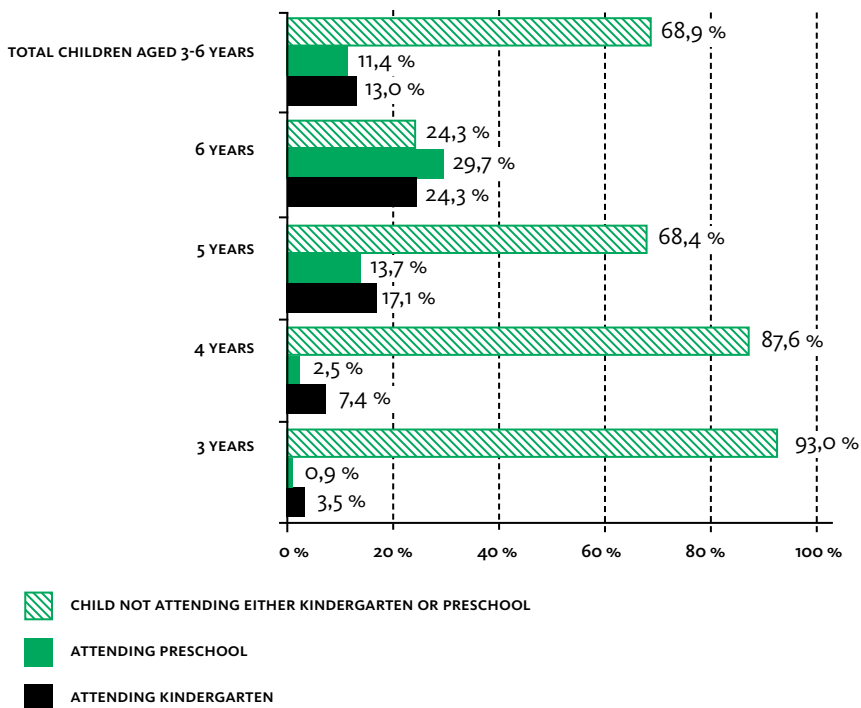
122 The Act on Preschool Upbringing and Education (O.G. 10/97, 107/07 and 94/13), Article 23, stipulates that:

- 1) The preschool programmes is mandatory for all children for a year before starting primary school.
- 2) The preschool programme for children attending kindergarten is integrated in the regular kindergarten preschool education programme.
- 3) Those due to attend preschool who are not in kindergarten enrol in a preschool programme in a kindergarten or primary school closest to their residence with a preschool programme for children not in kindergarten.
- 4) If there are no kindergartens and/or primary schools conducting preschool programmes in a given area, the local or regional self-government unit must secure a preschool programme for children from paragraph 3 of this article, by securing the child transport to the nearest kindergarten or primary school conducting a preschool programme, unless the distance from the child’s place of residence is more than 20 kilometres.
- 5) If the nearest kindergarten or primary school conducting a preschool programme from paragraph 4 of this article are more than 20 kilometres away from the child’s place of residence, the local or regional self-government unit must establish a kindergarten or its subsidiary, or organise a preschool programme in a primary school within 20 kilometres from the child’s place of residence.

123 The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

in the school itself, and 60.9% in kindergarten. Similar data were obtained for pupils one and two years older, while the share of those who did not attend any kind of preschool education increases from a quarter to a third for those currently aged ten, as compared to the younger generation, half as many attended preschool within primary schools.

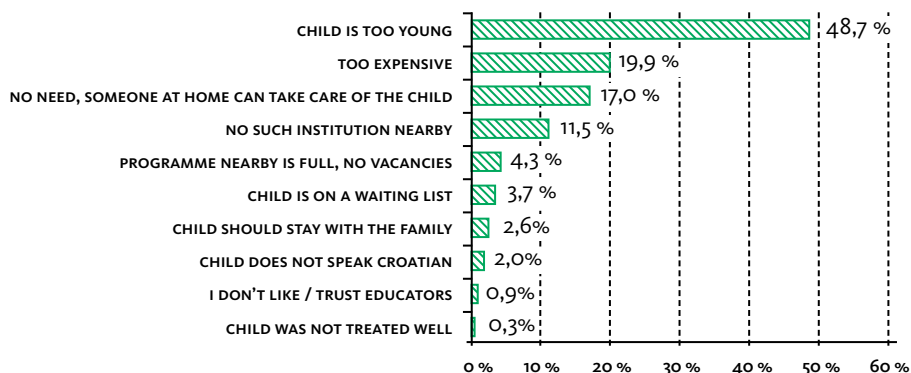
CHART 5: COVERAGE OF THE PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION – CHILDREN AGED 3 TO 6 (N=463)



Around a third of Roma children attend preschool in mixed groups with non-Roma majorities (N=28), somewhat more are in exclusively Roma groups, and a little less in Roma majority groups.

In addition to the data on preschool education attendance, data that speak to the reasons why children do not attend preschool education were also gathered from the interviewees. For a total of 347 children aged 3-6, parents stated that they did not attend kindergarten, preschool or any other preschool education institution in the course of the previous schoolyear (2016-2017). Data displayed below (Chart 6) concern the question, "for what reason did the child not attend a preschool education institution during the last schoolyear?", to which it was possible to choose multiple answers.

CHART 6. REASONS OF NOT ATTENDING PRESCHOOL EDUCATION FOR CHILDREN AGED 3 TO 6 (N=347)



As many as 48.7% of parents of preschool children attending neither preschool, kindergarten nor school believe that their child is too young for kindergarten. As stated in the NRIS, this indicates parents' unawareness and lack of acquaintance with the laws regulating preschool education attendance. A further fifth of the interviewees cite financial reasons, while the third stated reason, "someone at home can take care of the child," additionally supports the thesis that parents are unaware of the importance of preschool education as a key dimension of preparing children for the duties involved in attending primary school. Preschool education is also cited as a key precondition for children's integration, including, among other things, for learning the Croatian language. Children who do not master the communication, social and graphomotor skills or the Croatian language before the beginning of the mandatory school programme, face long-term obstacles to achieving good results in school, which can lead to falling motivation both to complete primary school and to enrol in secondary school. According to research results, 8% of children are not enrolled in preschool education because "the programme nearby is full, there are no places left" (4.3%) and "the child is on a waiting list" (3.7%), which is an indicator of not meeting the obligations defined in the Act on Preschool Upbringing and Education (O.G. 10/97, 107/07 i 94/13).¹²⁴

4.1.2

Primary education

One of the basic principles stated in the Act on Education in Primary and Secondary Schools is that primary education is mandatory, while Article 12 further explains that "primary education begins with enrolment in first grade of primary school, is mandatory for all children, in general, from the age of six until fifteen, and for all pupils with multiple developmental difficulties at most until 21 years of age."¹²⁵ In addition, it states that

¹²⁴ The Act on Education in Primary and Secondary Schools (Official Gazette 87/08, 86/09, 92/10, 105/10, 90/11, 5/12, 16/12, 86/12, 126/12, 94/13, 152/14, 07/17).

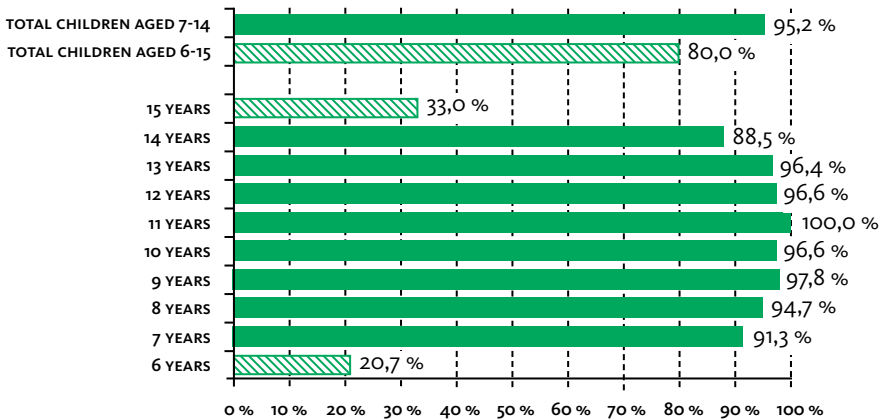
¹²⁵ The Act on Education in Primary and Secondary Schools (Official Gazette 87/08, 86/09, 92/10, 105/10, 90/11, 5/12, 16/12, 86/12, 126/12, 94/13, 152/14, 07/17), art. 12.

“acquiring primary education is the foundation of vertical and horizontal mobility in the education system in the Republic of Croatia.”¹²⁶ The National Strategy has recognised the problems related to Roma primary school education, highlighting particularly “the irregularity of attendance, the low rate of completion of primary education, i.e., dropping out of school prior to reaching the age of 15, inadequate monitoring of the share of Roma children being educated under special needs programmes, inadequate planning and irregular financing of extended day programmes, the absence of continued and targeted support for teaching staff working with Roma children, and the non-enforcement of measures to prevent segregation.”¹²⁷

To establish the coverage of children members of the Roma national minority by primary education, the research gathered data on children in the relevant age group: as many as 95.2% of children aged 7-14 are enrolled in primary education, as are 80.0% of those aged 6-15.

At the age of 6, 29.7% of children still attend preschool and 24.3% kindergarten, while for less than 2% of all children interviewees gave answers in the “other” category or refused to answer. Secondary school is attended by 2.3% of children aged 14, and 31.9% of children aged 15. Primary school is also attended by each tenth sixteen-year-old.

CHART 7. COVERAGE OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL EDUCATION BY AGE (CHILDREN AGED 6-15 YEARS; N=935)



Research results show that most primary school pupils finished the schoolyear prior to the research with an average grade of good [in a five-tiered grading scale with marks ranging from 1 ('insufficient'), through 2 ('sufficient'), 3 ('good'), 4 ('very good') to 5 ('excellent')] (46.7%) and very good (36.3%), while each tenth pupil had excellent marks

¹²⁶ The Act on Education in Primary and Secondary Schools (Official Gazette 87/08, 86/09, 92/10, 105/10, 90/11, 5/12, 16/12, 86/12, 126/12, 94/13, 152/14, 07/17).

¹²⁷ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

(9.8%), and each twentieth had the lowest mark (sufficient, 4.1%) to go through. The fewest failed their grades and had to repeat their year (3.1%, 'insufficient'), with boys and pupils in first year of primary school somewhat more represented.

TABLE 12. AVERAGE GRADES IN PRIMARY SCHOOL BY SEX

What was the child's average grade at the end of the previous schoolyear?

	PRIMARY SCHOOL	AVERAGE MARK	TOTAL N
M		3,4	349
F		3,5	334
TOTAL		3,45	683

In primary schools, there is no statistically significant difference in average grades by sex, while by age, there is a statistically significant difference that arises from the slight drop in grades in the final years of school, in which the contribution of the difference between the last years' eight-year-olds and thirteen-year-olds amounting to approximately half a standard mark is key.

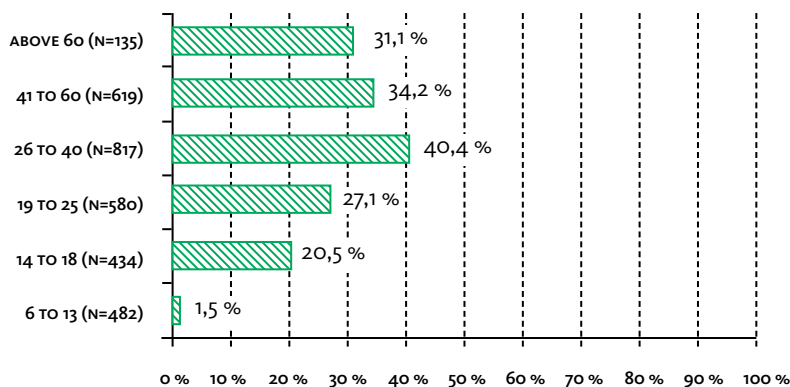
Concerning the duration of primary education of all of the sampled persons who completed at least primary school (N=1182), there is no statistically significant difference either by age or by sex: 88.7% completed primary school in the foreseen eight-year period, 8.0% in nine years, and 3.3% needed 10 or more years to complete primary school.

The National Roma Inclusion Strategy recognises the problem of segregating Roma pupils in primary school. For this reason, data on the ethnic structure of the classrooms attended by Roma national minority pupils were collected. At county level, Roma-pupil-only classrooms are attended by a fifth of the Roma primary school pupils (20.2%) in the 12 counties (N=761). Primary school pupils from Međimurje county make up by far the largest share in that group, with 45% attending exclusively Roma classrooms (140 of the 148 recorded cases are in Međimurje county). An additional 13.2% of pupils attend mixed classrooms with Roma pupil majorities (most such cases are in Brod-Posavina, Međimurje and Primorje-Gorski kotar county). Interviewees from Bjelovar-Bilogora, Brod-Posavina, Istarian and Međimurje counties established that a smaller share of the children attend classrooms attended exclusively by members of various national minorities, but on the whole, there are only 3.4% such pupils. The remaining 63.2% Roma pupils are in mixed classrooms, with a majority of pupils from the majority population (from about a third of Roma pupils from Međimurje county to all, or nearly all Roma pupils from Zagreb). In their free time, the majority of these pupils socialize equally with Roma and with pupils from the majority population, while pupils from Roma majority classrooms socialise with majority population pupils far less frequently.

According to data collected using the survey method, nearly all Roma primary school pupils (N=727) attend school regularly, that is, every day (94.1%); only 5.1% fail to appear approximately once a week, while less than 1% are absent more often, or cannot estimate.

Data on dropping out of primary education and reasons for it have been gathered for persons in all age groups, starting with six-year-olds, all the way to the oldest interviewees, aged more than 60. Most of the interviewees who abandoned primary education are in the age group from 26 to 40. Results for the two oldest age groups are very similar, with approximately each third interviewee having abandoned primary school.

CHART 8. ABANDONING PRIMARY SCHOOL BY AGE GROUPS



Of those who answered the question about the reasons for abandoning primary school (N=836), each fifth stated financial reasons, the same proportion gave up due to entering marriage, somewhat fewer (15.2%) dropped out due to poor educational results, each twentieth for health reasons and the same number because they became parents, while language difficulties, work, remoteness of the school and moving house are cited as less frequent reasons. 27.4% interviewees cited other reasons.

At the age when attending school is mandated by law (from 6 to 15), each twelfth child for whom an answer was given to the specific question dropped out of school (15 boys and 16 girls in the sample).¹²⁸ Asked about the reasons for dropping out, for each tenth child the reasons given are health and financial, and each five poor educational results, while pregnancy was only cited once. It is interesting that language problems, marriage and/or cohabiting with a partner and moving home as a consequence, bullying in school, work or migration within or outside the country are not mentioned even once as a reason for abandoning school.

According to interviewees' answers, around a quarter of pupils (27.3% of the 660 pupils for whom a valid answer was supplied) attend extended day care in primary school. Around a third of children in primary schools attend extracurricular activities (37.0% of N=683), with no statistically significant difference in participation in activities with regards to sex. In most cases, both Roma and majority population children (51.2%) participate

¹²⁸ As many as 38% of interviewees did not answer this question, which might be an indicator of unease and/or avoiding to answer the question that can serve, among other things, to establish whether the parents did not meet their legal obligations.

equally in such extracurricular activities; mostly children from the majority population in 29.1% of cases; mostly Roma in 16.8%, while 2.9% of interviewees did not know what was the ethnic composition of the groups performing noncompulsory extracurricular activities.

Interviewees stated in the survey that 5.4% pupils were schooled in individualised programmes, and 10.7% in adapted primary school programmes, with girls and boys evenly represented.

Data were collected on the experiences of Roma pupils and their parents with teaching assistants, who can greatly contribute to children's success in primary education. A study sub-sample comprised parents of pupils with children up to 16 years of age (N=405), who were asked about their experiences with Roma assistants. Parents with at least one child who had a Roma assistant during schooling (26.4%) were asked to assess, based on their experience, how much do Roma assistants work with children on various pedagogic tasks.

TABLE 13. PERCEPTION OF THE AMOUNT OF WORK ROMA ASSISTANTS PUT IN WITH CHILDREN

	NOT AT ALL		LITTLE		A LOT		DO NOT KNOW		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
MASTERING THE CURRICULUM	3	2.8%	19	17.9%	75	70.8%	9	8.5%	106	100%
RECOGNISING THE CHILD'S TALENTS AND CREATIVITY	5	4.7%	23	21.7%	64	60.4%	14	13.2%	106	100%
WORK ON THE CHILD'S SELF-RESPECT	5	4.7%	16	15.1%	72	67.9%	13	12.3%	106	100%
IMPROVING THE CHILD'S COMMUNICATION SKILLS	8	7.7%	13	12.5%	73	70.2%	10	9.6%	104	100%

Parents with experience of communicating to Roma assistants have expressed the opinion that Roma assistants contribute most to mastering the curriculum (70.8% of those who answered the question express this opinion), the same number believe that Roma assistants are also important for improving the child's communication skills (70.2%), while somewhat fewer, though still a majority, of parents – 60.4% of them – found that Roma assistants' work was important for recognising the child's talent and creativity. According to these research results, parents have assessed that Roma assistants positively contribute to their children's educational process in all four dimensions of their work.

Mothers give somewhat higher 'marks' to Roma assistants than fathers, but the difference is only statistically significant in relation to improving the child's communication skills.

Less than a fifth of the parents (17.3%) believe that another person would do the job of assistant for Roma pupils better. The answers to the accompanying open question make

it clear that this is mainly due to dissatisfaction with the specific person doing the job and/or view that the assistant should be more educated and/or member of the majority population.

Contrary to some opinions, those parents who do not want their children to continue education after primary school are exceedingly rare. The survey research results have shown that as many as 90.8% of parents have a strong desire for their children to continue education after primary school.

TABLE 14. INTEREST OF PARENTS FOR CONTINUATION OF THEIR CHILDREN'S SCHOOLING AFTER PRIMARY SCHOOLS¹²⁹

How much do you personally want your children who are currently in primary school to continue their schooling after completing primary school?

	N	%
DO NOT WANT IT	11	3,4%
PARTLY WANT IT	16	4,9%
STRONGLY WANT IT	295	90,8%
DO NOT KNOW	3	0,9%
TOTAL	325	100%

Such information is perfectly in line with the crucial changes shown in education, where more Roma national minority representatives express satisfaction with the increased number of secondary school pupils than before. However, although parents' and Roma communities' awareness on the importance of continuing education has significantly increased, there are nevertheless relatively few secondary school pupils, on which more in the following segment.

4.1.3

Secondary education

According to the Act on Education in Primary and Secondary Schools, by type of education, secondary schools can be gymnasiums, vocational schools and art schools, while "secondary education gives the pupil knowledge and skills for work and continued education."¹³⁰ Based on previous research,¹³¹ the National Roma Inclusion Strategy recognises that the number of Roma attending secondary schools is unsatisfactory in relation to the number attending primary school.¹³² For this reason, the survey research was used to collect data relating to Roma participation in secondary education.

¹²⁹ Only parents having at least one child currently attending primary school were asked this question.

¹³⁰ The Act on Education in Primary and Secondary Schools (Official Gazette 87/08, 86/09, 92/10, 105/10, 90/11, 5/12, 16/12, 86/12, 126/12, 94/13, 152/14, 07/17), Article 11.

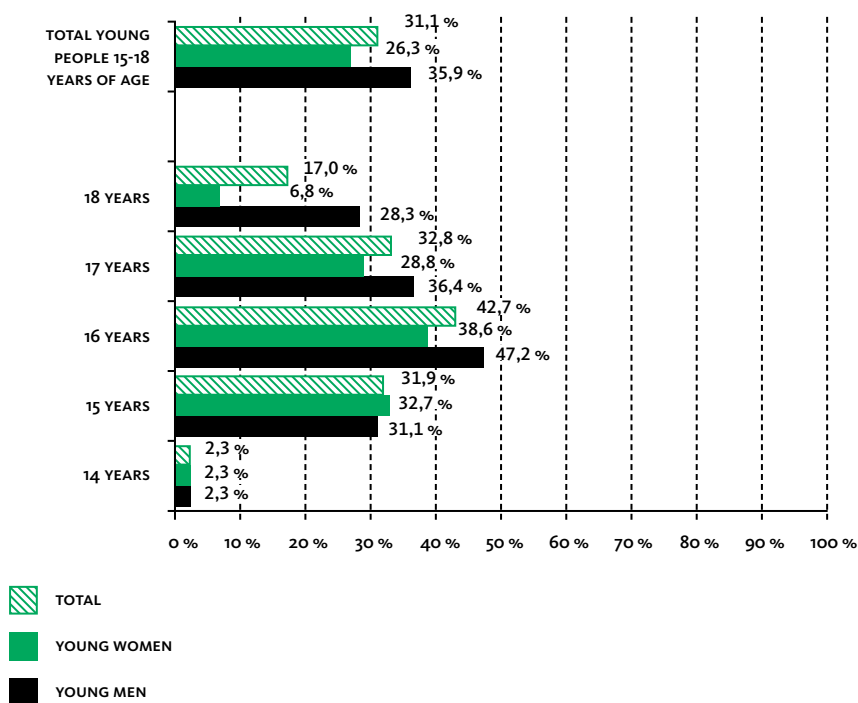
¹³¹ UNDP, World Bank and DG Regio, *Roma in Central and Southeast Europe, Regional Household Survey*, 2011.

¹³² The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

Primarily, data was collected on how many young Roma of secondary school age attend secondary school. Graph 9 shows that secondary education coverage of Roma pupils aged 15 to 18 is 31%. According to the interviewees' statements, there are more boys (36%) than girls (26%) in secondary education.

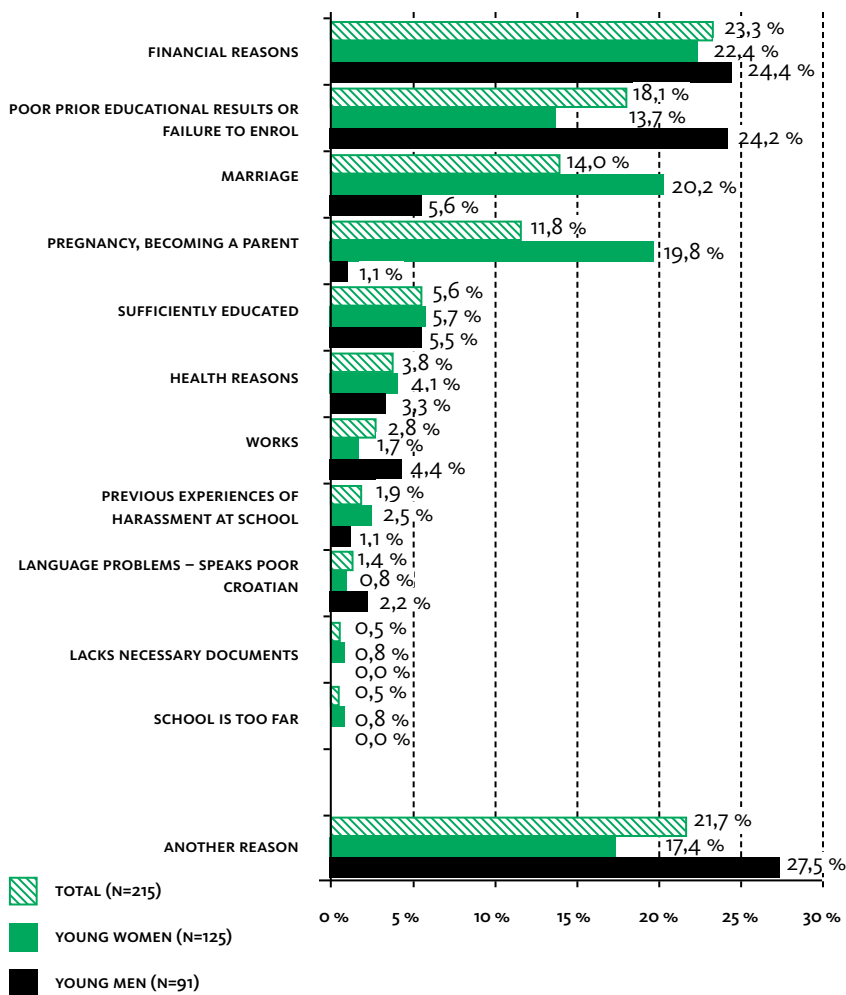
Looking at secondary education coverage for each group by age, only 2.3% fourteen-year-olds, and 2.7% of nineteen-year-olds (not shown on graph) attend secondary school. Among fifteen-year-olds, there is even one percentage point more of primary school than secondary school pupils, while 16.0% are unemployed, 3.2% are housewives and others. The share of those unemployed grows with each year, up to 53.6%, and up to 17.9% of housewives among eighteen-year-olds.

CHART 9. HIGH-SCHOOL EDUCATION COVERAGE BY SEX IN THE AGE OF 15-18 YEARS (N=441)



According to survey research results (Chart 10), a lack of financial capacity is the key reason why young Roma people aged 15 to 18 abandon schooling; as many as 23.3% do not continue education as they lack the money to do so. Prior poor educational results are an obstacle for 18.1% young Roma to continue education, while entering marriage is the third most frequent reason for abandoning education at that age. Here, there is a great sex difference, with 20.2% young women, as opposed to only 5.6% young men, cite marriage as a key reason for discontinuing education, which tallies with numerous claims made in interviews with representatives of the relevant institutions.

CHART 10. REASONS FOR NOT ATTENDING SCHOOL BY YOUNG PEOPLE AGED 15 TO 18 WHO ARE NOT ENROLLED IN PRIMARY OR HIGH SCHOOL, BY SEX¹³³

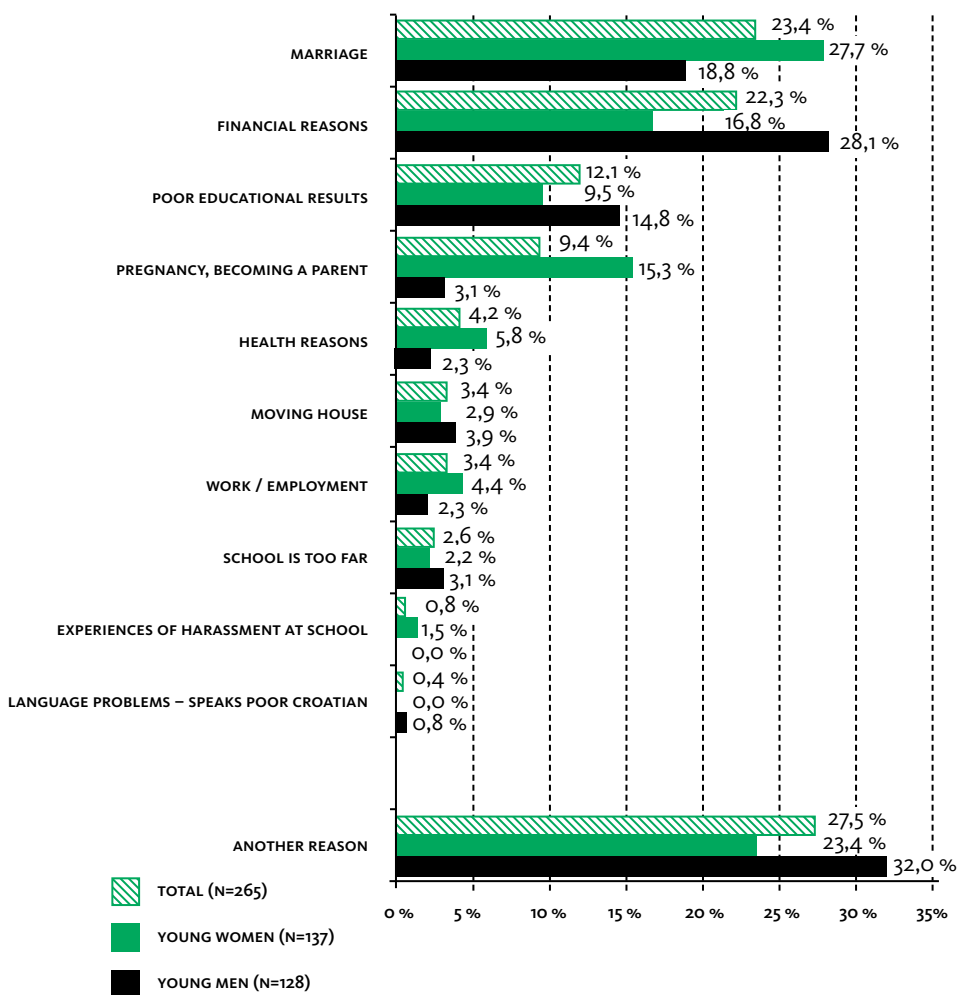


In addition to data on young Roma not attending secondary school, data was also collected on the proportion of the Roma who attended secondary education but gave it up, as well as the reasons for abandoning it. The share of those in the 14-18 age group who enrolled in secondary school but dropped out is 15.9%. In the same age group, 3-year vocational school was finished by 6.9%, and other types of secondary school by 1.1%, while 26.3% are currently in secondary school. The proportion of drop-outs is similar in the 19-25 age group (15.7%), but this group also has the highest share of those who completed secondary school: 22.9% a three year, and 3.8% a four year vocational school, with 0.6% of those who finished gymnasium. In the age of 26-40, the dropout rate falls to 7.8%, in

¹³³ More than one answer was possible for one household member, so the total can be higher than 100%, although a great majority of respondents gave just one answer.

the 41-60 group to 6.1%, while among those older than 60, it is only 1.5%. In the last three age groups, the share of those who successfully completed any kind of secondary school also drops, 12.0%, 9.4% and 5.4% respectively. Of the total of 2,581 interviewees aged 14 and more, 10.2% (N=265) left secondary school at some point.

CHART 11. REASONS OF ABANDONING HIGH SCHOOL, BY SEX



The lower level of inclusion of young Roma women in secondary school is partly the result of the fact that Roma women take up childcare and housekeeping as their main concern, which can be seen in the differences of employment and educational status by sex in 'secondary school age'. Most young Roma aged 14-18 who abandoned education is without income and unemployed – 38.6% of 259 young women and 33.6% of 253 young men. Among those young Roma who abandoned school aged 14-18 there is a significant difference by sex in the category housewife/parental/maternity leave, where as many as

15.1% of young women that age take up these roles, while young men are not represented in the category at all. However, 9.9% of young Roma men of that age are informally or formally employed, as opposed to only 1.2% young women.

Considering that educational achievement, that is, success in secondary school, is an important precondition for continued education, the survey examined the level of success in those who are currently in secondary school. According to research data, the average grades of Roma pupils in secondary schools are 'very good – 3.4 in male pupils and slightly better in female pupils – 3.6. However, in secondary schools there is no statistically significant difference in average grades by sex. Nearly all pupils attend secondary school regularly, that is, 96.9% of the 128 for whom data were collected.

TABLE 15. AVERAGE MARKS IN HIGH SCHOOL, BY SEX

What was the pupil's average grade at the end of the previous schoolyear?

HIGH SCHOOL	AVERAGE MARK	TOTAL N
M	3,4	53
F	3,6	59
UKUPNO	3,5	112

Considering the fact that the Ministry of Science and Education recognised the need to facilitate secondary education for young Roma, scholarships for Roma secondary school pupils were secured, and the scope of the study included examining how many really do receive one, and from which source. Out of the 146 secondary school pupils for whom valid answers were collected, 72.6% received some form of scholarship. The sources were the state (73.1%) and city or municipality (17.6%), with 10.3% of those who could not name the source of the scholarship or cited another source.

Participation in extracurricular activities can provide a foundation for achieving better success in education, development of social and other skills and integration of Roma children with majority population children. Therefore, the study also looked into participation in such activities in secondary school. Table 16 shows that around a quarter of the children attending secondary school participate in some form of extracurricular activities, while 72.1% do not. This information corresponds entirely with assertions made by representatives of the relevant institutions in semi-structured interviews and focus groups, stating that Roma children should be better included in extracurricular activities. There is no statistically significant difference by sex in rates of participation in extracurricular activities. In around two thirds of cases, extracurricular activities are implemented in groups with an even number of the majority population and the Roma, while the remaining third are in groups mostly comprised of the majority population.

TABLE 16. PARTICIPATION IN EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES IN HIGH SCHOOL, BY SEX

Does the child participate in extracurricular activities?

	M	F	TOTAL %	TOTAL N
NO	71.3%	73.1%	72.1%	106
YES	26.3%	26.9%	26.5%	39
REFUSES TO ANSWER	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0
DOES NOT KNOW	2.5%	0.0%	1.4%	2
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	147

In view of the fact that a part of the Roma population lives in locations with no secondary schools, as well as locations that are remote and have poor transport connections to towns where secondary schools are located, the survey research examined how many Roma secondary school pupils live in boarding accommodation. Each tenth Roma secondary school pupil had boarding accommodation during their education (9.6% of N=156).

4.1.4

Higher education

As the National Roma Inclusion Strategy recognises, the Roma are underrepresented in higher education as well, so data on persons who attend, or attended, higher education was also collected. Seven persons included in the research are currently in colleges, six are in polytechnics, and a further six in university (11 men and 8 women). Only one of the six interviewees currently in university is in boarding accommodation, the same as interviewees in polytechnics, while no one attending college is in boarding accommodation. Of the 2,581 adults (18 or more years of age) for whom answers to the question about dropping out of education were gathered, 14, half of whom are now aged 19-25, had enrolled in university but later abandoned studies. Of the 2,671 whose highest attained level of education is known, seven completed college or a baccalaureate degree, and six university or a graduate degree, mostly at the age of around 30 (seven men and six women).

Around a third of those in the age group 18-24 list entering marriage and/or becoming a parent, a quarter financial reasons and a tenth each the opinion that they are educated enough or prior poor educational results or lack of success in enrolling as reasons for not currently being in education.

4.1.5

Adult education

The majority of the Roma do not take additional education in adult age. Only 4.2% finished primary school as adults, 1.9% secondary school, while 4.5% completed a vocational training programme. Vocational training programmes are usually completed at the age of 26-40 – 5.7%, while 4.6% of those in the younger age group of 19-25 complete such programmes.

TABLE 17. LIFELONG EDUCATION AND ADULT EDUCATION BY AGE

Have you ever attended?		AGE GROUPS									
		19 TO 25 YEARS		26 TO 40 YEARS		41 TO 60 YEARS		ABOVE 60 YEARS		TOTAL	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAMME	No	665	95,4%	914	94,3%	734	96,7%	181	96,8%	2494	95,5%
	Yes	32	4,6%	55	5,7%	25	3,3%	6	3,2%	118	4,5%
	TOTAL	697		969		759		187		2612	
VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAMME WITHOUT EMPLOYMENT	No	676	97,0%	941	97,1%	744	98,0%	186	99,5%	2547	97,5%
	Yes	21	3,0%	28	2,9%	15	2,0%	1	0,5%	65	2,5%
	TOTAL	697		969		759		187		2612	
COMPLETED PRIMARY SCHOOL AS ADULT	No	648	93,0%	931	96,1%	739	97,4%	185	98,9%	2503	95,8%
	Yes	49	7,0%	38	3,9%	20	2,6%	2	1,1%	109	4,2%
	TOTAL	697		969		759		187		2612	
COMPLETED SECONDARY SCHOOL AS ADULT	No	677	97,1%	951	98,1%	747	98,4%	187	100%	2562	98,1%
	Yes	20	2,9%	18	1,9%	12	1,6%	0	0,0%	50	1,9%
	TOTAL	697		969		759		187		2612	

4.1.6

Key stakeholders' opinions on the needs of the Roma population and obstacles to Roma inclusion in the field of education

As described in the chapter on research methodology, views and opinions of key stakeholders, representatives of the relevant institutions and of the Roma national minority on what they see as the key challenges and obstacles to Roma inclusion in the field of education in their communities were collected using the methods of semi-structured interviews and focus groups. Here presented are the results concerning changes in the field of education in the past ten years and the main problems in attending primary school.

According to the findings of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy, there is a widespread consensus among the interviewed stakeholders that education is the strategic area in which the implementation of NRIS Action Plan, and thus the strategy itself, was the most successful. The increased number of Roma children enrolled in primary education is often cited as the most significant example of the recent progress in the position of the Roma. This was largely confirmed by the results of the research using semi-structured interviews and focus groups. As part of the qualitative research, representatives of the relevant institutions and the Roma national minority were asked to describe the transformations in education in the past 10 years.

TABLE 18. DESCRIPTION OF CHANGES IN EDUCATION ACCORDING TO REPLIES OF THE INTERVIEWED REPRESENTATIVES OF RELEVANT INSTITUTIONS

FREQUENT REPLIES	NUMBER OF CODES
MORE PEOPLE REGULARLY ATTENDING PS; MORE OF THEM COMPLETING PS	40
PARENTS MORE AWARE OF IMPORTANCE OF SCHOOL FOR THEIR CHILDREN'S FUTURE	29
GREATER COVERAGE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS	26
CHILDREN MORE MOTIVATED TO WORK AND LEARN	13
HIGHER ENROLMENT OF CHILDREN IN PRIMARY SCHOOL AT THE PROPER AGE	8
GREATER COVERAGE OF CHILDREN BY KINDERGARTEN AND PRESCHOOL	8
EXTENDED DAY CARE FOR ROMA CHILDREN	6
HIGHER NUMBER OF ADOLESCENT PREGNANCIES, FEWER GIRLS COMPLETE PS AND ENROL IN HIGH SCHOOL	5
ROMA ASSISTANTS – GREAT STEP FORWARD IN COOPERATION WITH PARENTS AND CHILDREN	5
TEACHERS MORE SENSITISED TO PROBLEMS AND NEEDS OF ROMA PARENTS AND CHILDREN; SCHOOL UNDERSTANDS IT SHOULD OPEN UP TO THE COMMUNITY	5
MORE PUPILS INCLUDED IN EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES: FOLK ART, CHOIRS, SPORTS, WHERE THEY BECOME INTEGRATED	5
ENCOURAGING INTEGRATION, THEY BECOME MORE INTEGRATED WITH OTHER CHILDREN IN THE CLASSROOM	4
FEWER CHILDREN WITH A HIGH NUMBER OF TRUANCIES – INSTITUTIONS BETTER NETWORKED, PROBLEMS BEING SOLVED, THE MINISTRY CONTROLS SCHOOLS WITH REGARDS TO TRUANCY	4
FEWER CHILDREN WHO MUST REPEAT A YEAR IN SCHOOL, TAKE MAKEUP EXAMS, FEWER CHILDREN ABANDONING SCHOOL	4
BETTER IMPLEMENTATION OF LAWS AND REGULATIONS WITH REGARD TO RNM, BECAUSE PRIMARY EDUCATION IS MANDATORY FOR ALL CHILDREN	3
SCHOLARSHIPS FOR RNM SECONDARY SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY STUDENTS	2
CHANGE VISIBLE IN BETTER EVERYDAY RELATIONS AMONG PEOPLE, CHILDREN AT SCHOOL	2
MORE CHILDREN WHO ENROL IN PS UNDERSTAND CROATIAN THAN BEFORE, WHEN THEY SPOKE AND UNDERSTOOD ONLY ROMANI	2
WHAT IS WORSE THAN 10 YEARS AGO IS THAT ROMA CHILDREN HAVE DISCIPLINARY ISSUES	1

The greater coverage of Roma children in primary schools was cited as the key change in Roma children's education, while their increased success in finishing the primary education cycle was also highlighted as a great step forward and a success for work in the field of education. The changed attitude of parents towards education is certainly also to

thank for the successful completion of primary school – and therefore for greater enrolment in secondary schools – which is the third change mentioned most frequently by all those interviewed, a great success of the implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy and the accompanying Action plan. Many of the interviewed representatives of the relevant institutions see changes in education as a change in the parents' attitude towards school, and state that parents are more aware that school is important for their children's future, "that cooperation between the parents and the school is better"; "that more parents have completed primary school and try to integrate their children more"; "they speak more Croatian to their children"; "turn up to parent-teacher meetings more regularly"; "school has become a safe space for parents, they come to ask questions, to find advice"; "they take more care to secure books, supplies". Some of the interviewed representatives of the relevant institutions ascribe this to better education of the parents themselves, while others see this change as part of a more comprehensive change where the attitude of the school towards the Roma community has also significantly changed:

"(...) The school did finally realise a bit that it has to turn towards the community, that it must open up somehow, accept them somehow, take them in and, in a way, so that they feel welcome here and that they can cooperate with teachers. So that it isn't, like before, even when the parent comes to school, we give them the low-down on what's wrong, we just kill their will and any kind of a notion to cooperate, and so the cooperation was missing. I think we made a first step and that some parents recognised this and approached the school even more, embraced this education, realised that it is what will maybe give their children a future, and they are nudging their children in that direction." (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION IN BROD-POSAVINA COUNTY).

"The system is more sensitive towards them, certainly, so, we are more tolerant, I say we are more creative in some things to get certain things done. Unfortunately it is not flexible enough yet for such children and I think some work could be done here in some situations." (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION IN VUKOVAR-SRIJEM COUNTY).

The next change described by the representatives of the relevant institutions is the changed attitude of children towards school – "they are more motivated to work and learn," "they really want to achieve something by learning, by applying themselves in class," "there's been a great change in hygiene habits, in attendance," "Roma children's educational results are better".

"Since I am a physics and chemistry teacher, I had opportunity to teach pupils from this population, with time (...) interest in schooling grew and they really want to achieve a greater success than their parents did. What surprises us teachers who have worked for, well, I have worked for 19 years, is that for the past ten years or so, their attitude towards work and desire to succeed has changed – now they really want to achieve something through learning, through effort in class, through activities, and it's a visible positive change... in the past 5 years they have had much better achievements than before. They used to be satisfied with, let's say, positive marks like 'sufficient', but today most get 'good' and 'excellent'

Some of the representatives of the relevant institutions believe that the enrolment of children in school on schedule is the big change in primary education – children enrolling at the legally mandated age (six or seven years).

“I remember when I started to work here (...) regularity of enrolment by chronological age was a problem. There was the situation, for any reason, that in first grade you had a Roma girl or boy who was eleven (...) and you enrol him with peers primarily their own chronological age. These were huge problems when in class, whether mixed or “purely Roma”, you have a child who is emotionally, socially integrated, ready for first year of school at their age of 6-7, and someone at the threshold of puberty. Today we see that in the past 10 or so years, as long as I've followed it, this practice has nearly been abolished. What contributed was probably the strictness of the Social Welfare Centre, and the regional State Administration Office that takes care both through Roma assistants and through the school that children who are chronologically – by age – on the list have to come to testing, start preschool, kindergarten, that is, first school year if they satisfy certain criteria for enrolment. I'd highlight that as an unbelievable step forward. Now, there are 17 pupils in the local school, all of them generationally, chronologically children who really do belong to first year.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION IN THE VARAŽDIN COUNTY)

Descriptions of this shift is very often accompanied by a description of the efforts of the various sectors, which includes increased control on the part of the State Administration Offices and social welfare centres. Schools, too, have invested additional efforts:

“Regular enrolment of Roma children in school, which means that before admissions to the primary school open, the administrative service sends reminders to Roma parents who should enrol their child in first year, or, if the mail is returned, they visit their homes, give them admissions dates, we organise meetings just for them, where they are acquainted with how the school works and what they should expect, and what we expect from them. We dedicated ourselves to this quite a lot over the past 3-4 years, to get children to enrol in time now. Normally, some 9-10 years back it used to happen that we had children of 12, 13, two years ago even a 14.5 year-old pupil in first year.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM THE CITY OF ZAGREB)

Furthermore, some of the interviewees believe that the entire education system has been improved precisely because of the increased coverage of Roma children by kindergarten and preschool.

“It began with the story about the inclusion of children in kindergarten, that is preschool, as it became mandatory, the law also had to force it to move. Beforehand, the Roma population didn't much participate in preschool. From 2014 till 2015, the primary school where the largest Roma settlement is (town name omitted) took part. In this project, “Step by Step”, where (...) the Centre (for social welfare, author's note), the school and the kindergarten were partners

in including children in the preschool programme. Initially, it was an hour a week, and then later the programme grew until we had nearly 100 percent of children mandated to attend preschool enrolled, but maybe 50 percent of these 100 or less would attend (...). So this is where the greatest step was made, from a situation where attendance was zero to now, when some half of children attend preschool.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY).

Some of the representatives of the relevant institutions believe that extended day care is key to better educational success, but also to the integration of Roma children:

“We definitively do strive for making it possible for everyone from first to fourth year to be able to stay in extended day care and write their homework and spend some quality time in school. This is definitely not lost time, it is all positive for the children, because really this game and this socialising develop their social skills, their speech, their adaptation to certain situations they meet. It is definitely only the richer children who are in extended day care. We saw the benefit of the first year, where pupils who attend extended day care write homework, acquire work habits, making that programme easy to adopt. While in second year they were the opposite shift, you can see the absence of work at home, doing homework.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM BROD-POSAVINA COUNTY)

According to representatives of the relevant institutions, only two negative trends were singled out as problems that have emerged in the past few years: a renewed increase in adolescent pregnancies, that is, more girls aged 14 and 15 abandoning education due to establishing a family and life in cohabitation with a partner. Another trend mentioned by those interviewed that intensified in the ten years since was peer violence, a greater amount of problematic behaviour and conduct by Roma pupils, especially once they enter puberty. However, concerning the small number of such statements, we cannot conclude that there has really been an increased number of Roma pupils with behavioural difficulties in primary education.

Representatives of the relevant institutions have also listed the increased number of pupils taking up extracurricular activities: folklore, choirs, sport, where they become integrated; great assistance and change in cooperating with parents and children, to which Roma assistants contributed; fewer Roma children with too many unauthorised absences; fewer children repeating years, taking correction exams, abandoning education, as positive changes in the past ten years in the field of education.

All the aforementioned changes favour the conclusion that positive changes in education are visible at all levels: from legislative changes that provided a clear framework of the importance of and responsibility towards the duty to enrol in and complete primary education; better networking and cooperation between all involved institutions (from the Science and Education Ministry, through state administration offices, schools, social welfare centres, to the police), schools becoming more open and building tolerance and acceptance of the difference of Roma national minority parents' and children's needs. This greatly contributed to creating trust and a safe environment for parents of Roma

children, who began to support their children in performing their school-related tasks as successfully as possible, doing it intrinsically, and not just because legally mandated to. Moreover, it is important to stress that schools' experiences working with Roma children are rich and varied: from school founders' efforts to secure meals for lower social status children through EU funds, to finding various sources of funding for extended day care, which has proved as very important precisely for children whose housing conditions, parents' education and social structure are often demotivating for fulfilling school-related tasks, to introducing school-level measures to prevent the segregation of Roma children into Roma classrooms, or even creation of Roma-only schools. An example of good practice can be found in the decision made by the director of the primary school and the town of Kutina to introduce a quota permitting a maximum of 30% of children enrolled in school to be Roma, thus achieving a higher degree of mixed classrooms and better integration of Roma children.¹³⁴ According to the statements of those interviewed, although the positive trend is definitely visible across all dimensions of primary education (greater coverage of Roma children by kindergarten and preschool, greater preparedness for primary school, especially in terms of Croatian language skills, fewer unauthorised absences, better successes of Roma children, greater level of interest in and participation in extracurricular activities, greater primary school completion and secondary school enrolment rates), it is clear that there is still room for improvement in all the abovementioned dimensions, which will be further argued in the following sub-chapter – the chief problems in primary school education.

The question on changes in the area of education was posed in semi-structured interviews and to representatives of the Roma national minority. Roma national minority representatives highlight the increasing number of young Roma successfully completing primary school, enrolling and completing secondary school, acquiring valuable knowledge and professional skills, some even enrolling in universities, as a visible positive trend in education.

TABLE 19. DESCRIPTIONS OF THE CHANGE IN EDUCATION – ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVES

FREQUENT REPLIES	NUMBER OF CODES
HIGHER NUMBER OF SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS, YOUNG PEOPLE OF VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS, SCHOLARSHIPS	29
HIGHER NUMBER OF CHILDREN ENROLLED WHO ATTEND PRIMARY SCHOOL REGULARLY	17
CHANGED ATTITUDE AMONG ROMA AND IN THE COMMUNITY THAT SCHOOLING IS IMPORTANT; HIGHER ASPIRATIONS IN EDUCATION	13
HIGHER NUMBER OF CHILDREN COVERED BY KINDERGARTEN, PRESCHOOL	11
HIGHER NUMBER OF CHILDREN WHO COMPLETE PRIMARY SCHOOL	10
HIGHER NUMBER OF ROMA STUDENTS AND THOSE WHO COMPLETED UNIVERSITY	9
ROMA ASSISTANTS	5
GREATER EFFORT BY EDUCATION PROFESSIONALS RESULTING IN HIGHER LEVEL OF GRADE COMPLETION; SCHOOLS CHANGED; EXTENDED DAY CARE	4

¹³⁴ The City of Kutina, *Nove mjere integracije Roma [New Roma Integration Measures]*, 2011, <http://www.kutina.hr/Vijesti/Citanje-vijesti/ArticleId/9950/oamid/1491> (accessed June 2018)

FREQUENT REPLIES	NUMBER OF CODES
THEY HAVE A BETTER LIFE, THEY STUDY BETTER	3
FEWER CHILDREN WHO ABANDON SCHOOL	2
FALLING INTEREST IN SECONDARY SCHOOL EDUCATION BECAUSE YOUNG PEOPLE WHO HAVE COMPLETED VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS CANNOT FIND JOBS	2
TIMELY ENROLMENT IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS	1

However, according to interviewees' statements, the greatest shift is nevertheless seen in the increased number of secondary school pupils.

“Their appetites have increased now, within the community it is no longer the goal to finish only primary or secondary school, appetites are much greater now and people are aiming for higher education.”

(ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE FROM BJELOVAR-BILOGORA COUNTY)

“A lot has changed, as after primary school, Roma children enrolled in secondary, both three-year and four-year. According to my statistics, that is around 150 pupils enrolled in secondary school. They realised that without education they won't be able to find employment and realise their goals and family, today, tomorrow, both housing and employment-related.” (ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE FROM MEDIMURJE COUNTY)

In line with the claims of representatives of the relevant institutions on the improved cooperation with parents, Roma national minority representatives stress that there has been a change of consciousness of the importance of education within the Roma community itself:

“(...) consciousness has changed among the Roma both within the community and the family. Because it's no longer like, what do we need school for, we can't do anything with it or without it. This consciousness has changed.” (ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE FROM BROD-POSAVINA COUNTY)

Likewise, members of the Roma national minority themselves recognise the importance of a comprehensive approach for positive change:

“Some 10 years ago there were more who dropped out of school. We always held them in this kind of environment, like, they have to finish primary school or they won't be able to find employment anywhere, to be literate to help their illiterate parents, and we succeeded. It's a great advance. It was mostly the system to thank for enabling Roma to go to school for free, to get free textbooks because they cannot afford textbooks on social benefits. Schools have changed, because there are extended day care projects, which is very important because they live in conditions that are not good for learning, especially during winter, they have no warm corner to themselves, and when they stay at school in day care, it's all fine and the atmosphere for learning is different. They even get two meals.” (ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

In addition to the shifts already mentioned, it is mentioned in primary education that Roma national minority members repeat years less, achieve better results and participate more and more in extracurricular activities; greater sensitivity on the part of the teachers is likewise mentioned, as is the positive role of Roma assistants.

It is important to stress that despite the positive trends, interviewees' statements point to a single negative trend in education, which is the inability to find employment with the acquired secondary education, which demotivates young Roma finishing primary education and deciding whether to continue education. We will deal with problems of employment discrimination more in the chapters on employment and inclusion in economic life.

CHIEF PROBLEMS IN PRIMARY SCHOOL EDUCATION

In order to gain deeper insights into the challenges of primary education for Roma pupils, representatives of the relevant institutions and the Roma national minority were asked how they see the main problems in the primary education system. All the answers were grouped by frequency of recurrence in various interviewees from all 12 counties.

Asked about the chief problems met by the members of the Roma national minority in attending primary school, answers by the interviewed representatives of the relevant institutions were grouped into several key problems, including the question of social deprivation and parental lack of education; lack of knowledge of the Croatian language (in children); not fulfilling school-related tasks due to inadequate housing conditions; irregular school attendance and unauthorised absences; differences in levels of prior knowledge, communication and other skills in Roma and other children when entering the education system etcetera.

TABLE 20. THE MAIN PROBLEMS IN PRIMARY SCHOOL EDUCATION – FREQUENCY OF REPLIES OF REPRESENTATIVES OF RELEVANT INSTITUTIONS

FREQUENT REPLIES	NUMBER OF CODES
IN FULFILLING THEIR SCHOOL DUTIES CHILDREN DO NOT RECEIVE ADEQUATE ASSISTANCE FROM PARENTS BECAUSE OF SOCIAL DEPRIVATION AND PARENTAL LACK OF EDUCATION	37
LACK OF KNOWLEDGE OR INSUFFICIENT UNDERSTANDING OF THE CROATIAN LANGUAGE	32
DUE TO INADEQUATE LIVING AND HOUSING CONDITIONS CHILDREN DO NOT DO THEIR HOMEWORK – LACK OF SPACE, NO ONE TO ASSIST THEM, POOR SANITARY CONDITIONS	17
IRREGULAR ATTENDANCE, TRUANY, CHILDREN (PARTICULARLY GIRLS) STAY AT HOME TO TAKE CARE OF OTHER CHILDREN	16
DIFFERING LEVELS OF PREVIOUS KNOWLEDGE BETWEEN ROMA AND MAJORITY CHILDREN WHEN ENTERING THE SCHOOL SYSTEM – ROMA CHILDREN ARE NOT SOCIALISED, LACK WORK HABITS, BASIC COMMUNICATION SKILLS; CULTURAL DEPRIVATION, POOR GRAPHOMOTOR SKILLS	15
LOW LEVEL OF PS COMPLETION – PARTICULARLY IN TRANSITION INTO 5TH GRADE, WITH THE BEGINNING OF PUBERTY, MORE DEMANDING CURRICULA IN 6TH AND 7TH GRADES, GRADE REPETITION, ABANDONING SCHOOL	12
PARENTS DO NOT BUY SCHOOL SUPPLIES, BOOKS, WORKBOOKS FOR THEIR CHILDREN, DO NOT CONSIDER IT IMPORTANT	10
GIRLS GETTING MARRIED TOO EARLY, A YOUNG ROMA WOMAN HAS GREATER VALUE IN THE COMMUNITY AS A MOTHER THAN AS AN EDUCATED PERSON	8

FREQUENT REPLIES	NUMBER OF CODES
NOT ATTENDING KINDERGARTEN, PRESCHOOL	6
FINANCIAL PROBLEMS AND PARENTAL ANXIETY – CHILDREN CANNOT TAKE PART IN EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES: EXCURSIONS, CINEMA, THEATRE	6
PROBLEM OF MOVING HOUSE, WHICH DISRUPTS CONTINUITY, SCHOOLS CANNOT PROVIDE ALL THE NECESSITIES (BOOKS), THEY DO NOT KNOW WHEN THE FAMILY WILL MOVE IN OR OUT	5
NOT ACCEPTED BY OTHER CHILDREN, SKIN COLOUR	4
BEHAVIOURAL DIFFICULTIES, ROMA CHILDREN DISPLAY UNACCEPTABLE FORMS OF BEHAVIOUR, PROVOKE OTHER CHILDREN, BEAT, HARASS, INSULT THEM	4
I DON'T HAVE SUCH KNOWLEDGE, NO SUCH PROBLEMS	3
UNADAPTED CURRICULUM	2
NO EMPLOYMENT AFTER COMPLETING SECONDARY SCHOOL, LOSS OF MOTIVATION FOR SCHOOLING	2
THEY DON'T HAVE WORK HABITS, THEY HAVE NO DESIRE TO FINISH SCHOOL, THERE'S A LACK OF MOTIVATION TO COMPLETE PRIMARY SCHOOL EDUCATION	2
PARENTS SEND CHILDREN TO SCHOOL LATE BECAUSE THEY ASSESS THAT THE CHILD IS NOT YET MATURE ENOUGH FOR SCHOOL, THEY WAIT FOR MORE CHILDREN OF DIFFERENT AGES TO ENROL IN SCHOOL TOGETHER; HENCE SOME ENROLLING IN PS LATER THAN THEY SHOULD	2

Statements by interviewees highlighting insufficient work at home by Roma national minority pupils are grouped into several interrelated problems: lack of adequate conditions for working in the home, lack of parental support in mastering the curriculum and a lack of school supplies.

Concerning the lack of adequate working conditions and lack of school supplies, interviewees speak about households where pupils do not have the possibility to do homework or to study:

“Often they don't have the conditions, from textbooks, school supplies to a space where they can do their homework, where they will study. These are big families, where, when you go there, they have two beds, a table and three school-age kids who haven't even got a place where to do their homework (...) When they enter first year, few know the Croatian language, so that is a problem.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION IN SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

Although the interviewees, as mentioned above, highlight the improved cooperation with parents, they believe that parental support for children in learning is inadequate. However, the lack of support does not reflect a lack of interest of parents in their children's education, although some interviewees have expressed such opinions, but is largely a result of the parents' insufficient education to be able to give the children the support they need:

“I have a problem with parents who aren't educated enough here, they do not complete supplementary adult education, don't go to higher education institutions, so even at least they should finish that primary school. Then there are parents whose child – that's a current case - has repeated 5th grade, the father came to me for a talk along with the mom, and says: 'I have two years of primary school, how can I help my child?’” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION IN OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY).

The second most frequent problem in primary education cited by representatives of the relevant institutions is insufficient knowledge of the Croatian language, which is closely tied to inability to master the curriculum:

“(...) still the Croatian language, writing and speech. Mathematics and nature, that is what they know from life and they are very good here, but Croatian and grammar are a problem, which for some pupils it will probably continue to be until eighth year. The problem then is precisely in preschool, where preparation would be systematically organised for them, and I believe that by fourth year all of those who regularly attend class, they could adopt these curricula foreseen in schools.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION IN KOPRIVNICA-KRIŽEVCI COUNTY).

Along with problems working at home and lack of knowledge of Croatian, those interviewed also cite frequent absences of Roma national minority pupils and their non-participation in extracurricular activities. The relationship between poverty and a lack of integration through school activities is summarised by an interviewee from Koprivnica-Križevci county:

“The problem is that because of their poverty, the school, which should open up some horizons, is somehow inaccessible because they have no money. Money should be found for it somewhere. We say that our education is free, but it's not free as the parents have to pay for each step outside school; you want teaching in the field, you want cinema, theatre, excursions.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION IN KOPRIVNICA-KRIŽEVCI COUNTY)

Roma national minority representatives also gave their insights in semi-structured interviews about the basic problems Roma pupils encounter in attending primary schools.

TABLE 21. THE MAIN PROBLEMS IN PRIMARY SCHOOL EDUCATION – FREQUENCY OF REPLIES OF ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVES

FREQUENT REPLIES	NUMBER OF CODES
NOT SPEAKING CROATIAN, LACK OF ROMA ASSISTANTS + THEY HAD TO REPEAT THE 1ST GRADE SEVERAL TIMES BECAUSE OF THE LANGUAGE; THIS HAS CHANGED NOW	14
FINANCIAL PROBLEM – BOOKS, SCHOOL BAGS, SUPPLIES, CLOTHES, SHOES, NO ELECTRICITY	8
PARENTS ARE NOT INTERESTED, THEY SHOULD CONCERN THEMSELVES MORE WITH THE CHILDREN AND SCHOOL	8
CHILDREN DON'T HAVE AN APPROPRIATE SPACE FOR LEARNING, POVERTY, THEY COME TO SCHOOL DIRTY, POORLY DRESSED	8
DISCRIMINATION – ROMA CHILDREN INSULTED BY OTHER CHILDREN ON AN ETHNIC BASIS, STEREOTYPES PRESENT AMONG TEACHERS AND OTHER CHILDREN'S PARENTS, SKIN COLOUR, MATERIAL AND SOCIAL STATUS ARE A BIGGER PROBLEM THAN NATIONAL AFFILIATION; ROMA IDENTITY IS NOT INCLUDED IN SCHOOLS' CULTURAL PROGRAMMES, SO CHILDREN DO NOT SEE THEMSELVES IN SUCH PROGRAMMES	7
JUST A FEW OF THEM COMPLETE PS, THEY LEAVE SCHOOL AT THE AGE OF 14, 15	5
INSUFFICIENT ASSISTANCE AT HOME, BECAUSE PARENTS ARE NOT EDUCATED ENOUGH	3
THE PROBLEM IS PRACTICE	1

FREQUENT REPLIES	NUMBER OF CODES
ENROLMENT OF CHILDREN IN ADAPTED PROGRAMMES, BECAUSE OF THE LANGUAGE	2
TRUANCY	2
TEACHERS ARE NOT SENSITIVE TO ROMA CHILDREN'S DIFFERENCES	2
CHILDREN TO NOT WANT TO ATTEND SCHOOL, PARENTS CANNOT INFLUENCE THEM, THEY SEE THE SCHOOL AS PLAY, RATHER THAN RESPONSIBILITY	2

Lack of acquaintance with the Croatian language is also recognised as a chief problem by the Roma national minority representatives, believing it to be the greatest challenge to their children's successful education.

"It's a bit very hard for them, because they don't know mathematics, it's a bit difficult. Croatian language is difficult and some other things they don't really know. Means they come now, they would like to show they're smart kids but we slow them down a bit. Because of these Croatian, mostly Croatian and maths." (Roma national minority representative from Međimurje county).

Roma national minority representatives highlight parents' material deprivation as a challenge for Roma children in attending primary school more frequently than representatives of the relevant institutions, as their parents cannot provide the necessary supplies for school, books, notebooks, but also clothes and footwear, while some Roma national minority representatives also cite poor housing conditions. Connected to the previous two challenges, and nearly equally perceived as a challenge for Roma children and their education are the parents' lack of interest or inability to help with school-related tasks.

"The first, basic thing is school bags, supplies, that's a problem for them, clothes, shoes" (NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

"Specifically, they get no help at home because their parents are not educated enough either. Then there is the difficulty when you go, maths or Croatian have to be written and there's no-one to help i guess."

(ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

"There are, for reasons of housing conditions, big families, two rooms, no sewage connection, this impacts on their development and growth."

(ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE FROM MEĐIMURJE COUNTY)

In addition, Roma national minority representatives highlight Roma pupils' negative experiences in terms of insufficient sensitivity on the part of the school collective and teasing by other children. While some interviewees have cited specific incidents in schools, others have also recognised the lack of adjustment of the curriculum as a structural problem:

"There is certainly a form of discrimination in the county against the Roma, and so also against Roma children. For instance, not including their identity

and culture in programmes, so the children don't recognise themselves in the school curriculum.” (ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE FROM ZAGREB COUNTY)

“Well, maybe... maybe it happens, I don't know, maybe sometimes when the children provoke the kid a bit, that he is Gypsy or something (...). Maybe it happens that this child is provoked and can't follow instruction because other children have insulted it and maybe it's a little... Maybe that part, but it was always there, I think it will always be there. They say the same thing to my child, he comes home saying – he tells me I'm Gypsy, that I am – the same thing happens, I say – ignore it, let him speak what he wants, you just learn and so... There's no big problem here. No. This... This is all little stuff that... And the insults, that... I guess they'll stop on their own when... It's the kids. There's a lot, a lot of insults. The kids come home sometimes, and other kids complain and say, and then there's sometimes an argument between them and so. But fine. It's all fine.” (ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE FROM BJELOVAR-BILOGORA COUNTY)

A smaller number of those interviewed highlight the fact that a large segment of the Roma population attend an adapted programme in school as the chief problem:

“The only thing that is a big problem, (...) some 70% are enrolled in adapted programmes. After primary school, they cannot enrol in vocational schools that would give them vocations today or tomorrow. They can enrol in school, but only to be assistants to skilled tradesmen; assistant chefs, assistant builders etc.” (ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE FROM MEĐIMURJE COUNTY)

4.1.7

Conclusions and discussion

As suggested in the introductory part of this chapter, the National Roma Inclusion Strategy has recognised the field of education as one of the key priority areas. The specific Objective 2 in the NRIS area of education is “to increase the inclusion of Roma children of both sexes in preschool education and raise the quality level of preschool education of Roma children as a component of early childhood learning, which helps reduce the differences in social origin and learning ability, and attempts to meet children's developmental needs as best as possible, and introduce them to the world of conscious learning.”¹³⁵ The initial values for monitoring the effects of the measures pertaining to this objective are the proportion of Roma children in preschool education in relation to the total number of preschool-age Roma children, and the share of Roma children attending a preschool programme in relation to the total number of preschool-age Roma children. However, this data has hitherto been unavailable.

It is an important piece of information that, according to the European Commission Education and Training Monitor, in the Republic of Croatia, the rate of participation in early

¹³⁵ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

and preschool education in the general population is among the lowest compared to other EU countries: 73.8% in relation to the EU average of 94.8%.¹³⁶ As mentioned above, the Science and Education Ministry secures funding for the parents' share for preschool education from the State budget. This means that attending preschool education is free for children members of the Roma national minority.¹³⁷

The research results show that as many as 69% of Roma children aged three to six do not attend either kindergarten or preschool. The reasons for not attending kindergarten or preschool cited by parents of children aged three to six indicate a variety of problems. Primarily, it is the (mistaken) perception that children do not need involvement in preschool education programmes, as seen in the opinions that the child is too young (cited by 49% of parents), that someone at home can take care of the child (17%), that the child should stay with its family (3%), and expressions of mistrust towards the staff of the institutions implementing preschool education programmes (1%). These data indicate a need to additionally raise parents' awareness of the importance of preschool education as preparation for primary education and a necessary precondition for a child's development. Moreover, according to the Act on Preschool Upbringing and Education, "preschool programme is mandatory for all children for a year before starting primary school."¹³⁸ The information that 24% of children aged six do not attend kindergarten, preschool or primary school suggests that adherence to this legal provision is insufficiently monitored and sanctioned.

In addition, some of the reasons cited by parents for their children not attending preschool education programmes also point to certain oversights in the institutional provision of access to such programmes. As many as a fifth of the parents stated that they found these programmes too expensive, which may indicate either the parents' insufficient informedness about the measure of funding parents' share for Roma national minority members in integrated preschool education programmes, or inadequate implementation of this measure. In any case, it is the institutions' responsibility to ensure the target group is informed as to the opportunities this measure brings. At the same time, it might be that some of the parents consider participation in preschool education programmes expensive not only due to the price of attending, but because of the additional costs that issue from attending – clothes and footwear and other necessary supplies, as well as a lack of, or high costs of, transport to the institutions carrying out such programmes. 12% of parents stated that they had no such institutions nearby, and in conditions of insufficiently organised, or expensive, public transport, and where parents do not own personal vehicles with which to transport children (partly also due to legal constraints in

¹³⁶ European Commission, *Education and Training Monitor 2017 – Croatia*, 2017, https://ec.europa.eu/education/sites/education/files/monitor2017-hr_en.pdf (accessed June 2018)

¹³⁷ See for instance, Science and Education Ministry, *Obavijest o sufinanciranju roditeljskog udjela u cijeni predškolskog odgoja za djecu pripadnike romske nacionalne manjine u školskoj godini 2017./2018. [Information on co-funding parents' share in preschool education for children members of the Roma national minority in school year 2017/2018]*, 2017, https://mzo.hr/sites/default/files/dokumenti/2018/OBRAZOVANJE/Nacionalne-manjine/obavijest_o_sufinanciranju_roditeljskog_udjela_u_cijeni_predskolskog_odgoja-romske_nacionalne-manjine-2017_2018.pdf (accessed June 2018)

¹³⁸ The Act on Preschool Upbringing and Education (O.G. 10/97, 107/07 and 94/13).

the field of social care), it seems that children's participation in these programmes really is too expensive for some parents.

The specific NRIS Objective 3, concerning primary education, states that the level of inclusion of Roma children in primary education needs to be raised “to the average nation-wide primary education level in the Republic of Croatia (achieve an inclusion rate of 98%) and bring the level of the completion of primary education by members of the Roma minority up to the average level of completion of primary education for the Republic of Croatia (achieve a completion rate of 95%).”¹³⁹ Looking at percentages from the survey research, 95% of Roma children in the 7-14 age group attend primary school, which means the general population rate of coverage by primary education has nearly been reached. However, additional work needs to be done on ensuring that Roma pupils achieve better educational successes (better success in school, higher rates of completion, and better educational outcomes), which is connected to removing the problems they face during primary education, such as insufficient Croatian language skills, insufficient parental support in learning and fulfilling school-related tasks, poor material conditions and lack of necessary supplies for education and so on. In addition to the importance of preschool education as a necessary precondition for dealing with some of these problems, other possible measures need to be taken into consideration – measures recognised in the previous action plan, but insufficiently represented, such as engaging Roma assistants and securing extended day care in schools. Around a quarter of pupils attend extended day care (27.3% of the 660 pupils for whom a valid answer was supplied). Furthermore, in a sample of parents of children up to 16 years of age attending primary school, 26.4% have at least one child that had a Roma assistant during schooling, with more Roma assistants present in Međimurje and Varaždin than in other counties. A majority of parents who had such experiences gave positive marks to the practice, a similar impression to that of the representatives of the relevant institutions and the Roma national minority who took part in the qualitative research. However insufficient funding is often an obstacle to implementing these measures, which need greater investment in order to be long-term and systematic, as well as based on an assessment of the needs of specific local communities.

In addition, data concerning the specific Objective 4 in the area of primary education, which is “to abolish all separate classes only attended by Roma minority pupils by 2020,”¹⁴⁰ show that 20% of Roma children attend classes attended only by Roma national minority pupils. It is clear that additional progress needs to be made in this area. In Croatia, there are examples of good practice of integration in schools at the level of local self-government units. For instance, the local self-government in Kutina, in cooperation with primary schools and with the relevant ministry's approval, precluded the existence of classrooms attended only by Roma national minority pupils, using measures such as

¹³⁹ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

organised transport for pupils to primary schools that are further away from their places of residence. Thus, better results can be achieved with additional investment and care in organising school catchment areas.

Research results show that, unlike the primary education coverage of children members of the Roma national minority, secondary school coverage cannot be considered satisfactory, in view of the specific NRIS Objective 5 in the area of education: “to reduce the difference between average inclusion and completion of secondary and higher education among members of the Roma minority in comparison to the average inclusion and completion of secondary and higher education at the national level in Croatia.” According to the 2011 Census, 52.6% of the general population in Croatia had completed secondary education as the highest completed degree of education, while the same went for 14.5% of the Roma on whom data were gathered in this study. Research results have also shown that 31% of young people aged 15-18 attend secondary school, with a statistically significant difference by sex – 36% of boys attend secondary school, and only 26% of girls. Financial reasons, poor prior educational results and entering marriage and pregnancy/becoming a parent were detected as the main reasons for not attending secondary education. Looking at data on those young people who enrolled in secondary school but abandoned it, the same four reasons appear at the top of the list of reasons, only with entering marriage cited as frequently as financial reasons. Therefore it seems that to achieve the special NRIS objectives in the area of secondary education: “to increase the number of members of the Roma minority who enrol in secondary and higher education by 2020,” and “to increase the number of members of the Roma minority who complete secondary school by 2020,”¹⁴¹ in addition to ensuring that Roma pupils have better educational achievements in primary school, it is necessary to work on increasing the financial capacities for secondary education and provide greater support to young people, especially women, who establish their own families to remain in the education system.

In terms of securing the financial preconditions for attending secondary school, the Science and Education Ministry awards scholarships to secondary school pupils based on criteria defined in the decisions on the criteria and ways of exercising the right to a scholarship for pupils members of the Roma national minority who regularly attend secondary schools for the school year 2017/2018.¹⁴² According to the results of this study, 72.6% received some form of scholarship. The sources of the scholarships were the state (73.1%), and town or municipality (17.6%), with 10.3% not being able to cite the source of their scholarship or cited another source. The data show that not all Roma national minority pupils receive scholarships, for the reasons of lack of awareness on the availability

¹⁴¹ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

¹⁴² See for instance, Science and Education Ministry, *Odluka o kriterijima i načinu ostvarivanja prava na stipendiju za redovite učenike polaznike srednjih škola pripadnike romske nacionalne manjine za školsku godinu 2017/2018*. [Decision on the criteria and ways of exercising the right to a scholarship for pupils members of the Roma national minority who regularly attend secondary schools for the school year 2017/2018], 2017, https://mzo.hr/sites/default/files/dokumenti/2017/10/4443713-odluka_o_kriterijima_zadodjelu_stipendije_usk_g_17-186168069.pdf (accessed June 2018)

of scholarships, reluctance to obtain the necessary documentation to apply to an open call, and poor educational results. Looking at the value of the scholarship itself, we can conclude that it is not enough to motivate pupils to stay in the education system, that is, to guarantee all necessary living costs are covered, especially for those secondary school pupils who are also parents and have to care for their families.

The specific NRIS Objective 6 for the area of higher education is “to increase the number of members of the Roma minority who complete higher education [and who] continue on to graduate studies by 2020.” The research has established that the number of Roma national minority members who attend, or have completed, higher education is exceedingly small, while it needs to be taken into account that their number in the overall population is several times larger. Seven persons covered by the study are currently in college, six in polytechnics and another six in university (11 men and 8 women). In the sample of adults whose maximum attained level of education is known, seven had finished college or a baccalaureate degree, and six university or graduate degree, mostly at an age of around 30 (seven men and six women). 14 adult persons in the sample enrolled in university but later dropped out, half of them currently aged between 19 and 25. In the 18-24 age group, around a third cite entering marriage and/or becoming a parent, a quarter financial reasons and a tenth each the opinion that they are educated enough or poor prior educational results or not succeeding to enrol as explanation for not currently being in education. As in the case of secondary school, it is necessary to invest further effort in increasing the Roma population’s financial capacities for higher education by means of scholarship programmes and increasing the level of support for students establishing families to continue schooling.

Furthermore, the majority of the Roma do not take additional education in adult age. Only 4.2% of them completed primary school as adults, 1.9% secondary school, while 4.5% completed a vocational training programme. Therefore, it is essential “to increase the inclusion of Roma adults in literacy, education and qualification programmes through general, vocational and higher education, with the aim of nurturing individual potential and enhancing their capacity and competence to achieve greater competitiveness on the job market and permanent employment and increase their social inclusion and active participation in all fields of contemporary life,” as defined by the specific NRIS Objective 7 in this field.

In conclusion, although representatives of the relevant institutions and the Roma national minority who took part in the qualitative research have mostly indicated that there has been a positive shift in the area of education over the past ten years, which tallies with some of the indicators collected in quantitative research, it is clear that additional effort is required to achieve a satisfactory level of Roma national minority members’ inclusion at all levels of education. In the long term, further progress in the inclusion of the Roma national minority in education should, along with the realisation of certain other preconditions, ensure success in other fields of social and political life, that is, in other priority areas of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy, as well as better social outcomes for the Roma population in Croatia.

Employment and inclusion in economic life

The general goal of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy in this area is “to bridge the gap between the Roma minority and the majority population on the labour market.”¹⁴³ The National Roma Inclusion Strategy recognises employment and inclusion in economic life as a priority area, but also states that it is “simultaneously one of the primary challenges.”¹⁴⁴ Members of the Roma national minority are classed as hard-to-employ persons, both due to prejudice and discrimination in employment and the poor educational structure of this population. However, it should not be forgotten that employment opportunities in certain areas of the Republic of Croatia are significantly lower for the entire population. According to Eurostat data, Croatia has the fourth highest unemployment rate in the European Union (9.4% for March 2018).¹⁴⁵

Studies so far have confirmed the institutions’ assumptions and data on the high rate of unemployment in the Roma population. Thus the “Everyday Life of Roma in Croatia: Challenges and Possibilities for Transformation” study from 2014 cites the unemployment rate of 65.1% among Roma aged 15-64,¹⁴⁶ while the figure the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2016 study cites is 62%.¹⁴⁷ The National Strategy has focused special attention on the issue of employing and including Roma women in economic life, considering the fact that Roma women are less frequently employed than the population’s male members. Moreover, Dunja Potočnik, the author of the chapter on employment in the aforementioned study,¹⁴⁸ “Everyday Life of Roma in Croatia,” states that: “The Roma have difficulty finding employment with legally guaranteed social entitlements, which especially affects the Roma in rural areas, while a large number of Roma work in the grey economy sector or in short-term jobs.”¹⁴⁹

¹⁴³ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Eurostat, *March 2018 - Euro area unemployment at 8.5%*, 2018, <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/8853183/3-02052018-AP-EN.pdf/ab3f9296-2449-4816-b1db-1faf6a15b79a> (accessed June 2018)

¹⁴⁶ Bagić, D., Burić, I., Dobrotić, I., Potočnik, D., and Zrinščak, S., *Romska svakodnevnica u Hrvatskoj: prepreke i mogućnosti za promjene*, UNDP, UNHCR i UNICEF, 2014.

¹⁴⁷ European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), *Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS II) Roma – Selected findings*, <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2016/eumidis-ii-roma-selected-findings> (accessed June 2018)

¹⁴⁸ Bagić, D., Burić, I., Dobrotić, I., Potočnik, D., and Zrinščak, S., *Romska svakodnevnica u Hrvatskoj: prepreke i mogućnosti za promjene*, UNDP, UNHCR i UNICEF, 2014.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

Considering the numerous difficulties related to collecting data on the inclusion of members of the Roma national minority in the field of employment and inclusion in economic life from the institutions tasked with implementing NRIS measures, so far it has proven difficult to monitor the effects of the strategy in this area.

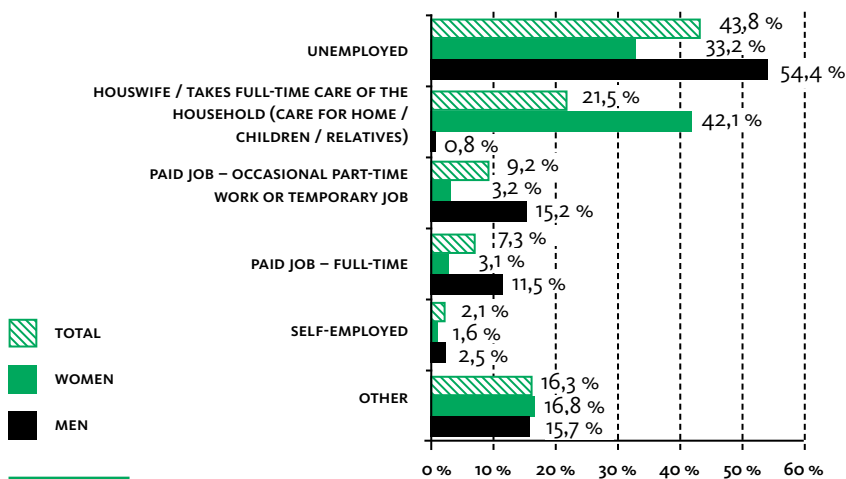
The following chapter presents the data concerning the structure of employment and unemployment, that is, data on employment status, Roma national minority members' occupations, paid work, youth employment, forms of employment by duration and type of employer, duration of unemployment, activities of the unemployed in seeking work, attitudes on additional education for the purpose of employment, and interest in starting one's own business. In addition, also presented are key stakeholders' (representatives of the relevant institutions and representatives of the Roma national minority) insights on the chief problems in employing Roma national minority members and employment discrimination.

4.2.1

Structure of employment

According to survey research data, the share of unemployed members of Roma households aged 15 to 65 is 43.8%, 7.3% of those in full-time paid employment and 9.2 of those in temporary or occasional work, while 2.1% are self-employed. If the 21.4% who take care of the household full-time are divided by sex and added to the unemployed category, it becomes clear that three quarters of Roma women are either unemployed or are housewives. Data on employment status by sex are displayed in Chart 12.

CHART 12. EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF PERSONS AGED 15 TO 65 BY SEX¹⁵⁰



¹⁵⁰ The total N=2904 includes all persons in the working age of up to 66 years, while excluding respondents who chose a category in the A version of the questionnaire for which there is no counterpart in the B version (e.g. "a child not attending either kindergarten or preschool or school"). The "other" category comprises those at school, in vocational training, in family business on agricultural estate, and volunteers (below 1%), those excluded from the labour market due to illness/disability (2.9%), on parental leave (2.1%), too old to work, but without pension (1.1%) and retired (1.4%).

In addition to questions of employment status, data was also collected on household members' occupations. By far the most common current or last occupations were simple occupations (32.0%), followed by agricultural and forestry occupations (7.6%) and service and trade occupations (6.9%), while occupations of plant and machine operators, industrial producers and product assemblers are somewhat rarer (4.4%). The proportion of men to women is balanced only in service and trade occupations, while all other categories reflect the greater level of inclusion of men in the labour market. Women's disadvantaged position is also clear from the information that 41.0% of Roma national minority members of working age who were never employed comprises 25% of Roma men and as many as 58% of Roma women. In 4.5% of households (N=1,493) one of the household members had a sole trading enterprise or was self-employed in an agricultural holding, in 52 of the households this member being a man, in 11 a woman, and in only one of the households both a man and a woman had this kind of employment.

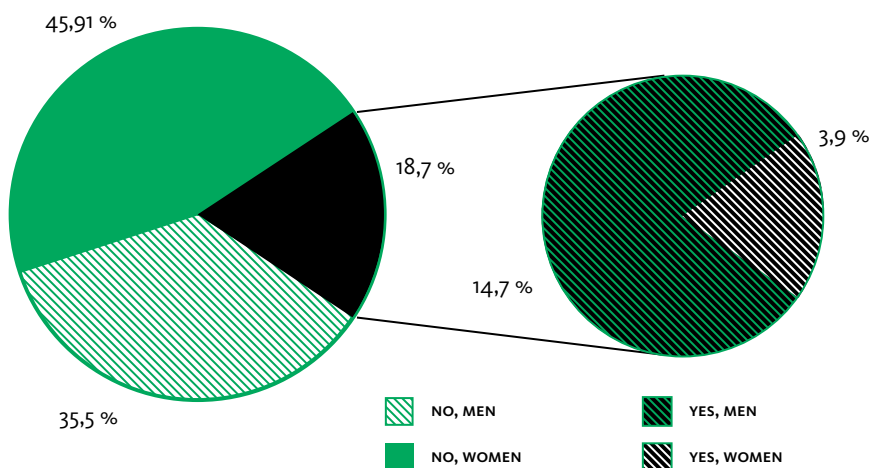
TABLE 22. CURRENT OR LAST OCCUPATION GROUP WHICH BEST DESCRIBES THE WORK OF THE PERSONS AGED 15 TO 65 YEARS, BY SEX¹⁵¹

	SEX					
	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
SIMPLE OCCUPATIONS (E.G. CLEANER, ASSEMBLY LINE WORKER AND SIMILAR)	519	39.0%	306	24.6%	825	32.0%
PLANT AND MACHINE OPERATORS, INDUSTRIAL PRODUCERS AND PRODUCT ASSEMBLERS (E.G. PLANT MANAGEMENT)	105	7.9%	8	0.6%	113	4.4%
AGRICULTURAL WORKERS, FORESTERS, FISHERMEN, AND HUNTERS	129	9.7%	67	5.4%	196	7.6%
SERVICE AND TRADE OCCUPATIONS (E.G. WAITER, SALESMAN, COOK, HAIRDRESSER AND SIMILAR)	96	7.2%	81	6.5%	177	6.9%
NEVER EMPLOYED	338	25.4%	719	57.8%	1057	41.0%
TOTAL	1332	100%	1243	100%	2575	100%

Beside the question about formal employment, a question was asked about performing paid work, in order to establish what proportion of Roma national minority members earn money in any way, formal or informal, to support themselves. Four fifths (81.3%) of the members of the Roma national minority of working age of up to 66 years (N=2,796) performed no paid work in the past week. Looking at differences by sex, 92.1% of all women and 70.7% of all men for whom appropriate data was gathered did not work, which suggests a statistically significant link between sex and recent performance of paid work.

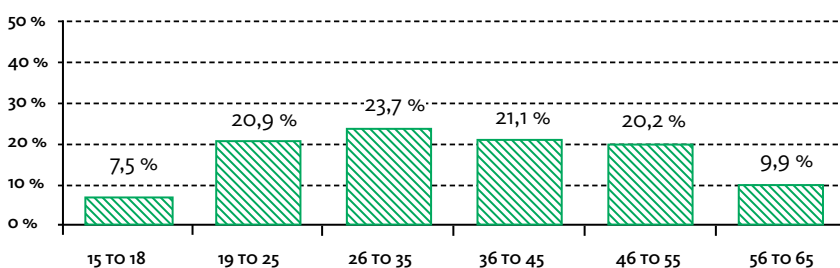
¹⁵¹ The total N=2575 includes all persons in working age of up to 66 for whom appropriate replies were gathered to the question on occupations; excluded were persons who chose a category in the A form questionnaire for which there is no counterpart in the B form. The "other" category (8.1%) comprises those who chose the "Something else" reply (5.9%) and replies with frequency lower than 1% (clerical workers in private sector, work in public service and others).

CHART 13. PERSONS AGED 15 TO 65 YEARS WITH REGARDS TO WHETHER THEY PERFORMED ANY PAID WORK (IN CASH OR IN KIND), BY SEX

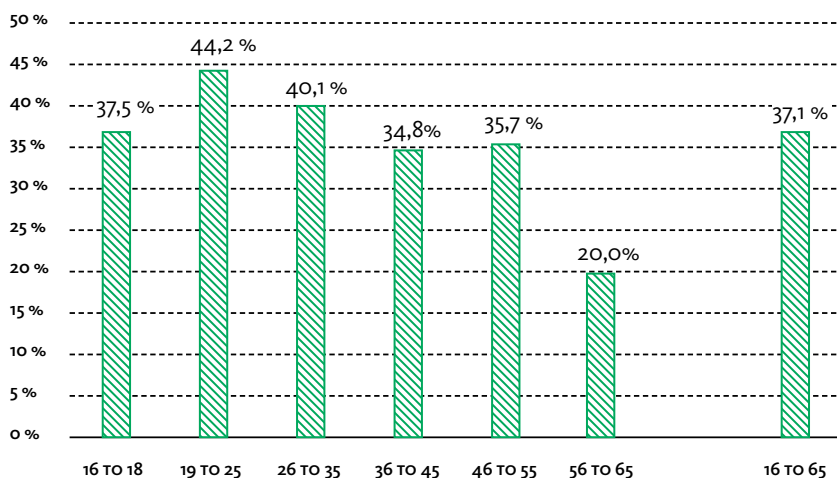


When the fifth (18.7%) of members of Roma households who earned something doing work over the past week is analysed by age, it is clear that the oldest and youngest age groups displayed are least work-active, containing, relatively speaking, two to three times fewer work-active people than the 26-35 age group. Additional analysis established that among those younger than 15 or older than 65, there are virtually none who performed paid work over the previous week.

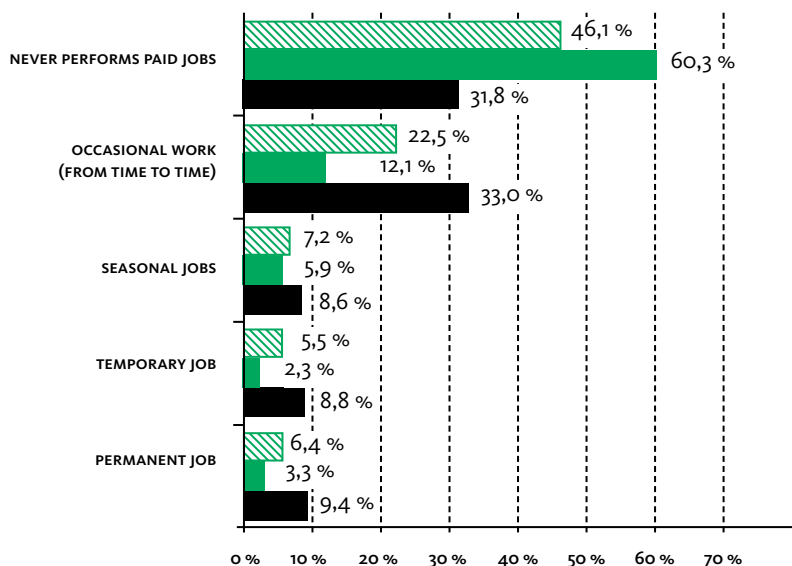
CHART 14. PERSONS AGED 15 TO 65 WHO PERFORMED ANY KIND OF PAID JOB (EITHER IN CASH OR IN KIND) IN THE PAST WEEK, BY AGE



The B version of the survey also asked the question (N=730 of valid answers): "Did you work anywhere for money in the past 12 months?" A little more than a third (37.1%) of the members of the Roma national minority had work over the past year. The connection between sex and paid labour is statistically significant: approximately a fifth of women (20.8%) and a half of men (54.4%) worked for money over the past year.

CHART 15. PERSONS AGED 16 TO 65 WHO WORKED FOR MONEY OVER THE PAST 12 MONTHS, BY AGE

If data from Chart 14 are compared to data from Chart 15, it can be concluded that the number of those who worked somewhere for money during the past year is twice as large as those who worked over the past week. Such a ration is approximately the same for all age groups apart from the youngest, where there are no data for fifteen-year-olds on this question in the B version of the questionnaire.

CHART 16. FORMS OF PAID WORK BY SEX OF PERSONS AGED 15 TO 65 YEARS¹⁵²

¹⁵² The question on the form of paid work allowed multiple answers, so the total does not amount to 100%. Pensioners are not displayed.

For nearly half of Roma national minority members aged 15-65 (N=2,886), the answer recorded was 'Never performed paid work'. Occasional work is done by 22.5%, and temporary jobs by 5.5% of persons on whom data was collected. Furthermore, 7.2% do seasonal jobs, and 6.4% are in permanent employment. There is a statistically significant connection between sex and paid work. Women are significantly more represented in the "Never performed paid work" category, and men in the "Occasional" and "Temporary" jobs categories, but also in the "Permanent job" category.

The survey research has shown that the unemployment rate is very high among the young Roma, or those from 16-30 years of age. Out of the 1,447 who answered the question regarding employment status, as many as 669 (46.2%) stated they were unemployed. The category of housewives, of whom there are 278 (19.2%), can be added to this category. 7.3% stated that they are employed full-time; 148 young people, or 10.2% stated that they do part-time work; 3.2% are taking maternity leave, 1.4% are self-employed, and 111 (7.7%) are in secondary school.¹⁵³ An analysis of the forms of paid work in the young Roma population has confirmed that very few are in formal employment. The question was answered by 1,471 Roma aged 16-30, only 5.7% of whom have permanent jobs, and 5.8% temporary. The situation with seasonal work is very similar (7%). 29.9% of men and 60.2% of women stated that they never did paid work. Although very few young Roma are employed and/or doing some kinds of paid work, men do statistically significantly more paid work than women.

TABLE 23. FORM OF PAID JOB – YOUNG PEOPLE AGED 16 TO 30 YEARS

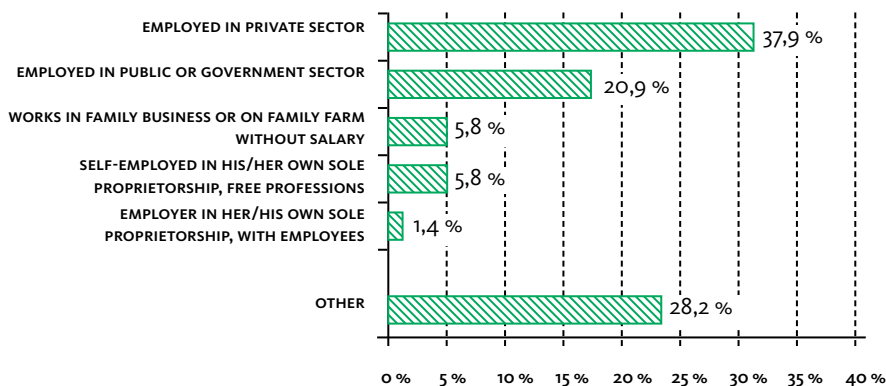
FORM OF PAID JOB		MEN (N=737)	WOMEN (N=734)	TOTAL (N=1471)
HAS A PERMANENT JOB	No	92.0%	96.7%	94.4%
	Yes	8.0%	3.3%	5.7%
HAS A TEMPORARY JOB	No	90.6%	97.8%	94.2%
	Yes	9.4%	2.2%	5.8%
PERFORMS SEASONAL JOBS	No	91.9%	94.1%	93.0%
	Yes	8.1%	5.9%	7.0%
PERFORMS OCCASIONAL JOBS (FROM TIME TO TIME)	No	65.5%	88.6%	77.1%
	Yes	34.5%	11.4%	23.0%
NEVER DOES PAID WORK	No	70.1%	39.8%	55.0%
	Yes	29.9%	60.2%	45.1%

It has been established that of those who do some kind of work (N=1078), a relative majority works in the private sector, and a fifth in the public or state sector, where it needs to be stressed that it can be surmised that this form of work very usually concerns public works and other active employment measures. With regard to the form of employment by employer, there are no significant differences by sex, and have consequently not been

¹⁵³ The "Other" category comprises 1.3% of young people, while other categories comprise a negligible number of interviewees.

displayed here. An additional question has examined whether those who do some kind of work sign written contracts with their employers, establishing that as many as 53.6% do not sign one, 40.5% do, 5.4% sign contracts with some employers but not all, and a further 0.5% do not know or refuse to answer the question.

CHART 17. FORM OF EMPLOYMENT, BY EMPLOYER¹⁵⁴

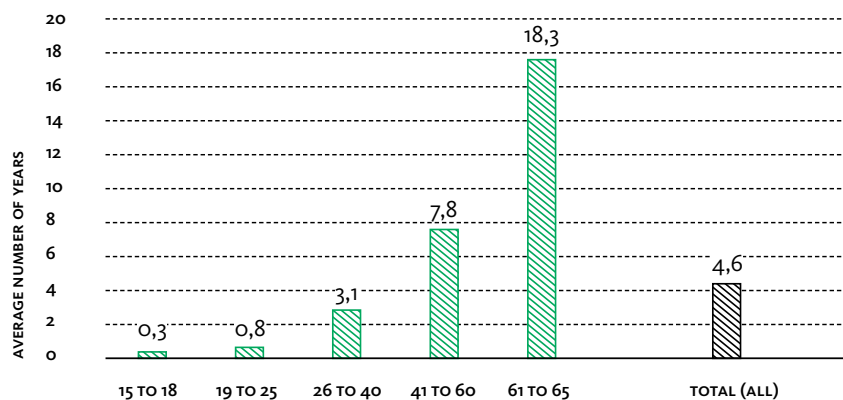


4.2.2

Structure of unemployment

It would be logical to expect the greatest average duration of unemployment to be found in the oldest age group, but the survey research has established an unexpectedly high level – on average, more than 18 years of unemployment for those aged over 60. Overall, average length of unemployment for the unemployed work-capable Roma population up to 66 years of age is a little less than five years, with 44% unemployed for up to a year, and the remaining 56% for longer, that is, long-term unemployed.

CHART 18. AVERAGE DURATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN YEARS, BY AGE GROUPS¹⁵⁵



¹⁵⁴ Data shown only for those aged 15 to 65 for whom any kind of paid work was recorded and are not retired.

¹⁵⁵ Data pertain to persons aged 15 to 65 for whom no permanent or temporary job is currently indicated and are not retired.

4.2.3

The activities of the unemployed in seeking work

In order to ascertain what portion of the unemployed is actively seeking work, the survey research asked questions on job-seeking activities. Of those interviewees without a permanent job,¹⁵⁶ a little more than half are signed up with the Croatian Employment Service (52.3%). 37.4% have stated that they are actively seeking work. 5.5% are trying to start their own business, while there are 7.5% of those not seeking work as they do not believe they will find it. Analysis by sex has shown that there is a statistically significant difference – more men than women are signed up with the Employment Service. Moreover, men are more active than women in seeking work. Likewise, more men than women are trying to start their own business.

TABLE 24. ACTIVITIES OF THE UNEMPLOYED BY SEX AND IN TOTAL

		SEX				TOTAL	
		MAN		WOMAN		N	%
		N	%	N	%		
SIGNED UP WITH THE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE	No	349	44.5%	253	52.9%	602	47.7%
	Yes	435	55.5%	225	47.1%	660	52.3%
TOTAL		784	100%	478	100%	1262	100%
ACTIVELY SEEKING WORK	No	450	57.1%	345	71.6%	795	62.6%
	Yes	338	42.9%	137	28.4%	475	37.4%
TOTAL		788	100%	482	100%	1270	100%
TRYING TO START HIS/HER OWN BUSINESS	No	725	92.6%	467	97.7%	1192	94.5%
	Yes	58	7.4%	11	2.3%	69	5.5%
TOTAL		783	100%	478	100%	1261	100%
NOT SEEKING WORK DUE TO BEING IN EDUCATION	No	780	99.6%	471	98.5%	1251	99.2%
	Yes	3	0.4%	7	1.5%	10	0.8%
TOTAL		783	100%	478	100%	1261	100%
NOT SEEKING WORK BELIEVING NONE CAN BE FOUND	No	734	93.7%	432	90.4%	1166	92.5%
	Yes	49	6.3%	46	9.6%	95	7.5%
TOTAL		783	100%	478	100%	1261	100%

The B version of the questionnaire asked the following question: “Have you actively sought work over the past 12 months?”. When those still in the education system or already in (in)formal retirement, or are currently in permanent work, are excluded from the analysis – a total of 629 interviewees in the B version of the survey – it emerges that 40.9% of those potentially interested in employment actively sought work during the past year, 68.4% of men and 32.6% of women (statistically significant connection by sex).

¹⁵⁶ The data pertain to persons aged 15-65 whose employment status has been specified as unemployed (N=1,270). Persons (women) specified as housewives, that is, taking care of the household, have not been included as they do not satisfy the definition of an unemployed person. A work-capable or partly work-capable person aged 15-65 not in employment, who actively seeks and is available to work and is not a regular pupil or student can be entered in the unemployment register, in line with the Act on Employment Mediation and Unemployment Rights.

Unemployed persons aged 16-65 were asked whether they believed that additional education would help them find work. Of the 696 who answered this question, more than half (56.3%) believed that additional education would help. Those who answered this question in the affirmative were also asked about their willingness to undertake additional education. Of the 385 who said that schooling would help them to find work, 67.0% also expressed the willingness to take additional schooling.

TABLE 25. ATTITUDE TOWARDS ADDITIONAL SCHOOLING BY SEX

Do you believe additional schooling would help you find a job?	SEX					
	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
NO	127	38.7%	143	38.9%	270	38.8%
YES	192	58.5%	200	54.3%	392	56.3%
REFUSES TO ANSWER	0	0.0%	2	0.5%	2	0.3%
DOES NOT KNOW	9	2.7%	23	6.3%	32	4.6%
TOTAL	328	100%	368	100%	696	100%

4.2.4

Using active employment policy measures

When it comes to active employment policy measures, all who filled out the B version of the survey questionnaire, that is, those aged 16+, were asked about using the measures, except for questions regarding two measures targeted only at employers, which only those who have their own sole trading enterprises or businesses were asked. It has been established that members of the Roma national minority make very little use of specific measures considering the high rate of unemployment, with the only one used with some level of frequency being the measure through which they took part in public works. Thus of the 715 interviewees, 18% used precisely this measure. At least one of the measures was used by 22% of Roma national minority members aged 16 or more, 18% of women and 27% of men.

TABLE 26. ACTIVE EMPLOYMENT POLICY MEASURES

There are 9 measures of active employment policy implemented by the Ministry of Labour and Pension System and the Croatian Employment Service. For each measure I read out, would you please tell me whether you have used it	BENEFITED FROM AN INDIVIDUAL MEASURE				TOTAL N
	% BY SEX		BENEFITED TOTAL		
	MALE	FEMALE	N	%	
MEASURE THROUGH WHICH YOU PARTICIPATED IN PUBLIC WORKS	21.4%	14.8%	128	17.9%	715
MEASURE THROUGH WHICH YOU EMPLOYED WORKERS ONLY DURING SEASON	19.2%	0.0%	5	8.3%	60

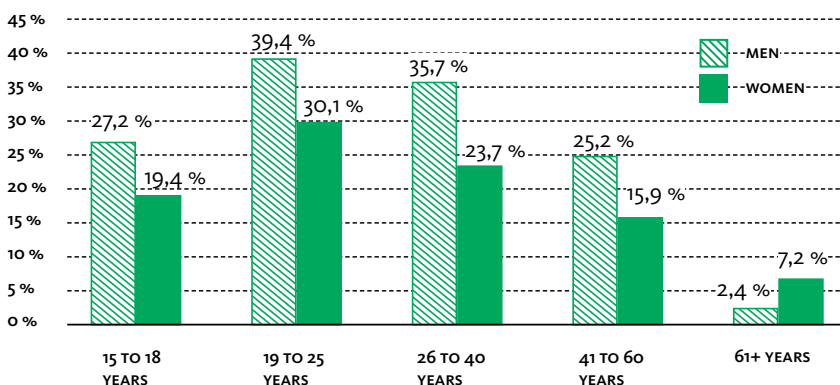
MEASURE THROUGH WHICH YOU AS AN UNEMPLOYED PERSON WITHOUT WORK EXPERIENCE ACQUIRED KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS NECESSARY FOR THE JOB YOU ARE GOING TO DO	6.5%	2.9%	33	4.6%	712
MEASURE THROUGH WHICH YOU AS AN UNEMPLOYED PERSON JOINED PROGRAMMES OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING, RETRAINING AND SKILLS IMPROVEMENT IN EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS	5.1%	2.6%	27	3.8%	712
MEASURE THROUGH WHICH YOU RECEIVED THE NECESSARY KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS AND KEPT THE JOB YOU DID FOR YOUR EMPLOYER	4.5%	1.3%	20	2.8%	717
MEASURE THROUGH WHICH YOU AS AN EMPLOYER PRESERVED JOBS	6.9%	0.0%	2	3.0%	66
MEASURE THROUGH WHICH YOU GOT EMPLOYED AS A WORKER WITH A SOLE PROPRIETOR	3.6%	1.1%	16	2.0%	712
MEASURE THROUGH WHICH YOU STARTED YOUR OWN BUSINESS AND BECAME EMPLOYED	3.0%	1.0%	11	2.2%	718
MEASURE THROUGH WHICH YOU HAD PROFESSIONAL TRAINING TO WORK IN THE OCCUPATION FOR WHICH YOU WERE EDUCATED, IN ORDER TO ACQUIRE WORK EXPERIENCE OR MEET A FORMAL CONDITION FOR TAKING A VOCATIONAL/ SKILLED TRADES EXAM	3.3%	0.5%	13	1.8%	712

4.2.5

Interest in self-employment and starting one's own business

When it comes to interest in self-employment and starting one's own business, answers to the question, "Are you interested in self-employment and starting your own business?" were collected for 2,757 persons aged 14 or more. For 723, or 26.2% the answer was affirmative. It has been established that there is greater interest in Roma aged 19 to 40 than those younger, but also those aged 41 or more. A significant difference by sex has also been established, with interest in self-employment and starting one's own business greater in men than in women.

CHART 19. INTEREST IN SELF-EMPLOYMENT AND STARTING ONE'S OWN BUSINESS BY AGE AND SEX



4.2.6

Key stakeholders' opinions on the main problems in employing members of the Roma national minority

RNM MEMBERS' MAIN PROBLEMS IN FINDING EMPLOYMENT

The majority of answers by the interviewed representatives of the relevant institutions recognise the level of education, that is, Roma national minority members' insufficient qualifications, as the key problem in finding employment, followed by discrimination. In addition, some of the representatives of institutions highlight the inexistence of work habits among the Roma as a problem in employment. Both groups of interviewees also highlighted the general problem of the economic crisis and the overall unemployment among the majority and minority people as another, additional challenge in employing the Roma.

TABLE 27. MAIN PROBLEMS IN EMPLOYMENT – REPRESENTATIVES OF RELEVANT INSTITUTIONS

FREQUENT ANSWERS	NUMBER OF CODES
LACK OF EDUCATION AND QUALIFICATIONS	19
DISCRIMINATION	10
UNWILLINGNESS TO DO CONTINUOUS WORK AND MEET THE EMPLOYER'S DEMANDS	6
RECESSION	2
SHORTAGE OF WORKFORCE AS AN OPPORTUNITY	2
WORK DOES NOT PAY OFF	1

A lack of education and qualifications is the problem recognised by representatives of the relevant institutions as the greatest obstacle to Roma employment. They state that there are often no simple jobs for people with no school, or only primary school.

“They all say that they want to find employment and to have a permanent job, however that's far from the reality. They mostly haven't completed primary school, meaning they don't have the first condition for a permanent job. Essentially, it's all primary education, we know what the employment situation is like with primary education. It's difficult with secondary school, let alone primary. So verbally, yes, but when you look, even if they were employed, when you compare our social contributions and pay cheques, to them it doesn't really pay. That is our thinking.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION IN KOPRIVNICA-KRIŽEVCI COUNTY)

“So certainly it's a problem today, when you can't get employed with just primary school, less and less with secondary school as well, unfortunately. Even university doesn't guarantee employment. Unfortunately... I believe that the level of education is still the biggest obstacle.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION IN ZAGREB COUNTY)

Discrimination has also been recognised as a serious problem in employment:

“There are probably still such prejudices in our society. We cannot just run away from them, like they weren't there. I believe that there is still such prejudice around.” (representative of a relevant institution in Bjelovar-Bilogora county)

“This feeling of antipathy is still developed in our people, the ‘you don't belong to my group, you're not of my own people’, etc. Mistrust, it's not from yesterday. They've been treated as a wandering people for centuries, as a people who like to purloin things, as people who led bears around fairs... I think prejudice towards these people should be broken here, both ours and theirs, there's all kinds around. To be clear, they don't all smell of roses. So prejudices are the greatest problem. You can't really see Roma people serving in a bar. I never saw it. But now I see them serving flowers and working in shops etc.” (representative of a relevant institution in Primorje-Gorski kotar county)

Unwillingness to do continuous work and meet the employers' demands, that is, non-existence of work habits are cited as problems used by employers as justification for not wanting to employ the Roma:

“The main difficulties are, first, their lack of education, meaning lack of qualifications required in employment, second, how much they can adapt to certain rules required by the employer, to be punctual, to be in work on time, to come every day and not to go absent.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION IN THE CITY OF ZAGREB).

“I'll be direct and frank. They must seriously work on their education, on learning Croatian, on their willingness to work, willingness to spend eight hours in the workplace. We had bad situations in public works in utility companies, where little groups, I remember a situation in a utility company when five were involved, that after three days all five took sick leave. And when the director was raging and angry, during the height of the season for works, he said not to contact him any more, he doesn't want to go into such arrangements any more (...) these are individual cases, it's not a general thing. There are certainly diligent and good Roma that you can rely on. (...) For eight hours, they must accept their duties and responsibilities. Some of them are not ready for this. This is where they have to change.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION IN SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

The interviewed Roma national minority representatives point out various forms of discrimination as a main obstacle to employment, followed by lack of education and adequate qualifications. They also see a significant problem in the temporariness and occasionality of employment, and in unregistered work. Some see positive shifts in the area of work, and the shortage of workforce is seen as a serious chance to improve the economic status of Roma communities. Lacking work habits has not been recognised as a serious problem, while one representative perceives no difficulties in employing the Roma.

TABLE 28. MAIN PROBLEMS IN EMPLOYMENT – REPRESENTATIVES OF ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY

FREQUENT ANSWERS	NUMBER OF CODES
DISCRIMINATION	31
LACK OF EDUCATION AND QUALIFICATIONS	12
TEMPORARY AND OCCASIONAL EMPLOYMENT	7
SHORTAGE OF WORKFORCE AS AN OPPORTUNITY	3
A POSITIVE SHIFT IN EMPLOYMENT	3
UNREGISTERED WORK	3
RECESSION	2
UNWILLINGNESS TO DO CONTINUOUS WORK AND MEET THE EMPLOYER'S DEMANDS	1
NO DIFFICULTIES IN EMPLOYMENT	1

Discrimination is omnipresent and clearly manifested without regard for sex, gender, age. Descriptions of discriminatory actions are numerous and very detailed.

“Well, as soon as it's clear that he is Roma, it's immediately extremist by the employer. Not the CES, the employer. Because when we call by phone, he needs workers, but when we get there and it's clear they're Roma, then they just hired someone five minutes ago.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM THE CITY OF ZAGREB)

“Discrimination plagues the Roma the most. And whether you're leaving, if you're dark-skinned or something, there's no work. Just that, for us it's the biggest problem. Everywhere.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

“The Roma can't get employed because someone is bothered by the colour of skin. Not that the Roma are incompetent, retarded, and as they call us, illiterate, semi-literate, there are people like that, but simply it's the colour of skin why I can't get work.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM MEDIMURJE COUNTY)

Representatives of the Roma national minority also see education and lack of qualifications as a serious obstacle to employment. Some believe that, although better education increases the chances of finding work, it doesn't abolish discriminatory practice.

“Well, education, simply, they aren't educated enough, not enough finished school. Simply, school. Discrimination is another problem.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM MEDIMURJE COUNTY)

Temporary and occasional employment is a serious problem as it does not have a stimulating effect on the community. In principle, temporary and occasional employment takes place as part of the measures for stimulating employment. In the public sector, it is mainly public works, while in the private sector there are a number of active employment measures. However, in both sectors the measures do not contribute to remaining in permanent employment.

“I tell you, these are stories so this way people... either they employ them and keep them as workers for a couple of months until they pick up that European Union money, or whoever’s giving them subsidies, and then after a couple of months, but the couple of months that he worked, they treated him like an animal. I could see it and I felt it on myself; when I turned up there at his, in his firm, what kind of behaviour he had towards me, and especially towards that worker.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM MEDIMURJE COUNTY)

The workforce shortage is seen as the first more serious chance to employ the Roma after a longer period.

“But the picture is a little better now, because a lot of people left after this European border was opened, meaning work permits that Europe no longer requires that much, and because of the bigger pay cheques, a lot of young skilled tradesmen and experts who went to work for slightly better cash in Germany and Austria. So they left the west Balkans to work, and now the employers have no working class and they are forced to employ the Roma as there is no workforce in the firm, and the Roma are retraining, there are people who do not change qualifications, come to the firm and learn what they need there. Because you don’t need much philosophy in metallurgy. You just need good will and appear regularly at work.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM MEDIMURJE COUNTY)

Some Roma national minority representatives see a positive shift in employment:

“There are quite a few of our boys, who are from here – Roma children, and they work by the sea. They are accepted there. They go to the sea every year. So it depends on people... Not everybody belongs in the same basket. Not everyone’s the same.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM BJELOVAR-BILOGORA COUNTY)

Roma national minority representatives see the recession as an aggravating circumstance for employment:

“Very weak, and since we worked for a while when there was work in (place name omitted), 70% of Roma worked in private firms, and then there was a sudden halt in employment because of the recession in the RC, and we ceased with this economic way of life. There is no good economy in (place name omitted), nothing is being built anymore. What’s built is built, and that’s it.” (ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE FROM SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

Representatives of the relevant institutions and representatives of the Roma national minority agree that lack of education and qualifications and discriminatory practice are two most frequent problems in employing the Roma, although these problems change places by frequency. Roma interviewees see discrimination as the more important, while representatives of institutions point out the lack of education. For Roma national minority representatives, the problem of occasional and temporary work is also important – a problem that the representatives of the relevant institutions do not see at all. Both see

the workforce shortage as an opportunity, while absent work habits are important to representatives of the relevant institutions, and less so for representatives of the Roma national minority.

DISCRIMINATION IN HIRING

As by grouping the interviewees' answers we established that discriminatory practices in employment, but also at work, are one of the key problems on which both the representatives of the relevant institutions and representatives of the Roma national minority agree, we were interested in learning more about what specific kinds of practice these were.

TABLE 29. DISCRIMINATION IN HIRING – REPRESENTATIVES OF RELEVANT INSTITUTIONS

FREQUENT ANSWERS	NUMBER OF CODES
DISCRIMINATION PRESENT IN EMPLOYMENT	7
PREJUDICE	4
UNEMPLOYABILITY OF PERSONS WHO COMPLETED SECONDARY SCHOOL	3
BAD PRIOR EXPERIENCE	2

All representatives of the relevant institutions recognise discrimination against the Roma in hiring; most cite prejudice as one of the causes of discrimination; several ascribe discrimination to previous negative experiences with employing Roma national minority members, while some express concern about the unemployability of those Roma who have secondary education.

The presence of discrimination in hiring is recognised as a fact that practically needs no further explanation.

“A colleague from the Service said that there are employers who do not want the Roma. It’s probably not stated anywhere officially, that they don’t want the Roma, but the employer himself doesn’t want them.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION IN SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

Prejudice is cited as a cause of discrimination (they are unreliable, they steal, they are lazy, they do not know how to work).

“But what’s the problem? Problem is when you manage to come to an agreement, and engage that person, and then after five days they take sick leave, then they return, then after a month they take sick leave, then they don’t feel like working. And then he represents an image – they’re all like that, which isn’t true. And in the state, in most cases, we generalise everything. I don’t know, they’re all thieves, they are... everything we say is in big groups. What I say, everybody’s got their own name. Look at what each is like, not what or who they are.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION IN BJELOVAR-BILOGORA COUNTY)

The unemployability of people who completed secondary school causes concern among representatives of the relevant institutions, as it is demotivating for the rest of the Roma community.

“(...) a chemical lab technician, but they don’t work. And that’s a very demanding occupation, it takes a lot of knowledge and specific capabilities to be a chemical lab technician, but she’s unemployed because when she comes to the interview, it’s a big prejudice. I even have a young woman who was in extended day care for three years as a Roma assistant, whose recommendation for her next job I wrote myself, in the name of the school, to be a teaching assistant in a school somewhere else, and they didn’t employ her. There’s a big barrier...” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION IN OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

Negative prior experience is cited as a cause of employers’ aversion to employing the Roma.

“Well, I somehow think that yes, because from other statements by people when talking about the Roma, they are often completely negative in their statements, you will rarely find someone who accepts them, because they all have certain experiences, or their friends have experiences employing the Roma that didn’t turn out fine, and end of story.” (representative of a relevant institution in the City of Zagreb)

The interviewed Roma national minority representatives recognise discrimination in finding employment as the dominant problem that’s easily and quickly specified. The unemployability of people with secondary education is concerning, as it demotivates other members of the Roma national minority to take up secondary education. Prejudice is often cited as the reason for the discrimination.

TABLE 30. DISCRIMINATION IN HIRING – REPRESENTATIVES OF RNM

FREQUENT ANSWERS	NUMBER OF CODES
DISCRIMINATION PRESENT IN HIRING	52
UNEMPLOYABILITY OF PERSONS WHO COMPLETED SECONDARY SCHOOL	11
PREJUDICE	9
LOSS OF MOTIVE FOR EDUCATION	7
CHANGE OF FAMILY NAME	3
WORKERS GETTING DIFFICULT, UNBEARABLE JOBS; AS A CONSEQUENCE THEY GIVE UP	3
INSUFFICIENT EDUCATION	3
THERE IS NO DISCRIMINATION	1

The presence of discrimination in finding employment is recognised as the fundamental cause of Roma unemployment.

“They seek work. They sign up. It is sad that I have to say this. The moment they see us. OK.” (ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE FROM SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

“I personally heard a former director of the water supply company say, ‘let the CES send them to meet their own, but he won’t employ a Gypsy.’”

(ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE FROM BROD-POSAVINA COUNTY)

“This boy applied for a job he found in the papers, where it said you can arrange a job interview by phone. Over the phone it went great, and when the interview was ending, the boy just mentioned that would they mind he’s from a Roma settlement. The line went silent and the voice on the other side says, ‘How are my buyers going to react when a Roma delivers food to their home?’” (ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE FROM BROD-POSAVINA COUNTY)

The unemployability of people with secondary education is a fact that causes bitterness among Roma national minority representatives, and is frequently linked to demotivation for education.

“The problem is the greatest because these people, who finish schools, cannot find jobs, because of prejudices that (remain) in all segments and on all sides, and then, I hope that these people who finish school won’t lose the will to continue education” (Roma national minority representative from Međimurje county)

Prejudices are recognised as one of the causes of discrimination, and are mostly considered baseless. There is a desire for the Roma to be valued individually, not perceived as a group.

“One thing, when are these employers finally going to realise and reject this stereotypical view of us. That we Roma aren’t workers, that we’re this, that we’re that. Because if a Roma messes something up. That he wasn’t as he should have been like or he didn’t turn up to work on time, or got drunk or whatever, then all the Roma are to blame and everybody quarrels with everybody else. When are these employers going to realise that we’re not like that and to look at those who work very well and to take notice of them as well, not just the one Roma when there are ten other Roma behaving as things should be, and that one Roma tarnishes everything, all the rest – more Roma. Then it will be different for us as well, because like this when they won’t accept us because we’re Roma.” (ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE FROM MEĐIMURJE COUNTY)

The interviewees stated that it is difficult to explain the value of education if it does not bring employment.

“Then from the Roma themselves you get that aversion – why bother when, however much effort I make, however smart I am, again they’ll put me in the worst group.” (ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE FROM BJELOVAR-BILOGORA COUNTY)

Changing surnames was recognised as a tactic that contributes to finding employment.

“Here, for instance, in (town name omitted) they told me they need someone to deliver bread to the bakery here in (town name omitted). The boy who was, his surname used to be Oršuš, then he changed it because he had to, he’s white, doesn’t look very Roma, tall. And he worked on probation, and had to bring his employment record book, where it read Oršuš. Immediately it was clear to some, they immediately said, you don’t have to come to work tomorrow, the old employee has returned.” (ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE FROM MEDIMURJE COUNTY)

Getting difficult, unbearable jobs and giving up as a consequence is the method employers sometimes apply: giving the Roma difficult, undoable jobs leading to dismissals.

“Here, discrimination if he identifies as a member of the Roma national minority, if he’s black and so it’s visible. They always give them, I don’t know, the most difficult, least paid, most difficult jobs. And that’s what I think, like. Look, there’s more than one kind of discrimination, if we go there we could sit here all day talking only about discrimination.” (ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE CITY OF ZAGREB)

The interviewed representatives of the relevant institutions agree with Roma national minority representatives that there is extensive discrimination against the Roma in employment, that it is linked to prejudice and that the fact that better educated members of the Roma national minority (those who finished secondary school) cannot find work is concerning. Roma representatives expressly connect this with others’ loss of motivation to pursue education. Representatives of the institutions do not recognise the accommodations the Roma make in overcoming the barriers of discriminatory practice.

4.2.7

Conclusions and discussion

According to the National Roma Inclusion Strategy, the general goal in the chapter on employment and inclusion in economic life is “to bridge the gap between the Roma minority and the majority population on the labour market.”¹⁵⁷ The specific Objective 1 concerns raising “the level of social inclusion of the Roma population by enhancement of their ability to participate on the labour market”.¹⁵⁸ The information from the 2011 World Bank and DG Regio study, according to which the percentage of work-capable Roma within the surveyed households shows that the employment rate of the Roma within the total work-capable population aged 15-65 was 34.91%, including 41.06% of men and 24.08% of women, and 23.79% within the 15-24 age range, including 31.06% of men and 12.96% of women, was cited as the initial value.¹⁵⁹ The rate of inclusion of the Roma population in the labour market by age and by sex in relation to the total number of work-capable Roma was defined as one of the NRIS progress indicators.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

According to research data, 18.7% of the Roma are in some form of employment (7.3% are in full-time paid work, 9.2% of Roma do occasional or temporary work, while 2.1% are self-employed). Three quarters of Roma women are either unemployed or housewives. If the fifth (18.6%) of the members of Roma households who earned money over the previous week is analysed by age, it is visible that the oldest and youngest displayed age groups were the least economically active, with, relatively speaking, two to three times fewer of those who are economically active than in the 26-35 age group. Additional examination confirmed that among those younger than 15 or older than 65 there are practically none who did paid work over the past week. Furthermore, four fifths (81.3%) of Roma national minority members of working age up to 66 years old (N=2,796) did not paid work over the previous week. Looking by sex, 92.1% of all women and 70.7% of all men for whom appropriate data were collected did not work, which suggests a statistically significant connection between sex and recent work activity. Likewise, a statistically significant difference between men and women in the Roma population has been established in terms of inclusion in the labour market – only 7.9% of women, as opposed to 29.3% of men did paid work over the past week.

Croatian Employment Service data show that in 2016, 4,777 unemployed persons from the Roma national minority were registered, which is 2% of the overall number of those registered as unemployed.¹⁶¹ This information clearly shows that the Roma are overrepresented in overall unemployment, and that activities on reducing this gap between the Roma and the general population need to be intensified, especially in combating discrimination in hiring.

The specific Objectives 2 and 3 concern increasing the competitiveness and employment rate of Roma youth and women. Data obtained in the study show that the young and women are underrepresented among the employed, that is, that age and sex are related to employment status. As far as increasing young people's competitiveness in the labour market is concerned, the information that the coverage of Roma pupils (aged 15-18) by secondary education is 31% speaks in favour of the proposition that an increasing number of members of the Roma national minority are getting educated, thus increasing their chances in the labour market. However, there are 16.0% of unemployed and 3.2% of housewives among fifteen-year-olds. The share of the unemployed grows with age, reaching 53.6% in eighteen-year-olds (17.9% of housewives). In addition to the fact that the lower coverage of girls becomes visible as early as in secondary education (36% of boys as opposed to 26% of girls), reducing girls' chances of inclusion in the labour market, representatives of the relevant institutions, as well as Roma national minority representatives, also highlight the existence of extensive discrimination against the Roma in hiring, that this is tied to prejudice and that the fact that better-educated members of the Roma national minority (completed secondary school) cannot find work is worrying. Roma representatives explicitly connect this to loss of motivation on the part of other young Roma for education. For these reasons, under the specific Objective 2 – increasing competitiveness of young Roma in the labour market – additional work needs to

¹⁶¹ Croatian Employment Service, Yearbook 2016, Zagreb, 2017, http://www.hzz.hr/UserDocsImages/CES_Yearbook_2016.pdf, (accessed June 2018)

be done with employers to deconstruct the stereotypes and prejudice against the Roma and highlight good practice in hiring young Roma people. Furthermore, Roma national minority representatives highlighted discrimination in finding employers for work experience placements for vocational schools. This may be connected to vocational schools specialisations that are not aligned with the labour market (for instance, education to become a florist, switchboard operator etc.), where due to the economic crisis,¹⁶² but also a number of other market movements, the number of such employers has significantly fallen. Therefore, the situation where the limited number of sole traders' and other market actors' reduced capacities to take in young trainees leads to a situation where employers prefer to mentor youth from the general population, while behaving towards the Roma in a discriminatory way. Additional efforts thus need to be focused on combating and sanctioning discrimination in the field of work and education, including discrimination in work experience placements.

As far as increased representation of Roma women is concerned, according to data obtained in this study, the share of women and men is only balanced in service and trade occupations, while all other categories reflect the greater inclusion of men in the labour market. Roma women's disadvantaged position in the labour market is clear from the information that the 41.0% of working age members of the Roma national minority who never worked are comprised of 25% of Roma men and 58% of Roma women. In addition, the information that in the past 365 days approximately a fifth of women (20.8%) and a half of men (54.4%) worked for money speaks of the great gender divide in the inclusion of Roma women in the labour market. Therefore, these two groups – women and youth – need to be taken into special consideration in designing measures concerning Roma employment, that is, measures need to be targeted in a way that takes into account the disadvantaged position of these groups within the Roma population on the labour market.

As stated in the NRIS, the specific Objective 4 seeks to increase the competitiveness and employability of long-term unemployed members of the Roma national minority. All in all, the average length of unemployment for the unemployed work-capable Roma population up to 66 years of age is a little less than 5 years, with 44% unemployed for up to a year, and the remaining 56% longer, that is, long-term unemployed. The longest average length of unemployment is that of the oldest age group – more than 18 years on average for those older than 60. Unemployed persons aged 16-65 were also asked whether additional education would help them find work. Of the 696 that answered this question, more than half (56.3%) believe that additional education would help. They in turn were asked about willingness to undertake additional education. Of the 385 who stated that education would help them in finding work, 67.0% also expressed a willingness to take additional schooling. However, according to data from this study, the majority of the Roma do not take additional education as adults. Only 4.2% completed primary school as adults, 1.9 secondary school, and 4.5% a vocational training programme. Vocational training

¹⁶² In the period between 2008 and 2015 26,368 sole proprietors' businesses were closed. That means that the number of potential employers decreased by 26.1%. (data compared from accessible data of the Croatian Chamber of Trades and Crafts).

ning programmes are usually completed at the age of 26-40 (5.7%), while 4.6% complete the program in the younger age group of 19-25. Therefore, measures should be designed to motivate the unemployed Roma population to attend vocational training and lifelong learning programmes, but also to guarantee adequate conditions so that these programmes are actually attended (e.g. transport to the locations where they are held etc.)

The specific NRIS Objective 5 seeks to increase the rate of formal self-employment among members of the Roma national minority.¹⁶³ When it comes to interest in starting self-employment and own business, 26.2% of interviewees have expressed an interest in starting self-employment, which is a potential based on which future measures and activities for greater Roma inclusion in the labour market should be designed. It has also been established that there is greater interest among Roma aged 19-40, in comparison to both those who are younger and those aged over 41. A significant difference has also been established by sex, where men's interest in self-employment and starting one's own business is greater than that of women. Looking at the current situation regarding self-employment, according to research results, only 4.5% of households had a member with a sole trading enterprise or was self-employed in an agricultural holding. Of those who are registered with the Employment Service, 5.5% are trying to start their own business. According to the Croatian Employment Service yearbook, in 2016, "the CES also organised informative meetings on the topic of self-employment for persons of the Romani national minority who expressed interest in starting their own business, i.e. registering a company or craft/trade [sole proprietorship], while 8 persons participated in individual counselling meetings on the topic of self-employment."¹⁶⁴

The specific Objective 6 in this area reads, "to raise the level of motivation among Roma for participation on the job market."¹⁶⁵ A little more than half of interviewees without permanent employment were signed up with the Employment Service (52.3%). 37.4% stated that they were actively seeking work, while in addition to those trying to start their own business (5.5%), there are a further 7.5% of Roma not seeking work as they do not think they will find it. It has been established that Roma national minority members make relatively little use of individual CES active employment measures (relative to the rate of unemployment), the only measure used with some frequency being that of participation in public works. Thus, 18% used precisely this measure. At least one of the measures was used by 22% of Roma national minority members aged 16 or more (18% of women and 27% men). Croatian Employment Service data show that in 2016, there were 569 newly involved Roma users of active employment policy measures. Although public works, the measure predominantly used by members of the Roma national minority, have a positive effect on the exercise of certain rights (for instance, obtaining health

¹⁶³ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

¹⁶⁴ Croatian Employment Service, *Yearbook 2016*, Zagreb, 2017, http://www.hzz.hr/UserDocsImages/CES_Yearbook_2016.pdf (accessed June 2018)

¹⁶⁵ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

insurance) and inclusion in the life of the community, it is important to stress that they are not the measure that will solve long-term unemployment among the Roma. It is thus necessary to monitor what long-term effect using this measure and others will have on the level of formal employment of members of the Roma national minority.

Healthcare

The general goal of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy in the area of healthcare is “to improve the health of the Roma population and the quality and availability of health-care.”¹⁶⁶ The material deprivation and poverty of the Roma population are directly linked with the social determinants of health, as a great portion of the Roma population live in inadequate living conditions. In concentrated settlements the burning secondary raw materials and release of toxic smoke is a common phenomenon, which can lead to problems with the respiratory system. Certain settlements are in the vicinity of polluting factories (e.g. the closed chemical factory in Crikvenica in the immediate vicinity of a Roma settlement; air pollution in Slavonski Brod, which is one of the most polluted towns in Europe because of the Bosanski Brod oil refinery, with air pollution sometimes as high as 40 times the legal limit, where there is a Roma settlement across the road from factory chimneys etc.), illegal landfills are often in the immediate vicinity of the houses, in winter months there are frequent floods due to lack of drainage channels etc. According to statements from the European Commission report on Roma health, there is consistent empirical evidence that the Roma population has a significantly lower life expectancy compared to the majority population, while the majority of published studies confirm that the life expectancy gap between the Roma and the majority population is ten years, or even more.¹⁶⁷ According to the same source, the relevant literature and existing data cannot coherently explain the connection between the specific social determinants and the Roma population’s concrete medical problems and life expectancy.

In the chapter on health in the “Everyday Life of Roma in Croatia: Challenges and Possibilities for Transformation” study, Zrinščak¹⁶⁸ states that, according to their self-assessment, Roma health is not significantly different to that of the remaining population. Moreover, he states that “in relation to the rest of the population, the Roma have significantly more problems with asthma and chronic bronchitis, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPT and emphysema),”¹⁶⁹ and claims that some of the health problems

¹⁶⁶ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

¹⁶⁷ European Commission, *Roma Health Report: Health Status of the Roma Population*, Data collection in the Member States of the European Union, 2014.

¹⁶⁸ Bagić, D., Burić, I., Dobrotić, I., Potočnik, D., and Zrinščak, S., *Romska svakodnevnica u Hrvatskoj: prepreke i mogućnosti za promjene*, UNDP, UNHCR and UNICEF, 2014, p. 69.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

of the Roma (asthma and chronic bronchitis, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease and emphysema) are primarily linked to the housing conditions and lifestyle of the Roma. The same author believes that attention needs to be given to questions that primarily concern the accessibility of healthcare and health services. One question concerns the health insurance coverage of the Roma population. According to the results of the study, 82.5% of Roma have health insurance,¹⁷⁰ the same figure as that found in the European Union Fundamental Rights Agency study of 2016 (82%).¹⁷¹ The second key question seen by Zrinščak as relevant is that of (in)ability to purchase medicine, a highly important dimension of healthcare accessibility.

Healthcare is a field for which data is somewhat less available than for other NRIS areas, partly because in the healthcare system the collected data are not desegregated by ethnicity.

To present the basic indicators for monitoring the NRIS in the area of healthcare, research data concerning the health profile of Roma households, that is, assessment of overall health status, incidence of certain illnesses, health problems and disabilities, children's health, health insurance coverage, accessibility and use of certain medical services, experiences with medical staff, women's reproductive health and opiate use will be outlined here. In addition, key stakeholders' views and opinions on the health of the Roma population in Croatia, that is, the Roma minority's main problems in the area of health and healthcare will be presented.

4.3.1

The health profile of the Roma population

The survey research asked the interviewees to assess the health of each member of their household. Speaking about assessing the overall health status, it is to be expected that the assessed health of the majority of elderly persons – those over 65 – on whom data was collected would be worse than the health of younger and middle-aged interviewees. The overall health status of two thirds of the oldest members of the Roma national minority was defined as poor or even very poor, with an average mark of 1.9.¹⁷² The overall health status of children and youth up to 30 years of age was assessed as good or very good, with an average mark of 4.2, while the average mark for middle-aged interviewees was 3.0. Here, it should be noted that the data concerning health status are valid by age group, but are generally biased in favour of interviewees aged 16 or more, as data on interviewees younger than 16 were collected only in the A version of the survey questionnaire, while data on those over 16 were collected in both (A and B) versions of the sur-

¹⁷⁰ Bagić, D., Burić, I., Dobrotić, I., Potočnik, D., and Zrinščak, S., *Romska svakodnevnica u Hrvatskoj: prepreke i mogućnosti za promjene*, UNDP, UNHCR and UNICEF, 2014

¹⁷¹ European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), *Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS II) Roma – Selected findings*, <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2016/eumidis-ii-roma-selected-findings> (accessed June 2018)

¹⁷² Since the scale of assessment is five-tiered (1 – very poor, 2 – poor, 3 – mediocre, 4 – good, 5 – very good), average marks can vary from the lowest, 1, to the highest, 5.

vey questionnaire.¹⁷³ Difference by sex was found only in the age group comprising interviewees aged 31-65, where women gave worse assessments of their health than men did.

TABLE 31. ASSESSMENT OF THE OVERALL HEALTH STATUS BY AGE

What is the overall health status of each member of the household?

	VERY POOR	POOR	MEDIOCRE	GOOD	VERY GOOD	N	AVERAGE	SD
UP TO 7 YEARS	1.4%	2.6%	6.7%	45.3%	44.0%	975	4.3	0.81
8 TO 15 YEARS	1.1%	3.9%	5.9%	48.4%	40.7%	760	4.2	0.81
16 TO 30 YEARS	2.0%	5.3%	10.9%	52.3%	29.6%	1460	4	0.89
31 TO 65 YEARS	14.4%	23.2%	24.2%	28.9%	9.3%	1399	3	1.21
OLDER THAN 65	43.3%	32.2%	17.8%	6.7%	0.0%	90	1.9	0.93
TOTAL*	6.2%	10.4%	13.3%	42.3%	27.8%	4684	3.8	1.15

Of the 4,752 members of the Roma national minority on whom data was collected on health problems and specific conditions over the past 12 months, two health issues have arisen in more than 10% of the household members included. These are spinal problems, or chronic back and neck issues (12.8%), and high blood pressure (10.8%). The third most frequently cited were heart and blood vessel problems.

TABLE 32. FREQUENCY OF SPECIFIC ILLNESSES AND HEALTH ISSUES

Do you suffer or have suffered in the last 12 months from some of the listed issues?

ZDRAVSTVENE TEGOBE	NO		YES		TOTAL
	N	%	N	%	N
SPINAL PROBLEMS, OR CHRONIC BACK AND NECK ISSUES	4143	87,2%	609	12,8%	4752
HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE	4240	89,2%	512	10,8%	4752
HEART AND BLOOD VESSEL PROBLEMS	4342	91,4%	410	8,6%	4752
LUNGS ISSUES	4455	93,8%	297	6,3%	4752
ALLERGY	4455	93,8%	297	6,3%	4752
KIDNEY ISSUES	4470	94,1%	282	5,9%	4752
ASTHMA	4530	95,3%	222	4,7%	4752
PROBLEMS CONTROLLING THE URINARY BLADDER	4553	95,8%	199	4,2%	4752
SOMETHING ELSE	4551	95,8%	201	4,2%	4752
MENTAL DISORDER	4584	96,5%	168	3,5%	4752

¹⁷³ See in more detail in the section on methodology, "The structure of the survey questionnaire". In 780 of the 1,550 surveyed households the A version of the survey questionnaire was used, thus gathering data on 3,916 household members across all age categories, while the B version was used in 770 households, thus gathering data on 769 members, but only for interviewees over 16. This can be seen in the health status self-assessment, which resulted in an average mark that was statistically significantly higher for those interviewed using the A version (3.9) than those interviewed using the B version of the survey questionnaire (3.2).

Do you suffer or have suffered in the last 12 months from some of the listed issues?

ZDRAVSTVENE TEGOBE	NO		YES		TOTAL
	N	%	N	%	N
DISABILITY	4589	96,6%	163	3,4%	4752
DIABETES	4604	96,9%	148	3,1%	4752
BEHAVIOURAL DISORDER	4677	98,4%	75	1,6%	4752
ARTHROSIS (INCLUDING ARTHRITIS)	4697	98,8%	55	1,2%	4752
STROKE OR ITS CONSEQUENCES	4707	99,1%	45	0,9%	4752
DEVELOPMENTAL ISSUES	4728	99,5%	24	0,5%	4752
LIVER CIRRHOSIS	4732	99,6%	20	0,4%	4752
HEPATITIS	4745	99,9%	7	0,1%	4752
DYSENTERY	4747	99,9%	5	0,1%	4752

The survey research collected data from the interviewees on household members with some kind of disability. It has been established that 163 people included in the research, that is, 3.4% of members of the Roma national minority have a form of disability. Of those, 60% are men and 40% women. In both groups the majority of cases are those of physical disability, in 29.1% sensory impairment, that is, hearing or sight problems, while 17.6% of cases involve mental health issues.

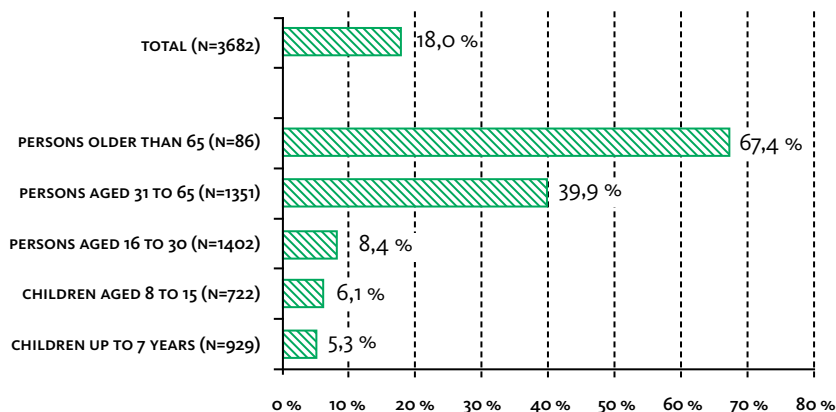
TABLE 33. FORMS OF DISABILITY BY GENDER

	WHAT KIND OF DISABILITY DOES A HOUSEHOLD MEMBER SUFFER FROM?	%
MEN (N=90)	Physical disability	69.1%
	Sensory impairment	26.7%
	Mental health issues	14.4%
WOMEN (N=61)	Physical disability	59.3%
	Sensory impairment	32.8%
	Mental health issues	22.4%
TOTAL (N=151)	Physical disability	65.4%
	Sensory impairment	29.1%
	Mental health issues	17.6%

During the research, interviewees were asked whether their household members suffer from long-term illnesses (illnesses lasting for more than six months). Data show that 18% of interviewees have an illness from which they have suffered for more than six months. Taking into account the relation between sex and age, it has been established that more women than men aged 31 to 65 and above 66 suffer from a long-term illness, while in all other age groups, that is, those under 30, no connection between sex and long-term forms of illness has been found. Looking at results by age group only, it needs to be highlighted that two thirds of Roma over 65 have a form of long-term illness, that is, have been ill for more than 6 months, as does the fact that nearly 40% of people included in

the research in the most active age (from 31 to 65) have a form of long-term illness, which is a worrying information.

CHART 20. LONG-TERM ILLNESS (LASTING LONGER THAN 6 MONTHS) BY AGE



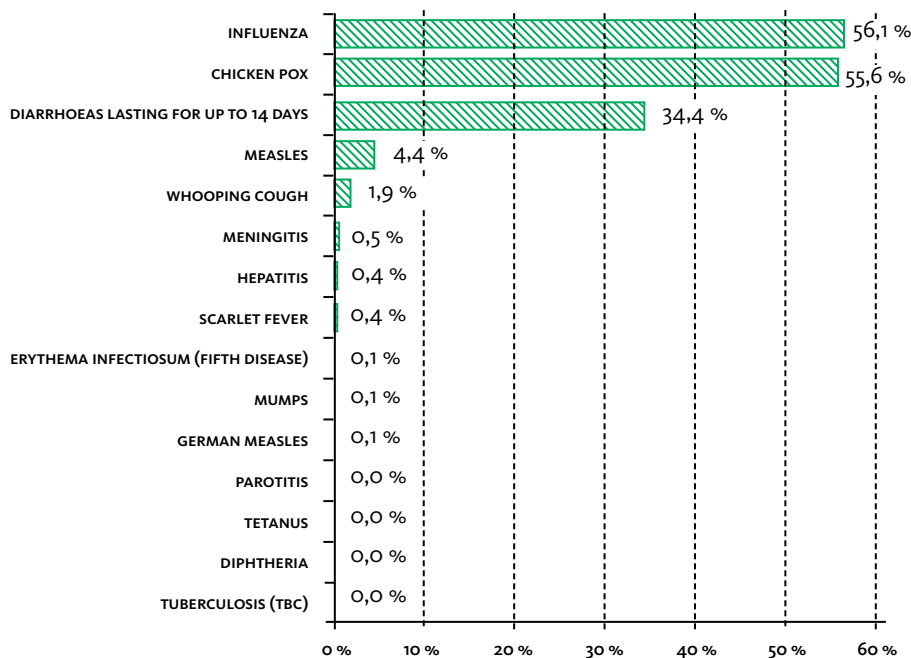
All those with a long-term illness, or who were ill for more than six months, were asked how much does their illness limit them in performing their usual activities. In the oldest age group, the over-65s, it was established that 81.8% of women, as opposed to 60.9% of men are severely constrained by their long-term illness in performing their usual activities.¹⁷⁴

Concerning the most frequent illnesses in children aged up to 14, data was gathered for 1,668 children in this age group. More than half of the cases were of flu and chicken pox. The third most frequent health issue in Roma children is diarrhoea, lasting for up to 14 days. The remaining illnesses have a very low incidence among Roma children. Since diarrhoea is most usually caused by various infections and food poisoning, this phenomenon can be tied to the fact that a large number of members of the Roma community live in poor and insanitary conditions. Data show that in the case of the three most frequent illnesses among Roma children, there is no difference between boys and girls, with a nearly identical share.¹⁷⁵ By age, data show a difference between children aged up to 7 and children aged 8-14 on two of the most frequent illnesses: chicken pox and flu. Older children had more experience of these illnesses than children aged up to 7, while in the case of diarrhoea this difference was not significant. A third of children in both age groups had diarrhoea lasting less than 14 days.

¹⁷⁴ Due to the large number of low-frequency cells, it is unadvisable to speak about the significance of correlation between variables after conducting a statistical test.

¹⁷⁵ Of the 838 boys included in the study, 54.5% had chicken pox and 55.6% flu. On the other hand, of the 824 girls included, 56.4% had chicken pox and 56.9% flu. In the case of the third most frequent illness, the difference in the share of boys and girls – 32.6 and 35.7% respectively – who had diarrhoea for up to 14 days was likewise insignificant.

CHART 21. FREQUENCY OF CHILDREN'S DISEASES (N=1668)



Vaccination coverage among Roma national minority children up to 7 years of age is high. Of the 813 children included in the study, 95.5% were vaccinated against infectious diseases, and 96.2% of children up to 7 have a pediatrician, with no difference between boys and girls.

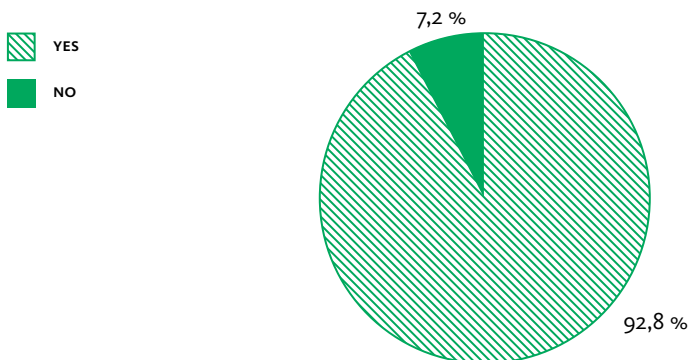
4.3.2

Health insurance coverage of the Roma population

Possession of health insurance is one of the important preconditions for accessing the healthcare system. Of the 4,688 Roma for whom data were gathered, the majority (92.8%)¹⁷⁶ had valid health insurance, that is, a valid health insurance card. Among the total of 7.2% members of the Roma community included by this study who had no valid health insurance card, there are statistically significantly more men than women, while by age, the majority of those without valid health insurance are in the 16-30 and 31-65 age groups.

¹⁷⁶ According to data from FRA, EU MIDS II, 2016., Roma – only 82% of the Roma population was covered by health insurance. Although the methodology of the research is not directly comparable with the presented findings of the research, it is interesting to notice the significant difference of 10% in coverage of the Roma population by health insurance.

CHART 22. SHARE HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS WITH VALID HEALTH INSURANCE



A quarter of households were found to have at least one member without any form of health insurance. As for the reasons for this, they are not quite clear – data obtained for 133 households show that the most frequent reason, cited by the Roma in a third of cases, was “other”, while 18.0% of answers were “I don’t know”. In a quarter of the households (24.8%) where a member had no health insurance it was a case of not signing up with the Croatian Health Insurance Fund within the mandated 30 days of reaching 18, or legal maturity.

TABLE 34. REASONS OF NOT HAVING HEALTH INSURANCE

The reason why a household member does not have health insurance?	N	%
ANOTHER REASON	42	31.6%
THE PERSON DID NOT REGISTER (WITH THE CHIF) WITHIN 30 DAYS OF REACHING 18	33	24.8%
DO NOT KNOW	24	18.0%
THE PERSON DID NOT REGISTER (WITH THE CHIF) WITHIN 30 DAYS AFTER COMPLETING SCHOOLING	15	11.3%
THE PERSON DID NOT REGISTER (WITH THE CHIF) WITHIN 30 DAYS OF TERMINATION OF EMPLOYMENT	13	9.8%
DOES NOT HAVE RESIDENCE OR PERMANENT RESIDENCE IN CROATIA	3	2.3%
REFUSES TO ANSWER	2	1.5%
THE PERSON DID NOT REGISTER (WITH THE CHIF) WITHIN 30 DAYS AFTER THE END OF MILITARY SERVICE	1	0.8%
THE PERSON DID NOT REGISTER (WITH THE CHIF) WITHIN 90 DAYS AFTER THE END OF THE SCHOOLYEAR	0	0.0%
THE PERSON DID NOT REGISTER (WITH THE CHIF) WITHIN 30 DAYS AFTER RELEASE FROM A PENAL INSTITUTION	0	0.0%
TOTAL	133	100%

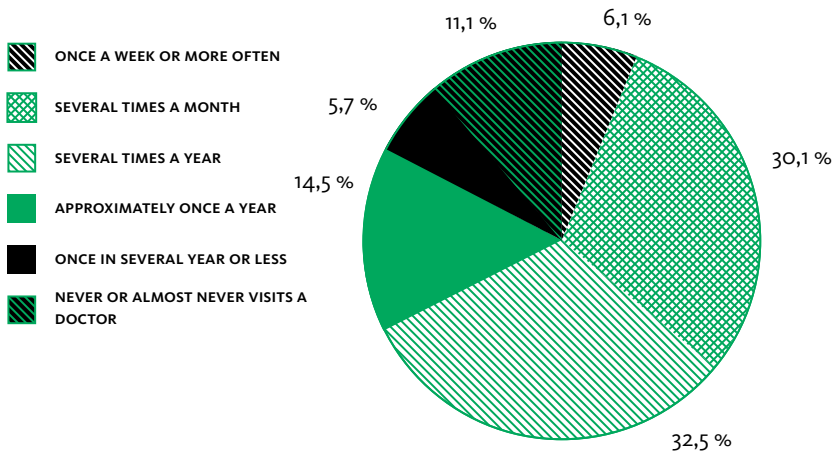
4-3-3

Visits to the doctor and use of healthcare services

The study collected data on how frequently members of the Roma population use certain healthcare services. It has been established that the majority of Roma see the doctor several times a year (N=1,484) or several times a month (N=1,373) – a total of 62.6% of those interviewed. It is interesting that 11.1% never visit the doctor, while 6.1% do so once a week or more. As expected, more than three quarters (76.1%) of those who most frequently visit the doctor are in the oldest age group, over 65. Next are those between 31-65 (45.5%), while a large number of children up to 7 (42.7%) also see the doctor more than once a month.

The age group and sex ratio shows that among those aged 16-30, as well as 31-65, significantly more women than men see the doctor more than once a month. This result is certainly largely due to the fact that for women, especially younger women, it is the fertile age, and that many of them see the doctor more frequently than men their age precisely because of pregnancies.

CHART 23. FREQUENCY OF VISITS TO THE DOCTOR (N=4560)

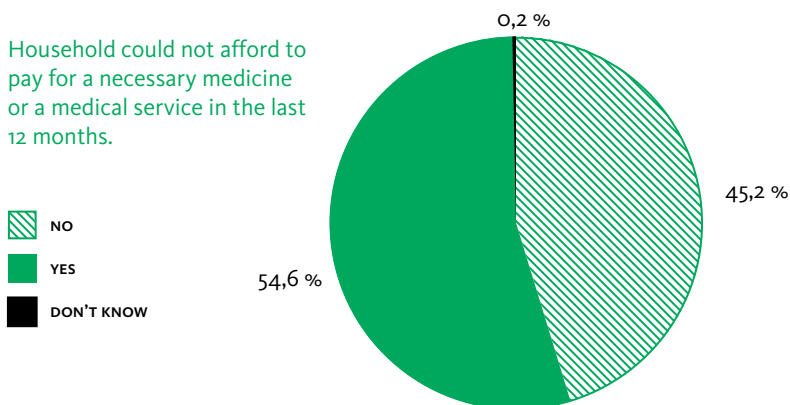


Although data show that most members of the Roma national minority (83.2%) see the doctor between several times a month and once a year, there are also cases where Roma did not visit the doctor despite needing medical help. Of 772 people aged 16 or more, 27.8% did not seek medical help despite needing it. Most Roma cited financial reasons as the main reason for this, that is, that visits to the doctor are too expensive. The second most cited reason was the overly long waiting periods for certain medical examinations, and the third was lack of valid health insurance. In addition to the cited main reasons, some members of the Roma community stated that they did not contact the doctor as they wanted to wait for the health issue to resolve itself, that is, to disappear of their own, while some Roma highlighted the problem of the distance of the doctor's office, that is, transport issues.

TABLE 35. NOT CONTACTING THE DOCTOR DESPITE THE NEED FOR MEDICAL ASSISTANCE

In the last 12 months, did it happen that you did not contact the doctor although you needed medical assistance?	SEX					
	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
NO	279	75.2%	278	69.3%	557	72.2%
YES	92	24.8%	123	30.7%	215	27.8%
TOTAL	371	100%	401	100%	772	100%

Closely tied to the previous question (Table 35) was that of the accessibility of medicines or medical services. Of the 1,540 households where members replied to the question whether in the previous 12 months they encountered a situation of not being able to afford to pay for a medicine or medical service needed by a household member, interviewees in as many as 841 answered affirmatively. In 696 households, or 45.2%, no such situation had arisen, while interviewees in three households did not know whether there had been such cases.

CHART 24. THE SHARE OF HOUSEHOLDS WHICH COULD NOT AFFORD TO PAY FOR MEDICINES OR MEDICAL SERVICES

The study has shown that 13.3% of Roma aged 16 or more did not visit a GP a single time in the past four years. It was found that women see their GP more frequently than men. Over the past four years, the average number of visits was 23.8 for women and 17.6 for men. Overall, both men and women made an average of 20.7 visits to the GP in the past four years, or 5 annually. By age structure, as expected, older interviewees visit their GP more frequently on average than those aged 16-30. Over the past four years, Roma aged 31-65 made an average of 25.4 visits to the GP, and those aged 65 or more 40.8. Unlike these two age groups, Roma aged 16-30 have a significantly lower average number of visits – 13.7.

TABLE 36. AVERAGE NUMBER OF VISITS TO GP IN THE PAST 4 YEARS, BY SEX

In the last 4 years, how many times have you visited your GP?	N	AVERAGE
MEN	325	17,6
WOMEN	333	23,8
TOTAL	658	20,7

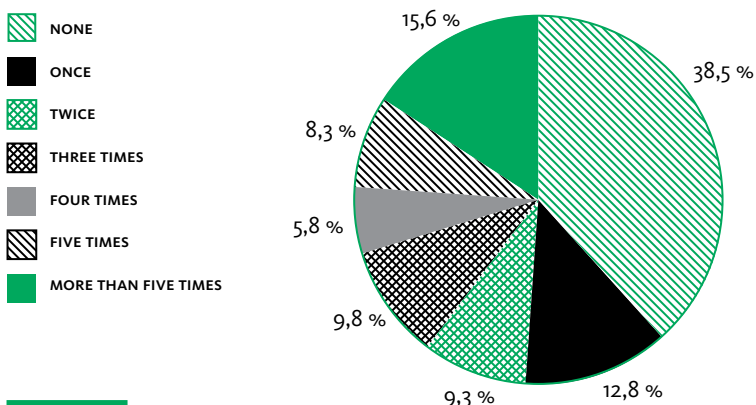
The Roma express a high degree of satisfaction with GPs' work. Half are very satisfied, and nearly a third mostly satisfied with their GP's work. 10.7% are mostly or very dissatisfied. The average mark given to GPs is 4.12, with no statistically significant difference by sex.¹⁷⁷

TABLE 37. SATISFACTION WITH THE WORK OF GP

How satisfied are you with the work of your GP?	MAN		WOMAN		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
VERY DISSATISFIED	21	6,8%	18	5,1%	39	5,9%
MOSTLY DISSATISFIED	19	6,2%	13	3,7%	32	4,8%
NEITHER SATISFIED NOR DISSATISFIED	30	9,7%	37	10,4%	67	10,1%
MOSTLY SATISFIED	93	30,2%	104	29,3%	197	29,7%
VERY SATISFIED	145	47,1%	183	51,5%	328	49,5%

When it comes to specialist examinations, a large share of Roma aged 16 or more have not had one in the past four years. Of the 712 Roma who answered the question on the number of visits to have a specialist exam, 38,5% did not visit a specialist in the past four years. The Roma had a specialist examination an average of 3.51 times over the past four years, with women doing so statistically significantly more often (4.1) than men aged 16 or more (2.9).¹⁷⁸

CHART 25. NUMBER OF VISITS TO HAVE A SPECIALIST EXAM IN THE PAST 4 YEARS



¹⁷⁷ No difference was established between age groups either, that is, all three (16-30, 31-65, over 65) express the same level of satisfaction with their doctor.

¹⁷⁸ No statistically significant difference was found between the three age groups (16-30, 31-65, over 65) on the average number of visits to have a specialist examination over the past four years.

One of the questions in the survey questionnaire in the area of healthcare, or use of healthcare services, concerned emergency medical services. It was found that more than half of Roma aged 16 or more did not use emergency services over the past four years. A total of 43% of Roma used emergency services one or more times in the past four years. No statistically significant difference by sex or age has been established.

As to satisfaction with emergency medical services and their staff's work, 81.8% of the Roma who used such services are mostly or very satisfied with the service and the health staff, with the average mark given 4.12. A minority of the interviewed (11.9%) stated that they are mostly or very dissatisfied with emergency medical service and its health staff.

TABLE 38. SATISFACTION WITH THE EMERGENCY MEDICAL SERVICE AND THE WORK OF MEDICAL STAFF, BY SEX

How satisfied were you with the emergency medical service and the work of medical staff?	MAN		WOMAN		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
VERY DISSATISFIED	14	9.5%	13	7.1%	27	8.2%
MOSTLY DISSATISFIED	5	3.4%	7	3.8%	12	3.6%
NEITHER SATISFIED NOR DISSATISFIED	6	4.1%	15	8.2%	21	6.4%
MOSTLY SATISFIED	42	28.6%	61	33.5%	103	31.3%
VERY SATISFIED	80	54.4%	86	47.3%	166	50.5%
TOTAL	147	100%	182	100%	329	100%
AVERAGE MARK		4.2		4.1		4.12

A little less than half of the interviewed Roma aged 16 or more (46.3%) spent time in inpatient treatment, that is, spent at least one night in hospital. Women made statistically significantly more use of inpatient treatment services, 54.6% having spent a night in hospital one or more times, which is also quite a logical result as women probably most often use such services for childbirth. For these, and possibly other reasons as well, fewer men than women used inpatient treatment – 37.2%. It has also shown that there is a significant difference between the youngest and oldest age groups in using inpatient treatment. Thus, fewest among those aged 16-30 spent one or more nights in hospital (42.8%), while the share is the highest among those over 65 – as many as 80.0%. When it comes to interviewees aged 31-65, less than half (47.6%) used inpatient treatment one or more times.

TABLE 39. USING INPATIENT TREATMENT IN PAST 4 YEARS, BY SEX

In the past 4 years, have you personally ever had inpatient treatment, i.e. spent at least one night in hospital?	MAN		WOMAN		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
NO	231	62.8%	181	45.4%	412	53.7%
YES, ONCE	80	21.7%	103	25.8%	183	23.9%
YES, MORE THAN ONCE	57	15.5%	115	28.8%	172	22.4%

Over the past 12 months, dental services were used by 37.6% of Roma aged 16 or more, while of the 761 Roma minority members who answered the question, 14.6% never visi-

ted the dentist. There is also a very large share of those who last visited the dentist more than a year ago, 47.8%, half of them having used dental services more than 3 or even 5 years ago.

TABLE 40. THE LAST VISIT TO THE DENTIST

When was the last time you had a dental exam?	16 TO 30 YEARS		31 TO 65 YEARS		OLDER THAN 65 YEARS		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
	DURING THE PAST 12 MONTHS	131	38.4%	150	37.5%	5	25.0%	286
1-3 YEARS AGO	81	23.8%	94	23.5%	7	35.0%	182	23.9%
3-5 YEARS AGO	23	6.7%	38	9.5%	1	5.0%	62	8.1%
MORE THAN 5 YEARS AGO	49	14.4%	67	16.8%	4	20.0%	120	15.8%
NEVER	57	16.7%	51	12.8%	3	15.0%	111	14.6%
TOTAL	341	100.0%	400	100.0%	20	100.0%	761	100.0%

An important aspect of improving the health of the Roma population is communication of Roma national minority members with medical staff. Members of the Roma national minority have expressed a high level of satisfaction with the work of medical staff and workers (Table 42). A great majority of interviewees (87.4%) aged 16 or more believe they will receive medical help if needed, 82.2% trust medical workers, and 80.6% believe that doctors mainly do their jobs well.

TABLE 41. SATISFACTION WITH THE WORK OF MEDICAL STAFF AND WORKERS, AND NEGATIVE EXPERIENCES

	COMPLETELY DISAGREE		MOSTLY DISAGREE		I DON'T KNOW, I AM NOT SURE		MOSTLY AGREE		COMPLETELY AGREE		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	AVERAGE
	DOCTORS MOSTLY DO THEIR JOB WELL	49	6.4%	40	5.3%	59	7.8%	196	25.8%	417	54.8%	761
IF I NEED MEDICAL ASSISTANCE, I KNOW I WILL GET IT	21	2.8%	21	2.8%	54	7.1%	145	19.0%	521	68.4%	762	4.5
I TRUST MEDICAL WORKERS	36	4.7%	37	4.9%	63	8.3%	176	23.1%	450	59.1%	762	4.3
I HAVE SOME NEGATIVE EXPERIENCES WITH DOCTORS	414	54.8%	54	7.1%	36	4.8%	95	12.6%	157	20.8%	756	2.4

In terms of negative experiences, the Roma most frequently cite having to wait for their examination appointment longer than other patients with the same GP, followed by the doctor not understanding what their health problem is. It should be highlighted that 140

Roma (18.6%) stated that the doctor or medical staff did not treat them professionally, with 85 stating that this happened on several occasions. More women than men cite having to wait longer for their examination appointment than other patients on one or more occasions, as well as the doctor refusing to see them. An analysis of negative experiences by age group did not establish a statistically significant difference between any of the three groups.

TABLE 42. NEGATIVE EXPERIENCES WITH DOCTORS AND MEDICAL WORKERS

	NO, NEVER		YES, ONCE		YES, SEVERAL TIMES		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
I HAD TO WAIT FOR MY EXAMINATION APPOINTMENT LONGER THAN OTHER PATIENTS WITH THE SAME GP	414	55.3%	84	11.2%	250	33.4%	748	100%
DOCTOR REFUSED TO SEE ME	621	81.8%	61	8.0%	77	10.1%	759	100%
DOCTOR TREATED ME DISRESPECTFULLY	627	82.2%	61	8.0%	75	9.8%	763	100%
DOCTOR DID NOT UNDERSTAND MY HEALTH PROBLEM	570	76.0%	80	10.7%	100	13.3%	750	100%
I GOT A WRONG TREATMENT	679	89.8%	47	6.2%	30	4.0%	756	100%
DOCTOR OR MEDICAL WORKERS DID NOT TREAT ME PROFESSIONALLY	614	81.4%	55	7.3%	85	11.3%	754	100%

4.3.4

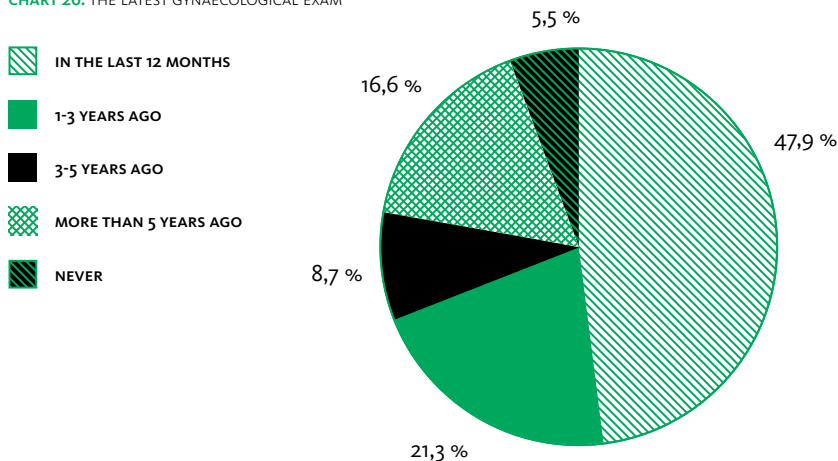
Women's reproductive health

Some questions in the B version of the survey questionnaire specifically concerned women, or their reproductive health, with questions on when they last had a gynaecological checkup and pap test. In addition, women were asked on their age at first childbirth, number of births, reproductive system diseases, complications in pregnancy, child mortality as well as abortion. The canvassers were under instructions to secure the interviewees' privacy when asking these questions and questions about violence against women, that is, that no other household members are present at the time. As that was not always possible, some women did not answer (all) the questions.

An important precondition of women's reproductive health is having regular gynaecological examinations. Nearly half of the interviewed women (47.9%) had a checkup in the last 12 months. A third of the 403 women aged 16 or more are in one of three groups not going for checkups regularly enough – who had an exam 3-5 years ago (8.7%), more than 5 years ago (16.6%) and who never had a gynaecological exam (5.5%). It was established that there is a difference among women by age group. Among those who had a gynaecological examination in the past 12 months, the largest share are aged 16-30, which is understandable considering this is the most fertile group who certainly had pregnancy checkups. As expected, the oldest group, over 65 years of age, is most frequently in the

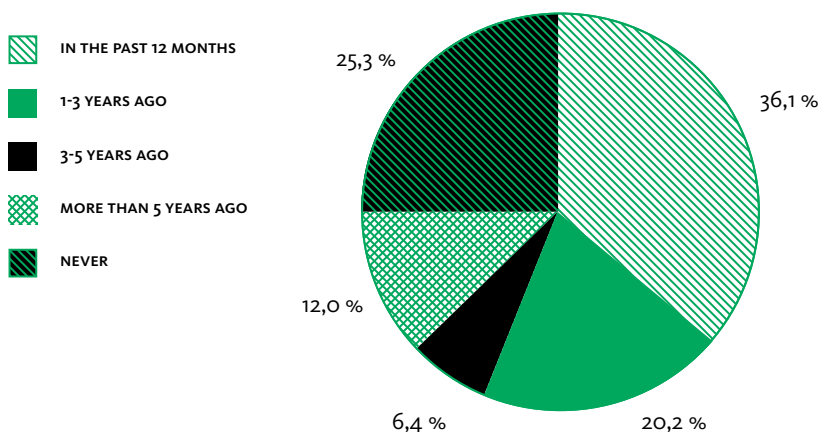
category who had an examination five or more years ago. A very high proportion of women (26.3%) aged 31-65 are in the group who had a checkup more than five years ago.

CHART 26. THE LATEST GYNAECOLOGICAL EXAM



Data show that of the 387 women who answered this question, a quarter never did a pap test, and only a little more than a third did it in the past 12 months. As in the case of gynaecological exams, there is a significant difference by age. The youngest women are most represented in the category that did a pap test in the past 12 months (40.8%), although a large share also never did one (33.3%). Naturally, oldest women, aged 65 or more, are best represented in the group that never did a pap test (41.7%). More than a third of women aged 31 to 65 had a pap test in the past 12 months, and 16.9% never had one.

CHART 27. THE LATEST SOCALLED PAP TEST



Of the 350 Roma women aged 16 or more who gave birth, 50% did so as minors. Only 9%, or 35 women never gave birth. No difference by age group was established. The average age at first birth is 18. Roma national minority members still give birth to their first child at a similar age at which women who are now 60 or more used to.

The interviewed members of the Roma national minority gave birth an average of 4.1 times, with a difference found between the youngest age group, comprising women aged 16-30, and the remaining two age categories, with women aged 31-65 and over 65. Quite logically, the average number of births given by Roma women aged 16-30 is significantly smaller. Unlike women aged over 65, who gave 6.8 births, and women aged 31-65, who gave 5.2 births, the youngest Roma women gave an average of 2.5 births.

Of 385 women aged 16 or more, 16.9% state that they had suffered a reproductive system disease (disease of the uterus, ovaries or fallopian tubes), while 30.9% of women had complications linked to pregnancy or childbirth.

It was established that 406 of the interviewed Roma women, 8.4% have experienced death of a new-born baby. As far as perinatal death is concerned, that is, a child dying within 4 weeks of its birth, 4% of interviewees experienced it, while 5% of interviewees experienced infant death, the child dying between the first month and a year after birth.

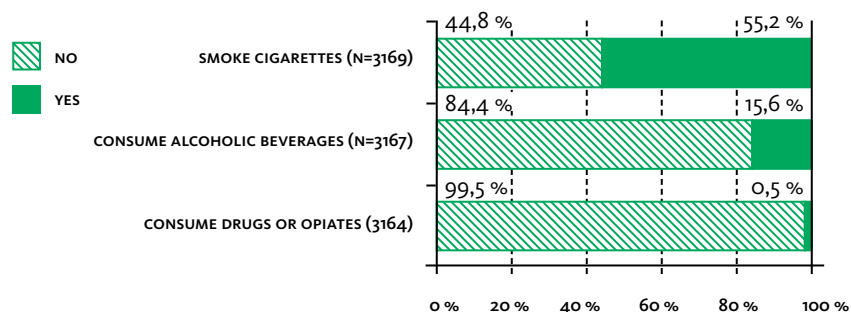
Half of the 413 women who answered the question on abortion had one (50.5%). 126 (30.8%) had a miscarriage, and 86, or 21.2% an induced abortion, that is, on demand.

4.3.5

Addictions: alcohol, cigarettes, drugs

As regards various types of addiction, all household members aged 14 or more were asked the question. More than half, or 55.2%, smoke cigarettes, 15.6% consume alcoholic beverages, while 16 (0.5%) were cited as consuming drugs or opiates. A difference by age group was found for consumption of alcohol and cigarettes. Those aged between 31 and 65 consume alcohol the most, while only two of the 492 aged 14 or 15 are cited as consuming alcohol. Relations are identical when it comes to smoking cigarettes. Fewest do in the youngest age group, and most in the group between 31 and 65. Analysis by sex has also indicated a significant difference, with men the more numerous consumers of both cigarettes and alcohol, although the difference is smaller in consumption of cigarettes than alcohol. It has been established that 58.8% of men and 51.6% of women smoke, while 23.0% of men and 8.3% of women consume alcohol.

CHART 28. ADDICTIONS: ALCOHOL, CIGARETTES, DRUGS



4.3.6

Nutritional structure – frequency of consumption of specific foods

An analysis of the structure of nutrition in the household suggests a high proportion of low-quality food and drink consumed several times a week, or even daily. Thus, in more than 60% of households soft drinks, chocolate and sweets are consumed several times a week or nearly every day. Processed snacks and greasy and spicy food are consumed several times a week or daily in more than 50% of Roma households. Healthy food, including fish and seafood, is least frequently consumed. As many as 21.9% of Roma households never eat fish, and 29.6% do it once monthly, or less. The only detected positive aspect of the nutritional structure of Roma households concerns the relatively high proportion of consumption of fruit and vegetables. In 23% of households fruit and vegetables are consumed several times a week, while half (50.9%) do it every, or nearly every day.

TABLE 43. NUTRITIONAL STRUCTURE – FREQUENCY OF CONSUMPTION OF SPECIFIC FOODS

How often is the following food consumed in your family?	NEVER	ONCE A MONTH OR LESS	SEVERAL TIMES A MONTH	SEVERAL TIMES A WEEK	DAILY OR NEARLY EVERY DAY	DO NOT KNOW	TOTAL N
GREASY AND SPICY FOOD	9.0%	14.5%	20.5%	22.2%	33.2%	0.5%	785
CHOCOLATE AND SWEETS	6.1%	14.7%	17.4%	18.3%	43.0%	0.4%	781
FAST FOOD (PIZZA, FRENCH FRIES, HAMBURGERS, HOT-DOGS ETC.)	18.8%	29.2%	22.4%	17.0%	12.6%		784
SOFT DRINKS	8.2%	12.9%	17.5%	18.5%	43.0%		784
SNACKS (CHIPS ETC.)	10.1%	13.9%	19.9%	21.1%	34.9%		782
FISH AND SEAFOOD	21.9%	29.6%	27.5%	11.0%	9.6%	0.5%	785
MEAT	0.8%	3.8%	16.2%	17.2%	61.9%	0.1%	785
PROCESSED MEAT (SALAMI, PATE ETC.)	2.2%	6.6%	14.5%	20.9%	55.6%	0.1%	784
FRUIT AND VEGETABLES	1.5%	8.4%	16.2%	23.0%	50.9%		784
CEREALS AND CEREAL PRODUCTS (E.G. BREAD, PASTA ETC.)	1.8%	4.6%	4.5%	10.6%	78.6%		784

4.3.7

Key stakeholders' opinions on the main problems in the area of health

Using the method of semi-structured interviews and focus groups, quantitative research collected key stakeholders' views and opinions on the Roma national minority members' main problems in the area of health. The majority of representatives of relevant institutions see the main problems in the area of health through a broader definition of health, which does not only concern the lack of illness. Those commenting on the prevalence of

illnesses in the Roma community do not recognise the occurrence of different illnesses with respect to the majority population. Higher morbidity and health issues are linked to low level of hygiene, lower level of health culture, irregular and inadequate nutrition, poverty, inadequate housing and lack of health insurance with the attendant deferment of using healthcare services in the early stages of illness.

TABLE 44. MAIN PROBLEMS IN THE AREA OF HEALTH – FREQUENCY OF ANSWERS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF RELEVANT INSTITUTIONS

FREQUENT ANSWERS	NUMBER OF CODES
LOW LEVEL OF HYGIENE	20
LOWER FREQUENCY OF USE OF MEDICAL SERVICES	18
LOW LEVEL OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH AND NON-EXISTENCE OF PREVENTION	17
LACK OF FUNDS FOR HEALTH PROTECTION	15
IRREGULAR AND INADEQUATE NUTRITION	9
INADEQUATE HOUSING	9
LACK OF HEALTH INSURANCE	7
SHORTER LIFE EXPECTANCY	6
POOR DENTAL PROTECTION	6
POOR GYNAECOLOGICAL PROTECTION	6
SAME PREVALENCE OF HEALTH PROBLEMS AS IN THE MAJORITY POPULATION	5
ADDICTIONS	3
STATISTICAL DATA DON'T EXIST	3

Statements in the “low level of hygiene” category are numerous, and depict the hygiene habits of part of the Roma population.

“Well, I say this hygiene, the dirt, children walking around barefoot, naked... They find it normal.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

“And inadequate hygiene. Hygiene is number one in the whole story, as even those who have the conditions, doesn't mean they always use them. They don't have the habit. Sometimes they bring a child to the paediatrician, and the nurse first has to wash it, this little child. Because they can't do anything with the child, it's neglected. Compared to twenty years ago, when they were, well, you've got no water, you don't have this or that, so you don't expect anything, but sometimes I feel that they're dirtier now than then.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

“To live in such conditions is catastrophic, unhygienic. Just look at the average life expectancy of the Roma population and all will be clear.”
(REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

“I think their health is quite good considering their hygiene, which is quite poor, but concerning lifestyle and way of life, their health is excellent.”
(REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM KOPRIVNICA-KRIŽEVCI COUNTY)

“Lower frequency of healthcare service use” is caused by a lack of money to access certain healthcare services, lack of money to adequately make use of therapies, inaccessibility of healthcare services due to a lack of transport, the habit of deferring visits to the doctor in the initial stages of illness. Likewise, primary healthcare services are used less, and emergency medical services more, due to the direct access to hospital.

“Now there’s often kids with ruptured appendices that their dad doesn’t bring in on time and there are complications. They get hernia.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

“Low level of knowledge on health and inexistence of prevention” leads to incidence of diseases that could have been prevented by a change of lifestyle, or to faster development of chronic conditions. Some of the representatives of relevant institutions believe that it is necessary to organise health education and preventative examinations targeted at the Roma population.

“As far as vaccination is concerned, as far as regular controls are concerned. They’re not that prompt. They must be encouraged. They’re quite resistant.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

“But the majority of people don’t have that awareness of the importance of prevention, healthy nutrition, it’s multi-layered, there’s all sorts of things, in fact, in the end it all affects their health and premature mortality.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM THE CITY OF ZAGREB)

“Generally, their level of knowledge about health is low – meaning from the basic hygiene, the house, foodstuffs, where they sleep, where they wash themselves – all this involves health. Health includes the social, well-being is important, so the low living standard, poor nutrition puts all at risk of certain illnesses.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM THE CITY OF ZAGREB)

“Lack of money for healthcare” concerns lack of money for transport to providers of healthcare services and the inability to pay supplementary price or to buy the prescribed therapy.

“(…) even in pregnancy, they don’t go to gynaecological checkups, sometimes they’re pregnant for 4, 5, 6 months, without having gone for their first gynaecological checkup. They say the reason is ‘I know it’s all fine’ or ‘well, I don’t go ‘cause I have no money’, ‘I haven’t got transportation’.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM THE CITY OF ZAGREB)

“Irregular and inadequate nutrition” more often manifests in obesity than in the other end of the eating disorder spectrum.

“Inadequate nutrition from early childhood on. (...) They are practically all adipose, it’s rare that someone isn’t. There’s been a lot of diabetes among them lately.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

“They are often either obese or anorexic, not controlling eating. That’s how emotional problems are solved.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

“Inadequate housing”, lack of infrastructure, poor sanitation lead to greater morbidity risk (infectious gastrointestinal and respiratory diseases).

“We have to be frank here. Very inadequate housing and their lifestyle.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM PRIMORJE-GORSKI KOTAR COUNTY)

“Look, their housing conditions don’t allow them to be in the same position in all the segments of healthcare, caring for yourself.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM MEDIMURJE COUNTY)

“Lack of health insurance” was recognised as a problem in Roma communities.

“Then this exercise of rights to healthcare, means if their status as entitled to free healthcare in Croatia is not recognised, childbirth is charged, all medicines are, all doctor’s examinations, and of course, if they have no money and live in poor social conditions, they avoid – then all you’re left with is the Emergency Service option, but the Emergency also bills the uninsured.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM THE CITY OF ZAGREB)

“Shorter life expectancy” as a potential result of health problems was also recognised by some representatives of the relevant institutions.

“The only thing I know is that their life expectancy is shorter than in the general population. Probably because of that way of life. We always hang around various doctors, they less so. There’s a local health centre here, but they don’t go that much.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM MEDIMURJE COUNTY)

“Poor dental care” or, more accurately, not visiting the dentist leads to neglected oral cavity and teeth. Several representatives stated that they encourage the Roma to visit the dentist.

“Terrible neglect of the oral cavity – the teeth. They all have terribly untidy, rotten teeth. You know that no-one ever went, ‘Let’s do some kind of action about it.’” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM ISTRIAN COUNTY)

“All have been warned to go see a stomatologist.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

“Poor gynaecological protection” arises due to Roma women’s reluctance to go for regular checkups. A lack of education about contraception contributes to occurrence of early adolescence pregnancies, which are often not controlled or poorly controlled.

“Since we’ve had a general health centre, we’ve also had some more insights. Specifically, the nurse working in the health centre is trying to educate them

on contraception of her own accord, she's even preparing a project to secure funds for prevention of unwanted pregnancies, especially unwanted adolescent pregnancies.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM MEĐIMURJE COUNTY)

“Some Roma women can carry a pregnancy through without examinations. I just had a young mum, born in '96 or so, she didn't do a single checkup, not one.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

In the “Same prevalence of health problems as in the majority population” category, representatives of relevant institutions state that there is no great difference between the Roma population and the majority; illness may appear earlier due to lifestyle, and there are more complications due to later commencement of treatment.

“On the ground, it is the same as in the non-Roma population.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

“They suffer the same from all different kinds of diseases as we do. Maybe because of worse social conditions the life expectancy is a bit lower. Although there are quite a lot of those who are elderly here in (name of village omitted).”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM KOPRIVNICA-KRIŽEVCI COUNTY)

Statements in the category “Addictions” speak about the phenomenon of drugs in Roma communities, along with alcoholism.

“They should also be worked with on prevention of alcohol and drug use. Because I think they're both present there. That drugs started to be present because when I do house calls, there's all kinds of things there.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

“Inexistence of statistical data” results from the inability to collect healthcare data categorised by ethnicity due to the inappropriateness of such collection.

“The first problem that emerges connected to monitoring all data concerning the Roma is that we collect routine health statistical data. It means that there are no data related to denomination and ethnicity. Not for anyone, including the Roma.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM THE CITY OF ZAGREB)

Beside the representatives of the relevant institutions, the question on the main problems of the Roma national minority in the area of healthcare was also answered by representatives of the Roma national minority. The majority of the representatives of the Roma national minority recognise the lack or irregularity of health insurance as the chief problem in the area of healthcare. The second group includes the following: in-existent care for one's own health, inadequate housing causing the emergence of illnesses, discriminatory conduct in the healthcare system, lack of money leading to some healthcare services being inaccessible. Several recognise the fact that the prevalence of health problems is the same as in the general population, while some claim that there are no problems.

TABLE 45. MAIN PROBLEMS IN THE AREA OF HEALTH – FREQUENCY OF ANSWERS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY

FREQUENT ANSWERS	NUMBER OF CODES
LACK OF HEALTH INSURANCE	25
INEXISTENT CARE FOR HEALTH	9
INADEQUATE HOUSING	8
DISCRIMINATORY CONDUCT WITHIN THE HEALTHCARE SYSTEM	6
LACK OF MONEY FOR HEALTHCARE	5
INACCESSIBILITY OF SPECIALIST EXAMINATIONS	5
SAME PREVALENCE OF HEALTH PROBLEMS AS IN THE MAJORITY POPULATION	4
NO PROBLEMS	4
LOW LEVEL OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH AND INEXISTENCE OF PREVENTION	3
LOW LEVEL OF HYGIENE	2

“Lack of health insurance” concerns a number of situations because of which members of the Roma population did not secure their status as beneficiaries of health insurance. Some Roma do not have a settled status in RC, and thus no right to health insurance, some did not respect the deadlines for registering with the CHIF upon completion of education or loss of job, and some do not have supplementary insurance.

“As far as that’s concerned, we have doctors, we can see them. Normally, if we have a health card. The problem with health cards is that you may get one for only a year, or maybe not at all. We get it through the social welfare institution. That’s the biggest problem for all of us, not just in this settlement. Because not all Roma are employed.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM VARAŽDIN COUNTY)

“I don’t know for what reason they don’t have health insurance and the supplementary one, quite a few don’t, that’s a problem.”
(REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM OSJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

“If he spends three, four days in prison, then he gets a health card for two-three years. So sometimes they go and do something on purpose to end up in prison. But so that he could get health insurance on that basis. That’s the ironic shenanigan. A shenanigan used by the Roma.”
(REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM BJELOVAR-BILOGORA COUNTY)

“Inexistent care for health” is a category where statements can be found suggesting that the Roma simply do not take care of themselves and their health, not using the existing, available and free services.

“Maybe this irresponsibility partly comes from, partly shyness, as a lot of women are reluctant to see the gynaecologist, and partly from lack of understanding, because she’ll just look at the doctor and not understand anything, so complications arise; someone has problems with childbirth, someone with their child, and someone with a tumor.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM PRIMORJE-GORSKI KOTAR COUNTY)

“There are those who are still socially at risk, who don't care. Like, let's say, visiting the dentist.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM VARAŽDIN COUNTY)

“People, actually, specifically women, Roma are specific, you need to reach into their core, maybe if there were a Roma doctor maybe they'd open up, like this they're more closed and conservative, like, ‘Why should I go there for these others to listen to what's up with me’ and so on.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM THE CITY OF ZAGREB)

“Inadequate housing” is perceived as a factor contributing to the development of many illnesses.

“If I live on the edge of a village, I don't have drinkable water or a sewer there, or all of the things others have, which is really a factor of health.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

“They need water for hygiene. They have water, but not their own, the pressure is very low, as if they didn't have water, just one pipe to which everyone's connected, and they have to agree who'll have a bath today and who tomorrow as the pressure is very weak. We are bringing money for the water.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM PRIMORJE-GORSKI KOTAR COUNTY)

“Discriminatory conduct within the healthcare system” concerns the emergency services' non-arrival or delayed arrival, as well as delaying appointments with patients in primary care.

“We had an example of a woman who had a stroke and went to the county hospital, where in the emergency reception they told her she was drunk, to get sober and then come. She actually didn't consume a drop of alcohol, and during the night, the morning hours, they brought her again and only then they realised it was a stroke. So there are drastic cases and examples, this one even, and some people have sustained impairments.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM MEĐIMURJE COUNTY)

“Apart from denying medical services. There is also a lot of disparagement by the majority people. Our health centre is in (village name omitted). It's no problem, but when you phone to arrange a date, you wait for 4-5 hours, and then they can't receive you on that day. Because their working hours are up, and they tell you to come tomorrow. It happens sometimes. I also had some problems occasionally, I called the emergency, they didn't respond, they told me I had to get myself there whichever way. That's also a problem.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM MEĐIMURJE COUNTY)

“Lack of money for healthcare” leads to deferring visits to the doctor until an illness is fully developed and the appropriate prescribed therapy becomes impossible.

“Well, this is where the problem lies, not the doctor, but the parents who can't go, 'cause they've got to go to (town name omitted), they've got no transport, no money for transport, and so they don't go.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

“Inaccessibility of specialist examinations” is tied to the inability to afford transport or the examinations themselves, as well as the complicated system of arranging appointments.

“Now it’s different, a little longer, but the same examinations, but to do some kind of treatment where they send him to some institution, spa or whatever, that very little or not at all.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM MEĐIMURJE COUNTY)

“Same prevalence of health problems as in the majority population” comprises answers that do not see difference in the health issues of the Roma and the majority population.

“The same as you, cigarettes, alcohol, totally normal.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM VARAŽDIN COUNTY)

“Concerning specifically, that they get sick differently to the remaining, majority population, I think there’s no difference there.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM BIJELOVAR-BILOGORA COUNTY)

“No problems” is the category where it’s usually said that healthcare is not a problem, and if it is, then it’s a small one, as there are far more significant problems in Roma communities.

“Everything’s OK with health, housing and employment are most important.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM ISTRIAN COUNTY)

“Low level of knowledge about health and inexistence of prevention” is tied to the inexistence of activities that would increase the level of knowledge and introduce preventative examinations into the communities, in spite of community resistance if it exists.

“A couple of times we had that medical van for examinations, for mammography, but nobody shows up.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM THE CITY OF ZAGREB)

In a large number of cases, “low level of hygiene” was not recognised.

“Healthcare is teeth, dental hygiene, hygiene of the hands, of the entire body, contraception, planned parenthood. Our people don’t do that, unfortunately no, unfortunately no and there, that is one of the bigger problems.”
(REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM OSJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

Differences among the statements put forward by representatives of the relevant institutions and members of the Roma community are significant. Although some categories are common to both, they appear in significantly different places in the table of problems. For instance, low level of hygiene is at the top of the institutional representatives’ table by frequency, and at the bottom for the Roma. Some categories only appear in the institutional representatives’ group (nutrition, statistical data). Representatives of Roma communities recognise discriminatory conduct that the other group does not see at all.

4.3.8

Conclusions and discussion

The National Strategy and the accompanying action plan have recognised the problem of insufficient health insurance coverage of the Roma population as one of the key problems. Therefore, the specific Objective 1 in the area of healthcare is “To increase the health insurance coverage of the Roma population.”¹⁷⁹ This problem was also recognised in interviews by representatives of the Roma national minority, who frequently cited the inexistence of health insurance as the Roma population’s key problem in the area of health, unlike the representatives of the relevant local and county-level institutions. According to the results of studies, 92.8% of persons covered by the study have health insurance, that is, a valid health insurance card, while 7.2% do not. Although these studies’ methodology does not allow for comparison of results, it is important to note that UNDP’s 2014 study, “Everyday Life of Roma in Croatia: Challenges and Possibilities for Transformation,” shows that 17.5% of Roma did not have health insurance. In comparing the results of these studies, it is important to take account of the passing of time, during which the situation could have changed.¹⁸⁰ Moreover, the UNDP study notes that around 97% of the general population in Croatia has health insurance, so when we compare the results of this study with that information, we can see that there is a gap between the Roma population and the general population in Croatia in terms of basic health insurance coverage. In so doing, the reasons why part of the Roma population are not covered by health insurance need to be examined. The distribution of answers from the survey research on the reasons for not possessing valid basic health insurance may suggest insufficient informedness and/or engagement on the part of the Roma population to resolve the issue of their right to healthcare. The issue of promptly registering with the CHIB upon losing any of the grounds for the right to health insurance has emerged as the leading, explicitly cited reason for not possessing valid health insurance, which also points to the demanding legal provisions regulating this right. It is therefore desirable, as the National Strategy states, to additionally “Establish the mechanisms for systematic dissemination of information and encouragement of the Roma population to resolve the status issues that will facilitate the exercise of rights to health insurance.”¹⁸¹ In this, focus should be primarily aimed at informing members of the Roma national minority on their rights in the field of healthcare, but it is also necessary to consider changes to the existing legislation to secure effective and broad realisation of the right to healthcare, a constitutionally guaranteed right.

Related to this is the second specific NRIS objective in this area, which is “to increase availability of health-care services for the Roma population with emphasis on the elderly, the disabled and persons with physical impairments and special needs, and mobile Roma

179 The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012 <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

180 Bagić, D., Burić, I., Dobrotić, I., Potočnik, D., and Zrinščak, S., *Romska svakodnevica u Hrvatskoj: prepreke i mogućnosti za promjene*, UNDP, UNHCR and UNICEF, 2014.

181 The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012 <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

groups.”¹⁸² According to research results, over the year prior to the research, as many as 54.6% of households found themselves in the situation of not being able to afford a medicine or medical service needed by a household member, which indicates insufficient accessibility of healthcare. Likewise, according to research results, as many as 27% of interviewees did not contact their doctor in the past 12 months despite needing medical help. Some of the reasons given for not contacting indicate that healthcare services are insufficiently accessible to part of the Roma population, with the most frequent reason being financial, that is, some interviewees said that going to the doctor is too expensive. This reason is partly linked to the distance of some of the locations where the Roma live from health institutions. The second reason cited is the overlong waiting lists for certain medical examinations, which is a problem that also affects the general population in the Republic of Croatia. In terms of accessibility of healthcare services, here too the interviewees cited the fact of not having health insurance as a reason for not contacting a doctor. These are all elements on which it is necessary to work in order to guarantee the accessibility of healthcare services to the Roma population, especially the most marginalised groups within that population, that is, those groups who need medical assistance more often than others, which are people with disabilities and members of the older population. At the same time, looking at this indicator, the specific NRIS Objective 3 in the field of healthcare also needs to be taken into account, that is, “to raise the level of the Roma population’s awareness of responsibility for their own health,”¹⁸³ which, in addition to increasing the accessibility of healthcare, should likewise positively affect the health of the Roma population.

Improving women’s reproductive health and the health of pregnant women and children has been recognised as the specific objective 4 within the area, with an emphasis on “informing and educating Roma women, but also the broader Roma community, on reproductive health and prenatal health and the risks linked to pregnant minors.”¹⁸⁴ Looking at data on care for reproductive health, the most relevant information in the survey questionnaire is that on the frequency of gynaecological examinations. A third of the interviewees aged 16 or more have gynaecological checkups extremely rarely: 30.8% of interviewees last had a gynaecological checkup 3 or more years ago, or never had one. Therefore more work needs to be done on public health campaigns to inform and educate women about the important role of regular gynaecological examinations in protecting reproductive and overall health, with special attention focused on middle-aged and older women and awareness-raising on the necessity of gynaecological protection not only in the fertile age but later as well. Furthermore, implementing an approach where gynaecological care would be brought further closer to women, even physically, might likewise represent a path towards a positive change in this statistic. Looking at statistics on age at first birth, it is clear that adolescent pregnancies are exceptionally common in the Roma

¹⁸² The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012 <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

¹⁸³ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012 <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

population, with as many as half of women who had at least one child having had their first one as adolescents. Beside the area of health, reducing the number of adolescent pregnancies should be a priority in ensuring Roma women's inclusion in other spheres of life such as education, employment and others.

Data on satisfaction with the work of medical staff and workers show a high level of trust in health workers, as well as belief that doctors mainly do their work well. However, a little more than a third of interviewees (33.4%) have stated that they have had negative experiences with doctors, the most frequently cited being having to wait longer than other patients with the same doctor, and the doctor not understanding their health problem. Around a fifth of the interviewees stated that a doctor treated them unprofessionally, while a little less than a fifth reported disrespectful conduct towards them on the part of the doctor, which may indicate discrimination and prejudice among medical workers. Although the majority of the interviewees did not cite negative experiences, it nevertheless seems important to continue to work on educating and sensitising healthcare workers for working with the Roma population, which is why one of the specific objectives of the NRIS is "to increase sensibility of health-care professionals for work with the Roma population and improve the Roma population's communication with family practitioners."¹⁸⁵ Trust in health workers is an important precondition for efficient healthcare for both the general and the Roma population.

One of the specific NRIS objectives in this area states that it is necessary "to reduce the instance of disease caused by poor sanitary standards and disease for which there are vaccinations," that is, "through a combination of measures that will ensure sanitary housing conditions for the Roma population, vaccination coverage and to educate and inform the Roma population about sanitary habits, to achieve a reduction in the contraction of diseases linked to poor sanitary standards and diseases for which there are vaccinations." The low level of hygiene and sanitary standards for housing are frequently cited by representatives of the relevant institutions as the main problem in the area of health, while representatives of the Roma national minority who participated in the qualitative part of the research recognised it to a lesser extent. The problem of housing standards, including securing the preconditions for hygiene, was recognised by both groups in the segment of the study concerning housing conditions, and research data clearly show that some of the households still do not have the basic preconditions for hygiene such as running water from the water supply, sewage and wastewater drainage, or functional bathrooms built within the housing units. In addition, data portray poor housing conditions, such as moisture and dilapidated dwellings, that can hardly positively affect the health of the Roma population, especially children. In this context, new effort is needed on the part of institutions operating outside the healthcare system in order to change this situation, on which more in the chapter concerning spatial planning and housing.

¹⁸⁵ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012 <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

Furthermore, research data show that the general vaccination coverage of Roma children up to 7 is 95.5%, which is satisfactory considering that the aimed-for coverage for all vaccines is 95%, which is necessary to preclude the occurrence of epidemics.¹⁸⁶ Although data do not show the level of vaccination coverage of Roma children for each of the individual diseases for which vaccination is administered, it is clear that increasing parents' awareness on the importance and usefulness of vaccinating children, as well as more restrictive legal regulation, have led to certain significant positive shifts. However, it is important to continue working on this issue in the future, especially in view of the established drop in the level of vaccination coverage in the general population in recent years.

The last specific NRIS objective listed in the field of healthcare is “to reduce the widespread consumption of all addictive substances among the Roma population, with emphasis on children and adolescents, and to raise awareness of the harm caused by such addictive substances,”¹⁸⁷ which primarily implies activities to inform and raise awareness in this population on the harmfulness of consuming alcohol, cigarettes and opiates. According to research data, it is clear that more than half the population consume tobacco-based products, where it was established that there is a difference by sex, that is, that consumption of tobacco-based products is more widespread among men. Looking at alcohol consumption data, according to which only 15.5% of the Roma population consume alcohol, it can be assumed that this is a case of giving socially acceptable answers, as well as of interpreting the question where those who consume alcohol frequently declare themselves as consumers, as the general extensiveness of the survey questionnaire meant that no scale was provided to indicate the frequency of alcohol consumption. Likewise, a significant difference by sex was established in alcohol consumption, which is more widespread among men than women. This provides good guidelines, showing that activities of informing on the harmfulness of alcohol consumption and other measures to achieve the defined NRIS objective should be focused on men more than women.

It will only be possible to determine whether the general NRIS goal in the area of healthcare – which is “to improve the health of the Roma population and the quality and availability of health-care” – has been achieved once a study using the methodology applied in this research is conducted after a certain amount of time has lapsed. The study has primarily determined certain beliefs and behaviours on the part of the Roma population in the field of health, as well as the level of accessibility of healthcare services. However, in order to describe Roma minority members' actual health problems, additional studies and analyses ought to be carried out. This can be achieved in at least two ways: one involves collection of data by public health institutions, but including data on the patients' ethnic affiliation. Considering the possible difficulties that might arise in collecting such data, especially from the perspective of personal data protection and fear of possible

¹⁸⁶ Zavod za javno zdravstvo Dubrovačko neretvanske županije [Public health institute, Dubrovnik-Neretva county], *Procijepljenost [Vaccination coverage]*, <http://www.zzjzdnz.hr/hr/kampanje/zastitimo-nasu-djecu/1104> (accessed June 2018)

¹⁸⁷ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012 <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

abuses, this approach would need to be carefully designed in cooperation with various institutional actors, as well as representatives of the Roma national minority. The second possible approach would be an extensively conducted research that would involve other approaches, on top of using a survey questionnaire, such as medical examinations to establish the real health status of this population, an approach that has already been used in certain European Union countries.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁸ E.g., the Finnish National Institute for Health and Welfare is conducting a study of the Roma population that includes both a survey questionnaire and medical examinations of members of the Roma population.

Social welfare

The National Roma Inclusion Strategy recognises the field of social welfare as one of the priority areas for Roma inclusion. The general goal of the Strategy in this area is “to reduce the poverty of the Roma population and improve the quality of social services and services in the community.”¹⁸⁹

Poverty is considered one of the chief problems encountered by the Roma population of Croatia. Zrinščak, author on the chapter “Poverty and living standard” in the “Everyday Life of Roma in Croatia: Challenges and Possibilities for Transformation” study, claims that “according to all poverty indicators, the Roma are poorer than the rest of the population (...) This primarily concerns the rates of absolute poverty, regardless of whether poverty is measured by income or expenditure, and relative poverty rates. The differences are significant, and largest in rates of risk of poverty, as according to this measure, almost all the Roma are poor (92%), compared to 42% of the remaining population.”¹⁹⁰ The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2016 study, EU MIDIS II, arrived at similar conclusions – according to this study, looking at income after social transfers, 93% of the Roma population in Croatia is at risk of poverty.¹⁹¹ Considering the indicators in the area of employment and inclusion in economic life, it is clear that a significant share of the Roma population depend on social welfare to satisfy their most basic needs. Hence, Zrinščak concludes that “this study confirms the fact that the social welfare (social security) system is a very important source of income for Roma households, and that without it, the picture would be far more inauspicious for the Roma population.”¹⁹²

In addition to the issue of poverty, with regard to competences, the National Strategy pays special attention to certain marginalised or vulnerable groups (children, youth, persons with disabilities, women) and care for them, as well as the issue of domestic violence.

¹⁸⁹ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012 <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

¹⁹⁰ Bagić, D., Burić, I., Dobrotić, I., Potočnik, D., and Zrinščak, S., *Romska svakodnevnica u Hrvatskoj: prepreke i mogućnosti za promjene*, UNDP, UNHCR and UNICEF, 2014, p. 40.

¹⁹¹ European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), *Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS II) Roma – Selected findings*, <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2016/eumidis-ii-roma-selected-findings>. (accessed June 2018)

¹⁹² Bagić, D., Burić, I., Dobrotić, I., Potočnik, D., and Zrinščak, S., *Romska svakodnevnica u Hrvatskoj: prepreke i mogućnosti za promjene*, UNDP, UNHCR and UNICEF, 2014, p. 40.

Therefore, the following chapter outlines data from the study of Roma households concerning household income, poverty and material deprivation, use of the social welfare system (contact with social welfare centre staff, use of specific types of social security and services, as well as financial assistance, household incomes from social benefits, social services for persons with disabilities), satisfaction with the social welfare system (accessibility and timeliness of social welfare, satisfaction with relations with social welfare centre staff), children's well-being, and domestic violence and violence against women. In addition, the chapter presents the views and opinions of key stakeholders, that is, representatives of the relevant institutions and representatives of the Roma national minority with whom semi-structured interviews and focus groups were conducted on the main problems concerning the Roma minority in the area of social welfare.

4.4.1

Poverty and material deprivation

As already noted in the sub-chapter on socio-demographic profiles, more than half of Roma households have monthly incomes of up to 3000 HRK, while on average, that income falls to 611 HRK per household member (median 450 HRK), and 1070 HRK per member of household older than 15. In comparison, in 2016, the average available income per household in the general population was 7,213 HRK per month.¹⁹³ The at-risk-of-poverty threshold is usually set at 60% of the median equivalent available income of all persons in the general population. The at-risk-of-poverty threshold in RC in 2016 was 2,139 HRK per month for a single-member household, and 4,492 HRK per month for a household with two adults and two children under 14.¹⁹⁴ The at-risk-of-poverty rate (the percentage of people beneath the risk threshold) was 19.9% (when social transfers are excluded from earnings, the rate grows to 27.8%, and when pensions are also excluded, it grows to 44.9%).

In the Roma population included in this study, average monthly earnings of single-member households were 1,027 HRK (85% with income under 1,501 HRK), and 2,659 in four-member households. The at-risk-of-poverty rate for the Roma population is significantly higher than for the general population, especially before social transfers.

The total recorded average household expenditure in the previous month was 2500 HRK, while monthly expenditure per member of household was 556 HRK (both median), which is slightly more than registered estimated median incomes. The results have also shown that in a third of Roma households one of the members had to repay a loan or debt.

The material deprivation rate shows the share of people living in households that, purely for financial reasons, cannot afford at least three of the nine expenses representing the

¹⁹³ Državni zavod za statistiku, *Anketa o dohotku stanovništva, Pokazatelji siromaštva i socijalne isključenosti u 2016. – konačni rezultati*, First release no. 14.1.1., 2016 [Croatian Bureau of Statistics, Statistics on Income and Living Conditions. Indicators of Poverty and Social Exclusion, 2016 – Final Results], https://www.dzs.hr/Hrv_Eng/publication/2017/14-01-01_01_2017.htm (accessed June 2018)

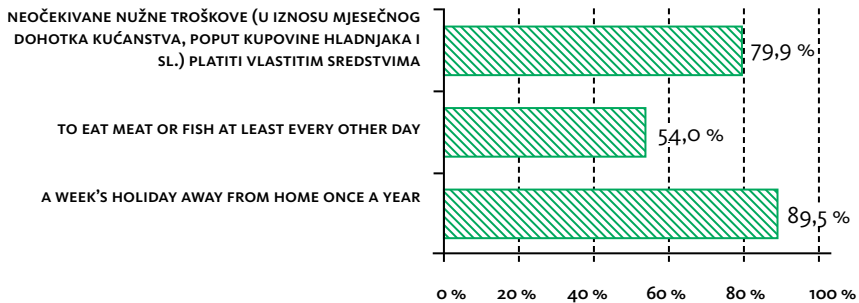
¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

indicators of material deprivation (adequate heating during the coldest months, a week's holiday away from home, a relatively rich meal at least every other day, settling unexpected financial outlays, paying their utility bills, rent or loan payments on time, telephone, a colour TV, a washing machine, a car). In comparison, the material deprivation rate for the general population in 2016 was 30.7%, while the severe material deprivation rate (inability to afford four of the nine indicators of material deprivation) was 12.6%.¹⁹⁵

This study directly used three material deprivation indicators,¹⁹⁶ and indirectly another four – owning a TV set, telephone/mobile phone, washing machine and car. Due to the different forms of the questions it was impossible to fully calculate the material deprivation rate for the Roma population that would be comparable with the rate of the general population, but the collected data make it perfectly clear that in relation to the general population, the share of the Roma at risk of social exclusion is far higher, considering their extremely disadvantageous material condition.

CHART 29. THREE INDICATORS OF MATERIAL DEPRIVATION BY HOUSEHOLD (N=1512)

Number of households that can't afford...



According to Chart 30, the share of Roma households (N=1,512) that cannot afford unexpected necessary expenditures (such as buying a fridge etc.) with their own funds is a high 79.9%. On the second material deprivation indicator: eating fish or meat every other day of the week, 54.0% of Roma households cannot afford this, while as many as 89.5% cannot take a week's holiday.

Perhaps the most striking indicator of poor economic situation is the frequency of hunger not based on fasting for reasons of health or aesthetics. A quarter of members of the

¹⁹⁵ Državni zavod za statistiku, *Anketa o dohotku stanovništva, Pokazatelji siromaštva i socijalne isključenosti u 2016. – konačni rezultati*, First release no. 14.1.1., 2016 [Croatian Bureau of Statistics, *Statistics on Income And Living Conditions, Indicators of Poverty and Social Exclusion, 2016 – Final Results*], https://www.dzs.hr/Hrv_Eng/publication/2017/14-01-01_01_2017.htm (accessed June 2018)

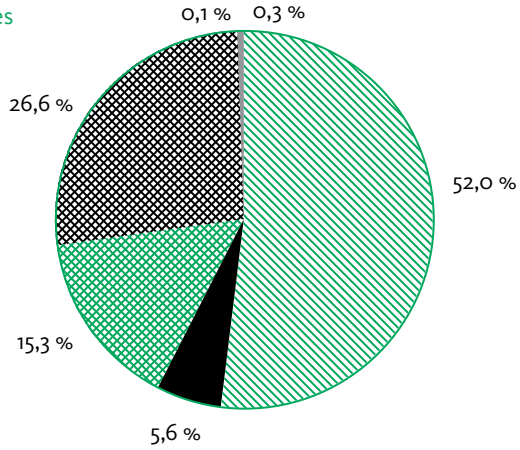
¹⁹⁶ The indicators used to ascertain the share of the poor in the Roma population were those used in the EU minorities and discrimination study (EU MIDIS), whose results were published in 2016 (FRA, 2016a and FRA, 2016b). Thus, it was tested whether the Roma can afford the following: 1) a week's holiday away from home once a year; 2) a meal involving meat or fish every other day; and 3) to settle unexpected necessary expenditures (in the amount of the monthly household income, such as buying a refrigerator or similar) that they can pay with their own funds.

Roma national minority go to sleep hungry for financial reasons at least once a week, or shares a household with such a person.

CHART 30. FREQUENCY OF HUNGER (HOUSEHOLDS - N=1533)

In the last month, how many times have you or anybody from your household gone to sleep hungry because you could not afford enough food?

-  NEVER
-  ONCE
-  2 OR 3 TIMES
-  4 OR MORE TIMES
-  REFUSES TO ANSWER
-  DOESN'T KNOW





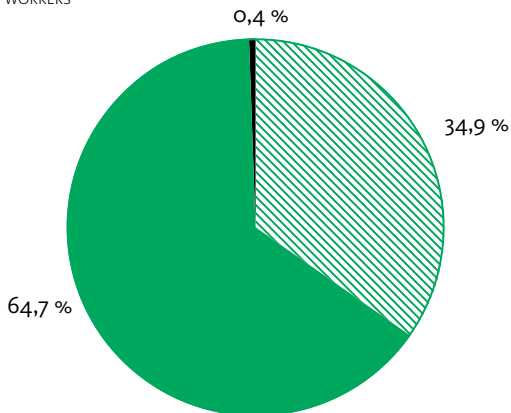
4.4.2

Roma experiences of using the social welfare system

Speaking of contacts with social care workers, according to data collected in the survey, nearly two thirds of members of the Roma national minority, or 64.7%, had such contacts. No difference by sex was found among the 505 who had contacts with social welfare centre staff. Men and women therefore equally frequently had contacts with Centre workers.

CHART 31. CONTACTS WITH SOCIAL WELFARE WORKERS

-  NO
-  YES
-  DON'T KNOW



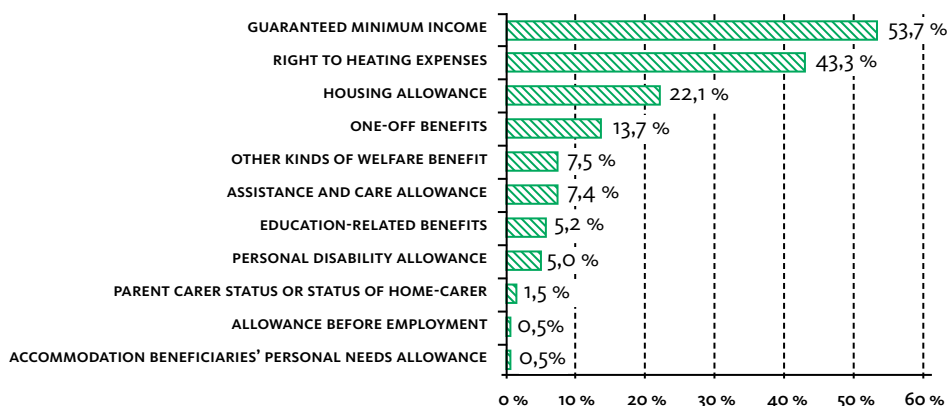
When interviewees are considered by age group, it can be seen that those aged 31-65 are more frequently in contact with social welfare centre staff than those aged 16-30. However, the greatest share of those who had contact with social welfare centre staff, even 78.3%, were those over 66 years of age.

TABLE 46. CONTACT WITH WELFARE WORKERS BY AGE GROUP

Have you ever had contact with of social welfare centre workers?	INTERVIEWEE'S AGE GROUP					
	16 - 30		31 - 65		ABOVE 66	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
NO	141	40.8%	126	31.1%	5	21.7%
YES	204	59.0%	277	68.4%	18	78.3%
REFUSES TO ANSWER	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
DOESN'T KNOW	1	0.3%	2	0.5%	0	0.0%
TOTAL	346	100%	405	100%	23	100%

The survey research has established the share of the households that use social benefits. Of the 1,550 households where the research was carried out, household members largely used guaranteed minimum income, that is, in a little more than half of households (832), members use this form of assistance. The second most used measure is for heating costs, used at 671 households covered by the study, while the third, housing allowance, is used in 343 households. When it comes to monetary social benefits, child benefit is convincingly at the top, being used by 59% of households.

CHART 32. USING SOCIAL BENEFITS (N=1550)



According to research data on use of social services, they are used in less than 10% of Roma households. Thus, all together, the first social service, some other social service, counselling and assistance, assistance and care allowance, are used in 15.8%, or 245 of 1,550 households.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁷ All the remaining social services (psychosocial support, assistance in the home, early intervention, assistance in inclusion in preschool and regular education programmes, extended day care, accommodation, foster care allowance, psychosocial treatment for domestic violence, support in acquisition of knowledge and skills for parenthood, organised housing and accommodation of women victims of violence in safe houses) are used in less than 1% of households.

Moreover, only 14.5% of households do not earn any income from social benefits. In the 1,282, or 84.7% of households where any kind of social benefit is one, or only, source of income, the income totals 2,170 HRK.

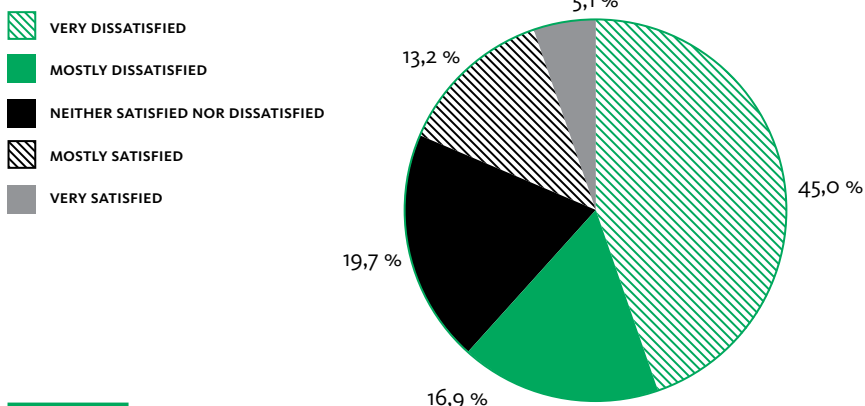
TABLE 47. HOUSEHOLD INCOME FROM SOCIAL BENEFITS

	SOCIAL BENEFITS – ALL KINDS	
	N	%
NO	219	14.5%
YES	1282	84.7%
REFUSES TO ANSWER	6	0.4%
DOES NOT KNOW	7	0.5%
TOTAL	1514	100%
HOUSEHOLDS WHERE THE ANSWER WAS AFFIRMATIVE		
AVERAGE INCOME		2,169.69

It has been established that 3.4%, or 163 members of the Roma national minority have a disability. Since the interviewees were supposed to individually list the types of social benefits and services they use due to their disability, the answers were very diverse, with “disability allowance” being cited most frequently, meaning personal disability allowance. In several cases disability pension, assistance and care allowance, pension supplement, carer’s allowance were also cited, and in ten cases it was stated that no benefits were used.

During the research, interviewees were asked how satisfied they were with the social welfare system. Roma minority members have expressed a high level of dissatisfaction with the social benefits and services received. The Roma in 61.9% of households receiving any form of social benefits or services are either mostly or very dissatisfied, and in only 18.3% of households very or mostly satisfied with the received social benefits and services.¹⁹⁸

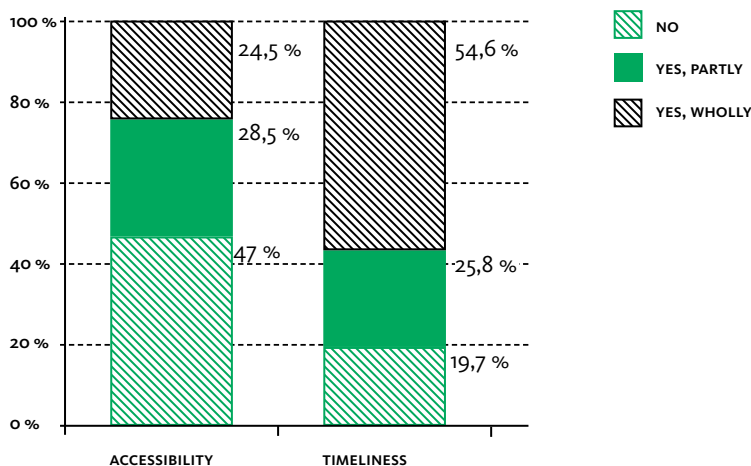
CHART 33. SATISFACTION WITH SOCIAL BENEFIT/SERVICE RECEIVED



¹⁹⁸ Those who answered the questions with “do not know” and those who “refused to answer” were excluded from the analysis on satisfaction and on views on accessibility and timeliness.

As the general goal of the NRIS in this area is “to reduce the poverty of the Roma population and improve the quality of social services and services in the community,” and the specific Objective 1 “to raise the quality, availability and timeliness of social services and services in the community with special emphasis on women, children, adolescents, the elderly and the disabled,” the presented data speak about the relevance of the general and special goals, as well as the need to continue to act on improving the quality of social services. On the question whether social welfare is accessible to them, that is, whether they can receive all the social services and forms of benefits they are entitled to, the majority of the interviewees, 47.0% (out of 1,423, which include both those receiving and those not receiving a social benefit and/or service), answered that social benefits and services are not accessible to them. Only a quarter of those interviewed consider the social services and benefits they are entitled to accessible. In terms of timeliness, the result is significantly different. More than half of the 1,404 interviewees believe that social welfare is characterised by timeliness, while 19.7% believe the opposite. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that there is a difference in the opinions of those receiving at least one form of social benefit and/or service and those not receiving either. To wit, those not receiving any form of social benefit or service are more likely to claim that social welfare is inaccessible, while those receiving at least one form of benefit or service have more often expressed that the benefit/service was partly or wholly accessible. The same goes for opinions on timeliness. Those not receiving any form of benefit or service are more critical and likely to claim that they are not timely, and those receiving some form of benefit or service more likely to claim that social welfare is characterised by timeliness, whether partly or wholly.

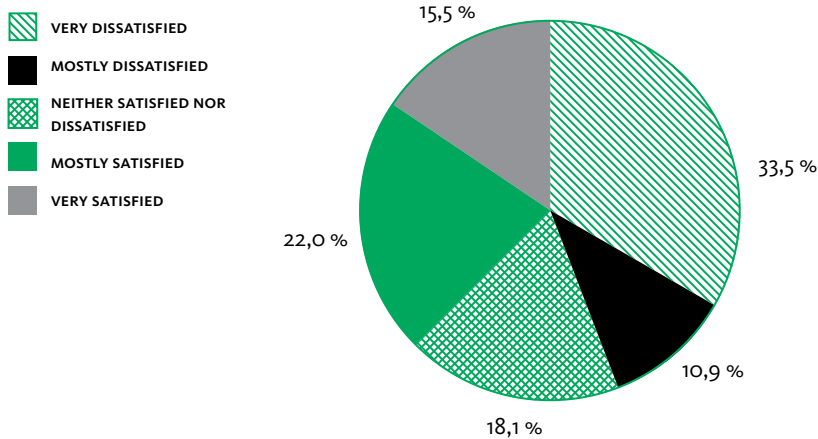
CHART 34. OPINIONS ON TIMELINESS AND ACCESSIBILITY OF SOCIAL WELFARE



In evaluating the social welfare system, the interviewees' satisfaction with their relations with social welfare centre staff was also examined, as were their opinions on them. A large share of Roma had contacts with social welfare centre staff, as many as 65%. Of the 496 interviewees who stated they had contacts, a third were very dissatisfied with

them – twice as many as those who were very satisfied with their relations with social welfare centre staff.

CHART 35. SATISFACTION WITH RELATIONS WITH SOCIAL WELFARE CENTRE STAFF



Opinions on social workers and their work were expressed both by those Roma national minority members who had contacts with them and by those who did not, a total of 720 interviewees (the question was only asked in the B version of the survey questionnaire). They agreed the most with the statement that due to bad legislation, social workers remove social rights and benefits from people who need them, followed by the statement that social workers deal too much with paperwork, and too little with people, and that they should visit the locations more often, and see how individual Roma families really live. They agreed least with the statement that social workers mainly do their job well. In this case, the average mark of 3.06 would mean that on average, the Roma do not know or are not sure whether social workers do their job well.¹⁹⁹ Generally, it can be said that the Roma negatively assess social workers' work, or, indeed, the poor legislative framework guiding their work.

TABLE 48. OPINIONS ON SOCIAL WORKERS

TVRDNJJE:	FULLY DISAGREE	MOSTLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW, I'M NOT SURE	MOSTLY AGREE	FULLY AGREE	DOES NOT KNOW	TOTAL		AVERAGE
							%	N	
DUE TO BAD LEGISLATION, SOCIAL WORKERS REMOVE SOCIAL RIGHTS AND BENEFITS FROM PEOPLE WHO NEED THEM.	6.5%	3.3%	13.9%	11.0%	64.7%	0.6%	100%	720	4.83

199 Opinions in the table are sorted by average marks, highest to lowest. Since it is a five-tiered scale agreement scale, average marks for each statement can range from 1 (fully disagree) to 5 (fully agree). It is obvious that average marks for each opinion but the last are very high, ranging between 4 and 5.

TVRDNJE:	FULLY DISAGREE	MOSTLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW, I'M NOT SURE	MOSTLY AGREE	FULLY AGREE	DOES NOT KNOW	TOTAL		
							%	N	AVERAGE
SOCIAL WORKERS DEAL TOO MUCH WITH PAPERWORK, AND TOO LITTLE WITH PEOPLE.	7.5%	3.6%	17.6%	14.2%	56.3%	0.7%	100%	717	4.81
SOCIAL WORKERS SHOULD VISIT THE LOCATIONS MORE OFTEN, AND SEE HOW INDIVIDUAL ROMA FAMILIES REALLY LIVE.	3.3%	1.5%	6.5%	10.8%	77.7%	0.1%	100%	721	4.80
SOCIAL WORKERS SHOULD HELP UNEMPLOYED ROMA TO FIND A JOB.	4.4%	2.2%	7.2%	10.6%	75.4%	0.1%	100%	720	4.72
SOCIAL WORKERS DO NOT PROVIDE SERVICES TO THE ROMA THAT ARE ALIGNED WITH THEIR REAL NEEDS.	5.8%	5.2%	13.2%	12.7%	62.7%	0.4%	100%	718	4.67
SOCIAL WORKERS SHOULD MONITOR ON THE GROUND HOW PEOPLE SPEND THE MONEY FROM SOCIAL BENEFITS.	13.2%	4.4%	12.4%	15.4%	54.2%	0.4%	100%	720	4.41
SOCIAL WORKERS MAINLY DO THEIR JOB WELL	35.6%	9.9%	16.3%	17.2%	20.9%	0.1%	100%	717	3.06

Individual opinions on social welfare centre staff differ with respect to whether those interviewed had personal contacts with them or not. So for instance, those who did have contacts have expressed greater agreement with the following statements: social workers deal with too much paperwork, and too little with people; social workers should visit the locations more often and see how individual Roma families really live; due to bad legislation, social workers remove social rights and social benefits from people who need them; and social workers do not provide the Roma the services that are aligned with the real needs of the Roma. In other words, the Roma who had contacts with social welfare centre staff were less satisfied with their work than the Roma who did not have such contacts. It was also found that there is no difference by sex in average satisfaction with social workers' work, that is, both men and women are equally (dis)satisfied with their work.

TABLE 49. OPINIONS ON SOCIAL WORKERS – COMPARISON WITH REGARDS TO PERSONAL CONTACT WITH WELFARE CENTRE STAFF

Have you ever had contact with social centre staff?

	NO			YES		
	AVERAGE	SD	N	AVERAGE	SD	N
SOCIAL WORKERS DEAL TOO MUCH WITH PAPERWORK, AND TOO LITTLE WITH PEOPLE.	3.87	1.343	246	4.14	1.22	492
SOCIAL WORKERS SHOULD VISIT THE LOCATIONS MORE OFTEN, AND SEE HOW INDIVIDUAL ROMA FAMILIES REALLY LIVE.	4.43	1.095	251	4.62	0.87	493

Have you ever had contact with social centre staff?

	NO			YES		
	AVERAGE	SD	N	AVERAGE	SD	N
DUE TO BAD LEGISLATION, SOCIAL WORKERS REMOVE SOCIAL RIGHTS AND BENEFITS FROM PEOPLE WHO NEED THEM.	4.02	1.307	248	4.32	1.17	493
SOCIAL WORKERS DO NOT PROVIDE SERVICES TO THE ROMA THAT ARE ALIGNED WITH THEIR REAL NEEDS.	3.94	1.268	248	4.28	1.217	492

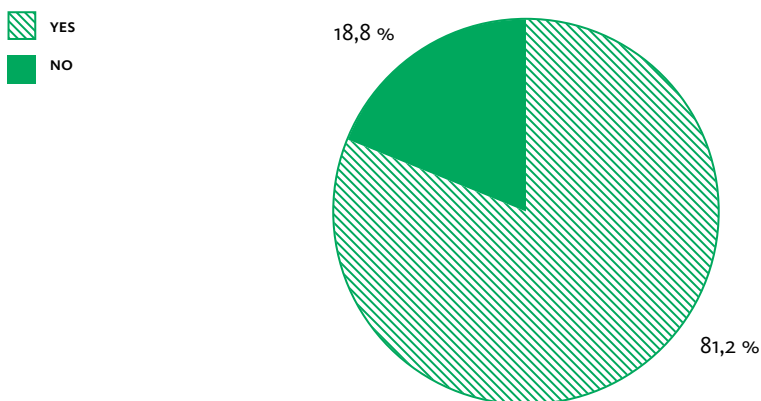
4.4.3

Children's well-being

An analysis of certain child-related indicators sought to establish the situation of the Roma population as regards precisely this, most vulnerable group – children. Some of the indicators of children's well-being are presented below.

The research sought to establish the proportion of children at risk of poverty. Total annual earnings per household member aged 16 or more amounting to 24,000 HRK was determined as the poverty threshold. The data show that four fifths of Roma children up to 15 years of age are at risk of poverty.²⁰⁰

CHART 36. THE SHARE OF CHILDREN AT RISK OF POVERTY



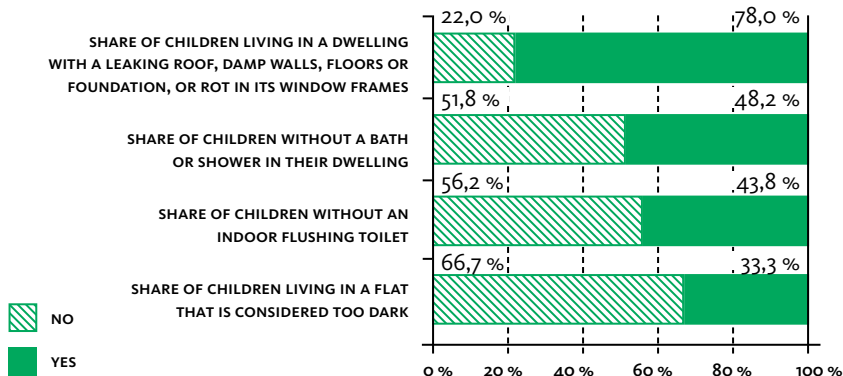
²⁰⁰ To establish the share of Roma children at risk of poverty, an ordinal variable of income was first quantified, where interviewees assessed the total household earnings for the previous month. The amount thus arrived at was divided by the number of household members aged 16 or more. The monthly amounts were then turned into annual amounts, that is, 12-month earnings. A value of 24,000 HRK per annum per household member aged 16 or more was determined as the at-risk-of-poverty threshold. A binary variable was created, with households beneath the 240,000 HRK threshold – those whose members are at risk of poverty – on one side, and those whose annual earnings are above 24,000 HRK on the other. The A version of the survey questionnaire collected data for children aged up to 16. The number of households was then weighted by number of children. After weighting, the total number of children at risk of poverty was established. It should be stressed that due to the nature of the questions posed in the study, the methodology used here to calculate the share of children at risk of poverty cannot be directly compared with the methodology used by the Croatian Bureau of Statistics (CBS). For more detail, see https://www.dzs.hr/Hrv_Eng/publication/2017/14-01-02_01_2017.htm (accessed June 2018)

According to child well-being indicators, the following four indicate inadequate living conditions for children connected to quality of dwelling: darkness, damp, no flushing toilet, no bathroom, or specifically:

- / Share of children living in a dwelling with a leaking roof, damp walls, floors or foundation, or rot in its window frames → damp;
- / Share of children without a bath or shower in their dwelling → no bathroom;
- / Share of children without an indoor flushing toilet → no flushing toilet
- / Share of children living in a flat that is considered too dark → darkness.²⁰¹

The collected data concern children up to 15 years of age, and the results indicate Roma children's extremely disadvantageous living conditions. Of the 3,930 children on whom data were gathered, as many as 78% live in damp conditions, and nearly half (48.2%) do not have a bathroom. A little over half the children (56.2%) have an indoor flushing toilet at home. A third of children aged up to 15 (33.3%) live in conditions they rate as too dark.

CHART 37. SHARE OF CHILDREN LIVING IN HOUSEHOLDS WITH DISADVANTAGEOUS HOUSING CONDITIONS (N=3930)



Concerning the extremely high importance of the education system to children's well-being and development, data were collected on the perception of the impact of the education system on Roma children's development. All parents with at least one child in primary school were asked to what extent do they believe that the overall curriculum develops their children's knowledge and skills. A large majority of parents listed all knowledge and skills as being greatly developed in their children by the curriculum. Nevertheless, reading, writing and mathematical skills on top, followed by learning ability, communication skills. It is interesting that the parents largely (42.6%) stated that the curriculum is little or no help in developing children's knowledge and skills concerning working with computers and other information technology.

²⁰¹ Ajduković, M. and Šalinović, M. (eds.), *Indikatori dobrobiti djece*. Prijedlog dokumenta [Indicators of Children's Well-being. A proposal of the document], 2017., p. 45.

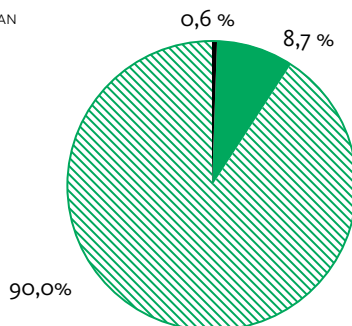
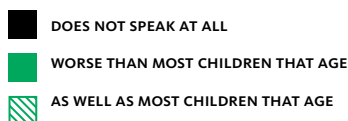
TABLE 50. PARENTS' OPINION ON THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

To what extent do they believe that the overall curriculum develops their children's knowledge and skills	NOT AT ALL	LITTLE	GREATLY		TOTAL	AVERAGE
READING, WRITING AND MATHEMATICAL SKILLS	6.7%	16.3%	77.0%	313	100%	2.7
WORKING WITH COMPUTERS AND OTHER INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY	21.8%	20.8%	57.4%	303	100%	2.36
COMMUNICATION SKILLS	10.7%	14.9%	74.4%	308	100%	2.64
LEARNING CAPACITY (TO KNOW HOW TO LEARN)	8.2%	18.3%	73.5%	306	100%	2.65
TEAM-WORK AND COOPERATION	9.7%	16.7%	73.7%	300	100%	2.64
ABILITY TO DETERMINE YOUR OWN LIFE GOALS AND WAYS TO ACCOMPLISH THEM	13.7%	20.2%	66.1%	277	100%	2.52
DETECTING AND SOLVING PROBLEMS	15.1%	22.1%	62.8%	285	100%	2.48
CREATIVITY	11.3%	17.8%	70.9%	292	100%	2.6
SELF-RESPECT	12.6%	16.6%	70.9%	302	100%	2.58
EMOTION MANAGEMENT	14.8%	18.0%	67.3%	284	100%	2.52

Indicators of IT literacy, cultural capital and the so-called "good childhood" indicator, which concerns ownership of a pet due to pets' positive role in children's development, were studied for children up to 15 in the surveyed households. Thus, the share of children who have a computer, laptop or tablet in their household (indicator of IT literacy) is 19.6%. When it comes to the cultural capital indicator, examining the share of children with 30 or more books in the household (not counting textbooks for school), it was found that it is very low, or 4.5%. The share of children with a household pet (e.g. dog, cat, parrot etc.) is 55%.

It was also examined how well children aged 8-15 speak Croatian concerning their age. Of course, these were assessments on the part of those household members who answered the questions on all members of their households in the A version of the survey questionnaire. Data was gathered on 689 children, with 90% cited as speaking Croatian as well as most children that age. There are 62 children for whom interviewees have claimed that their language skills are worse than those of the majority of children their age, while 7 were indicated as not speaking Croatian at all.

CHART 38. HOW WELL DOES A CHILD SPEAK CROATIAN



On the question put to parents regarding the methods of disciplining children, it has been established that very few hit or beat their children (7%). Parents claim that when their children do something bad or forbidden, they usually ban them from playing or doing activities they like, shout at them, refuse to fulfil their wishes or send them to stand in a corner.

TABLE 51. METHODS OF DISCIPLINING CHILDREN

If your children do something bad or forbidden, what methods of disciplining do you use?	YES		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%
I SEND HIM TO THE CORNER OR TO ANOTHER ROOM	111	27,0%	411	100%
I BAN THEM FROM PLAYING OR DOING ACTIVITIES THEY LIKE	218	52,0%	419	100%
I DON'T FULFIL SOME OF THE CHILDREN'S WISHES (E.G. BUY A TOY)	118	28,6%	413	100%
I SHOUT AT THEM	142	34,1%	416	100%
I HIT THEM	24	6,0%	402	100%
I BEAT THEM	5	1,3%	400	100%
SOMETHING ELSE	77	18,9%	407	100%

A question regarding behavioural problems was asked for all children aged 10-18. Data were collected on 950 children, establishing that 4.9% did not fulfil their school-related tasks, 2.9% committed some kind of material damage, ran from home and engaged in vagrancy, and behaved violently, while 1.8% were party to a burglary or theft.

Difference by sex is obvious in the examples of participation in burglaries and thefts, where 16 boys and 1 girl were involved, and violent conduct, where 9 boys and 1 girl were involved.

TABLE 52. CASES OF BEHAVIOURAL DISORDER

Over the last year, has your child done any of the following?	YES		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%
TOOK PART IN A BURGLARY OR THEFT	17	1.8%	950	100%
COMMITTED SOME KIND OF MATERIAL DAMAGE	10	1.1%	940	100%
RAN FROM HOME AND ENGAGED IN VAGRANCY	7	0.7%	940	100%
BEHAVED VIOLENTLY	10	1.1%	942	100%
HAS NOT FULFILLED SCHOOL-RELATED TASKS	46	4.9%	946	100%

In order to establish violent conduct towards the Roma in education, all those over 6 who are in education were asked whether they were victims of violence or bullying in school due to the fact that they are Roma. 19.9% stated that they were victims of school violence precisely because they are Roma. No difference by sex established, with both Roma boys and girls having been victims of school violence to an equal extent. Looking at educational stages (primary and secondary school), no statistical difference was found; that is, there are around 20% who were victims of violence for being Roma both in primary and secondary schools (19.3% in primary, and 20.3% in secondary school).

TABLE 53. VIOLENCE IN SCHOOL, BY SEX

Have you ever been a victim of violence or bullying in school due to the fact that you are Roma?	SEX					
	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
NO	399	77.3%	362	80.3%	761	78.7%
YES	112	21.7%	80	17.7%	192	19.9%
REFUSES TO ANSWER	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
DOES NOT KNOW	5	1.0%	9	2.0%	14	1.4%

The quality of children's nutrition is, as expected, very similar, or nearly identical to household nutrition. Speaking about indicators of low quality nutrition, including fast food and soft drinks, their very frequent consumption is noticeable, especially soft drinks, consumed daily or nearly daily by 46% of 1,973 children up to 15 years of age. Nearly a third of children consume fast food several times a week, or even daily. As regards indicators of high quality nutrition, fish and seafood feature least often in Roma children's nutrition through the week (22%), whereas here too the positive is that a high proportion of children (73%) consume fruit and vegetables several times a week or nearly daily.

4.4.4

Domestic violence and violence against women

The question of experience of domestic violence was put to both men and women in the B version of the survey questionnaire. Asked whether they ever experienced a form of violence by a family member, 12.0% answered affirmatively. However, it should be kept in mind that studies of experiences of domestic violence using the survey method nearly always result in an underestimate of the real number of victims of violence. This is confirmed by the research data, which, albeit pertaining only to women, were obtained by further inquiry into the specific forms of violence. There, percentages for specific types of violent behaviours are significantly higher, which is why the presented findings need to be taken with a degree of distance. Furthermore, it should be noted that no statistically significant difference by sex or age group was found. Both men and women equally stated that they experienced a form of violence by a family member. Likewise, in terms of age groups, the shares of those who experienced a form of violence aged 16-30, 31-65 and more than 66 are roughly even.

TABLE 54. VICTIMS OF FAMILY VIOLENCE, B SEX

Have you ever experienced some form of violence from a member of your family?	SEX					
	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
NO	330	89.4%	346	85.2%	676	87.2%
YES	38	10.3%	55	13.5%	93	12.0%
REFUSES TO ANSWER	1	0.3%	3	0.7%	4	0.5%
DOESN'T KNOW	0	0.0%	2	0.5%	2	0.3%
TOTAL	369	100%	406	100%	775	100%

Only women were asked questions from the most sensitive section, including those about specific forms of violence against women by their intimate partners. The question whether they ever felt afraid of their husband or partner was answered affirmatively by 14.3%, with 8 stating that they only felt so once, 25 several times, 14 often and 8 very often. Only two women refused to answer, while 46, or 12.0%, stated that they had no husband or partner.

TABLE 55. VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN – FEAR FROM THE PARTNER

Have you ever felt afraid of your husband or partner?	N	%
I DON'T HAVE A HUSBAND/PARTNER	46	12.0%
NO, NEVER	281	73.2%
ONCE	8	2.1%
SEVERAL TIMES	25	6.5%
OFTEN	14	3.6%
VERY OFTEN	8	2.1%
REFUSES TO ANSWER	2	0.5%
TOTAL	384	100%

Even a smaller share of women answered affirmatively to the question whether they ever experienced violence from any man they were ever in an intimate relationship with. 19, or 4.8% of women stated that they experienced it from their current husband or partner, and 25, or 6.3%, stated that they experienced it from their former husband or partner.

When it comes to psychological violence, women members of the Roma national minority gave estimates on the frequency of specific cases of psychological violence (shouting and insults, accusations of unfaithfulness and threats with physical violence). 36.7% of the interviewees stated that they had been victims of psychological violence, that is, that their husband/partner shouted at them, mocked or insulted them once or more. A fifth of the interviewees (21.8%) were accused of unfaithfulness by their husbands/partners, and 14.5% were threatened once or more with physical harm.

TABLE 56. PSYCHOLOGICAL VIOLENCE

In your assessment, how often has your husband/partner behaved towards you in the following ways?	NEVER	ONCE	SEVERAL TIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN	REFUSES TO ANSWER	DOES NOT KNOW	TOTAL	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	N
SHOUTED AT YOU, INSULTED YOU OR MOCKED YOU	62.6%	4.8%	19.0%	7.0%	5.9%	0.5%	0.3%	100%	374
ACCUSED YOU OF UNFAITHFULNESS	77.2%	3.5%	8.3%	4.6%	5.4%	0.8%	0.3%	100%	373
THREATENED TO PHYSICALLY HARM YOU	84.2%	3.2%	4.6%	2.4%	4.3%	0.8%	0.5%	100%	373

11.5% of women stated that they had experienced physical violence on the part of their husbands/partners in the form of throwing things at them one or more times. Their husband deliberately forcefully pushing them, pulling them by the hair, ears and similar was cited by 14.1% of women, and their husband/partner slapping, hitting, kicking them or beating them up was cited by 18.5%.

TABLE 57. PHYSICAL VIOLENCE

In your assessment, how often has your husband/partner behaved towards you in the following ways?	NEVER	ONCE	SEVERAL TIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN	REFUSES TO ANSWER	DOES NOT KNOW	TOTAL	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
	N								
THREW THINGS AT YOU	86.8%	1.6%	4.8%	1.9%	3.2%	0.8%	0.8%	100%	372
DELIBERATELY FORCEFULLY PUSHED YOU, PULLED YOU BY THE HAIR, EARS AND SIMILAR	84.6%	2.4%	6.5%	1.4%	3.8%	0.8%	0.5%	100%	370
SLAPPED YOU, HIT OR KICKED YOU, OR BEAT YOU UP	80.2%	5.9%	5.9%	1.9%	4.8%	0.5%	0.8%	100%	373

Economic violence, in the sense of a husband/partner bringing someone into a situation where they do not have the money to cover their basic needs (food, utilities, clothes etc.) one or more times was experienced by 17.5% of Roma women. 11.2% stated that they had experienced a situation where they had to hide from their husbands/partners that they had bought something. 10.1% of Roma women stated that they had experienced the situation of having to beg their husband/partner for money, while 11.6% of Roma women stated that their husbands/partners behaved as if all the money was theirs, not shared.

TABLE 58. ECONOMIC VIOLENCE

In your assessment, how often has your husband/partner behaved towards you in the following ways?	NEVER	ONCE	SEVERAL TIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN	REFUSES TO ANSWER	DOES NOT KNOW	TOTAL	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
	N								
BROUGHT YOU INTO A SITUATION WHERE YOU DO NOT HAVE THE MONEY TO COVER YOUR BASIC NEEDS (FOOD, UTILITIES, CLOTHES ETC.)	80,9%	2,4%	7,5%	1,9%	5,7%	0,5%	1,1%	100%	371
BROUGHT YOU INTO A SITUATION WHERE YOU HAD TO HIDE FROM YOUR HUSBAND/PARTNER THAT YOU HAD BOUGHT SOMETHING	88,4%	2,2%	3,0%	1,6%	4,1%	0,5%	0,3%	100%	370
BROUGHT YOU INTO A SITUATION WHERE YOU HAD TO BEG YOUR HUSBAND/PARTNER FOR MONEY	88,4%	1,1%	3,0%	1,6%	5,1%	0,5%	0,3%	100%	372
BEHAVED AS IF ALL THE MONEY WAS HIS, NOT SHARED	87,6%	1,1%	3,2%	1,9%	5,4%	0,5%	0,3%	100%	370

Out of the 370 women members of the Roma national minority who answered the question whether they had nonconsensual sexual intercourse with their husband/partner one or more times, 8.7% stated that they did.

4.4.5

Key stakeholders' opinions on the Roma population's main problems in the area of social welfare

As part of the research conducted using the semi-structured interviews and focus groups method, views and opinions of key stakeholders, that is, representatives of the relevant institutions at the local and county levels and representatives of the Roma national minority were collected on what are the needs, as well as obstacles to Roma inclusion in the area of social welfare. The results of the analysis concerning the main problems faced by the Roma in the social welfare system are presented here.

Some of the representatives of the relevant institutions recognise the inadequacy or lack of a social strategy, the lack of capacity and coordination in the system, and inadequate distribution of social transfers that make their job significantly more difficult. Some of the representatives of the relevant institutions do not see any problems in the area of social welfare, believing that the Roma are well informed about their rights and that they consume social services to the utmost, which leads to dependency on social measures. In addition, some of the interviewed representatives of the relevant institutions stated that social services were doing a good job, while there have been suggestions on needing to control recipients' expenditures.

TABLE 59. MAIN PROBLEMS IN THE SOCIAL WELFARE SYSTEM – REPRESENTATIVES OF RELEVANT INSTITUTIONS

FREQUENT ANSWERS	NUMBER OF CODES
INADEQUATE SOCIAL STRATEGY, LACK OF CAPACITY AND COORDINATION IN THE SYSTEM, AND INADEQUATE DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL TRANSFERS	11
LIFESTYLE/CULTURE	10
ROMA ARE WELL INFORMED, THEY KNOW ABOUT SOCIAL SERVICES AND CONSUME THEM	10
DEPENDENCE ON SOCIAL BENEFITS	8
SOCIAL WELFARE CENTRES' (SWC) LACK OF CAPACITY AND LACK OF SUCCESS IMPLEMENTING MEASURES	5
STEREOTYPES	5
SOCIAL SERVICES WORK WELL	5
RECIPIENTS' EXPENDITURES NEED TO BE CONTROLLED	3

"Inadequate social strategy, inadequately organised system, inadequate distribution of social transfers" is a group of frequent answers recognising the obstacles concerning the lack of a sensible strategy, lack of coordination between the national and local levels, inadequate system of awarding social benefits, and problems regarding criteria, which, in the perception of some representatives of the relevant institutions, are not adapted to Roma communities.

“The more I think about it, the angrier I am. Because these means tests are so bad, so brazenly discriminatory. Look, when someone tells you, a means tested amount of 543 HRK as the highest level of eligibility for child benefit. I find this amount so discriminatory that I cannot utter it publicly as some kind of yardstick, I’d wonder whether whoever uttered it is even up to being in any kind of official position. 543 HRK?! Multiply it by 4 and you get 2200 HRK, and someone tells me that a family can do anything with this average. What, what can a family do? So, I mean, it’s just awful. Discriminating. So that again, it’s questionable whether these measures of ours, our means tests in general and our social rights, whether they’re not very discriminatory from the off, looking at society as a whole. You know, well, when you look at it all together, I think that from the top, we just don’t have a well-developed strategy of care tied to social rights. That the same money could go much further if experts are involved a little more, and professionals on the ground are heard from a little more. There, on the issue of child benefit, because I know they mainly use this, but you see what these averages are...” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM PRIMORJE-GORSKI KOTAR COUNTY)

“They were always one way or another and that’s what they did, and they still, the main problem is now we see all their transactions, the tax administration regularly sends us data on all incomes so lately we have taken them off various forms of social benefits because they earn a certain amount but sometimes these aren’t small amounts... now they’re visible because they can’t sell or do something off the books, everything is recorded. Likewise, we have a register of cars, they deal in cars quite a lot, resell them, buy them and so on, so they have more than one, and a problem arises here.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM KARLOVAC COUNTY)

“Lifestyle/culture” is a group of responses that addresses the delays in meeting deadlines, inability to acquire all necessary documents, different communication styles, earning and behaviour in the family and the differently set-up value scale in domestic life.

“And we have a problem with them for not attending school. And now? Ok. They’re what they’re like. But we should learn a little too, that is, at least these institutions, to accommodate it. So if in that (town name omitted) school, since I’ve worked in the primary school, two people finished it. Two children. So there’s probably some kind of problem. It’s not just a problem with them, but that maybe more children might at least finish primary school. The school in (town name omitted) mainly just records non-attendance and sends reports to the police. Pointless proceedings are pursued. Children still don’t go to school. So what needs to be done here...” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM PRIMORJE-GORSKI KOTAR COUNTY)

“This part of their resistance towards certain obligations, as each new recognised right brings certain obligations.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM ZAGREB COUNTY)

“Good level of informedness, knowledge of and consumption of social services” is quite a large group of answers suggesting that RNM members know their rights thanks to oral dissemination of knowledge in their community, and are willing to seek to exercise them.

“There aren't many problems here. First, the Social Welfare Act has nothing for the Roma. Everybody has equal rights to everyone else, all the other recipients. They use everything that's legally offered in social welfare, everything that's extended, maybe sometimes even more than certain other recipients.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM BJELOVAR-BILOGORA COUNTY)

“(...) the main problem is that they often don't bring the documents to realise their rights, they often don't bring them, they're often aggressive, they spit, literally spit on our colleagues, threaten, swear, sometimes the colleagues even have to report them, they often think that we treat them that way just because they're Roma, that's the card they play. Not that it's just them, I believe that many other people too, other minorities and Croatians do that, so, we get anonymous tip-offs because to realise your material rights you cannot have a car, and they have one, they just register it in someone else's name. They very often think that the state owes them something more than it does others, they use all they can, these material rights, but contribute nothing to the community. That's as concerns realising material rights, it's sometimes very difficult working with them to get these papers and documents, they often falsely represent their situation, but everyone else probably does it too.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM THE CITY OF ZAGREB)

“Dependence on social benefits” speaks about RNM members' dependence on social welfare, something recognised as caused by poverty and inability to find employment, but also by the inadequately set up social transfers system.

“It's like they get post-traumatic stress syndrome (PTSD) when they lose social benefits, it's like losing a job for them, as if you gave one of our people a pink slip in some enterprise, they just get these symptoms – they simply cannot live without social benefits, all they have on the side – is on the side, but it's in their psyche to be completely lost if they don't have social benefits...” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM KARLOVAC COUNTY)

“Social welfare centres' (SWC) lack of capacity and lack of success implementing measures” is a less frequent group of responses, but significant as it speaks about the shortage of staff that could adequately respond to Roma communities' social needs.

“Ineffectiveness of social welfare centres. Ineffectiveness and powerlessness. And powerlessness.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM PRIMORJE-GORSKI KOTAR COUNTY)

“We have a chronic shortfall of staff, you know that. I've become embarrassed to say it, looks like we're always moaning. But such a settlement as (name of settlement omitted), which are huge settlements, one social worker can't do that and part of another location. If we want to have a team – psychologist, social worker, defectologist – for a single such settlement... The ministry says there's no money and invoke that decision, that one, on unemployment. (...) You can always do better, but we are quite well educated, all the professionals go where they're offered to learn something else, to learn better. We have a family

centre that has the staff that it has, and they're doing a very good job, they're in prevention, they are in schools. Especially in these schools where the majority of pupils are Roma.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM MEĐIMURJE COUNTY)

“Stereotypes” are a group that clearly expresses the commonplace stereotyping of Roma communities.

“And these, all that you hear, these are all stereotypes. You know the things you learned. They get social benefits, why would they work if they get social benefits? Fact is, a lot of them lost social benefits because they didn't respond to a notice from the local self-government because if I call you and you don't respond, that moment the local self-government unit informs us and we automatically strike them from the list of beneficiaries. Like that. You get me?” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM PRIMORJE-GORSKI KOTAR COUNTY)

“Social services are doing a good job” is an assessment by representatives of the relevant institutions, with the caveat that the system is not very functional.

“The centre works a lot on the question of parental care, and it works well. We have a school for parents where they are sent when some kind of family-law protection is necessary, when it's clear that something is wrong or when abuse, neglect or children's behavioural difficulties are concerned.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM MEĐIMURJE COUNTY)

“The need to control the recipient spending of social benefits” is a small but significant category as it proposes measures of controlling the beneficiaries. The measures consist of proposals to introduce vouchers limiting the goods that can be acquired (food, basic hygienic goods), handing out goods (food, hygiene, clothes, things necessary for school) instead of giving money and control of how the money is spent after it as been awarded.

“Now the only problem is how to better regulate that the guaranteed minimum income, which amounts to 1250-1260 HRK at most, is better spent. Because this gambling, and now this uncontrolled spending, it's the basic question here. Whether through vouchers, but look, I mean, there's a workgroup formed this year again, which only works on how to regulate the guaranteed minimum income.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM MEĐIMURJE COUNTY)

Representatives of the Roma national minority who participated in the semi-structured interviews and focus groups see the deficiencies of the social system in the everyday life of their communities, and they are most troubled by the inadequate distribution of social transfers and the defined criteria for losing social benefits. In addition, there is a perception of arbitrariness in social workers' conduct and their individual interpretations of the same law considered by some of the interviewees confusing, intransparent and a cause of conflict with the system. The measure of removing children from the family and placement in foster families is viewed as worrying, as is dependence on social benefits (especially in young people). Discrimination has not been highlighted as a frequent answer.

TABLE 60. MAIN PROBLEMS IN THE SOCIAL WELFARE SYSTEM – REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY

FREQUENT ANSWERS	NUMBER OF CODES
INADEQUATE SOCIAL STRATEGY, LACK OF CAPACITY AND COORDINATION IN THE SYSTEM, AND INADEQUATE DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL TRANSFERS	12
CRITERIA FOR SOCIAL BENEFITS	11
SOCIAL WORKERS' BEHAVIOUR	9
REMOVING CHILDREN FROM THE FAMILY AND PLACEMENT IN FOSTER FAMILIES	5
DEPENDENCE ON SOCIAL BENEFITS	4
DISCRIMINATION	2
SOCIAL SERVICES WORK WELL	2

“Inadequate social strategy, inadequately organised system, inadequate distribution of social transfers” speaks about the perception of inadequate functioning of the social benefit system: long and complicated decision-making processes and request processing, corruption, misemployment of funds, different interpretations of the same legislation.

“I think the services don't have a continuous overview of the situation... and they resolve issues indescribably slowly, but maybe I'm wrong.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM PRIMORJE-GORSKI KOTAR COUNTY)

“They won't give wood for heating, and when wood for heating comes, it comes to the Municipality, and then it's taken for drainage. Especially we Roma, who are within the settlement (name of settlement omitted), and then, how are we going to buy wood? Who's this () he is... They pay themselves, then they must, there's problems...” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM MEDIMURJE COUNTY)

“If you ask me, the system can't, just can't function. I mean, it functions as someone sees fit, but it doesn't suit us at all because it's a system where you have I don't know how many children and no normal space for work and these children to live, and then they come and take these children away from you.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM MEDIMURJE COUNTY)

“Criteria for social benefits” are a group of answers that are significant to representatives of the Roma national minority, as they concern Roma community members' daily survival. It primarily concerns the introduction of a new Social Welfare Act and the perception of the new exclusionary criteria it brings, such as, for instance, owning a car (without criteria of its value), which many Roma families find essential for daily life.

“Because, I don't know what rights, because he owns that car? He no longer gets social, what's he going to live on? I don't support crime, but clearly, when you need to eat, a Roma is forced, he has to manage somehow...”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM MEDIMURJE COUNTY)

“It's not what it used to be. Because when we didn't have houses, and then bathrooms, and smartened up, then, they'd say bathrooms, no conditions for children to live,

then they took their children, fostered them. Well, now that we've got houses, and furnitures, and bathrooms, we smartened up for the standard life, now it's wrong, now your stuff is better than ours, you've this, especially if he's got a decent car, see you later.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM KOPRIVNICA-KRIŽEVCI COUNTY)

“Social workers' conduct” was defined by some of the interviewed members of the Roma national minority as controlling, with arbitrary decision-making. Some of the interviewees believe that social workers are impatient with the Roma, do not inform them on their rights and favour certain beneficiaries over others.

“To allow him that right, because it's legally guaranteed, not to reject him because they see him by his looks, and many rights are denied because each worker at social welfare centres, unfortunately, but true, interprets the letter of the law, but not as prescribed. Because we did intervene there a lot, especially for these one-off benefits. It happens that 1,500 or 2,000 HRK is due to him. Then enable him to, if he'll really, I mean, he has a need, because he's calling, writes a request to be granted this one-off benefit, annual, then give him, if it's his by law, and if not, that's another thing. Not treat some like a mother and some like a stepmother.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM THE CITY OF ZAGREB)

“I can tell you that the social workers not so much, but the director of the social welfare centre. She demands more than she should. We, as far as we know and as far as we can tell, they have the right to one-off benefit four times a year. But while you go there, if you want to, and it's really important to you, then fill out these documents, and while you're filling out documents, 'Right, you can't get this, you can't do it this way, you've got this, you've got that', and I can tell you as far as that short-term benefit is concerned, they're inadequate. That's the first big criticism. And if someone wants to switch to social welfare and that, the problems are painful, specially if he can't find his bearings and communicate properly, they get rid of those just like that, goodbye.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM KOPRIVNICA-KRIŽEVCI COUNTY)

“Child removal and life in foster families” is a group speaking about the Roma national minority representatives' perception that removal of children happens because of poverty.

“Well, they come when there's a certain problem in school, in a family. They never came to ask whether someone needed help, have they got bread, milk, a pill or something like that. They never came in that sense. They only come with that red and blue car, like vultures. I'll personally have figurines made for them to put on their car, vultures. They come to scavenge children, see a problem, so they can take children away from the family, put the rest in prison and sell off the kids all over the place. These are the vultures, that you don't dare talk about too much because then they'll hold a grudge against you and threaten they'll take your children and give it to someone suitable. And then when it comes into that family, the foster family, all kinds of things happen. And that man is not, he's untouchable, incidents even happen.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM MEĐIMURJE COUNTY)

“If in the case you didn't have the conditions for your kids' normal development, if I took away your custody. I'm against that solution.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM MEDIMURJE COUNTY)

“Dependence on social benefits” is perceived by some of the interviewed Roma national minority representatives, and is especially worrying in young people.

“Well, all this that we're talking about now, benefits are mostly to blame, for all these Roma there (location name omitted). They made them into a load of incompetent people, and the Roma are very competent. The Roma are a special people, but the welfare system made them into an incompetent people. Why? Because every month it gives them 5-6 thousand HRK and they don't want to work. They wait for their social payouts, have a drink, have a barbecue every day, while the children remain on the streets. And the social service never came here to see what happened.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM ISTRIAN COUNTY)

“Each family's welfare is when a member or two can earn enough financially through work to be able to feed their family, and not live off social benefits. Don't think that the Roma want to live on benefits, they are forced to live on benefits. And that's a fact.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM THE CITY OF ZAGREB)

“Discrimination” is expressly mentioned in two Roma national minority representatives' statements.

“Social welfare for me also means that social welfare is involved with the Roma without adequate living accommodation and children in real need, to get involved a little more and take care, not to behave like the police. They never ask why they can't get a job, just questions why are the Roma on social welfare and why they won't work, they don't ask why we are discriminated and why they won't accept us, and even if they do it's one or two out of a hundred of us...” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

Good functioning of the system has been recognised in only two cases.

“Well, I can say, we'd like to thank the social welfare centre that they do this job of theirs. Some do for good, some for evil.” (REPRESENTATIVE

OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM MEDIMURJE COUNTY)

Both groups, the representatives of the relevant institutions and representatives of the Roma national minority agree that inadequate social strategy, inadequately organised system, inadequate distribution of social transfers are the greatest systemic problem in everyday life. The representatives of the Roma national minority also see a significant problem in the exclusionary criteria for granting social benefits (such as the possession of a car cancels the right to social transfers). Other categories recognised by both groups are dependence on social benefits and good functioning of the system. Roma minority representatives do not see a problem in their lifestyle/culture, which representatives of

the relevant institutions put in second place by frequency. Objections to the conduct of social workers expressed by the interviewed members of the Roma national minority can partly be ascribed to the system's lack of capacity mentioned by the representatives of the relevant institutions.

4.4.6

Conclusions and discussion

Like the studies conducted previously, results of this research have shown that poverty is extremely widespread among the Roma population. For instance, as many as a quarter of members of the Roma national minority go to sleep hungry at least once a week for financial reasons, or shares a household with such a person. Thus, data from this study show that in single-member households, average monthly earnings are 1,027 HRK (85% of households have incomes under 1,501 HRK), while in four-member households they amount to 2,659 HRK. The at-risk-of-poverty rate for the Roma population is significantly higher than for the general population. This is confirmed by the results of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2016 study, EU MIDIS II, according to which 93% of the Roma population in Croatia have incomes below the national income-based poverty threshold.²⁰² As many as 84.7% of Roma households use at least one form of social benefit, with most using the guaranteed minimum income – 53.7%.

Taking into account the extremely low employment rate among the Roma, it is clear that the social welfare system is extremely important in reducing the Roma population's poverty. According to the results of the “Everyday Life of Roma in Croatia: Challenges and Possibilities for Transformation” study, “the income structure of Roma households show a lower share of income from employment and pensions, and a significantly higher share of social benefits and child benefit.”²⁰³

Thus, the general goal of the NRIS in the area of social welfare was defined as “to reduce the poverty of the Roma population and improve the quality of social services and services in the community.”²⁰⁴

Some of the key stakeholders (both representatives of the relevant institutions and of the Roma national minority) consider the social welfare system as insufficiently organised, with an emphasis on uneven application of the relevant legislation, criteria for exercising certain rights that are ill-adapted to the beneficiaries, and a lack of well-developed strategy and coordination among the actors in the implementation of social policy. In addition, some of the representatives of the relevant institutions have claimed that the

²⁰² European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), *Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS II) Roma – Selected findings*, p. B14 <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2016/eumidis-ii-roma-selected-findings> (accessed June 2018)

²⁰³ Bagić, D., Burić, I., Dobrotić, I., Potočnik, D., and Zrinščak, S., *Romska svakodnevnica u Hrvatskoj: prepreke i mogućnosti za promjene*, UNDP, UNHCR and UNICEF, 2014, p. 25.

²⁰⁴ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

capacities of the social welfare centres were insufficient to ensure the quality of social service provision. These opinions are substantiated by the findings of other studies, with, for instance, Ajduković, Matančević and Rimac,²⁰⁵ in their work “Child poverty from the experts’ perspective: effects and possibilities of action,” recognise the inadequacy of the social welfare system in the context of handling the child poverty problem, inadequacy which manifests itself, among other things, in the social welfare centres’ limited financial resources, inflexible forms of benefits provision, “system inertia”, inadequate human resources, poor organisational capacities and placement of children in the social welfare system due to poverty.²⁰⁶ Some of these factors are a part of a wider picture, so Zrinščak recognises that it is “a question to what extent will the policy of rationalisation in the public sector affect the realisation of the NRIS goals...”²⁰⁷

The specific NRIS Objective 1 in this area is “to raise the quality, availability and timeliness of social services and services in the community with special emphasis on women, children, adolescents, the elderly and the disabled.”²⁰⁸ The research results obtained on the basis of which the interviewed Roma national minority members’ satisfaction can be determined show that among those interviewees who receive some form of social benefit or service, 61.9% are mostly or very dissatisfied, and only 18.3% mostly or very satisfied with the social benefits and services received. Data that concern the perception of accessibility of social welfare likewise point to problems in this field, at least when looking at the perception of beneficiaries and other members of the Roma population – only a quarter of interviewees consider social welfare to be fully accessible. At the same time, more than half of interviewees consider social welfare to be fully characterised by timeliness. Opinions on social workers shed additional light on the question of the quality of the social welfare system. Namely, among the Roma population there is a very great degree of agreement with the following statements: that due to bad legislation, social workers remove social rights and social benefits from people who need them; that social workers deal with too much paperwork, and too little with people; and that social workers should visit the locations more often and see how individual Roma families really live. This partly confirms the perception of some of the persons included in the qualitative research that the social welfare system is insufficiently well organised, and that it is seriously short of capacity, thus overburdening social welfare centre staff, who are not always able to respond well to the needs of the beneficiaries, members of the Roma population. Therefore, further work needs to be done on organising the social welfare system, so as to increase the capacities of social welfare centres for work with beneficiaries, to bring into line the application of legal regulations, to reduce the amount of bureaucratic work in favour of higher-quality, more accessible and more timely provision of social welfare to its beneficiaries.

205 Ajduković, M., Matančević, J. i Rimac, I., “Siromaštvo djece iz perspektive stručnjaka: učinci i mogućnosti djelovanja” [Child poverty from the experts’ perspective: effects and possibilities of action], *Ljetopis socijalnog rada*, vol. 24, no. 2, 2018, p. 277-308

206 *Ibid.*

207 Bagić, D., Burić, I., Dobrotić, I., Potočnik, D., and Zrinščak, S., *Romska svakodnevnica u Hrvatskoj: prepreke i mogućnosti za promjene*, UNDP, UNHCR and UNICEF, 2014, p. 25.

208 The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

The specific NRIS Objective 2 within this area is “to raise the quality of life of Roma families with special emphasis and the well-being of children and adolescents,” which is defined as “awareness raising, education and encouragement of members of the Roma population, families and youth for a higher quality of life inside the family and better care for children and quality parenting,” stating that “the measures to achieve this objective are aimed at vital segments of family life and child care, and they imply participation by the relevant bodies and organisations through individual or joint activities in order to achieve synergy and thus a positive impact.”²⁰⁹

The research has shown that as many as 81.2% of children aged up to 15 live at risk of poverty. As regards this, data on children included in this research show a large proportion of children living in inadequate housing conditions: damp dwellings (78% of children), darkness (33.3% of children), no bathroom (48.3% of children) and no flushing toilet (43.8% of children). Data on the quality of nutrition of Roma children are also concerning: regular consumption, especially of sparkly bavarages that are consumed by 46% out of 1973 children aged 0 to 15 years every or almost every day, and nearly a third of children consume fast food several times a week or almost every day. On the other hand, a portion of children (73 %) that consume fruits and vegetables several times a week or almost every day is high.

S druge strane. Study “Poverty and wellbeing of pre-school children in the Republic of Croatia” has shown that “22% of parents members of Roma national minority (...) say that they don’t have the opportunity to provide three meals a day to their child.”²¹⁰

Other indicators pointing to IT (il)literacy and (not) possessing cultural capital can indirectly be tied to material deprivation indicators: 80% of children live in households without a computer, laptop or tablet, while as many as 95% of children live in households that do not own 30 or more books. These data show that the majority of Roma households lack the basic means of education, and thus the preconditions for a child’s all-round development and progress in the education system. Improving the situation with regard to these indicators should be a priority when designing future measures and activities in this field. However, it is questionable whether children’s well-being will be improved with as yet the only defined actions such as: raising awareness, education and strengthening members of the Roma population, families and youth for better life within the family and better care for children and parenthood. According to the data obtained, it seems highly important to provide other types of activities (such as extended day care in schools, including Roma children in extracurricular activities such as IT workshops etc.), especially having in mind the level of material deprivation of a large part of the Roma population. Additional and synergic work on the part of various actors, including increased efforts in the fields of employment, social welfare and spatial planning, as well

²⁰⁹ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

²¹⁰ Šučur, Z., Kletečki Radović, M., Družić Ljubotina, O., Babić, Z., Siromaštvo i dobrobit djece predškolske dobi u Republici Hrvatskoj, Ured UNICEF-a Za Hrvatsku, 2015., p. 67.

as investment in higher-quality housing for materially deprived Roma families, are some of the preconditions for achieving a significant degree of progress in the following period in realising the specific NRIS Objective 2 in the area of social welfare.

Data on the behavioural problems of Roma children aged 10-18 suggest that these most frequently consist in not fulfilling school-related tasks (the older household members interviewed stated for 4.9% of children in the sample that they did not fulfil their school-related tasks), while some forms of behavioural problems among children in this age group occur extremely rarely – 1.8% participated in a theft or burglary, while 0.7% ran from home and engaged in vagrancy. Looking at data on violent behaviour and committing material damage, here the levels are also very low – in both cases, there were 1.1% of young people who committed such acts, according to statements by their household members. Survey research results on violence against the Roma older than six who are in the education system on the part of their peers in schools (primary and secondary) show that approximately each fifth Roma child or young person experienced harassment in school just because they were Roma. In addition to prevention of behavioural difficulties in Roma children, it is exceptionally important to work on preventing peer violence against the Roma, that is, it is necessary to work more with the majority population children as well. Preventing violent behaviour and behavioural difficulties is one of the basic activities in this field in the NRIS AP 2013-2015, with special emphasis placed on programmes to improve Roma and non-Roma children's social skills, in which various actors should participate – the Ministry of Demographics, Family, Youth and Social Policy, the Ministry of the Interior, Science and Education Ministry, family centres, social welfare centres, educational institutions etc.

Parents of primary school children have recognised that the education system develops certain social skills. Thus, 74% of interviewed parents of primary school children believe that the overall curriculum develops their children's communication skills, 73.7% teamwork and cooperation, 62.8% problem detection and solving, and 67.2% emotion management. Concerning the fact that children spend a great deal of their time in the system of primary education, it is precisely this system that should be emphasised in designing long-term sustainable models of enhancing children's social skills and preventing behavioural problems and risk behaviours.

The National Strategy recognises enhancing local Roma communities' capacities "to recognize the risks of exposure to human trafficking, sexual exploitation and other forms of violence with emphasis on women and children" as the specific Objective 3 in this area.²¹¹ Data on vulnerability to domestic violence show that 12% of interviewees had experienced some form of domestic violence in their lives. Although no statistically significant difference was established between men and women, data showing the presence of violence against women by their partners are worrying, with more than 10% of women having experienced physical, economic and psychological violence, with the

211 The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

latter most present. As many as 8.7% of women experienced sexual violence by their partners. Significant effort needs to be invested in Roma communities in preventing all forms of violent behaviour in the family and against women (with an emphasis on boys and men), and members of the community motivated to report such criminal acts. However it would seem that any work that includes educating, sensitizing and raising awareness encounters great obstacles in Roma communities. To wit, owing to poverty, discrimination and low educational structure, the Roma rarely leave their communities to attend such activities, while in the settlements themselves and/or near the locations where they live there are often no adequate spaces where such activities might be held. Moreover, all such so-called soft skills education with the Roma community (as well as other socially excluded groups) require building long-term trust and continuous work, which the majority of social actors providing such services and similar forms of practice do not have, as they are financed by project, and not systematically. This frequently leads to discontinued implementation and creates additional mistrust, both in the system of social actors, and in the system of social services and transfers. In addition, social actors (often associations) providing such activities/services extra-institutionally are not evenly distributed around the country, which leads to uneven accessibility of such services. Thus, if a Roma or other association does not operate in an area where the need for activities contributing to reducing domestic, peer and every other form of violence has been established, such activities will simply have no one to implement them. In this context, the systematic and continuous work of social welfare centres on preventing peer, domestic and other violence is of crucial importance. Likewise, additional effort needs to be made in the social welfare and justice systems in order to provide appropriate support to women and children victims of domestic violence and violence against women.

All in all, research results show that additional effort is needed to secure the accessibility and timeliness of social welfare, as well as quality of social service provisions, which are a factor which, while not the only one, has a significant effect on reducing Roma poverty. However, it needs to be stressed that this also depends on broader socioeconomic circumstances, as well as decision-makers at the national level, who need to recognise the importance of the social welfare system and ensure the financial, organisational and human capacities are increased so as to make social welfare efficient and its effects long-lasting.

Spatial planning, housing and environmental protection

The National Roma Inclusion Strategy cites “to improve the housing conditions of the Roma population”²¹² as the general goal in this area. The specific objectives and indicators were categorised across three subjects: spatial planning, housing and environmental protection.

As far as spatial planning is concerned, the National Strategy has recognised several basic problems – the spatial segregation of Roma settlements, which are often built at variance with spatial plans, inadequate or inexistent utility infrastructure, unresolved property legal matters concerning the plot on which housing units were built, illegal construction and the related question of financing the costs of utility infrastructure and services.²¹³

The National Roma Inclusion Strategy states that “the housing standard is evaluated by the number of flats for permanent residence, the floor space of flats, the average floor-space per resident, the average number of persons per flat, as well as the number of rooms, the furnishings in the flat, such as kitchens, lavatories and bathrooms and installations (electricity, water, sewerage, central heating).”²¹⁴ In the “Housing” chapter of the “Everyday Life of Roma in Croatia: Challenges and Possibilities for Transformation” study, Dobrotić²¹⁵ points out that “a series of other rights such as the right to health, education, security etc. depend on whether the right to adequate housing has been realised.”²¹⁶ According to the results of the study conducted in 2014, Dobrotić concludes that “Roma households are in a far more disadvantaged situation than other households included in the research, as well as households in Croatia in general, by all objective indicators of housing quality.”²¹⁷ These results show that the Roma population has 12.9 m² per household member (as opposed to 35 m² in the general population), that 53.8% of households have no connection to the public sewerage system or a septic tank, 46.5% do not have indoor plumbing supplying them with potable water, and 12.4% do not have

²¹² The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Bagić, D., Burić, I., Dobrotić, I., Potočnik, D., and Zrinščak, S., *Romska svakodnevnica u Hrvatskoj: prepreke i mogućnosti za promjene*, UNDP, UNHCR and UNICEF, 2014.

²¹⁶ Ibid., p. 74

²¹⁷ Ibid.

access to electricity.²¹⁸ As to the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2016 study, EU MIDIS II, 26% of Roma live in dwellings with leaking roofs, damp walls, floors or foundations or rot in the window frames or floor, while 44% believe that their living space is too dark.²¹⁹

As regards the third subject within this field, that is, environmental protection, the National Strategy states that the main problems concern waste removal and management, and environmental pollution by inappropriate treatment of waste; water quality; and insufficient monitoring of the state of the environment by local self-government units.²²⁰

Below are presented the results of the pre-research/mapping and survey research concerning spatial planning (utility infrastructure, quality of roads, public spaces, legalisation of buildings), housing (ownership of real estate, living and housing conditions, type of household, quality of dwelling) and environmental protection (environmental and sanitary conditions, health hazards). Afterwards, an analysis will be presented of the views and opinions of key stakeholders (representatives of the relevant institutions and representatives of the Roma national minority) on the main problems concerning in the area of spatial planning and housing, obtained through semi-structured interviews and focus groups.

4.5.1

Spatial planning

Data on spatial planning have largely been collected in pre-research, that is, in the process of mapping the Roma communities that was the precondition for sampling Roma households. Roma national minority members, so-called informants, living at the mapped locations gave information necessary for a description of the community or its population. Among other information collected was that on the accessibility of utility infrastructure, that is, whether utility infrastructure was extended as far the location inhabited by the Roma, that is, was it accessible there. The data presented below concern 128 locations across 12 counties.

As concerns utility infrastructure, only one of the 128 locations has no access to electricity; 13 do not have access to the water supply system, while 55 of 128 locations have no access to the sewerage system. 74 of the 128 locations have no access to the gas supply. When it comes to Roma households that are connected to the water, electricity and gas supply and the sewerage system, the situation is quite different. Concerning use of individual connections within the households, according to informants' data, in those

²¹⁸ Bagić, D., Burić, I., Dobrotić, I., Potočnik, D., and Zrinščak, S., *Romska svakodnevnica u Hrvatskoj: prepreke i mogućnosti za promjene*, UNDP, UNHCR and UNICEF, 2014, p. 83.

²¹⁹ European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), *Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS II) Roma – Selected findings*, <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2016/eumidis-ii-roma-selected-findings>, (accessed June 2018)

²²⁰ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

locations where there is access to infrastructure, an average of 88% of households use electricity, 66% the water supply, 40% the sewer system and only 15% the gas supply. Detailed data on the use of specific utility infrastructures within the households are presented in the section on housing.

Data on the quality of the roads leading to Roma settlements were likewise collected using the mapping method in pre-research, and only for those locations inhabited by the Roma that were categorised as detached from the nearest town or village, that is, Roma settlements that are removed from a town or village, in a separate location. A total of 41 such locations have been detected, with 22 cited as having satisfactory access roads, while in one, access roads were found to be partially satisfactory. The remaining 18 locations were cited by informants as having unsatisfactory access roads. It was established that 8 locations do not have an access road. 14 were found to have unpaved access roads, that is, paths, while 15 to have potholed access roads.²²¹

Data on the quality of streets/paths within the locations inhabited by the Roma were collected using the mapping method in pre-research, just like the data on access roads. Of the 128 locations for which data were collected, in 47 the quality of the roads was judged as satisfactory, and 69 locations were cited by informants as having roads of unsatisfactory quality, while in two locations they expressed partial satisfaction with the quality of the roads within the Roma settlement.²²² There are unpaved paths in 52 locations, and in one the streets and paths are partially unpaved.²²³ The informants cited 63 locations as having potholed streets within the settlement, while 4 locations²²⁴ were found to have partially potholed streets or paths within the Roma settlement. 70 of the 128 locations were found to lack pavements for pedestrians, while 4 have pavements but not throughout the settlement.²²⁵

In pre-research, the informants were asked whether each of the mapped locations where the Roma live had a space where members of the community can gather, such as a community centre or similar. Only a quarter of the 128 locations were found to have a space where members of the community can gather.

In the quantitative research, that is, in surveying the Roma households, the question on legalisation of buildings as an important aspect of spatial planning was also asked.

221 For certain locations, the informants disagreed on the quality of the roads leading to settlements, so for such locations, the "partial" (dis)agreement category was introduced. Thus, the location Beli Manastir – Rupa (Osijek-Baranja county) was found to have partially satisfactory access roads, that is, that part of the road is potholed. In Domašinci-Kvitrovac (Međimurje county), the roads were found to be partially unpaved, while the roads in the Nova Gradiška-Bedem site (Brod-Posavina county) were found to not be fully satisfactory

222 As in the previous case, that is, marking access roads, the informants were not always in agreement in marking the quality of the roads within settlements, so the "partial" category was also introduced here. Thus, partially satisfactory road quality within settlements was established in the locations Vukovar (Vukovar-Srijem county) and Sesvete – Staro Brestje (City of Zagreb).

223 It was noted that in the Petruševac, lanes 1, 5 and 4 (City of Zagreb), the paths are partly unpaved.

224 The following locations: Crikvenica - Vinodolska 22 and Dedin (Primorje-Gorski kotar county), Vukovar and Petruševac lanes 1, 5 i 4.

225 The following locations: Crikvenica - Vinodolska 22 and Dedin (Primorje-Gorski kotar county), Sesvete - Staro Brestje and Rugvica (City of Zagreb).

Thus, on the question on whether they had begun the process of legalising the object in which they lived, the majority of those interviewed said that they were in the process of legalisation and that the building was now legalised. Of the 1,485 households on which data were gathered on legalisation of buildings, 28.6% were still undergoing the process at the time of the research. There were 11.8% of interviewees living in buildings that are unlegalised, whether partly or fully, but who had not initiated the legalisation process, and just a little more (12.3%) of those who said they did not know whether the legalisation process had been initiated. In 2.3% of cases, the legalisation request was denied.

TABLE 61. LEGALISATION PROCESS

Have you or members of your family begun the process of legalising the object in which you live?	N	%
NO, THERE WAS NO NEED BECAUSE THE BUILDING HAD ALL THE NECESSARY PERMITS	202	13.6%
NO, ALTHOUGH THE BUILDING IS (PARTLY OR FULLY) UNLEGALISED	176	11.9%
YES, THE PROCESS OF LEGALISATION WAS COMPLETED AND THE BUILDING IS NOW LEGALISED	467	31.4%
YES, BUT THE LEGALISATION REQUEST WAS DENIED	34	2.3%
YES, THE LEGALISATION PROCEDURE IS STILL GOING ON	424	28.6%
DO NOT KNOW	182	12.3%
TOTAL	1485	100%

Those who responded that they did not enter the process of legalisation, even though the object was not (partly or fully) legalised, were asked what were the reasons for not doing so. There are 176 such households, and the most frequent reason cited was that the process of legalisation was too expensive (46.8%), with the second most frequent (31.9%) being “some other reason”.²²⁶ The next two most frequent reasons were that the legalisation process was too complicated or that they did not know how to start that process, two reasons that partially overlap. No interest and plans to move out were two least frequently cited reasons for not initiating a legalisation process.

TABLE 62. REASONS FOR NOT ENTERING THE PROCESS OF LEGALISATION

What were the reasons for not entering the process of legalisation?	%
THE PROCESS OF LEGALISATION IS TOO EXPENSIVE	46.8%
THE LEGALISATION PROCESS IS TOO COMPLICATED	20.7%
WE DO NOT KNOW HOW TO START THE LEGALISATION PROCESS	18.9%
WE DID NOT KNOW WE HAD TO LEGALISE THE BUILDING	11.7%

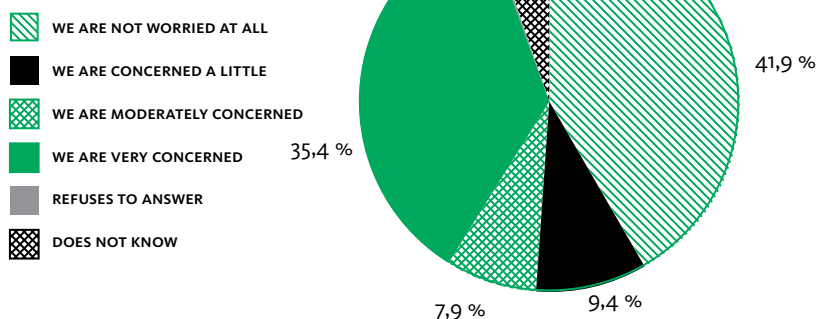
226 Under “some other reason”, the interviewees specified the following (among other things): “gave the house to the Municipality in return for social welfare”; that it is “wild building”; “the city said they’d move them into flats”; “next year”; “the house is under mortgage”; “don’t own the house”; “a small extension – I don’t think it’s necessary”; “moved in recently”; “the representative is not interested”; “the lot hasn’t been parcelled”; “don’t have the right”; “someone else started the process”; “the land hasn’t been zoned for building”; “don’t own the land”; “didn’t have time”; “it’s up to the Municipality”; “they were rejected and will try again”; “moved”; “the building is too old”; “private land”; “cannot be legalised”; “the land where the house was built is state property” etc.

What were the reasons for not entering the process of legalisation?	%
WE HAVE NO INTEREST IN LEGALISING THE BUILDING	10.1%
WE PLAN TO MOVE OUT SOON	6.1%
SOME OTHER REASON	31.9%

In households where the issue of legalisation has not been resolved, a question was also asked whether they worried that they might be evicted, in view of the fact that in recent years there have been a number of cases of evictions, as well as tearing down unlegalised dwellings.²²⁷ Of 802 interviewees who answered this question, 41.9% did not express any worry, while more than a third (35.4%) stated that they were very worried. Of the 409 who did express concern, whether “small”, “moderate” or “strong”, 92.2% stated that in case this happened to them, they and their family would have no alternative “roof over their heads”, that is, no other living accommodation or place to go.

CHART 39. WORRIES ABOUT EVICTION

How worried your family members are that it could happen to you?



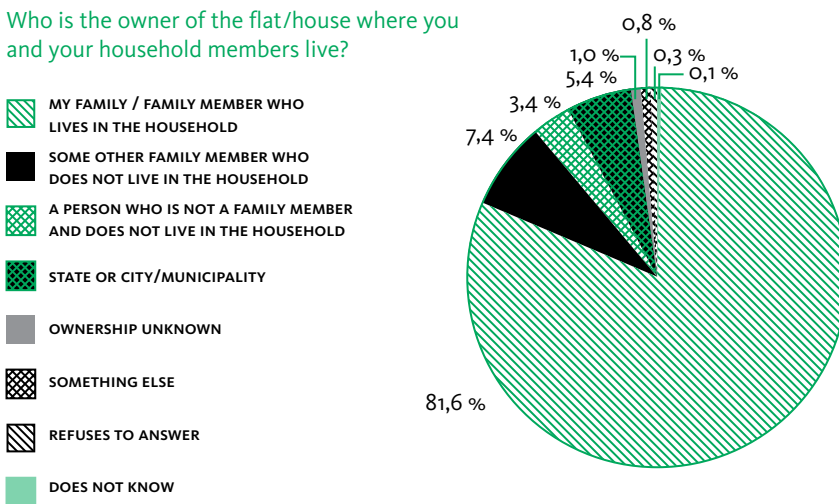
4.5.2

Housing

The survey research has established that in 81.6% of cases, the interviewed Roma and/or members of their families living in the household owned the real estate they lived in. In 7.4% of cases the owner was another family member who did not live in the household. In the remaining 11% of the 1,533 cases it was mostly owned by the state or town, or persons not members of the families or living in the households, etc.

²²⁷ This includes those who said they did not know whether they entered the process of legalisation – 12.3%, or 182 out of the 1,485 who answered the question.

Who is the owner of the flat/house where you and your household members live?



In order to study the living and housing conditions in Roma households, it was sought to establish the possession of common household items, in addition to access to infrastructure, that is, connections to electricity, water supply and the sewer system. Of the 1,550 surveyed households, 11.2% have no electricity. 43.3% have no water from the water supply, and as many as 73.3% of Roma households have no sewer connection. A half of households (49.9%) have no bathroom with a shower or bathtub in the house/flat, and an even greater share (53.9%) have no flushing toilet in the house or flat. A fifth of the 1,550 Roma households have no kitchen in the house. In terms of white goods and household appliances,²²⁸ by far the largest number of Roma households has a television set (92.9%), and just 12.5% a computer and 13.9% a laptop or tablet. Around a quarter of households do not own a refrigerator (26.6%) or freezer (27.7%). The majority of Roma households, 68.1%, do not own a car.

TABLE 63. LIVING AND HOUSING CONDITIONS (N=1550)

Do you have the following in your household:	NO	YES
ELECTRICITY	11.2%	88.8%
WATER FROM THE WATER SUPPLY	43.3%	56.7%
WATER-WELL OR WATER PUMP IN THE YARD	63.6%	36.4%
SEWER CONNECTION	73.3%	26.7%
SEPTIC TANK	68.4%	31.6%
KITCHEN IN THE HOUSE/FLAT	20.2%	79.8%
BATHROOM WITH A SHOWER OR BATHTUB IN THE HOUSE/FLAT	49.9%	50.1%

²²⁸ This question came with a note to interviewees that questions on white goods and household appliances should only be answered affirmatively if the appliances are in working condition, that is, can be used.

Do you have the following in your household:	NO	YES
FLUSHING TOILET IN THE HOUSE/FLAT	53.9%	46.1%
TOILET IN THE YARD	49.4%	50.6%
REFRIGERATOR	26.6%	73.4%
FREEZER	27.7%	72.3%
WASHING MACHINE	27.2%	72.8%
DISHWASHER	92.3%	7.7%
OVEN	40.1%	59.9%
TV SET	7.1%	92.9%
PERSONAL COMPUTER	87.5%	12.5%
LAPTOP OR TABLET	86.1%	13.9%
CAR OR VAN	68.1%	31.9%
RADIO	77.2%	22.8%
MOBILE TELEPHONE	22.5%	77.5%

It has been established that there is a difference in living and housing conditions depending on the type of location. Thus, for instance, those Roma living in dispersed locations, that is, dispersed among the majority population in towns and villages, are more likely to have electricity in the household than those living in concentrated settlements. It should be stressed here that in concentrated settlements too, the share of the Roma who have electricity is high, that is, over 86%, while in dispersed locations it rises to 95.5% of households. Concerning water from the water supply, there is a significant difference between Roma settlements removed from a town or village, in a separate location, and the remaining three types (Roma settlement at the edge of a town or village, Roma settlement within a town or village and a dispersed settlement). In the former, by far the largest portion of households have no connection to the water supply, as many as 70.3%, while in the other three, the share is roughly even, a little over 20% of households. Regarding the sewer system, a statistically significant connection between type of location and share of households with/out certain infrastructure has also been established. As expected, those Roma households that are in dispersed locations are most likely to be connected to the public sewer (64.6%), while the share is significantly lower in concentrated locations. The share of households with a sewer connection is the lowest in Roma settlements removed from a town or village, in a separate location, where 86.5% of households are not connected. The ratios are also very similar when it comes to the share of Roma households that have a bathroom with a shower or bath. In concentrated locations removed from a town or village, as many as 70.7% of households do not have a bathroom with a shower or bath, while in dispersed settlements that proportion falls to 26.2% of households. In Roma settlements within a town or village too, a quarter (24.4%) of households have no bathroom, while in concentrated settlements on the edge of a town or village this proportion is 46.7%. The proportions are nearly identical when it comes to owning a flushing toilet in the house/flat, where likewise a significant difference was found between concentrated settlements at the edges of towns or villages and settlements within towns or villages.

When conducting the research, the canvassers graded the conditions of the households occupied by the Roma, that is, they classified their shape by type, using external evaluation. Thus, it was established that of the 1,463 households for which data were collected, 63.1% are houses in good or relatively good condition. In 28.2% of cases it was judged that the house is in poor condition, or derelict. The share of the households living in residential buildings is nearly identical to the share of households living in extremely poor conditions, shacks (wooden huts or shanties)

TABLE 64. HOUSEHOLD SHAPE BY TYPE OF LOCATION

SHAPE OF HOUSEHOLD (EXTERNAL EVALUATION)	LOCATION TYPE									
	REMOVED FROM A TOWN OR VILLAGE, IN A SEPARATE LOCATION		ROMA SETTLEMENT AT THE EDGE OF A TOWN OR VILLAGE		ROMA SETTLEMENT WITHIN A TOWN OR VILLAGE		ROMA LIVING DISPERSED AMONG THE MAJORITY POPULATION IN A TOWN OR VILLAGE		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
FLAT IN A RESIDENTIAL BUILDING	5	0.8%	2	0.6%	11	8.5%	41	10.6%	59	4.0%
HOUSE IN GOOD OR RELATIVELY GOOD SHAPE	456	71.0%	180	55.7%	65	50.0%	235	60.6%	936	63.1%
HOUSE IS IN POOR CONDITION, OR DERELICT	157	24.5%	116	35.9%	42	32.3%	103	26.5%	418	28.2%
SHACK (WOODEN HUT OR SHANTY)	19	3.0%	24	7.4%	11	8.5%	4	1.0%	58	3.9%
SOMETHING ELSE	5	0.8%	1	0.3%	1	0.8%	5	1.3%	12	0.8%
TOTAL	642	100%	323	100%	130	100%	388	100%	1463	100%

In addition to evaluation of the exterior, the interior quality of the housing space and the work that needed to be done in the households, as articulated by the interviewees themselves. In the majority, two thirds of the households, the problem of damp, or damp walls, floors and foundations was recorded. In half the households the Roma highlighted the problem of a leaky roof. Rotting window frames are also a problem in many households (41.9%), as are dark rooms (33.4%).

TABLE 65. HOUSING SPACE – PROBLEMS IN THE HOUSEHOLD (N=1550)

	NE	DA
DAMP WALLS, FLOORS OR FOUNDATIONS	33,5 %	66,5 %
LEAKY ROOF	49,7 %	50,3 %
ROTTING WINDOW FRAMES	58,1 %	41,9 %
SPACE WITHOUT SUFFICIENT LIGHT, TOO DARK	66,6 %	33,4 %

As for work needing to be done in their households that would improve their living conditions, the Roma most frequently highlighted interior finishing (82.4%), followed by acquiring furniture (75.9%) and home appliances (68.0%), tend the plot surrounding the house (66.8%) and adding a facade (64.3%), followed by repairing the old or installing a new roof (63.0%) and changing the windows and doors (62.5%).

4-5-3

Environmental protection

Data on environmental conditions and health hazards such as polluted water and air, rubbish and large waste and similar were collected in the pre-research mapping. Of the 128 locations, 47 have a problem of litter in the streets, around houses and in yards, in 43 the problem of air pollution was highlighted, in 34 the problem of water pollution, while large waste was highlighted as a problem in 33 locations. Cattle inside or in the immediate vicinity of living spaces has been highlighted as a problem in 18 locations. In 55 locations, "other" unhealthy and/or dangerous living conditions were cited, for instance: "untended drainage canals", "a cow farm in the centre of the village"; "sheep farm – burning wool"; "muddy water from the well"; "asbestos panelling in several houses"; "illegal landfills"; "a pig farm nearby"; "polluted canals"; "many abandoned dogs"; "a lot of weed, ambrosia"; "no sewer system"; "in the vicinity of a landfill"; "in the vicinity of a factory"; "burning rubbish" etc.

As to the problem of waste management, it was found that the majority of the Roma point out that there have been no changes in the past four years, and that the conditions remained the same. This was cited by 410 of the total of 1542 of interviewees. 37.7% of Roma stated that the conditions have partly or significantly improved, while 17.3% stated that the conditions have worsened. In 17.3% of cases, it was stated that there were never any problems with waste management.

TABLE 66. PROBLEMS WITH WASTE MANAGEMENT IN THE LAST 4 YEARS

Problems with waste management in the settlement/ neighbourhood in the last 4 years	N	%
THERE WERE NO PROBLEMS WITH WASTE MANAGEMENT	267	17.3%
A LOT WORSE	167	10.8%
PARTLY WORSE	101	6.5%
REMAINED THE SAME	410	26.6%
PARTLY IMPROVED	279	18.1%
GREATLY IMPROVED	296	19.2%
REFUSES TO ANSWER	1	0.1%
DOES NOT KNOW	21	1.4%
TOTAL	1542	100%

On the question regarding sanitary conditions in the settlement or neighbourhood and changes related to sanitary conditions over the past four years, the majority of the Roma (39.0%) highlighted that they remained the same. Of the 1,540 who answered this survey

question, 40.2% stated that the sanitary conditions in the settlement or neighbourhood have partly or significantly improved, while the share of those who said that the conditions have become partly or significantly worse was 17.9%

TABLE 67. SANITARY CONDITIONS IN THE SETTLEMENT OR NEIGHBOURHOOD IN THE LAST 4 YEARS

Sanitary conditions in the settlement or neighbourhood	N	%
A LOT WORSE	150	9.7%
PARTLY WORSE	126	8.2%
REMAINED THE SAME	601	39.0%
PARTLY IMPROVED	347	22.5%
GREATLY IMPROVED	272	17.7%
REFUSES TO ANSWER	2	0.1%
DOES NOT KNOW	42	2.7%
TOTAL	1540	100%

4.5.4

Key stakeholders' opinions on the main problems of the Roma population in the area of spatial planning, housing and environmental protection

MAIN PROBLEMS IN THE FIELD OF SPATIAL PLANNING

Key stakeholders' opinions on the main problems in the field of special planning were collected through semi-structured interviews and focus groups.

TABLE 68. MAIN PROBLEMS IN THE FIELD OF SPECIAL PLANNING – REPRESENTATIVES OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTIONS

FREQUENT ANSWERS	NUMBER OF CODES
ILLEGAL CONSTRUCTION	10
NO CONNECTIONS TO ELECTRICITY, WATER, SEWERAGE, GAS	9
SEWERAGE	7
UNPLANNED CONSTRUCTION IN THE SETTLEMENT	3
NO PLANS OF INTEGRATING THE ROMA INTO VILLAGES	3
LEGALISATION PROCESS UNFINISHED BECAUSE OF NON-PAYMENT FOR THE LAND AND UTILITY CONTRIBUTIONS	2
WILD LANDFILLS	2
DRAINAGE	2
OPEN SEPTIC TANKS	2
NO PROBLEM WITH SPATIAL REGULATION	2
ILLEGAL CONNECTIONS TO ELECTRICITY, WATER	2
MUNICIPALITY ALONE CANNOT FUND THE LEGALISATION	1

FREQUENT ANSWERS	NUMBER OF CODES
THE NEW LAW NEEDS TO ALLOW THE BEARERS OF FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY TO SELL A HOUSE WORTH 10,000 EURO FOR 1 OR 2 HRK TO A ROMA PERSON	1
THE QUALITY OF LIFE IN ROMA SETTLEMENTS SHOULD BE IMPROVED AND BROUGHT UP TO THE SAME (MUNICIPAL) STANDARD LIKE THE MAJORITY SETTLEMENTS	1
CONDITIONS ARE NOT GOOD, THEY LIVE IN MUD, FILTH, ROADS ARE NOT PAVED, THEY DO NOT CARE FOR THIS PRIMARY PLACE OF LIVING	1
LEGALISATION WAS GOING ON, BUT ROMA DID NOT TAKE PAINS	1
THEY DO NOT MAINTAIN THEIR HOUSES	1

In most interviews, the representatives of the relevant institutions have mentioned illegal construction, which is a barrier not only in the process of legalisation in some cases, but a practice continued upon the completion of the process of legalisation as well. This practice of illegal construction sometimes means that the municipality/town must change the adopted urban regulatory plan so that the new, illegal objects might be legalised, which represents a large expense for frequently small municipalities with limited local budgets.

“Five houses that were illegally built after 86 were legalised. (...) and now there aren't five, but fifteen objects there, and these are not modest little objects, they are two-storey buildings, and they received a demolition notice (...) but now we have to change the urban regulatory plan for the Roma settlement, in which we invested 100.000 HRK in previous years, so that these people could officially buy the land, obtain a construction permit, do everything legally.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM MEDIMURJE COUNTY)

“The main problem is in the fact that however absurd it may sound, right now they are in a privileged position in comparison to other citizens. So, they use land which isn't theirs. They don't pay to use that land. I mean, land, they built houses on others' land, most often land owned by the city, and now the problem is regulating this space. So, in order to regulate the space, certain rules need to be implemented and applied. This means that if you want to build a road, that road has to be of a certain width. It has to have pavements. The gradient cannot be greater than this much. They aren't that happy to accept such an aspect of regulation, which would certainly lead to some houses, dwellings or whatever being removed. And we can't carry this process through without their consent. So, in these existing conditions, it's very difficult not only to extend the, I don't know, water, sewer and electricity mains, although there are many houses that are already connected both to water and electricity.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM PRIMORJE-GORSKI KOTAR COUNTY)

As visible in the previous quote, sewerage is a big problem, as electricity and water have somehow (legally and/or illegally) been resolved. Hence, representatives of the relevant institutions as well as Roma national minority representatives agree that the problem of connecting to the sewer system is especially difficult:

“They have this rubbish around them that they create themselves, these piles of stuff that just mount up and it periodically all grows and then the truck comes to take it all away. That's how they live. They have a bit

of a problem with drainage. There's no sewer there. They've got a ditch there. Someone's got a septic tank that is half-open, then all the others sue him." (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

From the relevant institutions' perspective, the second most represented problem is that the settlements where Roma live have no electricity and water connections:

"Legalisation went underway, people took effort, it was all drawn, loads of money were spent on it all. They, of course, didn't enter anything in the plan, but hoped that either someone'd pay for it, never mind simply entering houses into the plan or something like it. That's one of the conditions for connecting the infrastructure. They request, to connect the water, sewer or whatever, and the house barely has electricity, which I don't know how they even got it. In fact, I know. There was a little old house they bought, and then built another 6 around it. This one has electricity and these are just extension cords. That's usually how it works. And this primary house has a meter, has an address, it has everything. Now, if this one, a fifth one, wants a special line or something, of course they can't get it, 'cause it's not regular. They don't have the proper papers. It doesn't have a building permit, doesn't have a location permit, inspection certificate, nothing. It doesn't exist, it's not even been drawn. And here the municipality, however much will and funds it had to do it, it can't be done. How it's gonna be done, I don't know." (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM KOPRIVNICA-KRIŽEVCI COUNTY)

Although only two people spoke about it in the interviews, the problem with completing the initiated legalisation processes due to unpaid-for land and utility contributions, and the resulting inability to legally connect to the water, electricity, gas and sewer mains seems a priority that needs to be resolved, as most work surrounding legalisation has been completed, with only these two steps missing for the settlement to be zoned:

"Above all, the land is ours, municipal, the state legalised it for them, the majority didn't even come to pay that symbolic amount for the land so we can go through with the procedure, to calculate the utility contributions and take it to the County to finalise the process of legalisation... here, it's all in this box, it won't get that far either, the state paid all the geodesists, architects to draft them projects... and now that they can't connect to the water, they come here to scream and tell us we can do it in five minutes. It's been here since 2011, they need the certificate to become owners, some have everything, some twenty of them did everything, just when the water needs connecting, there's a brouhaha both here and at the County, and it's all been here since 2011. They just need to pay for the land and the utility contribution." (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM MEDIMURJE COUNTY)

The problems in legalising illegally built objects were precisely expressed by the representative of a relevant institution from Medimurje county):

"The houses were built on land belonging to the Republic of Croatia, a development plan is being drafted, the land is being parcelled accordingly, and now two objects are again being illegally built... the new law – according to which these spaces owned

by the RC would be sold for a Kuna or two for the needs of the Municipality, and even if we do get this land, there has to be a real estate valuation, and you can't say it's worth 10 times less because the family in question is Roma, so if the appraisers estimate that the house is worth 10,000 EUR, we can sell it for 1000 EUR or two Kunas, but there has to be a new law for that to be allowed. This new law needs to provide for a bearer of fiscal responsibility in cases concerning Roma families.”

On the other hand, in the view of the majority of Roma national minority representatives, the main problem in spatial planning is the legalisation of settlements, that is, legalisation of housing and other objects.

TABLE 69. MAIN PROBLEMS IN THE FIELD OF SPECIAL PLANNING – REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY

FREQUENT ANSWERS	NUMBER OF CODES
PROBLEMS WITH LEGALISATION OF BUILDINGS	19
INFRASTRUCTURE PROBLEMS – NO SEWERAGE	12
PROBLEMS WITH ROAD INFRASTRUCTURE – NO ASPHALT (5 CODES), ROAD (4 CODES), PAVEMENT (1), PEDESTRIAN PATH (1), STREET LIGHT (1)	12
PROBLEMS CONCERNING EXPANSION OF SETTLEMENTS	11
INFRASTRUCTURE PROBLEMS – HOUSES ARE NOT CONNECTED TO WATER AND ELECTRICITY BECAUSE THERE ARE NO SUBSIDY OPPORTUNITIES OR PAYMENT IN INSTALMENTS	11
ILLEGAL CONNECTIONS TO ELECTRICITY AND WATER SUPPLY	7
SPATIAL PLANNING HAS BEEN COMPLETED	5
PROBLEMS WITH THE ENTIRE INFRASTRUCTURE OF SETTLEMENT (ELECTRICITY, WATER, DRAINAGE CANALS, SEWERAGE)	4
OTHER	17

Various problems are mentioned here: “only 30 houses legalised, the others haven't been”, “new houses weren't legalised”, “legalisation hasn't been carried through”, “settlement can't be legalised, it's an industrial zone so people are moving out”, “town/municipal leaders are stalling on the legalisation and zoning of the settlement”, “settlement is too crowded, with two, three many-membered families in a single yard, this can't be legalised”, “no legalisation because there's no funds”, “municipality went into debt to cover the costs of legalisation”, “property legal matters haven't been resolved, 15-16 houses are in private plots, they don't know who the owner is and can't legalise or connect to water and electricity”, “to get infrastructure, you need all the accompanying documentation, and to get it you have to meet conditions you don't meet, and below us is RC property”.

Apart from legalisation, the second most frequently cited problem concerns the infrastructural problem of some locations not being connected to the sewerage system. The following quote sums up both problems:

“(…) We don't have legalisation. This is the biggest issue. In the settlement, we have around 30 Roma who are legalised, and the others aren't. And as far as the Roma settlement's concerned, the biggest problem, I'm saying about it, is sewerage. Because smells spread everywhere here. You know yourself what it means when someone lets, lets the sewer and the septic tank to spill out on to the road, it makes you speechless.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

The third most frequently mentioned infrastructural problem concerns road infrastructure: unpaved roads, lack of roads, lack of pavements, lack of public lighting along the roads.

“I see that the municipality is becoming more involved, and more asphalt and lighting needs to be introduced. All our lives we’ve lived without lighting and cars, we don’t have a community centre to socialise in and learn about life.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

“So, we have some roads unpaved, problems with the sewer system which are planned to be resolved through (town name omitted). The water system and electricity work, but legalisation hasn’t been carried through, so some people have water and electricity and some don’t.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM BROD-POSAVINA COUNTY)

“Well, asphalt mostly. Look, near the settlement itself, above the settlement over there, we have a gravel pit where trucks drive every day, at least a hundred trucks pass through the settlement and a huge amount of dust rises up since it’s not a paved road but gravel, covered in holes. And this creates great dust, where the Roma cannot sit outside, women can’t hang out their washing because it’s a big dust, a cloud of dust rising. That’s the biggest problem. And the sewer itself, yes.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM KOPRIVNICA-KRIŽEVCI COUNTY)

The following problem cited by representatives of the Roma national minority is the impossibility of building new objects in the settlements. In some cases the existing objects have been entered into the town and municipality zoning plans, however, the higher-level planning did not envisage space for further construction within the land zoned for building near Roma settlements. In some spatial plans, there are plots in building zones in the vicinity of Roma settlements, however, property legal matters for these plots haven’t been resolved either in relation to private owners, the municipality/town or the state, or state companies that appear to hold the rights over the land.

“They made it possible for us, that was our former and current mayor, they paid for legalisation of 109 objects. Now this paperwork will be resolved till the end of the year, and as they promised, that they will have, that every house will be connected to the city water, the city sewer, and all the settlement will be asphalted, it will be put into order. But, naturally, step by step, because it’s only now, after the settlement has existed for 70 years, that the legalisation problem was solved, the city water, sewer and asphaltting. And most important, every year there is more and more children, and less and less space, so while this will now be settled, we’ll work on getting a building land so that we can build more, because there is no room. We are all pressed for space.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM KOPRIVNICA-KRIŽEVCI COUNTY)

“We have problems concerning the young who don’t have a plot inside this settlement. They included us in this limitation and penned us in. They didn’t give us an expansion because they insisted that it says in the plan itself that integration must be done. I was very satisfied with this and accepted integration, providing the municipality cooperates with us representatives and the Roma to arrange to

hand us for free two old plots in the Municipality (name of municipality omitted), over which the municipality has authority. Because every municipality has at its disposal some real estate that it owns. It is abandoned, the owners never returned, and ultimately they are old and dilapidated so they needed to be cleaned so that the neighbours wouldn't get injured. These plots have remained empty and they should be awarded to the Roma for better integration, because this was included in our plan, that is, legalisation. But we still haven't seen this, but the Roma kind of manage on their own. We already have four families here who settled within the village in the municipality (name of municipality omitted), who somehow bought some old objects they are adapting out of their social benefits, in instalments, and they'll have problems adapting them as long as they live as the objects aren't new. And something should be done on this issue to help these people who want to integrate but have no room within the village, to give them a leg up. It would be very good.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM MEDIMURJE COUNTY)

Although some of the cited obstacles truly are problems that hamper or prevent the legalisation of objects in Roma settlements (such as unresolved property legal matters, where owners of the land are unknown, or the settlement being built on a water abstraction site or an industrial, rather than residential building zone), representatives of the relevant institutions more often cite problems with non-payment for the land and the utility contributions as the final action needed to complete the process of legalisation that would allow the inhabitants of the settlement to connect to the water, electricity, sewer and other networks (see Table 6g). A new problem emerges here as, even when the legalisation processes are completed, the majority of Roma households in settlements cannot afford the expenditures for acquiring connections. Hence, regardless of the existence of the infrastructure extended into the settlement, many still do not have legal water, electricity, sewerage and connect illegally, which in some cases creates a potential security problem in the settlement:

“Water is missing. We a lot of us don't have electricity. 50 households have electricity. 50 have, you know, cords connecting to these 50 that are connected. A spark could cause a fire, an accident, a house could be set on fire, burn down. We have a water supply network, but noone is connected to the water supply network. But we don't get the option to get financial support, at least fifty-fifty. Or to be able to pay in instalments. 50% of houses don't have electricity because they couldn't connect in 2000 because they had no money. Because when it came it came suddenly, it was a boom in the settlement, electricity coming after all these years. For 17 years when they were giving it they were giving it to everyone who could have money, but not everybody did have money and didn't have the possibility, and so they were left without an electricity connection. They abandoned that and no longer gave the opportunity to connect, and whoever managed to acquire that money, not a single person gave until today. I asked the previous prefect, he said we weren't legalised and so we couldn't get it. So I asked him how he could give it to others, the other people from the settlement, in 2000. Well, then they waffled something about how it could be done then, and now it can't be any longer.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM MEDIMURJE COUNTY)

As many as five representatives of the Roma national minority claim that the spatial planning has been completed and there were no problems.

Other spatial planning problems mentioned by representatives of the Roma national minority are: blocked drainage canals, settlements in disorder, inexistence of a community centre, settlement built in a water abstraction zone, wild landfills, no subventions for housing inside the village so the Roma can be integrated, “when it rains all is covered in water, great mud, children can’t go to school”, city gas supply is missing, utilities can’t be paid, there’s no electricity, few have a yard, lots of damp, dogs and so on. All these problems, although mentioned less often in conversations with Roma national minority representatives, can be considered widespread.

The presented answers show the difference of perspective between Roma national minority representatives and representatives of relevant institutions. Due to their evident material deprivation and poverty, the Roma cannot afford to pay for the land and utility contributions as a precondition for completing the legalisation, and later to pay for water and electricity connections and the monthly bills for utility infrastructure, which is why their living and housing conditions remain poor. On the other hand, representatives of the relevant institutions have expressed willingness to improve the quality of life in the Roma settlements and bringing them up to the same (municipal) status like the majority settlements, but have encountered obstacles they often link to carelessness, negligence, and much less to the socioeconomic conditions of the Roma population.

MAIN PROBLEMS IN THE FIELD OF HOUSING

In addition to the main problems in the field of spatial planning, presented here is an analysis of key stakeholders’ opinions regarding the Roma national minority’s main problems in the field of housing.

Pointing out the main problems related to housing, both the representatives of the relevant institutions and the Roma stress that the Roma population’s housing situation is largely determined by the dimension of class:

“There are homes where some don’t have, say, a bathroom, flushing toilet, that’s something some still don’t have. There is a great difference from family to family. It all depends, of course, on their financial status.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM BJELOVAR-BILOGORA COUNTY)

“This pretty, big house, he’s the boss. (...) These others, they are in cabins, some objects, just that much, that there is a stove, something, so it can be warmed up.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM KOPRIVNICA-KRIŽEVCI COUNTY)

The poorer Roma households have many problems – small dwellings, inadequate heating, no indoor bathrooms and flushing toilets, inexistent connections to electricity and water.

“They don’t have electricity, water, some can only dream about that. As far as electricity is concerned, they connect to a richer neighbour who charges him this electricity he gets with interests. They can get water, somehow, through pumps, but inside that little house of theirs there’s no indoor plumbing, then the sanitary conditions, you can picture what they’re like.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM VARAŽDIN COUNTY)

Multiple interviewees cite problems with small living spaces, with many-membered families sharing one or two rooms:

“These are big families living in very small living spaces, in houses whose square metreage is small, and so they don’t even have the conditions for studying at home. There’s often around ten per room. There is a family where 10 live in 40 square metres.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM BJELOVAR-BILOGORA COUNTY)

The problem reiterated by representatives of the relevant institutions and the Roma national minority is the inexistence of flushing toilets and bathrooms within households:

“They rarely have a bathroom, flushing toilet. It’s a big expense, to install a bathroom.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM MEDIMURJE COUNTY)

Unlike the representatives of the relevant institutions, the representatives of the Roma national minority recognise a key problem in the residential capacity failing to increase in line with the increasing number of inhabitants:

“The biggest problem is that people are getting more and more separated, there are three, not two from one family, and there is no residential space.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM OSJEK-BARANJA COUNTY).

“The house is too small. It’s not enough to live in because we have a lot of children.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM MEDIMURJE COUNTY)

4-5-5

Conclusions and discussion

Representatives of the relevant institutions and the Roma national minority have most often cited illegal construction and/or problems legalising the existing objects as the main spatial planning problems, which make it impossible to improve housing conditions like introducing utilities infrastructure into households; problems concerning expansion of settlements, that is, lack of building land, which is partly tied to the issue of land ownership.

The National Strategy has recognised the problems concerning spatial planning and property rights matters, as well as problems concerning illegal construction. Therefore, the specific Objective 1 concerning spatial planning is “to ensure physical planning docu-

mentation for Roma settlements in order to create the conditions to improve the Roma population's housing,"²²⁹ while the specific Objective 2 is to "regulate and equip and also improve the quality of housing in legalized Roma settlements."²³⁰

Tied to this, the specific Objective 3 of the NRIS in this area states that it is necessary "to resolve property rights issues in Roma settlements,"²³¹ pursuant to the Act on Proceeding with Illegally Constructed Buildings,²³² which should involve institutions at both the national and local levels. Research data show that the issue of existing illegally built objects has been partly resolved – a total of 45% of households has been legalised or did not need to enter the legalisation process, while 28.6% of households was undergoing legalisation at the time of the research. 14.2% of households never entered the legalisation process although the object had not been legalised or the legalisation request was rejected. Among those households that did not enter the process, the reasons cited were financial, that is, inability to cover the costs of the process, and not knowing the procedure and its complexity.

In terms of access to utility infrastructure, that is, whether a certain type of infrastructure had been extended as far as the location inhabited by the Roma, the indicators concerning access to the gas network were worst. In 74 locations, the Roma do not have access to a gas main. Non-existing sewer system is a problem in 55 locations, and no access to water mains in 13. The electricity network is the most extensive, so only one location without access to electricity was recorded. In addition, according to research results, 11.2% of households have no electricity, 43.3% have no water supply access, and as many as 73.3% of Roma households have no sewer connection. The specific Objective 2 in the area of housing, which is "to secure housing under suitable conditions,"²³³ recognises the need to co-finance "Infrastructure projects for Roma settlements (...) in cooperation with and pursuant to requests from local and regional governments which are responsible for these projects, and programmes, activities and measures will be carried out to improve the environmental and housing conditions in sites inhabited by the Roma, particularly with reference to better access to utility services."²³⁴ The Republic of Croatia has at its disposal financial instruments to efficiently resolve the issue of connecting certain locations inhabited by the Roma to utility infrastructure. However, it is necessary to design models that would allow these utility services to be introduced into the households themselves, considering that precisely those segments of the Roma population living in households without any conditions necessary for a dignified life are those who are materially most deprived.

229 The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arihiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

230 Ibid.

231 Ibid.

232 The Act on Proceeding with Illegally Constructed Buildings (Official Gazette, 86/12, 143/13, 65/17)

233 The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arihiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

234 Ibid.

Other key indicators in the field of housing show that as many as 49.9% of households have no bathrooms with a shower or bath in their house/flat, 53.9% have no flushing toilet in the house or flat, while 1,550 Roma households have no kitchen in the house. Low level of equipment with single-purpose rooms such as bathroom or toilet prevents adequate sanitary conditions and can negatively affect health, but also the overall well-being of members of the Roma community. When canvassers' estimate during research, according to which 28.2% of households where the research was conducted were judged to be in poor condition or derelict, and 4% shacks (wooden huts or shanties), is added to this, it is clear that there must be an investment in the objects in question or housing programmes secured in order to improve the housing standard of the Roma population.

Furthermore, a quarter of households where the study was conducted were in so-called dispersed locations, that is, those locations where the Roma population is spatially integrated with the majority population in the town or village, while the remaining three quarters live in so-called concentrated locations. If it is taken into account that the study has shown that housing conditions, that is, use of certain utility/infrastructure services in the households and equipment with single-purpose rooms, are linked with type of location, with the Roma settlements that are removed from a town or village, in a separate location, having worse indicators than other types of locations, especially so-called dispersed locations, it needs to be considered how to approach the problem of the spatial segregation of part of the Roma population of Croatia. The specific National Strategy Objective 1 in the field of housing is "to improve the residential integration of Roma into communities."²³⁵ Designing additional desegregation measures should involve all the relevant institutional actors and representatives of the Roma national minority, and include all the wishes and demands of the population inhabiting the separate Roma settlements.

The specific objectives in the area of environmental protection are "to improve the environment in Roma settlements" and "to raise the level of the Roma minority's knowledge of environmental protection and the methods for its implementation."²³⁶ Data obtained in pre-research show that of the 128 locations, 47 have a problem with rubbish in the streets, around houses and in yards, 43 with polluted air and 34 with polluted water, while large waste was highlighted as a problem in 33 locations. These data should serve as the basis for designing concrete measures targeted at those settlements/locations inhabited by the Roma where certain specific problems were detected so as to resolve these problems.

The majority of Roma national minority representatives involved in the qualitative research have recognised precisely the field of spatial planning and housing as a priority issue to be resolved to achieve a higher level of inclusion of the Roma national minority

²³⁵ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

²³⁶ Ibid.

in Croatia and realisation of its rights. Moreover, participants in the qualitative research have cited poor housing conditions as an obstacle to Roma population members' success in other spheres of life, with special reference to Roma children's difficulties in the education system such as inadequate space for studying, which affect children's educational attainment. On the other hand, material deprivation and poor economic indicators concerning the Roma population do not allow many families to independently resolve their housing problem or to improve their housing conditions. Therefore, increased interventions by the relevant institutions, on both the local and county, as well as national level, are necessary to effectively resolve these problems.

Inclusion in social and cultural life

The general goal of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy in the field of inclusion in social and cultural life is “to empower members of the Roma national community to participate in social, cultural and public life in order to bridge the gap between the Roma and the rest of the population.”²³⁷

As cited in the National Roma Inclusion Strategy 2013-2020, “Roma customs are characterized by peculiarities but, since the Roma are not a homogenous group, their customs are not entirely uniform within the Roma community.” According to the 2011 Census, the majority of the Roma in Croatia are Catholics (8,299), followed by Muslims (5,039) and Orthodox Christians (2,389), while others belong to other religious groups, agnostics, atheists, sceptics, or do not declare an affiliation.²³⁸ Furthermore, the NRIS lists four main Roma tribes – Kalderash, Machavaya, Lovari and Churari – and states that the oldest Roma groups in the territory of the Republic of Croatia are the Lovari, Boyash, Chergar, Kaloper, and Khanjari (and others), and that “the majority population does not sufficiently recognize the values and specific Roma culture and identity, but this also applies to the Roma population itself. The Roma language actually consists of seven individual languages and numerous dialects. There is no literary tradition for the Roma language, nor a written history. The various languages spoken by the Roma and the largely oral literature indicates the need for standardization of the language and script, their consistent use in books, the media, the press and everyday communication, particularly in schools, and the need to develop publishing activities.”²³⁹

The Constitutional Act on the Rights of National Minorities in the Republic of Croatia states that “national minorities shall have the right to representation in the Croatian Parliament,”²⁴⁰ noting that “National minorities with a share of less than 1.5% in the total population of the Republic of Croatia shall have the right to elect at least four MPs from among the members of national minorities in accordance with the law regulating the

²³⁷ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

²³⁸ Croatian Bureau of Statistics, *Population by Ethnicity and Religion, 2011 Census*, https://www.dzs.hr/Eng/censuses/census2011/results/htm/eo1_01_12/Eo1_01_12.html (accessed June 2018)

²³⁹ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012, p. 95.

²⁴⁰ Constitutional Act on the Rights of National Minorities in the Republic of Croatia (Official Gazette, 155/02), article 19, paragraph 1.

election of MPs.”²⁴¹

The political participation of the representatives of the Roma national minority at the local and county levels takes place through Roma national minority councils and representatives. The Constitutional Act on the Rights of National Minorities states that “for promotion, preservation and protection of the position of national minorities in the society, the members of national minorities can elect, in the manner and under the conditions defined in this Constitutional Act, their minority self-governments or minority representatives in the self-government units.”²⁴² Pursuant to the Constitutional Act, those national minorities who make up at least 1.5% of the total population, have a right to elect their councils in local self-government units where the number of members of a minority exceeds 200 and in regional self-government units where more than 500 members of a certain national minority live.²⁴³ In addition, the Constitutional Act also stipulates that in the territories of those self-government units where these conditions have not been met, but where more than 100 members of a national minority live, a national minority representative can be elected.²⁴⁴

The Government Office for Human Rights and Rights of National Minorities has implemented the IPA 2012 project, “Support to the Councils of National Minorities at the local level”. The project aimed to secure the conditions for national minority councils’ active participation in carrying out the monitoring of the Constitutional Act on the Rights of National Minorities and developing their own local communities in the Republic of Croatia.²⁴⁵ As part of the project activities, a GAP analysis was carried out of the capacities and needs of national minority councils and representatives for monitoring the implementation of the Constitutional Act on the Rights of National Minorities. The study that was conducted has shown that “to achieve better outcomes, the national minority councils and representatives themselves must turn more to a fuller understanding and implementation of the relevant provisions related to their everyday work. This implies regular delivery of statutes, financial plans and financial statements to the relevant bodies of the local self-government units, as well as systematic development of the need to better understand the institution of the Council among members of national minorities and the less active council members. Furthermore, it is necessary to enhance the communication between the councils and national minority representatives, stimulate cooperation through national minority coordinations, and consistently and continuously work on increasing the activities and interest of members of national minorities in realising their rights.”²⁴⁶

²⁴¹ Constitutional Act on the Rights of National Minorities in the Republic of Croatia (Official Gazette, 155/02), article 19, paragraph 4.

²⁴² Constitutional Act on the Rights of National Minorities in the Republic of Croatia (Official Gazette, 155/02), article 23.

²⁴³ Constitutional Act on the Rights of National Minorities in the Republic of Croatia (Official Gazette, 155/02).

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Information on the project available at (Croatian only): <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/vijesti/predstavljen-projekt-potpore-vjecima-nacionalnih-manjina-na-lokalnoj-razini/652> (accessed June 2018)

²⁴⁶ Predrag Bejaković, review: Nenad Karajić, Lidija Japec and Mirna Krivokuća: Rezultati gap analize [Results of the GAP analysis], *Revija za socijalnu politiku [Social Policy Review]*, y. 25, no. 1, pp. 107-122, Zagreb 2018.

According to the results of this research,

“There are 29 Roma national minority councils (only Serbs (133) and Bosniaks (34) have formed more councils) and 9 individual representatives. There are no women in the councils studied and among the Roma national minority representatives. The greatest share of younger age-group interviewees was found precisely in councils and among representatives of the Roma national minority (up to 30 – 16%), but they are also the group within which there is the greatest share of people with low qualifications (47%).”²⁴⁷

The same study has established that among the councils and representatives, the least informed are those of the Roma national minority, which also comply least with the duties relating to submitting working plans and programmes, as well as financial plans and statements to local and regional self-government units. In addition, the study has established that Roma national minority councils are least informed on the current minority situation and have the lowest capacity to perform the advisory role intended for them by the Constitutional Act on the Rights of National Minorities.²⁴⁸ However, the authors of the study note that “it is important to stress that Roma representatives in the councils believe that the social environment makes it difficult for them to implement the provisions of the Constitutional Act on the Rights of National Minorities, as they are the minority that is least accepted by local administrations and self-governments.”²⁴⁹

In the following chapter, the research results pertaining to Roma culture and identity (values and norms of the Roma population, constituents of Roma identity), participation in the work of associations, political participation (voting in elections, participating in the work of representative bodies, consultations with RNM representatives) and media reporting on the Roma. Afterwards there follows an account of key stakeholders’ opinions, obtained through semi-structured interviews and focus groups, as regards the relationships between the Roma and majority populations, about social and cultural life as well as political life in their municipalities, towns and counties.

4.6.1

Roma culture and identity

In order to detect the values of the Roma population, in the survey questionnaire the interviewees were given various values to choose from, and they chose family, health and hygiene as the most important. All the twelve values offered received high average marks.²⁵⁰ The value of privacy also had a very high average, with 92.7% of Roma under-

²⁴⁷ Data source: Government Office for Human Rights and Rights of National Minorities – unpublished data from the GAP analysis study of the capacities and needs of national minority councils and representatives for monitoring the implementation of the Constitutional Act on the Rights of National Minorities

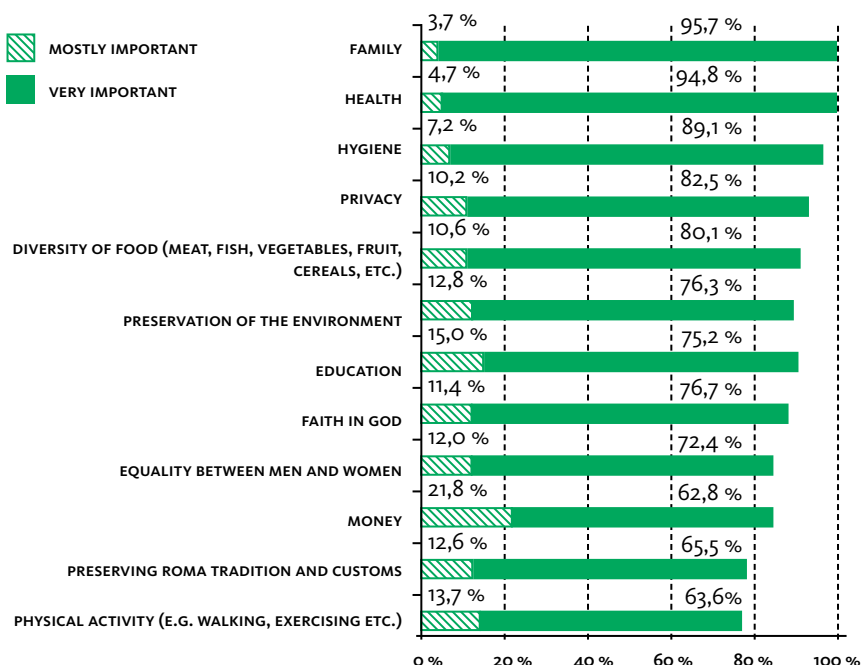
²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ The marks ranged from 1 – not important at all, to 5 – it is very important to me. Average marks therefore ranged from 1 to 5, with the lowest average (4.23) awarded to the value of “physical activity (e.g. walking, exercising and similar)”.

lining it as mostly or very important. Considering values by sex, a difference was only found on the values of “equality between men and women”, which women marked as more important than men, and “physical activity (e.g. walking, exercising and similar)”, which was somewhat more important to men than to women. Statistically significant differences in the average importance of individual values concerning age group were found for the value of “education”, which was least important to those over 66 and most to those between 31 and 65, and the value of “faith in God”, which is least important to young people aged 16-30, and most important to those older than 66.

CHART 41. VALUES OF THE ROMA POPULATION²⁵¹



Speaking about the Roma population's norms, that is, acceptable behaviour, the interviewed Roma were presented with various situations in the survey, for each of which they stated how acceptable they found it. Among the situations presented, the Roma found most acceptable the one where young people enrol in universities (88.6%), followed by a woman earning money (77.0%). Third in line was the situation of a divorce due to the husband's physical violence against the woman (74.7%), immediately followed by the norm on divorce due to the woman's violence against the man (70.7%). The situations the majority of the Roma judged to be unacceptable are children begging, with the se-

²⁵¹ The importance of each individual value was estimated by an average of 773.6 interviewees (between 749 and 782), and the image only shows the percentages of the answers for the value 4 – it's mostly important to me and 5 – it's very important to me. The variables (values) were sorted by average importance, starting with the one with the highest frequency.

cond and third least acceptable situations for members of the Roma national minority being a citizen offering bribe on the one hand, and an official accepting the bribe. Using government's reliefs and benefits when one is not entitled to is the fourth least acceptable situation for the Roma.

TABLE 70. NORMS OF THE ROMA POPULATION

HOW ACCEPTABLE DO YOU FIND THIS?*	NOT ACCEPTABLE AT ALL	PARTLY ACCEPTABLE	ACCEPTABLE	TOTAL N
A WOMAN EARNING MONEY	9,5%	13,5%	77,0%	778
A DIVORCE DUE TO THE HUSBAND'S PHYSICAL VIOLENCE AGAINST THE WOMAN	17,0%	8,4%	74,7%	766
A DIVORCE DUE TO THE WOMAN'S VIOLENCE AGAINST THE MAN	20,8%	8,5%	70,7%	765
A DIVORCE BECAUSE THE WIFE CHEATED ON HER HUSBAND	22,6%	13,0%	64,4%	767
A DIVORCE BECAUSE THE HUSBAND CHEATED ON HIS WIFE	23,0%	13,3%	63,7%	768
THAT A WOMAN EARNS MORE MONEY THAN HER HUSBAND	23,7%	15,9%	60,5%	769
THAT A WOMAN WITH CHILDREN HAS A JOB	22,4%	17,5%	60,1%	767
THAT A COUPLE LIVE TOGETHER WITHOUT BEING MARRIED	22,6%	19,3%	58,2%	779
DIVORCE	45,7%	19,8%	34,6%	764
PRIMARY-SCHOOL-AGE BOY WORKING	67,0%	9,4%	23,6%	764
PRIMARY-SCHOOL-AGE GIRL WORKING	71,3%	8,5%	20,2%	767
PARENTS ARRANGING THEIR SON'S MARRIAGE	75,4%	7,6%	17,0%	772
PARENTS ARRANGING THEIR DAUGHTER'S MARRIAGE	77,3%	6,3%	16,3%	772
NOT PAYING TAXES	72,7%	11,4%	15,9%	747
USING GOVERNMENT RELIEFS AND BENEFITS THAT ONE IS NOT ENTITLED TO	83,0%	8,4%	8,6%	725
AN OFFICIAL ACCEPTING A BRIBE	90,0%	3,5%	6,5%	749
A CITIZEN GIVING A BRIBE	90,5%	3,7%	5,8%	754
CHILDREN BEGGING	97,3%	0,8%	1,9%	779

* THE VARIABLES ARE SORTED BY ACCEPTABILITY, STARTING WITH THE ONE WITH THE HIGHEST SHARE OF INTERVIEWEES WHO CONSIDER SUCH BEHAVIOUR ACCEPTABLE

Statistically significant links between sex and various social norms have been found in six situations. Thus, men find it more acceptable for parents to arrange their daughter's marriage, for a citizen to give and for an official to accept a bribe, while women find more acceptable those situations in which a woman earns more than a man, followed by a woman with children having a job and, finally, the situation of a divorce in case of a woman's physical violence against her husband.

Of the presented key components of Roma identity, the Roma highlighted as most important the language, with 84.4% of Roma finding it mostly or very important. A high average mark was also given to traditional Roma music, which 74.3% of Roma underlined

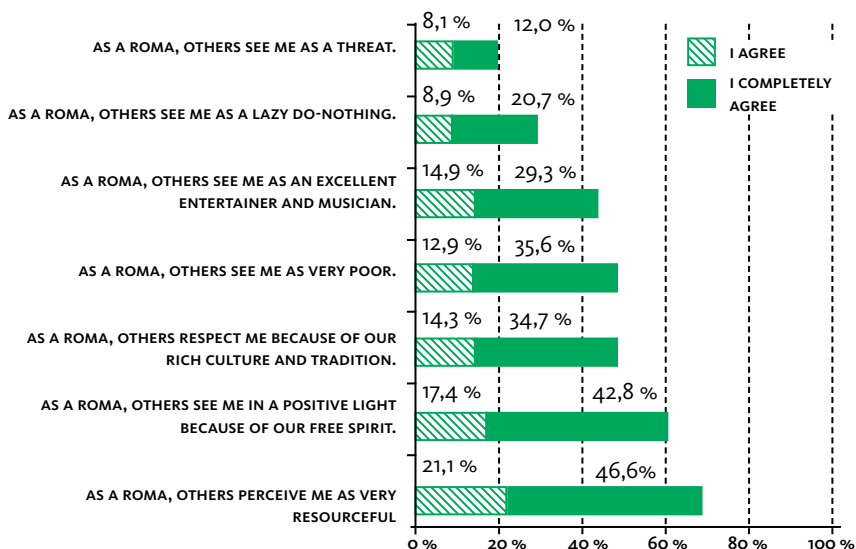
as mostly or very important. Of all the listed components of Roma identity, the lowest average marks went to old Roma trades, for which 26.4% of Roma said they completely or mostly do not matter to them. Statistically significant differences in the average importance of individual characteristics of the Roma way of life were established for four of the six constituents. Each of them – traditional Roma language, traditional Roma music, playing instruments and life in the Roma community (having Roma neighbours) – are more important to women than men. When it comes to age groups, statistically significant differences in the average importance of single components of Roma identity were established for four characteristics of the Roma way of life. Thus traditional Roma dances, traditional Roma music, playing instruments and old Roma trades were least important to young people aged 16 to 30, and most important to those aged more than 66.

TABLE 71. COMPONENTS OF ROMA IDENTITY

How important is it to you to preserve the following characteristics of the Roma way of life?	NOT IMPOR- TANT AT ALL	MOSTLY NOT IMPOR- TANT	NEI- THER IMPOR- TANT NOR UNI- MOR- POR- TANT	MOSTLY IMPOR- TANT	VERY IMPOR- TANT	TOTAL		AVERAGE
						%	N	
ROMA LANGUAGE	7,9%	2,3%	5,5%	15,5%	68,8%	100%	775	4,4
TRADITIONAL ROMA MUSIC	10,6%	6,2%	8,9%	15,7%	58,6%	100%	775	4,1
PLAYING INSTRUMENTS	13,0%	6,6%	10,0%	16,1%	54,3%	100%	770	3,9
TRADITIONAL ROMA DANCES	15,0%	7,0%	13,3%	16,3%	48,4%	100%	774	3,8
LIVING IN A ROMA COMMUNITY – HAVING ROMA AS NEIGHBOURS	17,2%	6,7%	15,1%	14,5%	46,5%	100%	774	3,7
OLD ROMA TRADES	18,4%	8,0%	15,1%	12,8%	45,6%	100%	748	3,6

* THE VARIABLES ARE SORTED BY AVERAGE IMPORTANCE, STARTING WITH THE ONE WITH THE HIGHEST AVERAGE

Interviewees' agreement with statements on how the majority people might see them owing to their being Roma was expressed on seven offered statements. On a scale of 1 to 5, the highest average mark went to the statement concerning Roma resourcefulness. Hence, 67,7% of interviewees stated that they agreed or completely agreed with the claim that as a Roma, others perceive them as very resourceful. 60.2% of the interviewed expressed agreement or full agreement with the statement that as Roma, they are seen in a positive light due to their free spirit. The lowest average mark was given to the statement that the Roma are seen as a threat. A statistically significant difference with respect to sex was found for two statements. Thus men are more likely than women to believe that others respect them because of the rich Roma culture and tradition, and that others perceive them as excellent entertainers and musicians.

CHART 42. PERCEPTION OF BELONGING TO ONE'S OWN GROUP²⁵²

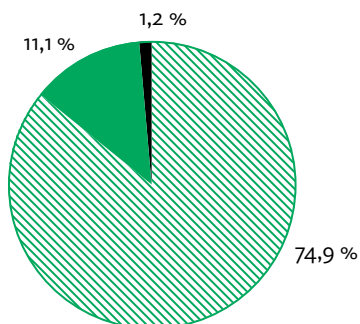
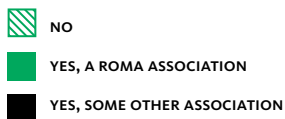
4.6.2

Involvement in the work of associations and political participation

To measure the interviewees' participation in the work of associations, all persons over 14 were asked whether they were members of an association, with multiple possible answers provided. Of 3,164 members of the Roma national minority for whom data were gathered, three quarters (74.9%) were not members of any association. A total of 352, or 11.1%, are members of a Roma association, while only 1.2% of Roma are members of other associations.

CHART 43. MEMBERSHIP IN ASSOCIATIONS

Are you a member of an association?



²⁵² The scale of agreement consisted of 5 marks (1 – I don't agree at all, 2 – I don't agree, 3 – I don't know / I am not sure, 4 – I agree and 5 – I fully agree). The image only shows categories 4 and 5, i.e. I agree and I agree fully, and the variables are sorted by the average level of agreement, starting with the one with the highest average. On average, each question offered was answered by 675.1 interviewees (638 to 705).

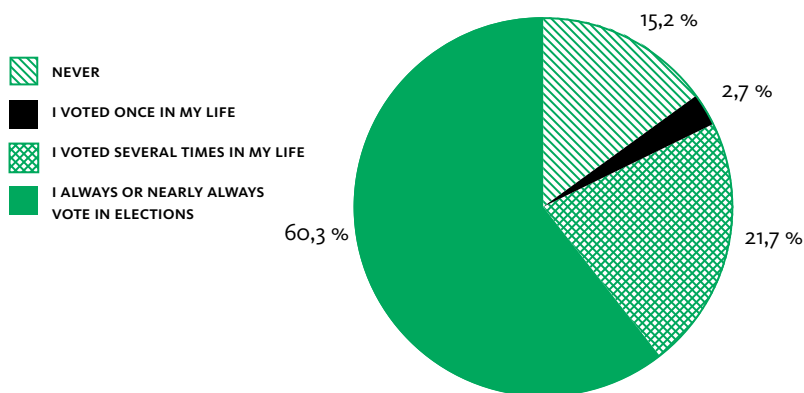
The 386 in total of those who were cited as members of a Roma or other association, 213 of whom are men and 173 women, were asked what the association does, again allowing for multiple answers. In the majority of cases, the activities in question concerned promoting Roma culture and folklore, followed by education. In a third of cases, the associations in question dealt with youth issues (35.5%), employment (33.4%), Roma integration (33.2%) and the issue of social welfare and social rights (31.9%).

TABLE 72. ACTIVITIES OF THE ASSOCIATION

What does the association do?	M	F	N	% OF 386
PROMOTION OF ROMA CULTURE AND FOLKLORE	46,5%	51,7%	188	48,7%
EDUCATION	45,1%	41,7%	167	43,3%
YOUTH	37,9%	33,7%	137	35,5%
EMPLOYMENT	36,4%	30,5%	129	33,4%
ROMA INTEGRATION	36,6%	29,9%	128	33,2%
WELFARE AND SOCIAL RIGHTS	35,2%	28,7%	123	31,9%
HUMANITARIAN WORK	32,4%	29,9%	119	30,8%
SPORT	36,2%	23,4%	116	30,1%
ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION	24,4%	20,1%	85	22,0%
HEALTHCARE AND HEALTH-RELATED RIGHTS	22,5%	20,7%	83	21,5%
HOUSING AND SPATIAL PLANNING	23,4%	19,5%	82	21,2%
WOMEN'S RIGHTS	19,2%	21,8%	78	20,2%

The share of Roma who vote in local, parliamentary and/or presidential elections is very high. 60.0% vote always or nearly always, a little more than a fifth (21.6%) have voted several times in their lives, while 2.7% voted only once. 118, or 15.2% of the 778 interviewed, never voted in elections, with a roughly equal proportion of men and women among those who never voted. Speaking about age groups, those aged 41-60 and over 60 are more active participating in elections than those aged 19-25 and 26-40.²⁵³

CHART 44. VOTING IN ELECTIONS



²⁵³ The analysis by age group excluded interviewees up to 18 years of age as they could not participate in any electoral process.

776 of the interviewed Roma answered the question “Have you personally ever been involved in the work of any task force, advisory or other body of the local self-government unit concerned with a Roma issue?”, of whom 704, or 90.7% stated that they never participated in such bodies. Only 8.8% said that they did participate in such bodies. When it comes to distribution by sex, a statistically significant difference was established, with men (12.9%) involved in the work of such bodies more than women (5.0%). When various age groups are taken into consideration, a significant difference between younger and older interviewees can be observed. Thus, those aged 41-60 and over 61 were more often involved in the work of any task force, advisory or other body of the local self-government unit concerned with a Roma issue than those aged 19-25 and/or those aged 26-40.²⁵⁴

TABLE 73 INVOLVEMENT IN TASK FORCE, ADVISORY OR OTHER BODY OF THE LOCAL OR REGIONAL SELF-GOVERNMENT UNIT

Have you personally ever been involved in the work of any task force, advisory or other body of the local self-government unit concerned with a Roma issue?	N	%
No	704	90,7%
Yes	68	8,8%
Refuses to answer	1	0,1%
Does not know	3	0,4%
TOTAL	776	100,0%

The question whether a Roma national minority representative ever sought their opinion on how to solve a concrete problem related to everyday life (e.g. regarding sewerage, preschool, kindergarten, Roma employment etc.) was answered in the affirmative by 20.1% of Roma. The majority, or 78.9%, stated that that was never the case. Here too it is worth stressing the statistically significant connection between sex and being asked by a Roma national minority representative for an opinion on solving a specific problem related to daily life, with men being asked for their opinions (25%) more often than women (15%).

TABLE 74. BEING CONSULTED BY A ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE

Has a Roma national minority representative ever sought your opinion on how to solve a concrete problem related to everyday life?	N	%
No	613	78,90%
Yes	156	20,10%
Refuses to answer	1	0,10%
Does not know	7	0,90%
TOTAL	777	100,0%

²⁵⁴ Interviewees up to 18 years of age have been excluded from this analysis by age as well.

When it comes to suggestions how to solve certain specific problems related to the everyday life of the Roma being acknowledged or implemented, more than half (56.2%) of the 153 who had previously said that they were asked for their opinion stated that their suggestion was taken into consideration, realised or practically implemented, with no difference by sex established. Men's and women's suggestions were taken into consideration in nearly equal measure. 59 (38.6%) of them stated that their suggestions were not taken into account, and 8 (5.2%) that they did not know whether their suggestions were practically implemented.

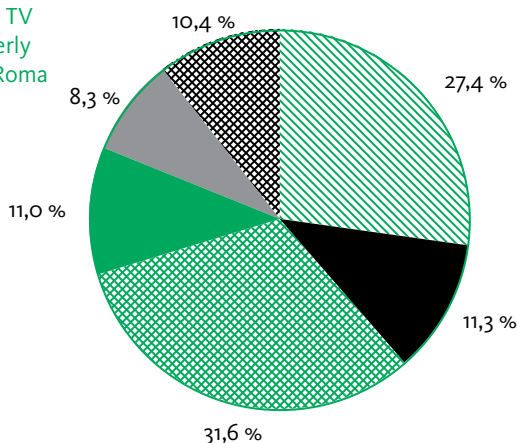
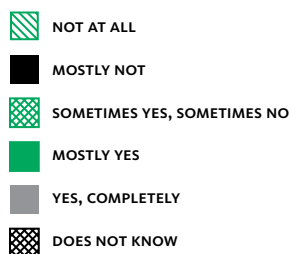
4.6.3

Perception of media reporting on the Roma

More than a quarter (27.4%) of the 781 members of the Roma national minority who answered the question on the objectiveness of media reporting on the Roma believe that the media do not describe the daily life of the Roma in Croatia at all well, with a further 11.3% believing that they mostly do not represent Roma daily life well. A total of 19.3% of the interviewed members of the Roma national minority claimed that the media do their work describing the Roma well, with men and women giving similar marks to the media.

CHART 45. DEPICTING THE ROMA IN THE MEDIA

In your personal opinion, do the media (e.g. newspaper articles, TV reports about Roma etc.) properly represent the everyday life of Roma in Croatia?



The interviewees highlighted (47.0%) topics in the sphere of culture, such as marking the World Roma Day, the Roma World War II genocide victims' remembrance day – the Samudaripen, other cultural events organised by Roma associations etc. as the subject matter most frequently used in the media to depict the Roma community. The second best-represented theme (46.2%) highlighted by the interviewees is media reporting on crime and accidents, where the Roma are depicted as perpetrators of misdemeanours and/or criminal offences. A quarter of the Roma cited internal political matters, such as the activities of the Roma Member of Parliament.

TABLE 75. MOST FREQUENT TOPICS IN MEDIA REPORTING ON ROMA

What are the topics the media talk about most often when members of the Roma national minority are shown?	N	%
TOPICS FROM CULTURE (E.G. MARKING THE WORLD ROMA DAY, THE ROMA WORLD WAR II GENOCIDE VICTIMS' REMEMBRANCE DAY – THE SAMUDARIPEN, OTHER CULTURAL EVENTS ORGANISED BY ROMA ASSOCIATIONS)	363	47,00%
CRIME AND ACCIDENT TOPICS – ROMA AS PERPETRATORS OF MISDEMEANOURS OR CRIMINAL OFFENCES	362	46,20%
TOPICS FROM INTERIOR POLITICS (ACTIONS OF THE ROMA MP)	189	24,50%
SOME OTHER TOPICS	66	8,60%
TOPICS IN SPORT – ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF ROMA ATHLETES	32	4,20%

4.6.4

Key stakeholders' opinions on the needs of the Roma population and obstacles to Roma inclusion in social and cultural life

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ROMA AND THE MAJORITY POPULATION

As an opening question in the semi-structured interviews and focus groups, key actors were asked what were the relations between the Roma and the majority populations in individual municipalities, towns and counties like. The realisation of rights and inclusion of the Roma in all segments of social, political and cultural life depend on the nature of the relationship between the Roma and the majority population, as integration is a two-way process. Presented hereafter are key stakeholders' opinions on the quality of the relationship between the Roma and the majority populations in their communities.

Representatives of the relevant institutions have differing opinions on the degree of integration of Roma communities in the RC. Their opinions reflect the varying degrees of integration of Roma communities. While some of the interviewees state that "there are no significant problems", a larger number cite problems between the Roma and the majority population.

TABLE 76. RELATIONS OF THE ROMA AND MAJORITY POPULATIONS – REPRESENTATIVES OF RELEVANT INSTITUTIONS

FREQUENT ANSWERS	NUMBER OF CODES
RELATIONS ARE POOR	44
GOOD, RELATIONS ARE MEDITOCRE	36
VERY GOOD RELATIONS	25
HIGH LEVEL OF INTEGRATION	19
THERE ARE NO RELATIONS	12
SATISFACTORY	10
INDIVIDUALLY, RELATIONS ARE GOOD	10

FREQUENT ANSWERS	NUMBER OF CODES
ANGER AND ENVY BECAUSE OF PERCEIVED PRIVILEGES ENJOYED BY ROMA IN THE SHAPE OF SOCIAL TRANSFERS	9
RELATIONS AMONG CHILDREN ARE BETTER THAN AMONG ADULTS	4
MUTUAL RESISTANCE, CULTURAL DIFFERENCES	3
TOLERANCE	2

The “poor relations” category comprises less than a third of responses. Prejudice, tendency towards disorderly conduct, occasional thieving, alcohol and drug abuse, noise, low standards of hygiene, threats of violence, fear, disrupting lessons in primary school, begging.

“So that, then you grasp for other ways of making a living, which is entering others’ property, gardens, petty thieving, (...) to stretch neighbours’ nerves, and then these verbal conflicts occur, sometimes louder, sometimes less loud, sometimes even the police have to intervene and so. But it’s enough to create an unease and a climate where the Roma population, because of one person doing such mischief, they all become guilty. (...) It’s seen globally, which isn’t fine. You need to see people individually – if someone did something, sanction him individually.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM KOPRIVNICA-KRIŽEVCI COUNTY)

The related category, “anger and envy because of perceived Roma privileges in the shape of social transfers” is best described by the following quotation, which sums up the opinions of those interviewed about the perception of the Roma as a population abusing the social welfare system as detrimental to the relationship between the Roma and the majority population, especially among the socially at-risk categories within the majority population.

“We have here our own people’s families where the parents are also unemployed, it’s hard to go on like this. So there’s already these scraps, “How much do you get from the centre, you procreate and give birth just for the cash, it’s much more difficult for us and so.” We can see unfortunately that these things, in this general crisis in the society, that these things reflect even more negatively on the Roma community.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM VARAŽDIN COUNTY)

“People are sometimes a bit angry that the Roma can always participate in public works, while non-Roma must have that kind of annual, or biannual, break to be allowed to do it again.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

The category of “mutual resistance, cultural differences” contains statements establishing that resistance towards integration comes from both sides, and is based on cultural differences.

“Well, the relations are still much better than they were when I started working with the Roma, but there is still resistance both from the Roma settlement towards the rest of the population and from the rest of the

population towards the Roma settlement, because culturally they are quite different.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM MEĐIMURJE COUNTY)

The second category by frequency of statements speaks about “good, mediocre relations”. This category is dominated by examples of Roma who have lived in towns/villages for a longer period of time and examples of cooperation with Roma associations.

“Well, middling, neither good nor bad, you’ll find a situation when you enter a café where the Roma and the Croats drink coffee together, you’ll find two Roma sitting on their own, so it’s not totally antagonistic, but there are those who don’t socialise at all. Those who come to the village, they have coexistence and live normally with the Croats, they perfectly normally work together and hang out together.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM MEĐIMURJE COUNTY)

“(…) we have great cooperation with the RNM Council itself, feedback is in our favour. Relations could always be better – we won’t say that they are what we’d like them to be in every situation, but we’re trying to make them so. We are trying to improve them with concrete actions. Many things we do, we don’t do anything without contacting them first, without working together.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

The third most frequent category are “very good relations”. This category mostly concerns Roma communities which have lived for three to four generations in a certain area, usually outside Roma settlements.

“I think that the relationship and communication between the Roma and non-Roma populations are very good. Sometimes maybe this difference was more visible, now they are simply part of our community and, say, in classrooms where I myself used to work as a teacher, a Roma child would never isolate itself and hang out less with children who are not Roma. I think they really melded with the community, and there’s truly nothing on which either the adults or the children single out Roma children. They are part of us. (...) They are really part of this community and there are no problems at all.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM KOPRIVNICA-KRIŽEVCI COUNTY)

“Considering that the Roma have lived with us already, we have practically an indigenous Roma community, the third, fourth generation born here so that (...) I think that communication and relationship is good and they’re accepted as equal (...) It can always be better, but I’m sure that it’s better than in cities without a Roma population, so they encounter the Roma in a way that is much harsher, or much more prejudice-filled than we do, having practically lived here with them for hundreds of years.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

The fourth category by number of statements is the “high level of integration”, describing Roma inclusion in the life of the town/village in terms of economy, culture and sports. This mostly refers to those Roma who have lived in a certain area for generations.

“I think that nowhere in Croatia is coexistence even near to what it's like in (name of village omitted), because they have simply been integrated for generations, integrated into all pores of society, from sports, culture, to the economy. Coexistence has been for a longer period, both Roma and non-Roma living together, so that there has really been a great integration.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

The fifth category, “no relations”, means that social distance is so great that there is practically no contact between the Roma communities and the remaining population.

“I mean, they're more to themselves. They're one. One for all and all for one, while we don't always work that way. (...) They're of a same mind. (...) They're alone there. There are no contacts.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

“There is social distance. Of course there is social distance between the ones and the others. Grown-ups don't socialize, of course there's that part of the story; they only live off social benefits and don't contribute as active members of society, but are only a burden. Sometimes an offence will happen, thefts or something, which adds to the strengthening of the social distance. (...) These certain incidents contribute to the creation of a negative image of the Roma as people given to theft, and then in this way this social distance, it is sustained.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM VARAŽDIN COUNTY)

The “satisfactory relations” category contains descriptions of the relations containing no exceptional discrimination or excesses, but likewise little contact between the Roma communities and the majority population.

“It's satisfactory, no great problems, just individuals at the edge or on the other side of the law, all else is satisfactory. No great tensions or problems. (...) they got some infrastructures in their settlement, got educated, maybe go to school more.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM MEĐIMURJE COUNTY)

The “individually good relations” category contains statements differentiating between various behaviours on the part of individuals within Roma communities. They are characterised by emphasis on not everybody being the same, that individuals are diligent and industrious, while people whose behaviour is risky or excessive do not characterise the entire population.

“Individually speaking, relations are good, with certain Roma, there are a couple of Roma who moved out of their settlement and are trying to form good relations with the neighbours here, which is possible if they respect certain rules, because if they throw parties, noise, din, and the neighbours can't sleep, then the relations won't be good; if the children are tidy and go to school regularly, if they do the usual stuff that others do, then the relations will naturally be good. They are a sensitive group, they're more for these, like, negative phenomena, say, drugs easily enter the village through these certain channels, and the remaining

population thus automatically doesn't accept them. But there are positive examples: here, this Roma assistant of ours, (...) works on his garden surrounding his house and he has no issues, see how good he is, when you work you'll have some... There are no great open conflicts, people just move over and there are no open conflicts." (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM MEĐIMURJE COUNTY)

The "relations among children are better than among adults" category also contains claims on the deterioration of relations during growing up.

"I think relations are better among children than among adults."

(REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

The category of "tolerance" speaks about mutual tolerance.

"They don't differ in rights and responsibilities from the majority population, they have no privileges, nor are their rights threatened or denied. There's no discrimination or exclusion. Full equality of all citizens at the local levels is pronounced and an atmosphere of tolerance and dialogue reigns. (...) We are tolerant of difference." (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

TABLE 77. RELATIONS OF THE ROMA AND MAJORITY POPULATIONS – REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY

FREQUENT ANSWERS	NUMBER OF CODES
POOR RELATIONS, DISCRIMINATION	8
HIGH LEVEL OF INTEGRATION	6
FEELING OF BEING SEGREGATED, BIG SOCIAL DISTANCE	3
HATRED, CONTEMPT, HATE SPEECH	1

The first category, with most codes, are poor relations, often accompanied by examples of discrimination. They describe prejudice against the Roma, their way of life and culture. Related to this are the third and fourth categories by frequency, which depict segregation and large social distance, as well as hatred, contempt and hate speech.

"We could socialise more, we should socialise more. When a Roma and a non-Roma first meet, there is no contact. But some, when they see us and meet us, they change their opinion. If they hear from another non-Roma that we are discriminated, they ask 'why do you think this about them, you don't know how they live'. We heard this from our dad's friend. Some think: 'Gypsy, he's the same'. If I had my way, I'd invite them to come and see how we live, that we're not all the same, to observe us a little. Let them come and see." (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM VARAŽDIN COUNTY)

The second category by frequency of responses, "high level of integration", speaks of the successful experiences of Roma integration with the majority population.

“Well, I’d say it’s excellent, because here the Roma are extremely well accepted in (location name omitted) and nobody looks at them because they’re Roma, but everybody looks at everybody as an Ivan, as a Radovan, as (...) I think that here the remaining people, that here they accepted the Roma very well, because the Roma here are indigenous. That’s what it’s about. They’re native here, and they have blended in to the system of life and they live here as if they weren’t Roma.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM BJELOVAR-BILOGORA COUNTY)

“My uncle is also with a Croat woman, they already have two children, they live normally. There’s one, he’s a policeman, he now lives in Germany. There’s also one who lives with a Roma woman of ours, he’s a mason, he helps out.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM VARAŽDIN COUNTY)

Categories defined when coding Roma representatives’ statements are different from the categories defined when coding the statements of the representatives of the relevant institutions. It is clear that both their experience and impression of the relations between the Roma communities and the majority population are different. Roma representatives have significantly more extreme opinions of the relations. Either they are at the level of a high degree of integration, or they are poor, discriminatory, with a large social distance leading towards segregation. The statements of the representatives of the relevant institutions are more nuanced and depend on their experiences of professional work with the Roma communities, and show a greater range of assessments of the relations between the Roma and the majority population.

DESCRIPTION OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Using semi-structured interviews and focus groups, key stakeholders’ opinions were collected concerning social and cultural life, that is, descriptions of the social and cultural life of the Roma in their communities.

TABLE 78. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE – REPRESENTATIVES OF RELEVANT INSTITUTIONS

FREQUENT ANSWERS	NUMBER OF CODES
LACK OF INTEREST AND ORGANISATION	12
FOLKLORE	7
CHILDREN PARTICIPATE THROUGH SCHOOLS (PERFORMANCES, EXHIBITIONS, COMPETITIONS, SPORTS)	6
GHETTOISATION	4
GASTRONOMY	4
MUSIC	3
EVERYTHING IS WONDERFUL AND BEAUTIFUL	2
LANGUAGE PROBLEMS	1
FOOTBALL	1

In most answers, representatives of the relevant institutions believe that the Roma are uninterested in social and cultural life, and that cultural and social activities are confined to the Roma communities:

“They have neither the interest nor desire to participate in it. Their cultural life is next to inexistent, and what we’re trying to do is to involve their children in certain events, that’s what we can do. (...) Their social life is their own events and concerts and such stuff.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM KOPRIVNICA-KRIŽEVCI COUNTY)

“... that there’s something special, they don’t organise anything, have no associations and so, but now that they are involved in some kind of social and cultural life here in our area – except normally in schools and through schools, outside of school I think they are not.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM ZAGREB COUNTY)

“Their social and cultural life exclusively within their own community. Within the existing and within their communities.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM PRIMORJE-GORSKI KOTAR COUNTY)

Some of the representatives of the relevant institutions recognise the work of Roma associations, culture and arts societies, and state that they participate in marking the most important Roma holiday – the World Roma Day:

“I think that they are turned towards each other. Their social and cultural life are... They’re not that outwardly oriented, but more within their settlement, within their community. There are three serious associations dealing with Roma issues, which are concerned with be it Roma culture, be it Roma rights. There are a number of associations. They’re more associations for associations’ sake, to realise certain financial benefits. These three associations definitely participate along with the city in marking the World Roma Day. We try to have that day not be celebrated in the settlement, but to get out of the settlement, to celebrate it in the centre of town. It has worked for years, so there. There are two, three folklore groups in the Roma community.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

“They have a couple of these occasions of theirs – Gypsy ball, fišijade [fish stew fairs], their events, they also take part when we have national minority folklore festivals. They used to more, but now it’s getting less, we had a couple of associations that mostly shut down when the rules became more stringent. Before there used to be exhibitions and events like that, but there is less and less of all that now.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

“Likewise, concerning social life, what you said, here in Istria for instance there’s this band, Scandal, which is also quite well known, and they travel and play everywhere, when there are weddings, when someone is born, they are invited. So it’s not as part of a Roma national minority, you know, they go to everyone. They travel a lot, we finance them, they were in Macedonia now, then they’re going to Ljubljana, and then they’ve got that World Roma

Day of theirs." (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM ISTRIAN COUNTY)

Activities contributing to integration most frequently take place through extracurricular and other extra-institutional activities:

"At the end of this school year I was in (town name omitted), and there a boy got best poem, and a girl got best drawing. They were members of the Roma minority and it meant a lot to them. And to their mum and others, you can see that this is how they prove themselves... them feel very valuable, and powerful, accepted." (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM PRIMORJE-GORSKI KOTAR COUNTY)

"It's mostly the young who hang out. School, municipality, church, these are the institutions that have to work on integrating the majority and minority populations." (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM MEDIMURJE COUNTY)

Some representatives of the relevant institutions hold that the cultural and social life of the Roma national minority is present in the wider community, most often through music:

"Pehlin Kings. And they often perform for us at (street name omitted). They are very, very well accepted. They already became our brand here in (street name omitted) street, where we have many associations. We go to those events of theirs, they love it when you drop by." (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM PRIMORJE-GORSKI KOTAR COUNTY)

"Social life is well-developed in assimilation with our other inhabitants, and individuals come to our cultural occasions, like they do to all others." (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM ISTRIAN COUNTY)

In semi-structured interviews, members of the Roma national minority also described the social and cultural life in their communities.

TABLE 79. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE – REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY

FREQUENT ANSWERS	NUMBER OF CODES
SITUATION IS GOOD	13
SITUATION IS BAD	13
A CULTURAL/COMMUNITY CENTRE IS NECESSARY, AND/OR A PLAYGROUND	10
LACK OF INTEREST, LACK OF COOPERATION, SUSPICION AND ENVY IN THE ROMA COMMUNITY	9
INSUFFICIENT / INADEQUATE FUNDING OF ROMA ASSOCIATIONS AND EVENTS	9
A WISH TO GET INVOLVED IN 'MAJORITY ACTIVITIES', A WISH FOR THINGS TO BE LIKE WITH THE MAJORITY PEOPLE	8
IMPORTANCE OF ASSOCIATIONS AND CULTURE AND ARTS SOCIETIES	8
FOLKLORE AND TRADITION	8
WORLD ROMA DAY	8

FREQUENT ANSWERS	NUMBER OF CODES
EVENTS WHICH BRING TOGETHER THE ROMA AND THE MAJORITY POPULATION	7
WEAKENING OF SOCIAL BONDS AND SOLIDARITY, RETREATING TO THE HOUSEHOLDS – OLDER ONES IN FRONT OF THE TV, AND YOUNGER ONES TO THE INTERNET	6
SEPARATION, GHETTOISATION	5
INSUFFICIENT FUNDS FOR BASIC SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE	5
DISCRIMINATION, STEREOTYPES	5
FOOTBALL	5
OTHER – ORGANISED VISITS TO CINEMA AND THEATRE, FISHING, DARTS, PLAYING CARDS, MUSIC, THE TRADITIONAL 'PLAC' GAME, ROMA BALL	12

Social and cultural life is assessed differently, depending on location, with roughly equal representation of statements giving positive, as well as negative assessments of the situation.

“And so the town, I mean, for our days, when it's Roma culture days or World Roma Day or any occasion or festival of ours, and then we publicly in the town and centre display our difference... I mean these dresses of ours, our rich traditional garments that make us recognisable, so that when it comes to national minorities' multiculturalism they can't wait for the Roma, they always put us on last so that the guests don't leave, they leave us kind of for last so that these guests remain to watch, because we have rich folklore and good music.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM ISTRIAN COUNTY)

In larger cities the situation is mostly better, but not everyone shares that view:

“Zero points (...) No preservation of tradition, culture, language, script, dance, dress, objects from Roma history. No.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM THE CITY OF ZAGREB)

There are also smaller towns that particularly actively foster Roma culture:

“Well, for now, it isn't bad, I must praise that it isn't bad. We hang out a lot, play football, we have these culture and arts societies [KUD]. We've got two of KUDs, we're never bored in the village.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

“Roma ball (...) Roma from around Europe assemble here, and there's more white Roma than us black Roma. At midnight, we choose the most beautiful Roma woman, who often gets married a month or so afterwards. The Roma prince is also chosen there, he used to hold a very great role.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

Some of the representatives of the Roma community highlighted the detachment of Roma settlements as a problem for cultural and social integration.

“I, as far as I, I see on the ground, in Međimurje County, a great shift. We did this, our Roma association, that we moved out of the Roma settlement. Every Roma settlement for me is a ghetto, a reserve. We went to live with the majority people, we socialised differently, the question of schooling is different... It's different, all quiet, peaceful, everything.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM MEĐIMURJE COUNTY)

“Social life in our Roma community is very jolly. We are very interested in one another and eager for any change and civilisation, but we are very far from that civilisation. (...) I cannot fully describe it because this culture that we nurture, we nurture among ourselves because culture is far away from us. It is distant to get to that culture itself because we have nowhere to be culturised.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

In around ten statements it was precisely the need for a community and/or sport centre (building or playground) that has crystallised as the key need of the community.

“(What do you do when you don't work? How do you socialise? What do you do?) Nothing. Just nothing. We have no object or any place designed for it. For recreation.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM MEĐIMURJE COUNTY)

The City of Zagreb too does not have a central place for the Roma to gather:

“For 20 plus years we have been asking that a Roma cultural centre is built, like what all nations and nationalities have and own, we've been pleading, begging that this Roma social centre is built where we could gather, organise, where children would feel more free and integrate, although they are integrated.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM THE CITY OF ZAGREB)

A key role in social and cultural life is played by Roma culture and arts societies and associations. This was explicitly confirmed by eight interviewees, as in the following example:

“The KUD is like mum no. 2 for them, like a second home and that's how they feel. Here they also have the Internet. They all love this Internet now, and Facebook, and they can chat here, have a coffee, play cards, chess, Monopoly, ludo.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

The general lack of interest among the Roma for social events and matters, distrust, even envy in the Roma community, are often mentioned as a barrier to the work of associations.

“As far as social life is concerned, the Roma do get invited, of course, and openly in the media, and everything. But unfortunately they don't answer often, that's the problem with them, that they're quite closed and are afraid of newspapers, if something is being held nearby or at their place that's fine, but they're not that very, to you know, if I don't know (...) there's an annual concert in the cinema

to accept the invitation. (...) Even if bean stew is served for free, only about 10 of them appear.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

“... the association stopped working 2 years ago, the basic problem was disagreement with other associations and financing (...) There was no cooperation at all among the associations (...) We wanted all Roma to unite and go forward, but we didn't have the support, finance, from the top.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

Insufficient or unsuitable financing limits the work of associations:

“April 8 is World Roma Day. Normally it should be celebrated and mostly funds do get allocated, but somehow it's not celebrated in the way it should be. That means, all members of the Roma national minority should be invited, to mark that day with an event or something, but it turns out that certain political elites with certain Roma members who represent the Roma population are going to have a meeting of some kind, a lunch, or treat each other, while those for who it was meant, they're not even there, or get anything out of it. So that it all stays in the hands of the powerful – Roma and the other political elite.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM MEĐIMURJE COUNTY)

“Because how the situation with the Roma has become, trust me there is a Gypsy Industry for individual associations who participate with the Government Office and who aren't Roma, they work with the Roma issue, without including Roma, and they get funding, and we don't get asked. That's why I say that it became a Gypsy Industry. Industry. A gypsy industry.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM THE CITY OF ZAGREB)

There are different experiences too:

“Last year for the first time we organised a celebration of World Roma Day. We were also satisfied with the funds we got from the city administration and the response of all the people who were invited.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM BROD-POSAVINA COUNTY)

A lack of money is a real problem both for family life and for cultural life:

“You take five kilos of bread, two kilos of ham, there goes the money, no more theatre. If we go for an ice cream, it's already an expense, you know, and you have to give it to a child, at least once a month, at least that (...). I waited three years to put some shoes on my feet, I couldn't get my turn, and then imagine I seeing for myself some kind of cultural life or some kind of company to go and have a good time, 'cause there you've got to pay to go with your family, to drink a glass of juice or two, a couple of beers, that's already an expense.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM MEĐIMURJE COUNTY)

Apart from obstacles of a financial nature, the desire to fulfil cultural needs 'like everybody else', clearly expressed in eight interviews, is also sometimes hampered by stereotypes and discrimination:

“People are eager for these novelties, for entertainment, and when it's a majority population's party, in two-three hours you'll be beaten up. They trample you underfoot. I saw this story firsthand. I came from the battlefield, there was a party. I came there, wasn't boring, I'm not uncultivated, but they trampled me with their feet. It wasn't just my case, it was also with people who when you go to the café, and then, a couple of them assemble, and then there's conflict.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM MEĐIMURJE COUNTY)

“Well that we all finally once in society, to find ourselves equal to the majority people. That it's not difficult for me to come somewhere and to be accepted there in that environment like everybody else. That they don't look, he's like that, like his blood is being inspected for ethnicity and so on. But finally once to really feel like a man is to a man, not a man is another man's wolf.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM MEĐIMURJE COUNTY)

The most frequently mentioned event is the World Roma Day, when events are held that members of the majority people also visit. Along with folklore and Roma tradition, mostly linked to music, the integrating activity is certainly also football. In the communities themselves, cards and darts are sometimes played as well as football, and fishing too got a couple of mentions.

Several interviewees noticed the weakening of social ties and solidarity, with people retreating to their households – older ones in front of the TV, and younger ones to the Internet:

“In the past they were maybe poorer, there was no Internet, nothing, but they were happy. They had a social life in the way that in the Roma settlement they had a place they called the hillock, in translation, where all the Roma who worked that day for wages got together, and some played, danced, sang. Social life for me is gathering of people who have the same needs around something they like, it doesn't need to be just song and dance, it can be useful work for the community, socialising while knitting socks for winter... What we acquired from the West (...) is that we all hurry after life, we have no time any more to have a chat, like they say – let's go for a coffee, no more (...) Social life mainly comes down to the fact that we have been given the option to get organised through culture and arts societies, this is where our young assemble, these older ones follow it. I think how our ancestors socialised was the most beautiful, this now is an imposed obligation, I'll go to school for five days, then on the sixth day I've got rehearsals, so I can appear somewhere, it seems imposed to me, it's not the spontaneous thing it used to be...” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

“It used to be different, before these people who could play would assemble, and we would, there would be parties, there were these dos, there were, it was really like that, you felt differently, it was different, but lately they don’t do that any more, ‘cause, neither do they organise (...) This, I mean, you no longer have certain, I don’t know what to call them, certain organisations to assemble. There are those groups, there are groups that assemble, and have something to eat and so, but, I say, it would be better if it was a higher quality thing, so that everyone gathers. It’s different when you see someone, chat to, you know, but like this everything is kind of closed, dead.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM MEĐIMURJE COUNTY)

“Is it because the times are what they are and people barely make enough to live on and for a meal, and so we all somehow shut ourselves in our houses, there’s no more of that socialising like before.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM PRIMORJE-GORSKI KOTAR COUNTY)

DESCRIPTION OF POLITICAL LIFE

In addition to a description of social and cultural life, key stakeholders’ insights into the political life of the Roma within their communities were also examined through semi-structured interviews and focus groups.

TABLE 80. POLITICAL LIFE – WHAT IT MEANS AND INVOLVES – REPRESENTATIVES OF RELEVANT INSTITUTIONS

FREQUENCY OF ANSWER	NUMBER OF CODES
ACTIVE DURING ELECTIONS, VOTE REGULARLY	6
ROMA LEADER WHO KEEPS INFORMATION TO HIMSELF, ONLY HE IS POLITICALLY INVOLVED	6
POLITICAL LIFE OCCURS THROUGH RNMC	3
THEY HAVE THEIR LEADERS WITHIN SETTLEMENTS	3

Some of the representatives of the relevant institutions who answered the question about what, in their perspective, does political life involve when it comes to the Roma national minority, believe that to a greater extent than other minorities, but also the majority population, the Roma exercise their political participation through large electoral turnout:

“(...) Second, while it’s campaigning and all, we know how it is, how it goes while there’s agitating – then they become active among themselves – you know how it goes, you vote for this guy, you vote for that guy. So only in these, like campaigns, a kind of mutual agitation, but the other thing, in political life, I don’t think in our area they did.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION IN THE CITY OF ZAGREB)

“Look, I look at it in another way. By law, here the Roma minority has the right to have one member in the municipal council, no? In the neighbouring municipality (name of municipality omitted) you have, but I see there’s 80% of them coming to the polling stations, which is a somewhere around 25% greater percentage than other parts of the municipality, and I think that this

way they are interested in political life and in change within their settlement and municipality.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM VARAŽDIN COUNTY)

Representatives of relevant institutions also highlight negative forms of political agency, such as trading votes, gaining private benefit from political work, lack of consultations with, and seeking advice from the community, retaining information only in the narrow circle of leaders/politically active Roma:

“I must admit that the Roma were a political factor in a negative sense. Considering that there is a certain number of of-age persons in the Roma population, they were seen as a number of votes and so they were traded with, mostly bought with money and then they'd do their side of the deal. I must admit that from 2013 until today it has been my greatest personal success that we proved to them that only decent work and honesty can allow them to themselves expect the City Administration to treat them honestly and responsibly. That they were a political base for individuals from Roma populations who exploited the Roma for their financial benefit by trading their votes, unfortunately, they were. The biggest case was in 2005, when people drove up to the Roma settlement, threatening, voting slips were taken away and voting was done against the law. As far as their activity is concerned, it's a high percentage. (...) I must admit that their elections for the Roma National Council (town name omitted) are always interesting. They are always very active here and there's always competition. They have an election, it's not that they arrange something.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

Some of the representatives of the relevant institutions hold that the political life of the Roma occurs through the national minorities councils:

“This all happens through the Roma national minority Council. They choose their representatives. You have a RNM Council of the town and of county. At both the levels.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM BROD-POSAVINA COUNTY)

“Their representative is in the Municipal council, who is elected (name of person omitted) and who has been actively involved in not only Roma issues, but the overall issues of the municipality. I think there are indications that more might become actively involved. After that, the local committee is active, with 6 members. Two examples already. The president of their settlement's Roma Council, mister (name of person omitted), he was with us at the public works, he comes every day with ideas to do something. There are shifts, unlike previous years.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM MEĐIMURJE COUNTY)

Likewise, some representatives of the relevant institutions point out that notwithstanding political involvement and activity on the part of individual Roma national minority representatives, the traditional structure of Roma communities, in which the Roma have their own leaders regardless of political involvement, is more important:

“Considering that some of them were employed on farms, they had their own income, concerning the fact that their set-up is still traditional, and somehow even tribal; they have within their settlements people who have authority, and who are in some way leaders.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM VARAŽDIN COUNTY)

“They have their bosses, they have a chief. That’s also a fact. The group that has formed around that boss has better houses and better conditions. (...) They tried to do something and isolate these worse (...)”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM KOPRIVNICA-KRIŽEVCI COUNTY)

Roma national minority representatives gave various insights into the political life of the Roma community in their municipalities, towns and counties.

TABLE 81. POLITICAL LIFE – WHAT IT MEANS AND INVOLVES – REPRESENTATIVES OF ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY

FREQUENT ANSWERS	NUMBER OF CODES
POLITICS IS USEFUL AND IT BENEFITS THE ROMA	22
POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS ELECTIONS	7
POLITICS IS A DISASTER FOR ROMA	5
TRADING ROMA VOTES	4
LACK OF PEOPLE WITH EXPERTISE WHO WOULD GET INVOLVED IN POLITICAL LIFE	4
POLITICAL LIFE IS REDUCED TO INDIVIDUALS, REPRESENTATIVES' AND OLDER ROMA LEADERS' WORK IN COUNCILS	4
ROMA REPRESENTATIVES ONLY CARE ABOUT THEIR OWN INTERESTS, LIKE THE MAJORITY OF SUCH REPRESENTATIVES	3
I DON'T KNOW	3
PARTICIPATION OF THE ROMA IN POLITICAL LIFE IS LOW	1
A CITY- OR COUNTY-LEVEL COUNCIL – AN ADVISORY BODY	1

The largest number of Roma national minority representatives believe that it is important to participate in political life because *“politics shapes the present and the future – we dance how they play, and we Roma are ignorant, they can easily run us over”, “without politics there’s nothing, without political will”*. Many legitimate representatives of the Roma national minority with whom there were conversations during the qualitative research view political agency as a means of helping their people and solving some of the numerous problems in the communities:

“Well, this means a lot for the Roma community. Because the Roma are, as we said before, illiterate. And the Roma get into politics, then they know their rights, what can be offered to the Roma and where. And more and more Roma are getting involved in politics.” (ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE FROM SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

“It means to me that I’m up to date in general with the rights and the knowledge of what’s being undertaken for us. Some decisions that they adopt, to know whether they are adopting the right one or avoiding them, or whether we are somewhere in that part of the budget or whatever, in

this part of the plan. What will be done to us in our part of the street or settlement.” (ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE FROM MEDIMURJE COUNTY)

“Hah, look, today, without politics, if the Roma didn't get involved in that, I think we wouldn't move from the dead end. Because I am involving myself in politics for the good of the Roma. So today, tomorrow, if nothing else that they have a solid life so they can nevertheless function as the majority people.” (ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE FROM KOPRIVNICA-KRIŽEVCI COUNTY)

A segment of the Roma national minority representatives see political participation in the intensified activities before elections:

“We avoid politics... and politics gets hold of us... These days there were the local elections... and then you see that people intrude in Roma settlements, make promises, we see they need our votes, and then the elections are over and politics is no longer concerned with us, then it's left to the Roma associations, to the councils. Very few are politically active, the council is actually a non-political party. There is a Roma party in (county name omitted) (...) The gentleman who is the president of the party is in England and I know that they appear actively and try to animate people when there's elections. The council is a county body that only suggests changes needing to be made in the Roma community, we have no authorities, no executive power to say tomorrow we'll build a sewer system. In any case, politics is becoming more and more concerned with the Roma, we want to avoid... We had certain independent Roma lists that wanted to stand for elections, not to take power, but to be a participant in all that is done and to contribute with our knowledge to better solve some things for the Roma community.” (ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

However, some Roma representatives believe that the political inclusion of the Roma is a negative phenomenon, and that the Roma national minority's increased political participation has not contributed to the betterment of the community itself:

“Politics, for us, is murder. For the Roma, politics is murder. Why? Because great hatred is created between. Now everyone's like, a politician, and they haven't got a clue. The Roma are used for political purposes. They are put on lists and so on and so on, and they haven't got an idea that they have to do something, that they have to take care of their people. So long as you're on a list and over, end of story. Is he getting a crate of beer, no, I don't know. Is he getting 1,000 Kunas in a year, no, don't know that either, but he's in politics and then this agitating against one another, it's awful, it's awful. Politics is not for us, who don't have academic education. For politics you need to know how to be a politician, you need to know your documents. Our Roma, 99% in the whole of Croatia don't know that there are 4 strategic papers, to keep a story short. So 0 and 1% know all the documents existing in Croatia. And so, now every lump here (name of municipality omitted), you have 3 Roma associations. A village of, I don't know, if 1000 inhabitants, there, 3 Roma associations. What are they going to do, nothing.” (ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

“Politics is the entire life and without politics maybe we couldn’t go on. Politics is worse than gambling and drugs. You’ll go off drugs, and off gambling, but not politics.” (ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE FROM MEDIMURJE COUNTY)

Some of the Roma national minority representatives recognise the need for greater knowledge and skill on the part of those who became involved in political life:

“We have a town-level and a county-level council, which function as an advisory body. If they had a larger appetite, they’d have to create an expert specialist for it.”

Like the representative of the relevant institutions, Roma national minority representatives have also warned of the negative phenomena occurring in political life:

“People here are politically active but frankly, they are looking at their pockets, how to get some money, to use it and I find it stupid.”

(ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE FROM VARAŽDIN COUNTY)

“There are some people who represent the Roma national minority. How active they are in adopting certain decisions in the town or county, I think they’re only there somehow pro forma, to not adopt or demand anything, to only look at their own interests, not the interests of those they are representing, to simply look at their interest, like the majority of those representatives does – look at their interests.” (ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY REPRESENTATIVE FROM BJELOVAR-BILOGORA COUNTY)

4.6.5

Conclusions and discussion

The General goal 1 of the chapter on Inclusion in Social and Cultural Life of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy is “to empower members of the Roma national community to participate in social, cultural and public life in order to bridge the gap between the Roma and the rest of the population.”²⁵⁵ The specific Objective 1 is defined as “to achieve a positive perception of Roma culture inside the Roma minority, the majority population and society as a whole.”²⁵⁶ As the study in hand did not cover the majority population, thus not allowing the existing perception of the Roma by the majority people to be determined, we were interested to know how the Roma define their own cultural identity, and, in their opinions, how important, but also present within the Roma as well as the wider community, are Roma culture, language and traditions.

As for self-perception regarding the determinants of cultural identity that the Roma feel are important and make them recognisable, the Roma in Croatia highlighted the Roma language (34.7%), followed by traditional Roma music, highly important to them as a

²⁵⁵ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

key element of Roma culture and customs for which they would like to be recognised in Croatia. Traditional Roma dances were underlined as the third most important element, highlighted by 15.5% of members of the Roma national minority.²⁵⁷ The Roma national minority recognises the World Roma Day as a significant date when there is opportunity to present the particularities of Roma culture, folklore, music and customs within their own, but also the wider communities. The date is celebrated in the majority of the locations, investing additional effort to involve the majority people as well. However, practice varies – from public events participated in by all, both the Roma and the majority people, which take place in public locations, central squares or spaces appropriate to such types of occasions, to locations where neither municipalities nor other relevant institutions participate either in an organisational or a financial sense, thus rendering a celebration of World Roma Day – both public, but also within the Roma community – absent. Further work is needed here on vertically connecting local self-government units and national institutions (the Office for Human Rights and Rights of National Minorities) in order for objectives and measures, especially in including the Roma in the social and cultural life at the sites themselves, to be implemented more efficiently.

An important indicator for the realisation of the specific Objective 1 in this area is how the media report on the cultural and social life of the Roma national minority. According to research results, more than a third of the Roma (38.7%) believe that the media do not describe Roma daily life in Croatia (at all and mostly) objectively. A total of 19.3% of the Roma national minority members interviewed stated that the media are doing their job well describing the Roma, with men and women giving similar marks. As the most frequent subjects (47.0%) used in the media to depict the Roma community, the interviewees highlighted themes from the field of culture, such as marking the World Roma Day and the International Roma Genocide Remembrance Day – Samudaripen. The second best-represented topic (46.2%) highlighted by interviewees was the subject matter of media reporting on crimes and accidents, where the Roma are portrayed as perpetrators of misdemeanours and/or offences. A quarter of the Roma cited topics from national politics, such as the activities of the Roma Member of Parliament.

These data clearly show that the media do not communicate well to the majority population the determinants of the social and cultural life of the Roma considered important by the Roma themselves, while on the other hand, the information that the majority of the Roma believe that the media mostly follow precisely those issues that belong to the field of culture (celebrating World Roma Day and marking the World War II genocide against the Roma – Samudaripen, which falls on August 2 every year), is a positive indicator for the achievement of Objective 1.

²⁵⁷ No statistically significant difference by age, that is, among age groups (16-30, 31-65 and 66 or more) was found in highlighting the individual elements. 7.0% of interviewees noted that something else should be the “recognisable element”; something not listed among the answers offered. Among other things, the interviewees cited the following under “other”: the entire tradition; that we’re people like everybody else; that we’re positive; good, friendly people; films; looks; good manners; religious faith; education; honesty; achievement; harmonious families; dress sense; openness; everything; industriousness; the Roma soul, etc.

Moreover, many Roma communities do not have a community centre where they might gather, thus enhancing their social and cultural life. Although the NRIS explicitly stated that the Zagreb Community Centre would be built already in 2012, when the national strategy was adopted, this still has not happened as of the completion of this study (June 2018).

According to the NRIS, the specific Objective 2 is “to raise the level of inclusion of the Roma minority, with particular emphasis on women, in the public and political life of local communities.”²⁵⁸ The NRIS sets the following indicators for this specific objective: 1) number of RNM members involved in taskforces, advisory and other bodies of local and regional self-government units, disaggregated by sex; 2) number of local initiatives seeking to include Roma communities in decision-making processes at the local levels regarding questions relevant to their daily life; 3) number of Roma initiatives towards local and regional self-government units and their success achieving the defined goals.

According to the results of the study, as answer to the question “whether you were ever personally involved in the work of any taskforce, advisory or other bodies of local self-government units concerning a Roma issue,” 90.7% of the 776 Roma interviewed stated that they were never involved in such bodies’ work. When it comes to distribution by sex, a statistically significant difference was established, with men (12.9%) participating more in the work of such bodies than women (5.0%). When various age groups are taken into consideration, a significant difference between younger and older interviewees comes to light. Thus, those aged 41-60 and over 61 were more frequently involved in the work of any task force, advisory or other body of the local self-government unit concerned with a Roma issue than those aged 19 to 25 and/or those aged 26 to 40.²⁵⁹

The question whether a Roma national minority representative ever asked them for an opinion on how to solve a specific problem related to daily life (e.g. regarding sewerage, preschool, kindergarten, Roma employment etc.) was answered affirmatively by 20.1% of the Roma. The majority, or 78.9%, stated that it never happened. Here too it should be noted that there is a statistically significant link between sex and being asked for an opinion by a Roma national minority representative on how to solve a specific problem concerning everyday life – men (25%) were asked for their opinion more frequently than women (15%).

Concerning acknowledgement or implementation of the suggestions on solutions to certain concrete problems related to Roma daily life, of the 153 who had previously said that they were asked for their opinion, more than half (56.2%) stated that their suggestion was taken into consideration, realised or practically implemented, with no difference by sex established. Men’s and women’s suggestions were taken into consideration in

²⁵⁸ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

²⁵⁹ Interviewees up to 18 years of age have been excluded from this analysis.

nearly equal measure. 59 (38.6%) stated that their suggestions were not taken into account, and 8 (5.2%) that they did not know whether their suggestions were practically implemented.

According to answers from the interviews, Roma initiatives towards the local self-government have taken place in those counties, towns and municipalities where the Roma have their representatives in the Roma national minority councils. In some places, the cooperation is considered by both sides to be constructive, marked by partnership (Slavonski Brod), while in some smaller locations such cooperation remains entirely absent (Kotoriba, Goričan, Dugo Selo), or is even antagonistic (for example Pribislavec). However, since the Councils are merely advisory bodies, in some locations these initiatives have no financial backing due to budgets (most frequently municipal) that are too limited, often small and insufficient to finance any greater needs (such as legalising houses, introducing a sewer system, subsidising water and electricity connections, subsidising housing etc.). Thus, coordination and cooperation with the national bodies is necessary, opening a window for improving the implementation of local Roma initiatives.

According to the NRIS, the specific Objective 3 for this chapter is “to reinforce the capacity of associations and other forms of gathering members of the Roma minority, with special emphasis on empowering associations and other forms of gathering led by Roma women, to advocate and solve problems in the Roma and wider communities.”²⁶⁰

According to research results, three quarters of members of the Roma national minority (74.9%) are not members of associations. A total of 352, or 11.1%, have confirmed that they are members of a Roma association, while only 1.2% of Roma are members of other associations. The 386 in total who answered that they were members of a Roma or other association, 213 of whom were men and 173 women, were asked what their association did. In the majority of cases, the activities in question concerned promoting Roma culture and folklore, followed by education. In a third of cases, the associations in question dealt with youth issues (35.5%), employment (33.4%), Roma integration (33.2%) and the issue of social welfare and social rights (31.9%).

The definition of the specific Objective 3 states that the measures will include the organisation of educational programmes for members of Roma associations on management, establishment and administration of associations, creation and implementation of projects, advocacy, financial management and systematic linkage between Roma associations and representatives of the areas inhabited by the Roma. Education and capacity building of Roma ToT educators on all aspects of association management and project implementation will be ensured.²⁶¹ According to statements in interviews, the design of these measures aligns with the needs, but it doesn't seem that the implementation of the measures within the six years since the NRIS has been adopted has contributed to

²⁶⁰ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

²⁶¹ Ibid.

increasing Roma associations' capacity to manage, administer and advocate. Statements from representatives of associations engaged with the Roma population favour this interpretation.

However, representatives of the relevant institutions claim that the problem lies in the lack of understanding of the general rules regulating the operation of associations. The question whether in the meantime there has been work on increasing their organisational capacities, understanding the obligations of a legal entity, financing transparency, good governance, received an answer that such workshops have been conducted.

The collected statements make clear that due partly to the educational structure of the Roma population, and partly to the traditionally determined leadership positions (mostly older men), strengthening Roma associations to manage Roma associations well and transparently is still a great challenge. Here it might be advisable to reformulate the specific Objective and, instead of educating the existing Roma associations on how to better manage themselves and the project cycle and finances, design other instruments that would contribute to greater use of financing both from the local and national sources and EU funds. In this context, it might be advisable to operatively programme certain NRIS objectives so that as a matter of priority, all associations working with socially excluded groups should focus their project activities towards the Roma as a target group, where cooperation with Roma association would be conditional on partnership on the specific project.

Status resolution, combating discrimination and assistance in exercising the rights of the Roma minority

The general goal of the National Strategy in the area of status resolution is “to fully (100%) regulate, in compliance with the legal framework (citizenship and permanent residence), the status of the Roma who have a firm tie to the Republic of Croatia (or the former Socialist Republic of Croatia) by 2020, with considerable support from the relevant bodies.”²⁶²

According to the chapter on status issues in the publication “Everyday Life of Roma in Croatia: Challenges and Possibilities for Transformation,” the study carried out in 2011 has found that “around 2% of interviewees have no birth certificate, meaning they probably were not entered into the register of births; around 5% have no identity card, probably meaning they have no regular status as an alien or citizenship, while a very large percentage, as many as 2/3, have no valid passport.” Based on an analysis of qualitative research, the authors, Ivan Burić and Dragan Bagić, note that irregular legal status significantly impinges on the exercise of rights in the fields of education, healthcare, employment and access to services, and that the Roma whose legal status has not been regulated encounter so-called triple deprivation, which happens because of their Roma identity, their irregular status and, finally, deprivation caused by the irregular legal status.

The general NRIS goal in the area of combating discrimination is “to reduce discrimination against the Roma minority.”²⁶³ According to the Anti-Discrimination Act, discrimination is “placing of any person, or a person related to that person by kinship or other relationship, in a less favourable position on the grounds referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article.”²⁶⁴ The list of bases of discrimination comprises as many as 17, including race, ethnic affiliation and skin colour, and national and social origin. In addition, the Act defines a broad scope of application, according to which “This Act shall apply to the conduct of all state bodies, bodies of local and regional self-government units, legal

²⁶² The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Anti-Discrimination Act (OG 85/08, 112/12), article 1. http://legislationline.org/download/action/download/id/3482/file/Croatia_anti-discrimination_act_2008.pdf (accessed June 2018)

persons vested with public authority, and to the conduct of all legal and natural persons, especially in the following areas: work and working conditions; access to self-employment and occupation, including selection criteria, recruiting and promotion conditions; access to all types of vocational guidance, vocational training, professional improvement and retraining; education, science and sports; social security, including social welfare, pension and health insurance and unemployment insurance; health protection; judiciary and administration; housing; public informing and the media; access to goods and services and their providing; membership and activities in trade unions, civil society organisations, political parties or any other organisations; access to participation in the cultural and artistic creation.”²⁶⁵

According to the study conducted in the general population by the Ombudsman’s office in 2016 in cooperation with the Ipsos agency, the majority of interviewees believe that discrimination on the basis of ethnic affiliation or national origin is the most widespread.²⁶⁶ According to this study, the majority of interviewees from the general population believe that the Roma are the group most frequently faced with discrimination in Croatia.

Discrimination as unequal treatment is often the result of stereotypes and prejudice, and negative opinions and fear of certain social groups. According to the study conducted in 2017 by the Centre for Peace Studies association in cooperation with the IPSOS agency, it has been established that a quarter of citizens of the Republic of Croatia have a form of negative attitude towards the Roma, that is, perceives them as a threat to the security of the citizens of the Republic of Croatia and their property (25.3%), a danger to the Republic of Croatia as they do not want to adapt to the majority, Croatian culture (24.7%), or a danger to the Republic of Croatia as they are not concerned with the interests of Croatia and its citizens (39.5%).²⁶⁷ The 2013 study has shown that more than 40% of citizens had negative attitudes towards the Roma.

Below is an overview of the results of the research in Roma households pertaining to possessing Croatian citizenship, irregular legal status, legal status with regard to committal of criminal offences, experience of discrimination, perception of discrimination and experience of hate crime. Afterwards, an analysis will be given of the views and opinions of key stakeholders, obtained through semi-structured interviews and focus groups on the main problems encountered by persons without a citizenship and examples of discrimination.

²⁶⁵ Anti-Discrimination Act (OG 85/08, 112/12), article 8.

²⁶⁶ Ombudswoman’s office (ed.), *Istraživanje o stavovima i razini svijesti o diskriminaciji i pojavnim oblicima diskriminacije 2016* [Study on attitudes and level of awareness of discrimination and its manifestations], Ombudswoman’s office and the Center for Peace Studies, 2016., <http://ombudsman.hr/attachments/article/1147/Istra%C5%BEivanje%20-%20diskriminacija%202016.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

²⁶⁷ Lalić, S.(ed.), *Istraživački izvještaj – Zastupljenost i indikatori diskriminacijskih i ksenofobičnih stavova u Republici Hrvatskoj u 2017*, Centre for Peace Studies, 2017, https://www.cms.hr/system/publication/pdf/98/Zastupljenost_i_indikatori_diskriminac_skih_i_ksenofobi_nih_stavova_u_Republici_Hrvatskoj_u_2017..pdf (accessed June 2018)

4.7.1

Status issues resolution

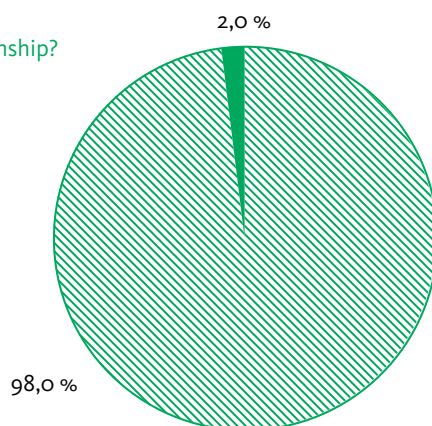
CROATIAN CITIZENSHIP OR RESIDENCE

Of the 4,678 persons for whom data were collected in the research, 88 have no Croatian citizenship, 22 of whom are not registered as residents in the Republic of Croatia. One person has stated that they did not know whether they had Croatian citizenship, while of those who do not have Croatian citizenship, one person has also stated that they did not know whether they were registered as residents in the Republic of Croatia.

CHART 46. CROATIAN CITIZENSHIP – SHARE OF ROMA WITHOUT CITIZENSHIP

Do you have croatian citizenship?

 YES
 NO



In addition to questions about citizenship and residency, the interviewees were also asked about various forms of irregular legal status. It was established that of the 4,758 people on whom data were collected, 1 person had no established identity, 24 did not have a citizenship, 8 had irregular temporary residence, 6 met the conditions to be registered as permanent residents but did not regulate their status, 2 stated that their status was made significantly worse through administrative errors, while 14 persons stated that they were unable to obtain a travel document.

TABLE 82. UNREGULATED LEGAL STATUSES

PERSON WITHOUT ESTABLISHED IDENTITY	1
RESIDES IN RC ILLEGALLY, NO REGULATED STATUS PURSUANT TO THE ACT ON ALIENS	0
WITHOUT CITIZENSHIP OF ANY COUNTRY	24
UNREGULATED TEMPORARY RESIDENCE	8
MEETS CONDITIONS FOR PERMANENT RESIDENCE BUT HAS NOT REGULATED HIS/HER STATUS	6
MEETS CONDITIONS TO ACQUIRE CITIZENSHIP, BUT HAS NOT REGULATED HIS/HER STATUS	14
STATUS CONSIDERABLY DETERIORATED THROUGH ADMINISTRATIVE ERRORS	2
CANNOT OBTAIN PASSPORT	14

Data collected for 3,165 people aged over 14 show that 15.3% had been convicted of committing a misdemeanour. 6.9% were convicted of a criminal offence, while 109 minors were sanctioned for committing an offence or misdemeanour. In all three cases, the number of men is statistically significantly larger than the number of women.

TABLE 83. CONVICTIONS FOR (MINORS') CRIMINAL OFFENCES AND MISDEMEANOURS

	SEX		N	TOTAL %
	MALE (%)	FEMALE (%)		
CONVICTED OF A CRIMINAL OFFENCE	11,5%	2,2%	217	6,9%
CONVICTED OF A MISDEMEANOUR	24,9%	5,7%	485	15,3%
A MINOR SANCTIONED FOR A CRIMINAL OFFENCE OR A MISDEMEANOUR	5,6%	1,3%	109	3,4%
TOTAL	100%	100%	3165	100%

4.7.2

Combating discrimination

EXPERIENCE OF DISCRIMINATION IN THE PAST 12 MONTHS

Speaking about Roma national minority members' experiences of discrimination within the past 12 months, 28.2% hold that they experienced some form of discrimination, whether once (5.1%) or a number of times (23.1%). Out of 762 people, 6 refused to answer the question asked, while 541 people stated that they did not have such experiences, that is, that they were not put in an unfavourable position due to a personal characteristic, either by a person or an organisation.

TABLE 84. EXPERIENCES OF DISCRIMINATION

Have you personally been discriminated against or put in an unfavourable position by a person or organisation over the last year because of a personal characteristic of yours?	N	%
NO	541	71,0%
YES, ONCE	39	5,1%
YES, MORE THAN ONCE	176	23,1%
REFUSES TO ANSWER	6	0,8%
TOTAL	762	100%

Although percentages of data collected on a sample of Roma national minority members point to a somewhat greater experience of discrimination among men, the statistical test has shown that the link between sex and discrimination is not statistically significant, that is, that in the population, there is no difference in the proportion of men and women who experienced a form of discrimination in the past 12 months.

TABLE 85. EXPERIENCES OF DISCRIMINATION BY SEX

	SEX				TOTAL	
	MAN		WOMAN		N	%
	N	%	N	%		
NO	245	67,9%	295	74,9%	540	71,5%
YES, ONCE	24	6,6%	15	3,8%	39	5,2%
YES, MORE THAN ONCE	92	25,5%	84	21,3%	176	23,3%
TOTAL	361	100%	394	100%	755	100%

Interviewees who answered the previous question, about experiences of discrimination, affirmatively were asked in which sphere were they discriminated against, with multiple answers allowed. The majority of cases of discrimination against members of the Roma national minority were found in the sphere of work and employment – 107 cases, followed by the sphere of social welfare – 79 cases. A third (33.0%) of those who experience a form of discrimination experienced it in the sphere of commerce and other service industries, with a nearly equal share of those (31.0%) who had such experiences in their treatment by the police. A statistically significant difference in experience of discrimination was established in the sphere of work and employment and in the sphere of police conduct. In both cases, men have experienced discrimination more frequently than women. In other areas there is no statistically significant difference in experiences of discrimination between men and women.

TABLE 86. SPHERES OF DISCRIMINATION

	NO		YES		TOTAL
	N	%	N	%	N
WORK AND EMPLOYMENT	113	51,40%	107	48,60%	220
SOCIAL WELFARE	136	63,30%	79	36,70%	215
COMMERCE AND OTHER SERVICE INDUSTRIES	146	67,00%	72	33,00%	218
POLICE CONDUCT	149	69,00%	67	31,00%	216
HEALTH PROTECTION	163	75,50%	53	24,50%	216
EDUCATION	168	78,10%	47	21,90%	215
SOMETHING ELSE	185	86,00%	30	14,00%	215
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION – ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEEDINGS	189	87,90%	26	12,10%	215
MEDIA	189	87,90%	26	12,10%	215
JUDICIARY	192	89,30%	23	10,70%	215
MEMBERSHIP IN CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS	200	93,00%	15	7,00%	215
RENTAL AND SALE OF FLATS	203	94,40%	12	5,60%	215
PARTICIPATION IN CULTURAL AND ARTISTIC CREATION	206	95,80%	9	4,20%	215

When it comes to discrimination in the sphere of work, questions were asked of those interviewees who had worked for money in the past 12 months. They comprised 36.3%, or 273 of the total of 752 of interviewees. 271 answered the question on discrimination at work, where they stated whether they felt they were in an unfavourable position re-

lative to other employees and if yes, why did they think this happened. Nearly a quarter of interviewees (24.0%) stated that they were discriminated at work, with the majority believing this to have been so precisely because they were Roma. One person refused to answer the question, while 4 persons stated that they did not know whether they had experienced discrimination at work. Overall, men work for money statistically significantly more often than women, but there is no difference in the feeling of being discriminated against while performing their work because they are Roma.

TABLE 87. DISCRIMINATION AT WORK

In that period (over the past 12 months), have you ever felt discriminated at work, or have you felt that you were put in an unfavourable position relative to other employees? If yes, in your opinion, what was the basis of discrimination?	TOTAL	
	N	%
NO	201	74,20%
YES, BECAUSE I AM ROMA	55	20,30%
YES, ON THE BASIS OF MY SEX	3	1,10%
YES, ON THE BASIS OF MY AGE	1	0,40%
YES, ON SOME OTHER BASIS	6	2,20%
REFUSES TO ANSWER	1	0,40%
DOES NOT KNOW	4	1,50%
TOTAL	271	100,00%

The question on discrimination in seeking work was only answered by those interviewees who stated that they had actively sought work in the past 12 months, 43.8% of the total sample. Of the 337 interviewees who answered this question, more than half, a total of 188, stated that they felt they were being put in a more unfavourable position relative to other candidates for the job, with 80.3% stating that they felt this was so precisely because they were Roma. Men seek work (59%) statistically significantly more than women (30%), but they also have the perception that they experienced discrimination in a larger percentage than women.

TABLE 88. DISCRIMINATION IN SEEKING WORK

In that period (over the past 12 months), have you ever felt discriminated against in seeking work, or have you felt that you were put in an unfavourable position relative to other candidates for the job? If yes, in your opinion, what was the basis of discrimination?	TOTAL	
	N	%
NO	149	44,20%
YES, BECAUSE I AM ROMA	151	44,80%
YES, ON THE BASIS OF MY SEX	4	1,20%
YES, ON THE BASIS OF MY AGE	19	5,60%
YES, ON SOME OTHER BASIS	14	4,20%

In addition to personal experience of discrimination, the perception of discrimination against members of the Roma national minority in the past 4 years in various areas was also studied. In the majority of areas, the Roma have highlighted that discrimination has remained at the same level, and there is also a very large proportion of those who could not answer whether discrimination in the cited areas has fallen, remained the same or increased. It is worth stressing that more than a quarter of those interviewed (26.0%) have stated that in the sphere of work and working conditions, discrimination has increased in the past four years, while more than a fifth (21.5%) have pointed out that in the past 4 years, discrimination has also increased in the sphere of police conduct.

TABLE 89. PERCEPTION OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE ROMA IN THE PAST 4 YEARS

Do you think that in the past 4 years discrimination against the Roma, or putting the Roma in a less favourable position relative to other people in the same situation, has fallen, remained the same or increased compared to 4 years ago, in each of the cited areas?

	FALLEN	REMAINED THE SAME	INCREASED	REFUSES TO ANSWER	DOESN'T KNOW	TOTAL	
WORK AND WORKING CONDITIONS	18,4%	39,3%	26,0%	0,0%	16,3%	761	100%
EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND SPORT	19,2%	39,6%	20,2%	0,0%	21,0%	762	100%
SOCIAL SECURITY, INCLUDING THE AREA OF WELFARE, PENSION AND HEALTH INSURANCE AND UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE	13,9%	45,4%	18,4%	0,0%	22,3%	762	100%
HEALTHCARE	17,2%	46,4%	15,2%	0,3%	20,9%	761	100%
JUDICIARY	12,6%	42,3%	10,5%	0,3%	34,4%	762	100%
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION – ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEEDINGS	11,1%	41,0%	10,0%	0,1%	37,7%	758	100%
RENTAL AND SALE OF FLATS	14,4%	32,9%	13,1%	0,1%	39,4%	756	100%
MEDIA	12,1%	40,2%	16,4%	0,0%	31,3%	758	100%
COMMERCE AND OTHER SERVICE INDUSTRIES	14,8%	42,7%	14,9%	0,0%	27,6%	757	100%
MEMBERSHIP IN CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS	11,7%	37,1%	8,6%	1,5%	41,1%	754	100%
PARTICIPATION IN CULTURAL AND ARTISTIC CREATION	13,9%	34,1%	8,9%	1,7%	41,4%	756	100%
POLICE CONDUCT	14,4%	39,2%	21,5%	0,3%	24,7%	750	100%
SOMETHING ELSE	14,8%	29,6%	11,1%	7,4%	37,0%	27	100%

Answering the open-ended question, “who do you believe needs to be contacted first if somebody is being discriminated against because they are Roma?”, interviewees cited various persons and institutions,²⁶⁸ mostly the police, that is, the Ministry of the Interior,

²⁶⁸ The table shows the answers the interviewees gave at least two times.

while a very large number stated that they did not know who to turn to in such cases. It is interesting that the third most frequent answer is that they should not contact anyone, that is, that they should resolve it themselves.

TABLE 90. WHO TO TURN TO IN CASE OF DISCRIMINATION

CATEGORIES	N
POLICE, MI	272
DOESN'T KNOW	237
NOBODY, PEOPLE SHOULD RESOLVE IT THEMSELVES	37
ROMA REPRESENTATIVES	30
SOCIAL WELFARE CENTRE OR SOCIAL WORKERS	23
MEDIA	17
ASSOCIATIONS	17
FAMILY, HUSBAND, PARENTS, MOM, DAD	14
OFFICE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND RIGHTS OF NATIONAL MINORITIES	14
NO ONE TO TURN TO	11
ROMA COUNCIL	9
MP KAJTAZI	8
OMBUDSMAN/OMBUDSWOMAN	7
COMPETENT PERSONS	6
CHAIRMAN OF RMNC	4
GOD	3
MAIN LOCAL LEADER	3
PRESIDENT GRABAR KITROVIĆ	3
MAYOR	2

EXPERIENCE OF HATE CRIMES

Article 87, paragraph 21 of the Croatian Criminal Code states that “a hate crime is a criminal offence committed on the basis of the other person’s race, colour of skin, religious faith, national or ethnic origin, language, disability, sex, sexuality or gender identity. Such conduct shall be considered an aggravating circumstance unless this Act expressly provides for more severe penalties.”²⁶⁹

16.9% of Roma had experienced a hate crime, with a statistically significant link between sex and experience of hate crimes. More men (24.0%) than women (10.5%) experienced physical assaults just because they were Roma.

²⁶⁹ Criminal Code, OG 125/11, 144/12, 56/15, 61/15, 101/17

Although there exists a hypothesis that the number of reported hate crimes is smaller than the real number, and that cases of hate crimes are thus less frequently recorded by judicial institutions, these institutions' statistics can be suggestive. Data from the Ministry of the Interior, which collects such data along with the State Attorney's Office and the Justice Ministry, show that of the 25 cases of hate crimes (including the criminal offence of public incitement to violence and hatred from article 325 of the Criminal Code) recorded in 2017, four were committed out of a hatred towards the Roma.²⁷⁰

TABLE 91. EXPERIENCE OF HATE CRIMES

Have you ever been physically assaulted just because you are Roma?	N	%
NO	637	82,8%
YES	130	16,9%
DOESN'T KNOW	2	0,3%
TOTAL	769	100,0 %

Those who answered that they experienced hate crime in the form of physical violence (N=130) were also asked whether the police intervened in this situation. 74 (56.9%) answered negatively, and 56 (43.1%) stated that the police intervened in situations when they were physically assaulted just because they were Roma. Those interviewees who answered that they experienced hate crime in the shape of physical violence and that the police intervened in that situation (N=56) were further asked whether the police recognised that the attack occurred exclusively because they were a member of the Roma national minority and whether it protected them as victims. The number of those who answered that the police did recognise that it was a hate crime and protected them accordingly is identical to the number of those who said this was not the case. 26 of the 54 interviewees answered affirmatively, 26 negatively, while 2 could not answer the question.

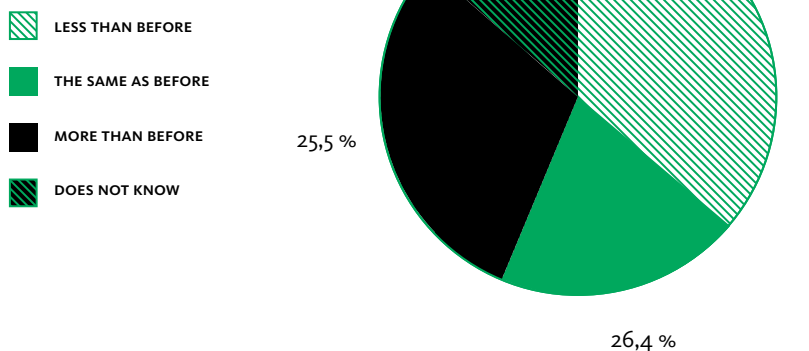
PERCEPTION OF INCIDENCE AND RECOGNITION OF HATE CRIMES AGAINST THE ROMA TODAY, IN COMPARISON TO FOUR YEARS AGO

The largest number of interviewees – 267, or 34.4% – answered the question how much physical and other forms of violence against the Roma just because they are Roma is there today in comparison with four years ago, saying that there is a smaller incidence of violence. A quarter (25.5%) stated that there was a greater volume of violence compared to 4 years ago, while just a little more (26.4%) said that incidence of violence has remained the same as before. The share of those who could not assess the level of violence in relation to 4 years ago is also not insignificant – 107 out of a total of 777 interviewed members of the Roma national minority.

²⁷⁰ Ombudsman's office, *Annual Ombudsman's Report for 2017, 2018*, <http://ombudsman.hr/hr/izvjesca-2017/izvjesce-pp-2017/send/82-izvjesca-2017/1126-izvjesce-pucke-pravobraniteljice-za-2017-godinu> [no English translation] (accessed June 2018)

CHART 47. QUANTITY OF HATE CRIME AGAINST THE ROMA OVER THE LAST 4 YEARS (N=777)

How much physical and other forms of violence is there against the Roma, just because they are Roma, compared with 4 years ago?



When it comes to the police activity, that is, recognition of hate crime and protection of the Roma as victims of such violence, 37.0% of interviewees have stated that the situation is the same as 4 years ago. A total of 18.9% of interviewees answered that the situation was somewhat or much better, while a total of 162 interviewees, or 20.9%, judged the situation to be much worse.

TABLE 92. RECOGNITION OF HATE CRIME AGAINST THE ROMA OVER THE LAST 4 YEARS

What is police activity like today compared to 4 years ago in recognition of such violence as a hate crime and in protecting the Roma as victims of such violence?

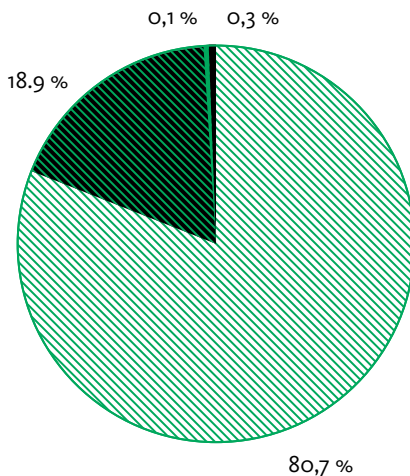
	N	%
MUCH WORSE THAN 4 YEARS AGO	98	12,6%
SOMEWHAT WORSE THAN 4 YEARS AGO	64	8,3%
THE SAME AS 4 YEARS AGO	287	37,0%
SOMEWHAT BETTER THAN 4 YEARS AGO	140	18,1%
MUCH BETTER THAN 4 YEARS AGO	84	10,8%
REFUSES TO ANSWER	3	0,4%
DOES NOT KNOW	99	12,8%
TOTAL	775	100%

EXPERIENCE OF VIOLENCE ON THE PART OF POLICE STAFF

More than 18.9% of the 779 Roma covered by this question had experienced violence on the part of police staff. Furthermore, a statistically significant link was established between sex and experience of violence on the part of police staff, with more men (28%) than women (10%) having had such experiences.

CHART 48. VIOLENCE OF POLICE STAFF AGAINST THE ROMA (N=779)

In your experience, was a police worker ever physically violent towards you?



4-7-3

Key stakeholders' opinions on the needs of the Roma population and obstacles to Roma inclusion in the area of status resolution and combating discrimination

PROBLEMS OF PERSONS WITHOUT RC CITIZENSHIP

Opinions of representatives of the Roma national minority on the problems of persons without Croatian citizenship were gathered using semi-structured interviews.

TABLE 93. PROBLEMS OF PERSONS WITHOUT CITIZENSHIP – REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY

FREQUENT ANSWERS	NUMBER OF CODES
THEY DON'T HAVE CIVIC RIGHTS ISSUING FROM CITIZENSHIP (RIGHT TO WELFARE BENEFITS, RIGHT TO EMPLOYMENT, RIGHT TO HEALTHCARE, RIGHT TO EDUCATION, HOUSING)	11
CANNOT GET ACCESS TO THEIR DOCUMENTATION IN OTHER STATES	10
FAILURE TO PAY HEALTH INSURANCE DURING TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PREVENTS APPROVAL OF PERMANENT RESIDENCE	6
THEY FAILED TO REGISTER ON TIME	4
FINANCIAL PROBLEMS – THEY CANNOT PAY FOR DOCUMENTS, TRAVEL TO THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	3
PROCEDURE FOR OBTAINING CITIZENSHIP TAKES TOO LONG	3

Representatives of the Roma national minority cited problems exercising a series of rights issuing from the status of citizen of a country as the most serious problem faced by persons without citizenship:

“As soon as you've got no citizenship, you haven't got the right to healthcare, social protection, employment, education... In all these segments you've got no rights if

you've no citizenship. I'd say this is the first problem of the Roma in the RC, citizenship, not education.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM THE CITY OF ZAGREB)

Moreover, according to statements by representatives of the Roma national minority, there are still Roma who have difficulties proving their status as citizens – evidently, a population that does not possess identity documents, which came to Croatia from other Yugoslavian republics. As indicated in the introduction to this chapter, such persons mostly were not entered in the register of Croatian citizens, which for some has remained until today an unresolvable problem.

“You know what, as the law changes, conditions change so that something new always comes up, it's like going round in a vicious circle. First they didn't have cooperation with the countries, that is, Serbia, then later paperwork couldn't be obtained, later on the condition was five years to get permanent, and after permanent citizenship, you have to wait for five years. After that, the law changed, and now it has to be eight years and you have to get passports – meaning you have to go personally, because you have to get your biometric passport personally... Then in Croatia, especially Zagreb, the Serbian embassy doesn't issue passports and this problem was for quite a while because the Kosovars don't issue passports either. So there's that problem – you have to go back there yourself – for instance, to Serbia, but in Serbia the condition is having a place of residence. That's the problem – we've been spinning around for 15 years and more in this vicious circle; they came here in '99, meaning they've been here for 18 years, some came before the war and still don't have their paperwork in order.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM THE CITY OF ZAGREB)

“Every once in a while, with the head of the department for aliens, when it's a question, they call me and I go, and somehow we find a solution. Here, recently we had a couple of these workshops with the IPC, where they had a project to acquire documents from their countries of origin, so that we had several workshops and we're working on it, on reducing it so that we solve it. But it's going very slowly. Because it's difficult to obtain these documents, especially from Kosovo for instance, as mostly the documents of those who are, for example, from Kosovska Mitrovica, the documents aren't there, they are scattered around Serbia because, like, during the war they needed to transfer all the documents to these other cities, for instance documents for Kosovska Mitrovica are in Kraljevo. For Prishtina they are in Kruševac. So these all are problems...” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM ISTRIAN COUNTY)

The third group of problems that emerges for those Roma who do not possess citizenship is paying health insurance as a precondition for permanent residence, and hence citizenship:

“First we should resolve what's normal in certain countries, not to ask that a man who isn't working, who wants to get married, is officially married to a person, to have to care for her health, because impossible, she has no rights, no right to work, nothing. It should be possible to get insurance through your spouse. These girls who come have temporary residence, there's 11 of them. But they have no rights. They have

rights we use, although that's not good, but they use the right that when they get pregnant, they can give birth in hospital. But it should be organised better, especially the thing with social welfare. The husband should pay 400-something Kunas every month for health insurance, which is impossible, and he gets 400 Kuna a month in social benefits.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

“We've got people here who have to pay health insurance even to get a status as citizens, and we had been travelling to the country of origin, which costs money.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM BROD-POSAVINA COUNTY)

Likewise, some representatives of the Roma national minority believe that the procedure for obtaining citizenship takes too long:

“It's because they keep changing... Five years ago it was worth, waiting for citizenship for five years, and now they extended it to eight. So they made it even stricter. But now they have humanitarian citizenship that they get, they get an ID to be able for a year. With that personal ID you can work too.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM THE CITY OF ZAGREB)

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY

In the interviews, representatives of the Roma national minority also reflected on the examples, that is, experiences of discrimination.

TABLE 94. DISCRIMINATION – REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY

FREQUENT ANSWERS	NUMBER OF CODES
DISCRIMINATION IN HIRING	13
DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION (WORK EXPERIENCE PLACEMENTS)	6
DISCRIMINATION IN ALL SPHERES	3
DISCRIMINATION – TRADE AND OTHER SERVICE INDUSTRIES (RETAIL CHAIN, CAFÉ)	2
DISCRIMINATION – HEALTH	2
DISCRIMINATION AT WORK	1
THERE IS NO DISCRIMINATION	1

As has already been suggested in the chapter on employment, according to Roma national minority representatives' statements, they recognise most discriminatory conduct in hiring, but also in work:

“They come to a job interview, the employer as soon as he sees he's coloured or a member of the Roma minority, basically says he'll call back later and they never call.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

“I worked as a national minority in two jobs that I did. In real work I endured quite a lot of these discriminations that... Although according to them they didn't exist, but I know they did. That was regularly mentioning certain things. Regularly, every day. Like... Gypsy, you don't try hard enough, you can do much more. Although I worked twice as hard as others. While in the other job, they didn't look at it. They looked at your performance. You if you do your job in three hours that others do for five – you're free. That's the essential difference, although there's still that people being viewed by their nationality.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM VIROVITICA-PODRAVINA COUNTY)

“When are these employers finally going to realise and reject this stereotypical view of us. That we Roma aren't workers, that we're this, that we're that. Because if a Roma messes something up. That he wasn't as he should have been like or he didn't turn up to work on time, or got drunk or whatever, then all the Roma are to blame and everybody quarrels with everybody else. When are these employers going to realise that we're not like that and to look at those who work very well and to take notice of them as well, not just the one Roma when there are ten other Roma behaving as things should be, and that one Roma tarnishes everything, all the rest – more Roma. Then it will be different for us as well, because like this when they won't accept us because we're Roma. There were cases where they changed their names and surnames. I mean surnames, just so it isn't Oršuš, because it was known in the region, see, it's a province of Međimurje. And now there's a case where I can be persuaded, where I've now been directly convinced. The other day, my son got a specialisation as a grinder in a carpentry workshop. I think it was (name of firm omitted). The employment service directed him there, grinding these, what do I know, what's there, doors, windows, chairs, whatever? I came there along with him. And this guy there received him, to describe him, all where are you from, this, that, what's needed, have you finished high school and all that (...) Just as we came outside he comes running after us. Excuse me, please, I didn't know, I was looking the other way and the number was filled. (...) And that's very sad, and the employment bureau sends us there.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM MEĐIMURJE COUNTY)

Likewise, discriminatory conduct has also been identified in secondary education, especially in the practical segment of the education process (so-called practice):

“Secondary school doesn't get completed that much... Children are leaving secondary, because they can't bear discrimination by other children. They provoke and harass them so much that there are fights, I know a boy who went to school in Donji Miholjac and had to withdraw – he wanted to be a car mechanic – because he couldn't bear the terror any more but had a fight and withdrew from school!” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

“Two girls went to school to become patissiers, that was their life's dream. In the end they couldn't because noone would take them in as apprentices.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM BROD-POSAVINA COUNTY)

Discrimination in commerce and other service industries has been recognised by Roma interviewees in two statements:

“Once I rode my bike to the shopping centre (name of supermarket chain omitted). They basically throw things away, fruit, vegetables, food, all sorts of things. I went to ask if they'd donate us this stuff. But this man who was in the warehouse was so abusive, I thought I'd call the police. Ok, nothing. My wife called Zagreb, a supermarket chain there, and we asked. He said he'd call back and called and said that my wife could go collect it. You know what they gave us – a tiny little bread and some fruit, fruit that already went rotten. Well I'm not like that, we're not animals. So that basically they humiliated us, just like that. That wasn't the first time, they often do this.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

Some of the representatives of the Roma national minority have observed that discrimination against the Roma has been more subtle, but is nevertheless omnipresent:

“Before discrimination wasn't hidden at all, it was obvious, and now it's super, super hidden. But as soon as you turn your back, I experienced it myself, I heard them curse my Gypsy mother the moment I shut the door. In all spheres, believe me, it's very hard being Roma. But it's even worse to be an old Roma woman or man who can't read something – I experienced this in the Social Welfare Centre, where later I was a little rough... We were standing in line, I waited, I needed something for the association, however, an older lady came in before me and I heard the social worker screaming at her... I couldn't, I had to go in there and told her and went to her superior and reported her. She has behaved a little differently since then.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

A quote on there being no discrimination in one of the studied cities is interesting:

“No, no, not among the majority people, it was some kind of professors, who ended up in some kind of public discussion. The key question at the public discussion was the question of Roma, Roma in the city (city name omitted). And it made me very angry when these intellectuals, supposedly these intellectuals, said that there is a great discrimination against the Roma in the city (city name omitted), which doesn't hold water, no way. Reason is, I, who have been here all my life, I never experienced the citizens of (city name omitted) humiliating or insulting me that way, or have an aversion towards me, no, never. That's a pure lie. That's what they here, I don't know why, what was their reason, that, allegedly, that in high schools children they interviewed, some children, I don't know which, that these children have stated that the majority people would be happiest if the Roma were deported from (city name omitted). Which afterwards we went to interrogate and found nothing, found any truth in it. However, the mayor and all other intellectuals believe that in (city name omitted) it's impossible.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY FROM PRIMORJE-GORSKI KOTAR COUNTY)

Conclusions and discussion

The general goal concerning status resolution was defined as “to fully (100%) regulate, in compliance with the legal framework (citizenship and permanent residence), the status of the Roma who have a firm tie to the Republic of Croatia (or the former Socialist Republic of Croatia) by 2020, with considerable support from the relevant bodies.”²⁷¹

According to research results, 91.1% members of the Roma population were born in the territory of the Republic of Croatia, while the rest were born in other states, mostly other former Yugoslavian republics – mostly Bosnia and Herzegovina (3.1%), followed by Kosovo (2.2%), Serbia (1.5%) and Macedonia (0.7%), while other countries are represented with 1.4%. Naturally, the majority of members of the Roma population who were not born in the territory of the Republic of Croatia have obtained citizenship, but there are also members of the Roma population without Croatian citizenship. In the course of the research, 88 persons were detected as not having Croatian citizenship. Participants in the qualitative research have reflected on the difficulties faced by people without RC citizenship – mostly the inability to exercise certain civic and social rights, that is, rights in the field of social welfare, work, healthcare, education etc. Furthermore, some of the interviewees have also reflected on difficulties regulating one’s status and obtaining citizenship.

Those whose status is unresolved or who do not have RC citizenship are in the most difficult situation: one person was without an established identity, 24 had no citizenship, eight had unregulated temporary residence, six persons met the conditions for permanent residence but did not resolve it, while 14 met the conditions for obtaining citizenship but did not resolve it, two persons stated that their status was made significantly worse through administrative errors, and 14 people stated that they were unable to obtain a travel document. In some of these cases it was clearly a matter of insufficient informedness and/or motivation to resolve one’s status. However, generally speaking, it seems that the measures carried out since the start of implementation of the NRIS have significantly contributed to the matter of resolution of status issues.

According to research results concerning discrimination against members of the Roma minority, the situation is worrying: as many as 28.2% of interviewees believe they have experienced discrimination at least once in the past 12 months, with discrimination in the field of work and hiring ahead of other spheres of discrimination. As many as 48.6% of interviewees who had experienced discrimination during the previous year experienced it precisely in this sphere. Among the spheres in which the Roma themselves estimate to have experienced most discrimination are also social welfare (36.7%), provision of goods and services (33.0%) and police conduct (31.0%). Hence, the specific Objective 1 in this area, which should contribute to the general goal, which is reducing discrimination

²⁷¹ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

against the Roma national minority, is “to raise the level of public awareness on the need to fight discrimination against the Roma minority,”²⁷² with an emphasis on educational activities and activities contributing to raising awareness both among the public and the relevant actors as well as the Roma community on combating discrimination. The data concerning the sphere of discrimination allow the conclusion that special attention should be paid to educating, and raising awareness of, all employers across all sectors, as well as those employed in the field of commerce and the service industries on the prohibition of discrimination and the anti-discrimination legislation in force in the Republic of Croatia, primarily the Anti-Discrimination Act. Moreover, it is necessary to organise systematic education on anti-discrimination legislation for civil servants – social workers and police staff, but also educators and medical staff and other officials. A priority in reducing discrimination against the Roma population is certainly educating, and raising awareness among, Roma national minority members themselves, who are often unacquainted with the ways they can protect their rights due to their lower educational status and unavailability of information. This is shown by the responses to the survey question on who they can turn to in cases of discrimination – which a large section of interviewees do not know the answer to, while a significant part cited institutions without any special authority in this field. For example, very few interviewees (7) cited the Ombudswoman, the central body for combating discrimination according to the Anti-Discrimination Act, to whom discrimination complaints can be submitted in a very simple way. It is also important to continuously work, through the education system, with the media and public campaigns, on reducing prejudice against the Roma in the general population in order to decrease social distance and discrimination against the Roma.

In addition to education activities, it is also important to increase the capacities for combating discrimination of all key stakeholders – both institutional actors, and representatives of the Roma national minority and associations – with special attention to be focused on developing mechanisms for exchange of information and cooperation between key stakeholders. In addition, there is a need to strengthen the institutional framework for implementing the anti-discrimination legislation and policies. The National Roma Inclusion Strategy has also recognised these needs, thus setting the specific Objectives in the area as “improv[ing] interdepartmental cooperation between the relevant bodies and representatives (e.g. members of Roma national councils and Roma representatives) in combating discrimination against the Roma minority”²⁷³ and “[ensuring and improving the implementation of] anti-discriminatory legislation by the relevant bodies at all levels (national/regional/local) and enforce all other regulations and laws with application of anti-discriminatory principles (education, housing, health-care, employment).”²⁷⁴

Data on hate crime suggest that a significant percentage of interviewees (16.9%) have

272 The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

273 The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

274 Ibid.

experienced hate crime, that is, that they were physically assaulted for being Roma. 43.1% of those who had experienced hate crimes claimed that the police did not react, while only half of these physical assaults were recognised by the police as hate crimes. Therefore, only a fifth of all physical assaults on members of the Roma national minority were recorded as hate crimes. Although these data are not comparable with data collected by the Ministry of the Interior (according to which in 2017, 4 crimes were recorded as motivated by a hatred of the Roma), it can be concluded that these data suggest the credibility of the thesis that official statistics do not always contain the full data on hate crimes, and that not all instances are registered as such. The specific NRIS Objective 4, “to reduce instances of violence against the Roma through police activity,”²⁷⁵ is aimed precisely at “securing the greater effectiveness of the police in the detection and prevention of violence against the Roma and violence in Roma communities” and “[professional training] to implement measures to oppose the appearance of violent behaviour [against] the Roma and raising their sensitivity in the sense of work with members of the Roma community.”²⁷⁶ Such activities are key in order to obtain better statistics on the one hand, and allow adequate sanctioning of perpetrators of hate crime on the other.

²⁷⁵ The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

Institutional framework and intersectoral cooperation on Roma inclusion

The normative framework regulating the rights of the Roma national minority, and thus the implementation of the NRIS, is comprised of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia and dozens of various legal acts of the RC. In article 3, the Constitution states:

“Freedom, equal rights, national and gender equality, peace-making, social justice, respect for human rights, inviolability of ownership, conservation of nature and the environment, the rule of law and a democratic multiparty system are the highest values of the constitutional order of the Republic of Croatia.”²⁷⁷

Furthermore, article 15 stipulates that “All persons in the Republic of Croatia shall enjoy rights and freedoms, regardless of race, colour, gender, language, religion, political or other conviction, national or social origin, property.”²⁷⁸

The Constitutional National Minority Rights Act defines the rights and freedoms of national minority members in the RC. The broadly-worded Constitutional Act guarantees members of national minorities in the Republic of Croatia the following rights: expression of affiliation with a national minority; use of name and surname in the minority's language and script; an identification card in their minority's language and script; use of their language and script, privately, publicly, and in official use; education in their language and script; use of their insignia and symbols; cultural autonomy through the preservation, development and expression of their own culture, preservation and protection of their cultural resources and traditions; practise of their religion and establishment of their religious communities together with other members of the same religion; access to the media and public information services (receiving and dissemination of information) in their language and script; self-organisation and association in pursuit of their common interests; representation in representative bodies at the national and local levels, and in administrative and judicial bodies; participation by members of national minorities in public life and local self-government through national minority councils and representatives; protection from any activity jeopardising or potentially jeopardising their conti-

²⁷⁷ Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, OG 56/90, 135/97, 8/98, 113/00, 124/00, 28/01, 41/01, 55/01, 76/10, 85/10, 05/14 <http://www.sabor.hr/fgs.axd?id=17074> (accessed June 2018)

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

nued existence and the exercise of their rights and freedoms.²⁷⁹

The National Strategy has also defined the National Roma Inclusion Strategy 2013-2020 Monitoring Commission, and entrusted the authorities responsible for implementing the measures with the responsibility for monitoring and collecting data on the implementation and effectiveness of the measures. The Strategy also provides for the establishment of local info-centres, as well as local strategy monitoring commissions, but these are unfortunately mechanisms that have never been operationalised.

The text of the National Strategy stresses that “the successful implementation of objectives and measures laid down in this Strategy requires concerted and co-ordinated action by implementing partners as well as other stakeholders whose efforts are focused on the inclusion of Roma people in Croatia [and] the improvement of their socio-economic status. This implies the establishment of mechanisms to ensure a well-tuned vertical and horizontal co-ordination and action.”²⁸⁰ Successful coordination and intersectoral cooperation, and thus the implementation of goals and measures, require developed mechanisms of cooperation and harmonisation of activities of a complex system of key stakeholders: the Government Office for Human Rights and Rights of National Minorities, state administration bodies, public institutions and services, local and regional self-government units, the civil sector including Roma national minority councils.

The challenges to the implementation of the NRIS related to the institutional framework and intersectoral cooperation are placed in the context of a complex system of stakeholders responsible for implementing the measures. The research shows how well acquainted the representatives of the relevant institutions are with the strategy, and how they cooperate with stakeholders in the system.

As the research results have by now made clear, the obstacles met by the Roma in accessing their rights are tied to deep-rooted prejudice and maintaining of social distance, and possibly by institutional practice characterised by “silence”, omissions or insufficient activity.

The following chapter will present what the stakeholders themselves say about their knowledge of the national documents that form the basis for protection of minority, and especially Roma rights, intersectoral cooperation and potential room for enhancing the implementation of high-quality public policies adopted through a participatory process, such as the National Roma Inclusion Strategy.

279 Constitutional National Minority Rights Act (OG, 155/02, 47/10, 80/10, 93/11), <http://www.sabor.hr/the-constitutional-act-on-the-rights-of-national-m> (accessed June 2018)

280 The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

A large number, nearly half, of interviewees from all the counties do not know the text of the NRIS and the accompanying Action Plan, or of any other documents that form the basis of minority rights protection (the Constitutional National Minority Rights Act, the Anti-Discrimination Act etc.). The overview grouped neighbouring counties, as the number of statements was too low for some counties, but in line with the number of locations where the Roma live.

In Vukovar-Srijem, Osijek-Baranja and Brod-Posavina county we can say that many stakeholders from the relevant institutions are not acquainted with the key documents, the NRIS included:

“I don't know their titles, I know I did read some when I came to this position a year and a half ago.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM VUKOVAR-SRIJEM COUNTY)

Eight of the 18 representatives of relevant institutions in Osijek-Baranja county interviewed assessed that they did not know the documents or strategies involving protection of rights of the Roma. The others stated that they only heard of the NRIS, while some are also acquainted with its substance:

“I have some knowledge of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy and these certain general goals.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

“I think that strategy is quite well written, I like it. Because it strikes precisely at those problems that are indeed problems.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

“(I am acquainted) with the National Strategy – based on it we made our Action Plan, that's when we worked most on it.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM BROD-POSAVINA COUNTY)

Few have critically reflected on its substance:

“Yes, a part, and I believe that they are well-designed to an extent, but that there's many things still missing.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

In Koprivnica-Križevci and Bjelovar-Bilogora county only one representative of a relevant institution explicitly stated they knew the National Roma Inclusion Strategy. The others said they were not acquainted with such documents. The Roma Decade and the National Roma Programme were also mentioned.

In Varaždin and Međimurje county the majority of interviewees assessed that they were acquainted with the NRIS and the accompanying AP. A minority (4) was not acquainted

with such documents. Also mentioned were the Constitutional National Minority Rights Act and the National Roma Programme.

In the City of Zagreb, Zagreb County and Sisak-Moslavina county, half of the representatives of relevant institutions judge that they know the substance of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy, while the other half had not heard of the documents concerning protection of the rights of the Roma, or heard of the NRIS, but was not acquainted with the substance. In these counties, the Roma Inclusion Decade, the National Roma Programme, the Constitutional National Minority Rights Act, the Family Act, the Social Welfare Act etc., are also mentioned.

In Primorje-Gorski kotar and Istrian county likewise, half of interviewees are acquainted with the NRIS, while the other half is not. Representatives of the relevant institutions from these counties have also mentioned the Roma Decade, the Education Act and the RC Constitution.

It is clear from the statements above that “the first face of public policies”, which are various public servants (from directors of schools to social workers and field nurses), at the local level are frequently not acquainted with the relevant public policies, with a half of them thus unacquainted with the National Roma Inclusion Strategy. As noted by a group of authors,

“(...) whether the National Strategy will be brought to life depends largely on civil servants at the mid- and lower levels in local administrations. Various advisors in county and city administrations, directors of kindergartens, schools and social welfare centres, doctors and others perform their duties in line with the rules of their professions, laws, ordinances, but also measures contained in national strategies. However, their professional work is not separate from their individual conduct, views and experiences. The sociologist Lipsky has analysed the interrelation between civil servants' individual actions, professional norms and their influence on practice, and decision-makers and public policies. He has pointed to the fact that civil servants who are in indirect contact with the population are the first face of national public policies. Their primary task is to practically implement public policy provisions. Here, they are granted a certain discretion in making decisions, which also means that they can interpret public policy measures differently from case to case (sometimes in favour, and sometimes to the detriment of certain groups or individual users).”²⁸¹

However, when nearly half of them are not acquainted with public policy, it would seem that the first step would be to better inform precisely the local-level civil servants on the objectives, measures and indicators of the implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy 2013-2020.

²⁸¹ Bagić, D., Burić, I., Dobrotić, I., Potočnik, D., and Zrinščak, S., *Romska svakodnevnica u Hrvatskoj: prepreke i mogućnosti za promjene*, UNDP, UNHCR and UNICEF, 2014, p. 27.

As half of interviewees do not know the NRIS objectives and measures, they also do not know who is tasked with implementing its measures and activities. Hence, answers to the question on cooperation with authorities responsible for the measures at the national level had more to do with cooperation with national institutions with competences in certain purviews of specific public institutions (school directors often spoke of cooperation with the Science and Education Ministry etc.). Therefore, we cannot directly connect groups of answers here with authorities responsible for NRIS measures, but vertical coordination and cooperation among institutions can be seen at a certain level. According to answers from interviewees from the relevant institutions at local and county levels, this vertical cooperation could be much more substantial, efficient and effective.

Thus, those who answered the question in Vukovar-Srijem, Brod-Posavina and Osijek-Baranja county have differing views of cooperation, but also a common impression that the cooperation should be more coordinated, higher quality and continuous:

“I think that these are certain questions that have been dragging on for a very long time, with little being done about it, we’ve been stalled for quite a while. Realistically, it’s a small population, there are few schools... realistically, I think a conference, meeting, whatever you call it, of school directors is quite enough – so, we are around twenty, thirty schools that are interesting here. So that’s a meeting between us 30-40 people at most, with a team from the Government, that is, our Ministry, some associations, whoever’s interested. I think it could be done simply enough.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM VUKOVAR-SRIJEM COUNTY)

“Everywhere there lacks a continuity. (...) I think it’s more from one occasion to the next.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM BROD-POSAVINA COUNTY)

In Osijek-Baranja county, the majority believe that cooperation among institutions at the national level is inadequate.

“I think it simply doesn’t function very well. We can write whatever we want, paper can take anything. Without some financial support from the state, all the way to the county and municipality, we are the lowest, so all is left to us. (...) Bigger things have to be solved at a higher level.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

“It seems to me that there is no cooperation between them either, because when from the state, from the ministry, it moves down to some local level, county, I don’t really know if there’s any project at county level that involves the Roma or is just for them. I don’t know if it was moved down to the town or municipal level, (...) I think there is no cooperation here, that it’s been done pro forma, paper only, because someone else has been pressing us, let’s say the EU and who knows who else...” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

Some representatives of the relevant institutions from Osijek-Baranja county say that cooperation is good:

“I think that the Strategy works best in the education system. It can be seen, and the shifts are measurable.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

In Koprivnica-Križevci and Bjelovar-Bilogora county the majority of those interviewed say that vertical cooperation is satisfactory:

“We can say that Government Office for National Minorities representatives we contacted came here, not just for the Roma, but for everything in general. Mister Kajtazi comes as an Mp, once-twice a year at least he comes (...).”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM KOPRIVNICA-KRIŽEVCI COUNTY)

“The Ministry of Labour and Pension System is another ministry that participates from the higher to the lower levels, they are all involved, they really do not skirt issues.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM BJELOVAR-BILOGORA COUNTY)

Some representatives of the relevant institutions from these counties believe cooperation to be inexistent or poor:

“There is none, I've nothing to assess here. There is none.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM BJELOVAR-BILOGORA COUNTY)

In Varaždin and Međimurje county, the majority of the interviewees judge the cooperation to be inexistent or inadequate:

“Well, we cooperate with the Government Office for National Minorities and so on, however, I think that, I repeat, those other institutions, our institutions, not Roma institutions, aren't interested enough in resolving Roma people's status in a better way for the Roma to better participate in our society.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM MEĐIMURJE COUNTY)

Some interviewees believe the cooperation is good:

“We specifically cooperate with the Ministry and the County on the extended day care, and here cooperation is good. It's two-sided and relatively quickly executed (...).” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM MEĐIMURJE COUNTY)

Some representatives of the relevant institutions the City of Zagreb, Zagreb county and Sisak-Moslavina county believe the cooperation is good, both on reporting and solving concrete problems. The Government Office for Human Rights and Rights of National Minorities and parliamentary representative Veljko Kajtazi are cited as examples of good cooperation.

Some interviewees state that cooperation is inadequate and its effects questionable:

“In principle, there is cooperation and you're forced to cooperate with everyone, but generally speaking, cooperation is poor in the sense of adopting certain strategies and this kind of real situation on the ground.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM ZAGREB COUNTY)

“I must admit that we, as far as cooperation is concerned, when certain Roma problems within the city were being tackled, didn't cooperate that much with state-level institutions.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

Some interviewees in Primorje-Gorski kotar and Istrian county believe there is either no cooperation or that it is inadequate, citing issues of financing, continuity, quality of measure implementation etc.

“Well, we don't have any relationship with them.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM PRIMORJE-GORSKI KOTAR COUNTY)

“They took part of our income, simply to implement this strategy, as for many others, certain funds, or certain budgets should be defined that would be intended for the local levels where they're being implemented. I think it would be, that we could do much more.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM ISTRIAN COUNTY)

Some in turn cite modes of cooperation – mostly concerning cooperation on concrete cases and reporting.

INTERSECTORAL COOPERATION AT THE LOCAL/COUNTY LEVEL

Here the examples from the statements of the interviewed representatives of relevant county-level institutions will be presented, likewise grouped by territorial proximity, not due to it being a criterion allowing for comparability, but because of the small number of interviews in those counties where there are few Roma sites.

Thus representatives from Brod-Posavina and Osijek-Baranja county have highlighted the following examples of intersectoral cooperation:

“I know that the Information Legal Center organised and encouraged the drafting of the action plan and called for meetings that would be attended by representatives of various institutions, associations, establishments that are crucial in the life of the RNM, so as to get together and talk a bit about the problems we encounter and maybe the needs of each organisation, institution, what is expected from the Roma minority, what should it do, what can we do together with them, and I think that that was really praiseworthy.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM BROD-POSAVINA COUNTY)

“As far as cooperation between various institutions is concerned, both through the Prevention councils and certain other forms, we're cooperating well. And the social welfare committee, representatives of the SWC are also participating.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

“Quite good, at the local level great. The MIA, health centre, all that functions at the local level is doing quite well. Further up, that’s where the problems start.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

“I think (that cooperation) is very good, we all know each other here, we’ve been cooperating with the police well for years, with the school extremely well for years.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

“The MIA has been doing its job OK, SWC, they work, we can’t say that they don’t, but there’s not enough people. It can be done much better. We also cooperate with the school, the kindergarten, the health service, all that’s fine, but the biggest problem are the SWC and the CES.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY)

Although some representatives of the relevant institutions claim that horizontal cooperation among institutions at the county level is good, some nevertheless stress that cooperation with social welfare centres is not as efficient as it should be, because of the large scope of their competences and responsibilities, and too few staff.

Representatives of Koprivnica-Križevci and Bjelovar-Bilogora county have underlined the following examples of intersectoral cooperation:

“Only with the Social Welfare Centre, I’m not exaggerating if I say that maybe every other week I get a memo to write an opinion on a family, on children, because they committed a criminal offence or are in a situation of neglect, human rights violation and that.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM KOPRIVNICA-KRIŽEVCI COUNTY)

“We often meet – members of the Social Welfare Centre, Employment Service, county employees, school directors. Then all sorts of strategies are implemented, and all sorts of activities within the frameworks of these strategies, and members of the Roma national minority, and the associations, all are involved...” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM BJELOVAR-BILOGORA COUNTY)

In Varaždin and Međimurje county, horizontal cooperation among institutions mainly takes place in resolving concrete cases:

“We work normally, we have our work in the field, I’m telling you, from my profession, we work (...) within the scope of our work, we normally cooperate with them, with the social services, normally, in case certain needs arise or something, of course, we must cooperate with general and primary care physicians (...)” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM VARAŽDIN COUNTY)

Interviewees have recognised the need for coordination, which is currently inadequate.

In the City of Zagreb, Zagreb County and Sisak-Moslavina county, a smaller portion of interviewees have stated that cooperation is inadequate:

“No, and I believe that that’s precisely what’s missing.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM THE CITY OF ZAGREB)

Most interviewees state that cooperation is good – work on resolving concrete problems and cases, carrying out projects and action plans, interdisciplinary teams etc.

“These interdisciplinary teams for instance, we have them quite often, at least around 3-4 times a year as far as, say, lower success-rates or paperwork issues are concerned, specific incidents when Roma children or internally by other parents to the police or something – in the school we organise an interdisciplinary team, with cooperation between the police, the SWC, our GP, the juvenile division of the police department, the entire professional service and I.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM THE CITY OF ZAGREB)

“Since the City adopted the action plan after the fact, we as members in the City, we basically have everything. It just needs to be made part of a plan. Cooperation with the City is satisfactory, with a primary school, kindergartens, we have cooperation. They are our main partners.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM THE SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

“This cooperation is most often initiated when there are more pronounced problems, so when something can’t be resolved at school level only, needing the broader community for the problem to be solved.”

(REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM THE SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY)

In Primorje-Gorski kotar and Istrian county the stakeholders have expressed various opinions:

“I guess that at the national level they cooperate, at the local level, we don’t know much about that.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM THE ISTRIAN COUNTY)

“I have a Social Welfare Centre here, absolutely. I had no problem when I asked the mayor for help either.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM THE PRIMORJE-GORSKI KOTAR COUNTY)

An interviewee has mentioned a lack of continuity in cooperation:

“You know how it is? At the level of local self-government units, it all depended on who was municipality prefect and how much he wanted to resolve this problem of his on the ground.” (REPRESENTATIVE OF A RELEVANT INSTITUTION FROM THE PRIMORJE-GORSKI KOTAR COUNTY)

According to answers from the interviews conducted, intersectoral cooperation in concrete cases at county level is somewhat better than vertical cooperation, with national-level institutions. However, some representatives of the relevant institutions believe that coordination between institutions and continuity of engagement are lacking.

5 / CONCLUSION AND RECOMMEN- DATIONS



The basic conclusions and recommendations deriving from the research will be presented across three basic sections. The first concerns the set of conclusions and recommendations regarding collection of data for the purpose of monitoring the effects of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy, as well as their use. The second concerns the conclusions relating to thematic priorities in further implementation of Roma inclusion policy, while the third section considers the institutional framework for the implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy, that is, enhancing the work and coordination of actors tasked with implementing the measures foreseen in the National Strategy and the accompanying action plan.

The National Roma Inclusion Strategy 2013-2020 is an important and comprehensive document aiming “to improve the status of the Roma minority in the Republic of Croatia by reducing the multi-dimensional socio-economic chasm between the Roma and the remaining population and by harmoniously, openly and transparently achieving the full inclusion of the Roma in all segments of society and the community.”²⁸² It has been recognised earlier that one of the difficulties with implementing this document, as well as the related action plans, is that until now it has been impossible to monitor the effects of their implementation;²⁸³ the institutions responsible for the implementation of the National Strategy do collect certain data, but mainly not those concerning ethnic/national affiliation, which precludes adequate monitoring of the effects of the National Strategy through sole use of so-called administrative data. Moreover, while important and high-quality studies pertaining to the Roma population in Croatia have been conducted hitherto, they were mostly not designed so as to allow their results to be used to monitor the effects of the National Strategy across all its areas and goals, as well as measures in the accompanying action plan.

Therefore, it has been recognised at the institutional level that it is necessary “to define the initial values for measuring the effects of the NRIS and NRIS AP at the national, regional and local levels, and to define the needs of the Roma communities, as well as obstacles to the Roma national minority’s inclusion at the local/regional and national level,” which is also the overall goal of this study. By applying a specific methodology, this study will ensure that in the future, this overall goal is actually realised. It is important here to draw attention to certain research particularities and methodological innovations in comparison to other studies of the Roma in the Republic of Croatia and the European Union.

The first particularity of the study concerns the use of a mixed methodology, with several different research methods. Pre-research was conducted using a combination of the methods of mapping and observation; quantitative research was conducted using the survey method, while qualitative research used the methods of semi-structured in-

282 The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *National Roma Inclusion Strategy from 2013 to 2020*, Zagreb, November 2012. <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/23102013/National%20Roma%20inclusion%20strategy%202013-2020.eng.pdf> (accessed June 2018)

283 See for instance, Friedman, E., Horvat, M., *Evaluation Report: Evaluation of Croatian National Roma Inclusion Strategy*, Zagreb, Government Office for Human Rights and Rights of National Minorities, UNDP – Croatia Office, 2015.

interviews and focus groups. Different research methods were used for different research populations. Thus, in pre-research, units of analysis were locations inhabited by at least 30 members of the RNM; in survey research, Roma households and their members were analysed, while in qualitative research Roma national minority representatives (presidents and members of RNM councils and members of Roma associations) were interviewed, as were representatives of relevant institutions and other relevant individuals with regard to their duty or role they play in the community. It was only possible to realise the fundamental goal of the study through a combination of different research approaches, so that the initial values for measuring the effects of the NRIS and NRIS AP at the national, regional and local level are defined simultaneously, as are the needs and obstacles in Roma national minority inclusion at the local/regional and national level.

An exceptionally important aspect of the research was the participation of the Roma national minority representatives in all dimensions of the project. Members of the Roma national minority were involved in three rounds of consultations whose goal was to conduct an internal identification of locations where the Roma lived. Furthermore, in the pre-research stage, the Roma performed three different research roles: as assistants, mappers and informants for individual mapped locations. During quantitative research, in addition to their role as interviewees, the Roma also participated as educated canvassers: nearly half the canvassing team were Roma. During qualitative research, key Roma figures (representatives of the Roma national minority Council and representatives of associations) had the role of tellers. Thus, an active interrelationship between the research team and the Roma community was created, as well as an understanding and responsibility towards the research process, individual activities and data gathered developed over the entire course of the research.

For the needs of the study, a special mode of identifying members of the Roma national minority was designed and prepared across four stages: in the first stage, external identification was performed, based on the Census and various secondary sources and databases; followed by internal identification across two stages – first with Roma experts, and then with key Roma figures *in situ* (with presidents and members of RNM councils in all counties and local leaders in certain Roma communities). Thus, for internal identification, a number of group and individual consultations were held across several stages. In the end, during the surveying itself, a process of self-identification of individual participants in the research was conducted. The combination of these three methods of identification allowed the greatest precision and validity of the definition of the population of interest, which would not have been possible if just one of these methods had been used.

The mapping of Roma communities, conducted during the pre-research stage in order to identify and describe the locations inhabited by at least 30 RNM members, had a twofold role: on the one hand, it served to provide information on the research population – the specific locations inhabited by the Roma, descriptions of individual Roma communities and the structure of their populations; while on the other hand, it was essential to constructing a representative sample in the quantitative research, as well as carrying out the survey research. In mapping, a combination of various techniques of collecting data was

applied, which required designing different templates for describing communities, describing the population and observing specific locations. Mapping was adapted to types of locations as regards the density of the Roma population and the position of the Roma settlement in relation to its respective towns or villages. As information for the bulk of the locations was obtained from three informants – inhabitants of the mapped Roma communities – for each one, clear rules were developed for processing collected data in case the informants' answers to the same questions were at variance with each other.

The research population for this study was broader than the hitherto conducted studies of the Roma in Croatia. For instance, UNDP²⁸⁴ used the national average of the share of the Roma as the criterion for defining the population, while in the EU MIDIS II study,²⁸⁵ FRA covered those geographical or administrative areas where the Roma comprised more than 10% of the local population. For this study, the first stage isolated all counties where the proportion of Roma population is equal to or higher than the national average (0.4%), while the second also included all those counties which were found to have at least one location (town or municipality) where more than 30 RNM members live. Therefore data from pre-research pertain to a population that we can define as locations within 15 counties of the Republic of Croatia where 30 or more members of the Roma national minority live, while survey research data pertain to a population that we can define as persons self-identified as Roma within 12 counties of the Republic of Croatia, in locations inhabited by 30 or more members of the Roma national minority.

Special attention was paid to constructing a representative sample of the Roma population in the survey research. A two-stage proportionally stratified probability sample was used, controlling for quotas of interviewees by age and sex. The first level of stratification was by county, while the second level was by locations inhabited by RNM members. The sample was constructed according to data on the research population that were collected in pre-research, and is considered age- and sex-representative of Roma national minority members in 12 Croatian counties for those locations inhabited by a minimum of 30 RNM members. Techniques of sampling Roma households varied depending on type of individual location, with all the surveyed locations classified as concentrated or dispersed, based on the pre-research data. In order to guarantee a high degree of sample representativeness, the choice of participants in the research was based on two levels of random sampling: the first level concerned the choice of Roma household, and the second level the choice of member of household, that is, interviewee to be canvassed.

The existence of two versions of the survey questionnaire and their alternating use in surveying allowed simultaneous extensive collection of data related to all relevant areas of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy, but also data on as many RNM members as possible. Due to the all-encompassing nature of the information needed, but also the

²⁸⁴ Ivanov, A., Kling, J. and Kagin, J., *Integrated household survey among Roma populations: one possible approach to sampling in the UNDP-World Bank-EC Regional Roma Survey 2011. Roma Inclusion Working Papers*, Bratislava, United Nations Development Programme, 2012.

²⁸⁵ European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) *Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS II): Background note on survey methodology*, 2016.

temporal limitations on the duration of surveying, not all questions could be asked of all interviewees. Therefore, by alternating versions of the survey questionnaire, from half the interviewees we collected socio-demographic data on their household members, while with the other half of the interviewed members of the RNM we gathered data on their personal experiences, as well as opinions related to a broad range of subjects. In so doing, data were collected from all interviewees regarding their households and living conditions.

The survey research of the Roma population was conducted on an exceptionally large sample. Data was collected on 4,758 members of Roma households – 21.2% of the overall size of the researched population of RM members, that is, 1,550 households – which comprise 37.5% of the households recorded in pre-research. In comparison, in 2016, FRA conducted a research within the framework of the EU MIDIS II study in Croatia, where 538 Roma households took part, and data were gathered on 2,800 members of these households, while the UNDP, World Bank and European Commission study of 2011 surveyed 757 Roma households, collecting data on 3,869 members of these households.

The qualitative research was likewise conducted with an exceptionally large number of stakeholders, both members of the Roma national minority (67 interviews) and representatives of relevant institutions (141) interviews. The total number of participants in the qualitative research was 281 (67 of whom were key Roma figures, and 214 representatives of relevant institutions – 141 participants in semi-structured interviews and 73 in focus groups). In choosing interviewees in the qualitative stage of research, care was taken to have balanced representation of all relevant stakeholders at the local and regional levels, which is why the research is significantly more comprehensive than usual in qualitative research and allows establishing differences among the locations at the institutional level, as well as reaching conclusions on the challenges and obstacles to the implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy in the opinions of the key stakeholders at the county and local levels.

As regards the implementation of National Strategy measures, that is, realisation of its goals, more detailed conclusions, as well as recommendations on the specific measures, are given in the closing sections of sub-chapters.²⁸⁶

Therefore, presented here will be the conclusions and general recommendations regarding the priority interventions in the field of Roma inclusion in all spheres of social and political life in Croatia.

Taking into account recommendations from all key stakeholders in the study, the unavoidable conclusion arises that to improve the position and inclusion of the Roma, special attention needs to be paid to three subject areas of the National Roma Inclusion

286 These are: Education; Employment and inclusion in economic life; Healthcare; Social welfare; Spatial planning, housing and environmental protection; Inclusion in social and cultural life; Status resolutions, combating discrimination and assistance in exercising the rights of the Roma minority; Institutional framework.

Strategy – education, employment and spatial planning, housing and environmental protection. On one hand, the need to direct special attention to these three thematic units stems from the problems continually observed within them (as confirmed by the results of the research), but also from the fact that problems in each of these areas also have bearing on the exercise of Roma rights and Roma inclusion in other thematic areas, that is, facets of Roma life in Croatia. In this regard, it is particularly important to notice the connections between these three areas, and keep their interwovenness and interconnectedness in mind in designing recommendations, as the observed problems form a so-called vicious circle of Roma social exclusion. Indeed, it is possible to claim that it is partly due to the low educational level of the Roma population in Croatia that opportunities for the Roma to become employed in higher-quality jobs are significantly reduced, which drives many Roma into a position of material deprivation and poverty. Such conditions, in turn, preclude the realisation of an appropriate housing standard, which itself has various consequences (e.g. in the field of health) that are also visible in the field of education, as poor housing conditions affect children's educational attainment. Therefore, to exit that vicious circle, simultaneous and continuous work needs to be done to improve the indicators on each of these aspects.

In the area of education, it is especially important to focus attention, as well as human and financial capacities on increasing the preschool education coverage of Roma children, which should positively affect Roma children's social and other skills, as well as knowledge of the Croatian language. This would make Roma children better prepared to attend primary school, thus improving their educational achievement and outcomes in general. In primary school, broad and continuous implementation of extended day care programmes needs to be secured, which would partly compensate for insufficient parental support in education and lack of adequate housing conditions for education. It is important that implementation of this measure is systematic, that is, that it does not depend on financing from sporadically available sources. In addition, it is important to increase the Roma population's secondary school coverage, which can be done through support and guidance programmes for young people making the transition from primary to secondary education, and throughout secondary school. It is important to stress that scholarship programmes for Roma secondary school pupils are important and useful, but need to be enhanced as in the existing form (that is, the level of financial support they entail) they are not enough to eliminate the financial reasons for not attending or abandoning secondary education. Moreover, in secondary education, the creative potential and abilities of young Roma needs to be taken into account, ensuring that the ratio between attendance in gymnasiums, arts and four-year secondary schools and attendance in three-year secondary schools are changed to benefit the former, which would secure one of the preconditions for increasing the number of students and highly educated members of the Roma national minority.

Roma employment and inclusion in economic life is the only long-term and sustainable solution to the problems of poverty, material deprivation and social exclusion faced by members of the Roma national minority. Along with the previously described recommendations in the field of education, attention primarily needs to be focused on eliminating discrimination against members of the Roma minority in the field of employment,

which has turned out to be extremely frequent. Beside discrimination in hiring and work, discrimination in this area is also a big problem in the area of education, as the inability of members of the Roma national minority with secondary education to find a job is a new obstacle which casts everything back to the beginning, demotivating members of the Roma population from further investing in their education. Therefore it is necessary to encourage reporting discrimination, ensure that discriminatory behaviour is sanctioned, and additionally work on eliminating the majority population's and employers' prejudice about the Roma population, as well as informing employers as to the illegality of such behaviour and the enduring effects of discrimination on both the personal and the social level. Besides, it needs to be kept in mind that active employment measures, that is, public works, which the Roma use most, are useful in the short term, but long-term policies of Roma inclusion in the labour market cannot be founded exclusively on measures with such limited reach.

In the area of spatial planning and housing, it is important to take into account both short-term and long-term solutions to problems in this area. In the short term, it is necessary to secure optimal housing conditions in the locations inhabited by the Roma. This primarily concerns legalising the existing dwellings and investment in infrastructure where it is not accessible or good (this particularly pertains to the water supply and sewer system, drainage and road infrastructure). In addition, funds need to be secured to connect Roma households to the available infrastructure (especially the electricity, sewerage and water supply networks) and finance repairs to, and adaptation of inadequate housing objects where possible, and where not, to find alternative solutions through social housing programmes or subsidising purchase or renting of replacement housing units. These short-term solutions to housing problems need to be coordinated with what should be the long-term goal in this area, which is the spatial residential integration of the Roma population, which is a precondition for Roma integration in other areas as well. Such integration should likewise be conducted through measures stimulating young Roma families to satisfy their accommodation needs in locations inhabited by the majority population, through social housing programmes and subsidising purchase of or building objects in locations outside Roma settlements. In view of the spatial and legal inability of many Roma settlements to expand, with the concurrent expected demographic growth of the Roma population, such solutions represent a desirable direction of development of Roma inclusion policy.

Along with the recommendations specified for the three areas, it is important to highlight that in the field of healthcare and social welfare, additional attention should be focused on intersectoral programmes of prevention of certain forms of problematic and risky behaviour, such as use of addictive substances (tobacco-based products, alcohol and opiates), violent behaviour and certain illegal activities (such as predatory lending and gambling). It is important that these programmes (education, awareness-raising etc.) are conducted continuously, synergistically and in cooperation by various relevant actors (such as social services, health and education institutions, police), and in cooperation with the Roma, at the locations where the Roma live.

Finally, it is necessary to reflect on the institutional environment as the key precondition

of implementation of the National Strategy on which the success of Roma inclusion policy largely depends. According to research results, it is necessary to better define the division of competences and responsibilities for implementing concrete measures and activities and to improve exchange of information, coordination and cooperation among all involved actors, along both the vertical and the horizontal axis. Primarily, the financial and human capacities of national-level institutions tasked with monitoring and coordinating (the Government Office for Human Rights and Rights of National Minorities) and implementing NRIS measures need to be further increased. Likewise, it is necessary to secure a higher level of informedness of all actors at the local and county level (local and regional self-government units and institutions active at the local level) regarding their responsibilities in respect of the implementation of the Roma inclusion policy, and secure financial and other support for their activities by national-level institutions. Looking at activities of local and regional self-government units, it would be advisable to somehow introduce an obligation to adopt and implement in time the county and local action plans that should follow and complement the objectives of the NRIS and measures in its accompanying NRIS AP. Moreover, the implementation of the planned measures and activities should be decentralised to the greatest possible extent, so as to take account of all the local and other particularities of the Roma population's social and economic context. As for coordination and cooperation in NRIS implementation at the horizontal, local and county level, tighter intersectoral coordination among all institutions active in a given field needs to be ensured, through joint drafting of priority activities and regular exchange of information and solutions to the concrete challenges at the local level. Members of the Roma national minority need to be involved in deciding on priorities in a reasonable and optimal way. One possible solution lies in strengthening the work of Roma national minority councils and representatives through increasing their members' capacities and encouraging greater involvement in their work on the part of certain segments of the Roma population (primarily women and the young). In addition, the role of the councils and representatives itself needs to be reinforced, so that, in addition to its advisory function, they have real influence over decisions concerning the Roma population at the local and county levels. In addition, support for Roma national minority councils and representatives also needs to be secured through a systematic and balanced policy of financing their work.

6 / LITERATURE



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FROM A PEER REVIEW BY DR. OLJA DRUŽIĆ LJUBOTINA, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR:

“... The publication “Roma Inclusion in the Croatian Society: a Baseline Data Study” represents an important contribution to further direction of various policies concerning members of the Roma national minority, as the creation of baseline data allows further clear and operative action within the framework of priority fields of action within the context of implementing the National Roma Inclusion Strategy at the local, regional and national levels. Equally, this publication significantly contributes to understanding the various aspects of the position of the Roma national minority from the scientific-research perspective as well. It is a complex study whose conception is fully scientifically based, very studious and detailed in its design and elaboration, keeping in view all the important aspects that an all-encompassing and representative scientific research must possess.

On one hand, this study confirms the current knowledge on the key aspects of Roma national minority members’ position and inclusion in society, but on the other, it significantly expands the range of insights into their situation with new data and approaches. The research combines the quantitative and qualitative approach, that is, the objective and subjective perspective, which significantly deepens and expands the picture of the position of the Roma in Croatia. An exceptionally important aspect of this research from the perspective of participation was the significant involvement of Roma national minority representatives across all dimensions of the project, performing various roles in the research depending on the particularities of specific aspects of the research, and an active role in testifying about and understanding the position of the Roma national minority in Croatia.

In addition to this publication’s significance from the perspective of adopting effective policies with regard to the Roma population, as well as its scientific relevance, it can also prove useful to professionals in daily contact with members of the Roma national minority, as it closes with a series of recommendations and conclusions in various spheres of life, suggesting that scientific insights need to be transformed into specific measures and policies – which was the intention of this study.

Finally, social problems, one of which is the disadvantageous position of the Roma national minority, necessarily require those who design and implement decisions and measures to do something. This publication is a very precious guide for policymakers, clearly pointing the way towards effective measures needing to be taken in order to improve the position of the Roma national minority in Croatia...”



EUROPEAN UNION



GOVERNMENT
OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
Office for Human Rights and
Rights of National Minorities



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