

**EU Conditionality through the National Roma
Integration Strategies in Western Balkans:
a case study of Macedonia and Croatia**

By

Fikrija Tair

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Supervisor: Dr. Sara Svensson

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TABLE OF CONTENT

Introduction.....	1
Chapter one: Literature review and conceptual framework	6
1.1. The concept of conditionality, enlargement principles, and the Copenhagen criteria	6
1.2. Minority rights protection as conditionality	7
1.3. Roma minority rights protection and social inclusion	10
Chapter two: Methodology.....	12
2.1. Case selection.....	12
2.2. Data collection.....	13
2.3. Data analysis.....	15
Chapter three: Analysis of the cases.....	20
3.1. Background context.....	21
3.1.1. Roma in Croatia and Croatia-EU relations	21
3.1.2. Roma in Macedonia and Macedonia-EU relations	22
3.2. Assessment of Croatia's and Macedonia's progress on Roma.....	24
3.2.1 Horizontal measures: Discrimination/Poverty/Roma Women/Children in the street.....	25
3.2.2 Policy measure: Education	27
3.2.3 Policy measure: Employment.....	30
3.2.4 Policy measure: Housing.....	31
3.2.5 Policy measure: Health.....	33
3.2.6 Structural measures: Cooperation and Coordination, Monitoring and Funding.....	34

Conclusion	38
Appendix 1.....	43
Appendix 2.....	44
Appendix 3.....	46
Table 1 (HR)	48
Table 2 (MKD).....	50
Reference list	53

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I, the undersignedFikrija Tair..... hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis.

To the best of my knowledge this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made. This thesis contains no material which has been accepted as part of the requirements of any other academic degree or non-degree program, in English or in any other language.

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

Date: June 19, 2017

Name (printed letters):FIKRIJA TAIR.....

Signature:

ABSTRACT

The existing literature on EU (accession) conditionality and minority protection which elaborates many aspects debated among scholars, assisted this thesis in uncovering some elements that have not been discussed earlier regarding Roma in the Western Balkans. In this regards tracing two case studies, Croatia and Macedonia, this thesis aims to explain the EU conditionality approach through the NRIS. The central research question of this thesis is: *How does the EU (accession) conditionality approach impact on inducing candidate countries to implement policies for Roma through the National Roma Integration Strategy effectively?* The research question is answered through a comparative case study design between one candidate country- Macedonia and one new member state-Croatia by doing a content analysis. More precisely, using a quantified assessment model, this thesis measures the progress of these two countries in implementing policies for Roma for the period 2009-2016. In the case of Croatia, this thesis elaborates results about the pre- and post-accession process. Based on the quantitative results and on the insights provided by the interviews, this thesis concludes that Croatia's results regarding the Roma integration process are more progressive than Macedonia's for the analyzed period. Additionally, these results show the factual situation of Roma in both cases. Therefore, those can be considered as measurements that reflect the effectiveness of the EU conditionality to induce the selected cases in the implementation of policies for Roma through the NRIS. The findings, to some extent are that the EU conditionality, considering its legal and financial mechanisms, impacts the future memberships through the implementation of the NRIS as a tool.

Keywords: Roma, EU conditionality, National Roma Integration Strategy, minority rights protection, policy, progress, Macedonia, Croatia

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CBS- Croatian Bureau of Statistics

CLRNM- Constitutional Law on the Rights of National Minorities

EP- European Parliament

EU- European Union

HR- Croatia

HRRNM- Human Rights and Rights of National Minorities

IDPs- Internally displaced persons

MKD- Macedonia

NPR- National Programs for Roma

NRIS- National Roma Integration Strategy

PR- Progress Reports

RHM- Roma Health Mediators

SAA- Stabilization and Association Agreement

LIST OF TABLES

FIGURE 1: TIME-FRAME	12
FIGURE 2: CODES.....	17
FIGURE 3: ASSESSMENT’S RANKING	18
TABLE 1: (HR).....	48
TABLE 2: (MKD)	50

INTRODUCTION

The literature has always described the Roma minority as Europe's marginalized group, living in deep poverty and facing social exclusion and discrimination in every sphere of social living. The situation of Roma in the Western Balkans (WB)¹, compared to the rest of Europe, is even worse (Muller and Jovanovic 2010). The literature scholarship provides almost the same description and the same unofficial data regarding the population of the Roma in the last twenty years. Based on unofficial data², the European Union (EU) claims that the number of Roma living in Europe is 10-12 million (European Commission 2011a, 2). Despite the problem of not having an official data of the Roma population in Europe, concerned institutions attempt to gather the data and design policies to “integrate” Roma in the society. One of these institutions is the European Union as a translational government in which the Roma are the largest minority.

The existing literature on the EU elaborates many aspects debated among scholars on EU accession conditionality and minority protection. Some scholars also provide studies regarding the Roma integration policies and protection of minority rights of Roma. In this regard, this thesis aims to explain the EU conditionality approach through the NRIS while tracing two case studies, Croatia and Macedonia. Using a quantified assessment model, this thesis measures the progress of these two countries in implementing policies for Roma for the period 2009-2016. In the case of Croatia, this thesis elaborates on the results of the pre- and post-accession periods.

¹ According to the EU the Western Balkans countries are: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (in this thesis as Macedonia), Montenegro, Kosovo and Serbia. See more at: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuId=FTU_6.5.2.html

² One of the findings of the civil society regarding the usual justifications of the scholars about the problem with the lack of data is related to the difficulties to gather data based on ethnicity (McDonald and Negrin 2010; Claude Cahn and Elspeth Guild 2010).

The European Union in an official statement noted that it has a “joint responsibility” for improving the situation of the Roma together with the member state’s national governments (European Commission 2017b). Additionally, the same responsibility refers to both, member states and candidate countries(2017b). One of the mechanisms through which the EU is trying to show its responsibility towards Roma is following its values in accordance with the Charter of Fundamental Rights i.e. respecting the fundamental rights and promoting equality. The European Commission (the Commission) recognizes the need for Roma integration, putting it in line with the EU 2020 strategy, where one of the priorities is the Inclusive Growth and the European Platform against Poverty (European Commission 2010a, 2). In addition, the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies identified the same need for better integration of Roma in Europe. With this, for the first time the EU, in some capacity induced its member states as well as the candidate countries to comply in establishing their own National Roma Integration Strategies (NRIS) that have targeted policies for the Roma.

EU Framework for the National Roma Integration Strategy and EU Conditionality

The Commission in 2011 adopted the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies (the Framework). This document obligates the member states to allow Roma citizens, “non-discriminatory access to education, employment, vocational training, healthcare, social protection and housing through the Directive 2000/43/EC³” (European Commission 2011a, 4; European Union 2000). The main focus of the EU Framework is on providing policy, horizontal and structural measures that target the Roma as a marginalized group in the policy areas of education, housing, employment and health. Moreover, the Framework consists of other measures such as anti-discrimination, desegregation (Horizontal measures), cooperation and coordination, monitoring and funding (Structural measures). The progress of all measures is assessed by the Commission throughout

³ Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32000L0043:en:HTML>

its conclusions in the EU Communication (European Commission 2017b). In this thesis, the progress is measured by the author.

The EU Framework shows the European Union's responsibility to improve the situation of its Roma citizens, and it "does not replace Member States' primary responsibility in this regards". Moreover, the Framework "encourages Member States [...] to adopt or to develop further a comprehensive approach to Roma integration..." (European Commission 2011a, 3–4). Throughout this document as well as the EU Directives and Treaties considering the minority rights protection, the Roma minority is under the "joint responsibility" of EU and its Member States. Although the promotion of human rights and democracy development are two of the priorities of the European Union throughout the EU association process, the situation of the Roma in WB is still not improved (UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights 2014). The Roma- citizens of the member states, experience similar problems. The Commission noted that the adoption of the NRIS as a 'tool' for integrating Roma and improving their situation, has not shown "tangible results" (European Commission 2016). Moreover, as part of the provided targeted and mainstream policies for Roma, the EU has shown some results in the field of four prioritized policy areas: Education, Health, Housing and Employment, but more should be done in terms of effectively reaching results (European Commission 2010a). Based on the above documents it can be concluded that problems such as: the unequal treatment in the educational institutions and the labor market, the improper housing in segregated areas, the inadequate health care etc., have not been resolved yet under the "joint responsibility" of the EU and the member states.

The Gap in the literature

The concept of EU (accession) conditionality and minority protection with a focus on the Roma minority has been researched and debated among scholars from many aspects. Some of them research the relationship between EU conditionality and its impact on the fulfillment of the Copenhagen criteria (1993) and the EU accession principle in general⁴(Kochenov 2008). Others argue that the EU conditionality for minority protection and the compliance for institutional reforms depend on domestic politics (Grabbe 2001; Tallberg 2002; Schimmelfennig, Engert, and Knobel 2003; Haughton 2007; Rechel 2008; Fedorová 2011). In addition, some studies are focused on the gap between the “policy formulation and implementation”, which provide insights on the importance and the EU conditionality concepts leverage to invoke changes in the legislation and policies (Hughes and Sasse 2003; Vermeersch 2004, 2012; Goodwin and Buijs 2013). Finally, the literature also provides studies related to the importance of the cooperation between the EU institutions and the civil society when designing policies for Roma (Ram 2010, 2011; McGarry 2012; Sobotka and Vermeersch 2012; Rostas and Rövid 2015). However, the literature lacks research on how effective the EU accession conditionality approach is in inducing candidate countries to implement policies for Roma. Hence, the aim of this thesis is to answer the central research question: *How does the EU accession conditionality approach impact on inducing candidate countries to implement policies for Roma through the NRIS effectively?* The question is answered through a comparative case study design for which one candidate country (Macedonia) and one new member state (Croatia⁵) is selected. The justification for the case selection is presented in the methodology chapter. The case study relies on data collected from reports and interviews. Thus, a content analysis has been done, meaning that the content of the Commission’s

⁴ The Copenhagen criteria will be elaborated in the Literature review part.

⁵ The case will analyze the pre-accession period for both countries, as well as the post-accession period for Croatia. It is important to be mentioned that suitable and comparable data in the case of Croatia was limited. However, this limitation is covered from the conducted interviews.

Progress reports (PR) is analyzed through a quantified assessment model that provides assessments by years, priority areas and measurements. In addition, interviews with key actors who are or were involved in the implementation of the Roma integration policies and the EU accession process are conducted (including EU and national governmental institution's actors). Hence, this thesis gives insights on the behavior of the national governments and the role of EU in inducing the candidate countries to implement policies related to the Roma minority in the WB effectively, to improve their current situation.

This thesis will contribute to the literature on the EU about how the EU accession conditionality can be used for increasing the effectiveness of the NRIS. Additionally, this thesis provides a different perspective on the importance of the cooperation between EU and national governments when designing and implementing policies for Roma. Furthermore, it tackles Croatia's and Macedonia's responsiveness regarding the question of Roma inclusion and protection of minority rights.

This thesis is organized in three chapters. First it provides an overview of the existing literature related to the concept of EU (accession) conditionality and minority rights protection connecting it with the Roma integration. Second, the research design and methodology is explained. The final chapter provides excerpts of the interviews that were conducted with key actors as well as a detailed content analysis on the Progress reports of Macedonia and Croatia.

CHAPTER ONE: LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The literature review provides a conceptual framework of the EU conditionality, the Copenhagen criteria and the enlargement principles as concepts that are in line with the EU values and rules. In addition, it concentrates on the minority rights protection as part of the EU conditionality, linking it with the Roma minority in Europe and the policies designed for Roma. Finally, it concludes by providing the literature scholarship regarding the Roma minority protection and social inclusion.

1.1. The concept of conditionality, enlargement principles, and the Copenhagen criteria

The enlargement of the European Union is still an important topic among many scholars focusing on the conditionality principles, Europeanization, the compliance, the Copenhagen criteria, *acquis communautaire*⁶ etc. The EU conditionality and the topic of minority rights protection is discussed by authors such as Schimmelfennig (2001), Grabbe (2001), Hugess and Sasse (2003), Haughton (2007), Spirova and Budd (2008), Kochenov(2008), Vachudova (2009), Fedorova (2011) etc. The main conclusions of these authors are focused on the time-frame of the EU's democratic and legal development and power, as well as the evolution of the conditionality principle for the future memberships. Hence, Kochenov(2008), explains that in 1993 the Copenhagen European Council adopted the enlargement criteria directed to the candidate countries regarding “democracy, the Rule of Law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities”(2008, 33). In addition, Kochenov states that since The Hague European Council communique in 1969- the crucial enlargement principle was the conditionality principle which complied the future memberships to depend on their performance in many fields assuring full and consistent implementation of the *acquis communautaire*.

⁶ According to the EU Treaty. Article 2 and Article 3 the *acquis communautaire* is “the most important constitutional core of the EU legal system” or according to Kochenov “part of the set of principles of EU enlargement law (Kochenov 2008).

Moreover, the candidate countries have to genuinely and effectively follow the EU objectives and principles (Kochenov 2008, 39–41). The concept of conditionality can be defined through the EU legal-political documents. There are eight legal-political documents among which The Commission's Progress reports which are designed for inducing the candidate countries to effectively compliance with the Copenhagen criteria. These instruments make "the Conditionality Principle workable" (Kochenov 2008, 76–77). Hence, this thesis uses the PR as a relevant secondary source to measure the effectiveness of the conditionality principles for the candidate countries to implement policies for Roma that- first reflect the protection of minority rights as part of the Copenhagen criteria and second the "joint responsibility" for Roma integration in accordance with EU 2020 Strategy. Besides, one of the Commission's officials indicated its opinion regarding the conditionality in the post-accession period under the ex-ante conditionality on funding. The respondent explained that

Under the ex-ante [funding] conditionality, the member states who want to use EU Structural and Investment Funds for Roma Inclusion and have therefore selected the investment priority on the 'socio-economic integration of marginalized communities such as Roma' have to demonstrate that they have an appropriate policy framework and a robust monitoring mechanism in place enabling them to report on the achieved results... which enforce the member states to report on the effectiveness of the funded programs (D.H. Commission's Official).

Based on the above-mentioned conclusions, the conditionality principle binds the candidate countries such as Macedonia and the member states such as Croatia throughout legal or financial conditionality to effectively implement policies at EU level.

1.2. Minority rights protection as conditionality

After the Maastricht Treaty (1992), the EU contributed with a higher respect for the minority rights within the member states (European Union 1992, 177). According to Grabbe (2002), through the Copenhagen criteria, the EU prevented potential economic and political instability as a consequence of expanding EU with new member states. Hence, the Copenhagen criteria imposes to the new member states to fulfill the fundamental requirements under the EU values (2002, 251). In

line with this statement, EU's approach as a transnational institution can be anticipated as conditioning the new enlargements to comply with the EU Directives, laws and principles. Therefore, respecting the minority rights is one of the conditions relating to the member states, the candidate countries and potential new enlargements. Peter Vermeersch (2003, 9) claims that the "EU requirements" for the protection of minorities regarding the Roma are perceived differently comparing the other minorities, and therefore the conditionality for minority rights protection have double standards. Moreover, he argues that this fact opens doors for the new member states to interpret the conditionality regarding the protection of minority rights in different ways depending on their interests.

In some of the processes of Central Europe's enlargement countries, Hughes and Sasse (2003, 26) noted that the lack of internal engagement and "rhetorical prominence" concerning the principle of conditionality has minority rights protection approach. Additionally, it is important to argue about the priority of rights that should be protected within this approach, because several minorities live within the EU. For example, Vermeersch provides a comparison between the Roma minority as a non-territorial minority and the example of the Hungarian minority in Romania as a territorial minority. Namely, he examines the need for the EU to prioritize the protection of any possible territorial minority, instead of the Roma non-territorial minority. The reason behind this, as Vermeersch explains is the calculated risk by the EU for potential conflicts that can destabilize the region and are not in favor of the future agenda setting of the EU (Vermeersch 2003). Therefore, this argument creates a room for discussion regarding whether the Roma being a "non-territorial" minority in Macedonia and Croatia, have an equal benefit to the mainstream policies approach taken by the national governments and the EU, compared to the "territorial" minorities such as Albanians in Macedonia and Serbs in Croatia. However, the mainstream and targeted policies are equally important for the overall Roma integration process. This aspect should be further researched in order to give a broader picture of the effectiveness of the Roma integration.

As Hughes and Sasse explain, the existence of the conditionality for minority rights protection together with the soft law for the implementation of the NRIS is not always conditionally considered and practiced by the member states (2003, 26). Hence, the authors note the weakness of the member states regarding this conditionality due to the domestic pressures. This failure that leads to less likely compliance with the conditionality principles is very well elaborated by Schimmelfennig, Knobel and Engert (2003). Namely, the authors claim that the potential Member states' compliance for improving their human rights standard mostly depends on "material bargaining", when it comes to membership incentives. However, according to the authors, the membership incentive is more effective if the domestic costs are smaller (2003, 496). In other words, when it comes to the implementation of the NRIS for the potential member states it is more important this compliance for reforms to bring more benefits than costs. Rechel (2008) examines the importance and the power of the domestic actors concerning the conditionality principle. He argues that the change in the political institutions, as well as the democratization of the future memberships dictate the compliance for respecting the minority rights protection. Moreover, taking into consideration Tallberg's statement that the consent to sign something does not mean compliance, leads the discussion to a deeper level (2002, 611). In this regard, when the existing literature concerning the Roma minority is elaborated, the "signatures" of the member states do not reflect always the compliance for effective implementation of some particular policy or reforms on the democratic and human rights standards. Additionally, according to Hughes and Sasse (2003), this "phenomenon" can be a reason for the lack of progress in improving the social, economic and political situation of the Roma at EU level. Furthermore, Ram (2012) states that the incentives of the national governments to have the Roma minority on their agenda, was due to their EU enlargement process. In addition, the author claims that those were characteristics of the enlargements in 2004.

1.3. Roma minority rights protection and social inclusion

Another wave of literature dealing with the EU, discusses the Roma minority rights protection in line with the social inclusion and social integration. For example, Guglielmo(2002) provides his assumption regarding the policy making design at EU level concerning Roma integration. He points out that the policy frames prepared by the member states, usually do not have an appropriate design, which means that the ambitious action plans are not feasible in practice. Moreover, Guglielmo argues that the reason for such policy designs is for the member states to overstep the expectation of the EU. With this the member states gather both, “points” for being a European country that promotes Roma integration in general, and “points” for designing targeted policies (considering the specific areas employment, health, education and housing) in line with the EU Framework for NRIS (Guglielmo 2002). However, the author notes that political support, human and financial resources are needed to properly implement the designed policies.

Furthermore, not only the EU but also other actors operate in line with the Roma minority rights protection such as the International Governmental Organizations (IGOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), advocacy and lobby groups etc. (Ram 2011, 231). Consequently, some authors such as Ram (2011) examine the importance of the civil society as one of the crucial actors that provide information, studies and research, regarding the conditionality principle focusing on the minority rights protection. The knowledge produced by the civil society, its lobbying, advocacy, and policy design process as well as its cooperation with the national governments, play a big role on stages that require policy reformulation or revision of the existing policies.

McGarry (2012), gives another perspective focusing on the reasons for the EU to be interested in Roma’s socio-economic integration. Hence, the author points out that the EU’s attention is turned to the areas of education and employment because of their characteristics in line with EU’s politics of redistribution in the long run covering the EU economic growth approach. In contrary, when it comes

to the connection between the human rights approach and the Roma integration, the author notes the inappropriateness of the EU anti-discrimination regulative. Namely, McGarry, using the remarks of the civil society sector, concluding that this regulative is not in line with the idea of Roma integration which should reflect the needs of the Roma. Furthermore, Sobotka and Vermeersch (2012) provide an overview of the steps undertaken by the EU that directly or indirectly were related to Roma. Hence, in the potential memberships the enlargement conditionality was one of the mechanisms to guarantee the minority rights protection. In addition, they argue that starting in 2007 the human rights approach was complemented with the social inclusion approach. These two approaches of the EU directly or indirectly targeted Roma. In this regard, Sobotka and Vermeersch connect the material bargaining (for example the EU Structural Funds) as an important tool for helping the compliance with the conditionality principles regarding the human rights and social inclusion approach. Moreover, the authors note the importance of the targeted policies for Roma concentrated in the local level that benefit the social integration at EU level in general and the improvement of these two approaches on a national level.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

The methodology used for this thesis considers a mixed approach (quantitative and qualitative), providing a research with a comparative perspective. In order to answer the research question: *How does the EU accession conditionality approach impact on inducing candidate countries to implement policies for Roma through the NRIS effectively?*, this thesis uses a comparative case study design in line with a quantified assessment model. The final inferences are based on the results obtained using the quantified assessment model to measure the progress of the selected cases regarding the factual situation of Roma for the analyzed period. In addition, inferences are based on the insights from the conducted interviews that show the behavior of the national governments from one side and the transnational government from another side regarding this question.

2.1. Case selection

The selected cases are Macedonia as a candidate country which is expected to join the EU and Croatia as a new member state. Both cases are similar in terms of geographical region, meaning both countries are part of the Western Balkans' unit, as well as they were both part of the Former Yugoslavia. In contrast, the differences between these two cases are that Croatia is a member while Macedonia is still not a member state of the EU, which makes them according to Gerring and Seawright (2008, 297), a diverse case in the context of EU accession. The thesis will provide both cross-case and within-case analysis (Rohlfing 2012). The within-case analysis focuses on time-frame (Figure1) with the point of Croatian accession to the European Union being of particular interest. This allows to study the impact of conditionality before and after membership drawing both, Macedonia and Croatia on different cases and on changes within one case, Croatia.

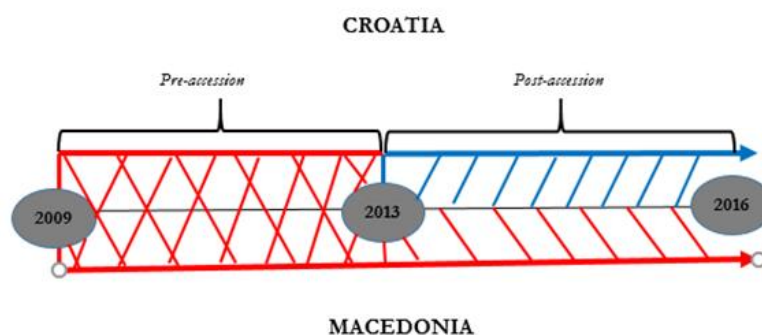


Figure 1: Time-frame

2.2. Data collection

The case study relies on primary and secondary sources. The Commission's Progress Reports (secondary sources), are considered as the main data where the quantified assessment model is used. Additionally, the interviews with key actors that are or were involved in the implementation of the Roma integration policies and the EU accession process (including EU and national governmental institution's actors) are used as primary sources.

As it was already explained in the Introduction of this thesis, every year the Commission adopts a package of documents explaining its expansion policy for the upcoming period. Among this set of papers are the strategy paper of enlargement and the progress reports, which analyze the progress of the candidate countries and potential candidates. The Commission's PR are annual documents which aim to assess progress and make recommendations for further approximation of the potential membership countries and are an essential instrument for the EU's Enlargement policy. Moreover, "[the reports] provide[s] clear guidance and set[s] out the framework and tools to support the countries concerned to address the core issues and requirements of the accession process" (European Union: European Commission 2015, 2). Therefore, this thesis first measures the progress of the selected cases concerning the factual situation of Roma for the chosen time-frame. Throughout that measurement, the thesis reflects the effectiveness of the EU accession conditionality for the

selected cases to implement policies for Roma through the NRIS. Finally, the overall result indicates the protection of minority rights and the behavior regarding the “joint responsibility” for the Roma integration by the national governments through the prism of Roma minority in Croatia and Macedonia. This justification makes the PR a relevant source used to answer the research question.

As additional source that covers the limited data, eight semi-structured interviews with elites were conducted (Bernard 2006; Seidman 2006). Two interviews were conducted in each country (Macedonia and Croatia) as well as two other interviews with officials from the Commission. The four respondents in Macedonia and Croatia represent the behavior/responsiveness of their national governments while the other two respondents from the Commission reflect their opinions as officials from the Commission as a transnational government. Hence, interview guidelines⁷ for each interview were structured in order to better reflect their behavior as well as their opinion on the connection between the EU accession conditionality and the effectiveness of the implementation of policies for Roma (Seidman 2006).

The six respondents are:

- A representative from the Ministry of Labor and Social policy, responsible for the implementation of the NRIS in Macedonia;
- A representative of the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs in Macedonia;
- Two representatives from the Croatian Government Office for Human Rights and Rights of National Minorities;
- A Representative from the Directorate-General for Justice, European Commission in Brussels and;

⁷ The interview guidelines contain two sets of questions-one related to the EU conditionality principle and the other related to the NRIS.

- A representative from the Directorate-General for Neighborhood and Enlargement Negotiations, European Commission in Brussels.

In addition to the preplanned ones, I had a chance to conduct an interview with a former EU Special Representative for the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the evaluator of the NRIS in Croatia for 2013 the year of granting Croatia with EU accession membership. These two interviews give a broader perspective that helps the findings be more reliable.

2.3. Data analysis

The method used for analyzing the secondary data is content analysis that provides quantitative assessment model (Rugg and Petre 2007; Schram 2014). The content of the PR on the Republic of Macedonia and Croatia by the EU analyzes the situation of these two countries on the basis of political and economic criteria and their capacity to assume the obligations of membership-*acquis*, expressed in the treaties, the secondary legislation and the policies of EU. The analysis of the PR refers to those parts of the reports which deal with the situation of the Roma minority in both cases. The methodology used for this thesis is customized with adjusted quantified assessment model that produces numerical assessments of the Commission's PR on Macedonia and Croatia. Such methods have successfully been used in the studies conducted by the think tanks- European Policy Institute (EPI)⁸ and the European Stability Initiative (ESI)(Tair 2017a, 2017b), including work by the author of this thesis. The Commission's PR on Macedonia used for this thesis are for the period 2009-2016. These reports have similar content and methodology except in the 2015 and 2016 reports. However, their similarity provides an easy way to compare and check their consistency annually. In the case of Croatia the analyzed period is 2009-2013 because of the limited data for the post-accession period.

⁸ See more at: http://www.epi.org.mk/docs/Zamrznata-preporaka_EPI%20eng%20final.pdf

For each of the provided criteria/chapters organized by Horizontal, Policy and Structural measures (See Appendix2 (HR) and Appendix3 (MKD)), assessments are given in the range from (-1) which means regress, to (5) which means very good progress. Justification on the meaning and the calculation of the assessments is given in Appendix1. The Table1 (HR) and Table2 (MKD) are organized by criteria/chapters and priority areas (in which the Roma are most frequently mentioned).

The process of providing a quantified assessment by years, areas and measurements is carried out in five stages: data collection, data organization, data matrix coding, assessing and calculating, and interpreting the results. The codes are presented in Figure2.

Codes for assessments

Codes	Assessments	Adjusted code
Regress	-1	slowed down further, have above average rates of infant mortality, is growing (-), decreasing more and more; should be reinforced, segregation persists, has been weak.
No progress, no further progress	0	no, there is not..., still suffer the most from, continue to, continued (-), remains a challenge • is recommended, still lacks, still remain, problems persist, still face
No substantial progress, no visible progress, insufficient progress slow progress, initial progress, limited progress	1	• further efforts are needed; but still, slow progress, was partially implemented, was initiated, limited progress
Little progress, modest progress, Some progress	2	• should be expanded, have slightly increased/decreased (+), a small number of... have been implemented, was maintained at the level, some progress, little progress, small progress, further progress
Progress, further progress	3	good progress, the integration improved, there was an increase in state allocations, state funds were allocated, ... opened a new section for the Roma language, continued to be implemented (+), progress
Good progress, visible progress, sustainable progress, satisfactory progress	4	there has been a good cooperation, good progress
Significant progress, important progress, substantial progress	5	

Figure 2Codes⁹

This type of model for assessing the progress of the improvement of the situation of the Roma minority, is being used for the first time in this kind of studies concerning Roma. The assessment

⁹ The Codes are based on those available at: http://www.epi.org.mk/docs/Zamrznata-preporaka_EPI%20eng%20final.pdf. The adjusted code presents the most frequent words used by The Commission for assessing the progress of Croatia and Macedonia concerning Roma ethnic community's factual situation in the time-frame in which this thesis has a particular interest. "The adjusted code reflects the European Policy Institute's (EPI) methodology to assess the progress of Macedonia using data from the Commissions progress reports. EPI's methodology is numerically representing the Commissions methodology on assessing the progress on their reports. This type of coding is used in Tair's (2017, 2017a) paper on assessing the progress of the NRIS in Bulgaria and Romania" as well as Hungary (Tair 2017, 2017a)

presented for each criterion/ sub-criteria/policy area and measure is given together with an unbiased evaluator in order to ensure a greater degree of reliability. The opinion range from (-1) to 5 with its meaning and ranking is presented in Figure3.

Assessments	
<i>Ranking</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
(-~) -(0.4)=(-1)	Regress
(-0.5)- 0.4=0	No progress, No further progress
0.5-1.4=1	No substantial progress, No visible progress, Insufficient progress, slow progress, Initial progress, Limited progress
1.5-2.4=2	Little progress, Modest progress, Some progress
2.5-3.4=3	Progress, Further progress
3.5-4.4=4	Good progress, Visible progress, Sustainable progress, Satisfactory progress
4.5-5=5	Significant progress, Important progress, Substantial progress

Figure 3.Assessment's ranking¹⁰

The quantified assessment model provides more systematic, transparent and easy way to follow the cases in order to detect the important moments provided in the time-frame of progress. Therefore, it reduces the data in a way which allows more comparisons across years, policy areas and measurements, which can be used and extended by other researchers. It is important to mention that the provided assessments in Appendix 2 and 3 are independent of the Commission's opinion and attempt to present the progress of the selected two cases as part of the content of the PR, that are used in this thesis.

¹⁰ Based on EPI's methodology to assess the Progress of Macedonia in the EU accession process in their analysis from 2012-2016. One of them available at: http://www.epi.org.mk/docs/Zamrznata-preporaka_EPI%20eng%20final.pdf

The first part of this thesis is upgraded with the data provided from the interviews. In this way, the thesis provides insights on both, Commissions' and national governmental institutions' perspectives regarding this field, which provides more reliable results.

CHAPTER THREE: ANALYSIS OF THE CASES

This chapter presents the results of the quantitative assessment method across years, policy areas and measures for both cases- Croatia and Macedonia. As it was already explained in the methodology chapter, the data used in this thesis are the Progress Reports of the European Commission for conducting content analysis. The provided assessments in Appendix 2 and 3 are independent of the Commission's opinion and attempt to present the progress of the selected two cases as part of the content of the analyzed PR. The time-frame chosen for analysis begins from 2009 but its duration is different for both cases. Hence, the time-frame analyzed for Macedonia is the period 2009-2016, starting from the year of the accession recommendation from the Commission until the last progress report of the Commission concerning Macedonia. The chosen time-frame for Croatia is shorter compared to Macedonia. However, the analysis for Croatia has the same starting year, 2009 and ends in 2013, the year of the EU accession membership. This is due to the fact that the Commission reported Croatia's' progress for EU accession until 2011.

The first additional document used for the analysis of this thesis is the Comprehensive Monitoring Report on Croatia's preparedness for EU membership which has very similar content as the Commission's PR. The second additional document that gathers the post-accession analysis is the Commission assessment document on the Croatian NRIS in 2013. The interviews with concerned actors from the Government Office for Human Rights and Rights of National Minorities (HRRNM) and the European Commission compensate the lack of suitable data for Croatia after 2013. In addition, the interviews conducted in Macedonia complement the comparison between both cases and represent the responses of the national government regarding the Roma integration.

This chapter is divided in two sub-sections, -the first examines Croatia and the second Macedonia. It starts with a short overview of the countries' background and relationship with the European Union. Furthermore, it continues by elaborating the results for Croatia in the pre- and post-

accession process Finally, it elaborates the results gathered for Macedonia. This chapter also provides justification about the assessments provided in matrixes in Appendix 2 and 3 and the way of using them in the analysis.

3.1. Background context

3.1.1. Roma in Croatia and Croatia-EU relations

According to the last Croatian census in 2011, the total population of Croatia is 4.284.889 inhabitants(Croatian Bureau of Statistics 2013). The CBS also points out that the population of Roma in 2011 was 16.975 or 0.4% of the total population(2013). The unofficial estimated number of Roma provided by the CoE in 2012 is 35.000 or 0.79% of the total population(European Commission 2014a). The timeline of the Croatian journey towards the EU accession membership provided by the European Commission shows data starting from 29 October 2001 when the Stabilization and Association Agreement was signed. Furthermore, in 2003 Croatia sent its application for starting the EU accession process. During the period 2004-2005 the Council asked Croatia to begin its accession negotiations with the obligation for full cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia. 2011 is among the most important years for the EU accession process for Croatia because on the 12th of June, the Council adopted its decision for admitting Croatia in the European Union. Moreover, on the 9th of December Croatia signed the accession treaty. Finally, after the positive referendum in 2012, Croatia became a member of the European Union on the 1st of July 2013(European Commission 2017a). In this regard, Croatia as a member state was also obligated to adopt the NRIS.

The three important documents adopted by the Croatian government that contain targeted policies for Roma are as follows: the National Programmes for Roma (NPR), the Action Plans for Roma as part of the Decade of Roma Inclusion (2005-2015) and the NRIS (2013-2020). Hence,

according to the EP, in 2003 Croatia adopted the NPR. The aim of the NPR was to improve the poor quality of life of Roma as well as to incorporate the Roma into the decision-making policies building their capacities and identity (Bogdanić 2005). The NPRs were included in the local and regional level cooperating with the domestic civil society, the IOs, etc. In addition, the EP states that this program was “harmonized with international treaties in the field of human rights and minority rights”(European Parliament 2010, 2). Furthermore, the monitoring of this program strengthened the cooperation with the Commission, Roma associations, and other representatives. The second document was the Action Plans for Roma as part of the Decade of Roma Inclusion (2005-2015) (European Parliament 2010). The body of the Action Plan and the targeted policies, same as in Macedonia, were related to the four policy areas: education, employment, health and housing. The last important document, set in the period when Croatia was ready to be part of the European Union in 2012, was the NRIS (2013-2020). The Government Office for Human Rights and Rights of National Minorities (HRRNM) is the link between the Croatian national government and the European Commission. The Strategy is consisted of the framework for monitoring progress, strategy implementation and strategy policies related to the four policy areas as well as other areas such as: social welfare, status recognition, physical planning and environmental protection(Government of the Republic of Croatia 2012). The Macedonia policies for Roma are similar to the Croatian and a detailed explanation regarding this is provided in the following section.

3.1.2. Roma in Macedonia and Macedonia-EU relations

Recommendations for protection and integration of the Roma minority are included in the criteria for the EU accession process for the candidate countries (European Commission 2016, 21), such as the Republic of Macedonia. This obliges the candidate countries to comply with the principle of EU Conditionality and develop NRIS according to the EU Framework. According to the 2002 census, Macedonia has 2.022.547 inhabitants of which 53.879 or 2.67% declare themselves as Roma

(State Statistical Office 2005), but the unofficial data confirms that the number of Roma in Macedonia is much higher. Thus, according to the report of the Roma Education Fund (REF), the unofficial number of Roma is 135.490 or 6.77% of the total population. (Roma Education Fund 2004; State Statistical Office 2005). Macedonia started its journey towards the EU integration process in 1996 when it got its eligibility status for receiving funds under the PHARE program. Furthermore, Macedonia signed The Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA) in 2001 and started its EU membership application in 2004. The two most important years in this timeline are 2005 when the country was granted candidate status, and 2009 when the Commission recommended opening the accession negotiations with Macedonia and visa free travel within the Schengen area was introduced for the country. (European Commission 2017c). The granting of candidacy status to Macedonia is based on progress in meeting the political criteria established at the Copenhagen summit and the conditions of the Stabilization and Association Agreement (European Commission 2006, 3).

According to the conclusions of the European Council from Luxembourg 1997 under the part c)- Commissions' options and accession negotiation, "compliance with the Copenhagen political criteria is necessary for the opening negotiations"(European Parliament 2017). The 2015 report for EU Framework for NRISs, states that "the enlargement package of 2013 identifies Roma inclusion among the 'fundamental' conditions, which should guide the future enlargement policy" (European Commission 2015a, 14). In line with the Commission's conclusions, the candidate countries are also obliged as the member states to set up the NRIS and to respect the minority rights. Two key national documents concerning the Roma in Macedonia are the Strategy for Roma (2005) and the Decade of Roma Inclusion adopted in 2005. New revised Strategies have been adopted for the period (2005-2014) and (2015-2020) (Ministry of Labor and Social Policy and National Coordinator of the Decade and the Strategy for Roma 2014). After reviewing the background context of both cases, the following

section provides a detailed comparative analysis of the progress of Macedonia and Croatia regarding the Roma.

3.2. Assessment of Croatia's and Macedonia's progress on Roma

For realizing a quantified assessment of the content of the Commission's Progress reports on Macedonia and Croatia, the same type of matrix is created for both cases. The provided assessments in Appendix 2 and 3 and Table1 and 2 are independent of the Commission's opinion and attempt to present the progress of the selected two cases calculated by the author of this thesis. The quantified assessments for Croatia are presented in Appendix2 and Table1, while for Macedonia in Appendix3 and Table2. In the case of Croatia, the content of the PR is organized by chapters/criteria, years and priority areas (Education, Housing, Employment and Health) which are presented in Table1. Due to the fact that Croatia became a member state in 2013, the content of the PR for the period after 2012 is compensated with the content of the Commission's assessment of the NRIS of Croatia in 2013. The compensated content is organized in a different way, with Horizontal, Policy and Structural measures as in Appendix2. In comparison with Croatia, the analyzed content of Macedonia, besides the priority areas has three more policy areas: Equitable representation, Police brutality/Limitation of the right to free movement/The children on the street and text related to the Roma Decade and the NRIS. Therefore, the data found in the content of the Commission's PR for Croatia regarding the Roma is smaller than the data for Macedonia. Another reason for this is the shorter time-frame analyzed for Croatia due to the lack of secondary sources. However, as mentioned above this limitation is overcome by using the insights provided from the interviews.

The method used for assessing the progress in Croatia and Macedonia is the same for both countries and for the results presented in Table1, Appendix2 and Table2, Appendix3 respectively. The explanation of the assessment method is given in the methodology chapter. The reason behind this is

to make both data from Macedonia and Croatia more similar and comparable. To be more clear, in the case of Croatia the priority areas from Table1 are modified in Appendix2 in this way:

- The Horizontal measures contain the areas: Discrimination and Poverty/Access to services;
- The Policy measures contain the areas: Education, Housing, Health, Employment and;
- The Structural measures contain the sub-measures: Coordination and Cooperation, Monitoring and Funding.

In the case of Macedonia, the combinations made are the following:

- The Horizontal measures contain the following areas: Discrimination/Roma women, Poverty/Access to services and Children in the street;
- The Policy measures contain the areas: Education, Housing, Health, Employment and;
- The structural measures contain the areas: Decade/Strategy and Social Inclusion.

3.2.1 Horizontal measures: Discrimination/Poverty/Roma Women/Children in the street

The main topics regarding the measures in Croatia are: the existence of discrimination, the poor living conditions of Roma and the incidents imposed by racism and xenophobia. In the case of Macedonia, the content also tackles the gender perspective. Hence the position and the situation of Roma women is presented in line with the priority area- Discrimination. Additionally, the Macedonian content also stresses how the Roma are represented in the media and social networks, as well as the overrepresentation of Roma children in schools for children with special educational needs. According to Croatia's Average Assessments (AA) given in the Appendix2, the content analyzed is found under the Political criteria, Chapter 19 and 23 of the PR. The range of the assessments in general is from **no**

progress(0) to **little progress(2)**. Additionally, according to Appendix3, the content analyzed for Macedonia is found in Chapter 26 and 28. Comparing to Croatia, the range of the Average Assessments for Macedonia is lower i.e. **no progress** or **no further progress (0)**.

Croatia

The Croatian PR recognize the problems of Roma to access adequate health services, housing, education and employment due to the existence of discrimination in all these fields. In all reports from 2009 until 2011 the conclusions of the Commission indicated the continuation of the same problem with discrimination i.e. **no progress(0)**. The same assessment is noted regarding the difficult living conditions of Roma in Croatia observing the problem with access to personal documents. Similarly, the Commission noted the same issue in 2009 for Macedonia. According to the Commission's conclusions in 2009 "between 3000 to 5000 Roma, ethnic Albanians and ethnic Turks still lack personal documents"(European Commission 2009b, 21). This phenomenon can have consequences on the access to services as well as the quality of living conditions of Macedonian Roma. These conclusions indicated that the Roma in Croatia and Macedonia are in the same position regarding the issue of Discrimination. Even though in 2011 Croatia notes **little progress(2)** due to the limitation of the incidents imposed by xenophobic and racist behaviors, based on the interviews and other reports it can be concluded that discrimination continues to be an obstacle for the integration of Croatian Roma after the EU accession membership.

Macedonia

In 2009 in the conclusions of the Commission the existence of discrimination towards Roma men and women prevailed, which clearly explains the reasons for the low final results for Macedonia. This situation was repeating from 2011 until 2015 under the Political criteria, and Chapter 28, while in 2016 I could not find any content that explains this policy area. Furthermore, this content shows that the discrimination towards Roma continues and leads to open discrimination. Namely, the Roma

women and girls are an object of racial and gender discrimination. More precisely, the 2012 Report concludes a double, while in 2015 even multiple discrimination of Roma women. Even if Macedonia has implemented some restricted activities and actions connected with Roma women, these actions in 2010 and 2011 noted **some** or **limited progress(1)**. However, the media and the social networks are often strengthening the stereotypes and prejudices towards Roma. All the reports analyzed from 2009-2015 show **no progress(0)** regarding this issue. The 2015 report stresses that the “segregation, stereotypes and other forms of discrimination remain prevalent”(European Commission 2015b, 61) in the Roma communities. This shows the failure of Macedonia to overcome the issue of Discrimination as part of the Horizontal measures.

Another problem, that even results with **regress(-1)** in 2009, 2012, and 2015 is noted regarding the number of children left on the streets in Macedonia. In 2013 it can be concluded that the Roma continue to live in poverty i.e. there is **no progress(0)**. The results are better in 2015 when the Commission rates **limited progress(1)** of the influence of the measures within the NRIS for fighting against the poverty among Roma. Overall, although **little progress(2)** was noted in the registration of the non-registered Roma, there is **no progress(0)** in decreasing the level of poverty.

3.2.2 Policy measure: Education

The main topics considering Croatia's PR that appear in the first policy area are: Roma in pre-school education, completion and enrollment in pre-school and secondary school, and participation of Roma in targeted policies. The (AA) in this field shows **slow progress(1)** and **modest** or **further progress(2)**, even if a **regress(-1)** can be noted in 2009 and 2010 regarding the segregation in schools (Table1). The content can be found under the Political criteria and Chapter 23 of the PR. Similar topics appear in the Macedonian PR. Hence, the topics are regarding the conclusions about the rates of literacy and inclusion in the educational system, ethnic segregation at schools, the phenomenon on the over-representation of Roma children in special schools and the use of the Roma language in the

Macedonian education curricula. Comparing with the other policy measures, based on the PR the policy area Education in Croatia progressed the most. The same conclusion can be noted for Macedonia too. However, the Macedonian results are lower comparing to Croatian in this policy measure.

Croatia

In 2009 the Commission's conclusions showed **progress(3)** regarding the school enrollment of Roma students. However, the Commission concludes that the education measures “need to be integrated into more systematic policies” (2009a) i.e. **no progress(0)**. **Further progress(2)** is noted in 2009, 2010 and 2011 regarding the improvement in the pre-school education for which the Commission points out that “the Roma minority continued to receive attention”(European Commission 2009a, 2010b, 2011b). However, there is **no progress(0)** in solving the problems of low participation of Roma in the educational system despite the existing targeted policies.

The data reflecting the post-accession period of Croatia in 2013 examine **progress(0)** regarding the pre-school and after-school programs, scholarships for Roma students, as well as awareness among students' parents and educational institutions. However, the Commission stresses the gap on which Croatia should work on progressing further, such as: inclusive education, desegregation, reducing the early school drop-out rate, vocational training and having a detailed time-frame of implementation(European Commission 2013a). My respondent from Croatia notes the same:

There was improvement in the primary school education. However, we do not have a precise data on drop-outs. Many Roma go to vocational school, which means that in the future the number of [university] students will decrease. There are still segregated classes in the regions with a higher number of Roma population. (A. Dz, Croatia's Government Official)

The conclusion based on the assessments in Appendix2 and the respondent's argument, indicate that the achievements on implementation of the Policy measure education in Croatia are due to the primary school education activities. However, these improvements did not show sustainable

results in the long term due to other obstacles such as drop-out rates and the frequent enrollment of Roma students in vocational schools.

Macedonia

Regarding Macedonia, the Average Assessment in 2009 shows **no substantial progress(1)** in the Education policy measure. The Commission in 2009 indicated that the attendance and completion of primary school is 61% while the secondary school is 17%. (European Commission 2009b, 18). In addition, the drop-out rates continue to be high which shows **no progress(0)**. This problem remains an open issue even though in 2012, measures were taken for its reduction. However, **little progress(2)** is noted from the project implemented by the Ministry of Labor and Social policy (MLSP), in which “[the ministry] enabled 243 Roma children aged 4 and 5 to be included in pre-school education” (European Commission 2009b, 53). In this regard, it is important to note the statement of the respondent from Macedonia:

The MLSP together with the Ministry of Education is among the most active in the process of the implementation of the Action Plans’ activities regarding NRIS. The highest progress is made in the policy measure Education. For e.g. one of these programs is the program for including the Roma children in the pre-school education. The level of progress on the implementation of the Action Plans depends on the line Ministries. Generally, the will of the Macedonian governments to improve the situation of Roma existed in the recent period especially for the policy measure Education. (M. K., Macedonia’s Government Official)

However, one of the biggest issues within this policy measure is the school segregation. The content from the Political criteria and Chapter 23, show **regress(-1)** in 2009 and 2013 due to segregation in Macedonian schools. Moreover, another problem in which Macedonia does not note any progress is the integration of Roma street children into the educational process. From the assessments given in Table2 it is visible that this policy area progressed the most in 2011 and 2012 due to some projects lead by the MLSP and the Ministry of Education of RM. It is important to mention **the progress(3)** in the period 2013-2015 due to the opportunity for students to have an elective course in Roma language at the state university, and the introduction of schoolbooks in Roma

language in primary schools. However, the problem with the existence of disproportional overrepresentation of Roma children in special schools continues to be a problem even in 2016 which shows **no progress(0)**.

3.2.3 Policy measure: Employment

Regarding the second policy measure Employment, three topics are identified in the Croatian case: Unemployment rate of Roma, level of employment of Roma under the Constitutional Law on the Rights of National Minorities (CLRNM¹¹) and vocational training. The content is found under the Political criteria and Chapter 23 of the PR. In the case of Macedonia the main topics are: the unemployment of Roma and their economic possibilities, the governmental program for active measures in the labor market and the discrimination in the labor market. Characteristic for the Macedonian case is the Commission's indications on the highest rates of unemployment among Roma i.e. "73% compared to around 30% among the overall population"(European Commission 2009b, 22), which led to **regress(-1)**. The same indications are noted for Croatia. In 2010 and 2011 the unemployment rate notes **regress(-1)** due to the Commission's conclusions which name it as "extremely high"(European Commission 2010b, 2011b). In the Croatian case, this policy measure has the lowest assessments comparing to the other policy areas. Additionally, Croatia has lower assessment on this policy measure compared to Macedonia.

Croatia

In 2009 there is **no progress(0)** on reducing the unemployment rate among Roma. The Commission, even explained that the unemployment is "endemic"(2009b). Furthermore, in 2010 the Commission mentioned that there is no improvement regarding the employment of minorities under the CLRNM. However, in 2011 after the defined plan for minority employment under the CLRNM

¹¹ See more at: [http://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/default.aspx?pdffile=CDL\(2003\)014-e](http://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/default.aspx?pdffile=CDL(2003)014-e)

an **initial progress(1)** was noted. The form of employment for the Roma minority in 2011 is seen through the vocational training for adults that did not make a positive change in the unemployment rate among Roma.

The content analyzed regarding the post-accession period does not provide a lot of information. However, from the Commission's evaluation of the NRIS in 2013, two important conclusions can be noted. The first conclusion is regarding the Croatian public employment services involvement on providing assistance on vocational training for Roma which indicates **a progress(3)**. The second conclusion is regarding the need for Croatia to measure the impact of the policies designed concerning the employment of Roma which indicates **no progress (0)**.

Macedonia

Although in 2011 the Commission recorded **some progress(2)** regarding the implementation of the Program for Active Measures in the labor market, in 2014 under the Chapter 19 and Chapter 23 these active measures show **insufficient progress(1)**. Furthermore, the Commission **does not note progress(0)** in 2013 due to the continuous discrimination in the labor market towards Roma, especially towards Roma women. Additionally, the Commission concludes that this low rate of employment and the low incomes lead to high rate of mortality among Roma, which also **does not indicate a progress(0)**. The high rate of unemployment among Roma generates problems in other areas such as health, housing and education which (if we take into consideration the progress made towards Roma integration) regresses the level of preparedness of Macedonia for EU membership.

3.2.4 Policy measure: Housing

Croatia

For the pre-accession period of Croatia, the Commissions' remarks, considering the third policy measure Housing, were oriented towards topics such as: Infrastructure of Roma settlements and access to adequate housing. The content is found only under the Political criteria of the PR. Even

if the policy measure Education progressed the most, the policy measure Housing, has the highest Average Assessment among the other three policy measures. Hence in 2009, 2010 and 2011, the Commission puts its emphasis on infrastructure programs for which it provides funding. This activity made improvements on the infrastructure of the Roma settlements showing **progress** and **further progress (3)**. However, in 2010 **no progress(0)** is noted due to the remaining problem of Roma lacking adequate housing.

For the post-accession period of Croatia, the Commission gives its recommendation regarding desegregation and social housing. Hence, it recommends Croatia to work on the legalization process within Roma settlements. Therefore, **no progress(0)** is noted regarding the desegregation process after the EU accession membership. Furthermore, the Commission recommends an integrated approach to housing interventions, as well as access to social housing for Roma which “would further improve the strategy”(European Commission 2013a).

Macedonia

The fields discussed for the policy measure Housing are more focused on the Roma refugees from Kosovo and the internally displaced persons (IDPs). In addition, the housing legalization as well as the social housing awarded by the state are discussed. The 2009 and 2015 reports did not produce data to be further assessed. The data was mostly found under the Political criteria from 2010-2014, Chapter 23 in 2014 and Chapter 19 in 2016. The assessments varies from (-1) to 3.

Hence, in 2010 the Commission noted difficult conditions and limited access to social services, appropriate health service, education, employment and housing for the Roma refugees from Kosovo. The number of Roma refugees from Kosovo was changing through the analyzed period. Therefore, the Commission noted 1.567 Roma refugees in 2010(European Commission 2010c, 22), 1.554 in 2011 (European Commission 2011c, 21), 1162 in 2012 (European Commission 2011c, 18) and 2074 in 2014 “of which 955 Roma refugees from Kosovo and 229 IDPs”(European Commission 2014b, 14). The

reasons for the decline of the number of refugees has not been discussed in the PR. However, the content about the situation of the Roma refugees from Kosovo in Macedonia is generally repeated, showing **no progress(0)**. Moreover, the 2013 Report shows that the judicial proceedings related to the requests of the IDPs people for damage payments for the 2001 conflict is still ongoing and these people still live in collective centers.

Macedonia notes a **progress(3)** in 2012 due to the implementation of policies concerning the integration of Roma refugees. In addition, **initial progress(1)** is noted in 2014 due to the government's policy for social housing. However, the reports do not list if the Roma were concerned with this policy. **Little progress(2)** is registered regarding improvements on the legalization process and social housing. However, the progress of Macedonia in this field is lower compared to Croatia. The 2016 PR for the first time, noted forced evictions that resulted in **regress(-1)**. Overall, the Housing area shows its high progress in 2012 that regresses in 2016.

3.2.5 Policy measure: Health

Croatia

The Croatian PR does not provide content regarding Health for the analyzed period. Additionally, my respondent from the Croatian Government also stated: “*Actually we do not have data on health [regarding Roma]...*”. Moreover, the 2015 Evaluation of the NRIS of Croatia also notes the problem with no data regarding this policy area (Friedman and Horvat 2015, 14). Therefore, further research regarding this policy measure is needed to draw a more precise conclusion. Only in 2013, content that reflects the post-accession period provides some general information regarding the Health policy measure, where the conclusions on Roma are considered together with the Turkish Cypriots. Hence, **progress(3)** is noted regarding the free healthcare offered. Furthermore, **no progress(0)** is noted regarding the Commission’s recommendations on the importance of measuring how much the health policies ensure the needs of Roma.

Macedonia

Compared to the other priority areas, the Commission does not provide an elaborate conclusion regarding the policy area Health in the Macedonian case. The fields elaborated in this area are: the program for Health mediators, access to health services and health inequalities. Almost in every year in the PR, the program for Roma Health Mediators (RHM) is mentioned. Therefore, the reasons behind some assessments that show **modest progress(2)** in Chapter 28 and **progress(3)** in Chapter 26 and 28 are due to the work of the RHM and the fact that the health inequalities continued to be addressed by them. However, in 2012 the Commission notes that the death rate among Roma is above-average in comparison with the non-Roma which **regresses(-1)** the assessments of Macedonia regarding the Health policy measure.

3.2.6 Structural measures: Cooperation and Coordination, Monitoring and Funding

Croatia

The Structural measures in this section consist of three sub-measures: Cooperation and coordination, Monitoring, and Funding. These sub-measures are found under the Political criteria, Chapter 19 and Chapter 23 of the PR. The (AA) differs depending on the topic.

In 2009 **limited progress(1)** is noted regarding the coordination of “Roma groups”(European Commission 2009a). This progress shifted to **no progress(0)** in 2010. However, when it comes to the coordination between the Croatian government and political representatives of minorities in Croatia **good progress(4)** is noted. After the EU Accession of Croatia, the Commission stresses the need for reinforcement of “the cooperation between the local and regional self-government”(European Commission 2013a), which shows a **regress(-1)**. Talking about the coordination and cooperation measure in the post-accession period and the main challenges of the NRIS, my respondent from Croatia notes:

The main challenges regarding the coordination in national, regional and local level remain ... Particularly, when it comes to more complex or integrated measures, we still do not have a single intervention which comprises cross-sectoral approach...(A.Dz., Croatia's Government Official)

Overall, the Commission's conclusion and the interview show the gap between the cooperation and coordination among three important policy actors: the government, the Roma civil society and the Roma political representatives, which can affect the effectiveness of the NRIS.

The analyzed content concerning the pre-accession process show **regress(-1)** on the monitoring of the "recruitment plans for national minorities"(European Commission 2009a). In 2009 the Commission indicated the need for adequate monitoring in the area of employment. However, the assessments for the post-accession period are higher. Hence, **progress(3)** is noted due to the involvement of the Roma civil society within the process of designing the NRIS in 2013. Moreover, the Commission notes that the Roma civil society is also involved in the Monitoring Commission, which monitors the NRIS implementation, i.e. **initial progress(1)**.

The Funding sub-measure has different assessment in different years. Hence, the Commission points out the funds allocated for infrastructure projects as mentioned in the Housing policy measure. In this regard **progress and further progress(3)** is noted. However, **regress(-1)** is indicated due to the cuts of funds allocated for minorities in 2009. In 2010 the Commission mostly put its emphasis on the "marginally reduced" funding for minority organizations "despite the austerity measures" and the revised budget (2010b). In this regards, **regress(-1)** is noted. The funding measures assessments in the post-accession period varies from 0-3 due to allocated funds as part of mainstream and targeted policies for Roma integration. From one hand, the Commission recommends, Croatia to ensure synergy between EU and National funds allocated for Roma, which shows **no progress(0)** in the post-accession period. From the other hand, the Commission notes the financial support for Roma integration under the mainstream policies and social inclusion measures, which indicates **progress(3)**

for better implementation of the NRIS. In line with this, my respondent who is a Commission's Official states:

In the recent seven years, there is a possibility for explicitly targeted funding for Roma. Under the new investment priority on the socio-economic integration of marginalized communities such as Roma, the member states target Roma explicitly. Twelve member states have allocated funds under this priority. (D.H. Commission's Official)

Taking into consideration this statement, it can be noted that the progress of Croatia regarding the Funding sub-measure also depends on the new investment priority on the socio-economic integration of marginalized communities which are available only for the member states.

Macedonia

Generally, in the Macedonian case, the content on the Structural measures is merged from the content found in the policy areas Decade/Strategy and Social Inclusion. The Commission's conclusions directed towards the coordination and cooperation measures were more frequent in 2009. The 2009 PR indicates two important facts which show **no progress(0)**. The first fact is that the intersectional coordination working group for the Roma Strategy implementation met only twice. The second fact is that the new advisory body which is counting four deputy ministers from relevant ministers, as well as one representative from the Secretariat for European Affairs is not functional. There was some improvement noted in the cooperation between the National and Local government regarding the implementation of the action plans of the Decade for Roma Inclusion 2005-2015, as well as the NRIS. However, that improvement was not significant due to the fact that the reports in 2013 and 2015 show **no progress(0)** regarding the cooperation between the Government structures inside and the Government with the civil society. In contrary, my respondent from Macedonia argues:

Overall, the [government] activities regarding Roma have been initiated thanks to the efforts of the Roma NGOs. Macedonia was praised for involving the Roma NGOs in all its activities. I consider the Roma NGOs as "evaluators" of the overall work done by the ministries. Without their reactions and recommendations, we would not know if we are working properly and in favor of the Roma. (M.K., Macedonia's Government Official)

Based on the statements above, there is a visible gap between the behavior of the Macedonian national government officials and the conclusions of the Commission regarding the interpretation of the cooperation with the Roma civil society.

The monitoring mechanisms and the evaluation process in 2011 **do not show progress(0)**. In 2013 this Structural measure even **regressed(-1)**. This regress is noted due to Commission's conclusions under the Chapter 23 that "the monitoring mechanisms are weak and ineffective" (European Commission 2013b). In terms of the sub-measure Funding, the assessments show different progress taking into consideration different aspects. On one hand the conclusions indicate **initial progress(1)** due to the allocation of funds from the state, but on the other hand this progress is not sustainable due to the financial dependence on donor funds for implementing further activities regarding the NRIS which indicates **regress(-1)**. Overall, the allocated funding from the state was not sufficient to meet the needs for Roma integration. Therefore, the Commission in 2011 recommended the Macedonian government to adequately fund the implementation of the NRIS.

CONCLUSION

The existing literature on EU accession conditionality and minority protection which elaborates many aspects debated among scholars, assisted this thesis in uncovering some elements that have not been discussed earlier regarding Roma in the Western Balkans. In this regard, tracing two case studies- Croatia and Macedonia, this thesis aims to explain the EU conditionality approach through the NRIS. The central research question of this thesis is: *How does the EU (accession) conditionality approach impact on inducing candidate countries to implement policies for Roma through the NRIS effectively?*. The research question is answered through a comparative case study design between one candidate country- Macedonia and one new member state-Croatia, by doing a content analysis. More precisely, using a quantified assessment model, this thesis measures the progress of these two countries in implementing policies for Roma for the period 2009-2016. In the case of Croatia, this thesis elaborates results about the pre- and post-accession process. The quantified assessment model in this thesis is being used for the first time in this kind of studies concerning Roma. The model provides more systematic, transparent and easy way to make a comparison across years, policy areas and measurements, which can be used and extended by other researchers.

Additionally, through the interviews with key actors that are or were involved in the implementation of the Roma integration policies and EU accession process, this thesis also gives insights on the behavior and responsiveness of the national governments of Macedonia and Croatia, as well as the role of the European Commission in inducing the future memberships to implement policies for Roma. In this way, this thesis measures the effectiveness of the conditionality principles for the Candidate countries to implement policies for Roma that first reflect the protection of minority rights as part of the Copenhagen criteria and second the “joint responsibility” of EU and the national governments for Roma integration in accordance with the EU 2020 Strategy. This thesis reflects this measurement through Average Assessments (AA) and Total Average Assessments (TAA) by years,

criteria and chapters. Overall the results show different range for different Criteria, Chapters, Policy areas and Policy measures as shown in the Appendix2 and 3, and Table1 and 4 for both cases in a scale from (-1)- regress to 5- substantial progress.

In the case of Macedonia, according to the Table2, the annual Average Assessment's (AA) range is from (-1) to 1. Hence, the annual (AA) for the Policy areas: Employment, Social Inclusion, Discrimination/Roma women and Poverty/Access to services show **no progress(0)**, the Policy areas: Health, Education, Housing, Decade/Strategy and Equitable representation show **limited progress(1)**, while a **regress(-1)** is noted for the identified problems such as: Police brutality, Street children and Limitation of the right to free movement. Generally, based on the average frequencies of the within-case comparison, calculated from the Total Average Assessment (TAA), Macedonia noted **no progress(0)**.

In the case of Croatia, according to the Table1, the annual (AA)'s range is from 0 to 2. In this regard, the annual (AA) for the Policy areas: Employment, Poverty/Access to services, Social inclusion, Monitoring and Funding show **no progress(0)**, the Policy areas: Housing, Health, and Discrimination show **initial or slow progress(1)**, while the areas: Education and Coordination/Cooperation show **modest progress(2)**. Based on the average frequencies of the results calculated from the (TAA), Croatia noted **limited or slow progress(1)** in terms of the within-case comparison.

The results of the across case comparison between Macedonia and Croatia is based on the results presented in Appendix2 and 3 and the interviews. Hence, the annual (AA) of Croatia varies from (-1) to 4 while of Macedonia from (-1) to 1. The (AA) of the Horizontal measures of Macedonia show **no progress(0)** for the years 2009-2016 except in 2010 when it shows **initial progress(1)**. The Horizontal measures of Croatia indicate a trend that starts with **no progress(0)** in 2009 which increases in 2011 to **limited progress(1)**. The (AA) regarding the Horizontal measures in Croatia in

the post-accession progress show a decline of the progress to 0. In General, the (TAA) for both countries is the same and show **no progress(0)** regarding the Horizontal measures. This result indicates that the progress regarding the Discrimination and Poverty reduction in both cases has not been changed despite the EU accession process of Croatia. However, the results show that Croatia progressed more compared to Macedonia, especially in the period just before the EU accession, which can be related to the EU accession conditionality.

The (AA) regarding the Policy measures in both cases also show similar results that range from 0 to 2. Hence, in the case of Macedonia the Policy measures show **slow progress(1)** while in the case of Croatia, shows **some progress(2)**. In both cases, the most progressive Policy measure is Education, and this result also appeared in the interviews. In general, the (TAA) shows that Croatia progressed more when compared to Macedonia. It is also important to mention that Croatia shows a higher progress in the post-accession period comparing to the pre-accession period.

The (AA) regarding the Structural measures on Cooperation and Coordination show a drastic difference between Croatia and Macedonia. Hence, the (AA) for Macedonia show **no progress(0)** while the (AA) for Croatia note **slow progress(1)** which triples in 2011 showing **visible progress(4)**. However, there is no suitable data that measures the progress of Croatia in the post-accession period. Regarding the Monitoring sub-measure, Macedonia's (AA) shows lower progress comparing to Croatia. Hence, the range of the (AA) in Macedonia is from (-1) to 0. In the case of Croatia **no progress(0)** is noted in the pre-accession period, while in the post accession period the progress is increased showing **slow progress(1)**. It is important to mention that the trend of the Macedonian (AA) from showing **no progress(0)**, regressed(-1) in 2013. This makes Macedonia less progressive than Croatia regarding the Monitoring sub-measure. The Funding sub-measure shows variety of (AA) regarding both countries. The range of the (AA) in Macedonia varies from (-1) to 1, while in Croatia from (-1) to 3. The **limited progress(1)** of Macedonia in 2009, decreased in 2015 to a **regress(-1)**. In

the case of Croatia, in the pre-accession period the Funding sub-measure shows **progress(3)**, while the post-accession results are lower and show **limited progress(1)**. However, in general, the (TAA) of the Structural measures of Croatia is more progressive than the (TAA) of Macedonia.

The interviews provided a broader picture for the cases. Hence, the respondents from both, national and transnational level identified the involvement of the civil society, the need for setting up appropriate monitoring mechanisms and lack of funding as the main challenges of the NRIS. The Commission's officials identified the infringement proceedings as the strongest legal mechanism to "punish" the member states that are not in line with the EU values. Additionally, they noted that the Commission *"can just give policy guidance and strengthen them by allocating EU funds for them...but it cannot bring the member states to court"*(D.H.). In line with this, the respondents also mentioned that the *"tools are more powerful when countries are closer to accession"*, while for member states *"the tools are less powerful"*(M.G). Moreover, the Commission's officials noted that *"a lot of the policy areas which are under the EU Framework are largely in the member states' competences"*(D.H.)

Based on the quantitative results and on the insights provided by the respondents it can be concluded that Croatia's results regarding the Roma integration process are more progressive than Macedonia's, even though Macedonia in some aspects shows better results than Croatia. Additionally, these results show the factual situation of Roma in both cases. Therefore, those can be considered as measurements that reflect the effectiveness of the EU conditionality to induce the selected cases to implement policies for Roma through the NRIS. Finally, in some extent the conclusion is that the EU conditionality impacts the future memberships considering its legal and financial mechanisms. These mechanisms can be used through the implementation of the NRIS as a tool. However, this process should take into consideration other aspects that have a significant impact on the final result such as: the stage in which the candidate country is at that moment, the level of preparedness of the

government institutions, the will of the government to implement policies for Roma, the involvement and the capacity of the civil society etc.

The topic of EU conditionality and the NRIS requires further research beyond the selected cases in order to be more applicable to the Western Balkans' countries. Even if this thesis shows a reliable result on the progress of the selected cases regarding the Roma integration, it is still important to mention the limitations of the thesis. First, the number of the selected cases and interviews is limited. Second the progress of Macedonia and Croatia is measured only by taking into consideration the factual situation of Roma and these results avoid other important aspects for e.g. the Greek veto towards Macedonian naming dispute in the EU accession process. However, this thesis provides a quantified model assessment, that for the first time is used in this kind of studies concerning Roma. This thesis provides a solid base for further research on the same topic. Additionally, possibility for further development of this methodological approach exists with a deeper quantitative analysis. In order to get a more concrete picture of the Roma integration implementation and the effectiveness of the NRIS through the EU conditionality, it is necessary to broaden this analysis in terms of how the national governments act after receiving the Commission's recommendations. Furthermore, in order to measure the priority of the national governments of fulfilling the requirements under the EU accession conditionality, it is necessary to also analyze other aspects besides the implementation of Roma policies.

APPENDIX 1

Explanation about the assessment abbreviations (presented in Appendix 2 ,3 and Table 1,2)

Assessment No.1 (AA) Average assessment of the content from a given criterion/chapter

Assessment No.2 (TAA) Total average assessment of the content from a given criterion/chapter

Assessment No.1 (AA Years) Average assessment of the content from a given criterion/chapter
(2009-2016)¹²

Assessment No.2 (TAA Years) Total average assessment of the content from a given
criterion/chapter (2009-2016)¹³

¹² For Croatia the time-frame is 2009-2013

¹³ For Croatia the time-frame is 2009-2013

APPENDIX 2

Matrix and assessments (HR)

	2009	2010	2011	2012 ¹⁴	2013 ¹⁵
(I) Horizontal measures (TAA)	0	0	1	x	0
<u>Anti-discrimination (AA)</u>	0	x	1	x	x
<i>Political criteria</i>	0	x	0	x	x
<i>Chapter 19 Social policy and employment</i>	0	x	x	x	x
<i>Chapter 23 Judiciary and fundamental rights</i>	x	x	2	x	x
<i>Chapter 26 Education and culture</i>	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Chapter 28 Health and consumer protection</i>	x	x	x	x	x
<u>Poverty reduction (AA)</u>	x	0	0	x	0
<i>Political criteria</i>	x	0	0	x	x
<i>Chapter 19 Social policy and employment</i>	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Chapter 23 Judiciary and fundamental rights</i>	x	0	0	x	x
<i>Chapter 26 Education and culture</i>	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Chapter 28 Health and consumer protection</i>	x	x	x	x	x
(II) Policy measures (TAA)	1	1	1	x	2
<u>Education (AA)</u>	2	2	1	x	2
<i>Political criteria</i>	1	1	1	x	x
<i>Chapter 19 Social policy and employment</i>	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Chapter 23 Judiciary and fundamental rights</i>	2	2	2	x	x
<i>Chapter 26 Education and culture</i>	x	x	x	x	2
<i>Chapter 28 Health and consumer protection</i>	x	x	x	x	x
<u>Employment (AA)</u>	0	-1	0	x	2
<i>Political criteria</i>	0	-1	-1	x	x
<i>Chapter 19 Social policy and employment</i>	x	x	x	x	2
<i>Chapter 23 Judiciary and fundamental rights</i>	x	0	1	x	x
<i>Chapter 26 Education and culture</i>	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Chapter 28 Health and consumer protection</i>	x	x	x	x	x

¹⁴ The data for 2012 is gathered from the Comprehensive Monitoring Report on Croatia's state of preparedness for EU membership, available at: https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/pdf/key_documents/2012/package/hr_analytical_2012_en.pdf

¹⁵ The data for 2013 is gathered from the Commission assessment document of the Croatia's national Roma integration strategy available at: http://ec.europa.eu/justice/discrimination/files/country_assessment_2014/croatia_en.pdf

Housing (AA)*Political criteria**Chapter 19 Social policy and employment**Chapter 23 Judiciary and fundamental rights**Chapter 26 Education and culture**Chapter 28 Health and consumer protection*

3	1	2	x	0
3	1	2	x	0
x	x	x	x	x
x	x	x	x	x
x	x	x	x	x
x	x	x	x	x

Health (AA)*Political criteria**Chapter 19 Social policy and employment**Chapter 23 Judiciary and fundamental rights**Chapter 26 Education and culture**Chapter 28 Health and consumer protection*

x	x	x	x	2
x	x	x	x	x
x	x	x	x	x
x	x	x	x	x
x	x	x	x	x
x	x	x	x	2

(III) Structural measures (TAA)

Cooperation and coordination (AA)*Political criteria**Chapter 19 Social policy and employment**Chapter 23 Judiciary and fundamental rights**Chapter 26 Education and culture**Chapter 28 Health and consumer protection*

1	0	4	x	x
1	0	x	x	x
x	x	x	x	x
x	x	4	x	x
x	x	x	x	x
x	x	x	x	x

Monitoring (AA)*Political criteria**Chapter 19 Social policy and employment**Chapter 23 Judiciary and fundamental rights**Chapter 26 Education and culture**Chapter 28 Health and consumer protection*

x	0	x	x	1
x	0	x	x	1
x	x	x	x	x
x	0	x	x	x
x	x	x	x	x
x	x	x	x	x

Funding (AA)*Political criteria**Chapter 19 Social policy and employment**Chapter 23 Judiciary and fundamental rights**Chapter 26 Education and culture**Chapter 28 Health and consumer protection*

1	-1	3	x	1
3	-1	x	x	1
x	x	x	x	x
-1	-1	3	x	x
x	x	x	x	x
x	x	x	x	x

APPENDIX 3

Matrix and assessments (MKD)

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
(I) Horizontal measures (TAA)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Anti-discrimination (AA)</u>	<i>0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>Political criteria</i>	0	1	0	0	x	0	x	x
<i>Chapter 19 Social policy and employment</i>	0	x	0	x	1	1	0	x
<i>Chapter 23 Judiciary and fundamental rights</i>	x	1	1	0	0	x	0	x
<i>Chapter 26 Education and culture</i>	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x
<i>Chapter 28 Health and consumer protection</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<u>Poverty reduction (AA)</u>	<i>0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>
<i>Political criteria</i>	0	1	1	1	1	x	x	x
<i>Chapter 19 Social policy and employment</i>	x	x	x	x	0	0	1	0
<i>Chapter 23 Judiciary and fundamental rights</i>	x	x	x	x	0	x	0	x
<i>Chapter 26 Education and culture</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Chapter 28 Health and consumer protection</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
(II) Policy measures (TAA)	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
<u>Education (AA)</u>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Political criteria</i>	0	1	2	2	x	x	x	x
<i>Chapter 19 Social policy and employment</i>	1	1	x	x	0	1	x	1
<i>Chapter 23 Judiciary and fundamental rights</i>	x	x	x	x	0	1	1	x
<i>Chapter 26 Education and culture</i>	x	0	0	0	x	x	x	x
<i>Chapter 28 Health and consumer protection</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0
<u>Employment (AA)</u>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>
<i>Political criteria</i>	0	0	2	x	x	0	x	x
<i>Chapter 19 Social policy and employment</i>	x	x	x	x	x	0	0	0
<i>Chapter 23 Judiciary and fundamental rights</i>	x	x	x	x	0	1	0	x
<i>Chapter 26 Education and culture</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Chapter 28 Health and consumer protection</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Housing (AA)*Political criteria**Chapter 19 Social policy and employment**Chapter 23 Judiciary and fundamental rights**Chapter 26 Education and culture**Chapter 28 Health and consumer protection*

×	0	1	3	0	2	×	-1
x	0	1	3	0	1	x	x
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-1
x	x	x	x	x	3	x	x
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Health (AA)*Political criteria**Chapter 19 Social policy and employment**Chapter 23 Judiciary and fundamental rights**Chapter 26 Education and culture**Chapter 28 Health and consumer protection*

×	×	1	1	1	×	3	1
x	x	1	-1	x	x	x	x
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0
x	x	x	x	x	x	3	x
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
x	x	x	2	1	x	3	1

(III) Structural measures (TAA)

1 0 1 x 0 0 -1 x**Cooperation and coordination (AA)***Political criteria**Chapter 19 Social policy and employment**Chapter 23 Judiciary and fundamental rights**Chapter 26 Education and culture**Chapter 28 Health and consumer protection*

0	0	×	×	0	×	0	×
0	0	x	x	0	x	x	x
x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Monitoring (AA)*Political criteria**Chapter 19 Social policy and employment**Chapter 23 Judiciary and fundamental rights**Chapter 26 Education and culture**Chapter 28 Health and consumer protection*

×	×	0	×	-1	×	×	×
x	x	0	x	x	x	x	x
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
x	x	x	x	-1	x	x	x
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Funding (AA)*Political criteria**Chapter 19 Social policy and employment**Chapter 23 Judiciary and fundamental rights**Chapter 26 Education and culture**Chapter 28 Health and consumer protection*

1	0	×	×	1	0	-1	×
1	0	x	x	1	0	x	x
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
x	x	x	x	x	0	-1	x
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

TABLE 1 (HR)

Year	Political criteria										Assessment	Chapter 19			Assessment	Chapter 23			Assessment	Chapter26			Assessment	Chapter28			Assessment	AA Years	AA Chapters	TAA Years	TAA Chapters	
Education																																
Education										1				x				2				2				x		2	2	2		
2009	2	3	3	0	2	0	x	x	x	2	x	x	x	x	2	x	x	x	x	x	2	x		x	2							
2010	2	2	0	-1	2	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	2	x	x	x	x	x	2	x		x	2							
2011	-1	2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	2	x	x	x	x	x	2	x		x	1							
2012	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x		x	x							
2013	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	3	3	3	3	0	0	1	2	x		x	2					
Housing																																
Housing										2				x				x				x				x		1	2	1		
2009	3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	3	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	3					
2010	3	0	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	1					
2011	2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	2	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	2					
2012	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x					
2013	0	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	0					
Health																																
Health(AAC)										x				0				x				x				2		1	2	1		
2009	x									x	x			x	x			x	x			x	x		x	x						
2010	x									x	x			x	x			x	x			x	x		x	x						
2011	x									x	x			x	x			x	x			x	x		x	x						
2012	x									x	x			x	x			x	x			x	x		x	x						
2013	x									x	x			x	x			x	x			x	3	0	2	2						
Employment																																
Employment										-1				x				x				x				x		-1	0	-0		
2009	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	0					
2010	0	-1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	-1					
2011	-1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-1	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	-1					
2012	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x					
2013	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	3	3	0	2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	2					
Discrimination																																
Discimination										0				x				2				0				x		1	0	1		
2009	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	0	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	0					
2010	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x					
2011	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	2	x	x	x	x	2	x		0	x		x	1					
2012	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x					
2013	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x					
Poverty/Access to services																																
Poverty/Access to services										0				1						0				x				x		0	0	0
2009	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x					
2010	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	0	x		x	x		x	0					
2011	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	0	x		x	x		x	0					
2012	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x					
2013	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	0	2	1	0	x	x	x	x	0	x		x	x		x	0					

Coordination and Cooperation																									
Coordination and Cooperation										0					x					4					x
2009	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1
2010	0	-1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-1	
2011	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	4	x	x	x	x	4	x	x	x	x	x	4		
2012	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
2013	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Monitoring																									
Monitoring										-1					x					0					x
2009	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
2010	-1	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-1	x	-1	0	0	x	x	0	x	x	0	x	x	x	0	
2011	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
2012	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
2013	3	1	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	
Funding																									
Funding										1					x					1					x
2009	3	3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	3	x	x	x	x	-1	x	x	x	x	-1	x	x	x	1	
2010	-1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
2011	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	3	x	x	x	x	3	x	x	x	x	
2012	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
2013	1	0	3	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	
Social inclusion																									
Social inclusion										0					x					0					x
2009	4	-1	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	1	
2010	0	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	
2011	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
2012	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	0	
2013	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	

TABLE 2 (MKD)

Year	Political criteria										Assessment	Chapter 19				Assessment	Chapter 23				Assessment	Chapter26				Assessment	Chapter28				Assessment	AA Years	AA Chapters	TAA Years	TAA Chapters				
Education																																							
Education											1					1					1					0					x								
2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	x	x	x	0	2	2	0	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	1	1	1					
2010	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	x	x	x	1	2	0	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	0	x	x	x	1									
2011	0	3	2	2	x	x	x	x	x	x	2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	0	x	x	x	1									
2012	3	2	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	0	0	0	x	x	x	1									
2013	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	0	0	0	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0										
2014	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	2	0	x	1	3	0	0	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1										
2015	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	3	0	0	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1										
2016	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1										
Housing																																							
Housing											1					x					3					x					x								
2009	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	1	1						
2010	0	0	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0									
2011	2	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1										
2012	3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	3											
2013	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0										
2014	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	3	2	x	x	x	3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	2											
2015	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x										
2015	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-1											
Health																																							
Health											0					0					3					x					2								
2009	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	1	1						
2010	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x									
2011	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1											
2012	0	-1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	2	1	2	1										
2013	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	x	1	1										
2014	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x										
2015	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	3	x	x	x	3	x	x	x	3	x	3	3	3	3											
2016	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	1	0											
Employment																																							
Employment											0					0					0					x					x								
2009	0	0	0	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	0	0	0							
2010	1	-1	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0											
2011	1	3	3	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	2												
2012	0	1	0	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0												
2013	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0												
2014	0	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	0	x	x	0	3	0	-1	0	x	1	x	x	x	x	0													
2015	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	0	0	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	x	0													
2016	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x												

Discrimination/Roma woman																															
Discrimination/Roma woman										0				0					0				0			x		0	0	0	
2009	0	0	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	0	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	x	0		x		x		x	0				
2010	1	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	1		x		x		x	1				
2011	0	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	0	x	x	0	1	x	x	x	x	1		x		x		x	0				
2012	0	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	0		x		x		x	0				
2013	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	0	2	1	0	x	x	x	x	0		x		x		x	0				
2014	0	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	1	0	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	x		0		0		x	0				
2015	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	0	0	x	x	x	x	0		x		x		x	0				
2016	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				
Poverty/Access to service																															
Access to service/Poverty(ACC)										1				0						0				x			x		0	0	0
2009	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0		x		x		x	0				
2010	2	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1		x		x		x	1				
2011	2	0	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1		x		x		x	1				
2012	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1		x		x		x	1				
2013	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	0	0	x	x	x	x	0		x		x		x	0				
2014	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x		x	0				
2015	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	0	x	1	2	0	0	0	0	0		x		x		x	0				
2016	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	0	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x		x	0				
Decade/Strategy																															
Decade/Strategy										1				2						1				x			x		1	1	1
2009	2	1	3	1	1	0	0	X	X	1		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X		X	1				
2010	2	2	-1	0	0	0	0	X	X	0		X		X	0	X	X	X	X	0		X		X		X	0				
2011	1	1	2	2	-1	0	0	0	0	1		X		X	2	X	X	X	X	2		X		X		X	1				
2012	2	2	1	x	x	X	X	X	X	3	3	1		2	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X		X	3				
2013	0	x	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	0		1		1	3	-1	0	0	X	1		X		X		X	1				
2014	2	0	3	X	X	X	X	X	X	2		X		X	3	0	0	2	0	1		X		X		X	1				
2015	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	3	3	3	0	2	2		X		X		X	2				
2016	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		2		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		X		X		X	2				
Social inclusion																															
Social inclusion										1				0						1				0			x		0	0	0
2009	1	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	x	x		x	1			
2010	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	1			
2011	0	2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	0		x	1				
2012	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	0		x	0				
2013	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	x		x	0				
2014	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x				
2015	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	0	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	1			
2016	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	0			

Equitable representation																				0					x					1					x					x			
Equitable representation												0					x							1					x					x									
2009	0	0	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0		x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x		0																
2010	0	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0		x		x	2	0	x	x	x	1		x		x		1															
2011	1	3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	2		x		x	3	x	x	x	x	3		x		x		3															
2012	-1	0	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-1		x		x	0	x	x	x	x	0		x		x		-1	1	1	1												
2013	1	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x		1															
2014	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x		0															
2015	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	0	x	x	x	x	0		x		x		0															
2016	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x		x															
Policy brutality/The children on the street/Limitation of the right to free movement																																											
												-1					x					-1					x					x											
2009	0	0	-1	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-1		x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x		-1																
2010	1	0	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x		0															
2011	0	0	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x		0															
2012	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	-1	x	x	x	x	-1		x		x		-1	-1	-1	-1												
2013	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x		x															
2014	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x		x															
2015	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	-1	x	x	x	x	-1		x		x		-1															
2016	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x		x															

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