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MINORITY ISSUES

The Aspect of Culture in the Social Inclusion of Ethnic Minorities

Evaluation of the Impact of Inclusion Policies under the Open Method of Co-ordination in the European Union: Assessing the Cultural Policies of Six Member States

2006

An Evaluation Project under the EU's Social Protection and Social Integration Policy

Evaluation of the Impact of Inclusion Policies under the Open Method of Co-ordination: Assessing the Cultural Policies of Six Member States of the European Union

The Aspect of Culture in the Social Inclusion of Ethnic Minorities

A report undertaken for the European Commission by:
The European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI), Flensburg, Germany

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December 2006

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Acknowledgments

ECMI would like to thank the following individuals for contributing to the research in various capacities:
Prof. Aksel Kirch, Mait Talts and Tarmo Tuisk of the Institute for European Studies, Tallinn, Estonia; Brigita Zepa, and Ilze Lace of the Baltic Institute of Social Sciences, Riga, Latvia; Milada Horáková and Pavel Bareš of the Research Institute of Labour and Social Affairs, Prague, the Czech Republic; Dr. Michal Vašečka, Magdaléna Sadovská and Barbora Vašečková of the Centre for Ethnicity and Culture, Bratislava, the Slovak Republic; Director Mitja Žagar, Miran Komac, Mojca Medvešek, and Romana Bešter of the Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana, Slovenia; Prof. Antoinette Hetzler, Marcus Persson and Elin Lundin of the Department of Sociology, University of Lund, Sweden; Prof. François Grin, Adjunct Director of the Education Research Unit (Service de Recherche en éducation - SRED) and Professor of Economics at the Institute of Translation and Interpretation (École de Traduction et d'Interprétation - ETI) of the University of Geneva, Switzerland; Andreas Hieronymus of the Institute for Migration and Racism Research, Hamburg, Germany; Deborah Mabbett of the School of Politics and Sociology, Birkbeck College, University of London, UK; Eben Friedman, ECMI Macedonia; and former ECMI colleagues Denika Blacklock, Jaimee Braun, Annika Salmi, Alina Tudose, Kate E. Corenthal and Sarah Falvey. A special thanks goes to Annika, Kate and Sarah, who contributed extensively to the production and language editing of the final report. Finally, the report and the research conducted could not have been possible without the funding of the European Commission.

Description of Research Institutions

The Institute for European Studies, Estonia
This institute primarily studies Estonia's role within the European Union, including Estonian security, the nationstate, EU innovation policy and the impact of EU membership on Estonia's economic freedom. The Institute also researches the Estonian media in regards to its portrayal of EU membership. Prof. Aksel Kirch, who is the Director of the Institute for European Studies, led the Estonian research team and contributed to the research with the report on Estonia.

The Research Institute for Labour and Social Affairs, Czech Republic
This institute's main research interests include the labour market and employment, social dialogue and labour relations, social protection and the family, equal opportunities, incomes and wages, and social policy theory. Their main role is applied research in labour and social affairs at the regional, national and international levels. Mgr. Milada Horáková, who is a Senior Researcher at the Research Institute for Labour and Social Affairs, led the Czech research team and contributed to the research with the report on the Czech Republic.

The Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (BISS), Latvia
BISS has worked on projects pertaining to societal integration, official language use, bilingual education, health care reform, and constitutional reform. BISS has also worked on several projects regarding political marketing, social marketing and analysis of public information campaigns. Prof. Brigita Žepa, who is the Director of the Baltic Institute of Social Affairs, led the Latvian research team and contributed to the research with the report on Latvia.

The Center for Research on Ethnicity and Culture (CVEK), the Slovak Republic
CVEK contributes to fostering dialogues in the sphere of minority issues, social exclusion, the strengthening of social cohesion, the social construction of ethnic and cultural identity, race and ethnicity issues, and the development of cultural activities and a media space in the Central European context. A research institute, CVEK develops mostly sociological expertise. The activities of CVEK include both academic and practical policy analysis in all spheres of interest. CVEK utilizes qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis. PhDr. Michal Vašečka, who is Executive Director and Senior Analyst at the Center for Research on Ethnicity and Culture, led the Slovakian research team and contributed to the research with the report on Slovakia.

The Institute for Ethnic Studies (IES), Slovenia
IES is a public research institution that investigates Slovene ethnic questions, the status of Slovene ethnic communities in Europe, the status of Slovenes in the former Yugoslavia, the status of migrants in Slovenia and the forms of ethnic issues (ethnicity, nationalism) in Europe and world wide. Dr. Mitja Žagar, who is the Director of the Institute for Ethnic Studies, led the Slovenian research team and contributed to the research with the report on Slovenia.

The Institute of Sociology, University of Lund, Sweden
This institute analyzes social relations and processes ranging from global and historical transformations to everyday relations. Sociologists carry out research on topics such as gender relations, power relations, social inequalities, ethnic conflicts, youth cultures, mass media, criminology, environment and risk, labour market relations and housing. Prof. Antoinette Hetzler led the Swedish research team and contributed to the research with the report on Sweden.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The purpose of this report is to disseminate the results of a research and evaluation project undertaken in six European Union (EU) Member States in 2006. The project sought to evaluate the effectiveness and cost-effectiveness of cultural policies aimed at the social inclusion of ethnic minorities and Roma/Sinti. The cultural policies formed part of or complemented the National Action Plans on Social Inclusion (NAPs/Incl.) under the Open Method of Co-ordination (OMC) adopted by the EU after the Lisbon European Council in 2000. With the brief to address key policy measures and strategies implemented by EU Member States while devoting particular attention to the relevance of the methods, instruments and indicators used in applied research concerning major policies aimed at promoting social inclusion, as well as providing a cost-effectiveness assessment, the report forms part of the evaluation of the economic and social impact of inclusion policies within the framework of the Open Method of Coordination on Social Inclusion (OMC/Incl.). Through original research carried out from a transnational perspective on the impact evaluation of major policies or strategies implemented by Member States in the context of their NAPs against poverty and social exclusion, the project team evaluated the NAPs/Incl. of the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia and Sweden. In addition to evaluation results, the research aimed at piloting a framework of Common Inter-Cultural Indicators (CICI).

The aspect of culture in promoting social inclusion of ethnic minorities was the general focus of the evaluation, as this aspect remains under-represented in the NAPs/Incl. Although some NAPs/Incl. have addressed culture, it is unclear what impact these policies have on combating the social exclusion of ethnic minorities. The European Commission has indicated that the aspect of culture in promoting the inclusion of ethnic minorities, immigrants and groups experiencing extreme poverty and exclusion is a key policy area to be assessed and evaluated. The present report is an effort to assist the European Commission in this endeavour.

At the 2000 Lisbon European Council, the EU set the strategic goal of becoming the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion. Following its adoption, the Lisbon Strategy has been evaluated every spring to measure its progress. In March 2004, the European Council concluded that the pace of reform needed to be significantly stepped up if the 2010 targets were to be achieved. The re-focused Lisbon Strategy calls for a renewed effort to create socio-economically inclusive societies. However, except for one reference to minorities, the Presidency Conclusions of the Lisbon European Council did not address the need to promote the social inclusion of ethnic minorities and Roma/Sinti groups. Moreover, cultural policymaking was neither part of the first Lisbon Strategy nor the re-launched version, even though culture at the supranational level entered European co-operation with the adoption of Article 128 of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 (now Article 151 TEC). Cultural activities have been supported in a number of EU programmes, and Culture 2000 and 2007 specifically highlight the contribution of culture to socio-economic development, as well as culture as an economic factor and as a factor for social inclusion, and refer to the necessity to strengthen the fight against exclusion in all its forms, including racism and xenophobia.

There is no single dimension to social exclusion as a condition. Although there is widespread agreement now that 'culture counts', there seems to be less understanding of what it entails to address cultural and inter-cultural aspects of social exclusion in public policy. Culture in this project is seen as one of the components of the multi-dimensionality of social exclusion. A multidimensional view of social exclusion holds that social exclusion is constituted by a layering of conditions, one upon another, generated by an interaction of economic, social, cultural and political circumstances. The underlying idea of social exclusion implies a situation that has many dimensions and persists over time. Multi-dimensionality may thus be characterized by complexity and as a phenomenon that extends beyond the market.

The following findings are discussed in detail in this report:

Conceptualizing and implementing cultural policies as part of a multi-dimensional view of social exclusion of ethnic minorities, especially Roma, is not a method included in the NAPs/Incl. of Estonia, the Czech Republic, Latvia, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia and Sweden. Generally, a strong link between culture/the cultural sector and social exclusion is not made in NAP/Incl. strategies. Vague formulations of the relevance of culture and cultural dialogue may be found in NAPs/Incl. but operationalization of cultural policies as auxiliary measures to social inclusion policies do not exist in the six NAPs/Incl. evaluated. Consequently, goals and targets are not set, except for the Slovenian NAP/Incl., and cultural indicators are not developed. National cultural policies studied parallel to the NAPs/Incl. refer in general terms to the value of culture in the process of social integration. Initially, we were particularly encouraged by the Agenda for Culture 2003-2006 adopted by the Swedish government. However, none of these parallel policies set goals and targets specifically related to social inclusion nor did they operationalize them. Although there is a growing momentum at the national level towards a multi-dimensional understanding of social exclusion, the conceptualization, operationalization and implementation of multi-dimensional policies is lacking.

Specific references to improving the rate of social integration of ethnic minorities are made in most of the six NAPs/Incl., especially in relation to employment and language policies, and in the case of Roma, in relation to education in general. Goals, but generally no targets are set in these policies. Similarly, some of the parallel national cultural policies studied make specific references to the importance of improving the cultural participation of ethnic minorities but do not set goals and targets specifically related to these minorities. Generally, there are good intentions among most of the six Member States to address ethnic exclusion but the link between culture and ethnic minority exclusion is not made explicitly.

Educational policies aimed at increasing the social inclusion of the Roma in Slovenia and in the Czech Republic have had some positive effects, both in terms of the general educational performance of pupils and/or youngsters and in terms of the attitudes of the Roma themselves, as well as of the majority. Policies supporting Roma teaching assistants in these two Member States show these effects (see p. 56 and 60). Although Roma teaching assistants are employed in Slovakia (see p. 66), no clear-cut conclusion has emerged there. Moreover, educational policies in Sweden, in particular at the compulsory school level, do not seem to have been effective in reducing differences between ethnic groups (see pp. 67-68). In the domains of the media, political participation and cultural activities, no specific and well-defined policies have been designed and implemented in the NAPs/Incl., although a positive trend is seen in Slovenia, where funding for the cultural activities of ethnic minorities is on the increase and where the cultural services provided by ethnic minorities are becoming more ethnically diverse (see pp. 72-73). Slovenian cultural policies in the domain of employment have also produced some interesting results in the case of the public works programme for Roma assistants (see p. 75).

Policies for social inclusion in Estonia and Latvia relate mostly to bilingualism with a strong emphasis on the teaching of national languages. Differences of proficiency in the national languages, rather than disparity in the level of education achieved, are regarded as the most important factor explaining inequality of outcomes in the job market. Unfortunately, the education reforms have started too recently to provide any reliable results.

Piloting a framework of primary and secondary Common Inter-Cultural Indicators (CICI) on the basis of an index of tertiary Inter-Cultural Indicators (ICI) proved a fundamental problem. Populating the ICI and thus arriving at a cross-national framework for the CICI was only feasible in the case of two secondary ICI, and this only partially with one piloted in four Member States and the other in two Member States. The research teams arrived at two common secondary indicators in the domain of education, which relate both to the aspect of culture and inter-cultural relationships in social exclusion. The first monitors the improved educational attainment of ethnic minority children by measuring the impact of ethnic teaching assistants on school attendance and school results in the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, Slovakia and, to some extent, Sweden. The second assesses improved employment rates of ethnic minorities by measuring the command of bilingualism of ethnic minorities in Estonia and Latvia. The six studies of NAPs/Incl. did, however, yield a large number of potential ICI, which could be populated with data if research is continued in other projects.

Effectiveness is not a strong point of the NAPs/Incl. Strategies are not clearly defined; often a number of documents constitute the NAPs/Incl., making it difficult to carry out assessments. NAPs may have goals but not targets. Even where NAPs/Incl. state goals, these are vague and not well defined. The lack of data sources and, in particular, sources disaggregated according to ethnicity was a major obstacle in the evaluation of all six NAPs/Incl. If assessment is to be made possible, some kind of empirical findings are needed. We have suggested that at least some forms of data collection could be allowed in the case of pilot or experimental programmes, in order to have some feedback for further discussion and policy design.

Cost-effectiveness analysis was not possible due to lack of data on cost. Data on cost was extremely difficult to obtain and often simply lacking. Where data is available, it is often difficult to apply, as it is only multi-annual and contains only very general budgetary figures. Therefore, goals are not linked to cost. In the case of Roma assistant policy in Slovenia, it was feasible to provide an example of how cost-effectiveness analysis can be carried out and what insights it can provide. Although it is partial and incomplete, this example demonstrates that cost-effectiveness analysis for cultural policy is feasible.

Benchmarking of NAPs/Incl. was premature at this point due to uneven NAPs/Incl. For example, although Roma assistant policies have been adopted in the Czech Republic and in Slovakia, it was not possible with the data at our disposal to make a full-fledged comparison based on the rank ordering of policy alternatives. Benchmarking at the national level or within individual NAPs/Incl. was also not feasible but could be made possible. Even though in the case of the Czech Republic, at least in principle, a comparison could be made between Roma assistant policy and preparatory classes provided a common unit of measurement of effectiveness could be found. However, we were not able to achieve this. Similarly, in the case of Latvia, a comparison of the different models of bilingual education would be extremely interesting when the preliminary results are published.

On the basis of our evaluation of the six NAPs/Incl., this report lists a number of observations and recommendations with regard to the reform of NAPs/Incl. and the overall objectives of the OMC/Incl. (see pp. 83-84 and 161-162). We summarize these as follows:

The technical improvement of NAPs/Incl. should involve consolidating policies into one single document, stating objectives clearly and explicitly, developing alternative means of data collection, and refining data collection on cost, as well as making links between goals and cost. Indicators should be understood as indivisible and cross-domain indicators need to be developed. In particular, cross-domain indicators should include monitoring and surveying the majority.

The improvement of NAP/Incl. policies should involve pursuing a higher level of monitoring in general and a long-term vision in particular. Conceptualization of the multi-dimensionality of social exclusion should be sought rigorously and culture needs to be mainstreamed into all NAPs/Incl. References to ethnic minorities eligible under NAPs/Incl. should be made clearer and Roma education policies should be developed further. Duality in goals on integration should be avoided and clarity in legislation on bilingualism should be sought. Strategies should reflect cultural pluralism aims in support of the EU's "Unity in Diversity" agenda. The systematic monitoring of attitudes of the majority should be considered as standard.

The OMC/Incl. would benefit in general if ethnic minorities were seen as internal resources into which Member States could tap, for instance, in terms of labour shortages before importing labour from abroad. Moreover, reforming the OMC/Incl. process could be enhanced if it was pursued in closer contact with the ongoing discourse and development of a new European Social Model. Finally, we emphasize the ability of Member States to reform NAPs/Incl. with regard to cultural policies; the social inclusion of ethnic minorities should be seen in realistic terms.

The main message of this report is that the inability to arrive at a comprehensive framework of CICI is clearly a policy concern in light of the Lisbon goals to be achieved by 2010. If we agree that measuring improved inter-cultural relations between ethnic minorities and majorities is one way of indicating the rate of social

integration and eventual social inclusion of ethnic minorities and Roma, the six NAPs/Incl. strategies are clearly not up to this task. At the pace that the OMC process is going in terms of ethnic minority inclusion, it is questionable whether the Lisbon Strategy can wait for the indicator development process to run its course. The OMC/Incl. process would have to kick into a much higher gear if CICI on ethnic exclusion are to be found that are normative, robust, policy relevant and timely. While one may argue that the OMC/Incl. process is perhaps making initial strides towards reform, there appears to be a long road ahead, full of national and local obstacles.

Part One of the present report addresses the policy development on ethnic minorities and culture within the OMC, as well as theoretical and practical policy-related issues of social inclusion. **Part Two** summarizes the main findings of the comparative study including the cost-effectiveness analysis. **Part Three** provides brief overviews of each country report. The six country reports are available online at www.ecmi-eu.org/omc/publications or by contacting ECMI's OMC Team at info@ecmi-eu.org. The report's conclusions are provided in the chapter 'General Conclusions and Recommendations'.

INTRODUCTION

The aspect of culture in promoting the social inclusion of ethnic minorities remains under represented in the National Action Plans on Social Inclusion (NAPs/Incl.) adopted by the European Union (EU) Member States under the Open Method of Co ordination (OMC). Although some NAPs/Incl. have addressed culture, it is unclear what impact these policies have on combating the social exclusion of ethnic minorities. The aspect of culture as a means of promoting social inclusion is relatively new to the Member States of the EU. The European Commission has therefore recently issued a report on culture and the NAPs/Incl. in an effort to reverse this trend.[1] Moreover, the European Commission has indicated that the aspect of culture in promoting the inclusion of ethnic minorities, immigrants and groups experiencing extreme poverty and exclusion is a key policy area to be assessed and evaluated.[2] The present report is an effort to assist the European Commission in this endeavour.

The report forms part of the evaluation of the economic and social impact of inclusion policies within the framework of the OMC through original research carried out from a trans national perspective on the impact evaluation of major policies or strategies implemented by Member States in the context of their NAPs against poverty and social exclusion. The Impact Evaluation Programme (IEP) aims to strengthen the implementation and further the development of NAPs/Incl. by identifying good practice and providing expert advice as to how policy and strategy aimed at countering poverty and social exclusion can be made more effective.

With the brief to address one or more key policy measures and strategies implemented by one or more EU Member States while devoting particular attention to the relevance of the methods, instruments and indicators used in applied research concerning major policies aimed at promoting social inclusion, as well as providing a cost-effectiveness assessment, the European Commission issued a call for proposals in July 2005 for evaluation of projects aimed at contributing to the implementation and the development of the NAPs/Incl. and which included a trans-national dimension either in terms of the chosen research subject or the composition of the research team (DG ESA No. VP/2005/009).

In its winning bid for this tender, the European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI) stated that it would prepare:

- Six separate evaluation studies of NAPs/Incl. that address cultural policies and represent Member States of comparable size;
- A comparative analysis of these six studies of the impact of cultural policies included in or complementary to NAPs/Incl. in terms of effectiveness and cost-effectiveness; and
- A proposal for an OMC framework of Common Inter-Cultural Indicators (CICI) based on comparable Member States and drawing on a regional outlook.

These outputs would be produced in support of the overall goal to enhance NAPs/Incl. under the EU's OMC process, in particular in terms of:

- Improved NAPs/Incl. through increased use of cultural indicators in policies on ethnic minorities, including Roma/Sinti groups;
- Improved cultural indicators through the piloting of a framework of Common Inter-Cultural Indicators (CICI);
- Improved capacity of Member States to define and use cultural indicators and integrate cross-sectoral co-operation;
- Heightened awareness of previous applied research on the importance of cultural policies on the social inclusion of ethnic minorities;
- Improved knowledge and mutual learning of deficiencies in NAPs/Incl.;
- Increased informing of other social inclusion policies; and

1 Roberta Woods, Lynn Dobbs, Christopher Gordon, Craig Moore and Glen Simpson, "Report of a Thematic Study Using Transnational Comparisons to Analyse and Identify Cultural policies and Programmes that Contribute to Preventing and Reducing Poverty and Social Exclusion", The Centre for Public Policy, Northumbria University, Newcastle upon Tyne, UK, 2004.
2 European Commission, "Community Action Programme to Combat Social Exclusion, 2002-2006: Evaluation of the Impact of Inclusion Policies under the Open Method of Co-ordination", Call for Proposals – VP/2005/009.

· Enhanced capacity of the OMC to address inter-cultural challenges in the area of ethnic minorities.

The present report is a synthesis of the outputs and constitutes the final reporting to the European Commission under Contract No. VS/2005/0686 by which ECMI and the research teams received funding for the research Any opinions or mistakes are, of course, the sole responsibility of the authors and the researchers and do not constitute any official stand of the European Commission or the European Union.

Part I

THE RESEARCH, THEORY AND POLICY

Part I – THE RESEARCH, THEORY AND POLICY

Chapter 1 – THE RESEARCH TASK

The purpose of this research has been to evaluate the effectiveness and cost-effectiveness of cultural policies aimed at the social inclusion of ethnic minorities and Roma/Sinti and included in or complementary to the NAPs/Incl. of six Member States through the piloting of a framework of Common Inter-Cultural Indicators (CICI).

1.1 Procedure

Five EU25 Member States and one EU15 Member State were selected for the study. The selection of the NAPs/Incl. of Estonia, the Czech Republic, Latvia, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia and Sweden was based on the value that each of these afforded to culture or the necessity to implement cultural policies. The NAPs/Incl. represent manageable size economies in terms of conducting data collection, including original data collection. Moreover, four out of the six Member States have specifically highlighted the issue of Roma/Sinti exclusion from the socio-economic sphere and the evaluation of these would thus present a feasible opportunity to benchmark. Three of these Member States also represent a regional conclave of the EU, thus affording the European Commission the opportunity to develop a regional approach in the future. Finally, Sweden was included as its Agenda for Culture 2006 appeared to promise synergy with the NAP/Incl. and therefore the possibility to function as a good practices example. The NAPs/Incl. evaluated pertain to 2004-2006 strategies.

The trans national dimension of the project was met not only in terms of the chosen research subject but also in the composition of the research team. Six research teams have contributed to the project, one from each of the Member States selected for study:

- Institute for European Studies, Tallinn, Estonia;
- Baltic Institute of Social Sciences, Riga, Latvia;
- Research Institute of Labour and Social Affairs, Prague, the Czech Republic;
- Centre for Ethnicity and Culture, Bratislava, the Slovak Republic;
- Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana, Slovenia;
- Department of Sociology, University of Lund, Sweden.

The co-ordinator of the project throughout has been ECMI, Flensburg, Germany. The researchers and the co-ordinator met three times during the project in workshops held at ECMI in Flensburg, Germany. During the first workshop, three domains of social exclusion were selected by the research teams for study:

- Education;
- Media;
- Public participation.

The impact of culture on education was considered an obvious choice, as all the six NAPs/Incl. addressed the education of ethnic minorities or immigrants in some way. Moreover, education prepares the individual for life in mainstream society and promotes the understanding that culture and literacy are intrinsically connected; it has an impact on the self-esteem of members of ethnic minorities and may feasibly contribute to inter-cultural understanding between minority and majority populations.

The domain of the media was chosen as the media are important conveyors of culture; they provide meeting places and, if used ethically, promote cultural participation and inter-cultural understanding. Moreover, the visibility of ethnic minority cultures in the mainstream media promotes inclusion. The main interest was therefore in policies of cultural programming, especially in terms of programmes that further inter-cultural dialogue by allocating time and space for information about different ways of life.

The impact of culture on public participation was chosen because participation is a very broad domain that includes not only socio-economic and political participation but also access to culture. While meeting within the political process and deciding together the future of society is a sign of a high level of social inclusion and cultural acceptance, access to culture may improve the individual's ability to understand other cultures and function in both one's own and foreign cultures. It may also promote the understanding that inter-cultural exchanges enhance social cohesion.

Previous research funded by the European Commission has focused on participation in cultural activities, cultural identity, and regeneration of excluded communities.[3] That research did not, however, focus on ethnic minorities in particular and did not provide impact evaluation. It was felt therefore that our research would expand the previous research considerably by addressing culture in the three domains selected. The research teams of Estonia, Slovakia and Slovenia also chose to evaluate the employment sector either in addition to or as a result of one of the other domains not being feasible for study.

It was furthermore decided that the teams of the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia and Sweden would concentrate on social inclusion policies addressing Roma minorities, whereas the teams from Estonia and Latvia would study policies of inclusion addressing the Russian-speaking populations of these two Member States. The Swedish and the Slovenian teams would also study policies on immigrants.

The first workshop also provided the research teams with training in focus group techniques and cost-effectiveness analysis. Researchers furthermore firmed up the methodology and discussed feasible indicators. A first electronic workshop was held one month later with a view to exchanging experiences with the selected indicators. A second electronic workshop was held later in the process with the purpose of discussing the first preliminary results of the cost-effectiveness analyses.

The research was carried out by the six country teams at their home institutes, while the coordinator employed external consultants as researchers. The country research teams held focus groups with stakeholders and local experts on social exclusion and collected data through questionnaires. Preliminary findings were discussed with stakeholders either in seminars or individual meetings. Some teams also interviewed key central government officials. The research team of the coordinator reviewed relevant EU social policies, conducted an overview of the current research on cultural indicators and supplied the comparative analysis.

The findings of all research teams were discussed in the second workshop, which allowed the research teams to exchange comments and experiences, as well as to make final adjustments to their reports before handover to the comparative experts. During the workshop, researchers also finetuned the framework for the Common Inter-Cultural Indicators (CICI) and discussed an index of Inter-Cultural Indicators (ICI) drawn from the findings of the country teams but which the teams had not been able to populate with data. Finally, the workshop provided a forum for the comparative research team to seek clarifications of specific issues related to national situations. A last electronic workshop followed, allowing the comparative research team to discuss problems of comparison with the individual teams prior to writing up their preliminary findings.

The preliminary results of the comparative study were presented to the research teams in the third workshop. The purpose of the workshop was to eliminate any misunderstandings that might have occurred in the comparative study as well as to finalize the index of the non-populated ICI.

The country reports and the preliminary comparative results, as well as the CICI and the ICI, were presented to the general public in a dissemination conference organized by ECMI in Flensburg, Germany on 17 October 2006. The report of this conference is published separately by ECMI.

[3] Woods et al., "Report of a Thematic Study ", op. cit.

1.2 Policy Assessment

The philosophy guiding the assessment of the NAPs/Incl. is eclectic in that it applies several methods and approaches.[4] Performance indicators were selected as the best type of indicators for this research as they are an effective means of measuring progress towards objectives in terms of inputs, processes, outputs, outcomes and impacts of strategies, as well as facilitating benchmarking comparisons between different units. Of course, using performance indicators has a number of disadvantages. If they are poorly defined, they are not good at measuring success. Moreover, if there is a tendency to define too many indicators, or indicators without accessible data sources, they are likely to be under-utilized. Finally, performance indicators often produce a trade-off between picking the optimal or desired indicators and having to accept the indicators that can be measured using existing data. However, the European Commission has clearly stated that it expects Member States to work with performance indicators in their NAPs/Incl.[5] While most evaluations of social inclusion policies use social and economic indicators and, to some degree, legal indicators, this project set out to pilot a framework for Common Inter-Cultural Indicators (CICI).

Theory-based evaluation was considered a pertinent tool for the research of the NAPs/Incl. as it allows for a more in-depth understanding of the workings of a policy programme. This is an approach that need not assume a linear cause-and-effect relationship. By mapping out determining factors judged important for success, and how they might interact, critical success factors can be identified and measured. If success factors are not achieved, a reasonable conclusion is that the policy is not likely to be successful in achieving its objectives.

The rapid appraisal method has been used by the six research teams to assess the quality of the cultural policies and their targets, where feasible. The advantage of the rapid appraisal method is that it provides qualitative understanding of complex socio-economic changes, highly interactive social situations, people's values, motivations and reactions. Moreover, it provides context and interpretation of quantitative data collected by formal methods. Interviews, focus groups and mini surveys were applied by the research teams.

Cost-effectiveness analysis estimates inputs in monetary terms and outcomes in non-monetary quantitative terms.[6] It is a good approach to estimate the efficiency of programmes and is useful to convince policy-makers that the benefits justify the activity. It is, however, fairly technical and must be interpreted with care, especially in cases where benefits are difficult to quantify. As we will explain in Part Two, the task of assessing the effectiveness and cost-effectiveness of policies in NAPs/Incl. as required by the brief set by the European Commission proved difficult, however, with regard to cultural policies in the six chosen countries.

Firstly, only the NAPs/Incl. of Slovenia had defined a strategy on culture and set targets for implementation. Other strategies acknowledged the problem of culture and inter-cultural relations as an aspect of social exclusion but, in most cases, NAPs/Incl. made little reference to parallel cultural policies, although these exist and some are quite comprehensive. A major obstacle to the research teams was therefore to identify parallel cultural policies that had the specific aim of contributing to the social inclusion of ethnic minorities.

Secondly, the cultural policies that were identified as complementary to the NAPs/Incl. did not set targets on social inclusion but rather exposed intentions of good governance on culture and intercultural dialogue. Those cultural policies that described specific programmatic approaches to social inclusion through culture proved very difficult to assess in terms of cost. The researchers were therefore charged with an immense detective task of finding cost overviews of these policies.

Thirdly, the research teams encountered massive problems finding data on the ethnic minorities selected for study. Most Member States do not collect ethnic data and, although some of the country teams were able to

[4] World Bank, Monitoring & Evaluation: Some Tools, Methods & Approaches (Washington: World Bank, 2004)
[5] European Commission, "Portfolio of Overarching Indicators and Streamlined Social Inclusion, Pensions, and Health Portfolios", D(2006) of 7 June 2006.
[6] World Bank, Monitoring & Evaluation, op. cit., p. 20.

isolate ethnic data on Roma or immigrants, this was collected by nongovernmental organizations, international institutions or found in academic studies. The basis for assessing the effectiveness and cost-effectiveness of cultural policies was therefore non-existent in most cases, except for the example of Roma teaching assistants policies within the domain of education in Slovenia.

Being aware of this deficit in the NAPs/Incl. and the cultural policies identified, the research for this project applies an evaluation model devised for the effectiveness and cost-effectiveness assessment of language policies.[7] This is described in detail in Part Two. Here, it suffices to explain that this is a model that follows a two-step approach: first, it determines through impact assessment whether the selected cultural policy has made a considerable difference in improving social inclusion standards; in other words, whether the policy has been effective. It should be noted, however, that even though the research is guided by the general view adopted by the EU that social exclusion is institutional and by and large due to imperfections in policy delivery,[8] structural dislocation and structural dualism theories have also informed the impact evaluation. Second, the cost-effectiveness of the policy is analyzed by charting the positive results together with the expenditure assigned to achieving the goals of the cultural policy. This produces a graph of a feasibility area revealing an effectiveness "boundary" along which the results of the cultural measures can be considered as good as possible at the lowest possible cost. The plotting of graphs indicating cost-effectiveness boundaries provide the possibility of benchmarking of similar intercultural measures in Member States ex post. As noted above, the only opportunity for this type of cost-effectiveness analysis (CEA) was offered by the Slovenian NAP/Incl.

At the level of the first step of this model, indicators are identified through an analysis of the process from policy to outcome, also called the policy-to-outcome path.[9] This is an analysis that takes for granted that a policy decision has been made to promote social inclusion through cultural policies and the end goal of which is assumed to be improvement in the social integration of ethnic minorities, if not in terms of full social inclusion, then at least in terms of some betterment for the targeted or affected persons. The model works its way through a causal chain of several levels of policy implementation and policy effects towards actual dimensions of reality in society in order to arrive at the outcomes of the policy either in terms of improvement or deterioration of conditions (see Fig. 1). Indicators are identified by working the causal process backwards, starting with the good or bad outcome and analyzing constraints, attitudes, obstacles and structural factors that cause social exclusion.

1.3 Indicator Concerns[10]

The piloting of a framework of Common Inter-Cultural Indicators (CICI) on the basis of an index of Inter-Cultural Indicators (ICI) was one of the major objectives of this research. The preliminary findings of the research teams revealed a fundamental problem with populating the ICI and thus in arriving at a feasible framework for the CICI. Nevertheless, the six studies of NAPs/Incl. yielded a large number of potential ICI, which could be populated with data if research is continued in other projects and insofar as the disadvantages of performance indicators noted above are taken into account. The CICI are discussed in Part Two, and the non-populated ICI are attached in a table as Appendix B.

Due to the difficulties with the CICI, it was decided early on to split the comparative exercise into 4+2, so that the two Member States in the Baltic whose language policies aim at the inclusion of the Russian-speaking minorities were compared separately from the other four Member States. Moreover, only the domain of education proved capable of producing CICI.

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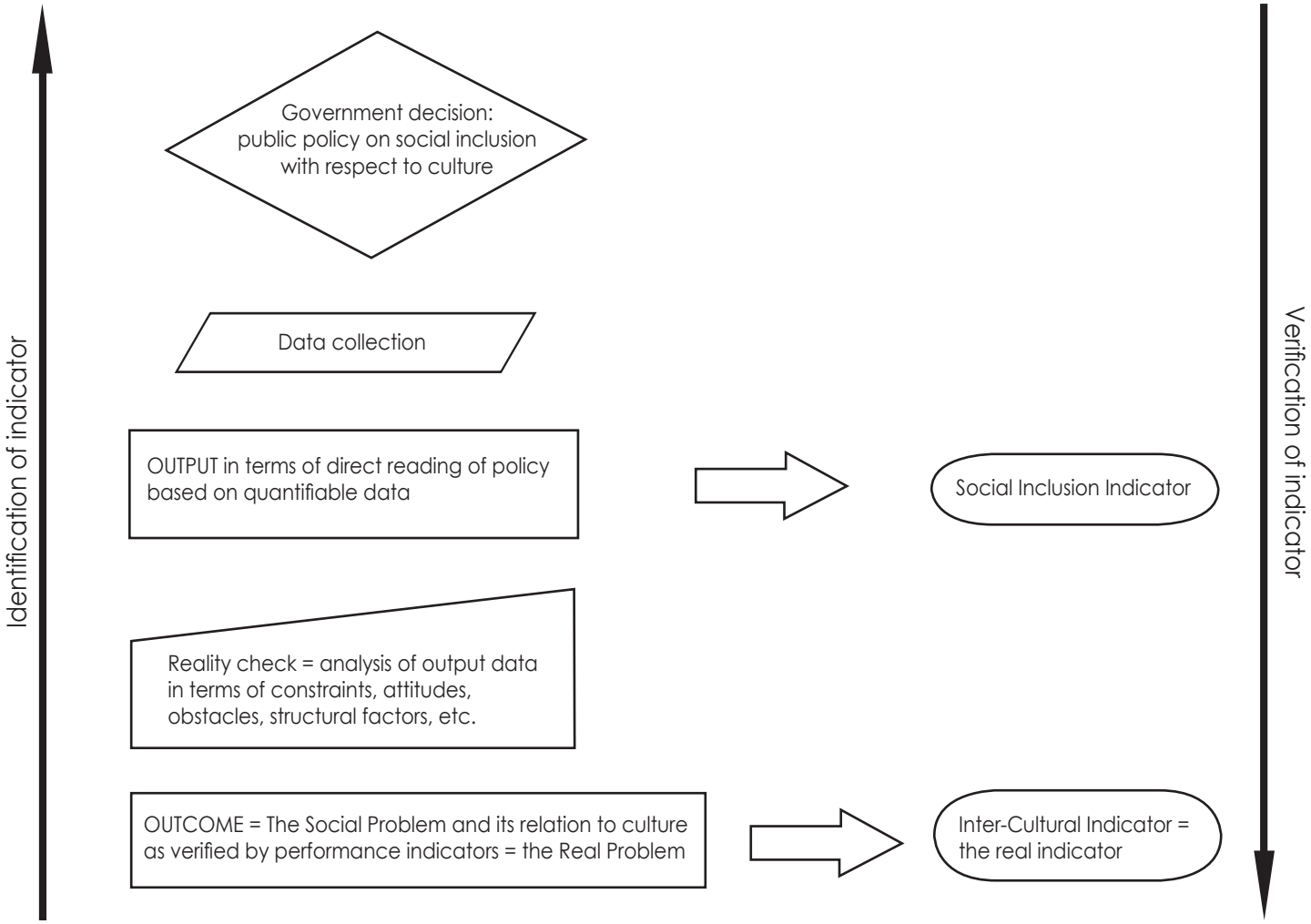
[7] Method devised by Dr. Francois Grin. See Grin, Evaluating Policy Measures for Minority Languages in Europe: Towards Effective, Cost-Effective and Democratic Implementation. ECMI Report, No. 6, October 2000.

[8] Mary Daly, "Social Exclusion as Concept and Policy Template in the European Union ." CES Working Papers #135 (Center for European
Studies, Harvard University, 2006).

[9] Francois Grin and Tom Moring, Support for Minority Languages (SMILE) Final Report of 15 May 2002 (ECMI and EBLUL), p. 77-78

[10] We would like to thank Ms. Annika Salmi for her professional support in researching and drafting this section.

Figure 1 – Inter-Cultural Indicator Path[11]



The general problem of ICI is that cultural indicators remain under-explored in research and public policy assessment. While considerable effort has been made towards the collection of cultural data, concern has been expressed about the quality of cultural statistics and cultural indicators and, in particular, about the relevance of indicators for cultural policies.[12] Nevertheless, the concern about cultural indicators fostered the idea of a world report on culture based on the belief that indicators, though a simplification of reality, are symbols of understanding the complexity and diversity of phenomena.[13] Accordingly, the first World Culture Report published by UNESCO in 1998 focused on the creation of valid cultural indicators, conceptualized to complement the work being carried out by UNDP in its Human Development Report.

The first World Culture Report builds on efforts towards the construction of cultural indicators, which had been undertaken on various occasions.[14] It was felt that indices should cover the production as well as consumption of aesthetic and intellectual products in order to get a complete picture of the cultural activities and values within a society.[15] For the organization of the process of creating cultural indicators it has been suggested to arrange them into three categories: indicators of cultural freedom, indicators of creativity and indicators of cultural dialogue.[16] The first World Culture Report included a list of cultural indicators but cautioned that the depth and scope of these were limited since the indicators had to be drawn from available data.[17] Many indicators did not have enough reliable data or had only outdated data. Nevertheless, it was felt that the first World Culture Report was the start of a process of broadening measurable and reported aspects of world culture.

[11] Freely adapted under the inspiration of the policy-to-outcome path developed by Francois Grin, see note 8.
[12] International Federation of Art Councils and Culture Agencies (IFACCA), Statistical Indicators for Arts Policy, D'Art Report #18, IFACCA, 2005,. p. 8; and Mark Schuster, *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Culture Statistics* (Montreal, UIS, 2005), p. 42
[13] UNRISD/UNESCO, "Towards a World Report on Culture and Development – Constructing Cultural Statistics and Indicators", Report on the Workshop on Cultural Indicators of Development, Royaumont Foundation, France, UNESCO, 1996, p. 15.
[14] http://www.unesco.org/culture/worldreport/html_eng/index_en.shtml.
[15] Prasanta Pattanaik, "Cultural Indicators of Well-Being – Some Conceptual Issues", UNRISD/UNESCO, 1997, pp. 338-339.
[16] Terry McKinley, "Cultural Indicators of Development", UNRISD/UNESCO, 1997, pp. 322-331.
[17] UNESCO, "Culture, Creativity and Markets", World Culture Report 1998, UNESCO, 1998, pp. 349-351

Subsequently, UNESCO took up the efforts from the first World Culture Report towards creating global cultural indicators.[18] It argued that not only hard laws but also soft governance approaches, which are used in a growing number of policy areas, need clear and policy relevant indicators based on sound, comparable and credible statistics.[19] The idea of a single composite index was, however, left aside, mainly because the cultural activities of poor countries and poor people in rich countries were underrepresented or completely excluded by available cultural statistics. This gap underlined the call for more and comprehensive cultural statistics and quantifiable data. Consequently, UNESCO called attention to the need for a comprehensive research programme focusing on the creation of new hard data on the linkage between culture and development. The objective should be an international system of statistical information on global culture where policy performance on local and national levels can be measured and compared.

UNESCO followed up with the second World Culture Report published in 2000. This publication took the important step of arguing that no single indicator can reflect the multi-dimensional field of culture. Thus, it is necessary to break culture down into its key dimensions and then to select appropriate indicators. It also repeated the message that, while the purpose of statistics is a descriptive one, indicators should be designed for evaluative purposes, thus tracking achievements or regression in view of specific objectives and sending clear messages about policy relevant trends of public concern.[20] The second World Culture Report included a refined list of cultural indicators, which was the product of Member States' responses to the first World Culture Report's list of indicators. The refined list included categories of cultural activities, practices, cultural trade and communication, translations of books and education. UNESCO subsequently decided to prepare a special biennial questionnaire on key under-explored cultural areas as a regular part of the work programme for future World Culture Reports.[21] However, it has been emphasized that not only the material dimensions of culture but also global ethics, cultural vitality, cultural diversity, participation in creative activity and access to culture and conviviality should be studied.[22] UNESCO is currently working on several subjects for which new indicators will be developed, including an update to the UNESCO Framework on Culture Statistics (FCS). Following the adoption of the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions in 2005, UNESCO also wants to focus more on cultural diversity. Results of this work will be integrated into the third World Culture Report to be published in 2007.

The International Federation of Art Councils and Culture Agencies (IFACCA) called in 2005 for the following actions to be taken in the future cultural indicator development:

· Greater clarity about the nature of artistic activities (why people undertake arts activities and their public and private benefits);
· Greater clarity in the articulation of objectives for cultural policies and in determining the appropriate indicators for measuring performance against objectives;
· More strategic targeting of development work on cultural indicators, especially the prioritizing of a limited number of indicators;
· Greater communication – and even co ordination – between researchers and policymakers involved in developing indicators;
· Organising an online forum for people that are working with indicators;
· Putting the frameworks and indicators of various institutions online;
· Developing 'FAQs' concerning indicator development and the development of indicator frameworks;
· An online indicator database: comprising, for every indicator, an index card that contains the definition of the data, unit of measurement, data sources, etc;
· Seminars on cultural statistics, particularly for developing countries.[23]

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[18] UNESCO World Culture Report Unit, "Measuring Culture and Development: Prospects and Limits of Constructing Cultural Indicators", by UNESCO World Culture Report Unit, UNESCO, 1999, p. 7.
[19] Ibid, p. 10.
[20] UNESCO, "Cultural Diversity, Conflicts and Pluralism", World Culture Report 2000, UNESCO, 2000, p. 278.
[21] Ibid. p. 289
[22] Ibid. p. 283
[23] IFACCA, "Statistical Indicators for Arts Policy ", op. cit.

The problem that piloting ICI presents is that these are even more under-explored than cultural indicators. One of the key purposes of indicators is to reduce the large volume of statistical information available to a small number of key measures that allow trends to be monitored.[24] Four broad types of indicators can be identified: goal or strategic indicators; purpose or sustainability indicators; output or attainment indicators; and activity or performance indicators. Where in the cultural sector one would tend to operate with goal and purpose indicators, the social sector and especially social inclusion sector is likely to work with activity or performance indicators. This indicates that there is a difference to be reckoned with when piloting cultural indicators and ICI. This difference is, however, far from clear in the current development of cultural indicators.

A Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe has been compiled over a couple of years under the guidance of the Council of Europe and following the Declaration on Intercultural Dialogue and Conflict Prevention adopted by European ministers of culture on 22 October 2003.[25] The Compendium contains a list of good practices on inter-cultural dialogue and a set of indicators on cultural diversity, social cohesion and inter-cultural dialogue. The list of good practices is based on a number of questions within the areas of governance, cultural policies, arts education, media pluralism and access to cultural life that Member States of the Council of Europe were asked to answer in a 2005 survey. The results of the survey are categorized according to intervention levels, operators, sectors, objectives, activities, target groups and duration.

The set of indicators included in the Compendium consists of general and specific indicators; a subcategory of ethno-cultural and other minority diversity indicators has been incorporated within cultural diversity. Indicators include linguistic diversity, cultural rights, gender equality, media and content diversity.[26] The social cohesion indicators include economic conditions, life chances or equality of opportunity indicators, as well as quality of life indicators. Finally, the inter-cultural dialogue indicators are sub-divided into governance, cultural policies and measures, arts education, media pluralism and content diversity, as well as access to and participation in cultural life.

Social cohesion is particularly interesting in terms of public policy on culture because, in the most important classic definitions we receive from academic research, culture does not usually play a role. Governments have come a long way and the study of culture has made its inroad into the field of social cohesion via the third generation of cultural policies emphasizing cultural democracy. A fourth generation that is perhaps emerging is the collaborations between Member States' governments and international organizations.[27] This may be responsible for the convergence between culture and society and hence the culturalization of social policies.

On the incorporation of culture in social cohesion policy, a mapping exercise published in 1998 by the Canadian government has shown clearly that social cohesion encompasses at least the two dimensions of culture and cultural diversity. In the Canadian study, five major concepts are listed as defining social cohesion in Canada, namely belonging, inclusion, participation, recognition, and legitimacy. These are also provided in a more descriptive manner as ties that bind, such as values, identity, culture, differences and divisions, inequalities and inequities, cultural diversity and geographical divisions, and social glue, which refers to associations and networks, infrastructure, values and identity.[28] The problem with social cohesion is that its goals are instrumental and culture and instrumentality have yet to be seen as pertinent to public policy in many EU Member States.

A more recent study at the University of Mannheim highlights this dilemma. According to the study, social cohesion has two major instrumental goals: the reduction of disparities, inequalities and social exclusion; and

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[24] Statistics New Zealand, "Cultural Indicators for New Zealand 2006", Statistics New Zealand and Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2006.
[25] European Institute for Comparative Cultural Research, "Intercultural Dialogue, Cultural Policies and the Compendium: A Proposal for Discussion", ERICarts, 2005.
[26] John Foote, "Indicators for Monitoring Cultural Diversity, Social Cohesion and Inter-Cultural Dialogue within the Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe", ERICarts, 2005.
[27] Woods et al., "Report of a Thematic Study", op. cit.
[28] Jane Jenson, "Mapping Social Cohesion: The State of Canadian Research", Canadian Cultural Observatory, 1998.

the strengthening of social relations, interactions and ties. This dimension embraces all aspects that are generally also considered as the social capital of a society.[29] The measurement of social cohesion therefore follows these two strands and creates two groups of indicators, one focusing on social and political participation and integration, and another on labour market and working conditions. However, in trying to measure these instrumental goals, the qualitative value of culture was reduced to religious participation. While religion is of course a strong component of our cultures, it is far from representative enough of the realities of social exclusion.

The government of New Zealand has also grappled with social cohesion indicators in a compendium on cultural indicators published in July 2006.[30] Although social cohesion indicators are among the least developed in the New Zealand indicator compendium, the definition of social cohesion upon which the compendium relied produced a rather different approach than the Mannheim study. According to the New Zealand study, the theme of social cohesion addresses the issue of social connectedness as well as the role that participation in arts, culture and heritage events and activities play in that connectedness. By this is meant the idea that arts, culture and heritage events and activities are a means by which New Zealanders can communicate across social, economic, cultural and ethnic groups.[31] Hence, the cultural indicators piloted by the New Zealand government divide into five areas or domains:

- Engagement;
- Cultural identity;
- Diversity;
- Social cohesion; and
- Economic development.

The indicator on social cohesion has furthermore been sub-divided into three sub-indicators, addressing non-Maori attendance at Maori cultural events, other ethnicities' attendance and community cultural experiences. While the government has been able to find statistical data for four of the five domains, the domain of social cohesion remains to be populated with statistics. This is listed however as a future goal.

More importantly, the New Zealand government has broken down the collected data into three subcategories: age, gender and ethnicity. The compendium therefore provides objective information about the inter-cultural state of affairs in the country. While this approach could not guide our research on the six NAPs/Incl., since most Member States do not collect ethnic data, it is clearly an objective worth considering for the future of piloting cultural indicators in the EU.

[29] Regina Berger-Schmitt, "Social Cohesion as an Aspect of the Quality of Societies: Concept and Measurement, "EuReporting Working Paper # 14, Centre for Survey Research and Methodology (ZUMA), Social Indicators Department, Mannheim, 2000.
[30] Statistics New Zealand, "Cultural Indicators", op. cit.
[31] Ibid., p. 38.

Chapter 2 – CULTURE AND AGENCY IN THE MULTI-DIMENSIONALITY OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION

There is no single dimension to social exclusion as a condition. A multi-dimensional view of social exclusion holds that social exclusion is constituted by a layering of conditions, one upon another generated by an interaction of economic, social, cultural and political circumstances. The underlying idea of social exclusion implies a situation that has many dimensions and persists over time. Multi-dimensionality may thus be characterized by complexity and as a phenomenon that extends beyond the market.[32] Combating social exclusion therefore requires state intervention in terms of public policies.

2.1 Individual Capabilities

Social exclusion is a type of deprivation, both material and non-material. It constitutes a significant handicap that impoverishes the lives that individuals can enjoy, as it excludes some people from the shared opportunities enjoyed by others. It is multi-dimensional and relational; it is constitutively relevant and instrumentally important; it can be a result of both active and passive exclusions; and it is a process as well as an outcome.[33] Most importantly, however, it is related as much to categories of gender, age, culture and ethnicity as it is to concepts of social and human capital. Social exclusion is thus a deprivation of the freedom to undertake important activities that we believe provide a decent life. The fundamental capability to take part in the life of the community and not be constrained in interacting freely with others is the core assumption guiding the view of social inclusion in this research effort.

2.2 Individual Recognition and Economic Opportunities

It has been argued that a concern with the distribution of economic opportunities and resources has been displaced by a preoccupation with the acknowledgement of cultural identities and differences. A variety of explanations have been offered for this possible shift of emphasis. Some accounts focus on globalization and the fading power of the state, which has contributed to the erosion of established national identities from both above and below. Thus, new spaces have opened up for the creation of alternative identities. Other accounts refer to the end of the post-war social democratic consensus placing a new emphasis on the individual, thus also leading to an increased interest in identity. Social justice in terms of redistribution of resources and recognition of identities is therefore at the forefront of this debate.

While some argue that redistribution and recognition are two mutually irreducible elements of an account of social justice,[34] others contend that a suitably differentiated account of recognition can provide the basis of a theory of just inclusion of its own.[35] Recognition on this latter account is not only a political aspect and a question of good governance. Rather, social recognition is more important. Notwithstanding academic disputes, both approaches hold that the distribution of resources has a very significant influence on the life-chances of those individuals affected by such a distribution and that these are imperfectly realized under present social conditions. Moreover, they hold that, in order to realize these, governments must pay attention to both the distribution of economic resources and the recognition of cultural identities. Culture is therefore an aspect of the distribution of and access to economic opportunities.

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[32] Mary Daly, "Social Exclusion as Concept ", op. cit.

[33] Amartya Sen, "Social Exclusion: Concept, Application, and Scrutiny ' Social Development Papers #1, Office of Environment and Social Development, Asian Development Bank, 2000.

[34] Nancy Fraser, "Social Justice in the Age of Identity Politics: Redistribution, Recognition, and Participation", in Nancy Fraser and Axel Honneth (eds.), *Redistribution or Recognition? A Political-Philosophical Exchange* (London: Verso, 2003), pp. 7-110.

[35] Axel Honneth, "Redistribution as Recognition: A Response to Nancy Fraser", in ibid.,pp. 110-198.

Box 1 - The European Discourse on Social Exclusion ... as seen from the Slovak Republic

The issue of inequalities, the struggle to identify its reasons and consequences, its differentiated manifestations in the social reality, has become currently one of the most discussed issues in both Slovakia and Europe. As Room (1990) states, interest in social exclusion issues gradually resulted from the renewed interest in the issue of poverty as well as in human rights or citizenship in the Western European countries in the 1970s and 1980s. Thus, the idea and concept of social exclusion has gradually gained currency in the European social discourse and has become a dominant paradigm in discussions on poverty in the EU countries.
The gradual preference of the social exclusion concept is in fact an effort to capture the change of character and new features of poverty in the last decades of the twentieth century. These undoubtedly include the following: persistence of poverty in time; its spatial concentration accompanied by marginalization; pathological behavior and reluctance towards the standards of the main stream of society; as well as the dependence on the social state and disintegration of the traditional social institutions (Room et al., 1990).
The social exclusion concept is thus much more complex and broad in the first line. The advantage of using it is the fact that poverty is not being reduced to the most frequently used monetary (insufficient income) or consumption dimension (insufficient consumption). It means a shift of focus from a financial handicap to its multi-dimensional character, i.e., identifying the different consequences caused by poverty. According to Abrahamson (1995, pp. 124-125) and Atkinson (2000, p. 57), social exclusion involves: transition from statistic to dynamic analysis of processes that cause individuals to become or stay poor. Also, it shows the consequences of the situation, conveys the multi-dimensional character of mechanisms that exclude individuals and groups from social exchange, from pursuance of and the right to social integration and from creation of identity. The above-mentioned facts are covered in the table below.

Conceptual matrix of poverty and social exclusion

	Statistical status (result)	**Dynamic process**
Income	Poverty	Impoverishment
Multi-dimensional	Deprivation	Social exclusion

Source: Berghman, 1995, p. 21.

It even goes beyond participation in professional life and shows itself also in the sphere of living, education, health and access to services. The social exclusion concept is better contextualized into a broader understanding of society and its profile processes, such as integration, participation and solidarity, than the poverty concept. For the involved, social exclusion means not just material deprivation or diminution of living opportunities (Dahrendorf, 1991) common in the majority society but also the limitation of their influence and possibilities to participate in decision-making or in influencing the decisionmaking process. One can agree with Strobel (1996) that social exclusion is perceived as a systematic process of marginalization, isolation and weakening of social links, which can be felt both at the individual and social group level. It means exclusion from participation in the common way of social life.
Berghman also draws attention to a significant fact (1995, pp. 19-20), stating that social exclusion is currently perceived rather as a consequence of a failure of society rather than a failure of an individual. The most endangered are those individuals or groups having a weakened link to at least one of the four integration levels (elements) through which individuals and groups are integrated into society: democracy and law (which support civil integration); the labour market (which supports economic integration); the social state (which supports social integration); and family and community (which support interpersonal integration). Exclusion from one integration element usually means exclusion from other elements as well. For example, having lost their position in the labour market, individuals often face the problem of material poverty. As Atkinson observes (2000), they are excluded from consumption activities or have a restricted possibility of consumption choice and, according to Bauman (1996), they gradually lose the possibility, on a standard level, to participate in the social or political life of their community. This weakens their social links to the community (often even to the family) and in many cases leads to impairment of identity.
Apparently, social exclusion involves a diversified set of social facts. The core of the matter is that the excluded individuals, as well as complete social collectivities, do not participate equally in the different resources (both material and immaterial) of the society and in its distribution or re-distribution. In the end, this causes significant separation from the common life style available to the general population at the given time and in the given region (Mareš, 1999). These individuals or collectivities remain poor, in social and cultural isolation, which is often emphasized and "conserved" by the spatial isolation. In this process, the individual, or social collectivity, is excluded from the organizations or entire communities that compose the society.
This is the reason why European countries are increasingly interested in the prevention and/or reduction of the consequences of social exclusion, i.e., the marginalized position of a significant part of the population. This exclusion is an unwanted process on both sides, as it creates unequal opportunities to assert one's civil, political and social rights, and also leads to social tension, which for its part results in social risks. This could cause a collapse of social solidarity and cohesion and it is therefore essential to strive for the integration of the excluded individuals and groups (Atkinson, 2000).
Everybody who differs from the mainstream "standards" of society is a subject of social exclusion (Mareš, 1999). In the narrower sense discussed here, this concerns ethnic minority members – the Roma. It is a long lasting historical process. It results in a relationship where, on one side, there are the established and, on the other, the outsiders. The inequalities of this relationship are visible in the economic, social, cultural, political, symbolic as well as spatial exclusion.

Source: Michal Vašečka, Magdalena Sadovská, and Barbora Vašečková, " Final Report Slovakia", ECMI Working Paper #32, October 2006, pp. 43-44.

Culture in the economy supports the view that individual economic action is based on culturally engendered capabilities.[36] The idea that capabilities are fostered through culture relies on the view that certain functions are particularly central in human life and that these functions render the human being a dignified free being capable of shaping his or her life in cooperation and reciprocity with others. A human life is shaped by these human powers of practical reason and sociability, and each human being is thus a bearer of value and an end in and of himself or herself. To subordinate the ends of some individuals to those of others is considered profoundly wrong and to deprive the individual of the cultural support to develop his or her capabilities may result in some individuals living beneath a certain level of capability. [37] In other words, the value of culture must be appreciated as a valuable contribution to the individual's development and capability to function in society, especially the individual's capability to act in the economic sphere without risking exclusion.

The attention to the relationship between cultural policies and education in the research for this report is a direct effect of the above theoretical observations. The importance of education in engendering better capabilities is also evidenced in the attention to the education of socially excluded minorities in all NAPs/Incl.

2.3 Weak or Vulnerable? [38]

The research for this report also differentiates between the concept of weak and the concept of vulnerable.[39] Weak can be thought of as 'resource weak'; that is, an individual who is resource weak cannot cope with sudden, extensive or dramatic changes to the worse in his/her life situation. Vulnerable is the individual who runs a greater risk of being the object of such changes. The person who is resource weak is thus also in some ways vulnerable, whereas the individual who is vulnerable is not necessarily resourceweak.

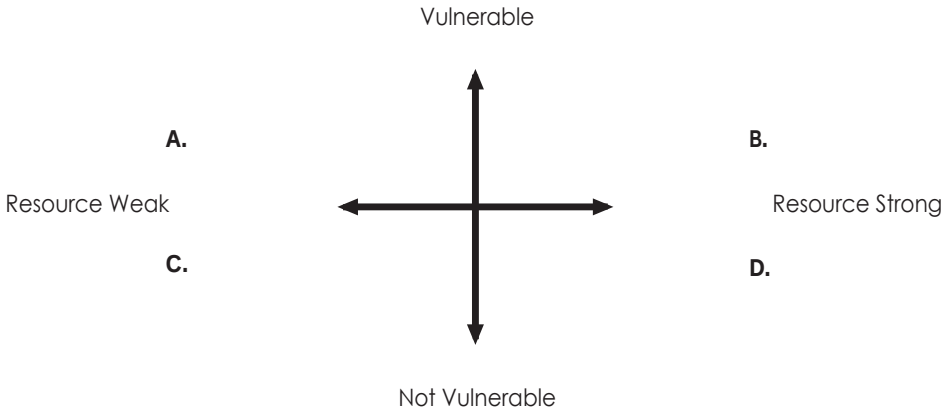
If resource-weak individuals are categorized as resource-weak groups, this is because those resources, in this context social and economic security, human capital and self confidence, are distributed in a manner that is systematically unequal. Unequal distribution in resources often follows class variables but also follows both gender and ethnicity variables; individual relationships often have a structural background. However, vulnerability is also a more immediate consequence of structural relationships, is also systematic, so that vulnerable individuals form groups. Fig. 2 models the risk for social exclusion on this notion.

The risk is highest for those in position "A", those individuals or groups that are both resourceweak and vulnerable, to be socially excluded and the risk is least for those in position "D", those individuals and groups that are both resource strong and not vulnerable. This is, of course, nothing new. What is new is that the advanced welfare state has to revise its analysis of social exclusion and ethnic minorities as well as how changes in the social security system affects more individuals, usually those that were in a protected society position as being qualified as resourceweak.

The research for this report is guided by the understanding that situations such as unemployment, sickness or being foreign born are not excluding. On the contrary, they should be seen as normal situations in today's society. They are seen as excluding only when they become "permanent". That is, exclusion of the individual takes place when the situation becomes more or less permanent. In the case of the unemployed and the ill, this occurs when they become long-term unemployed and long-term ill. In the case of the foreign born, it is when integration breaks down and the individual/group is a life-long victim of structural discrimination.

[36] Amartya Sen, "Social Exclusion", op. cit.
[37] Martha C. Nussbaum, *Women and Human Development. The Capabilities Approach*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000),pp. 71-73.
[38] We are grateful to Prof. Antoinette Hetzler of the University of Lund for allowing us to use her theory for our research.
[39] See the full discussion of this theory in Antoinette Hetzler, Marcus Persson and Elin Lundin, "Final Report Sweden", ECMI Working Paper #34, October 2006, p. 38.

Figure 2 – Risk of Social Exclusion[40]



A resource-strong individual/group can still be vulnerable, position "B", but the risks of being excluded are less than those in position "A". One can say that the measures to reach the national action goals are designed to make a person "non-vulnerable" by increasing his or her chances on the job market and thus increasing his or her economic well-being. Cultural policies can be designed in such a way as to increase an individual or group's resources to a resource strong position and thus decrease the risk for social exclusion.

The new theoretical development in social policy research as sketched must focus on the collective values' importance as protection against exclusion. Of course, the programme of general social policy is important but by reference to the model we see that it also depends on networks and the development of human capital and that this is something helped by cultural policy, the building of meeting places and the development of the self.

2.4 Culture

Although there is widespread agreement now that "culture counts", there seems to be less understanding of what it entails to address cultural and inter-cultural aspects of social exclusion in public policy. Culture in this project is seen as one of the components of the multi-dimensionality of social exclusion. Culture is everywhere and forms part of everything we do in life. It is a vital aspect of the young child learning effectively in kindergarten and school, it is the major reason why we have a sense of belonging and well-being, it is indispensable in our ability to perform in society, both in the private and the public sphere, and indeed it is a major reason why we feel included rather than excluded. Culture is thus both an objective and a process. Cultural vitality, cultural diversity and global ethics depend on the freedom of cultural expression, participation in cultural creation, access to cultural activities and the right to have a cultural identity, including verification of the strengthening of identity, sovereignty, visibility and development as well as opportunities in all sectors of public life (economic, commercial, financial, political, social and artistic).

Culture is an intrinsic part of public life. Cultural relations cannot be separated from other social relations and treated in isolation. Culture is a way of relating to others in any interaction, a way of following or challenging a social rule, and so a dimension of any social relation, from a cultural slur in the workplace to the relations among nations.[41] Cultural action therefore is not simply different patterns of physical movements; it is meaningful to us because human action is identified as having significance by our culture. Human action fits into some pattern of activities that is culturally recognized as a way of leading one's life. [42] Cultural values therefore only exist if

[40] Hetzler, Persson and Lundin, "Final Report Sweden", ECMI Working Papers #34, of October 2006 op. cit., p. 38.
[41] James Tully, *Strange Multiplicity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 15.
[42] Will Kymlicka, *Liberalism, Community and Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 165.

there are social practices sustaining them. In fact, if our social practices did not sustain our cultural values, we would not be the bearers of these cultural values.[43] In other words, we are dependent on our social environment for reinforcing our cultural values, norms and conventions.

Anthropologists operate with different categories of cultural definitions, based on history, behaviour, norms, functions, and rational and structural as well as symbolic observations. These categories constitute a so-called 'baseline' definition of culture, which breaks it into categories constituting systems of meaning, referring to negotiated agreements about norms and conventions, ways of organizing society and distinct features and techniques of the group carrying the culture.[44] Put more simply, we can speak of what people think, what they do and what they produce.

Box 2 - Perspectives on Policy to Promote Access to Culture … as seen from Slovenia

The decline of great modernist theories and appearance of the 'interpretation overthrow' in different forms caused a looser dealing with culture as a factor, which rather joins people than 'integrates' them. This difference is important, as the notion of joining implies differences among people rather than similarities. In this case, culture should be regarded as a consequence of social interaction. This means that individuals are active in the creation of culture instead of being merely its passive recipients.
To be able to live together well, people need to be able to communicate and understand one another's culture. Communication is the basis of culture and also the basis for any multiethnic society to function well. The lack of communication is likely to lead to conflict, violence and social disintegration. This is especially true with regard to cultural differences. Cultural diversity should be respected, but what is most desirable is a flourishing, interactive diversity in which people of different cultures are able to communicate their values, beliefs and traditions to another in an atmosphere of mutual respect and learning. In today's rapidly changing world, driven relentlessly by the so-called information revolution, people run the danger of becoming marginalized if they are not literate and do not have access to modern means of communication.
The competitiveness and living standards of whole nations have become much more dependent on access to information and technological know-how. For many minorities, however, communication is really only a one-way process, in which people of the dominant majority in their country attempt to spread the influence of their own culture or people of dominant countries in the world strive to propagate their own cultural values and merchandise their own cultural products. Modern means of communication, which have such tremendous potential to uphold and strengthen cultural diversity, are in fact being used to standardize cultural values, beliefs and lifestyles. This is why the concept of communication must be enriched to include authentic cultural communication – real dialogue among people of differing ethnic, religious and linguistic backgrounds. (McKinley, 1997, pp. 11-12).
Ethnic minorities often lack the opportunities and means to participate in the host culture as well as the opportunities and means to preserve their native cultures. Both are needed and should be supported by the state if it wants to encourage and enable a real intercultural dialogue in a society.

Source: Mitja Žagar, Miran Komac,Mojca Medvešek and Romana Bešter, et al., "Final Report Slovenia", *ECMI Working Paper #33*, October 2006, p. 142.

Culture has been compared to our use and understanding of language, namely that it is learned and transmitted through behaviour. Because learning is such an important aspect of culture, anthropologists argue that education is essential to the reinforcement of cultural values and the survival of cultures. Culture, therefore, is a social phenomenon, which means that it is fundamentally constructed by human beings and thus constantly changing. It has therefore been argued that:

> Cultural systems are not God-given: rather they are always and everywhere the creation of their users. As a result they are never fixed and static, but are constantly being rejigged, reinterpreted and indeed reinvented by their users. In that respect processes of cultural change are simply a mark of human creativity. New ideas, new perceptions, new inventions
> and new fashions frequently spread like wildfire. [45]

[43] Joseph Raz, The Practice of Value (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 33.
[44] Alfred L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions. (Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum, 1952)
[45] Roger Ballard, "Race, Ethnicity and Culture", in Martin Holborn, New Developments in Sociology (Ormskirk: Causeway, 2002), p. 13.

Because culture is transmitted through learning, and individuals are 'coded' to carry certain cultural values in a similar manner as they are coded to speak certain languages, people can learn to act in several cultures just as they can learn several languages.

Being the bearers of cultural values is not, however, a purely instrumental principle. Culture is also considered an intrinsic part of individual well-being. This means that, in order for the individual to function in society and insofar as she is dependent on the cultural values that she carries, she needs to have access to cultural values, norms and conventions. Cultural membership therefore is considered one of our primary goods. The primary good of cultural membership has the capacity of providing meaningful options for us, and aiding our ability to judge for ourselves the value of our life-plans.[46] Since culture is an intrinsic part of individual well-being and the individual's ability to function in society, acquiring cultural capital becomes one of the most important aspects of the process of our socialization.

Cultural capital refers to the symbols, ideas, tastes, and preferences that can be strategically used as resources in social action.[47] These strategic tools embody our socialized tendencies or dispositions to act, think, or feel in a particular way, and they can also be converted into other forms. Thus, parents can endow their children with the linguistic and cultural competences that will give them a greater likelihood of success at school and at university. Similarly, parents who are not able to do this will not have successful children. Cultural capital is therefore very closely linked to the ability to acquire economic capital and hence to succeed in society. In fact, the two types of capital reinforce each other.

Because culture can be seen as an intrinsic part of public life, we chose the domain of public participation, including access to culture, as an overarching indicator for our research. As noted above, the theory here is that cultural activities risk becoming exclusionary unless cultural diversity is accepted as the paradigm for society and political participation is the highest level of social inclusion and cultural acceptance. As it turned out, none of the NAPs/Incl. address culture in the political participation processes and only one address the access to culture of ethnic minorities.

2.5 Cultural Boundaries and Inter-cultural Exchanges

Individual economic action is not, however, only a matter of cultural capabilities. The inability to benefit from economic opportunities is often a question of discrimination: discrimination due to cultural membership. Unlike the economic realm, which has been accused of neglecting culture, discrimination as a concept sprung from the very notion of cultural differences. Although we have established that cultural differences are important aspects of understanding economic action, it is not possible to address this unless we know the type of discrimination that excludes members of ethnic minorities from the economic sphere. Human action exerting exclusion results from a binary relationship that creates boundaries between cultures. Social exclusion is an inter-human process determined by the mechanisms of social identification and contra-identification or the reality that we have a fundamental need to achieve a positive cultural identity. Moreover, we assume that this mechanism induces us to perceive our in-group as superior to other ethnic out-groups. Thus, cultures are formed through complex dialogues with other cultures. The demarcations of cultures and of the human groups that are their carriers are extremely contested, fragile as well as delicate.

[46] Kymlicka, Liberalism, Community and Culture, op. cit, p. 166.
[47] Pierre Bourdieu, The Logic of Practice (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990).

Box 3 - The Dimension of Culture in the Social Integration of Ethnic Minorities .. as seen from the Czech Republic

Social inclusion or exclusion processes are structured and they are influenced by many diverse and inter-linked factors. The actual state of social inclusion or exclusion achieved by an individual or social group cannot always be regarded as definitive, because every society develops and is exposed to constant change. The tension that is created in a society in consequence of reactions to changes is simultaneously a driving force behind social innovations. Cultural diversity is considered an essential condition of progress, for the very reason that it forces people to adapt and seek equilibrium in a society exposed to changes.

The individual is born into a particular community that is part of a broader cultural unit. Every human community creates a historically variable set of written and unwritten standards of behaviour (traditions, customs, conventions, imperatives and laws) that regulate the relationships of individuals and groups within the community and peoples' relationships to society itself and its institutions. At the same time, they define the functions of members within a community and their role in terms of the goals that society sets itself. Culture influences the individual's social standing, status and role.

Both the mentality and the behaviour of the individual are directly influenced by the personal experiences he gains in contact with his social surroundings. In the upbringing process, the individual learns symbolic behaviour, spoken and written language, gestures and established patterns of behaviour. That gives him the ability to find his bearings in the cultural environment of a given society and to understand the behaviour of others. Social conventions become part of his personality and influence his feelings, experiences, endeavours, actions and judgements. Accepting social standards and values is a condition of the individual's acceptance by other members of society and normal interaction with people.

Every individual occupies a particular position in society. Social status and the role associated with it change in the course of life. Biological factors (sex and age) only partially influence status and role. How a person acts and how successful he is in a given community are reflected in his social status, which has either low or high prestige. Prestige, position in the social structure and social ties then play a very important role in the process of social inclusion or exclusion.

The personality has its own individuality which society may modify but never eliminates. Acquired traits, influenced by personal history and experiences, help shape the individual's psyche and influence his behaviour. Every individual has certain innate and acquired needs. Individual needs and interests may conflict with the demands placed by society.

The individual learns social conventions and roles, but individually re-shapes, interprets and realizes them. He adopts the value system of society to a certain extent but also confronts it with the reality of his own life. Based on this, he creates his own value system, which need not be identical to the one shared by the majority. He acts on the basis of his own experiences, feelings and attitudes and interprets everything taking place around him in his own way. All that influences his ability to integrate into the cultural environment. This takes place on the assumption that the individual shares common standards, values and goals and satisfies the expectations of other members of society. Then he feels part of a certain community and is accepted as an equal partner by the other members.

The conventions and values of a culture or subculture the personality identifies with form the integrity of his mental world. Internalized values that are the basis of attitudes are hard to change, if they can be changed at all. Pressure to change these values exerted by the social environment may bring serious psychological problems and result in mental breakdowns that are at the root of conflict behaviour. No one can entirely abandon a culture he was integrated into and cast it off as an unwanted burden. He may accept new cultural standards and values that are not in stark conflict with the original ones, but he cannot abandon the deeply internalized structures forming the basis of his personality.

The switch from one cultural system to another is accompanied by mental stress; and a consistent endeavour to conserve one's cultural identity may complicate the everyday life of members of a minority. If minorities are not segregated, if the majority and minorities mutually interact, they must also influence each other. New generations of members of ethnic minorities coexisting with the majority find it hard to preserve their original culture, even though the majority do not necessarily exert pressure on them to assimilate. Minorities usually move closer to the majority culture. Preserving a minority culture unchanged can only be done among separated (segregated) communities.

Every society is in its way structured, organized and stabilized, which is reflected in its social climate. Difference necessitates adaptation and thus also social change. On the one hand, that brings a certain degree of conflict but, on the other hand, it is also a source of innovation and progress. Openness or closedness to cultural differences and changes is the result of the current social climate in a society.

The integration of cultural and ethnic minorities is a gradual process. The first phase in the life of a minority is the **accommodation** necessary for survival. The next phase is **adaptation**, where a minority preserves most of its own culture and only adapts to those elements of majority culture without which it cannot successfully function in society. **Integration** comes about if the majority and minority culture form a functional whole in which majority culture is dominant. There is partial or complete **assimilation** if the original culture of a minority is systematically rejected, forgotten or merges with the majority culture.

How successful the integration of minorities is depends on the society's capacities and resources enabling the saturation of fundamental economic and cultural needs. Spatial and social segregation makes social inclusion impossible. Unequal access to resources in education, preparation for a career and job opportunities can be a source of tension in society.

In the integration of minorities, culture's principal effect is found during the process of upbringing and education. A common language (which is a precondition of making oneself understood) plays a key role, but the sharing of key values and conventions of social behaviour also plays an important part. At the same time, the cultural identity of minorities needs to be conserved and their culture and language need to be developed. That is brought about by multicultural upbringing, which strives to develop and bring mutual understanding between members of various cultures settled in a particular geographical space. Nurturing tolerance, mutual respect and openness from early childhood may open up social structures. A lack of communication and interaction is a cause of social barriers. Social isolation prevents mutual recognition and allows prejudices to be formed, to persist and to be transmitted. Under certain circumstances, the majority and minority populations may live side by side yet remain more or less isolated.

A targeted media policy may help break down barriers caused by mutual ignorance and help eliminate prejudices against minorities. The more subtle aspects of majority and minority culture may be brought closer together through art activities.

Source: Milada Horáková and Pavel Bareš, "Final Report the Czech Republic", *ECMI Working Paper #29*, October 2006, pp. 8-10.

To possess a culture means to be an insider. Not to be acculturated in the appropriate way is to be an outsider. Hence, the boundaries of cultures are always securely guarded, their narratives purified, their rituals carefully monitored. These boundaries circumscribe power in that they legitimize its use within the group.[48] As culture has an importance in ensuring social inclusion, the binary inclusion/exclusion relation requires indicators that measure this relationship in terms of cultural exclusion. The relevant indicators for measuring the impact of cultural policies on social inclusion are therefore indicators of inter-cultural relationships, and the effectiveness of these policies is thus difficult to assess without good ICI.

Specifically, with regard to ethnic minorities and Roma/Sinti groups, traditional cultural policies that fail to address cultural diversity and inter-cultural exchanges risk low performance and poor cost-effectiveness. This is because the cultural differences between ethnic minorities and Roma/Sinti groups, on the one hand, and majorities, on the other, are usually more intractable due to historical circumstances than is the case with immigrant communities. Immigrants have, by and large, instrumental reasons for adaptation to the majority society,[49] whereas ethnic minorities often reject adaptation due to intrinsic values of culture, heritage and birth. While integration of immigrants is usually the greatest concern in EU15 states, large scale immigration is not as yet a major issue in the ten new Member States. These states have, on the contrary, a stronger need to address the structural social exclusion of ethnic minorities, especially Roma/Sinti.

The evaluation of social inclusion policies aimed at ethnic minorities therefore needs to verify the level of attention to inter-cultural exchanges. The focus on the media in our research for this report was a natural choice given the importance of the above theoretical observations and the fact that the media is a strong inter-cultural conveyor. Unfortunately, very little attention has been given in NAPs/Incl. to the impact of the media on the social inclusion of ethnic minorities and thus cultural policies rarely address the media.

2.6 Cultural Hegemony and Ethnic Exclusionism

A key element in the aspect of cultural capital in our socialization is that, through accumulating cultural capital, the privileged classes in society hold a hegemonic position in terms of cultural reinforcement (through their children and other mean) and therefore make it more difficult for excluded groups to become members of that culture. Cultural hegemony is part of an ongoing process where boundaries change constantly according to influences from a variety of sources, including ethnic mobilization. Ethnicity is cultural articulation or the glue that binds with a view to consolidating against a common enemy and making the boundaries fixed. The process towards ethnic consolidation, or closure as it is called, happens in all cultural landscapes. Hence, the majority as well as a minority can seek ethnic closure in the attempt to outdo the other groups in the competition about hegemonic positions. We may speak of ethnicity as a construction of a collectively self-interested sense of social solidarity, which is achieved through the articulation of a specific set of cultural symbols.[50] When the lines are drawn in the sand in the cultural sphere, social exclusion happens based on ethnic mobilization, ethnic boundaries, and ethnic closure. If a group achieves a hegemonic position in society by seeking ethnic closure, ethnic exclusionism happens. The paradigm that we call cultural pluralism is in reality ethnic pluralism.

Cultural hegemony based on ethnic exclusionism is part of the everyday ethnic struggles in society.[51] Cultural hegemony has also been described as 'dominant ethnicity'.[52] This phenomenon is fuelled by various forces, including but not exclusively political and cultural interests, thick identities, aristocratic groups and religion. On the basis of these observations, we can draw a picture of ethnic struggles for cultural hegemony (see Fig. 3).

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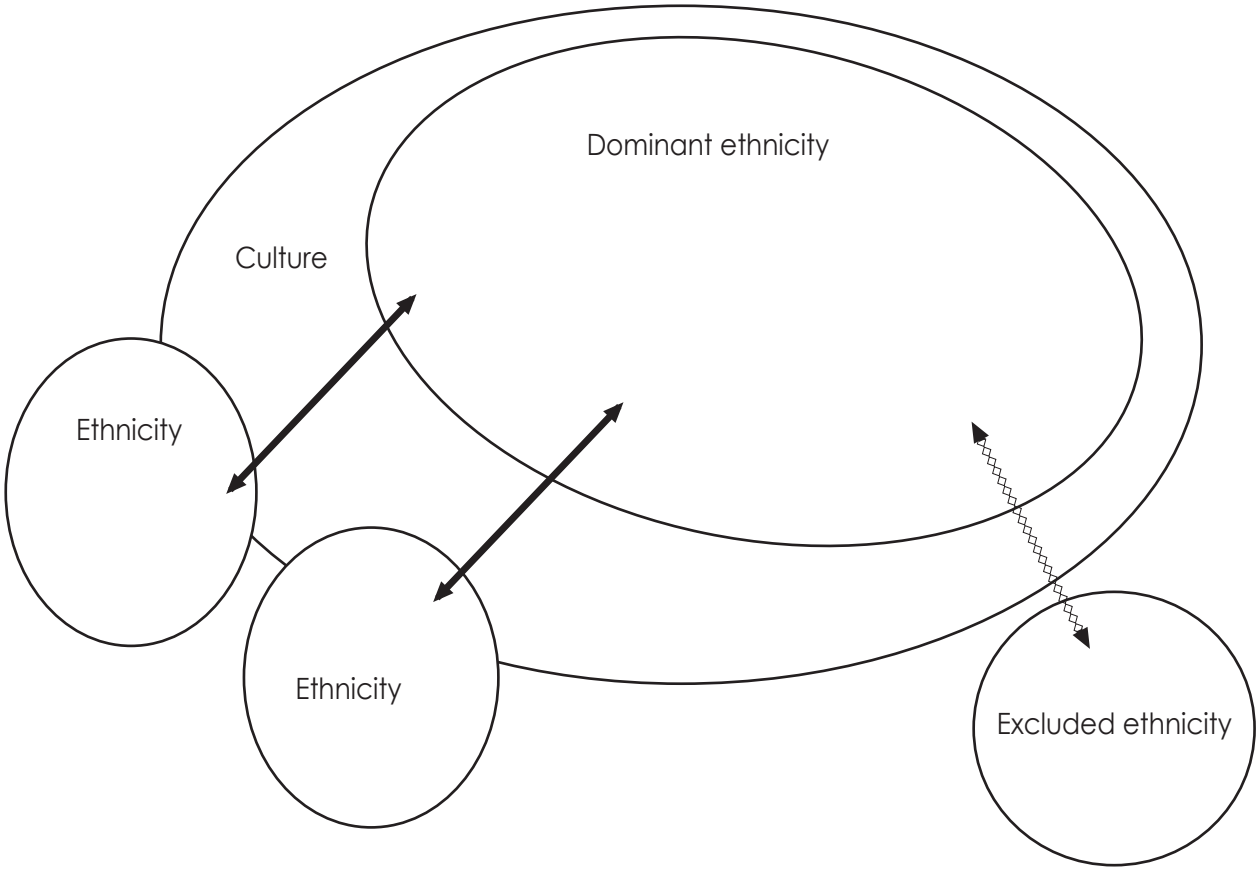
[48] Seyla Benhabib, The Claims of Culture (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002).
[49] The exception being certain religious groups adhering to strict cannon, such as the Amish community in the USA.
[50] Ballard, "Race, Ethnicity and Culture", op. cit. p. 34
[51] Marcel Coenders, Marcel Lubbers, and Peer Scheepers, "Resistance to Immigrants and Asylum Seekers in the European Union", 5 European Yearbook on Minority Issues, (2005/2006) (forthcoming)
[52] Anthony Smith, Nationalism (Cambridge: Polity, 2002).

Theories of cultural hegemony and the resulting ethnic exclusionism in terms of inter-group competition both at the individual and the group level have informed the research conducted on the NAPs/Incl. as they were considered to provide helpful perspectives for the impact evaluation of cultural policies as well as for piloting ICI on the majority.

Figure 3 – Ethnic Struggles for Cultural Hegemony[53]



[53] Tove H. Malloy, "The Aspect of Culture in the Social Inclusion of Ethnic Minorities: Multi-dimensionality and the European Union", *ECMI Working Paper* (forthcoming).

Chapter 3 – ETHNIC MINORITIES, CULTURE AND EU SOCIAL POLICY AFTER LISBON

In the context of making the European economic area grow, the 2000 European Council at Lisbon set the strategic goal of becoming the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion. Adopting the Lisbon Strategy, the EU formulated a number of measures to facilitate the shift towards an information society, stimulate research and development and the creation of small and medium-sized enterprises (SME), take further measures to complete the internal market, ensure sustainability of public finance and modernize the European Social Model by streng thening education and training, developing an active employment policy and modernizing social protection.[54] The specific objectives were:

- To establish an inclusive, dynamic and knowledge-based economy;
- To produce accelerated and sustained economic growth;
- To restore full employment as the key objective of economic and social policy, and reduce unemployment to the levels already achieved by the best performing countries; and
- To modernize our social protection systems.

The European Council at Lisbon considered that the overall aim of the Lisbon Strategy should be to raise the employment rate from an average of 61% in 2000 to 70% by 2010 and to increase the number of women in employment from an average of 51% in 2000 to more than 60% in 2010.

Selecting the OMC as the soft governance mechanism to achieve the Lisbon goals, the European Council set four technical objectives for the OMC process:

- Agreement on common objectives for the EU;
- Establishment of common indicators;
- Influencing national agendas;
- Establishing a Community Action Programme.

A number of tools should assist in achieving these objectives:

- National Action Plans (NAPs);
- Peer review of good practices;
- Studies;
- Trans national exchange programmes;
- Expert reports;
- Networks;
- Roundtables;
- Presidency events.

The research presented in this report is limited to the NAPs/Incl.

Following its adoption, the Lisbon Strategy has been evaluated every spring to measure its progress. Four years later the picture was a mixed one.[55] Consequently, in March 2004 the European Council concluded that the pace of reform needed to be significantly stepped up if the 2010 targets were to be achieved. The refocused Lisbon Strategy calls for a renewed effort at creating socio-economically inclusive societies. This involves breaking down barriers to the labour market by assisting with effective job searching, facilitating access to training and other active labour market measures and ensuring that work pays, as well as removing unemployment, poverty and inactivity traps. In this connection, special attention should be paid to promoting the inclusion of disadvantaged people in the labour market, including through the expansion of social services and the social economy.

[54] See European Council, "Presidency Conclusions of the Lisbon European Council", 23-24 March 2000.
[55] Daniel Gros and Jørgen Mortensen, "The European Productivity Slowdown. Causes and Implications", *CEPS Policy Brief*, #54, July 2004.

3.1 Ethnic Minorities and the OMC

Except for one reference to minorities, the Presidency Conclusions of the Lisbon European Council did not address the need to promote the social inclusion of ethnic minorities and Roma/Sinti groups. This should not surprise anyone. National minorities residing within the EU fall under Member States' competences and were not addressed at the political decision-making level except briefly during the Intergovernmental Convention that drafted the Treaty adopting a Constitution for Europe (see Box 4). The European Parliament has, however, been at the forefront of defending the rights of both ethnic and national minorities for years[56] and with the reasonably successful outcome of achieving a reference to national minorities in the non-discrimination clause of the European Charter for Fundamental Rights and Freedoms adopted by the European Council at Nice in 2000. It was the Amsterdam Treaty that placed obligations on the Union to combat discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin and is being implemented in national legislation through the so-called Race Directive.[57] Although the European Council at Nice did not immediately pick up the mantra of the European Parliament to include ethnic minorities in mainstream policy making, the operationalization of the OMC process on social inclusion (OMC/Incl.), which began in earnest at Nice, laid the foundations for addressing ethnic minority exclusion in the years to come.

Of the OMC processes put into operation after the Lisbon Strategy, the OMC/Incl. has proved the most difficult due to its subject matter and the lack of previous trans national experience in Europe. Whereas the OMC on Employment could benefit from the existing European Employment Strategy (EES) adopted after the Amsterdam Treaty as common objectives, the OMC/Incl. did not have any set objectives on which to draw. The Employment Guidelines that support the EES continue to undergo revision to adjust to changing circumstances. They were revised in 2000 and streamlined in 2002. The most recent proposal for revision was included in the package of documents supporting the re-launching of the Lisbon Strategy.[58] The OMC/Incl. instead had to devise a fresh set of guidelines based on a set of common objectives adopted by the European Council at Nice in December 2000.

Common Objectives

Four streams of objectives were identified at Nice as essential to overcoming social exclusion and to form the basis for the NAPs/Incl. to be designed by Member States for the period 2001-2003. These were:

- To facilitate participation in employment and access by all to resources, rights, goods and services;
- To prevent the risks of exclusion;
- To help the most vulnerable; and
- To mobilize all relevant bodies.

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[56] See European Parliament, Resolution on Measures in Favour of Minority Languages and Cultures, Official Journal of the European Communities, C68 of 14 March 1983, p. 103; Resolution on the Languages and Cultures of Regional and Ethnic Minorities in the European Community, *Official Journal of the European Communities*, C318 of 30 November 1987, p.160; Resolution on Languages in the Community and the Situation of Catalan, *Official Journal of the European Communities*, C19 of 28 January 1991, p.142; Resolution on Linguistic and Cultural Minorities in the European Community, *Official Journal of the European Communities*, C61 of 28 February 1994, p.110; Resolution on a Community Charter of Regional Languages and Cultures and on a Charter of Rights of Ethnic Minorities, *Official Journal of the European Communities*, C287 of 9 November 1981, p.106; Resolution Adopting the Declaration of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms, *Official Journal of the European Communities*, C 120/51 of 16 May 1989, Part II, p.1; Resolution on Union Citizenship, *Official Journal of the European Communities*, C 183/473 of 15 July 1991, p.18; Resolution on the Constitution of the European Union, *Official Journal of the European Communities*, C 61/155 of 28 February 1994, Part II(1).

[57] Council Directive 2000/43 of 29 June 2000 Implementing the Principle of Equal Treatment Between Persons Irrespective of Racial or Ethnic Origin, *Official Journal of the European Communities*, 2000 L 180/22.

[58] European Commission, "Integrated Guidelines for Growth and Jobs (2005-2008)", Part 2 of Employment Guidelines (2005-2008) COM(2005)141 final of 12 April 2005.

In 2002, these common objectives were reviewed but not changed. Instead, a number of additional objectives were added, on the basis that there is a need for Member States to set targets in their NAPs/Incl. to significantly reduce the number of people at risk of poverty and social exclusion by 2010. In more specific terms, Member States were asked to emphasize the importance of taking the role of gender fully into account in the development, implementation and monitoring of NAPs/Incl. and to highlight more clearly the high risk of poverty and social exclusion faced by some men and women as a result of immigration. These additional objectives were meant to guide the drafting of the NAPs/Incl. for 2003-2005.[59] While the 2001-2003 objectives made no reference to ethnic minorities, the 2003-2005 objectives did refer to immigrants.

Simultaneously, the European Commission issued an outline for the structure of the next round of NAPs/Incl. This outline specifically drew the attention of Member States to the role that services, including culture, can play in alleviating the risk of exclusion, and argued that Member States should develop, for the benefit of people at risk of exclusion, services and accompanying measures that would allow them effective access to education, justice and other public and private services, such as culture, sport and leisure. With this specific outline, the European Commission was for the first time hammering out what it called the multi-dimensionality of poverty and exclusion.

In June 2006, the European Commission published yet another revision reformulating the common objectives for OMC/Incl. This revision lists four common objectives:

- Access for all to the resources, rights and services needed for participation in society, for preventing and addressing exclusion, and fighting all forms of discrimination leading to exclusion;
- Active social inclusion of all, both by promoting participation in the labour market and by fighting poverty and exclusion;
- That social inclusion policies be well coordinated and involve all levels of government and relevant actors, including people experiencing poverty; and
- That they are efficient and effective and mainstreamed into all relevant public policies, including economic,
budgetary, education and training policies and structural fund (notably ESF) programmes.[60]

These common objectives should be seen in the light of the streamlining process that the European Commission has initiated whereby the OMC on Employment, OMC/Incl. and the OMC on Social Protection will be incorporated into one.[61] In spite of the multi-dimensional approach advocated in 2002, these most recent guidelines do not, however, explicitly include culture as an important factor in social inclusion nor do they address ethnic minorities.

Common Indicators

Establishing quantitative and qualitative indicators and benchmarks against the best in the world and tailored to the needs of different Member States and sectors as a means of comparing good practices is another aim of the OMC. Based on an index of social exclusion indicators prepared by the Social Protection Committee (SPC) and presented to the European Council at Laeken in 2001, the so-called Laeken Indicators comprised a set of eighteen comparable primary and secondary indicators, covering mainly income, unemployment, joblessness and health indicators as well as some education indicators. [62]

[59] Woods et al., "Report of a Thematic Study ", op. cit.
[60] European Commission, "Portfolio of Overarching Indicators and Streamlined Social Inclusion, Pensions, and Health Portfolios", D(2006) of 7 June 2006.
[61] European Commission "Working Together, Working Better: A New Framework for the Open Co-operation of Social Protection and Inclusion Policies in the European Union", COM(2005)706 final of 22 December 2005.
[62] Social Protection Committee, "Report on Indicators in the Field of Poverty and Social Exclusion", October 2001.

Box 4 - EU Provisions on Ethnic Minorities

Amsterdam Treaty

Article 13

Without prejudice to the other provisions of this Treaty and within the limits of the powers conferred by it upon the Community, the Council, acting unanimously on a proposal from the Commission and after consulting the European Parliament, may take appropriate action to combat discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation.

European Charter for Fundamental Rights and Freedoms

Article 21

Any discrimination based on any ground such as sex, race, colour, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation shall be prohibited.

Article 22

The Union shall respect cultural, religious and linguistic diversity.

Treaty adopting a Constitution for Europe

Article I-2
The Union's Values

The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail.

Primary Indicators

1. Low income rate after transfers with low-income threshold set at 60% of median income (with breakdowns by gender, age, most frequent activity status, household type and tenure status; as illustrative examples, the values for typical households);
2. Distribution of income (income quintile ratio);
3. Persistence of low income;
4. Median low income gap;
5. Regional cohesion;
6. Long term unemployment rate;
7. People living in jobless households;
8. Early school leavers not in further education or training.

Secondary Indicators

9. Life expectancy at birth;
10. Self perceived health status;
11. Dispersion around the 60% median low income threshold;
12. Low income rate anchored at a point in time;
13. Low income rate before transfers;
14. Distribution of income (Gini coefficient);
15. Persistence of low income (based on 50% of median income);
16. Long term unemployment share;
17. Very long term unemployment rate;
18. Persons with low educational attainment.

Primary indicators refer to lead indicators that cover the broad fields that have been considered the most important elements in leading to social exclusion. Secondary indicators support these lead indicators and describe other dimensions of the problem. In addition, Member States are allowed to use tertiary indicators that pertain only to the domestic situation. Indicative here was that none of these indicators suggest culture as an aspect of social exclusion, nor did they refer to any identity group. Instead, the experts of the SPC had followed the traditional approach of devising indicators in terms of deprivation that are statistically verifiable and therefore comparable.

Defining a common framework of comparable cultural indicators is, as we have noted, fraught with problems. The complex reality of culture renders the goal of seeking comparable indicators virtually unattainable. Moreover, precise rankings between Member States are not possible. However, broad comparisons are possible and changes over time can be discerned. While the Laeken indicators have contributed to the social inclusion process, further development has been called for in the development of indicators through the evaluation of experiences at the Member State level. It should be noted that the EU is acutely aware of the need to devise indicators in the area of social exclusion and in 2001 it approved a Community action to combat social exclusion that focuses mainly on devising comparable indicators.[63]

As a result of the re-launch of the Lisbon Strategy and the streamlining of the OMC processes, a new set of common indicators has been adopted in 2006.[64] The new list includes a set of so-called 'overarching indicators', which refer to all the OMC processes under the new streamlined process and which are supposed to measure social cohesion. These may be summarized as follows:

- Risk of poverty;
- Intensity of poverty risk;
- Income inequalities;
- Health outcome, inequality in health;
- Educational outcome and human capital formation;
- Access to labour market;
- Financial sustainability of social protection systems.

[63] Decision 50/2002/EC of the European Parliament and the Council of 7 December 2001 Establishing a Programme of Community Action to Encourage Cooperation Between Member States to Combat Social Exclusion. *Official Journal of the European Communities*, L10/1 of 12 January 2002.

[64] European Commission, "Portfolio of Overarching Indicators"

- Pensions adequacy;
- Inequalities in access to health care;
- Improved standards of living resulting from economic growth;
- Employment of older workers;
- In-work poverty;
- Participation in labour market;
- Regional cohesion;
- Health.

For the OMC/Incl. specifically, the list of primary and secondary indicators has been revised to put greater emphasis on poverty risk, educational attainment and child well-being.

Primary indicators

1. At-risk-of poverty rate;
2. Persistent at-risk-of poverty rate;
3. Relative median poverty risk gap;
4. Long term employment rate;
5. Population living in jobless households;
6. Early school leavers not in education or training;
7. Employment gap of immigrants;
8. Material deprivation;
9. Housing;
10. Unmet need for care;
11. Child well-being.

Secondary indicators

12. At-risk-of poverty rate;
13. Poverty risk by household type;
14. Poverty risk by the work intensity of household;
15. Poverty risk by most frequent activity status;
16. Poverty risk by accommodation tenure status;
17. Dispersion around the at-risk-of poverty threshold;
18. Persons with low educational attainment;
19. Low reading literacy performance of pupils;

The reference to immigrants here indicates an identity group. However, culture again does not play any part in any indicator. In addition to devising the 2006 indicators, the SPC decided that, as of June 2006, indicators must also verify social exclusion according to a breakdown of gender and age. As was to be expected, a reference to ethnicity was not suggested given the current political climate in the EU on ethnic data collection.

It should be noted that the initiative to streamline the OMC process, the Community Programme for Employment and Social Solidarity (PROGRESS) establishes sectors, five of which have objectives to develop indicators through analysis and studies.[65] A total of €4.9 million has been earmarked for development of indicators in the period 2007-2013 and other actions are foreseen in support of developing indicators. Clearly, policy makers are aware that there is a need in the EU to develop indicators for the improvement of the implementation of the Social Policy Agenda (SPA).

NAPs under the OMC/Incl. have been received from the 15 old Member States in 2001, 2003 and 2005 and from the 10 new Member States in 2005. On the basis of these strategies, the European Commission prepares what is calls the 'joint reports', which are synthetic summarizations of the NAPs/Incl. These reports are presented at the Spring European Council meetings every other year in March with a view to evaluating the progress reached under the Lisbon Strategy. Joint reports on the 15 old Member States were presented in 2002 and 2004, while a joint report on the 10 new Member States was presented in 2005. It should be noted that heretofore only

[65] European Commission, "Establishing a Community Programme for Employment and Social Solidarity – PROGRESS", COM(2004)488 final and 2004/0158 (COD) of 14 July 2004, and Decision No. 1672/2006/EC of 24 October 2006, the European Parliament and the Council establishing a Community Programme for Employment and Social Solidarity – Progress, *Official Journal of the European Union* L315/1 of 15 November 2006.

strategies were evaluated in the joint reports but as implementation reports have been received in 2006 from the 15 old Member States plus Cyprus, Hungary, Lithuania and Malta, a joint report published in 2006 evaluates both strategies and partial implementation.

Although some of the reviewed NAPs/Incl. did show increased attention to the social exclusion of ethnic minorities, the European Commission has noted that little progress had been achieved.[66] Most Member States continue to present the issue in rather general terms, highlighting health, housing and employment as areas of particular concern. In many cases, a brief reference is made to migrant and ethnic groups being at risk, but with little attempt made to analyze the situation or factors that lead to exclusion, such as cultural deprivation or lack of inter-cultural understanding.

3.2 Culture and the OMC

In the area of culture, the European Commission further laments the fact that Member States have not efficiently developed the strategic importance of promoting cultural inclusion as well as incorporating measures of cultural policies into existing social integration policies. In the March 2002 joint report, the European Commission argued that access to and participation in cultural activity is a core part of human existence. Such participation is important for fostering a positive sense of identity and encouraging and stimulating creativity, self-expression and self-confidence. Involvement in the arts and creative activity is thus a very important tool in the activation and reintegration of these individuals and groups who are most distant from the labour market and who have the lowest levels of participation in society. Moreover, the report argues, community arts projects can also play an important role in the regeneration of local communities and in the work of neighbourhood groups.[67] In March of 2004, the European Commission's joint report included an expanded section on access to culture in which it established that cultural policies should be a central part of any comprehensive and multi-dimensional approach to tackling and preventing poverty and social exclusion.[68] In spite of this centrality of culture to the process of social inclusion, the European Commission concluded that the next round of NAPs/Incl. only paid minimal attention to cultural policies and not much more than the first round of 2001 reporting.

Of those that mention culture, access to culture was discussed in terms of access to cultural institutions. Moreover, Member States in which initiatives of inter-cultural training, capacity building and outreach programmes were known to take place had not always mentioned these in their NAPs/Incl. The European Commission contributed this in part due to the lack of cooperation on the ground between ministries and agencies, in part due to insufficient knowledge about the multi-dimensional understanding of social exclusion. Finally, the European Commission highlighted the aspect of culture in promoting social inclusion in countries where immigration is high. Culture is a precious factor of difference, it argued, and this means allowing for the celebration of different cultures within a single society. Equally, increasing access to the cultural activities of the majority community can help to foster better understanding and a sense of belonging provided the aim is not assimilation.

The March 2005 joint report, which evaluated the 10 new Member States for the first time, discussed both access to culture and helping ethnic minorities, including the Roma, albeit under two separate section headings.[69] Like the old Member States, the new Member States' NAPs/Incl. lacked the dimension of linking culture to the social inclusion of ethnic minorities. Access to culture, however, was not referenced in most of the NAPs/Incl.The European Commission was, however, struck by the omission in general in the NAPs/Incl. of any discussion of the significant contributions that cultural and creative activity can make to tackling poverty and social exclusion. Instead, a number of new Member States drew attention to the need to address the decline of the cultural infrastructure, especially in rural areas. Among the cultural policies in NAPs/Incl., the most notable one was Slovenia's goal setting on the implementation of cultural rights and objectives set for an agenda for 2004-2006.

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[66] European Commission, "Joint report by the Commission and the Council on Social Inclusion, 2004". COM(2004)469 final of 14 July 2004.
[67] European Commission, "Joint report by the Commission and the Council on Social Inclusion, 2002", undated.
[68] European Commission, "Joint report on Social Inclusion, Summarizing the Results of the Examination of the National Action Plans for Social Inclusion (2003-2005)", COM(2003)773 final of 12 December 2003.
[69] European Commission, "Report on Social Inclusion, 2005. An Analysis of the National Action Plans on Social Inclusion (2004-2006) Submitted by the 10 new Member States", SEC(2005)256 of February 2005.

Four main problems in the domain of culture were identified by the European Commission in its 2005 joint report as areas of attention but not action. These were:

- Access to culture;
- Problems of culture in remote areas;
- Creative activity; and
- Cultural activities to promote the social inclusion of ethnic minorities.

The section of the 2005 joint report addressing ethnic minorities and Roma focused on the fact that the majority of the NAPs/Incl. fail to acknowledge the diversity of various groups, such as the Roma. People in the category of ethnic minorities and Roma are presented as belonging to homogenous groups with similar situations, needs and problems, and only a few NAPs/Incl. mentioned the problems of multiple discrimination that these groups face. The domains that were related to the social exclusion of ethnic minorities were employment, education, housing and health care, culture and cultural identity, and the police. In the domain of culture and cultural identity, the Slovenian example of goal setting on cultural rights was the primary example. In addition, some NAPs/Incl. had set goals but not targets on raising awareness among the majority populations.

The joint report of March 2006 on strategies and implementation in the 15 Member States plus Cyprus, Hungary, Lithuania and Malta gave the European Commission an opportunity to be rather more negative in its overall assessment of the progress towards the re-launched Lisbon Strategy goals.[70] In general, the report argued that there is a gap between the social inclusion objectives set and the policy efforts to achieve them. It moreover stressed that greater emphasis should be put on results. The impact of the NAPs/Incl. remained limited and appeared more as occasional reporting. They lacked adequate mechanisms to monitor and availability of data remained a problem. Gender mainstreaming was not sufficient and, even though attention to the social inclusion of ethnic minorities and Roma had increased considerably, the growing tendency to prioritize language learning was not always balanced by measures to address discrimination in the labour market and access to services. The high risk of poverty suffered by some ethnic minorities and Roma was totally overlooked in some NAPs/Incl. In general, the majority of the Member States were faulted for having failed miserably on implementing policies on Roma. With respect to culture, the assessment was not much different from the one made in the March 2004 report.

The lack of coherent programmes aimed at linking social inclusion with culture in NAPs has also been pointed out by a group of experts who studied the cultural policies of eight EU15 Member States.[71] They found that, although inclusion in cultural activities is often an important stepping stone in preventing or addressing social exclusion, there is nevertheless a lack of drive at central government levels to actively promote engagement in cultural activities as an important tool for addressing social exclusion. Indeed, the lack of awareness of the positive role culture can play in addressing social exclusion seems to be more of a national than a local problem.

More importantly, according to the experts, stronger emphasis also needs to be placed on embracing cultural diversities. The underlying approach of Member States varies enormously. In some Member States, a great deal of emphasis is placed on providing language tuition to excluded minorities. Whilst this is necessary to help counteract exclusion, it is also necessary to develop programmes to encourage cultural diversity to flourish. The group of experts therefore recommended, among others:

- That NAPs/Incl. need to address the role that cultural policy and practices have in addressing the needs of people who are socially excluded;
- That stakeholders and groups contributing to the NAPs/Incl. could be asked their views about the importance of participation in cultural activities as a means of reducing social exclusion;

[70] European Commission, "Joint Report on Social Protection and Social Inclusion 2006", COM(2006)62 final of 13 February 2006.
[71] Woods et al.,"Report of a Thematic Study ", op. cit.

• That culture needs to be broadly defined; it goes further than the remit of cultural policy (the arts, sports, media, theatre, museums, libraries) to embrace opportunities to enhance the quality of life for everyone and to provide access routes out of marginalisation and unemployment; and
• That piloting of indicators to measure the impact of the participation in cultural activities on social exclusion should take place.

It is clear, the experts agreed, that cultural activities and protecting the right to culture of ethnic minorities may contribute to social inclusion but may not necessarily ensure effective social inclusion without also addressing cultural diversity.

It should be noted that the European Charter for Fundamental Rights and Freedoms adopted in 2000 put obligations on the Union to respect cultural diversity (see Box 4). The Charter is, however, not legally binding on Member States.

3.3 Culture in EU Social Policy

Even though cultural policymaking was neither part of the first Lisbon Strategy nor the re-launched version, culture at the supranational level entered European co-operation with the adoption of Article 128 of the Maastricht Treaty and became better operationalized with the expansion of that Article in the Amsterdam Treaty. Article 128 is now renumbered Article 151 in the Treaty of the European Community (TEC) (see Box 5). Unfortunately, Article 151 is not very clear. It implies cultural diversity across the continent as well as within each Member State. It also implies diversity in terms of national identities becoming united in the EU. Finally, it implies regional diversity without however stipulating whether this refers to regions within Member States or regions of specific characteristics within the EU.

Box 5 - Treaty of the European Community, Article 151

Article 151

1. The Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore.
2. Action by the Community shall be aimed at encouraging co-operation between Member States and, if necessary, supporting and supplementing their action in the following areas:
   • improvement of the knowledge and dissemination of the culture and history of the European peoples,
   • conservation and safeguarding of cultural heritage of European significance,
   • non-commercial cultural exchanges,
   • artistic and literary creation, including in the audiovisual sector.
3. The Community and the Member States shall foster co-operation with third countries and the competent international organisations in the sphere of culture, in particular the Council of Europe.
4. The Community shall take cultural aspects into account in its action under other provisions of this Treaty, in particular in order to respect and to promote the diversity of its cultures.

The operationalization in the second paragraph is nevertheless clearer. It refers to culture as looking backward and forward; to culture as an activity and commodity; it even implies inter-cultural dialogue. Moreover, paragraph four obliges the Community to take culture into consideration in all aspects of treaty co-operation.

Article 128 and later 151 eventually formed the basis for the EU's Kaleidoscope, Ariane and Raphael sectoral programmes, as well as support for European cultural organizations and the European Capitals of Culture programme. Cultural activities have, of course, also been supported in a number of other EU programmes, such as the Structural Funds, the Interreg, Urban, Leader+ and Equal programmes, as well as the Phare programme. Support for culture is, however, not a major aim of these programmes and its linkage to social inclusion is often

a by-product of the programmes.[72] Other programmes with a modest scope of cultural dimension are the Socrates, Leonardo da Vinci and Youth programmes, as well as the INTI programme. The latter aims to promote integration of third country nationals and includes a strand on dialogue. To these we may add the framework programmes, Culture 2000 and 2007.

Culture 2000 and the sectoral programmes mentioned above were designed to focus on the encouragement of creativity and mobility among artists, access to culture for as many people as possible, the dissemination of art and culture, intercultural dialogue and knowledge of the history of European peoples.[73] Culture 2000 specifically enumerates seven objectives, some of which refer to socially disadvantaged groups, the contribution of culture to socio-economic development, as well as culture as an economic factor and as a factor for social inclusion. With seven objectives, the programme became rather difficult to implement, however, and in subsequent evaluations it has become clear that both Culture 2000 and the other approaches had shortcomings. The implementation of several action programmes rendered the entire effort fragmented and Culture 2000 was criticized for having too many objectives and too little funding. Given that the general objective of Community action in the area of culture is the achievement of a common cultural area through the development of cultural co-operation in Europe, Culture 2007 has been designed to meet some of these criticisms.

Unlike its predecessor, the preambular clauses of the Culture 2007 refer to the necessity to strengthen the fight against exclusion in all its forms, including racism and xenophobia, as well as the necessity to contribute to the Union's efforts to promote sustainable development and to combat all forms of discrimination.[74] Culture 2007 has three main objectives:

- Transnational mobility for people working in the cultural sector;
- Transnational circulation of artistic and cultural works and products; and
- Inter-cultural dialogue.

It must ensure complementarity with a number of Community instruments, including those in the fields of education, social inclusion and combating discrimination.

In fact, Article 12 calls for the contribution of Culture 2007 to other Community policies, including the ones encouraging greater awareness of the importance of contributing to sustainable development and seeking to eliminate all discrimination based on gender, race or ethnic origin, religion or convictions, disability, age or sexual orientation. Activities supported under the new programme include special actions of substantial scale and scope. These should be designed to make Europeans aware of the cultural diversity of the Member States and contribute to inter-cultural and international dialogue. Culture 2007 will also support studies and analyses in the area of intercultural dialogue.

In spite of these programmes on culture, the Community Action Programme to encourage co-operation between Member States to combat social exclusion adopted in 2001 refers neither to culture nor to ethnic minorities.[75] This was a programme of €75 million, to be disbursed from 2002-2006, towards:

• Analysis of characteristics, causes, processes and trends in social exclusion, including the collection of statistics on the various forms of social exclusion in order to compare these data, the study of quantitative and qualitative indicators, the development of common methodologies and thematic studies;

[72] Ibid.
[73] European Commission, "Joint report by the Commission and the Council on Social Inclusion, 2004", COM(2004)469 final of 14 July 2004.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Decision 50/2002/EC of the European Parliament and the Council of 7 December 2001 Establishing a Programme of Community Action to Encourage Cooperation Between Member States to Combat Social Exclusion. *Official Journal of the European Communities*, L10/1 of 12 January 2002.

• Exchange of information and best practices encouraging the development of quantitative and qualitative indicators, based on these objectives as agreed by the European Parliament and the Council, assessment criteria and benchmarks and monitoring, evaluation and peer review; and
• Promotion of dialogue involving the various actors and support for relevant networking at the European level between organizations active in the fight against poverty and social exclusion, in particular non-governmental organizations.

The programme did, however, refer to gender as a cross-cutting issue. Given the inability of most Member States to collect ethnic data, it is not surprising that ethnicity as a cross-cutting issue was not mentioned. Held together with the evaluations of the joint reports, this deficit appears inopportune for the future of policy making in the area of social inclusion and ethnic minorities.

The programme that continues the work from the Community Action Programme, the so-called PROGRESS Programme aimed at employment and social solidarity, follows a similar pattern. It highlights the need to pay special attention to the social situation of migrants, it emphasizes the need to combat ethnic discrimination and it specifically draws attention to gender mainstreaming. While its section on social inclusion and the OMC does not refer to any specific domains, let alone excluded groups, its section on anti-discrimination and diversity promotes mainstreaming of the principle of non-discrimination.

As is expected, minority mainstreaming is not a part of the PROGRESS Programme but an opening is made in its preambular section No. 8, which argues that "experience gained over many years of combating certain forms of discrimination, including discrimination based on sex, may be useful in combating other kinds of discrimination".[76]

[76] European Commission, "Establishing a Community Programme", op. cit.; and Decision No. 1672/2006/EC of 24 October 2006 of the European Parliament and the Council

Part II

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION

Part II – COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION

Chapter 4 - DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The main goal of this Part is to provide an assessment of different policies implemented in six Member States of the EU with regard to their impact on promoting the social inclusion of ethnic minorities, including Roma/ Sinti groups. In particular, we are interested in the evaluation of specific cultural or culture-related policies implemented at the Member State level by public authorities within the framework of six NAP/Incl. or similar programmes. One of the distinctive traits of this Part is that it follows a policy analysis-based approach. In this sense, we adopt a method that is different from a legal one, in which specific policies are assessed in terms of their legal conformity to established rules and precedents.

In this chapter, we shall define what constitutes policy analysis and the main evaluation techniques. We shall focus in particular on cost-effectiveness analysis and will present its potential for the evaluation of cultural policies. Finally, we shall point out the main technical hindrances we had to face in our evaluation. In Chapter 5, we will take into account the case of ethnic minorities (and of the Roma in particular) in four countries, namely the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Slovakia and Sweden. We shall first focus on education, and then present what the current situation is and what inclusion policies have been adopted in the four Member States. Where possible, we shall present some empirical results based on cost-effectiveness analysis. Finally, we shall investigate Member States policies aimed at fighting social exclusion in the domain of the media, public participation and employment. Chapter 6 is devoted to the case of two Baltic States (Estonia and Latvia). The reason we decided to consider these two Member States separately is because in these cases more emphasis in placed on the large Russian-speaking minority rather than on the Roma. In these two countries, language policy plays a key role in defining the scope and the domain of educational policies. Reforms have started very recently and hence the unavailability of data surrounding the results achieved is at present a major hindrance to evaluation. Chapter 7 summarizes and concludes.

4.2 Policy Analysis and Policy Evaluation

By policy analysis, we mean a process useful for decision making, which is intended to clarify what the consequences and performances of public policies are. Policy analysis at its roots is based on a systematic comparison between alternative policies, which generally results in a set of recommendations as to which particular policy is more 'valuable' and therefore which alternative has to be preferred.[77] The key point is to understand what is meant by 'valuable'. The policy analysis approach is based on a broad version of the notion of economic rationality, which is "characteristic of reasoned choices that involve the comparison of alternatives according to their capacity to promote cost-effective solutions for public problems".[78] In other words, the objective of policy analysis is to provide advice as to the most efficient way of using society's resources to reach some specific goals. Hence, the notion of 'valuable' has to be understood in relative terms, that is, an alternative A is more valuable than B (where B can also be the status quo) if A represents a better use of society's resources with respect to B. Different techniques can be adopted to evaluate public policies. It would be beyond of the scope of this section to present all the possible techniques available to the analyst. We shall therefore only mention some basic traits of the approaches most commonly used.

Cost-benefit analysis (CBA) is a widely used technique in policy analysis. CBA consists of a systematic comparison between the costs and benefits of alternative projects. Both cost and benefits have to be expressed in monetary form. As a general rule, the criterion to be followed in CBA is that the alternative to be preferred is the one that displays the higher level of net benefits, that is, the higher difference between benefits and costs. If budgetary

[77] The comparison can be carried out in different moments. Typically, we distinguish between *ex-ante, in media res* and *ex-post* analysis.
[78] William N. Dunn, *Public Policy Analysis: An Introduction* (3rd ed.) (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003).

resources are enough to fund several projects, the project with the highest net benefits is to be adopted first. However, sometimes the analyst faces some constraints that make a cost-benefit analysis very difficult. These constraints can be of various nature: for example, the benefits can be difficult or awkward to quantify.[79]

In these cases, cost-effectiveness analysis (CEA) can be a more appropriate method of analysis. CEA compares alternative policies on the basis of the ratio between their respective costs and effects, measured in any non-monetary form. In particular, effectiveness refers to the capability of each policy option to produce some desired outcomes. Once the ratios have been computed, policies can be rank-ordered from the most cost-effective to the least cost-effective. We shall return to the technical details of CEA shortly. Suffice it to say for the moment that CEA is a useful technique to support decisionmaking and to orient policy choices, as it offers a criterion to rank-order policy options: the 'best' alternative or, equivalently, the most 'efficient' alternative is that which displays the lower cost per unit of effect achieved. The major shortcoming of CEA is that it can not ascertain whether or not using even the most cost-effective procedure is itself socially worthwhile (to determine this, cost-benefit analysis is needed). Moreover, CEA cannot be used to compare programmes that involve different kinds of effects.

The last technique that is worth mentioning is cost-utility analysis (CUA), which is largely employed in health economics and health care evaluation. Cost-utility analysis also relates the costs of a policy to a single measure of benefit (which in this case is not in monetary form) but the latter is constructed by several outcome categories, thus reflecting different multiple measurement of benefits. An example drawn from health economics will be helpful to get the main ideas. In the evaluation of a medical treatment, the benefit measure is not simply the number of additional years of life gained by a patient because of the medical treatment itself. Also the 'quality' of these additional years has to be considered. In fact, in CUA the number of additional years gained is adjusted with a 'quality dimension', reflecting the fact that two medical interventions can be equally effective in terms of lengthening the life of patients, but they can also be very unequal in terms of the pain and discomfort that the patient has to support per additional year gained.[80] Cost-utility analysis, in principle, can also be used to assess educational programmes or other social-related policies. However, the use of cost-utility analysis, albeit appealing, is not straightforward. Interventions in the domain of education yield effects in many areas and it would be interesting to take all these effects into account at the same time to make an overall assessment of the policy. One possible solution is to give 'weights' to different effects – according to the relative importance given by the policy maker to each of them – so that the evaluator ends up with a composite but unitary measure of effectiveness. However, as Levin and McEwan note, "the major disadvantage is the fact that the results are often difficult to reproduce among different evaluators because of the numerous and sometimes conflicting methodologies that are used to estimate importance weights".[81]

To sum up, the analytical approach that we follow in this chapter harks back to policy analysis. The evaluation of policy alternatives is based on the comparison between options. The key elements of the analysis include the costs of policies as well as a measure of benefit, either expressed in monetary form or not. For the specific purposes of this chapter, among different approaches available to the analyst, cost-effectiveness analysis is the most suitable one to deal with cultural policies aimed at fighting social exclusion. The reasons for this choice will become apparent during the chapter; suffice it to say that cost-benefit analysis is not suitable as the benefits at hand are too often of non-material or symbolic nature and therefore not easily quantifiable. On the other hand, using cost-utility analysis was not possible due to the heterogeneity of situations and partners across countries, which makes it almost impossible to find a univocal methodology to give weights to different kinds of effectiveness. In Section 4.3, we shall now focus on cost-effectiveness analysis in particular.

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[79] For a more extensive presentation of the problem in quantification and specification of benefits in CBA, see, in particular, Anthony E. Boardman, David H. Greenberg, Aidan R. Vining and David L. Weimar, *Cost-Benefit Analysis: Concepts and Practice* (2nd ed.) (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2001), p. 437.

[80] On the applications of cost-utility analysis in health care, see, in particular, Adam Wagstaff, "QALYs and the Equity-Efficiency Tradeoff", in Richard Layard, and Stephen Glaister (eds.), *Cost-Benefit Analysis* (2nd ed.). (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 428-447; and Robert J. Brent, *Cost-Benefit Analysis and Health Care Evaluations*, (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2003).

[81] Henry M. Levin and Patrick J. McEwan, *Cost-Effectiveness Analysis. Methods and Application* (2nd ed.) (London: Sage, 2001), p. 22.

4.3 Analytical Framework and Problem Structuring

Policy evaluation and cost-effectiveness analysis in particular makes sense only if we establish a proper general analytical framework. By analytical framework we mean in particular a systematic categorization of the consequential logical steps that are needed to set up policy evaluation. In this section, we shall briefly describe what analytical framework we refer to and its implications for the evaluation of cultural policies.[82]

The first step is the identification of the problem. In our case, the problem that we are dealing with is 'social exclusion', which is not an easy concept to define univocally, let alone across countries. This does not mean that we are not able to tackle analytically the problem of social exclusion; this simply implies that the notion of social exclusion has to be operationalized in different specific and more homogeneous domains of study. In other words, instead of studying social exclusion in general terms, it is more useful to define it as a set of aspects of social life in which exclusion concretely occurs. This procedure will also make it easier to compare different national situations. What emerges from the country reports is that the aspects defining what social exclusion is are related mostly to education, employment, access to culture, public participation, political participation and the media. Particular attention has been paid to education. It follows that the 'identification of the problem' has been split in several study domains, within which the analyst can identify 'partial' problems that the policy maker needs to investigate. We shall return to the methodological and empirical difficulties that this approach entails. What is important to stress for the moment is that to carry out a separate 'partial analysis' - as many partial analyses as the domains considered - is not exempt from risk. Every domain of social exclusion that is considered is still just one of the components of 'social exclusion' as a whole. Hence, although tempting, it would be wrong to address the problem of social inclusion by isolating the domains of policy intervention. From an analytical point of view, the subdivision and characterization of social exclusion in different domains is above all a methodological choice to make the analysis more tractable. Yet, we still have to bear in mind that none of this domain encompasses entirely the notion of social inclusion and each improvement in some specific domain should be seen just as an intermediary, albeit necessary, step toward a higher social inclusion. In other words, improvements in the situation of minorities in the domains of education or media, if we consider them separately and in isolation, are not sufficient conditions to improve the general situation of minorities. The implication is straightforward: what we need is to have a systemic overview of a set of policies aimed at fighting social exclusion, in the sense that the final overarching outcome (social inclusion) will be attained only if we observe parallel and synchronous improvements in different domains.

Once the problems have been defined, the following step is to specify the goals. Specification of the goals implies that general aims, such as improving the educational achievements of a given ethnic minority, have to be converted in temporary specific and possibly measurable aims. Typically, this implies that the analyst will use a set of common indicators to outline and describe a given context. Within each context, the same common indicators will be used to characterize at least two situations: that of the 'included' and the situation of the 'excluded'. If exclusion exists, that is, if a gap among social groups exists, the analyst will observe a difference in the relative values of the common indicators employed. In this sense, the 'problem' of social exclusion in the specific domain of will be defined in terms of a gap between those who are 'included' (typically the majority) and those who are 'excluded' (in our case, ethnic minorities). As the 'gap' here is defined as a difference in the values of the indicators used, the measurement of effectiveness of a project (or programme) should be assessed exactly in terms of its capability to reduce the difference between the values reported by the indicators. Notice that, as the effectiveness of a policy is evaluated precisely with respect to the attainment of those specific objectives, a vague definition of goals will entail poor assessment capacity of the analysis. Unfortunately, what we have observed in the National Action Plans is that very often goals and objectives are vaguely defined, which make evaluation very difficult.

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[82] In this section we shall refer mainly to Colin Palfrey, Ceri Phillips, Paul Thomas and David Edwards, *Policy Evaluation in the Public Sector: Approaches and Methods* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1992); Levin and McEwan, *Cost-Effectiveness Analysis , op. cit.*; Boardman et al., *Cost-Benefit Analysis*, op. cit. and Dunn, Public Policy Analysis, op. cit.

The third step concerns the formulation of policy alternatives. In the identification of the set of possible alternatives, two major criteria ought to be followed, namely, responsiveness and comprehensiveness.[83] By responsiveness we mean that policy options available have to respond to the problem. In other words, they have to have a potential positive final impact. Comprehensiveness refers to the size of the set of responsive alternatives envisaged. A set of alternatives is comprehensive if all the responsive policies have been placed on the agenda. In the case of cultural policies addressing social exclusion, the situation is far more complicated. As the issue at hand is very complex and multifaceted, even if we focus on one particular domain at time, claims of comprehensiveness of the alternative set would be rather unrealistic. As far as responsiveness of alternatives is concerned, it can happen that little is known as to the potential impact of some specific policies. Sometimes, policy options simply represent plausible attempts towards a better knowledge of the true nature of the problem.

Once the set of possible alternatives is clear – depending on the issue at hand and on availability of data – *exante* recommendation as to what alternative is preferable is be done using one of the analytical techniques presented above. The following steps are the implementation of the policy, the monitoring and finally the *expost* evaluation, which will, in turn, provide feedback for policy-making decisions.

4.4 On Effectiveness and Costs

Effectiveness refers to whether a given policy results in the achievement of a desired effect. Establishing some measures of effectiveness is the necessary step to convert general goals into more specific objectives. This implies the use of several indicators of effectiveness, which have to be responsive to policy measures.

Once the objectives are clearly defined, we need to spell out what are the logical cause-and-effect links connecting (positively or negatively) alternative policies with goals.[84] One of the possible methods to establish causal relationships is by using formal models followed by empirical testing with the help of multivariate analysis. A model is an analytical tool that is used to single out the causal relationships between variables, although at the price of some simplifications. One of the main functions of modelling and multivariate analysis is to avoid crediting the policy with effects that it has nothing to do with. In fact, the evaluation of policy effectiveness requires the analyst to deal with a particularly difficult problem, namely, distinguishing the effects generated by the policy from the effects that would have occurred in any case in the absence of it, assuming no other exogenous change occurs. The data set used can be composed by data specifically gathered for the case, or by data routinely gathered by public authorities. If time and resources allows, a second technique to establish causal-effect links is the use of experiments. In this case, the evaluator has to select at least two groups so that these groups are equivalent in terms of some relevant variables such as socio-economic status, age, etc. One or more of those groups (treatment group) will be the object of the policy, that is, it will receive the treatment, for example, extra training. On the other hand, the other group (control group) will not receive any treatment. The differences observed in the results of the two (or more) groups will serve as a basis for cost-effectiveness analysis. In our case, data for multivariate analysis was for the most part impossible to obtain, as we will see later in the presentation of the results provided by the country reports. At the same time, no empirical experiments in the true sense of the word have been carried out in the six Member States. Among other things, several formal and legal hindrances regarding data collection by ethnic group contribute to explain the current situation.

We would like to conclude the discussion on effectiveness with an important remark about the difference between the outputs and the outcomes of policies. The distinction between outputs and outcomes is important as it is the cornerstone of the difference between the internal and the external efficiency of policies. In general, the production of outputs, such as products or services, is the first observable result of a policy. In other words, outputs are the direct effect of a policy. On the contrary, the notion of outcome refers to the end result of a policy, in terms of the variables policy makers wish to influence. Outputs and outcomes are related by a unidirectional relationship in that outputs serve as input for processes which will lead to the achievement or the

[83] Levin and McEwan, Cost-Effectiveness Analysis, op. cit., pp. 33-35.

[84] On the most common impediments in establishing causality, see, for example, ibid., pp. 115-118.

final outcome. However, it is perfectly possible, for example, that a policy produces direct outputs but no useful outcomes. Assume, for example, that we want to assess the cost-effectiveness of a policy that reduces the size of training classes – say in carpentry – attended by unemployed young people belonging to the ethnic minority, at a higher cost than the *status quo*. Assume that the number of people who successfully complete a given training programme increases because of this policy and that the cost-effectiveness ratio of the new policy is lower than in the status quo. The output of this policy is therefore a higher number of trained carpenters per unit of cost. However, assume also that the ultimate goal of this policy is not just to train people but to increase the job opportunities of the participants to the programme. Hence, if the demand for carpenters on the job market is very low, this policy will be completely ineffective and the final outcome (increase in employment rate) will not be achieved. In other words, even if the policy in our example is cost-effective compared with the status quo, this is merely an analysis of internal efficiency that tells us nothing about the ultimate outcome, that is, reducing the unemployment rate among young people belonging to the ethnic minority. If we had enough data on unemployment rates to compare the results before and after the policy, we could measure the real cost-effectiveness of the alternative, or, in other words, its external efficiency.

However, data for final outcomes are often not available for several reasons. In some cases, data are simply not collected, in other cases outcomes are difficult to identify, being qualitative in nature. If data are not available, it could be necessary to carry out ad hoc surveys or to use proxies. Data on output can only be used to assess internal efficiency but in this case the evaluator has to use credible arguments to show that output and outcome are strongly and directly related. In the case of social exclusion, to establish a difference between external and internal efficiency is not a simple task at all, due to the multi-faceted nature of the problem. The distinction between outputs and outcomes is a little bit easier within some domains, say education or the media, but the implications are not straightforward. As we will see, the direct output of a programme of training for pedagogical assistants for Roma pupils is the number of assistants trained. On the other hand, the final outcome of this policy is not to have trained assistants, but to improve the educational performance of Roma pupils (together with other key elements, such as the improvement of self-esteem or communication with families). Nevertheless, should a better education be considered an outcome as such or is it just a stepping-stone toward reduction of social exclusion? In addition, are improvements in education alone – that is, without other improvements in other domains – enough to reduce social exclusion? We shall discuss these key questions later, after the presentation of results.

Let us now turn to the discussion of costs. Together with a proper identification of effectiveness, measuring costs is the second necessary component of cost-effectiveness analysis. An important distinction has to be made between costs and budgetary expenditures. In general, costs are defined with respect to the final outcomes of the process (or, in some cases, outputs), while expenditures are defined with respect to inputs. In practice, this means that expenditures have to be adjusted to take into account all the components of cost. A key concept in this sense is that of opportunity, defined as the value of the best alternative to A that one has to give up when A is chosen. For example, the true cost of pursuing a higher education qualification on a full-time basis is not only the cost of university fees, books, travelling expenses, etc., but also the earnings that would have been earned if the student were employed. Note that the opportunity cost is zero when there is no real alternative objective that can be attained using the same resources. For example, as education for pupils is compulsory, the value of earnings that would have been earned if, say, a 10-year-old pupil were in employment is zero.

A second difficulty related to cost analysis concerns the reliability of market prices. In many cases, as Palfrey *et al. note*, "the price that a person pays for a good in the market reflects its opportunity cost and the pragmatic approach to costing in economic evaluation is to take the existing market price wherever possible. In situations where market prices are not appropriate or where they are not available, the evaluator may adopt the concept of shadow prices."[85] Market prices might be distorted for several reasons, such as government subsidies or monopolistic practices. In such cases, the evaluator should adjust the actual price to approach the

[85] Palfrey et al,. Policy Evaluation in the Public Sector , op. cit., p. 111. According to Dunn, shadow prices are defined as "subjective estimates of the price that citizens might be willing to pay for goods and services". See Dunn, Public Policy Analysis, op. cit., p.237.

underlying real market price. Sometimes market prices simply do not exist at all because the analyst is dealing with intangible things (e.g., sense of community) or because the market for that specific good or service does not exist (e.g., air quality). Several procedures can be employed in such cases but presenting a detailed description of all these techniques would be outside the scope of this chapter. Let us simply mention three of them, namely, contingent evaluation, derived demand (e.g., travel costs method) and comparable prices.[86]

In the computation of costs, the evaluator should proceed with caution in order to avoid some common traps, such as double counting or wrong allocation of overheads. Finally, the evaluator has to use appropriate techniques of discounting when the flow of costs over time is not the same between projects. For example, assume that we are assessing two training programmes over five years with the same effectiveness and equal total cost. At first sight, they appear to be equally commendable. However, if the costs of the second programme projects are heavily concentrated in the first and second year, while in the other they are concentrated in the last years, the first project may turn out to be preferable. Once costs and effectiveness – expressed in a common unit of measurement – are computed, the cost-effectiveness ratios for each alternative are computed. The cost-effectiveness ratio is defined as:

$$CEi = \frac{Ci}{Ei}$$

Where CEi is the cost-effectiveness ratio of the alternative i, Ci are the costs of the alternative and Ei the effectiveness of the alternative i. The larger the CE ratio, the less cost-effective is a policy. Hence, projects should be rank-ordered from those with the smallest CE ratio to those with the largest CE ratio. The ranking will not change if costs that are common to every alternative are omitted. However, the numerical value of the CE ratio will change. In many cases, in particular when uncertainty is present, it is also useful to carry out a sensitivity analysis, defined as "a procedure for examining the sensitivity of results of CEA to alternative assumptions about the likelihood that given levels of costs or benefits will actually occur".[87]

[86] In contingent evaluation, citizens are asked to compile questionnaires in which they indicate how much they are willing to pay for a given good or service to be provided. Derived demand techniques estimate the value of a service or a good on the basis of the indirect costs paid by people to get it. For example, the recreational value of a lake can be estimated through the travel costs borne by the people to reach the lake. Estimating a value using comparable prices means using prices for comparable or similar items existing in the market. See, among others, Ian J. Bateman , Richard T. Carson, Brett Day, Michael Hanemann, Tannis Hett, Nick Hanley and Michael Jones-Lee, *Economic Valuation with Stated Preference Techniques: a Manual* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Ltd, 2002); and Nick Hanley and Clive L. Spash, *Cost-Benefit Analysis and the Environment* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar Publishing, 1993).

[87] Dunn, *Public Policy Analysis*, op. cit., p. 263.

Chapter 5 – COMPARISON OF POLICIES

The Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia and Sweden

In this section we present some of the main findings from the comparative analysis of four country reports, namely, the Czech Republic,[88] Slovakia,[89] Slovenia[90] and Sweden.[91] We decided not to include the Latvian and Estonian cases in this first group because these two Member States face a different situation, in particular, the need to manage the integration of a large national minority, namely, Russians-speakers, after independence. It is worth stressing that in this chapter it is not our intention to do justice to all of the findings and insights provided by the country reports (for this purpose the reader can refer to Part III of this report or directly to the country reports listed in the Bibliography). Rather, our main purpose here is to focus on the points of contact between different situations that provide fertile ground for comparison.

5.1 Focus on Educational Policies

Education is the first domain that we shall consider. There are three different reasons underlying this choice. First, education is the domain that has been most extensively covered in all four country reports considered in this section. Second, relatively more data are available and, finally, education is also closely related to other spheres of social life such as employment. Education covers different and complementary functions in minority integration: it prepares for life in mainstreaming society, it has a generally positive impact on the self-esteem of members of ethnic minorities, it fosters inter-cultural understanding between minority and majority populations, and helps to understand that culture and literacy are intrinsically connected. It is therefore no surprise that more attention has been paid to this domain. In the first part of this section, we shall present the current situation of the Roma in three Member States and the general situation of minorities in Sweden. In the second part, we shall present an overview of the policies adopted to improve the situation of minorities and, where possible, we shall assess and compare them. In the third part, we shall discuss our main results.

Description of the Current Situation

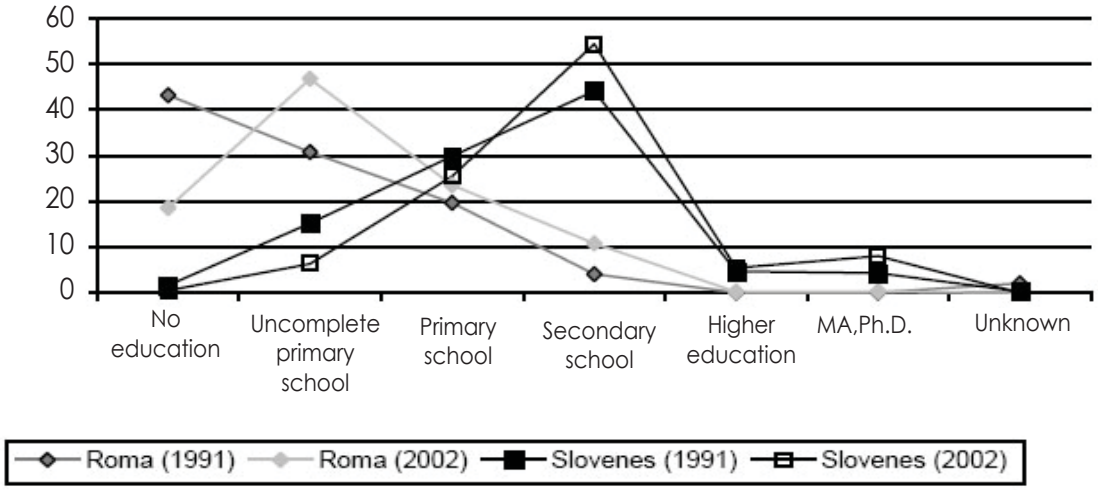
The emphasis that we put on the situation of the Roma is justified by the fact that the Roma are often the most excluded among those excluded. In Slovenia, for example, the Roma "are all subject to being stigmatized by part of the majority population and other ethnic minorities, as well as to marginalization. Demographic statistics and field research projects prove that Roma community members generally have a lower life expectancy, that they more often fall ill with such diseases as tuberculosis, asthma, diabetes, anaemia, that many are still illiterate, that their households are amongst the poorest in Slovenia, that their degree of unemployment is extremely high, that consequently they largely depend on social services and social financial aid, and that crime rates among them are quite high. Consequently, Roma have no social power."[92] Similarly, in Sweden, it has been reported that "the Roma are without power and influence in Sweden and often live on the outskirts of society".[93] Inclusion policies in the domain of education are deemed to bring about a major contribution to the improvement of the Roma situation. In this section, we shall describe what the current educational situation of the Roma is, so that we will have the necessary contextual background to better understand national educational initiatives toward them.

The principle of equal possibilities is at the heart of the Slovenian educational system. Nevertheless, the situation of Roma pupils in Slovenian primary schools is worse than the situation of their Slovene counterparts and, "despite the considerable efforts – financial means and organization of training and lectures – that Slovenia has already dedicated to the inclusion of the Roma in the educational system, the results achieved are not satisfying".[94]

[88] Horáková and Bareš,"Final Report the Czech Republic ", op. cit.
[89] Vasecka, Sadovská and Vašečková, "Final Report Slovakia", op. cit.
[90] Žagar et al. "Final Report Slovenia",op. cit.
[91] Hetzler, Persson and Lundin, "Final Report Sweden", op. cit.
[92] Žagar et al. "Final Report Slovenia", op. cit., p. 36.
[93] Hetzler, Persson and Lundin,"Final Report Sweden", op. cit., p. 46.
[94] Žagar et al., "Final Report Slovenia", op. cit., p. 58.

The difference in the educational achievement between those who declared to be Roma and those who declared to be Slovenes clearly emerges from Figure 1.[95]

Figure 4 - Comparison of Education Structure amongst the population above 15 Years of Age Declared as Roma and Slovenes in the 1991 and 2002 Population Census es(%).



Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Population Census 1991, 2002, quoted in Žagar et al.," Final Report Slovenia", op. cit., p. 58

We observe an improvement, that is, a shift toward the right of the distribution for the Roma. This is a good result, although 11 years is a relatively short period of time to observe major changes in educational systems. The dropout rate among Roma children is much higher than their Slovene counterparts and Roma pupils are over represented in primary schools with adapted programmes. According to data from the Slovenian Ministry of Education and Sport, from 2003 to 2006 the Slovene children attending primary schools with an adapted programme represented on average 1.3% of the total number of Slovene children. Among the Roma, this percentage ro to 8.6% on average.[96] The reasons behind the poor educational results of Roma pupils are manifold. In general, we can distinguish two different groups of causes explaining lower school success for Roma children. The first group is constituted by technical factors, such as inadequate forms of inclusion of Roma children in the primary school system, inadequate qualifications of teachers dealing with Roma children, low command of the Slovene language and non-attendance of classes. On the other hand, there are also other reasons explaining the current situation that are related to the attitudes of actors towards education. In particular, the authors report "low expectations regarding the school results of Roma children, stigmatizing of Roma children on the part of the majority children, non-encouraging domestic conditions, [the fact that] education does not rank high amongst the values of some Roma parents and distrust of Roma parents towards school, poor participation of Roma parents in the schoolwork processes".[97] We shall see in the next section how social inclusion interventions in education have tried to cope with these issues.

The educational situation of the Roma is very difficult also in the Czech Republic. It is reported that "around 60% do not complete elementary education, 29% complete only elementary education and 9.3% complete secondary or upper secondary education".[98] The level of education attained by Roma pupils is the lowest possible compared with other ethnic groups (Table 1):

[95] Note, however, that the self-declared Roma population is estimated to be about one third of estimated Roma population in Slovenia.
[96] Žagar et al., "Final Report Slovenia", op. cit., p.60.
[97] Ibid., p.63.
[98] Horáková and Bareš, "Final Report the Czech Republic", op. cit., p. 88.

Table 1 - Educational Structure of Selected Nationality Groups in the Population Aged 15 Years and Older in the Czech Republic (%)

Nationality	Proportion of Persons with Education							
	Elementary		Secondary and Vocational		Complete Secondary		University	
	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001
Population in total of which	33.1	23.0	35.4	38.0	22.9	28.4	7.2	8.9
Czech	32.0	22.7	35.9	38.5	23.5	28.8	7.3	8.8
Moravian	32.4	21.6	36.3	39.8	23.4	29.0	7.2	9.2
Silesian	33.5	19.4	36.0	37.3	23.1	30.7	6.6	11.8
Slovak	51.0	35.9	26.9	31.4	13.6	20.5	5.8	9.4
Polish	41.8	29.0	29.5	34.7	20.6	25.7	6.3	9.3
German	54.6	37.6	29.5	38.2	11.5	16.7	2.5	5.7
Roma	**78.4**	**65.4**	**10.0**	**17.3**	**0.9**	**5.0**	**0.3**	**1.6**
Hungarian	58.3	41.8	24.7	31.3	10.2	16.2	4.4	7.9
Ukrainian	48.8	20.0	20.3	27.2	18.8	35.4	9.0	12.4
Russian	30.5	13.0	15.4	8.8	24.4	33.7	26.9	40.8
Vietnamese	29.2	31.5	33.3	21.7	22.1	32.2	7.1	6.5

Source: Census 2001, quoted in Horáková and Bareš, "Final Report the Czech Republic", op. cit., p. 90.

Similarly to the Slovenian case, the general situation has improved in the last decade but the relative position of the Roma vis-à-vis other ethnicities has not changed. Notice also that almost 66% of the Roma think that insufficient qualification is one of the main reasons explaining unemployment. Poor educational status is second only to ethnicity (80%) and it is followed by other factors such as economic recession in the country, insufficient luck or gender. [99]

Table 2 - Educational Attainment in Slovakia in 2001 (%)

	Women		**Men**	
Educational Attainment	**2001**		**2001**	
	Roma	**Slovak**	**Roma**	**Slovak**
Primary	79.5	30	74.1	18.9
Vocational	8.2	18.3	14	32.1
Secondary vocational	1.4	4.5	2.4	5.5
Secondary comprehensive	1.9	36.4	2.2	30.2
Higher	0.2	9.2	0.4	11.6
Without school education	4.3	0.3	3.1	0.3
Missing education data	4.5	1.3	3.8	1.4
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, 2001 Census of Population, Houses and Apartments, quoted in Vasecka, Sadovská and Vašečková, "Final Report Slovakia", op. cit., p. 89.

[99] UNDP 2000/2001 quoted in the "Report on the Status of Roma communities in the Czech Republic in 2004", p. 16, quoted in turn in Horáková and Bareš, op. cit., p.89.

In Slovakia, where the Roma represent 1.7% of the population – although some unofficial estimates that take into account the so-called self-declaration bias suggest that 9% is a more reliable figure – the education situation of Roma pupils is similar to that in the other two central European countries. The data available show large differences between Roma and Slovak children in educational attainments (Table 2).

Moreover, Roma pupils have to repeat different primary school grades more often than others. Of all pupils completing the attendance requirements before reaching the last grade in the Slovak compulsory school system (the 9th), 78% are Roma. A factor often quoted as a possible explanation for the poor educational achievements of Roma pupils is the low percentage of attendance in kindergartens: in 2000, only 5.35% of Roma pupils attend kindergartens before compulsory schools. Today, only 0.79% of the total amount of children attending pre-schools are Roma, which is much less that the share of the Roma population in society. Another key factor that is often mentioned is socio-economic deprivation related to poverty and marginalization. However, this is a contextual factor that cannot find a simple solution within the education system, as it is linked to the broader condition of Roma in society. On the other hand, there exist other factors more closely related to the internal dynamics of the educational system, namely, language and cultural barriers, as well as discrimination in the education system. Language barriers refer to the lack of teaching in Romani and poor knowledge of Slovak. Pedagogical assistants for Roma children can play a key role in bridging this gap, and also in overcoming different kinds of cultural barriers between the school environment and the cultural traditions that Roma pupils are used to. As to discrimination in the education system, observers report that "Roma children in some regions are automatically or near-automatically placed in special schools for the mentally handicapped without receiving necessary individual attention".[100] In the 2003/2004 school year, 39% of the self-identified Roma pupils in the primary school system in Slovakia attended special schools, which clearly means that they are massively overrepresented.

Let us finally turn to Sweden. Unfortunately, the analysis of social exclusion in Sweden is characterized by a complete absence of data disaggregated by ethnic groups.[101] The reason is that in Sweden no statistics disaggregated by ethnic groups are collected as a matter of principle. Thus, the only two categories that we are allowed to study are 'persons born outside Sweden' and persons 'who were born in another country'. Figures available for 2002 report that 11.8% of the Swedish population are born in another country. Moreover, an additional 9.6% of the population born in Sweden has at least one parent who is foreign born. Thus, it is impossible to focus specifically on Roma, and we are obliged to look at the situation of two macro-groups only (Swedish born and foreign born). Also in Sweden, there are some major differences in the educational performance of the two groups and, in general, people with a foreign background perform worse than people with a Swedish background. Table 3 shows the trend for a particular indicator, namely, the percentage of girls and boys who, after leaving compulsory school, meet the requirements for admission to a national program at upper secondary.

Table 3 - Percentage of Girls and Boys who, after Leaving Compulsory School, mMeet the Requirements for Admission to a National Programme at Upper Secondary School in Sweden (%)

		1998/1999	2002/2003	2004/2005
Swedish background				
	Girls	93.3	92.3	92.5
	Boys	90.2	90.2	89.6
Foreign background				
	Girls	81.7	80.1	79.3
	Boys	76.7	77.4	75.7

Source: Swedish NAP and Skolverkets report 2006, quoted in Hetzler, Persson and Lundin, "Final Report Sweden", op. cit., p. 28.

[100] Vasecka, Sadovská and Vašečková, "Final Report Slovakia", op. cit., p. 91.
[101] Minority groups in Sweden are Samí, Swedish Finns, Tornedal Finns, Roma and Jews, plus many other new minorities coming to the country as a consequence of migration flows.

As we can see, the difference between Swedish children and children with a foreign background has increased. In particular, "the increase for boys has increased from 13.5% to 13.9%. But the increase for girls from foreign backgrounds has increased greatly from 11.6% in 1998/1999 to 13.2% in 2004/2005. This is an increase in difference between girls with Swedish backgrounds and those with foreign backgrounds of 22.4%."[102] The results do not change when other factors such as parents' education or socio-economic status are taken into account.

Let us now turn to upper secondary school. Table 4 presents the trend of a particular indicator of educational performance, namely, the number of women and men with foreign background compared with the number of women and men with Swedish background who, after four years, leave upper secondary school with a complete diploma.

Table 4 - Percentage of Women and Men with Foreign Background Compared with Women and Men with Swedish Background who, After Four Years, Leave Upper Secondary School with a Complete Diploma

		2002/2003	2003/2004	2004/2005
Total				
	Total	79.4	81.0	81.9
	Women	82.1	83.1	84.0
	Men	76.7	78.9	79.8
Swedish background				
	Total	80.5	82.2	83.0
	Women	82.9	84.4	84.8
	Men	78.1	80.4	81.2
Foreign background				
	Total	71.9	72.9	74.7
	Women	77.0	77.0	78.0
	Men	66.8	68.8	70.8

Source: Skolverkets Database, quoted in Hetzler, Persson and Lundin,"Final Report Sweden", op. cit., p. 30.

Clearly, it would be unrealistic to expect radical changes in such a short period of time (2002-2005) but it is worth noting a positive trend in particular for men.

Finally, significant differences among the two groups exist also in the domain of adult education. In Table 5, we present the results upon graduating from the Adult Community Upper Secondary School Programme in 2003.

Table 5 - Results upon Graduating from the Adult Community Upper Secondary School Programme in 2003 (%)

	Failed	Pass	Good	High Pass
Swedish background	9.2	29.3	34.5	27
Foreign background	14.2	41.5	29.7	14.6

Source: Skolverkets Report 2006, quoted in Hetzler, Persson and Lundin,"Final Report Sweden", op. cit., p. 35.

Filling the Gap: Educational Policies in Four Member States

In the Slovenian NAP 2004-2006, particular emphasis is put on the education of the Roma. The overarching goals of the policies designed in the domain of education are to improve the educational performances of Roma pupils, respecting their culture and, at the same time, involving the majority in the process. A flowchart presenting an integrated view of the Slovenian interventions is provided in Part III, Figure 7. Five policies were envisaged by the NAP/Incl.:

1. Introduction of 'Roma assistants';
2. Inclusion of Roma children in kindergartens at least two years before the start of primary school;
3. Development of methods for teaching Slovenian to Roma pupils;
4. Introduction of the Roma language as an optional subject; and
5. Inclusion of Roma culture, history and identity in the implementation of curriculum.[103]

[102] Hetzler, Persson and Lundin, "Final Report Sweden", op. cit., p.29.

[103] We disregard here the sixth policy (training of Roma adults) because it is more closely related to interventions directly aime at improving the employment situation of Roma (see Section 2.4).

All these measures, in principle, should contribute to a higher level of education, which in turn is a necessary, albeit not sufficient, step toward better social inclusion. As regards the effectiveness of these policies, we expect a positive variation in a number of general indicators, namely the general school performance of Roma pupils, the level of education attained, the command of the Slovene language, the level of Roma self-esteem and the discrimination level of the majority.

The Roma assistants policy in Slovenia is actually the only policy that we are able to assess with the data at our disposal. Due to the legal restrictions in force in Slovenia as to the collection of data disaggregated by ethnic groups, little can be said, for example, on the effectiveness of the kindergarten policy. Different research studies and experiences in this field suggest that inclusion of Roma children in kindergartens in general has had a positive impact on the educational situation of the pupils but, due to the lack of data, no specific evaluation was possible. Although much has been done at the local level, at the national level, however, "things are changing much too slowly. In fact, in connection with the measure of inclusion of the Roma children in kindergartens at least two years before the start of primary school, stated in the NAP (2004-2006), not much has been done at the national level. The implementation of measures was shifted to the period 2005-2010."[104] In any case, from the observation of local experiences it has emerged that the increase in the number of Roma children in kindergarten is positively related with the strength of preparatory contacts with pupils' families. In addition, particular attention should be paid to the acceptance of Roma children by other children and to the training of pre-school teachers and pedagogical assistants. On the other hand, although projects 3, 4 and 5, appear to be very interesting, little can be said in respect of their impact, as in different cases the planning is still going on. Nevertheless, there is the potential for interesting findings, provided that appropriate monitoring systems are set up.

Table 6 - Observed Effects of the Introduction of the Roma Assistant (RA) Programme in Prekmurje (Slovenia)

	Indicator	**Before RA: 2003-2004**	**After RA: 2005-2006**
a	Number of justifiable absences (I cycle)[105]	118.51	89.62
b	Number of unjustifiable absences (I cycle)	10.88	9.18
c	Number of Roma parents' attendance at interviews with teachers (I cycle)[106]	2.58	2.61
d	Number of Roma parents' attendance at school meetings (I cycle)	1.62	1.65
e	Average mark (III cycle)[107]	2.41	2.91
f	End of schooling after primary school	16.6%	7.7%
g	Continued schooling in a three year programme	72.2%	76.9%
h	Continued schooling in secondary school programme	11.1%	15.3%

Source: Table compiled by the authors from data in Žagar et al., "Final Report Slovenia", op. cit., pp.101-103.

Roma assistants at school are expected to play different roles and therefore the expected results are manifold. In particular, Roma assistants are supposed to contribute to the improvement of Roma pupils' self-perception, to the improvement of their scholastic performance, to better communication between Roma pupils and teachers, as well as parents and teachers, and finally to lower drop-out rates for Roma pupils. The only data at our disposal refer to the piloting introduction of Roma assistants in eight schools in the region of Prekmurje. In Table 6, we present the more relevant quantitative figures concerning the results observed after the introduction of Roma assistants.

[104] Žagar et al., "Final Report Slovenia", op. cit., p. 87.
[105] Data calculated for one Roma pupil (sum of all absences divided by total number of Roma pupils).
[106] Data calculated for one Roma pupil (number of all visits of Roma pupils' parents divided by total number of Roma pupils)
[107] In the II and III cycle, pupils' knowledge is assessed with numeric marks from 1 to 5, (1) meaning insufficient, (2) sufficient, (3) good, (4) very good and, (5) excellent.

As we can see from Table 6, a positive variation on the numerical value of different indicators of effectiveness has been recorded. However, "it would be difficult to state with certainty that positive changes, seen from the school documents, are exclusively the consequence of Roma assistants' work. It may be that changes were partly brought about by gradual renewal of primary school and transition from eight-year primary school to nine-year primary school, which has been taking place since 1999/2000, and will be completed in 2007/2008."[108]

In order to carry out a proper cost-effectiveness analysis, therefore, we would need to be able to isolate exogenous effects to avoid selection biases, using the experimental design method or using multivariate analysis with a large data-set. None of these methodologies was feasible. Nevertheless, we think that, under certain assumptions, the effectiveness and the cost-effectiveness of this policy can be assessed, at least in general terms. The main goal of the following evaluation, therefore, is to give some orders of magnitude while illustrating the potential of cost-effectiveness analysis. Let us start with the computation of the costs of the Roma assistant policy (all figures are expressed in real terms, as we take the 2004/2005 school year as the year of reference).[109] The training of the Roma assistants started in autumn 2004 and lasted one year. The education of Roma assistants constitutes the initial investment (€139,079). 15 Roma assistants were trained but only 14 of them were finally employed: four in kindergarten, nine in primary school and one in primary school with an adapted programme. As we are dealing with a policy implemented for the first time, the costs have to be entirely attributed to it, that is, they are all additional costs. No figures are available as to the infrastructure and overhead costs, but we assume that they are negligible, since no additional arrangements or places are needed for Roma assistants. Furthermore, once trained, Roma assistants work with all pupils attending school at that time. This implies that in this phase no additional assistants are needed to help the younger generations, as the newcomers will replace those who finish their studies.[110] Hence, the only additional recruitment will be that needed to replace those assistants who quit the profession. Due to the fact that we are dealing with a pilot programme, we do not have any data as to the length of the theoretical duration of the initial training investment. We shall therefore assume that it can be approximated at 15 years.[111] The initial investment therefore has to be spread over 15 years, which gives €9,272 per year. The Roma assistants started to work in November 2005 and, for the first six months, they were paid 30% of the minimum salary. The running costs for the first six months of work in real terms were €32,712. Between May 2006 and August 2006 (four months), they were paid by public work programmes (€37,294 in constant prices). In order to have an estimate for 12 months, we add two more months of public works (€18,647).[112] Hence, the average annual cost of the first 12 months of activity of Roma assistants is therefore estimated to be €97,925 (9,272 + 32,712 + 37,294 + 18,647), which means €6,995 per assistant.[113] As to the opportunity cost of the Roma assistant policy, we take for given the will of the government to allocate some resources to the integration of Roma, which clearly is a necessary condition for policies to be implemented. In this perspective, no particular 'best alternative' for the use of these funds for the purposes of Roma integration in general has emerged from the documents we have. Hence, we regard €97,925 as a good approximation of the real cost of the policy but obviously the assumption of zero opportunity cost can be relaxed in further research.

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[108] Žagar et al., "Final Report Slovenia", op. cit., p.103.

[109] According to the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, the annual inflation computed between autumn 2005 and autumn 2006 has been 1.8%.

[110] At this early stage of policy implementation, for simplicity and due to lack of data concerning this issue, we assume that the demographic increase cohorts for the first period is not enough strong to require the presence of more assistants. Clearly, substantial demographic effects have to be taken into consideration in a more detailed research.

[111] The professional life of a school teacher in Slovenia is 38 years for women and 40 for men. However, we have to take into account that, for different reasons, a given percentage of trained teachers leave the profession every year. In Slovenia, the fluctuation rate is estimated around 7% per year according to the Ministry of Education and Sport, Department for Development of Education. Using 39 years as the average maximum number of years that a person is allowed to work, and using 7% per year as the attrition rate, this gives an average professional duration of career as a teacher of 13 years. However, we prefer to adopt a more conservative estimate of 15 years to allow the attrition rate to be higher at the beginning of the career.

[112] It is likely that Roma assistants will be paid by public works programme also for the 2006/2007 school year. Then, if Roma assistant position were established as a professional standard, running costs would be higher.

[113] As the improvements in the school performance of pupils (output) are due to the assistants that actually have worked (14), the cost for training has to be ascribed entirely to 14 assistants and not to 15. However, if we think in terms of input, the cost of training of €9,272 per year has to be referred to 15 assistants. In this case, the average annual cost per assistant is €6,951. Notice, however, that this cost would increase if a Roma assistant was paid based on a professional standard and not under the public work programme.

As we have seen in Table 6, after the introduction of Roma assistants, observers have noted an improvement in different indicators of effectiveness. Again, we can not be sure that these positive results are entirely due to the introduction of the assistants, as a complex and wide reform started in 1999 was taking place. Nonetheless, surveys report that Roma assistants have had a positive impact on the school performance of pupils, in particular in cycles I (1st to 3rd grade) and III (6th to 9th grade) of primary school.[114] The context examined – that is, the situation of some 300 Roma pupils in primary school in the region of Prekmurje – is rather circumscribed and localized, and therefore the observations of headmasters and teachers can be considered as a quite reliable source of information as to the real impact of Roma assistants on school performance. Therefore, since no more precise data are available at the moment, we shall simply assume that the improvements observed are due to a large extent to the introduction or Roma assistants. The question now is can we assess the cost-effectiveness of this policy? This is extremely difficult due to the number of effects that the Roma assistants policy has had and specifically due to the lack of data. This project is still in the pilot stage and more data, at least for an entire generation, would be needed to carry out a proper cost-effectiveness analysis. However, let us focus on a specific effect in order to provide an example. Among the different measures available, such as the number of justifiable absences or the number of Roma parents' attendance at school meetings, one of the more meaningful measures is the number of Roma pupils enrolled in different secondary school programmes (Table 6, lines f, g and h). This indicator is structurally inversely related to the dropout rate and gives a good idea of the improvement of the position of Roma pupils in the education system in Slovenia. However, it is still a very reductive indicator, as we shall see later, and it has to be interpreted with caution. The figures presented in Table 6 show that enrolment in secondary schools increased after the introduction of assistants, but this may be simply due to a demographic increase. Therefore, we shall correct this demographic effect as follows: we assume that the percentage of enrolment in secondary schools between the 2003/2004 school year and the 2005/2006 school year would not have changed if Roma assistants had not been introduced. In practice, this means that we apply the enrolment percentages for 2003/2004 (Table 7, column A) to the total number of pupils enrolled in 2005/2006 (Table 7, column D), which is 26.[115] Then we compute the difference between these hypothetical figures (Table 7, column E) and the real absolute figures reported (column D). The results are presented in Table 7, which for convenience also replicates some figures from Table 6.

Table 7 - Estimated net Effect of the Roma Assistants Policy on Enrolment of Roma Pupils in Secondary Education in Prekmurje (Slovenia)

	A	B	c	d	e
	Real enrolments in 2003/2004 without RA (%)	Number of pupils 2003/2004	Real enrolments in 2005/2006 with RA (%)	Number of pupils 2005/2006	*Simulation: Number of pupils 2005/2006 without assistants policy*
End of schooling after primary school	16.7	3	7.7	2	*4*
Continued schooling in a three year secondary school programme	72.2	13	76.9	20	*19*
Continued schooling in four year secondary school program	11.1	2	15.4	4	*3*
Total		18		26	*26*

Source: Table compiled by the authors from data in Žagar et al., "Final Report Slovenia", op. cit., pp. 103-104.

[114] In the Slovene system, primary school lasts 9 years and is organized in three cycles.

[115] In 2005/2006, in cycle III of primary school, 104 pupils were enrolled (7th grade: 34; 8th grade: 34; 9th grade: 34). Hence, in the eight schools considered, we have almost 34 pupils in the 9th grade, of which two end schooling after finishing primary school, 20 continued schooling in a three year secondary school programme, and four pupils continued schooling in four year secondary school programmes (total 26 pupils). The difference between the estimated 34 pupils at grade 9 and 26 presented above is probably due to pupils who did not succeed in finishing primary school.

As a result, we see that one additional pupil has continued schooling in a three year programme as a consequence of the Roma assistants policy (20 -19), one additional pupil has continued schooling in a four year programme (4 - 3), and two pupils have not stopped their education after their primary school (2 - 4). In summation, an observable net effect of the Roma assistants policy in the period considered and in the eight schools examined has been the improvement of the school performance of four pupils. As the pilot programme started in autumn 2005, the improvement measured in 2006 can be attributed only to the work of assistants working on cycle III and, in particular, those working in grade 9. Notice that enrolments in the secondary school started in spring 2006. As the research was carried out in late summer 2006, figures regarding enrolments were collected when pupils already knew about their further education. It should be recalled that only 10 assistants out of fourteen were working at a primary school (both normal and special). As the estimated average annual cost in constant prices for all the assistants is €97,925, the cost for ten assistants is 10/14 of the total, namely, €69,946. If we focus only on grade 9, that is, one of the nine grades making up the primary school, we should consider the work of 1.1 assistants (10 assistants/9 grades) for a total average annual cost of €7,694. Notice, however, that data about enrolment in secondary school was gathered only six months after the beginning of the policy. Strictly speaking, it would be more representative to relate this result to six months of work (which implies dividing the annual cost computed before – €7,694 – by two, that is, €3,847). We could finally compute a very rough CEA ratio by dividing this cost figure by the effect. Notice, however, that it would be very reductive to state that the net effect of the work of 1.1 assistants on average in grade 9 has been only an increase in enrolment in secondary school of four pupils. First, Roma assistants were only in their first year of work and pupils in grade 9 did not have any help in the previous years. Hence, we could expect a much higher degree of effectiveness in the future. Notice also that the four pupils mentioned before are just the tip of the iceberg regarding the work of the assistants. For an analysis to be complete, we should take into account all the improvements observed by the pupils in cycles I, II and III during 2005/2006. For example, we should also take into account all those additional pupils who finished compulsory school because of the help of the Roma assistants, but who do not enrol in secondary school. In addition, we can say nothing about the improvements in the school performance of all those pupils who are still in grades 7 or 8. As the number of pupils attending the third cycle in 2005/2006 can be estimated at 300 pupils, it is more prudent to state that, lacking more detailed data, one of the effects observed (the additional pupils enrolled in secondary school) has been achieved with an average cost of €326 per Roma pupil.

Note also that the qualitative results of a survey carried out in different schools where the policy has been implemented show that the perception of the assistants themselves about their job, as well as that of the teachers and headmasters, is extremely positive.[116] Roma assistants are satisfied with their work and they estimate that Roma children have made progress. Moreover, most of the assistants would like to continue their job in the future. In addition, most of the teachers and headmasters interviewed in the survey (29 in total) agree that Roma assistants have had positive impacts on communication between Roma pupils and other children, and between Roma pupils and teachers. An increase in Roma children motivation's was also observed and, in general, the overall assessment of the work of the Roma assistants was positive.

Let us now turn to the Czech Republic. The educational policies aimed to improve the situation of the Roma set up in the Czech Republic are rather similar, both in their design and their expected outcomes, to the Slovenian ones. The overarching declared goal of educational policies for the Roma is the so-called 'equalizing action', that is, to help Roma children "to bring about a significant change in the present situation in which a high number of Roma children attain only the lowest possible level of education".[117] Three main policies are taken into account: preparatory classes education assistants; and support for Roma higher and university education. The analytical flowchart representing the expected outcomes of these three policies is reported in Part III, Figure 6.

[116] Žagar et al., "Final Report Slovenia",op. cit., pp. 98-100.
[117] Horáková and Bareš, "Final Report the Czech Republic", op. cit., p. 87.

a) The preparatory classes programme is available to all children from socio-culturally and linguistically disadvantaged environments and therefore it is not a policy especially designed for Roma children. This programme started in 1997/1998; its main goal is to prepare the entrance of disadvantaged children to primary school, so as to limit their risk of failure during the first cycles of primary school. In the long run, this would translate into an increase in the school performance of pupils. The number of participants has increased and different positive results were reported by qualitative analyses, both in terms of attitudes and in terms of reduction in absenteeism later in primary schools. However, it is not possible to gather reliable data on the specific effects of this policy and, in particular, it was not possible to gather disaggregated data for Roma pupils. A total amount of €67,916 was allocated in 2005 to the pre-school education of Roma children but no data are available as to how this money has been used.

b) The objectives of the education assistants policy are manifold: "to help the teacher to organize individual education plans, to assist in promoting constructive leisure activities in breaks and after the end of the normal school day, to help Roma children by supervizing the completion of homework and by providing complementary training and a channel of communication with the children's families".[118] Roma assistants work mostly in the preparatory classes and in the first classes of primary schools. Projects exist to extend the role of assistants to higher classes in primary schools. Some of the most relevant indicators in this case are the level of education attained, the school performance of the Roma (in terms, for example, of marks, etc.) and the discrimination level of the majority. Also in this case, unfortunately, no figures are available to assess the impact of the education assistants on Roma children. As each school is individually responsible for hiring assistants and for monitoring and evaluation, no data are collected in a systematic way from the centre. We know that the government started to systematically fund education assistants in 1998 (although some pilot experiments had already been carried out by non-governmental organizations since 1993). We also know that the investment for training in 2003 was €105,263 (€110,592 in 2005 prices)[119] but we have no data as to the investments in previous years. We also know that, in 2005, 326 assistants were employed by the government. For lack of more information, we assume that the government has trained 1/6 of these assistants per year from 1998 to 2003 and that the training was completed in 2003. This implies that an average of 54 assistants on average were trained every year. However, it is plausible that the government decided to train more assistants in the first period and less in later years. Thus, we use a more conservative estimate of only 30 assistants trained in 2003. Assuming the training costs for 2003 (€110,592) have served to train these 30 assistants and assuming also in this case an average professional life of 15 years per assistant, as in the Slovene case, we get a training cost of €246 per year per assistant. We finally know that in 2005 the expenditures for salaries were approximately € 6,312 per assistant. The yearly cost per assistant therefore is €6,558 (€6,312+246), which is rounded to €6,560, which is not very dissimilar from the Slovenian case.

As we have no data to assess the effects of the Roma assistants policy on the achievements of Roma pupils, we can not make a full-fledged comparison between Slovenia and the Czech Republic. Nevertheless, we can compare some figures related to the subjective assessments of headmasters in the schools where Roma assistants work. Clearly, this comparison does not have any statistical significance but it is useful to have a picture of the attitudes about this policy. The results are presented in Table 8. Notice that in the Slovenia survey system of assessment, 6 means "very good/greatly improves" and is the highest level of a scale of judgement spanning from 1 ("very bad/improves very little") to 6.

[118] Ibid., p. 99

[119] We use an average inflation rate of 2.5% between 2003 and 2005.

Table 8 - Comparison of the Opinions of Teachers and Headmasters on the Effects of Roma Assistants Policy in Slovenia and the Czech Republic

Slovenia		Czech Republic	
How do you estimate assistant's work? (5 to 6) (6)	 66% 48%	High or very high level of satisfaction with the performance of education assistants	27%
Does assistant improve communication between teachers and Roma parents? (4 to 6) (5 to 6)	 69% 59%	Think that Roma assistants have improved cooperation with families	39%

Source: Table compiled by authors with data from Horáková and Bareš, "Final Report the Czech Republic", op. cit., p. 100; and Žagar et al., "Final Report Slovenia", op. cit., p. 100.

The figures suggest that attitudes are more favourable in Slovenia and that the perceived utility of Roma assistant activities is lower in the Czech Republic. Note, however, that we also have to take into account that in Slovenia the programme is at the very beginning and that therefore a 'novelty effect' is probable.

c) The objective of the third policy examined, namely, a grant scheme to support Roma students in higher and university education is potentially very interesting, not only for itself, but also because the effectiveness of this investment could be assessed in terms of its impact on the job market or some other measurement of social inclusion. However, also in this case, no detailed data are available as to the results actually achieved by those students. Even more worrying is the fact that no data exist as to the total number of Roma students supported, except for 2003, when it was reported that the majority of Roma students receiving a support grant completed their higher education (86.2%). Nevertheless, one positive result emerges for the report, that is, the total number of application has tripled between 2000 and 2005, which can be interpreted as an indicator of the rise in the interest of Roma students for higher education.

Although observers expressed generally favourable opinions about the overall impact of these policies, one of the major shortcomings remarked on has been the lack of co-ordination between ministry policies. This has had a negative impact on the effectiveness of the overall management of funds allocated to policies in favour of the Roma. Hence, "to increase the effectiveness of the implementation of the Roma Integration Policy Concept, it is necessary to re-assess the current financial support system and to propose a framework that will permit the implementation of the long-term measures proposed in the Concept at the local level and in co-operation with all the relevant partners".[120]

Let us now turn to Slovakia. This is a particularly difficult case to analyze, due to a serious lack of data in almost all the domains examined. In Slovakia, a set of measures aimed at improving the situation of Roma pupils has been designed but the situation policy makers have to face is extremely difficult. It has been reported that "Roma children from segregated communities suffering from various forms of marginalization and social exclusion (rural settlements, urban ghettos) are sometimes placed in special schools automatically. The placement is performed either by schools themselves at the registration or enrolment stage and later legalized by psychologists or special pedagogues. Alternatively, the placement is made after psychological testing, sometimes using inappropriate testing instruments. These children are diagnosed usually as lightly mentally handicapped."[121] The educational achievements of Roma pupils are sometimes extremely poor. In special schools it can transpire that Roma children pass their primary education without learning even basic arithmetic and literacy skills. The debate covered different approaches to tackle this issue, in particular whether or not special schools should be abolished, what (if any) should be the role of Romani in schools and the possible role of multicultural education

[120] Horáková and Bareš, "Final Report the Czech Republic", op. cit., p.94.
[121] Vasecka, Sadovská amd Vašečková,"Final Report Slovakia", op. cit., p.82.

or inter-cultural activities. The policies designed – and in some cases also implemented – in the framework of the Slovakian NAP/Incl. to face this situation can be grouped into three main areas. Let us examine them in turn.

a) The primary school level. Here, the general goal is to increase the educational performance of Roma pupils. This should be done by improving the training and preparation of pupils and by reducing the percentage of Roma children attending special schools/institutions. Possible measures envisaged regard the material conditions in which Roma pupils live and study, in particular improving the level of material equipment of schools.[122] In 2004, 1,529 educational institutions out of 3,428 applied for food and schooling equipment for children from marginalized families. Material was provided for a total amount of €720,440. School equipment also was supplied for 2,410 schools for a total of €856,473. According to the government, school attendance increased dramatically and children perform much better, but, at present, no hard data are published to support this claim. Finally, in 2004, a total amount of €172,564 was devoted to social scholarships for marginalized children in elementary schools. In 2004, 1,105 institutions applied for such social scholarships, out of 1,784 schools.

Also in Slovakia, Roma assistants are active. The first projects in this direction were carried out by non-governmental organizations and lasted more than 10 years but the government has started to implement this policy more systematically since 2005. Again, unfortunately no data are available as to the effects of this policy. As to costs, no official figures are available. However, "if one assistant were to be hired every year at every school with a share of Roma students over 50%, some 1,602 assistants would be required in 178 schools, leading to a total annual cost of [€6,527,947] and an initial training cost of about [€251,629]".[123] Assuming an average life of the training investment of 15 years, this would imply an average cost of € 4,085 per assistant per year in the first period. Then, "progressing integration could act in the opposite direction. 0th Year: to achieve a lower limit estimate, we use the figure derived from the ROCEPO survey of about 5,500 Roma children in every year. Here, assuming a class size of 15, the full requirement would be for 367 0th years or an additional 60 classes. The cost for staffing would reach [€584,065] per year. If we assume as above that there are some 7,000 children of age six from socially disadvantaged backgrounds and all these require 0th year education, assuming class size of 15, the full requirement would be for 467 0th years or an additional 160 classes. The cost for staffing only would reach [€1,557,507] per year. Total cost over a decade would stand at about [€5.9-15.6 million]."[124]

There are three other key strands of intervention in the NAP/Incl., which also focus on primary school, but which are not directly related to material or technical support to pupils in their curriculum. Rather, this kind of measures addresses 'soft' or attitudinal components of Roma pupils in schools. This is the direction followed in the implementation of multicultural education, or in the case of measures aimed at reinforcing the self-identity of Roma, or at improving the educational and support system for the prevention of negative behaviour of Roma pupils. As to the latter point, it has been reported that "in a maximum scenario of providing an extra full-time advisor to half of all schools with Roma pupils [around 500 schools] the annual cost would run at around [€2.8 million] or about [€28 million] for the decade".[125]

b) The second field of intervention in favour of the Roma concerns higher education. The main goals that the government wants to pursue are to increase the percentage of Roma attending high schools and to increase the percentage of Roma attending university education. Finally, efforts should be undertaken to establish study departments of the Romani language and literature in universities. It has been reported that the cost forecasted is about [€559,174] with additional costs of programme development in the hundreds of thousands of Euro. [126]

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[122] The following figures are obtained from from "Informacia o dosahu a ucinku zmien socialneho systemu na romske komunity zijuce vo vybranych osadach" [Information on Impact and Influence of the Social System Changes on Roma Communities Living in Selected Settlements], www.vlada.gov.sk

[123] Vasecka, Sadovská amd Vašečková, "Final Report Slovakia", op.cit., p. 96.

[124] Ibid, p.96.

[125] Ibid, p.97.

[126] Ibid.

c) It is also worth mentioning the third area of intervention envisaged in the NAP/Incl., that is, supporting the lifetime education of the Roma with an unfinished education from the perspective of applying for a job on the labour market. The goal would be to reduce by 50% the number of Roma with an unfinished education.

Finally, let us turn to the case of Sweden. Pursuing better social integration through language training in education has been one of the main policy interventions adopted in Sweden. Improving the communication capabilities of minorities is seen as a cornerstone policy to foster social integration. Two policies in particular are worth noting. The first is to strengthen the competence in the native languages of children in compulsory school together with the teaching of Swedish as a second language. The second is aimed at adults and it seeks to increase Swedish language skills among adult immigrants. As we have noticed, no distinction is made in Sweden between the ethnicity of immigrants and they are all labelled simply as 'non-Swedish born'. This definition is very vague and does not allow us to distinguish between types of immigrants with different needs and backgrounds.

In the case of the first policy – language training both in the native language of 'non-Swedish born' pupils and in Swedish – the object of the analysis is the impact of language training on the equality in educational achievements. The idea behind this policy actually is that both languages have to be strengthened for different reasons. The utility of teaching Swedish receives no particular explanation. On the other hand, two main reasons are invoked to justify teaching in the native language: better development of cognitive capacities of pupils and ideological reasons related to freedom of choice, that is, freedom to maintain links with one's original cultural heritage.

What is of interest to assess is if language training policy has been effective in reducing the percentage of students born outside Sweden with incomplete final grades from compulsory school (indicator of effectiveness). Four main variables have been considered as important in determining variations of the indicator of effectiveness. The first is the cost of language training, which encompasses both the cost of supplying classes in the native language and the cost of offering Swedish as a second language. Unfortunately, no particular information is available as to how these costs have been computed. In particular, it was not possible to disaggregate costs in two separate figures, namely, cost for classes of Swedish as a second language and costs of supplying classes in a native language other than Swedish. The other three variables taken into consideration are the percentage of students born outside Sweden out of the total number of students, participation rates in native language classes of students entitled to such classes and the participation rates of foreign-born students selecting Swedish as a second language. The descriptive statistics have been carried out using the average values of the variables introduced above form 1997 to 2005. Preliminary results based on a simple correlation matrix show that costs are not negatively correlated with the number of incomplete grades as we expected (the correlation coefficient is 0.73). Also, the participation rates of students entitled to native language classes and an incomplete grade does not have a negative sign but rather is positive (0.20). On the other hand, the participation rates of foreign-born students selecting Swedish as a second language are negatively correlated with incomplete grades. It could be tempting to conclude that focusing primarily on the teaching of Swedish as a second language is the more effective way to decrease the number of incomplete grades but correlation does not mean causation. Moreover, results have to be re-examined in the light of further research, based on a larger set of data, time lags and panel data techniques.

Notice, however, that there is another point that it is important, related to the recent trend in the provision of classes in native languages. At a pre-school level, according to the Swedish NAP/Incl., "pre-schools should strive to meet every child with another native language other than Swedish with support to develop his capacity to communicate just as well in Swedish as in his native language".[127] Traditionally, in the Swedish system, children attending pre-schools with a native language other than Swedish (12% in 2001) participated in some form of supporting activity in their native language. In 1990, for example, 60% of children in pre-schools received such support. However, due to the strong decentralization of the Swedish educational system that has occurred since the beginning of the 1990s, in 2005 this percentage fell to 14%, although it has been observed that the

[127] Hetzler, Persson and Lundin, "Final Report Sweden", op. cit. note 26.

number of children in need of special support has increased. The main reason for this is that "although home language activities in pre-schools are a national goal, when costs were transferred to local authorities programs were substantially cut. This indicates that local authorities do not see this activity as a priority."[128] We observed the same trend also in compulsory school, which is the context that we have just analyzed. In other words, as in the case of pre-school, the decentralization of the responsibility for education from the centre to local authorities brought about a decrease in the supply of classes in native languages. The main reason to explain this trend is that the provision of classes in many languages often is not feasible for small school districts. Thus, an interesting topic for further research would be to clarify what the impact of this reduction in the supply of classes in the native language on the school proficiency of pupils has been. In other words, it would be interesting to investigate how one can expect the courses in the native language to be effective in increasing school performance of children if at the same time they are reduced.

Before moving on to a more general discussion about the cases examined, let us just mention the second language training policy adopted in Sweden for adult education (a.k.a. SFI – Swedish for Immigrants). In this case, exclusive attention is paid to the teaching of the Swedish language, seen as the key for access to the domestic labour market. The only figures available are presented in Table 9. As we can see, although the per learner cost has increased (at least from 1996 to 2001) the percentage of immigrants who stopped attending the programme before completion does not seem negatively related to resources allocated to SFI.

Table 9 - Immigrants who Started SFI and Stopped Attending before Completion (Swedish Crowns)

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
% of immigrants	42	45	53	54	51	52	55	43	49	39
Cost per student (nominal term)	29,200	33,500	33,100	37,800	44,700	44,700	40,400	-	-	-
Cost per student (real term) – 2005 prices[129]	33,368	37,602	36,774	41,763	48,762	47,493	42,110			

Source: Department of Education quoted in Hetzler, Persson and Lundin,"Final Report Sweden", op. cit., p. 67.

Notice, however, that this is not necessarily a problem in the special cases of immigrants who leave the programme because they have found a job in the meantime or because they have found more effective ways to learn the language.

Discussion

Let us conclude this section with a few general considerations. Education is without any doubt a key element in the collective effort against social exclusion. The consequences of a better education and the channels through which education influences the social life of individuals are almost boundless. Education is necessary to improve knowledge, which will later translate to better job opportunities but also to a better understanding of society's explicit and implicit features and rules. Education also plays an indispensable role in the construction of the individuals' and community's self-esteem and representations. Thus, it is not surprising that it is not easy to clearly identify, specify and isolate the channels through which education fosters social inclusion. Nevertheless, this does not mean that, under appropriate conditions, a well-founded evaluation of education programmes and projects can not be made. One of these components is obviously the accuracy and the sharpness of the interpretative frameworks and evaluation tools applied by analysts and experts. Social scientists have a large number of models to interpret reality as well as analytical and empirical tools to support theoretical insights and advise policy-makers. Cost-effectiveness analysis, for instance, is one of these techniques. Although such

[128] Ibid.
[129] Computed using the Harmonized Index of Consumer Prices, 2005=100.

approaches are often accused of reductionism, it is exactly by focusing on partial analyses that some useful insights can be provided and used as input for general discussion. The second fundamental condition is that policy goals have to be clearly stated and be explicit and that data or experimental results are made available. If objectives are vaguely defined and the basis for empirical testing is not sufficient, the power of analysis is clearly reduced.

We have presented several educational policies adopted in four Member States of the European Union. Most of these policies concerned the Roma community in particular. One of the main problems we had to face was the lack of data, both concerning the effects of policies and their costs. In some cases, we only have data about budget allocations to general categories of expenditures, which are related to policies addressing social exclusion but without paying particular attention to the specific measures undertaken. In other cases, there are simply no data at all. Moreover, disaggregated data by ethnic group are rarely collected separately and this makes policy assessment more difficult. We shall not enter into the debate concerning the collection of data by ethnicity. There are several well-founded reasons behind the choice not to gather such data, in particular as these data could be used – and have been used – against the minorities themselves, in apparent contradiction with the goals of integration and inclusion formulated by policy makers. This risk certainly is a true one. However, a higher level of monitoring and control over policies that specifically address social exclusion would be very desirable, in particular when these policies are at a pilot or exploratory stage. The collection of data disaggregated by ethnicity, for example, could be authorized temporally only for some specific and innovative pilot programmes, and only to the extent strictly necessary for the monitoring and *expost* evaluation of these pilot projects, previous to a possible generalization. Monitoring and evaluation are in fact necessary ingredients for the feedback that policy makers need not only to understand whether or not the policies adopted achieve the outcomes desired – that is, whether they are effective or not – but also to ascertain whether they have been the best alternatives in terms of employment of society's resources, a concept which is at the heart of cost-effectiveness analysis.

We believe that, in principle, there is potential for more detailed comparative evaluation of inclusion policies in different Member States. In Slovenia, Slovakia and in the Czech Republic, for example, very similar policies have been designed and implemented and this makes comparison easier. All of these three countries adopted Roma assistants policies and some form of preliminary preparation for compulsory school (either kindergarten or preparatory classes). In the Czech Republic and in Slovakia, some forms of support for the Roma at a higher education level are envisaged. The adoption of a set of common indicators for all countries is a first step toward comparison between policy achievements and thus toward the identification of best practices. In Appendix B, several cultural indicators for the domain of education are proposed. We think that they can be a useful starting point to think about what kind of data are needed for the analysts to populate those indicators and thus to help make possible comparison between countries. The cost-effectiveness analysis of Roma assistant policy in Slovenia is an example of how indicators of effectiveness (e.g., enrolments in secondary schools, dropout rates, etc.) can be related to cost figures. At this stage, even if with the data at our disposal a full-fledged comparison between policies is still not possible, this does not mean that nothing can be said as to the goals achieved by inclusion policies under NAPs or other similar national programmes. It is clear that some policies have had some positive effects, although sometimes it is not easy to distinguish the relative magnitude of each specific effect. Qualitative reports, focus groups conclusions and data gathered in surveys confirm that policies such as Roma assistants or preparatory classes have had some general positive impacts, even if it is sometimes very difficult to associate cost figures to them. Although often we cannot gauge and quantify changes that have occurred in the level of indicators (for example, an increase of X% in school participation, etc.), at least we have an idea of the direction of these changes, that is, whether or not the situation has improved in general or not. Yet, if in the case of Roma assistants in Slovenia as well as in the Czech Republic an overall improvement has been reported, in the Swedish case, preliminary results suggest that policies adopted to reduce the difference in educational performances between Swedish-born and foreign-born students have not been effective.

Moving to a different level of analysis, another interesting conclusion that has emerged from the comparison between policies is that in order for a policy to have positive results, it first needs to influence those contextual elements that are acknowledged to be important in the creation of a more favourable framework for integration.

More specifically, in order to create a positive environment for the implementation of policies, three 'desirable conditions' have to be met. First, the attitudes of the minority should be positively influenced with respect to policy interventions. It has been reported sometimes that the Roma themselves are the fiercest opponents of social inclusion programmes. Hence, particular attention has to be paid to the interplay between the self-representations of the minority and the character of the policy proposed. For example, one of the strong points of the Roma assistants policy has been the active involvement of families in the programme. By involving families in the process, Roma assistants have contributed to create positive attitudes in the environment surrounding the implementation of school reform, thus avoiding possible tensions between the school and family spheres. Second, policies have to be prepared that explicitly take into account the attitudes of the majority. Hence, systematic work on the attitudes of majority has to be undertaken in parallel with the implementation of the inclusion programme. The presence of prejudices and stigmatization has been reported in almost all cases, and has been singled out as one of the main contextual elements that has to be explicitly included in policy design. In Slovakia, for example, a "large part of the majority population perceives the presence of the Roma in Slovakia as a burden, and this feeling is even more intense when they think of Roma being in their proximity. […] A large part of the majority population forms its attitude to the Roma under the influence of prejudices and stereotypes originating in ethnocentrism. The high degree of refusal and wide spread prejudices directly influence the behaviour of the Roma, who often just fulfill the idea of the majority population about them."[130] Finally, a third condition relates to the duration of policy interventions. Long-term vision is required to avoid short-term and small-scale activities. A long lasting intervention is a precondition to allow for well-structured and integrated programmes, and therefore to avoid *ad hoc* policies, the presence of which is quite often a symptom of lack of long term political commitment.[131]

Let us conclude this section with a few words about effectiveness. Assume that we can ascertain that a policy has been effective in a single domain, say education or the media, in the sense that we record a positive variation in the value of some indicators – or negative, if, for example, the goal is to decrease the drop-out rate of pupils at school. Assume also that we have a complete picture of the structure of costs. Does it mean that the analysis is complete? In other words, can we say that a policy that is effective in improving the education of Roma is enough to conclude that they are more socially included? This is probably not the case. As the Slovene report shows, "most children are quick to notice that their parents, despite completing primary, vocational or secondary school, do not get employment or get salaries lower than the social allowance for unemployed parents. […] On the other hand, economically successful Roma parents with businesses of their own very early introduce their children into family business. With them too, the story of rather 'unnecessary' education is repeated."[132] It follows that a 'higher level of social inclusion' can be attained if we observe simultaneous improvements in all the key areas related to inclusion. Hence, although there is no indicator for social inclusion as such but only different indicators for every relevant domain of analysis (i.e., education, participation, media, etc.), an overall 'indicator of effectiveness' of a set of policy measures such as a national plan could precisely be the capability of this plan to bring about simultaneous improvements in different domains, rather than some isolated improvements in only one or two domains. In other words, particular attention has to be paid to whether or not a national plan for social inclusion is designed and implemented in such a way that systemic effects and positive spill-over effects between policies are taken into account. Thus, the purpose of the next section will be to present the results achieved by the four Member States considered here in the other domains relevant for social inclusion, in particular employment.

5.2 The Media

The media are important conveyors of culture, models and ideas, and they spread representations of the community about the others and about itself. Important as it is, this channel to fight social exclusion remains under-exploited and unexplored. Surprisingly, in the four Member States considered in this section, no NAP/Incl. defines clear policy measures either to increase and improve the presence of minorities in the media or to enhance the visibility of the media belonging to the minorities. Moreover, no specific links between social inclusion and the media are made explicit. Let us see in turn how the current situation is in the four Member States examined.

[130] Vasecka, Sadovská and Vašečková,"Final Report Slovakia", op. cit., p.107.
[131] See for example, Horáková and Bareš, "Final Report the Czech Republic", op. cit., p.94.
[132] Žagar et al., "Final Report Slovenia", op. cit., p.109.

In Slovenia, the Roma community has some access to media (radio, TV or printed journals) but they are mainly local-based and of small size. As to the visibility of the minority in mainstreaming media, the current situation is not promising. It has been reported that "the Roma and especially new ethnic minorities are not included enough in the mass media and the cultural space as part of the Slovenian nation and there is evident existence of distance between majority populations and ethnic communities".[133] Unfortunately, no clear answers can be found in the NAP/Incl. about how to improve the access of minorities to the media and about how to increase the inclusion of minorities in mainstreaming media. The reason why there is not a well-defined policy for minorities and the media in Slovenia is that the relationship between participation in cultural activities – and therefore also the media – and decreases in social exclusion is not clearly stated in the Slovene NAP/Incl. The goals envisaged in the NAP/Incl. are rather vague, mainly based on a cultural rights approach, and no particular policy measure of priority task is defined in detail. What has been reported is that the long term objectives established in the NAP/Incl. to increase access to culture/media consist in increasing the financial support to cultural projects and to improve the access to funds to a larger number of ethnic minorities (diversification). It has been reported that the actions undertaken by the government to date have been consistent with these general objectives (see below).

In Sweden, the access of minorities to the media has decreased during the 1990s and is very weak in the 2000s. Moreover, contrary to the Slovene case, funding for initiatives related to minorities and the media are decreasing. In fact, "economic support is limited and demands for support are many. Local authorities rarely support ethnic minorities' associations and access to local radio programmes are usually accomplished through voluntary workers".[134] In the Czech NAP/Incl., the area of media "is not separately thematized, attention is paid only to the issue of e-inclusion of the population, development of the information society and its approximation to the disadvantaged population groups".[135] In 2006, the total amount of grants awarded in the programme of support of distribution and receipt of information in languages of the Roma was around €215.000. Nevertheless, no data are available as to what specific policies have been undertaken under the Czech NAP/Incl. to promote social inclusion through the media. Finally, no specific policy in the media domain has been reported in Slovakia but what has emerged is that the most important problem that a policy regarding media would have to face is to improve the depiction of the Roma in the media: "the relationship between majority population and Roma is not improving, it is more like the other way around. […] The media, perhaps even unconsciously - by presentation, content and ordering of headlines – create the negative perception of information."[136] In our opinion, the media have the potential to be an important tool to fight social inclusion. The media improve participation in society and increase access to knowledge but also promote understanding of other ethnic groups' cultures. On the other hand, the media can also play a positive role in changing the majority's attitudes vis-à-vis minorities. In Appendix B, different relevant indicators related to the media are described. For example, it would be particularly interesting to monitor the impact on majority attitudes to programmes about minorities in mainstreaming media.

5.3 Political Participation and Cultural Activities

Participation is a very broad domain that includes political participation and cultural activities. Access to culture improves people's ability to understand other cultures and thus enhances inter-cultural dialogue. Moreover, minority participation in civil society indicates the level of interest in the overall common culture of society and exhibits the feasibility of a common cultural identity. Important as it is, the domain of political participation and cultural activities is rarely the specific target of an integrated and systemic policy for social inclusion. In most cases, support for cultural activities reflects a 'museum' approach, in the sense that policies in this domain are designed and implemented by and for the minority themselves, almost without any contact with mainstreaming society. On the other hand, political participation is never at the top of the agenda in NAPs/Incl.

[133] Ibid, p.153.
[134] Hetzler, Persson and Lundin, "Final Report Sweden", op. cit., p.51.
[135] Horáková and Bareš, "Final Report the Czech Republic", op. cit., p.59.
[136] Vasecka, Sadovská and Vašečková, "Final Report Slovakia", op. cit., pp.114-115.

In the Swedish NAP/Incl., the domain of political inclusion is seen as highly important but very little is said as to how specific measures should be adopted to increase participation. Political participation is regarded as dependent on other measures to promote social inclusion and, thus, it is not the object of direct attention for policy makers. Trends in political participation in Sweden give us a mixed picture and no clear conclusions can be drawn. From 1982 to 2002, the percentage of non-Swedish born elected at all three levels of government (parliament, county congress and city council) has increased significantly, but also the percentage of non-Swedish born people living in Sweden has increased in the same period. However, non-Swedish born citizens remain underrepresented. In 2002, for example, the members of parliament with a non-Swedish background were underrepresented with respect to the percentage of the non-Swedish born population. Unfortunately, the degree of under-representation cannot be assessed. Let us turn now to participation in elections. Also in this case, no clear trend emerges. The difference in the participation rates between Swedish-born citizens and non-Swedish born citizens were 13% in 1998 and 16% in 2002. This data could be interpreted as the fact that "failure to exercise their right to vote is a vote in itself. It is a voice that cries out that they in fact experience themselves as excluded."[137] Hence, even if the gap between the two groups has increased, this does not mean that non-Swedish born citizens are less interested in political life. Finally, more interesting data emerge from the observation of the rates of participation in political parties. From 1981 to 2004, no major differences can be remarked between Swedish-born citizens and non-Swedish born citizens. In both cases, the participation rates are rather similar in absolute terms and follow the same historical trend. In the Slovak Republic, the participation of the Roma in political life is extremely weak but nonetheless no specific measure has been undertaken to change this situation. What can be noted, however, is an increase in the interest of Slovak political parties in finding concrete initiatives to support the Roma. With respect to this, observers have noted that "solutions to the problems of the Roma were only a fringe topic in the election platforms of parties that won over 5% support in elections and thus qualified for seats in parliament. However, the positive trend started in the 1998 elections continued and political parties gradually abandoned their general declarations on the need to solve the problems of the Roma in favour of more concrete measures."[138] In any case, it is still too early to say whether or not some concrete measures will be adopted in favour of the participation of the Roma. In the Czech Republic, we observe a similar picture. The participation of the Roma is low but no clear policies have been adopted to change the present situation. Yet, these policies would be urgently needed, as the participation of the Roma in the elections remains extremely low and there is no member of parliament who belongs to the Roma community. Following the example of Slovenia, one interesting initiative could be to allocate special rights of political participation to the Roma. From 2002, in the 20 municipalities where the Roma are historically settled, the Roma enjoy the right of at least one representative in the municipal council.[139]

Let us now turn briefly to cultural associations and cultural life. In 2003, 381 Roma cultural associations were registered in the Czech Republic but many of them do not really exist, since they had just a one-off purpose. Typically, these associations are supported by public funds and their main activities focus on children, youth and the maintenance of traditional Roma culture. In 2006, more than €8,000 was allocated by the state for projects carried out by Roma associations in the area of culture. The issue of cultural associations is not tackled in the Czech NAP/Incl. and no explicit link is made between cultural activities and social inclusion. In general, the Czech NAP/Incl. has little concern with relation to cultural policy, mainly because the Ministry of culture did not participate in the NAPs.[140] In Slovenia, Roma cultural associations are mainly founded by themselves or by donations and the contributions of the Ministry of Culture are very limited. It is worth noting, however, that "more attention is being paid to the preservation of the cultures of ethnic minorities than to their integration into the mainstream cultural space. It is therefore questionable how much the governmental support for the cultural activities of the ethnic minorities contributes to the improved social inclusion of these groups."[141] Probably this is the same approach adopted both in the Czech Republic and in Slovakia, and this helps to explain why so

[137] Hetzler, Persson and Lundin, "Final Report Sweden", op. cit., p.57.
[138] Vasecka, Sadovská and Vašečková,"Final Report Slovakia", op. cit., p.119.
[139] Žagar et al., "Final Report Slovenia", op. cit., p.37.
[140] Nevertheless, this does not mean that there are no cultural policies in which, to some extent, culture is seen as a positive factor in the fight against social inclusion, but no specific project has been quoted and assessed in the country report.
[141] Žagar et al., "Final Report Slovenia", op. cit., p. 147.

little attention is paid in NAPs/Incl. to the cultural activities of the Roma. As we have seen in Section 2.2, no specific programmes have been planned in Slovenia to increase the cultural participation of the Roma but some positive trends can be pointed out. The total amounts allocated by the Ministry of Culture within special programmes for minority communities' culture dedicated to the culture of Roma and other minority communities and immigrants display a positive trend (Table 10), which remains also if figures are expressed in real terms.

Table 10 - Total Amounts Allocated by the Ministry of Culture Within the Special Programme for Minority Communities' Culture Dedicated to the Culture of Roma and Other Minority Communities and Immigrants (excluding Italian and Hungarian national communities)(Euro)

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007 (plan)
Roma	46,125	41,915	44,240	52,587	57,031	93,656	81,423	83,376
Other ethnic minorities and immigrants	42,512	41,210	84,637	76,000	82,459	174,737	193,143	197,780

Source: Ministry of Culture, June 2006, quoted in Žagar et al., "Final Report Slovenia", op. cit., p. 166.

Other resources should be added to these figures from other projects for minority communities within the integration programme. Second, it has been reported that an increasing number of cultural associations have had access to the funds of the Ministry of Culture and therefore the content of the cultural supply is becoming more ethnically diverse. In addition, we observed an increase in the number of projects presenting minority cultures both in Slovenia and abroad, and this contributes to increasing the accessibility of information on the cultural activities of the minority communities. In this sense, we have observed an overall positive variation of different group of inter-cultural indicators, such as ethnic participation in cultural activities and ethnic minority interest in civil society (see Appendix B). However, more efforts should be put on the specification of goals, on the clarification of the links between participation in social activities and social inclusion, and finally on data gathering about costs. Finally, many actors complain that financial means remain insufficient.

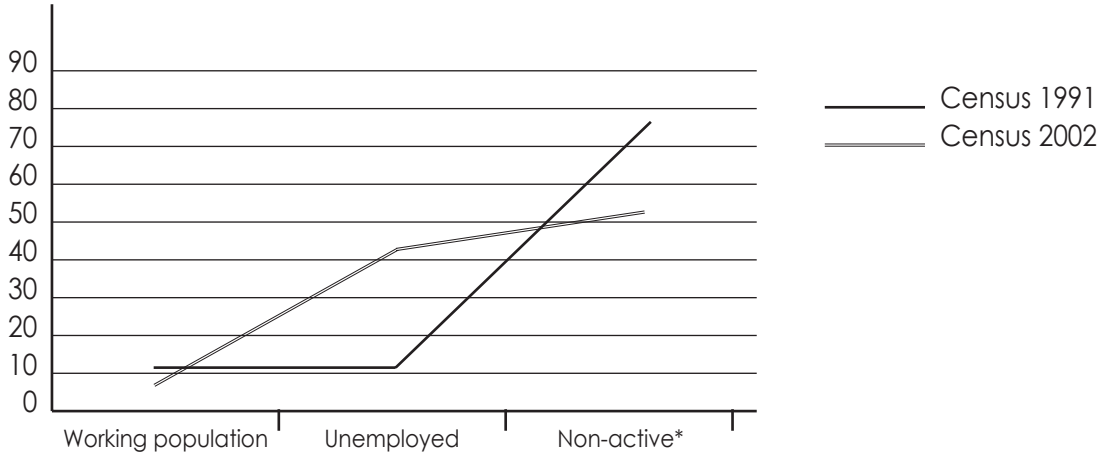
5.4 Employment

Employment is a key dimension of social inclusion in all of the Member States considered, including also Estonia and Latvia. The particular perspective adopted in our research stresses the cultural approach to employment rather than employment as such. In particular, we observe that cultural approaches to employment usually are related to education. Two different trends have to be noted. In Slovenia and in Slovakia, for example, cultural policies aimed at increasing the job prospects of Roma have taken the form of vocational education and training. On the other hand, in the Baltic States, as we will see later, strong emphasis is put on language policy and on bilingual education in particular, as fluency in the national languages is seen as the key to the job market. In Sweden, to a certain extent, we have observed a similar pattern.

The situation of the Roma in the labour market in Slovakia is characterized by a high level of marginalization and long-term unemployment. After the collapse of the communist regime, the situation has not improved but, on the contrary, worsened. According to some figures collected by the United Nations in 2001, 67.7% of Roma were unemployed. No official figures are available from the Slovak Ministry of Work and from the National Labour Bureau, due to the fact that data collection of job applications according to the ethnic group of applicants was stopped in 1998. The Slovak NAP/Incl. envisages some forms of policy intervention to reduce unemployment based on cultural policies, in particular through training. For example, €4.3 million has been allocated with the general goal of increasing the employability of young people through labour market training and retraining, and €11.3 million has been allocated to measures for increasing the degree of education and qualification of the unemployed according to the needs of the labour market. Nevertheless, no information is available with relation to what specific measures have been undertaken and what the effect achieved has been.

Also in Slovenia, the position of the Roma in the labour market is marginal. It is estimated that between 85% and 90% of Roma are unemployed and receiving social assistance from the state. Together with discrimination and with the fact that Roma usually are set in the more disadvantaged regions in the country, poor education is one of the main reasons behind the low employment rate of Roma. The situation has worsened in the last decade, due to the bankruptcy of several large companies (Figure 5).

Figure 5 - Comparison of the Activity Status Among Inhabitants Ethnically Declared as Roma in the 1991 and 2002 Population Censuses



Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Population census 1991, Population Census 2002, quoted in Žagar et al., "Final Report Slovenia", op. cit., p. 113.

The Slovene NAP/Incl. 2004-2006 includes some measures to improve the employment position of Roma. The two overarching objectives of the Slovene set of measures are: reducing the number of unemployed Roma and increasing their employment perspectives but no more detailed objectives are defined. The policy measures that have been envisaged for these purposes are: the inclusion of young unemployed Roma in primary and vocational schools, the inclusion of adult Roma in programmes of subsidized jobs, the creation of public works and the employment of Roma advisers at employment service offices (see Part III, Figure 7).[142] In general, these measures have had some positive effects but lack of data does not allow for a detailed analysis. In fact, "many data relevant for an all-comprising analysis and evaluation of the anticipated measures' effectiveness are inaccessible. There are several reasons for this. In some cases, data are not even gathered, in others they are not collected according to ethnic adherence, or are not collected continuously. Sometimes only partial data for certain regions, municipalities or local programs are available."[143] Nevertheless, we believe that it is useful to review the essential features of two of these policies, which in our opinion are the more interesting, and draw some general conclusions.

The first measure – inclusion of young unemployed Roma in primary and vocational schools – is a good example of a cultural approach to employment. Young unemployed people with a specific ethnic background are the target of an educational policy that aims to increase the employment possibilities of the learners. Empirical data show that the number of Roma participants in these schools is increasing but, on the other hand, very few data are available regarding the outputs and the outcomes of this policy. It has been reported that in certain regions 80% of the participants are successful, while this percentage drops to 50% in other regions. However, it is not clear whether data about the participants who do not complete the programme include those who have found a job in the meantime. In any case, this is not the main point. The final goal of this policy, that is, its outcome, is not to provide better education in itself – although a better education is always progress – but to increase the job opportunities of participants. The true effectiveness of this policy, therefore, should be

[142] Notice that, besides the NAP measures, since January 2006 "Roma are included into the general programmes of the Active Employment Policy (AEP). The AEP represents the fundamental instrument with which the state attempts to promote the inclusion of population in employment." See Žagaret al., "Final Report Slovenia",op. cit., p. 118. However, for reasons of space, we disregard these measures, which, in any case, at the time of writing are still at a preliminary stage.

[143] Ibid.130.

measured in terms of job opportunity creation. Very little is known as to the final results but experience shows that it is still very difficult for participants to find a job after completion of the programme. Among the reasons quoted to explain the current situation the most important is the lack of long-term vision. In fact, "the financing of educational programmes lacks systematic regulation, which means there are no permanently guaranteed means for the preparation and implementation of programs and projects."[144] Second, little is done to positively influence the attitudes of the majority and more efforts should be made to reduce ethnic discrimination in the job market and to prevent and eliminate prejudice on the part of the majority *vis-à-vis* Roma job seekers. In sum, two of the three 'desirable conditions' discussed above have not been met in the implementation of this policy.

The policy called 'creation of public works' is also interesting for discussion. The general goal of pubic works is to increase the employment possibilities for unemployed people, for example, by giving them temporary professional experience and helping them in the development or preservation of their working abilities. The ultimate outcome of this policy, therefore, is to raise the employment rate among participants. In 2003, 20 local programmes of public works have been carried out and 39% of the employed persons were Roma. In 2004, 37 local programmes were dedicated in particular to Roma (75% of all participants). In 2005, €350,617 was allocated for social work programmes focused on Roma. It is too early to assess whether the public works programmes will have a durable impact on the employment situation of the participants but two main points have to be mentioned. First, sometimes the financial stimulation offered to participants is not sufficient to significantly outweigh the benefits from standard social assistance aids. This reduces the incentive to take part in the programme and thus weakens the impact of the project. Besides, participants need to perceive that the benefits of the programme are long lasting. In other words, if a policy has a short term, this will translate into a major shortcoming, as it "does not make it possible for this person or the employer to continue with the work, even though mutual wishes and needs exist. Such a situation can be very de-stimulating for an unemployed person, as next time it will be difficult to actively and enthusiastically participate in another active employment policy programme without any long-term benefits in sight."[145] Fortunately, short term projects are not the general rule in the case of public works programmes. One of the forms of public works policy adopted in Slovenia is the employment of Roma assistants, within the framework of the pilot project discussed extensively before. This is an interesting case of multi-dimensional inclusion policy, in which systemic effects and spillover effects are taken into account. The final goal of this policy is to increase the school efficiency of pupils and, as we have seen, this result has been achieved. On the other hand, this form of public work has turned out to be a useful experience also for Roma assistants themselves. First, they receive a salary for their assistantship and they do obtain professional experience in the domain of education. Second, they actively contribute to the integration of other Roma. However, these multi-dimensional benefits could disappear if the investments in Roma assistants were not permanent and the temporary public works experience did not translate into a legally recognized stable profession.

[144] Ibid.
[145] Ibid.,140.

Chapter 6 – SOCIAL INCLUSION OF MINORITIES IN ESTONIA AND LATVIA

In this section, we shall examine the NAPs/Incl. of Estonia and Latvia. Both countries face similar challenges, among others, the reorganization of their education systems after independence, the legitimate reassertion and promotion of national identity and culture, and the management of large Russian-speaking minorities. The approach toward social inclusion followed in these two Member States is very similar, as strong emphasis is put on employment and proficiency in national languages is regarded as the necessary condition for better access to the job market. Both in Estonia and in Latvia, educational reforms have been adopted in recent years to increase the knowledge and the position of national languages in society, as well as among minority groups. The results of these reforms are still not available but the trend seems to be encouraging. On the other hand, perhaps more attention should be paid to the way in which policies currently carried out have influenced and influence the attitudes of the actors involved.

6.1 Social Exclusion and Language Policy

In Estonian documents on social inclusion policies, social exclusion is defined primarily with respect to the employment situation of a person. Hence, a good starting point to understand Estonian inclusion policies is to observe the economic and demographic trends in the country. From 2000 to 2005, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Estonia has increased steadily, at a rate between 7.1% and 10.5%. During the same period, the unemployment rate has decreased from 12.8% to 7.9%.[146] The general overall economic outlook of the country is promising. Why then does employment remain the main focus of the Estonian NAP/Incl.? First, noticeable differences in unemployment rates and average per capita income persist among ethnicities. In particular, non-ethnic Estonians are over represented among unemployed people. In 2004, for example, while 31% of the population in Estonia belonged to an ethnic group other than the Estonian one, 41% of the unemployed people were non-ethnic Estonian. Differences among ethnic groups exist also with respect to levels of average income. It has been brought to light that "the average income of Russians and other non-Estonians is slightly lower compared to ethnic Estonians".[147]

The second reason that explains why the Estonian NAP/Incl. focuses on employment relates to labour force dynamics. Let us first recall the ethnic composition in Estonia (Table 11):

Table 11 - Largest Ethnic Groups Estonia 1934 - 2000 (%)

Ethnic group	1934	1989	2000
Estonian	88.0	61.5	67.9
Russian	8.2	30.3	25.6
German	1.5	0.2	0.1
Swedish	0.7	-	-
Ukrainian	-	3.1	2.1
Belorussian	-	1.8	1.3
Total (number)	1,126,413	1,565,662	1,370,052

Source: Census, quoted in Aksel Kirch, Tarmo Tuisk and Mait Talts, "Final Report Estonia", ECMI Working Paper #30, October 2006, p,13.

Low demographic growth and migration of the labour force to Western Europe represent serious challenges to the economic growth of the country. The inclusion of unemployed people into the labour market is therefore necessary to compensate the shortage in the labour force. In other words, there are still some internal labour resources that can be exploited. These resources are concentrated in some particular regions in the northeast and southeast of the country, populated mainly by Russian-speaking non-ethnic Estonians. Poor knowledge of the Estonian language (and not lack of skills) is often quoted as being the main reason explaining these regional differences. For example, a survey of the situation of unemployed youth in the Tallinn and Jõhvi regions

[146] See Eurostat.

[147] Kirch, Tuisk and Talts, "Final Report Estonia", op. cit., p. 12.

concluded that "there is no significant difference in the level of educational potential among majority and minority nationalities, but, at the same time the indicators of linguistic competence differ, which determines career prospects at large and regional differences are clearly noticeable".[148]

Therefore, the accent of inclusion policy is put on the development of linguistic skills in Estonian for persons belonging to national minorities. In this sense, teaching Estonian is seen to be the key to social inclusion and therefore language policy plays a crucial role in the development of an educational policy aimed at increasing social inclusion.

A similar picture can be observed in Latvia. The situation of minorities – and of the Russian-speaking minority in particular – is similar to that of Estonia, although ethnic diversity is higher in Latvia (Table 12).

Table 12 - Ethnic Composition of Latvia's Population 1935 - 2003

	1935	1959	1979	1989	1993	2003
Latvians	77.0	62.0	53.7	52.0	53.5	58.5
Russians	8.8	26.6	32.8	34.0	33.5	29.0
Byelorussians	1.4	2.9	4.5	4.5	4.2	3.9
Ukrainians	0.1	1.4	2.7	3.5	3.2	2.6
Poles	2.5	2.9	2.5	2.3	2.2	2.5
Lithuanians	1.2	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.4
Jews	4.9	1.7	1.1	0.9	0.6	0.4
Gypsies	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.4
Estonians	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
Germans	3.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2
Others	0.2	0.5	0.8	1.0	1.0	1.0

Source : Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia 2002, quoted in Brigitta Zepa, Ilze Lāce, Evija Kļave and Inese Šūpule,"Final Report Latvia", ECMI Working Paper #31, October 2006, p.12.

Latvia has experienced a strong economic development from 2000 to 2005, with an average annual rate of growth of GDP of around 7.9% in real terms, and the unemployment rate has decreased from 16.4% in 2000 to 8.9% in 2005.[149] Also in Latvia, employment and participation in the labour market play a crucial role in the definition of social inclusion. Although "there are no substantial differences in poverty and social exclusion indicators between Latvians and non-Latvians, except for a very small minority of Roma",[150] some differences in employment rates still exist among different ethnic groups. In 2002, for example, there were "50.8% of unemployed persons of Latvian ethnicity in the total number of unemployed, 35.4% of Russian origin and 13.8% represented other ethnicities",[151] which denotes a slight overrepresentation of unemployed people of ethnicities other than Latvian. Poor knowledge of the Latvian language is seen as the major factor in explaining different patterns in employment rates among ethnic groups.

6.2 Policy Analysis

As we showed in the previous section, both in Estonia and in Latvia, educational policies, and language policies, in particular, are regarded as the key for the promotion of social inclusion. The 'Integration in Estonian Society 2000-2007' programme is the framework educational policy for minorities in Estonia. The programme is articulated in four sub-programmes ('education'; 'the education and culture of ethnic minorities'; 'the teaching of Estonian to adults'; and 'social competence'). Unfortunately, no specific data have been collected as to the implementation of these sub-programmes, except for expenditures for language courses between 2000 and 2005, which shows a fluctuating trend.[152] Particularly interesting is the bilingual education programme (Estonian-Russian) started in four schools in 2000 on the basis of the Canadian experience (134 pupils in total).

[148] Kirch, Tuisk and Talts, "Final Report Estonia", op. cit., p.26.
[149] Eurostat.
[150] Zepa et al., "Final Report Latvia", op. cit., p.19.
[151] Ibid., p.18.
[152] Kirch, Tuisk and Talts, "Final Report Estonia", op. cit., p. 43.

Today, more than 2,500 pupils attend such a programme but the first data about the results achieved will be available only at the end of 2007. The advantage of the bilingual programme is that, together with the development of skills in Estonian, it allows for the maintenance of the linguistic and cultural heritage of Russian-speaking children. Some preliminary results are promising, as "a comparison of grade seven subject area test results with those of the control groups demonstrated expected trends. Immersion students were learning at the same rate in Russian-language arts and mathematics as the students in the control groups."[153] Very little is known as to the costs of these programmes. We know that in 2005-2006, around €3.9 millions has been spent on language immersion programmes but, because of a lack of data, nothing more can be said for the moment. Census data show that the knowledge of Estonian among Russian-speakers is increasing. Yet, with the information at our disposal (Table 12), it is not possible to evaluate to what extent educational policy outcomes explain this improvement, as nothing is said about the role played by other factors, such as the media.

Table 13 - Knowledge of the Estonian Language by Different Sociological Studies (%)

	Russians in Dec. 2002 (Population sample)	Russians in Jan 2005 (Population sample)	Russians in May 2006 (group of 17-26 years old unemployed people)
Active knowledge	29	42	46
Passive knowledge	59	33	23
Don't know Estonian	13	25	32

Source: Kirch, Tuisk and Talts, "Final Report Estonia", op. cit., p. 46.

In Latvia, the issue of how to improve the integration of ethnic minorities through cultural and linguistic policies is tackled in a specific programme called 'Society Integration in Latvia' (2001-2006). Language policy, in particular, plays a very important role within this framework and strong emphasis is put on the reinforcement of Latvian as an official language in all of the most important domains of society. In Latvia, the reform of the educational system started in the 1999/2000 school year with a preparatory phase that lasted until 2003. Four different models of bilingual education have been designed and implemented by the Ministry of Education and in all of them the strengthening of Latvian plays a central role.[154]

Assignments for additional payments for teachers of Latvian and of subjects in Latvian in minority education establishments have increased steadily from 1999 to 2006 (+167%). In 2006, for instance, the total amount of additional resources allocated to payments of teacher was €1,446,456. Moreover, more than a dozen million euros have been spent from 1996 to 2006 for the National Latvian Language Training Programme (National Latvian Language Training Agency since 2004), whose main goal has been to "elaborate manuals for minority education programmes, provide professional training courses for teachers in teaching in Latvian and bilingually, as well as Latvian language courses for the teachers and other professional groups".[155] In any case, no data are available as to how all amounts of money have been actually spent by different institutions, nor is it possible to derive any particular cost figures from them. For example, it would be interesting to have at least data for some specific schools where pilot programmes were carried out, so as to have at least some order of magnitude. It would also be interesting to compare the costs of the four different models with results achieved by each of them. Finally, it would be useful to compare resources used for bilingual programmes with monolingual education.

Very little is known also as to the outcomes of bilingual programmes. The main reason is that preliminary results will be published during 2007 and, in any case, a complete assessment will not be possible before 2009, once the first generation of students will have graduated at the secondary level of education. Moreover, from the standpoint of the evaluator, it is also worrying that in general "no evaluation indicators are defined by the policy makers"[156] We shall come back to this point later. The only data we have refer to language skills in the young population collected by general public surveys (Table 13).

[153] Ibid., p.45.
[154] See, Zepa et al., "Final Report Latvia", op. cit., p. 32-34.
[155] Ibid., p.43.
[156] Ibid., p.46.

Table 14 - Knowledge of Latvian among Non-Latvian Youth (with Native Language other than Latvian, Aged 15-24, by Own Representation).

	Does not know the language or knows on the lowest level(%)	Good knowledge of Latvian (intermediate or highest level)(%)	*Number of respondents aged 15-24 in sample*
1999 II-III	54	46	*148*
2000 IV-V	44	65	*143*
2001 XII – 2002 I	40	60	*165*
2002 XII – 2003 I	35	65	*151*
2003 X- XII	30	70	*114*
2004 XI-XII	28	72	*144*
2006 II-IV	25	75	*315*

Source: Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia 2002, quoted in Zepa et al., "Final Report Latvia", op. cit., p. 49.

Useful as they are – at least to point out some basic trends – these data are too general to be employed for specific assessment. In particular, it is not possible to isolate the effect on the improvements in language skills entailed by education itself from that entailed by exposure to the media. Second, some of the people included in the sample finished their education before the reform was started, and thus they have not been affected by bilingual education. Besides, data on linguistic skills based on self-declarations run the serious risk of being biased and are therefore unreliable.

6.3 Discussion

What emerges from the previous section is that very little can be said at the moment on the effectiveness and cost-effectiveness of bilingual education programmes in Estonia and Latvia. Nevertheless, this evaluation is needed and hopefully the collection of more data in the next couple of years will make it possible to make more reliable assessments. On the other hand, let us recall that reforms of educational systems in the two Member States considered have started recently – between 5 and 10 years ago. As the educational systems are structurally slow to respond to changes and reforms, it would be unrealistic to expect radical changes in so short a period of time. This does not mean that it is not possible to partially assess educational reforms in the two Member States. Reforms can be carried out in an atmosphere of trust and consensus or, on the contrary, they can be dictated. Differences in the way in which reforms are presented and implemented have repercussions on the final attitudes of actors and therefore on their behaviour. As we discussed in Section 2, attitudes play a crucial role in creating a favourable framework for the inclusion policies to be successful. The question, therefore, is what the attitudes of minority communities are vis-à-vis educational reforms in the two Member States considered. The result of the comparison between the two Member States gives us a mixed picture. For example, according to an interview with Estonian-speaking and Russian-speaking students carried out in Estonia in 2006, many Russian-speaking students claim that "ethnic differentiation takes place in Estonia and the main factor of this process is the special status of Estonian language as of national language".[157] In this sense, language policy seems to be perceived by these youngsters as a possible source of exclusion rather than a simple help for inclusion in mainstreaming society. We shall return to this point later. It is also worth noting that, according to the results of the interview just reported, "most of the Russian-speaking students who participated in the interviews believe career possibilities are decent and their opinions about gaining higher education in Estonia are pessimistic",[158] These declarations denote that perhaps one of the points of weakness in policy design was that not enough attention was paid in influencing positively the attitudes of the minority toward

[157] Kirch, Tuisk and Talts, "Final Report Estonia", op. cit., p.24.
[158] Ibid., p.24.

We observe a similar pattern also in Latvia, although the situation is less clear cut. It has been reported "that students and teachers have a positive attitude toward bilingual education, believing that it represents a compromise in terms of minority education reforms".[159] However, "dominant attitudes about the shift toward a system in which most classes are taught in Latvian, however, were negative. During the latter phase of education reform implementation, negative attitudes among target groups, particularly students, have been exacerbated."[160] Finally, according to some experts, the reform has been set up in a hurry, without clear criteria and mechanism for evaluation.[161]

In sum, more attention should be paid in both countries to the political atmosphere in which reforms are carried out and more efforts should be undertaken to promote positive attitudes toward educational reform. A precondition to do this is to clearly define and specify the nature of the reasons underlying language policy in both countries. Both Latvia and Estonia felt the need to promote their national languages in all domains of civil society after the collapse of the Soviet Union. It is not our purpose here to get embroiled in sensitive political issues or enter into thorny historical questions. What is relevant from the standpoint of the analyst is just whether or not the policy measures undertaken are consistent with the goals pursued. In this sense, a proper evaluation of language policy in the two Baltic States under examination should be structured as follows. First, it should be clearly defined what the situation was before the introduction of language laws. The context should be characterized in terms of different indicators and variables. What was the position of minorities before the introduction of the new language order? Were they already excluded? In terms of what specific indicators was exclusion defined? As to the Russian-speaking minority, for example, it would be very important to know exactly what it was possible to do in Russian in Estonia or Latvia, that is, what level of inclusion could be achieved at that time without a good knowledge of Estonia or Latvian. Second, the analyst should carefully describe, using the same set of indicators, the situation after independence and after the issuing of language laws. Thus, the two situations could be compared. For example, it would be interesting to know what exactly a member of the Russian-speaking in community in Latvia or Estonia can do today if she has a poor knowledge of the national language. Consequently, one can check whether some major differences between the present and the past situation can be observed as to the level of social inclusion achieved by minorities. If no major differences can be observed between the two situations, this implies that changes in the overall national language policy have been neutral as regards social inclusion.[162] For example, it is likely that the two national language policies will not have changed substantially the degree of social inclusion/exclusion of the Roma. On the contrary, if we observe a negative trend in the degree of social inclusion of minorities, we should address the question of how much this is due to the reform and how much to other factors. Thus, if a gap that didn't exist before has been created in the meanwhile, the final step is to understand how it can be filled and whether the educational policies presently adopted are effective in achieving the expected results or not. In both cases, unfortunately, no data exist at present to allow for such analyses. Nevertheless, detailed data collection is necessary for the design and the assessment of policies. It would be interesting to know, for example, what is the minimum level of proficiency in Latvian (or Estonian) that is needed to be 'included' or what additional job opportunities exist for those Latvians (or Estonians) who are fluent in Russian.

[159] Zepa et al., "Final Report Latvia", op. cit., p.39.
[160] Ibid.
[161] See, in particular, ibid., pp.51 and 74.
[162] Clearly, it is also necessary to consider other relevant factors, so as to isolate (at least roughly) non-language-related reforms.

Chapter 7 – FINAL REMARKS COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

The presentation and the discussion of the policies adopted in the six Member States showed that the evaluation of public policies in such an intricate context as social inclusion is extremely complex. Nonetheless, we have also stressed the fact that assessment not only is useful but is also necessary. Evaluation techniques, such as cost-effectiveness analysis, are extremely helpful in decision making, as they provide technical criteria to choose what particular alternative is the most efficient use of society's resources. Clearly, technical rationality is just one of the possible approaches to compare policy alternatives and it is never intended to substitute for democratic political debate. However, it represents a contribution to make the debate more informed and therefore more transparent. Cost-effectiveness analysis can provide useful inputs to the discussion but some preliminary conditions have to be met. First, objectives have to be clearly stated and be explicit. As we have seen, one of the major shortcomings of the NAPs/Incl. is that in many cases goals are vague and not well defined. We are not claiming that goals have to be specified from the beginning; it is perfectly possible to provide a set of general goals as a preliminary step toward more detailed objectives but the latter have to be made explicit at some stage. Sometimes goals are not clearly defined because of lack of precision, but in some cases vagueness can also reflect a low concern for the issue at hand. A second major problem is the dearth of data. Again, we do not want to enter into the endless discussion as to whether collection of data disaggregated for ethnic groups is legitimate. We simply observe that some kind of empirical findings are needed if we really want to make assessment possible. We have suggested that at least some forms of data collection could be allowed in the case of pilot or experimental programmes, just to have some feedback for further discussion and policy design. Also, data about costs should be refined. Sometimes we only have only multi-annual and very general budgetary figures.

The case of the Roma assistants policy in Slovenia has been used to provide an example of how cost-effectiveness analysis can be carried out and what insights it can provide. Although it is partial and incomplete, this example shows us that cost-effectiveness analysis for cultural policy is feasible. Nevertheless, the main purpose of cost-effectiveness analysis is not to compute cost-effectiveness ratios as such but to provide criteria for comparison. In other words, if no particular alternative is compared with the policy under examination, cost-effectiveness analysis loses power. However, we have also stressed that there is a strong potential for more detailed comparative studies, as in many cases the policies adopted are very similar and therefore it would be relatively easy to populate common indicators. For this purpose, Appendix B provides a set of useful indicators, not only for education, that could become a stepping-stone for further research. Also, in the case of Latvia, a comparison between different models of bilingual education would be extremely interesting, when preliminary results are published.

Apart from the hard data reported, also circumstantial analysis based on qualitative reports and focus groups research has provided several inputs for our discussion. It has been reported that the educational policies aimed at increasing the social inclusion of the Roma in Slovenia and in the Czech Republic have had some positive effects, both in terms of general educational performance of pupils and/or youngsters and in terms of the attitudes of the Roma themselves, as well as of the majority. No clear-cut conclusion has emerged in the case of Slovakia, where the situation of the Roma is still very difficult from different points of view. On the other hand, educational policies in Sweden, in particular at the compulsory school level, do not seem to have been effective in reducing differences between ethnic groups. The domain of the media remains rather unexplored in the NAPs/Incl. and more efforts should be made to exploit the potential of the media, particularly in influencing the attitudes of the majority. As to political participation and cultural activities, it has to be noted that quite often no specific policies were planned in the NAPs/Incl. A positive trend, however, has emerged from Slovenia, where the resources allocated to the cultural initiatives of minorities have increased and where the content of the cultural services provided by minorities is becoming more ethnically diversified. Also, cultural policies in the domain of employment have produced some interesting results, as is shown in the case of the public works programme for Roma assistants. In the two Baltic states, policies for social inclusion relate mostly to the domain of education. Strong emphasis is put on language policy, in particular on the teaching of Estonian and Latvian. Differences of proficiency in the two national languages, rather than disparity in the level of education

achieved, are regarded as the most important factor explaining inequality of outcomes in the job market. Unfortunately, the education reforms have started too recently to provide any reliable results inferences the results achieved.

From the discussion of different policy measures adopted, it has also emerged that three general conditions have to be considered as highly desirable to increase the possibility for a policy to be more effective and hence to raise its probability of success. The first is the necessity to work on the attitudes of the members of the minority in order to create a favourable environment for policy interventions. This idea was taken into consideration in the Roma assistants policy, as it directly involved in the education programme not only pupils but also their families. On the other hand, in the case of the Baltic states, more could be done to improve the level of popularity of the measures adopted. The second condition refers to the attitude of the majority. The attitudes of the majority have to be the target of specific policies. Alternatively, an explicit accompanying programme addressing the attitudes of the majority should be envisaged as a component of those policies directly aimed at the minority. For example, in the case of the Slovenian programme for primary and vocational schools for young unemployed Roma, the unfriendly attitude of the majority was one of the main reasons that explains the limited impact of this policy on the job market opportunities of the participants. In fact, even if the programme provided Roma youngsters with better training, it was still very difficult of them to find a job afterwards, in particular as a consequence of the persistence of prejudices. Taking majority attitudes into consideration also means that the majority has to accept the idea that a redistribution of resources between ethnic groups is necessary. After all, the investment of public resources via social policy is a particular form of redistribution of resources between groups. Finally, a third desirable condition is long-term political commitment. A positive aspect in the educational reforms in the Baltic states is that the political commitment is long lasting. On the other hand, very little is known as to the duration of the commitments in Slovenia, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. In the Czech case, for example, a lack of strategic vision is often mentioned as one of the flaws of the policies for inclusion.

We would like to conclude this section by recalling the need for a systemic and integrated overview of social inclusion policies. Isolated positive results in only one single domain will not be enough to improve the situation of ethnic minorities. In other words, the real 'effectiveness' of a set of policy measures is to promote simultaneous improvements in different domains, exploiting synergies between policies and spill over effects. As we have pointed out before, the Roma assistants policy is a good example of a measure that takes systemic effects into consideration.

Part III

COUNTRY STUDIES

Part III – COUNTRY STUDIES[163]

Chapter 8 – THE CZECH REPUBLIC

The Czech Republic has a low rate of poverty (8%), a decreasing unemployment rate and is a relatively homogenous country, 92% of whose population is ethnic Czech. The largest minorities are Moravian, Silesian and Slovak. There is an increasing immigrant population, who represented 4% of the Czech labour force in 2006. There is a sizeable Roma minority of 11,746, who face real or perceived vulnerability due to language, incompatible values and/or cultural patterns, situation of social exclusion and racism/xenophobia. Roma are the most vulnerable group in the Czech labour force.

Roma in the Czech Republic are at particular risk of social exclusion due to their low levels of education and employment. According to expert estimates, approximately 70% of the Roma are unemployed and 50% depend on social benefits. Around 60% do not complete elementary education, 29% complete only elementary education and 9.3% complete secondary or upper secondary education. Roma unemployment is five times higher than that of the majority in respective qualification groups. Roma adults generally have very low levels of education, qualifications and skills and face discrimination in the labour market (58% of Roma described discrimination as a very serious problem, 18% described it as a problem). Only 22.3% of the Roma population aged 15 or over have completed secondary or vocational education, compared with 67.3% as the national average. A main cause of this is the high rate of Roma dropping out of school, which by 2003 had dropped from 75–80% to a still high 44%. The most important cultural policies addressing the social exclusion of Roma are education policies, which take four main forms: preparatory classes; teaching assistants; support programmes for secondary and university students; and Support for Projects for the Integration of the Roma Community grant scheme.

In February 2006, the European Commission wrote the following about Estonia's NAP/Incl.:[164]

The Czech Republic continues to follow a multi-dimensional approach to social inclusion as set out in the NAP Inclusion 2004-2006. The objectives identified remain valid and are long-term; however, social inclusion could be further mainstreamed and better addressed at the regional and local levels. Nevertheless, there has been progress in several areas. A significant shift in emphasis towards proactive measures can be observed. The basic principle of the Czech strategy is that employment is the most important means to prevent or tackle poverty and thus, the main focus is on facilitating access to the labour market. Recently, new measures have been implemented or proposed to provide financial incentives for the transition from social benefits to work and for making work pay, but a comprehensive reform of the social benefits system, though drafted, has not been adopted yet. Facilitating access to social services and increasing their quality is addressed by the Bill on Social Services, which intends to introduce personal benefits – allowing persons with disabilities to choose between services – and set of compulsory quality standards.

Regarding the most vulnerable, some progress is evident especially at overall planning level. In relation to education, the so-called "special schools" attended especially by Roma children were dissolved and instead the conditions should be created within the primary schools to provide all pupils with education according to their needs. Moreover, the Czech Republic joined the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015 and drafted a NAP. The role of the ESF in promoting social inclusion has been growing and it should make an important contribution to specific groups (including the Roma and the homeless) and to improving the quality of social services through targeted grant schemes. To improve the situation of the most disadvantaged regions with over 14% unemployment an additional investment incentives programme, which also finances training, was introduced in June 2004. Although the Committee on Social Inclusion was set up in 2003, there has not been systematic follow-up of the NAP on Inclusion so far. However, recent initiatives such as the information project

[163] Many thanks to Ms. Kate Corenthal for her research support in preparing this part of the report.
[164] European Commission, "Annex to the Draft Joint Report on Social Protection and Social Inclusion – Country Profiles", 6800/06 ADD 1 of 28 February 2006, pp. 6-7.

"Stop Social Exclusion" and regional conferences of the "Forum on Social Inclusion" could help raise general awareness.

Challenges ahead:

• To support the implementation of social inclusion policies at regional and local level;
• To improve the situation of vulnerable groups (for example the Roma) and support disadvantaged regions;
• To encourage the creation and take-up of jobs for older workers so as to help balance financial sustainability and pension adequacy;
• To improve access to long-tem care services and to ensure general quality of health and long-term care services while promoting system efficiency.

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The Czech research team selected to review the Czech NAP/Incl. in terms of cultural policies related to education, media and social and political participation. Specific attention was paid to Roma exclusion, thus addressing the European Commission's second point above. The effectiveness of the education policies is discussed below; a cost-effectiveness analysis is included in Part II.

The final report of the Czech research describes the NAP/Incl. as follows :[165]

General Characteristics of NAP from the Point of View of Cultural Aspects

The relationship between cultural policies and social exclusion is not explicitly manifested in the NAP/Incl. This fact is determined to a great extent already by the overall orientation of the NAP/Incl., which places the greatest emphasis on the policy of employment and deals in particular with the economic aspects of social exclusion.

The NAP/Incl. does, however, deal with the issues of cultural aspects of social exclusion in connection with integration strategies and concepts (creation of a tolerant environment without prejudice, field social work in excluded Roma communities, presentation of cultures of national minorities, information on the languages of national minorities). The meaning of culture in the integration processes is apparent in good practice examples related to the integration of Roma people (field programmes, Roma Centre, Assistant to the Police of CR for Roma Citizens). The NAP/Incl. does not refer to any good practice examples in the area of integration of foreigners (the target group of the programme of integration of minorities mentioned by the document are Roma citizens). In relation to other minorities, only the main goals of integration policies are outlined. These also refer to some cultural aspects of integration, nevertheless they are considerably non-specific (the NAP/Incl. often refers only to other government documents, i.e., to the Concept of Roma Integration and the Concept of Integration of Foreigners on the Territory of the Czech Republic). Even in the case of Roma communities and immigrants, attention is concentrated very highly on overcoming the apparent manifestations of social exclusion – deprivation of aggravated access to resources in the economic sector, in the area of housing and education.

The NAP/Incl. mentions some approaches and good practices, which may contribute to a multicultural symbiosis or as applicable, which may improve the ability of the society to respond to the situation of minorities (liaison officer for minorities, inclusion of human rights, respect to minorities and their protection within the frame of professional ethics in the work of the Police of the Czech Republic, assistant to the Police of the Czech Republic for cooperation with the Roma community). However, these activities are not sufficiently established, as support for the common life of ethnic minorities has not been included among the NAP/Incl. priorities (not even as a separate priority or as an essential aspect of some of the already set priorities).

The NAP/Incl. deals with the issues of education, extracurricular education and programmes for the prevention of socially pathological phenomena. The relation of these to the cultural aspects of social exclusion is not reflected

[165] Horáková and Bareš,"Final Report the Czech Republic", op. cit., pp. 59-60.

in the text; nevertheless, a certain correlation with the aspects of the social exclusion could be expected there. *Three areas thus at least partially balance the overall concentration of the NAP/Incl. on economic aspects with cultural aspects.*

Social and Political Participation

The area of social and political participation is not thematized separately; however, certain aspects can be identified in the part dealing with access to resources, rights, goods and services in the part devoted to the prevention of social exclusion and prevention of socially negative phenomena and in the part devoted to helping the most jeopardized groups of the population. In both recently mentioned parts, attention is devoted to the issues of multicultural life. In other words, the actual issue of social and political participation in relation to ethnic minorities is not dealt with separately and only certain more general presumptions are observed, which may influence it substantially – employment, safety of ethnic minorities (racial crimes, usury), prevention of socially negative phenomena, housing, education or social environment without prejudice.

Education

In relation to the area of education, the NAP/Incl. also pays attention to the issue of the access of disadvantaged groups to education. This issue directly concerns ethnic minorities, which is also reflected in parts of the NAP/Incl. devoted to education (and repeatedly restated in the part dealing with the situation of Roma people). The issue of access to education is nevertheless dealt with only in close relation to the Roma community; in relation to immigrants, only the creation of foreign-language textbooks is mentioned.

Extracurricular education and further education are addressed only in relation to the general population. Even in this case, it is, however, possible to anticipate a disadvantaged access for certain groups of the population. This issue is not dealt with any further in the NAP/Incl., as the state may intervene here only to a limited extent (the implementation of these activities entails only the marginal involvement of the state, the main role is played here by non-profit organizations and the private sector).

Media

The media area is not separately thematized; attention is paid only to the issue of e-inclusion of the population, development of the information society and its approximation to disadvantaged population groups. Nevertheless, the meaning of media activities is still indicated in connection with the situation of ethnic minorities.

In the case of the Roma community, one of the goals of the NAP/Incl. is to create the conditions for the development of a tolerant environment without prejudice. These efforts include equalization procedures (targeted assistance, field work in excluded Roma communities) and some other institutional prerequisites (conditions and methods of awarding grants for activities of members of the national minorities and for support for the integration of the Roma community, which may include the presentation of the cultures of the national minorities, distribution and receipt of information in the languages of the national minorities, and education in the languages of the national minorities).

As far as immigrants are concerned, the NAP/Incl. mentions support for projects focused on improvement of awareness of foreigners and citizens, continuance and development of social and legal consulting for foreigners, support for education, language skills and other qualifications for foreigners, support for the employment of foreigners in the labour market, development of the cultural and religious life of foreigners, development of the relationships of foreigners and their communities with citizens, establishment and activities of non-state non-profit organizations and associations of foreigners, development and activities of community and multicultural centres, support for the prevention of intolerance of racism and discrimination of foreigners.

As to the specific attention to Roma policies, the Czech research team describes the design of Roma education policies as follows:[166]

General Objectives and Key Policies

In terms of educating the Roma, the aim of so-called equalizing action is to bring about a significant change in the present situation in which a high number of Roma children attain only the lowest possible level of education. A comprehensive approach to Roma children before they attend school should be guaranteed by the implementation of the Policy of Early Care for Children from Socio-culturally Disadvantaged Environments. If they are to overcome their socio-cultural handicap, such children require a preparatory programme and targeted assistance, the most effective form of which is to prepare them for school enrolment in nursery schools as part of a group of children made up of those from mainstream society as well as from the minority. [167]

In order to overcome their socio-cultural handicap, such children need to attend nursery school for the whole three year period, i.e., from the age of three. Attendance must not be hindered by the social situation of the family. Moreover, the parents might be persuaded of the benefits of such action by social field workers, Roma advisors or education assistants. In the case of failure to enrol a Roma child at nursery school for the whole three years, it would be necessary to include the child in a so-called preparatory programme - preparatory classes for children from socio-culturally disadvantaged environments (hereinafter referred to as "preparatory classes"). Support for Roma students in secondary schools should also be given high priority. [168]

If the general aim (promoting higher education levels for the Roma community) is to be achieved, the provision of these key educational policies must be accompanied by subsidiary education policies (described in Annex VI of the policy). Relevant projects should be supported from the Support for Projects for the Integration of the Roma Community grant scheme.

Nursery and elementary schools are established and financed by municipal authorities. Certain activities should be supported by regional government, European structural funds or various foundations active in this field. The aim of the aforementioned government schemes is to provide additional support for suitable projects and increase their current capacity. Thus, financial resources allocated in Ministry of Education and Sport grant schemes are merely complementary to those provided by municipal and regional authorities.

The research of the Czech NAP/Incl. concerns the central government level since detailed information on regional spending is not available. Consequently, the cost effectiveness ratio cannot be calculated since only "additional" spending will be investigated. However, the data below will provide an outline of the priorities of government supplementary policy.

The grant scheme designed to support projects for the integration of the Roma community is open to a wide range of projects (i.e., it is not designed exclusively for specific projects such as the three core measures). Therefore those responsible for project evaluation assess each project within the scheme according to various criteria. Such criteria, however, are not available to the general public (public information is restricted only to a general description of the criteria; those responsible for evaluation only enjoy access to specified methodical guidelines).

In such circumstances, ex post evaluation of projects (or assessment of the relevance of the criteria preferred by those responsible for evaluation) is the only method able to provide effective analysis. However, the ex post evaluation of such projects is restricted by their sheer number (it is possible to evaluate only a selected number of projects and the sample chosen may be non-representative). A further problem is the selection of the criteria to be analyzed in such ex post analysis (they should reflect the multi-dimensional nature of social inclusion). Such problems, as well as the question of the correspondence between the characteristics identified as ex post analysis evaluation criteria and the criteria applied in reality, should be considered in any criteria relevance evaluation.

[166] Ibid., pp. 88-89.
[167] Government of the Czech Republic, "The Roma Integration Policy Concept", pp. 17-19.
[168] Ibid.

Consequently, the analysis of the Czech NAP/Incl. involved only three government Roma education policies – preparatory classes, education assistants and support for Roma higher and university education. Attention was also devoted to the issue of school performance.

Due to a lack of available data, the effectiveness of the inclusion policies aimed at the Roma in the Czech Republic was evaluated by the Czech research team through a pilot study surveying professionals working with the social inclusion of ethnic minorities. The research team described the results of the pilot study as follows:[169]

All the selected instruments integrating ethnic minorities (preschool education, clubs and associations organized by foreigners and members of ethnic minorities and periodicals and programmes) were viewed as helpful by the overwhelming majority of respondents (over 90% of valid cases). Of the monitored instruments of integration of ethnic minorities, preschool education was seen as the most helpful (96% respondents said it was "rather useful" or "very useful"). That was followed some way behind by periodicals and programmes for ethnic minorities (93%, though most respondents 'only' said it was "rather useful"). The usefulness of this instrument of integration of ethnic minorities was comparable in essence with the view of the usefulness of clubs and associations (90.7%). Only around two thirds of those addressed responded to questions regarding the financial means accessible for the realization of the monitored instruments of integration of ethnic minorities. The number of respondents with a positive attitude to the level of funding was in all three monitored instruments of integration of ethnic minorities comparable to the number of respondents who gave a critical response; nevertheless, between respondents with a critical viewpoint borderline evaluations of the situation were more common than in the second group. Overall, therefore, answers were negative in the case of preschool education, rather negative in the case of clubs and associations in which the organizers are foreigners or members of ethnic minorities and neutral in the case of periodicals and programmes for ethnic minorities.

In evaluations of the usefulness of instruments of integration of ethnic minorities there were, despite agreement in terms of overall character of attitude,[170] *great differentiation in the opinions of various subgroups (according to type of organization and minority evaluated) in terms of degree.*[171] *In the case of evaluation of level of funding, even more variable answers were recorded. Experts therefore do not form a homogenous whole in relation to the monitored questions and in the monitored model there was clearly marked interference of concrete professional alignment (in particular arising from the information and experience of the respondent).*

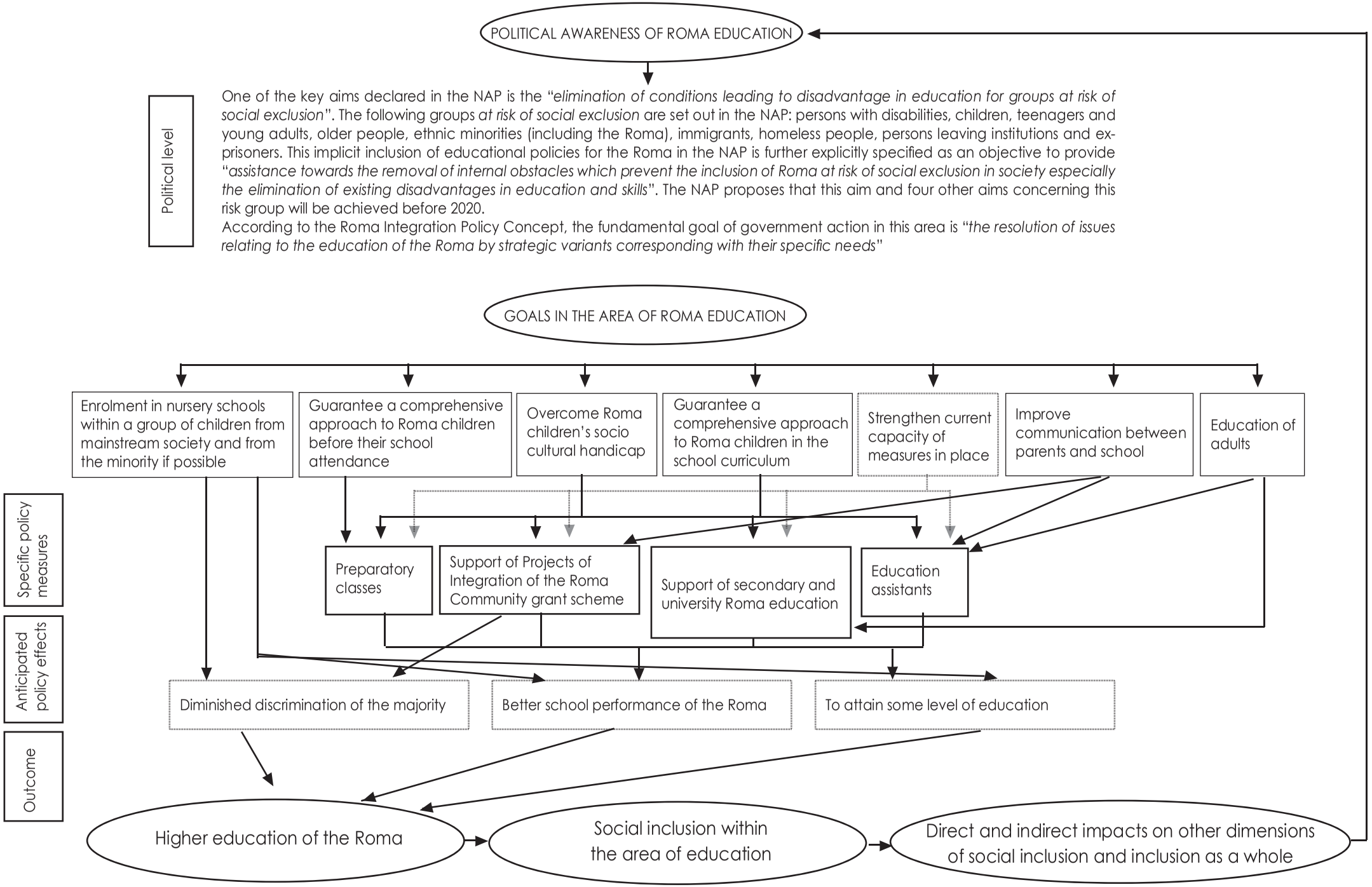
The existence of social exclusion was ascertained most often in the areas of life of the individual that did not apply to cultural aspects directly (access to employment, access to housing, equality in salary appraisal). Among areas where connection with culture was most apparent, the existence of social exclusion was most often ascertained in the possibility of political participation, access to education and the possibility of social participation.

[169] Horáková and Bareš, "Final Report the Czech Republic", op. cit., pp. 95-96

[170] Absolute (over 90% of valid cases) predominance of positive evaluation in all three monitored instruments of integration of ethnic minorities

[171] For example, in groups there was great differentiation in the representations of respondents regarding the relevant instruments of integration of ethnic minorities as "rather useful" and respondents who regarded them as "very useful".

Figure 6 – Model of Roma Education Policy Implementation in the Czech Republic



Legislation and strategic documents, like the activities of state bodies and non-profit organizations, contributed – according to the majority of respondents – to social integration in the areas of access to education, possibility of cultural self-realization and access to social services; in comparison with other fields, access to health care was rated noticeably higher in terms of appraisal of the influence of legislation and strategic documents. In all four areas at the same time, the highest number of respondents positively appraised the level of funding devoted from the state budget for the field of social integration of minorities.

The effectiveness of programmes supporting social integration of members of ethnic minorities was most highly evaluated in the case of access to social services, possibility of cultural self-realization and possibility of sporting self-realization. In the case of all four parameters (legislative and strategic documents, activities of state bodies and non-profit organizations, level of funding, effectiveness of programmes), the area concerning culture was comparable with evaluations in the other areas monitored. The most common aspect mentioned in the field of culture contributing to overcoming social exclusion were positive models from the minorities (27.1% of respondents). That was followed (with an occurrence between 10 and 15%) by presentation of minorities in the media (this category included attention paid by dedicated media to questions of integration and multicultural education), the field of educational activities and efforts to integrate minority members into regular schools, support of cultural traditions and the opportunity to participate in social life (including the possibility of using free time and organizing free-time activities; categories concerned both programmes for children and young people and possibilities for older members of minorities to participate).

The overall evaluation of the Czech NAP/Incl. is summarized as follows by the Czech research team:[172]

As far as the Czech Republic is concerned, cultural policy is a matter for the Ministry of Culture, whereas social inclusion matters fall within the competence of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. This Ministry supports research into social integration, including that of ethnic minorities and, particularly, the Roma community. Other state institutions play a complementary role within the inclusion process. Every ministry has its own concepts and distributes financial resources to projects in respective areas. The aim of our research is to provide a description of the concepts and policies towards and the current situation of national minorities and the Roma and foreign communities as regards participation, education and mass media publicity. These relatively independent populations occupy different positions in society and, in some cases, have different legal status so that different policies are required to bring about their social inclusion. Cost-effectiveness analysis was limited to educational policies concerning the Roma. The measurement of cost-effectiveness in the areas of participation and media policy is extremely complex due to the multilevel influences of social processes. In addition, finding the relevant indicators for an evaluation of the success of various policies in designated areas is also not an easy task. The data available for the measurement of cost-effectiveness is limited and insufficient. However, the data that was available on preparatory classes, education assistants and the support programme for higher education and university students showed that the approach adopted in these areas is generally effective. Moreover, education is a value in itself and any improvement in this area is, in today's modern knowledge society, generally desirable.

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Additional information from the final report on the Czech Republic has been summarized by the authors:

Government Education Policies for Roma Education

Accurately assessing policies toward Roma is hindered by the unavailability of data on Roma due to constitutional restrictions on reporting ethnicity. Accurately measuring costs is also difficult as funding comes from many levels of government and from a variety of sources, including donations from international NGOs, which support government spending but go largely unreported as associated costs.

[172] Horáková and Bareš, "Final Report the Czech Republic", op. cit., p. 5.

Preparatory Classes for Children from Socio culturally and Language Disadvantaged Environments

Preparatory classes seek to improve the chances of children from socio-culturally disadvantaged environments to achieve academic success by addressing before they begin schooling those factors shown to hinder their academic ability. Age appropriate methods are used to improve children's language, communication, and mathematical skills, and to cultivate cognition.

Approximately 39% of Roma children aged five to six attend preparatory classes (an estimate based on a hypothetical Roma population of 180,000–200,000 determined from 1991 census data). Of a sample of 75% of participating schools in 2003, a total of 1,993 children attended elementary school preparatory classes 1,779 of whom continued to mainstream elementary schools and 64 were placed in special schools.

A total of 1,315 children attended preparatory classes in special schools of whom 645 continued to mainstream elementary schools and 251 remained at special schools. A total of 360 children attended preparatory classes in kindergartens of whom 329 continued to mainstream elementary schools and 10 went on to special schools.

Preparatory classes at mainstream elementary schools were successful in 89% of cases. Preparatory classes at special schools were successful in 49% of cases and kindergarten preparatory classes were successful in 92% of cases.

An improvement in the attitude of Roma children to school after completing preparatory classes was proven by qualitative analysis. Moreover, a substantial decrease in absence was observed during the course of a selected semester, though absenteeism was still higher among Roma than non-Roma pupils. Roma children who attended preparatory classes also felt more comfortable about school and later education was found to be less stressful for them. Only a slight improvement in grades achieved was shown, though improvement in academic performance is greater as more children are achieving these grades in regular rather than special schools. Analysis suggests that attending preparatory classes at nursery and elementary schools significantly improves the academic performance of Roma pupils at which such children would be at a disadvantage due to lower overall educational standards.

Due to a lack of information on the number of preparatory classes supported by this scheme, it was not possible to deliver an accurate figure on government support per class or per pupil. The total number of pupils must therefore be considered for orientation bearing in mind however the risk of substantial bias. Government support per pupil in preparatory classes was €42, which represented 5% of total spending on preparatory classes.

Education Assistants

Roma education assistants were employed in elementary schools and preparatory programmes to help the teacher to organize individual education plans, assist in promoting break time and after school activities, to help Roma children with homework, to provide complementary training and to act as a bridge between schools and Roma families.

Quantitative analysis is not possible due to the lack of ethnic data on students and lack of information on due to decentralization and limited reporting requirements. The "Research Component of the PHARE Project for the Support of Roma Integration" provides qualitative data. 55% of employees of regional Departments of Education, Youth and Sport considered the role of education assistants to be very important. 45% declared a marked improvement in educational conditions for all pupils. School heads were influenced in their decision to establish such a position due to the high number of Roma pupils in their schools (33%), the need to improve cooperation with family (30%) and the high number of socio culturally disadvantaged pupils (21%).

School heads reported improved cooperation with families (39%), high or very high levels of satisfaction with the performance of education assistants (27%), a considerable contribution to their school (15%), assistance in work with groups or individuals (9%), assistance in teaching (8%), both good and bad experiences (8%) and contribution towards leisure activities (6%). Although there are methodological problems with such an evaluation and there is an apparent lack of data upon which to accurately assess all the outcomes, the above research study illustrated a high impact of this programme.

In 2003, a total of 366 education assistants were employed in elementary schools, 332 in 2004, and 326 in 2005. Assuming each assistant positively influences the performance of 15 pupils on average, the cost to the governmental of improving performance of one student, based on salaries and cost of training, was €488 per year.

Support for Roma in Higher and University Education

Since 2000, a proportion of government grants have been allocated to Roma students in higher education to provide financial support for accommodation, board and school equipment for Roma higher education and university students. In 1989, a total of 30 Roma students attended higher education institutions. In 2003, 1,441 Roma students applied for grants to support their higher education. Approximately 5.8% of the juvenile Roma population study at higher education institutions compared to 49.2% of the juvenile majority population. The total number of supported Roma students is not available; however, the rising number of applicants for grant support should indicate rising numbers of higher education and university students. However, the limitations of this indicator must be borne in mind (a strong correlation should be considered but not a causal relationship). Targeted financial support strengthens the ability of Roma students to continue their studies. On the other hand, the higher numbers of Roma students in higher education is also influenced by other inclusive measures. The Report on the Results of the Programme Supporting the Higher Education of Roma Students in 2003 shows that the majority of Roma students receiving grant support completed their higher education. In 2003, of a total of 672 such students, only 93 did not complete their studies (13.8%). A total of 51.9% of respondents (135 heads of higher education institutions) agreed that the support programme for Roma higher education motivated students; 34.8% had the opposite opinion.

The average cost was calculated from the number of pupils and the amount allocated in the first call in 2005 and estimates of the second call. This support scheme is fully organized and funded by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport. Governmental support per applicant is €307 per student annually.

Conclusions

Every year, the government provides considerable amounts of money on the integration of Roma communities. However, fieldwork feedback indicates that not all of this money is appropriately targeted and so far no systemic solution for the integration of socially excluded Roma communities has been found. An evaluation of certain programmes indicates that such low effectiveness is caused partly by the fact that the government gives priority to integration efforts based on an ethnic viewpoint rather than socially based inclusive intervention. Substantial resources are spent inappropriately on short-term ad hoc activities. A further problem regarding the distribution of government funds in the form of subsidies for the purpose of improving the social inclusion of Roma communities is the lack of coordination between ministries, resulting in a "scattering" of such funds. At the same time, there is *de facto* no authority that is able to effectively co-ordinate ministry policies and determine priorities for a comprehensive government subsidy policy for each calendar year in this area. To increase the effectiveness of the implementation of the Roma Integration Policy Concept, it is necessary to re-assess the current financial support system and to propose a framework that will permit the implementation of the long-term measures proposed in the Concept at the local level and in cooperation with all the relevant partners.

Chapter 9 – ESTONIA

Estonia is a multiethnic state with an ethnic Estonian majority, which constituted 67.9% of the population in 2000. Estonia also has a large non-ethnic Estonian population, the majority of whom migrated to Estonia during the later half of the twentieth century from other parts of the then Soviet Union. The non-ethnic Estonian population is Russian, which forms 25.6% of the Estonian population. There are also German, Ukrainian and Belorussian minorities who form 0.1%, 2.1% and 1.3% of the Estonian population, respectively. The vast majority of Russian speakers came to Estonia from other parts of the Soviet Union between 1940 and 1970 and were given the option of adopting Estonian citizenship following Estonian independence, which all but 9% have done. Approximately 55% of ethnic minorities do not speak Estonian and are thus unable to fully integrate into Estonian society.

Though per capita GDP is still only 57% of the EU average, Estonia has benefited from impressive economic growth since becoming an independent country. The first quarter of 2006 saw a level of 11.6% GDP growth. Gains from growth have not reached all members of society, however, and 18.6% of the Estonian population lives below the national poverty line: a figure much higher than in other new EU Member States.

Issues of social exclusion of minorities are not extensively dealt with in the Estonian NAP/Incl. The NAP/Incl. focuses mainly on combating unemployment, which also targets unemployed people who are ethnic minorities. Social integration is explicitly dealt with by the "Integration in Estonian Society 2000 - 2007" programme, adopted in 2000. The process is currently underway for drafting a new State Integration Programme for 2008 – 2013. The programme supports both social adaptation on the basis of knowledge of the Estonian language and the preservation of ethnic differences on and the cultural rights of ethnic minorities, and consists of four sub-programmes: "Education" "The Education and Culture of Ethnic Minorities"; "The Teaching of Estonian to Adults"; and "Social Competence."

In February 2006, the European Commission wrote the following about Estonia's NAP/Incl.:[173]

Estonia's first NAP/Incl. for 2004-2006 is a well focused plan which builds on the long term objectives identified in its 2003 Joint Memorandum on Social Inclusion. It outlines clear objectives, includes quantified targets and, in the main, proposes specific actions to achieve them. The main emphasis is on expanding active labour market measures for the reintegration of the long-term unemployed and other groups at risk into the labour market. Significant attention is also given to measures to prevent and tackle educational disadvantage and to promote lifelong learning. The implementation of the NAP/Incl. is supported by the ESF through various activities. Improvements in social protection so as to decrease and prevent child and family poverty and to secure appropriate income for the elderly are proposed. Attention is also given to the protection of children's rights, to improving access to social services and to affordable housing as well as to increasing e-inclusion. However, the plan is somewhat cautious in relation to the scale of the poverty and social exclusion problems in Estonia. Sometimes the objectives are not translated into specific measures but simply point to areas for action.

The European Commission furthermore reported the following challenges ahead:

• To increase the labour market participation of ethnic minorities and at risk groups and strengthen the institutional arrangements for mainstreaming social inclusion in national policy making and ensuring better coordination between the organisations involved;
• To reduce the high proportion of people at risk of income poverty and ensure an adequate income for those in need, especially families with children, the elderly and persons with disabilities;
• To ensure that sufficient resources are available to guarantee adequate pensions and to organise the conversion of pension savings into safe annuities;
• To improve system efficiency via a stronger primary care sector and enhanced long-term care provision.

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[173] European Commission, "Annex to the Draft Joint Report on Social Protection", op. cit., pp.12-13.

Since no specific cultural policies where available for evaluation, the Estonian research team selected to evaluate the employment policies of the NAP/Incl. in terms of the relation between Estonian bilingual education and employment. The particular focus was put on bilingual education of non-Estonian speaking minorities and thus addressed the first point of the European Commission's comments of February 2006. The effectiveness of the employment policies is discussed below; a cost-effectiveness analysis was not possible due to lack of data.

The evaluation is summarized by the Estonian research team as follows:[174]

The Estonian National Action Plan for 2004-2006 concerns mainly employment. In the Plan, the special segments of society (age groups, regional diversity, ethnic and linguistic origin, etc.) take a back seat. For Estonia, this approach is quite understandable because it is the Minister of Population Affairs who is responsible for the integration process. There exists a separate long-term State Plan for Integration of non-Estonians into society.

Taking a closer look at the extent to which the goals of increased employment set for the years 2004-2006 by the Plan have been met, one can claim that all of the long-term goals set by the Plan are achieved at least in satisfactory manner.

First, Estonia has achieved a general increase in employment among people of normal working age. For example, while the employment rate for the age group 15-64 was 62.6% in 2003, the same number has grown to 64.5% by the end of 2005 (1.7% annual growth). This is a modest but steady tendency to employment growth. Altogether, by the end of the first quarter of 2006, the number of employed people aged 15-74 was 635,000.

Second, there are positive shifts in the number of people long-term unemployed, which has been a major problem in Estonia since 1999. For example, in Ida-Virumaa County (mainly Russian-speaking population) there were 10,600 registered unemployed (mostly long-time unemployed) in March 2005. Over the course of one year, their number has decreased by more than 4,000 (or 43% of the total number). In March 2006, the number of registered unemployed in Ida-Virumaa was as low as 6,000 people. The data from local labour market boards confirm that the general number of unemployed has decreased at least by one third during the same period.

An extremely positive trend is the decrease in the unemployment rate among the youngest segment of the population. While unemployment in the 15-24 age group has fallen by one third during the year 2005 generally in Estonia, the number of young unemployed for Ida-Virumaa County alone decreased by more than 50% over the same period. According to data from the Ida-Virumaa labour market board, the number of registered young unemployed (aged 16-24) was as low as 826 on 1 May 2006. This is the lowest number for a decade and is a clear indicator of positive developments in this respect.

Third, at the same time as the unemployment rate has gone down since 2001 (although only from 2005 on can one talk about an obvious breakthrough), the size of the main risk group of discouraged job seekers has decreased significantly only during the last quarters of 2005 and the first quarter of 2006. By the end of the first quarter of 2006, the total number of discouraged job seekers was 8,400, which is two times less than a year ago.

Assistance to the long time unemployed and to people who have been excluded from the labour market has been quite effective. These results have been achieved by the implementation of new organizational measures, such as the creation of activation centres for the unemployed in four Estonian counties. In implementing these and other social policy measures, Estonian labour market institutions have used effectively significant contributions from ESF and other EU structural funds. For example in Ida-Virumaa County, the local labour market board in co-operation with other organizations (employers unions, training centres, etc.) spent more than 120 million Estonian kroons during the period 2004-2006.

[174] Kirch, Tuisk and Talts, "Final Report Estonia", op. cit.,pp. 18-20.

Fourth, the increase in general employment and the decrease in unemployment, especially among younger age groups, have materialized mostly due to the creation of effective networks between employers and the local labour market boards.

Analyzing these four activation measures, one has to take into account the obvious growth phase of the Estonian economy but the economic growth itself without proper employment policy measures would not have produced such results. This indicates that the labour market of Estonia has left the previous phase of jobless growth.

From 2005 on, Estonia entered a new phase of job creation. One of the characteristic features of this phase is the fact that during the last year only the total number of employed has grown by 40,000 people. At the moment, there is already a shortage in the qualified labour force, which has created public debate on the need to import a labour force from abroad. First of all, this concerns qualified employees in industry. The most visible case is that of qualified welders; the industry (mostly shipping yards) needs at least 1,000 qualified workers. This has created an odd situation where employers demand of government an alleviation of immigration policy, at the same time as graduates of Estonian vocational schools are not guaranteed jobs, often due to their poor knowledge of the official language of the state.

The shortage in the labour force is partly caused by the fact that other EU Member States, which initially introduced some restrictions, have opened their labour market to the Estonian labour force (in most cases after 1 May 2006). Until then, only a quite insignificant part of the labour force between the ages of 15-64 had left Estonia. According to the International Conference on Labour Related Migration between Estonia and Finland held on 20 April 2006 in Tallinn, the total number of people who have permanently or temporarily left Estonia, reached 20,000 people, which means 3% of the labour force of normal working age.

Prognoses on Labour Force Dynamics by the Estonian Statistical Board

The main question of the strategic development of the Estonian labour market is how to compensate the labour force loss caused by the demographic crisis in a such manner that it would not slow down overall economic growth. The population of Estonia is ageing and lessening in number and the local labour force can be thus characterized as an exhaustible resource. It is obvious that in this situation of demographic crisis all potentially active people living in Estonia should be included into the workforce. From the viewpoint of potential migration risk, one has to consider the possibility that a quite large part of the working age labour migrants (among them a significant share of non-Estonians) will most probably find jobs in Nordic countries. As unemployment has been regularly higher in some particular regions (the northeast and southeast) this problem is related mostly to regional development. The fact that many northeastern cities are inhabited mainly by Russian-speaking non-Estonians and non-ethnic Estonians makes employment policy for this region more specific.

However, the trends related to the Estonian labour market have been predominantly positive. The Estonian Statistical Board has made a prognosis, which concerns Estonia's estimated time schedule for the achievement of the main goal of the Lisbon strategy - to raise the employment rate of the population aged 15-64 to 70%. However, according to the NAP for Growth, Estonia strives to reach that goal in 2014, instead of 2010, as was agreed in the Lisbon strategy. Making this decision in October 2005, the Estonian government assumed that the large number of long-term unemployed in Estonia as well as the size of the inactive population would preclude optimistic employment growth forecasts.

Therefore, in order to design new measures of employment policy for 2006-2008, we need first of all answers to the following questions: how significant is the additional labour force resource required for the achievement of an employment rate of 70% of the working age population and, second, will this additional resource be sufficient for the achievement of the final goals as assumed by the Estonian government?

The forecast of the Estonian Statistical Board says that if the presently quite positive demographic trends continue at least for the next decade, the total number of employed will fall below the level of 70% not earlier than in 2015. After 2015, Estonia will definitely lack the resources to keep its total number of the labour force at the same level as 2005.

Our research shows that there are still some unused internal resources that could enhance the employment level. These internal resources are related to the re-training of Estonia's own young labour force, especially young non-ethnic Estonians. The implementation of such an accelerated strategy would undoubtedly be complicated but, according to our understanding, its social 'cost' will be much lower compared to its alternative – the import of a labour force from abroad. The present prognoses related to the labour force import do not pay enough attention to infrastructure expenditures, which appear sometimes years later.

The analysis indicates that the continuation of present trends – economic growth, labour market activation, use of internal resources and use of the experience of other countries – could guarantee quite good results for Estonia's sustainable development. Ida-Virumaa (northeast Estonia) is also focusing on teaching Estonian, as in these areas unemployment among Russian and Russian-speaking Estonian youth is consistently higher.

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Additional information has been summarized from the final report on Estonia by the authors:

Unemployment

Unemployment, particularly long-term unemployment, has consistently been a main factor of poverty and social exclusion in the Estonian context. The Estonian social survey showed it to be the greatest cause of poverty in the country. Unemployment is higher among non-ethnic Estonians than among ethnic Estonians. While non-ethnic Estonians represent only 31% of Estonia's population, they form 41% of unemployed people. The 2004 Estonian Social Survey showed that in the north of the country, the average income of Russian speakers and other non-ethnic Estonians is only 69% that of ethnic Estonians. Eurobarometer surveys also show lower levels of contentment with income and life in general among minorities than ethnic Estonians.

Analysis of surveys conducted by the Estonian Department of Statistics in 2004 show that unemployment of minorities in Estonia is negatively correlated with increased knowledge of Estonian and vocational training. Interviews with the Estonian Labour Market Board confirm that a lack of linguistic competence limits the career prospects of Estonians and minorities. Moreover, about 33% of young unemployed Russian speakers surveyed throughout the country in May 2006 for this report cite insufficient language command as the reason they do not have steady employment. For Russian speakers in Estonia, the cultural and bilingual integration factor plays a much more important role than was previously expected.

Several labour policies focus on minority unemployment. In 2004, professional training centres for unemployed people were created, including in regions with non-ethnic Estonian populations. In the past few years, a network for the social integration of non-ethnic Estonian unemployed youth has been established, supported by European Structural Funds, which offers training courses that include additional Estonian language training and apprenticeships. Graduates of these programmes enjoy a much improved labour market position.

Knowledge of Estonian

As noted above, lack of sufficient command of the Estonian language is a large barrier to the labour market for non-ethnic Estonians. Improving Russians' and other minorities' knowledge of Estonian is thus essential to achieving the goals of the Lisbon Strategy with regard to employment. Lack of fluency in Estonian as the official state language is a barrier to the integration of non-ethnic Estonians into Estonia's cultural and political life as well. The numbers of Russian speakers who lack such language skills are considerable. Only 56% of Russian speakers in Tallinn and 37% in Ida-Virumaa have an active command of Estonian. 21% and 24% report they have a passive command of the language and 23% and 39% say they cannot communicate in Estonian at all.

In 2000–2007 the share of the state budget designated for Estonian language courses has tripled. In 2002, 29% of Russian speakers reported active knowledge of Estonian, compared to 42% in 2005. Between 1999 and 2006, €28.8 million were spent on teaching Estonian to non-ethnic Estonian youth and adults. The growth of active knowledge from 2002 to 2006 has been 17%. The cost of a percentage point of growth was thus approximately €1.7 million during this period.

Research performed for this study supports the improvement in command of Estonian by Russian speaking youth. Though all have studied Estonian in school, only 12% of respondents from Tallinn and Hajru from Ida-Virumaa report that they have always had a good command of Estonian. 55% and 41%, respectively, report improvement in their command of Estonian. 33% from Tallinn and Harju and 52% from Ida-Virumaa, however, report no improvement in their command of Estonian. The trend is thus positive overall, though unequivocal success cannot be claimed.

Education

In Estonia, there are both Estonian language schools and schools attended by ethnic minorities where instruction is conducted primarily in Russian. Estonian has always been taught in Russian schools in Estonia and efforts have been intensified since 1991, when Estonian became the official state language and the curricula of Estonian and Russian language schools were harmonized. The Basic Schools and Upper Schools Act states that any language of instruction may be used in schools up until grade nine. Estonian is the language of instruction, defined as the language used to deliver 60% of instruction, at the upper secondary level and Russian schools must begin this transition in the 2007–2008 academic years.

There have been concerted efforts to create a bilingual system of education where Russian-speaking students are able to maintain their cultural identity while still gaining the degree of fluency needed to successfully integrate into Estonian society, including being competitive in the job market and higher education.

In the 2000, an Estonian-Canadian project was launched to provide Russian speaking children Estonian language instruction in the Canadian immersion model. Students enter the programme in either the first (early immersion) or sixth (late immersion) grades. In the early immersion programme, 100% of instruction is given in Estonian during the first year, with instruction in Russian later introduced and gradually increased; by grade six, 44% of instruction and 12% is devoted to learning a third language (English). In the late entry programme, instruction is initially given in Russian with increasing introduction of Estonian, increasing to 76% in grades seven and eight and dropping to 60% by grade nine. 3,400 pupils will participate in the immersion programme in the 2006–2007 school years. The programme cost around EEK 61 million between 2000 and 2005, in which period Canadian materials were translated into Estonian, 900 teachers and administrators were trained, and materials developed and published. Importantly, pupils in the programme score as well as control groups in Russian language arts, mathematics and history.

Additional Problem and Foci

The Social Integration programme for 2008-2013 is under preparation. This programme is more targeted to socio-economic integration. To date, the main of focus of the integration programmes has been on secondary education and Estonian language training. This time, in addition to support for language training, large-scale support to non-ethnic Estonians has been planned for decreasing unemployment and prevention of HIV/AIDS among this portion of the population. Special focus will be placed on Ida-Virumaa, where efforts to enhance knowledge of Estonian outside of a classroom setting are envisioned. The plans also foresee labour force exchanges between Estonian regions with the aim of fostering more tolerant attitudes toward different ethnic groups and their culture. It also envisions special policies for addressing the social issues presented by new immigrants to Estonia.

Chapter 10 - LATVIA

Since becoming an independent state, Latvia has embraced a multi-cultural state model based on the linguistic integration of its considerable non-ethnic Latvian population. Ethnic Latvians constituted only 58.5% of the Latvian population in 2003. There is also a large Russian and other Slavonic populations, the bulk of whom migrated to Latvia in the latter half of the twentieth Century from other parts of the then Soviet Union. The largest minority group is Russian, which constitutes 29% of the population; Byelorussians, Ukrainians and Poles represent an additional 9% of the population.

Minorities face risk of social exclusion due to their limited knowledge of the Latvian language. Studies initiated in 1996 regarding the knowledge and usage of the state language show that even several years after regaining national independence, many Russian speakers in Latvia have no or only very limited knowledge of the Latvian language. In 1996, 22% of native Russian speakers did not know the Latvian language at all, while 42% were able to communicate only about the simplest topics; 27% had average skills, while only 9% had full command of the Latvian language. Insufficient command of Latvian placed minorities at risk of social exclusion by limiting their ability to participate in the labour market and study at the university level. Previous research projects show that insufficient command of Latvian is a significant barrier to labour market participation, as knowledge of Latvian is essential to employment in the administrative and service professions. Since the adoption of the Language Law in 1992, Latvian is the only language of instruction at government-financed institutions of higher education, making knowledge of Latvian a prerequisite for almost all higher education in Latvia.

Government financed education is offered in Latvian as well as minority languages. In 2005/2006 there were 727 Latvian language schools, 152 Russian language schools and 97 schools with both Latvian and minority classes. Since 1999, Russian language schools and classes have been introducing a bilingual programme. Educational reform toward bilingual education has involved several successive phases. Sample bilingual Russian-Latvian programmes were introduced in minority elementary schools in September 1999. From September 2002, all minority schools have begun the transfer to the bilingual programme as piloted in the sample schools. From 2004, minority secondary schools have transferred to a system in which most classes are taught in Latvian. The programme built upon legislation from the mid-1990s, which introduced a minimal degree of Latvian language coursework in minority schools and was aided by two programmes: the National Latvian Language Training Programme (now NTTLA), established in 1996 to prepare teachers for work in Latvian and bilingually, and the Soros-funded 'Open School' project, which helped prepare students, parents, schools and teachers for the implementation of bilingual education from 1999–2003.

Indicators to measure achievement of the policy aims should include minority pupils' language proficiency and success in higher education and labour market activities. As the programme is not yet fully implemented, it is not possible at this point to conduct a full evaluation of bilingual education reform. Students who entered bilingual programmes in 1999 will enter secondary schools in the 2007/2008 school year. This means that, by 2007, full introduction of the bilingual education in secondary schools must be completed, at which point results of bilingual education policy may then be evaluated for the first time. Participants in the group discussions of this project, however, felt that an evaluation of results will be possible only in 2009, when the students who attended reformed bilingual programmes will graduate secondary general education. At this time, it is possible speak only of medium term results.

Latvian language competence, reflecting reading, writing and oral communication, of young minorities has improved greatly between 1999 and 2006. In 1999, slightly more than a half (54%) of those surveyed responded that they did not know Latvian at all or knew it only on the most basic level. The next year, in 2000, the proportion of those with poor or no knowledge of Latvian was only 44%. The percentage of respondents who rated their Latvian language knowledge as poor, was only 30% in 2003 and decreased further to 25% in 2006. In 2006, 75% evaluated their Latvian knowledge as being on the intermediate or highest level. The percentage of respondents reporting major improvements in their Latvian competency thus increased by 29% between 1999 and 2006.

In February 2006, the European Commission wrote the following about Latvia's NAP/Incl.:[175]

Following the Poverty Reduction Strategy (2000), the first National Action Plan for tackling poverty and social exclusion (2004-2006) encompassing a multi-dimensional approach has outlined a great number of general objectives and priorities, however, overall coherence and co-ordination of policies must be improved and future tasks better addressed. The objectives set relate primarily to national policies and measures already in place. Measures are implemented within the framework of the annual budget and with significant support from structural funds. The gender perspective is not consistently mainstreamed. The national implementation report on 2004 activities lists actions taken, but these do not sufficiently target specific social exclusion risk groups or concentrate on preventive measures. Measures aiming to ensure adequate income have been implemented or planned for 2006, including an increase in social security benefit amounts for families with children; pension increases, supplements and special adjustments for those receiving low pensions; gradual increases in the tax-free personal income threshold; higher guaranteed minimum income benefit and higher minimum wage. The issue of un-declared work remains high on the political agenda.

Challenges ahead:

- To develop a coherent strategic approach to promoting social inclusion, including quantified targets, which take into account regional and gender dimensions of poverty and social exclusion and further enhances employment opportunities;
- To tackle poverty and social exclusion by introducing more targeted measures for vulnerable groups and by addressing the adverse effects of inflation on low and medium income groups;
- To ensure that sufficient resources for adequate pensions are available until the funded schemes have matured and to monitor future adequacy;
- To improve the health status of the population through effective health promotion and disease prevention and ensure better access to care for all.

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The Latvian research team selected to evaluate the Latvian NAP/Incl. in terms of Latvian bilingual education. The particular focus was put on bilingual education of non-Latvian speaking minorities, thus addressing in part the second point of challenges ahead.

Given the diversity of documents and approaches taken by the Latvian government towards combating poverty and social exclusion, the Latvian research team was forced either to evaluate several policies and subsequently seek to synthesize these into a final impact evaluation of cultural policies or to evaluate the key cultural policy identified as pertinent to the social inclusion of ethnic minorities, the bilingual education policy. The documents that constitute the collective efforts of Latvia in the area of culture and ethnic minorities are listed in Table 15.

The evaluation of the strategy and implementation of the bilingual education policy is analyzed through a focus group of experts dealing with preparing and implementing the bilingual education policy. The policy is thus evaluated not in terms of the impact it has on the effectiveness of the NAP/Incl. of Latvia but in terms of the quality of the bilingual education policy in general. To arrive at an indication of the extent to which the Latvian NAP/Incl. may be considered effective was not deemed possible. It was, however, possible to arrive at indicative figures for the improvement in bilingualism among young non-ethnic Latvian and non-Latvian speakers. Cost-effectiveness is addressed in Part II.

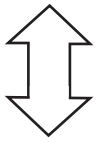
Focus group discussions with representatives of minority schools, teachers and representatives of public organizations and state and local government structures were used to gather qualitative data to evaluate the

[175] European Commission, "Annex to the Draft Joint Report on Social Protection ", op. cit., pp. 29-30.

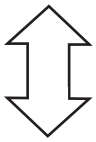
preparatory phase of the project. The lack of predefined evaluation criteria in policy making made evaluation of policy results difficult. Some experts criticized the authoritarian nature of the policy, the lack of readiness among teachers, the lack of information among policy participants and target audiences, and the lack of materials and technologies. The process of implementing bilingual education has also had some negative impact, including some instances of exacerbated ethno-political issues and disparate workloads for pupils in majority and minority schools. Despite this, there is a general consensus that results have been in line with the broadly formulated goals of the policy: improvement of Latvian language skills and enhanced competitiveness in higher education and the labour market.

Table 15 - Summary of Policy Documents on Cultural Policies Concerning Ethnic Minorities and Social Inclusion for 2004-2006[176]

The Latvia National Action Plan 2004-2006 (Latvia Single Programming Document Objective 1 Programme 2004–2006) • Demographic situation; • Employment and unemployment; and • Continued education and training, paying particular attention to establishing Latvian as the official language and integrating minorities.	Latvian National Action Plan for Reduction of Poverty and Social Exclusion (2004-2006) • Unemployment situation (differences among ethnic groups); and • Roma situation.



National programme Society Integration in Latvia 2001-2006
- Civic participation and political integration;
- Social and regional society integration;
- Education, language, culture;
- Improvement of the minority education programmes;
- Elaboration of manuals and teaching methodologies for minority education programmes;
- Professional training for teachers of minority education establishments; and
- Information.



Education development conception 2002-2005
- Evaluation of educational achievements of primary and secondary school students;
- Continued professional training for teachers; and
- Equality in access to qualitative education.

Information on Latvian language competency of ethnic minority youth is available through the Comparative Research on the Language Use, Knowledge and Peculiarities of Language Environment of Inhabitants of Latvia project, which has evaluated language skills and use of the Latvian population since 1996. Education reform is only one factor affecting knowledge of Latvian, and it is not possible to isolate the impact of the project. Nonetheless, school remains a very important agent of socialization, and positive changes in the linguistic skills of young people can certainly be attributed in substantial part to the increased use of Latvian in instruction in schools. Data on the language competency of Latvian minority youth aged 15–24 thus serves as a useful indirect measure of bilingual education reform's impact.

[176] Zepa et al.,"Final Report Latvia", op. cit.p. 24.

The results of the research are summarized by the Latvian research team as follows:[177]

The Latvian NAP/Incl. (2004-2006) states the ethnic composition in the country and analyzes its impacts in such spheres as employment and unemployment and continued vocational training. The document also analyzes the importance of linguistic competences of Latvian language for inclusion in the labour market. However, the NAP/Incl. does not include any policies that are dedicated especially towards the social inclusion of particular ethnic minority groups.

The national programme "Society Integration in Latvia" has been the most important policy planning document, incorporating most of the cultural and social inclusion policies oriented towards ethnic minorities. Therefore, these are not covered in detail in the Latvian NAP/Incl.

In the sphere of minority cultural policies and social inclusion, implementation of bilingual education policy is the most important policy issue in the period 2004-2006. Educational reform – introduction of bilingual education in minority education establishments – was launched with the aim of raising Latvian language competence among the youth of non-Latvian origin to ensure they are able to study further in Latvian and to integrate successfully in the labour market.

Implementation of Bilingual Education Policy: Qualitative Evaluation

In analyzing the results of focus group discussions among experts in the field of bilingual education policy with reference to the preparatory phase of the policy and the medium term results of policy implementation, one can draw the following major conclusions:

Evaluation of the Preparatory Phase of the Policy

When asked about successes and mistakes in the preparation of bilingual education, experts have differing views, and these views are quite polarized. The views of bilingual education experts in this area largely depend on their roles and functions in preparing and implementing the policy.

Policy authors prefer to emphasize the positive aspects of the work – design of sample minority basic education programmes, the availability of choice and the ability of teachers to learn the Latvian language.

Policy implementers – school representatives, teachers, as well as representatives of the public and the NGO sector – speak of the negative aspects, shortcomings and failures of the process. They refer to the haste of the process, the authoritarian nature of the policy, the lack of readiness among teachers, the lack of information among policy participants and target audiences, and the lack of materials and technologies.

Evaluation of the Results of Policy Implementation

The theoretical framework for an analysis of the results of focus group data on bilingual education policy implementation was the work of Alex Hausen in terms of a model for evaluating bilingual education policies. Data analysis shows that the results of the bilingual education policy, as defined by experts, are in line with Hausen's factors in terms of evaluating the final products of bilingual education policy – the desired goals, the actual results and their levels – an evaluation of language skills, a definition of the level of academic knowledge, and an evaluation of attitudes and motivations. The main conclusions on the results of policy implementation, therefore, are the following:

- *The goals for bilingual education policy implementation were not clearly defined and indicators as to the achievement of the goals were not identified. There were no criteria for evaluating policy results and that has made more complicated both the medium term and the long term evaluation of policy results;*
- There is very diverse and contradictory information about the results that have been achieved and that is the result of a lack of universal data. Existing evaluations are based on the experience of those who implemented the policy and that is why the results are contradictory. What is more, this is an evaluation of a local nature;

[177] Ibid., pp. 50-55.

• The results of bilingual education policy implementation, as judged by experts, are, generally speaking, in line with the broadly formulated goals of the policy – Latvian language learning and competitiveness in higher education and the labour market; and

• The Latvian language skills of students, according to the experts, are, generally speaking, improving, but there is a lack of an academic evaluation of changes in the level of academic knowledge and of trends in success. Policy implementers have made both positive and negative judgments in this area and these depend on the experience of each school in the implementation of bilingual education.

The process of implementing bilingual education has created several major problems – exacerbated attitudes in ethno-political issues, as well as the emergence of a gap between minority and Latvian schools. This is in contradiction to the overall goal of the policy – facilitating ethnic integration.

Inputs and outcomes:

In order to evaluate cost-effectiveness, measurable outcome indicators relevant to the goals of the policy have to be identified.

On the basis of the ideas that have been identified in the focus groups, it is possible to draw conclusions about the criteria that could be used in evaluating the implementation of bilingual education policy:

• In designing criteria for policy evaluation, criteria must be applied not just to students but also to other policy participants and target groups. This significantly expands the network of evaluation criteria, making it possible to conduct an all-encompassing evaluation of the policy;

• There must be objectively measurable criteria, such as Latvian language skills (indicators such as speech, reading skills, writing skills, listening skills), the level of academic knowledge (both in the Latvian language and in those subject areas in which classes have been taught bilingually), the percentage of minority students who enter state universities, and the inclusion of these people in the labour market;

• These criteria must be analyzed in terms of their trends, thus making possible a long-term evaluation of policy; and

• The subjective and shifting factors related to policy implementation processes must also be defined. The results of former research projects and this study show that, among these, there are understanding, information, attitudes and motivations. These factors must be evaluated on an ongoing basis through sociological and policy analysis research.

Taking into the consideration; (1) these requirements for the indicators as given by the experts in the focus groups; (2) the fact that no indicators are set by the policy makers to actually measure the impact of bilingual language reform on integration of non-ethnic Latvian youth in society; (3) the fact that the real results are to be seen in the long term; and (4) that the first results of the implementation of the policy are expected no later than in 2007, only the mid-term evaluation of the policy can be performed, the changes in the linguistic competences of non-ethnic Latvian youth was chosen as the indicator for measurement of the policy outcome.

For that, secondary data analysis was used, as since 1996 there has been regular monitoring of language knowledge, use of languages and linguistic environments is done, using an indicator of the proportion of youth having Latvian language knowledge level as low or no knowledge at all, and intermediate or highest level.

The Latvian language competence indicator shows a tendency towards rapid improvement of Latvian skills in the age group of 15-24 in the time period 1999-2006. Increases in the population with a high competence in Latvian contributes to inclusion into society, especially education opportunities and integration in the labour market, where Latvian is often a prerequisite.

However, there are limitations to the application of the indicator because of the difficulties in isolating other factors influencing linguistic competence and the age limits – it is not possible to sample only those having just finished schooling in the appropriate stage of education. So, partially, the indicator also reflects the results of the

language policy in general. In choosing the input indicators for the bilingual education policy implementation, it has to be noted that an exhaustive description of the finance allocated to the implementation of the policy cannot be created.

As the reform was introduced very rapidly and the preparatory and implementation phases of the reform were going on at the same time, several organizations and institutions were involved in the process, either having it as one of their tasks or on the basis of projects.

There two most relevant sources of finance were chosen: additional payments to the direct policy implementers – minority school teachers – allocated by the government and the National Agency for Latvian Language Training, one of whose main branches of activity was to provide Latvian language training and training in bilingual methodologies to teachers of minority schools (allocated firstly by donations and later also granted government finance). It has to be noted that the financial support for the preparation of reform was started even before the implementation was started in 1999. Besides, data was not available in every case at the necessary detail, therefore estimations and approximations were sometimes used.

Cost-effectiveness

The measure of cost-effectiveness of the policy thus consists of the outcome indicator – change in the proportion of the 15-24 year old population of non-Latvian origin who have limited competence of Latvian and those who know Latvian at an intermediate/high level; and the input indicator - the financial investment of government and other countries, country unions and international organizations in implementation of the reform.

The proportion of those stating their knowledge of Latvian as good has risen by 29 %. If we add up all of the expenditures on the items described above, we get LVL 14,262,882 or € 25,230,516. Thus, the increase in the proportion of population with higher Latvian language competences among non-ethnic Latvian youth in the time period 1999-2006 cost LVL 491,823.5 or € 870,017.8 for every 1% increase.

Future Prospects and Suggestions

Latvian language competences are important for the social inclusion of minorities but, as recognized by the experts, these cannot be the only indicators used. In 2007, when the first students will graduate, other indicators for evaluation of their academic achievements and integration in the labour market should be elaborated and used for evaluation of the implementation of the bilingual language policy.

In 2006, elaboration of the new national programme "Society Integration in Latvia" was started, defining goals and policies for the social and ethnic integration of Latvian society for the next period. The indicators identified during the project can be elaborated further and included in the programme to measure the social inclusion capacities of minority cultural policies.

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Additional information from the final report on Latvia has been summarized by the authors:

Expenses for the programme include additional payments to teachers and administrators in minority schools, which was LVL 6,480,977 or €10,261,233 for the period. Additional expenses included funding for NTTLA, programming which provided professional training courses for teachers in teaching in Latvian and bilingually, Latvian language courses for the teachers and other professional groups and the development of 206 different publications, including manuals, informative materials and teaching aids. The Latvian and foreign governments, the EU and UNDP have funded NTTLA with expenses totalling LVL 781,905 or €14,969,283. Total expenditure for educational reform can be measured at LVL 14,262,882 or €25,230,516. The cost of a 1% increase in the number of non-Latvian youth with high Latvian language competences in the time period 1999-2006 is thus LVL 491,823.5 or €870,017.8.

Chapter 11 - THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC

According to expert estimates, more than 22% of people living in Slovakia belong to national minorities. From this perspective, Slovakia is the most ethnically heterogeneous country of the Central European region. The largest minority is Hungarian (9.7 % of the total population according to the last census in May 2001), followed by the Roma (1.7% according to the last census, unofficially more than 9 %), Czechs (0.8%), Ruthenians (0.4%), Ukrainians (0.2%), and smaller minorities such as Germans, Jews, Croats, Poles, Bulgarians, and Russians. The number of Roma is under-reported mostly because of the self-reporting method of the census, which cited only 75,802 citizens of Roma nationality. Experts assume that the number of Roma living in Slovakia is higher; at present, the official estimates range between 480,000 and 520,000 (more than 9% of the country's inhabitants). These estimates are inaccurate since there is no politically correct methodology to gather data on Roma without enforcing their identity. The lack of accurate data due to legal non-reporting of ethnic identity is a significant challenge to social research on the subject.

Slovak Roma face high levels of social exclusion. During communism, Slovak Roma were settled in settlements, largely in new industrial areas. This resulted in a breaking down of traditional social capital networks, over-specialization in unskilled industrial labour and the formation of segregated Roma enclaves, as well as encouraging dependency on the state. In the transition away from the more extensive communist social service system and managed economy, Roma were least able to cope. Many Slovak Roma now live in low standard segregated settlements, suffer the highest levels of unemployment and poverty and have the lowest levels of education in the country. Social distance between the majority and Roma is also worryingly high. The Slovak NAP for Social Inclusion and the National Action Plan for the Decade Roma, as part of the OSI/World Bank led initiative, both describe policies to address these issues. The National Action Plan on Social Inclusion is not focused primarily on Roma communities, and as a whole, is insufficient and one-dimensional. The National Action Plan of the Slovak Republic Regarding the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015, which has been approved by the government of Slovakia, although also very limited is more useable.

The NAPs on Social Exclusion and the Decade of Roma target the above-mentioned problems through policies on education and employment.

In the 1991 population census, 76.68% of Roma reported elementary education as the highest completed level of education. 8.07% reported vocational education without the school-leaving exam. Only 0.60% of the Roma claimed to have secondary technical education and only 0.84% of them completed secondary A-level education. Among all ethnicities in Slovakia, it was the Roma minority that had the fewest members with university education. Roma children are overrepresented in special schools for those with slight mental handicaps and those children who have never attended school at all. The low education level of the Roma minority shows in all spheres of life. It affects very negatively the possibility of finding a job and is one of the most serious causes of high Roma unemployment. The low academic achievement of Roma is partly a result of inadequate support for the special needs of Roma children, who lack sufficient language skills and help with homework and face difficulties adjusting to structured school environment and meeting the material demands of attending school. It is also a result of Roma culture itself, which passes knowledge and traditions only orally and generally places low subjective valuation on the role of education in improving and defending one's socio-economic standing. To improve the academic achievement of Roma, suitable conditions have to be created within the education system to accommodate the Roma through a strategy that is long-term and involves the participation of the Roma themselves.

The NAP regarding the Decade of Roma inclusion includes goals for improving the educational standard achieved by Roma by the following sub-goals: improving the training and preparation of Roma children; increasing the percentage of Roma pupils attending high schools; reducing the percentage of Roma children attending special elementary schools (SES) and special educational institutions (SEI); increasing the percentage of Roma pupils attending university; improving school equipment and materials; global implementation of

multicultural education; improving systems for preventing the negative behaviour of Roma pupils; invigorating the self-identity of Roma as a national minority; establishing departments of Roma language and literature in universities; and supporting labour market focused adult education for Roma with unfinished education (including carrier counselling). Measures for achieving these aims include: the introduction of a Roma assistant at an estimated cost of SKK 210-560 over the course of the decade; improving the preparatory training of Roma children through pre-schools (SKK 1.7-2.9 billion); preparation of 200 teachers of the Roma language and literature (SK 20 million with additional programme development costs in the millions of SKK); and universal introduction of a multicultural curriculum (thousands of SKK).

The position of the Roma in the Slovak labour market can be characterized as marginalized or excluded, resulting in social exclusion and poverty. The socio-economic status of Roma is often inherited from generation to generation. Roma face several culture related barriers to employment, which effective policy measures need to address. The low levels of education and qualification seems to be a major handicap to Roma obtaining and maintaining employment. There is latent discrimination against Roma by majority employers and Roma suffer from a reputation as unreliable and unmotivated. High levels of long term unemployment have resulted in depreciation of skills, social capital and work habits. Roma dwellings are often overcrowded and lack adequate sanitary facilities.

The NAP on Social Exclusion includes several goals for decreasing unemployment by: increasing the creation of jobs and employment of disadvantaged groups; fostering proper working habits; increasing employability of young people through labour market training and retraining; increasing the education and qualifications of the unemployed according to the needs of the labour market; fostering adult and continuing education; increasing labour mobility; improving the environment and social conditions in segregated settlements; improving the access of the Roma living in segregated settlements to healthcare services; increasing support for labour market training and job creation; increasing the motivation of and support to Roma students; ensuring adequate housing for communities experiencing social exclusion; maximum use of structural funds and the Social Development Fund for the integration of Roma communities.

Measures to achieve these aims include: creating new jobs for all disadvantaged groups at an estimated cost of SKK 890 million; supporting and maintaining working habits of excluded groups (SKK 613 million); increasing the employability of young people through labour market training and retraining (SKK 160 million); increasing the degree of education and qualification of the long-term unemployed according to the needs of the labour market (SKK 420 million); fostering life-long learning (SKK 90 million); increasing labour mobility (SKK 140 million); improving the environment and social conditions in segregated settlements by increasing the number of personal hygiene centres and laundries and field social workers (SKK 1,650 billion); improving the access of the Roma living in segregated settlements to the provision of healthcare services by increasing the number of health centres and health assistants (SKK 135 million); increasing support for labour market training and job creation (SKK 190 million); increasing the motivation and support of educating Roma children and youth at primary, secondary schools and universities (SKK 420 million); and ensuring adequate housing of communities experiencing social exclusion by building and reconstructing adequate housing for marginalized, segregated Roma communities (SKK 270 million).

In February 2006, the European Commission wrote the following about Slovakia's NAP/Incl.:[178]

The Slovak Republic did not submit an update of the NAP on inclusion in 2005, but several strategic documents have been adopted in the meantime. In February 2004 the Government adopted the Competitiveness Strategy for the Slovak Republic to 2010 (National Lisbon Strategy) with two main objectives: completion of structural reforms in the social area, health care and pension insurance, and development of priority areas such as education and development.

[178] European Commission, "Annex to the Draft Joint Report on Social Protection", op. cit., pp. 50-52.

In May 2005 the Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family introduced the Action Plan for preventing and alleviating poverty and social exclusion in Slovakia for 2005/06. It concentrates on intergenerational poverty: main focus is on children and the promotion of social and community services.

In July 2005, a new measure supporting mothers with children under 3 years of age came into effect. In 2006, new social inclusion measures are planned to be adopted, in particular focusing on education of the unemployed and on the implementation of new types of social services, with higher availability and quality. Measures supporting active ageing policy need to be defined.

Employment and integration of the marginalized Roma community (estimated at 320,000, with 150,000 in desperate living conditions) represents a key challenge. In addition, the situation of Roma people is characterised by social segregation, unequal access to health care (plus increased risk of various diseases and accidents), unequal access to legal protection, and insufficient political participation.

Challenges ahead:

- To increase the overall employment rate and of older workers in particular, to make work pay while promoting more and better jobs, to encourage inclusive labour market;
- To monitor the impact of the reforms on vulnerable groups, and to monitor and assess the implementation of programmes prepared for the Roma and to increase public awareness in relation to this minority;
- To continue to tackle the housing shortage and to combat homelessness;
- To ensure that sufficient resources for adequate pensions are available until the funded schemes have matured and to work out effective strategies to cope with transition costs;
- To successfully carry through the implementation of the new health care legislation, and follow up its medical, social and financial effects.

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The Slovak research team has addressed the second point of the European Commission's identified challenges. Thus, the team selected to review education and employment policies as well as policies on inter-cultural dialogue in terms of Roma exclusion. The goals of the education and employment policies are described below.[179] Due to a lack of available data, the effectiveness of the inclusion policies aimed at Roma in the Slovak Republic was evaluated by the Slovak research team through an analysis of a focus group discussion among experts, civil servants and professionals working with the social inclusion of Roma. The results of the focus group discussions are described below.[180] The experts gathered agreed on several points. The Roma issue represents a combination of ethnic and social problems, both of which must be taken into account when preparing public policies. The approach should be based on desegregation of the Roma. The Roma population is significantly heterogeneous and it has to be approached as such. Co-ordination and mutual awareness are a necessary prerequisite when public policies are prepared. All solutions of the Roma issue must focus on two target groups: the Roma and the majority population.

The experts found the Slovak NAP on social inclusion to be one-dimensional: focused primarily on economic dimension of the problem. In order to be effective, policy must address not only the economic aspect of social exclusion but also spatial, cultural and symbolic exclusion. Economic exclusion is inability to access the standard of living and economic opportunities available to other members of society and can be diminished by improving the individual's position in the labour market and standard of living. Cultural exclusion is the denial of an individual's or group's right to participate in the society's culture and to share its cultural capital, education and culture, which are closely linked to education. Symbolic exclusion is associated with the stigmatization of individuals and social groups that are perceived as different, deviant or strange, as manifested in social

[179] Vasecka, Sadovská and Vašečková, "Final Report Slovakia", op. cit., pp. 86-89.
[180] Ibid.

distance, and the prevalence of prejudice or stereotypes. Spatial exclusion means increased concentration of excluded persons in certain geographical areas, such as the so-called segregated Romany residential quarters. Low standards of living and unemployment rates as high as 100% create a situation of double marginalization.

The Slovak research team reported the following goals and targets of the NAP on the Roma Decade:

Education policies for Roma[181]

Goal 1:	*Improving the educational results of Roma*
Target:	*All Roma boys and girls finish elementary school*
Indicator:	*The share of registered children and children who finished all classes of elementary school* *Reducing the percentage of pupils with poor results* *Improving the results of pupils* *Reducing the percentage of missed, non-justified hours*
Costing:	*Depending on measures incorporated in action plan.*

Goal 2:	*Improving the training and preparation of Roma children*
Target:	*All Roma boys and girls finish preparation for elementary school in the pre-school institution*
Indicator:	*Increased share of children who finished preschool preparation (improving the level of readiness of Roma children for school)*
Costing:	*The total cost over a decade of increasing Roma pre-school enrolment to majority levels or to nearly full levels respectively will cost about SKK 1.7-2.9 billion.*

Goal 3:	*Increasing the percentage of Roma pupils attending high schools*
Target:	*An increase of 15% of Roma pupils, who finish elementary education, attend the gymnasium* *An increase of 50% of Roma children finishing elementary school*
Indicator:	*Increased share of Roma pupils registered and accepted to study on gymnasia, vocational and technical schools*
Costing:	*Consisting of increased cost of extra number of students and cost of compensatory measures, which depends on the action plan.*

Goal 4:	*Reducing the percentage of Roma children attending special elementary schools (SES) and special educational institutions (SEI)*
Target:	*0% of Roma pupils incorrectly placed in SES and SEI* *15% reduction of Roma pupils classified into SES and SEI*
Indicator:	*Reduced share of Roma pupils in special elementary schools and special educational institutions*
Costing:	*Short-term costs largely offset by difference between cost per special school pupil and primary school pupil.*

Goal 5:	*Increasing the percentage of Roma pupils attending university education (increasing the percentage of pupils preparing for teaching profession)*
Target:	*An increase of 20% of pupils finishing high school*
Indicator:	*Increased share of Roma pupils registered and accepted at universities*
Costing:	*Cost of extra students attending university (gradually increasing over time) and costs of compensatory measures.*

[181] Ibid.

Goal 6: *Improving the level of material equipment of schools and school institutions*
Target: *Meeting the standard*
Indicator: *Standards met or unmet*
Costing: *Depends on target levels.*

Goal 7: *Global implementation of multicultural education*
Target: *Ensuring the multicultural education of pupils, students and professional preparation of pedagogical workers and teacher assistants on multicultural education*
Indicator: *Adjusted school curricula, standards*
The level of achieved competencies
Costing: *Cost in tens of millions of SKK based on current estimates.*

Goal 8: *Improve the preventive, educational and support system for the prevention of the negative behaviour of Roma pupils*
Target: *Reducing negative behaviour and increasing participation in positive leisure time activities*
Indicator: *Increased share of Roma pupils on positive leisure time activities*
Reduced number of occurrences of Roma children and youth criminal behaviour
Reduced occurrences of drug addicted behaviour
Costing: *At the maximum scenario of providing an extra full-time advisor at a half of all schools with Roma pupils (some 500 schools according to research by ROCEPO), annual cost would run at around SKK 100 million or about SKK 1 billion for the decade.*

Goal 9: *Invigorate the self-identity of Roma in the process of transformation of Roma self-perception from social group to national minority*
Target: *Inclusion of Roma ethnicity through inclusion of Roma language, history and culture in school curriculum*
Indicator: *Teaching curricula, teaching syllabus and teaching texts for elementary schools, high schools and universities*
The number of citizens in the Slovak Republic joining the Roma nationality
Costing: *Cost in tens of millions of SKK based on present estimates and additional cost of teacher training, already included in other items.*

Goal 10: *Establish study department of Roma language and literature in universities*
Target: *Preparation of 200 teachers of Roma language and literature*
Indicator: *The number of teachers registered for training, completed training and took up pedagogic praxis*
The number of pupils who choose Roma language in school
Costing: *Total cost of study at about SKK 20 million with additional cost of programme development in millions of Sk.*

Goal 11: *Support the lifetime education of Roma with unfinished educations from the perspective of succeeding in the labour market (including carrier advisory)*
Target: *Reduction of 50% in the ratio of Roma with an unfinished education*
Target: *Establishing a system of benefits (legislative and educational conditions) for finishing education*
Indicator: *The share of Roma with unfinished educations who restart their education*
Costing: *Depending on methods chosen, total cost to the tune of several billion SKK with ample opportunity to use EU Structural Funds for financing*

Employment Policies

Goal 1: *To increase the creation of jobs and employment of disadvantaged groups of the population*
Target: *All disadvantaged groups*
Indicator: *Jobs newly created by employers*
Costing: *SKK 890 million (€24 million)*

Goal 2: *To support the maintenance and creation of working habits*
Target: *All excluded groups*
Indicator: *Maintaining working habits and reducing a labour costs.*
Costing: *SKK 613 million (€16.5 million)*

Goal 3: *To increase the employability of young people through labour market training and retraining*
Target: *Young people*
Indicator: *Number of jobs for young people.*
Costing: *SKK 160 million (€4.3 million)*

Goal 4: *To increase the degree of education and qualification of the unemployed according to the needs of the labour market*
Target: *All long-term unemployed*
Indicator: *Number of retrained people.*
Number of employed after being retrained.
Costing: *SKK 420 million (€11.3 million)*

Goal 5: *To create conditions for the development of life-long learning*
Target: *All unemployed*
Indicator: *Number of employed low qualified people*
Costing: *SKK 90 million (€2.4 million)*

Goal 6: *To increase labour mobility*
Target: *All unemployed*
Indicator: *Number of employed people due to internal, international, and near-frontier mobility*
Costing: *SKK 140 million (€3.8 million)*

Goal 7: *To improve the environment and social conditions in segregated settlements*
Target: *Marginalized and segregated Roma communities*
Indicator: *Number of personal hygiene centres and laundries.*
Number of field social workers.
Costing: *SKK 1,650 billion (€44.6 million)*

Goal 8: *To improve the access of Roma living in segregated settlements to the provision of healthcare services*
Target: *Marginalized and segregated Roma communities*
Indicator: *Number of field health centres.*
Number of health assistants.
Costing: *SKK 135 million (€3.6 million)*

Goal 9: *To increase support for labour market training and job creation*
Target: *Marginalized and segregated Roma communities*
Indicator: *Number of inhabitants of Roma settlements placed in the labour market.*
Costing: *SKK 190 million (€5.1 million)*

Goal 10: *To increase the motivation and support for educating Roma children and youth at primary, secondary schools and universities*
Target: *Marginalized and segregated Roma communities*
Indicator: *Number of students who successfully graduate from secondary school, or university.*
Costing: *SKK 420 million (€11.3 million)*

Goal 11: *To ensure adequate housing of communities experiencing social exclusion*
Target: *Marginalized and segregated Roma communities*
Indicator: *Number of newly-built, reconstructed apartments or otherwise ensured housing.*
Costing: *SKK 270 million Sk (€7.3 million)*

Goal 12: *To use in maximum the resources from the Structural Funds and the Social Development Fund in favour of the integration of Roma communities*
Target: *Marginalized and segregated Roma communities*
Indicator: *Share of funds drawn for the solution of the exclusion of marginalized Roma communities in the total financial resources of the state fund and SDF.*
Costing: *SKK 650 million (€17.5 million)*

NAP/Incl. and Inter-cultural Dialogue

Completely missing from the NAP on social inclusion is support for culture in the sense of increasing participation. Since 1996, minority culture in Slovakia has been funded in three ways:

- *Through specific transfers from the budget chapter of the Culture Ministry for projects supporting the development of national minority culture: cultural activities, publishing of periodical and non-periodical press;*
- *Through funding of cultural organizations of minorities as state subsidized organizations on the level of regional authorities;*
- *Through funding of activities aimed at the development of minority culture within the framework of activities carried out by subsidized organizations falling into the competence of regional authorities (museums, galleries, libraries, centers for further education).*

A committee of experts at the Department for Minority Culture, appointed by the Culture Minister, assesses allocation of the Culture Ministry's state budget funds for special purposes. Members of this committee, which also acts as a counselling body of the Culture Minister, include representatives of all national minorities and ethnic groups living in Slovakia. Each minority has one valid vote in the committee. One of the committee's competences is to establish sub-committees. Sub-committees that have been established on the national principle propose the amount of funds to be allocated for selected projects and evaluate projects that aim to develop minority culture from the following viewpoints: quality, importance and significance of cultural development for the minority members and for the maintainence of their identity. The summary funding proposal is prepared by the Culture Ministry and approved by the Culture Minister.

Minority culture in Slovakia develops through the publication of the periodical and non-periodical press for minority members (in 2000, 40 magazines were published), state theatres with programmes in minority languages (four theatres), state museums focusing on minorities (eight museums and departments in regional museums), civic associations developing the culture of all 11 minorities, the activities of two semi-professional folklore ensembles, the activities of the regional centres for further education, regional and district libraries and the broadcasting of programmes in the languages of the minorities in the public media.

Slovak Radio broadcasts 45 hours a week worth of special programmes for the Hungarian minority. Other minorities were allocated less time within the national-ethnic broadcasting schedule: Ruthenian, Ukrainian, German, Czech, Polish and Romany. Slovak Television broadcasts for Hungarian, Romany, Czech, Ukrainian, Ruthenian, Polish, Jewish, German and Bulgarian minorities and also publishes a multi-national magazine. Besides supporting projects submitted by the minority members, the Culture Ministry through the Department for Minority Culture subsidizes also those civic associations the represent handicapped people and multiethnic projects.

Evaluation

Roma Segregation

The group of experts identified as the most visible problem of the NAP a lack of focus on segregated Roma communities , which may be deemed to be those that live in separated or segregated settlements. The most recent statistics on Roma settlements were collected during the former communist regime and date back to the end of 1988, when there were 278 settlements in Slovakia; of this number, 230 were located in the then designated Eastern Slovak Region. The statistical data, which were part of a document to be discussed by the Committee of the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic on Gypsy Population Issues, were quite extensive. They mentioned numbers of inhabitants living in shacks (however, a definition of a shack was lacking), numbers of family, houses under construction, the age structure of children, numbers of citizens organized in the trade union movement (ROH), in the Slovak Women's Union and similar organizations, number of first-time mothers under the age of 13 and even the number of sterilized women. After 1989 such information had stopped being collected; the public administration was even afraid to ask about what it really needed to know.

The need to comprehensively map the situation of Roma in Slovakia has been articulated for many years by various state and non-governmental organizations, as well as by the international institutions that provide funds for the solution of the unfavourable socio-economic situation of the Roma in Slovakia. Naturally, this is not just a problem for Slovakia; all countries with a significant share of Roma living in unsuitable conditions encounter a shortcoming in relevant data. Without knowledge of the overall situation it is very complicated, maybe even impossible, to implement any policy aimed at improving this situation.

Although sociographic mapping provides information about the overall situation - number, regional distribution and typologies of individual Roma settlements - the mapping results provide detailed information about every Roma settlement separately. In December 2004, the Office of the Government issued the Atlas of Roma Communities in Slovakia, which in a chart and graph form includes information about every Roma settlement identified in the course of the survey. In this respect, it is important that the data on the individual Roma settlements are compared with the data on the majority population, which will help to identify whether the given case can be considered to be a case of social exclusion of the Roma or a generally unfavourable situation in the given region (in such a case, information about the Roma settlements would not differ in any way from information about the majority population). Such data can assist in the formulation of public policies in various areas. However, despite the fact that these data are not in conflict with the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, Slovak governmental bodies do not use such data, with the exception of the Ministry for Construction and Regional Development, which was the first institution in Slovakia to utilize the results of sociographic mapping for the preparation of a new housing concept. Although usage of data can be seen in most policies concerning Roma, these data are not used as effectively as they could be. The group of experts during the focus group session identified an unwillingness to tackle the extremely complicated situation within segregated Roma settlements as the greatest obstacle to the efficient use of the data.

Culture

The most striking finding by the group of experts was the absence of a bridge between cultural policies and social inclusion. The factor of culture is understood in the very narrow sense of supporting Roma culture in the same way as the culture of other national minorities is being supported. Usually, therefore, different folklore

groups are supported in ways that would only reinforce prejudices and stereotypes of Roma. What is completely missing in the NAP on social inclusion is a support for culture in the sense of increasing participation.

Data on Roma

There is no consensus in Slovakia as to whether various measures aimed at improving the socio-economic situation of the Roma are to be aimed at the Roma population as a whole or only at those segments of it that are in a state of social dependence. In this context, questions arise whether the Roma can be viewed through an ethnic prism - as an ethnic minority suffering discrimination compared with the rest of the population - or through a social definition – as the poorest group within the population.

Various assessments that provide Roma population estimates mean different things. It is therefore methodologically flawed to combine them – while some will provide estimates of all ethnic Roma regardless of socio-economic status and degree of integration, others present Roma population figures covering mainly the socio-economically marginalized portions of the community.

Striving to fill the gap in the data on Roma, both researchers and policy makers in Slovakia often encounter objections that imply discrimination fears. Gathering data about a particular group of people does not necessarily question the equality of all citizens or imply discrimination. The demographic, socio-economic and frequently also human position of many Roma is significantly different from that of the rest of the population today. The situation in some cases is so complicated that the Roma themselves can hardly change their situation without help from others. However, this help cannot be sufficiently effective without the necessary information. Acquiring demographic and statistical data is thus not aimed at the discrimination of the Roma. On the contrary, it is supposed to benefit them. The second reason why we need as exact data on the Roma is the struggle to prevent unprofessional or premeditated estimates from being created.

Chapter 12 - SLOVENIA

Slovenia is a heterogeneous country, whose population is 83% ethnic Slovene. The small Italian and Hungarian minorities are granted protected status under the Slovene Constitution. Persons belonging to nations or nationalities of the former Yugoslav state who migrated to Slovenia from other republics of the then-Yugoslav state were granted Slovene citizenship upon independence; these groups are referred to as the new ethnic minorities and constitute 0.7% of the population according to the 2002 census, though the problem of under self-reporting may mean this figure is too low. Slovenia also has a Roma minority. While in the 2002 census only 0.17% of Slovenia's population reported their ethnicity as Roma, other estimates are considerably higher: between 0.35% and 0.6%.

In February 2006, the European Commission wrote the following about Slovenia's NAP/Incl.:[182]

The adoption of the Programme to Combat Poverty and Social Exclusion in 2000 defined and recognised social inclusion as a government policy priority. This is well reflected in the 2004-2006 NAP, whose comprehensive strategy focuses on the four EU common objectives in the fight against poverty and social exclusion. Although key priorities, such as the inclusive labour market, appropriate education, suitable living conditions and reducing regional differences, are well identified in the NAP, the measures envisaged do not always respond adequately to the challenges, and do not cover the broad range of priorities listed in the strategy. A number of objectives are not sufficiently translated into operational measures and quantified targets. Although the reference in the NAP to the use of structural funds is not precise or clear, some measures are in fact supported by the ESF. The majority of the measures announced in the NAP have given rise to some initiatives. However, in the absence of a formal implementation report or an update in 2005 and given the lack of monitoring data, an assessment of their adequacy and efficiency is not possible.

Challenges ahead:

- To introduce new and further develop existing measures for bringing people who depend on benefits back to the labour market, while maintaining a proper level of social security and avoiding poverty and disability traps;
- To increase access to accommodation especially for the most vulnerable groups, to fight against discrimination as one of the major obstacles to social inclusion with the introduction of a concrete strategy and measures and to tackle the existing regional disparities;
- To implement the rise in the pension age, moving towards increasing the employment rates of older workers and full equality between men and women;
- To enhance and ensure long-term care provision and health care services for elderly people (patients) in accordance with their specific and changing needs within health care institutions and in their home environment; to improve policy coordination and service organisation in these fields in order to reduce incapacities and inequalities further and to reach efficiency gains.

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The Slovenian research team selected for review the education and employment policies as well as the policy to promote access to culture in the Slovenian NAP/Incl. Particular focus was put on Roma minorities but new immigrant communities were also studied, thus addressing the second point of the European Commission's identified challenges ahead.

The Slovenian NAP/Incl. was the only strategy addressing cultural policies directly. Due to lack of data, however, only the education policies aimed at Roma inclusion could be evaluated in terms of cost-effectiveness (see further Part II).

[182] European Commission, "Annex to the Draft Joint Report on Social Protection", op. cit., pp. 48-49.

The Slovenian research team described the Slovenian NAP/Incl. as follows:[183]

The government of the Republic of Slovenia defined the policy of social integration as one of its priority policies in 2000. Although there is no generally accepted notion on social inclusion/exclusion (social integration), there are different phenomena related to this notion: poverty, inequality, segregation, etc. There are differences in the definition of social inclusion/exclusion with regard to the viewpoint of either 'objective' statistical data or 'subjective' perceptions. This poses the conceptual framework of social integration, as well as the source of definition, as a problem.

According to the Slovene National Action Plan on Social Inclusion 2004-2006, social inclusion in Slovenia is faced with the following key challenges (listed in order of importance):

- *Further development of an inclusive labour market and promoting employment as a right possibility for all;*
- *Ensuring appropriate education;*
- *Ensuring suitable living condition for all;*
- *Reducing regional differences;*
- *Improving the provision of services; and*
- *Ensuring income and means for a decent standard of living.*[184]

In order to meet these challenges, Slovenia set out four main objectives in the National Action Plan on Social Inclusion 2004-2006. The first objective is to facilitate participation in employment, which should be done primarily through the programmes of the Active Employment Policy (AEP). The second main objective of the NAP is to facilitate access to resources, rights, goods and services. These include: ensuring the system of social protection, housing, access to health care, access to social protection, access to education, access to judicial protection, access to culture, access to leisure activities, and reducing regional differences. The third main objective of the NAP is to prevent the risk of exclusion by promoting e-inclusion, preventing exclusion from work, preventing discrimination, and preventing other forms of exclusion (ensuring a minimum selection of electronic services; ensuring access to school, safe transport or care; ensuring the supply of minimum quantities of electrical energy). The fourth main objective of the NAP is to ensure help for the most vulnerable in gaining employment, in education, with housing needs and with social inclusion.

Groups at the greatest risk of poverty and social exclusion, listed in the NAP/Incl. 2004-2006, are:

- *Certain groups of disabled persons;*
- *Unemployed young persons;*
- *Children (where owing to poverty or social exclusion their physical, mental/emotional and social development are at risk, and this has negative long-term consequences);*
- *Adolescents with development difficulties;*
- *Homeless persons (health and housing problems);*
- *Roma (unemployment, low educational level, poor housing conditions; Roma are the only ethnic community recognized in the NAP/Incl. as one of the groups with the greatest risk of poverty and social exclusion);*
- *People with low incomes (unemployed, lone parent families); and*
- *Other vulnerable groups (victims of abuse, addicts, persons with mental health problems, persons on probations, persons without work permits).*

Special policies and measures for the promotion of social inclusion of the Roma in the NAP/Incl. 2004-2006 relate to the following areas: employment, education, housing and help with integration into society. Besides, Roma being one of the groups most at risk of social exclusion, they can be considered a target group of other envisaged (general) measures for social inclusion as well. On the other hand, the NAP/Incl. 2004-2006 does not deal with the new ethnic minorities as with vulnerable groups (groups at the highest risk of poverty and social exclusion); they are, however, included in the part of the NAP/Incl. 2004-2006 that deals with access to culture.

[183] Žagar et al.,"Final Report Slovenia", op. cit., p. 33.
[184] Government of Slovenia NAP/Incl. 2004-2006, pp. 6-7.

Three areas of policy in the Slovenian NAP/Incl. are described and evaluated by the research team as follows:

Education Policy

Strategies, Aims and Measures defined in the National Action Plan on Social Inclusion (2004-2006) in the Field of Education.[185]

In the NAP /Incl. 2004-2006, the special emphasis is on the education of the Roma: "Members of the Roma community are characterized by a low level of education and inadequate functional literacy. Owing to their deficient knowledge of Slovenian, Roma children have difficulties as soon as they enrol in kindergarten or primary school. All of this creates problems with inclusion in society. Slovenia will try to invest greater effort in including Roma children in full-time education".[186]

The objectives are primarily:

- *Ensure the conditions for attaining standards of knowledge that are needed for further education (a reduction of or variance from the standard for Roma is not acceptable);*
- *Exercise the right to maintain respect for the Roma language and culture;*
- *Inclusion in the majority society whereby education in the curriculum ensures the principles and values of equality in connection with social justice (fighting prejudices, approaching universal values); and*
- *Promote education for adult Roma.*

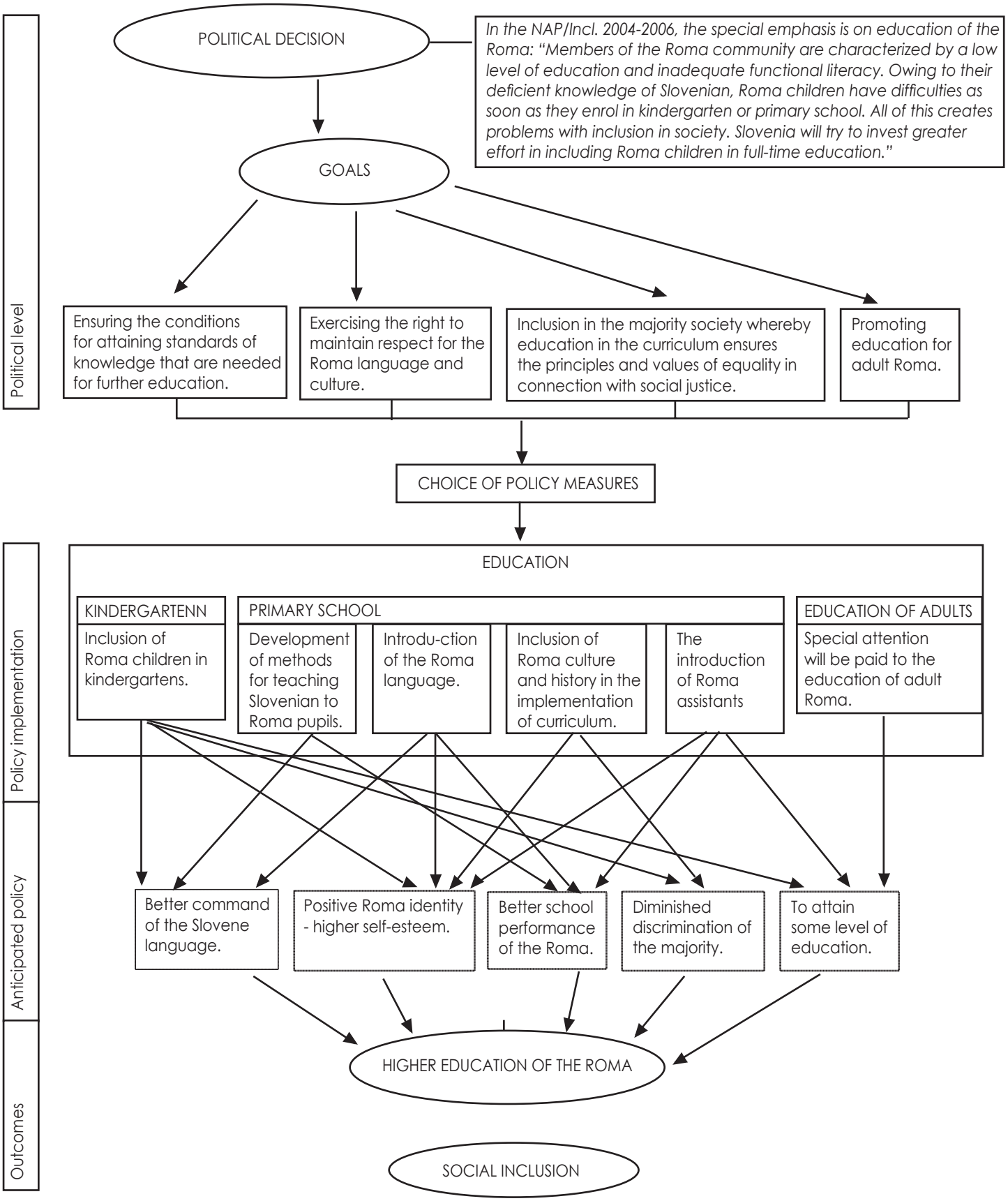
In the field of education, measures and priority tasks have been adopted, directly relating to Roma population:

- *Early inclusion in the education system: inclusion of Roma children in kindergartens at least two years before the start of primary school, i.e., when they are four years old at the latest; the purpose of inclusion in kindergartens is primarily language learning (both Slovenian and Roma) and socialization, which provides experiences and patterns that help children to start primary school more easily;*
- *Inclusion of Roma culture, history and identity in the implementation of curricula;*
- *Development of methods for teaching Slovenian to Roma pupils.*
- *Introduction of the Roma language optional subject;*
- *The introduction of Roma assistants to schools Lack of knowledge of Slovenian and unsuccessful integration of children can be eliminated or mitigated through the introduction of Roma assistants, who will be able to help children to overcome the emotional and linguistic barrier and will represent some sort of bridge between kindergartens, schools and the Roma community; and*
- *Special attention will be paid to the education of adult Roma to raise their educational level and develop the labour force; to the development of advice centres or networks in environments where the Roma live, and to the institutions of a Roma coordinator; to financial support or assistance from the ministry and to ensuring funds for the possibility of free participation programs and free study help.*[187]

All of the six measures are directed towards attaining the above mentioned objectives.

[185] Žagar et al., "Final Report Slovenia", op. cit., p. 68.
[186] Government of Slovenia, NAP/Incl. 2004-2006, p. 20.
[187] More on this measure in Žagar et al.,"Final Report Slovenia", op. cit., chapter 6.2.4.

Figure 7 - Model of the Education Policy for Roma in Slovenia



The model (Figure 7) presents the link between political decision, policy measure (being the result of political debate), effects (output) and their outcome. At this point, it is not our intention to debate political decisions or whether defined aims are adequate and sufficient or not. We simply wish to know whether the adopted (political) measures give satisfying effects. Do the measures stated in the NAP/Incl. (2004-2006) contribute to the higher educational attainment of Roma and consequently to reductions in their social exclusion?

As suggested by Grin and Moring,[188] the model of the education policy is best understood by working 'backwards' from the end of the casual chain, represented at the bottom of the flow chart.

The desired final aim is a higher degree of social inclusion of Roma population. Education is one of the important factors leading to the achievement of this aim. In the existing educational system, Roma do not yet have guaranteed equal opportunities in comparison to majority population. The model shows that the necessary conditions should be guaranteed mainly in three spheres (domains):

- *Compared to other children, Roma children have lower starting foundations:*
  - *lesser command of Slovene, as it is their second language.*
  - *additional didactic methods are necessary, which would help Roma children to achieve learning success, corresponding to their abilities.*
- *Education to create an active Roma community:*
  - *shaping of positive Roma identity, education on Roma culture, language, etc.*
  - *recognizing education as a value by means of which an individual can realize his ambitions.*
- *Education of majority population regarding Roma culture, tradition and language (positive effects of multicultural society), which should contribute to the elimination of prejudice and ethnic distance towards members of other ethnic communities or cultures.*

The fundamental idea (presumption) is as follows: if the foreseen conditions become realized in these three spheres in actual daily life, this will help raise the educational structure of the Roma community to a higher level.

If we continue upwards along the flow chart, we may ask ourselves: which are the measures that will contribute to the creation of these conditions? Measures to ensure the necessary conditions relate to three levels of education:

- *Kindergarten;*
- *Primary school; and*
- *Education.*

It is necessary to consider the mutual intertwining and impact of the three levels of education. The inclusion of Roma children into kindergartens affects their primary school success. The more Roma children complete their primary school education, the less need there is for primary school education of adults.

Evaluation

One of the aims in the sphere of education, which is not only relevant to the Roma population, is reducing the rate of school dropout. The aim itself is of a long-term nature, foreseeing no concrete measures momentarily. There is a special programme to this end currently being applied in pilot schools. It is financed by the Ministry of Education and Sport and performed by the Centre for Vocational training.[189]

[188] Grin and Moring, "Support for Minority Languages", op. cit., p. 78.

[189] Government of Slovenia, "First Annual Report on the Performance of the NAP on social inclusion 2004-2006", 9 June 2006. At the RS Centre for Vocational Education, a model was created of prevention measures against dropout from vocational schools, which in the school year 2004-2005 was experimentally introduced into several schools.

The fact is that permanent endeavours are necessary to create an atmosphere that will contribute to confidence in educational institutions and the elimination of prejudice, on the part of the majority population (teachers, parents, and children) in relation to Roma or other pupils differing in any way. The quality of mutual relations contributes to the achieving of set knowledge standards.

It is also a fact that causes affecting school dropout are complex, originating from various spheres of an individual's life, and this means they cannot be eliminated only by measures restricted to the educational sphere. The role of educational institutions is limited.[190]

Research studies in the field of education have shown school success or dropout of children to be essentially affected by the socio-economic status of the family[191]*. This means that while studying the integration of Roma children into the educational system, their socio-economic status must be considered, apart from their ethnic adherence and the differences between the Roma and majority culture. Some members of the Roma community live in decent houses or apartment blocs, are employed and have a respective socio-economic status. We can suppose their children are more successful in the integration into the educational system. Other Roma community members live in unfavourable social conditions, inadequate housing, are uneducated, unemployed, etc., and thus do not recognize education as a value that could secure their children a better future.*

From the point of view of the majority, education seems to be an important factor in the integration of the Roma population into society. If children attended school regularly, acquired education and employment, it would be easier for them to integrate, which would solve most of their problems as a stigmatized and marginalized community. Is this really the case?

Most children are quick to notice that their parents, despite completing primary, vocational or secondary school, cannot find employment or get salaries that are lower than the social allowance for unemployed parents. Social allowance guarantees a certain living standard and at the same time Roma do other legal or semi-legal jobs, bringing additional financial income. Why strive, prove oneself, put up with the discrimination of teachers and schoolmates, with daily duties, if minimum school effort is sufficient to follow the pattern of their parents? On the other hand, economically successful Roma parents with businesses of their own very early introduce their children into the family business. For them, too, the story of rather 'unnecessary' education is repeated.

Thus, even the most elaborate measures aimed at preventing dropouts from education will not provide the desired results unless changes in other life spheres (employment, elimination of discrimination, housing, etc.) are also undertaken.

Employment Policy

Strategies, Aims and Measures Defined in the National Action Pplan on Social Inclusion (2004-2006) in the Field of Employment[192]

In 2004, special measures to help Roma with employment were included in the NAP/Incl. 2004-2006.

[190] The Ministry of Education and Sports will, in order to solve issues reaching beyond education problems but still influencing education, continue to cooperate with other relevant ministries, especially with the Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs and the Ministry of Health. Cooperation with the Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs will take place in the following spheres: social and family financial aid, scholarships and public work programmes dedicated to education and vocational training. Cooperation with the Ministry of Health will take place in the following spheres: preventive programmes preparation, educational programmes for nurses and home nursing, surveys and possible supplements of legal grounds for necessary evidence, and co-financing of research projects on the interconnection between lifestyle, health and education. In terms of concrete activities, the Ministry of Education and Sports will also cooperate with other institutions (Health Protection Institute, Healthcare Centre, Employment Centre, Chamber of Commerce, Chamber of Trades, etc.).

[191] Mladen Tancer, Položaj in vzgojno-izobraževalni dosežki osnovnošolskih otrok Romov v občini Murska Sobota: magistrska naloga (Ljubljana: Univerza v Ljubljani, Filozofska fakulteta, 1989); and Bojan Dekleva and Špela Razpotnik (eds.) Čefurji so bili rojeni tu: življenje mladih priseljencev druge generacije v Ljubljani (Ljubljana: Pedagoška fakulteta, Inštitut za kriminologijo pri Pravni fakulteti, 2002).

[192] Žagar et al., "Final Report Slovenia", op. cit., p.120.

Objectives

The objectives of the special employment policy/measures for Roma are not clearly set out in the NAP/Incl.. We can only draw them indirectly from the following text:

> The Roma fall within those groups of society with the highest risk of poverty and social exclusion, which is a consequence of unemployment and low education. In recent years the Roma have been increasingly included in various public works programs organised as part of the regional services of the Employment Service of Slovenia (ESS), which have the objective of raising the employment prospects of the Roma and reducing the number of unemployed Roma. A National Action Program for Employment and Social Inclusion of Roma is being drawn up, and this envisages a range of measures to improve the social inclusion and employment prospects of Roma, while also envisaging a re-deployment of appropriate financial means for the implementation of measures and achieving of objectives.[193]

The two above mentioned objectives (1. raising the employment prospects of the Roma; and 2. reducing the number of unemployed Roma) are also listed in the first annual report on the implementation of the NAP prepared by the responsible Ministries, so we shall regard them as objectives set in the NAP/Incl. 2004-2006.

Special Measures and Priority Tasks

Among the special measures and priority tasks to help the Roma in gaining employment, the NAP /Incl. mentions the Action Programme for Employment of the Roma 2003-2006, which has been harmonized with the European Employment Strategy (EES). The programme envisages the following measures:[194]

- *Inclusion of young unemployed Roma in primary and vocational schools (gaining an education opens up greater employment prospects);*
- *Inclusion of adult Roma in programs of subsidised jobs (in cooperation with Roma societies and local communities);*
- *Creation of public works*[195]*; and*
- *Employment of Roma advisers at Employment Service offices.*

All the four measures are directed towards attaining the above mentioned objectives.

Besides, the Roma are included in the general programmes of the Active Employment Policy (AEP). Programmes under the Active Employment Policy represent the fundamental instrument with which the state attempts to promote the inclusion of citizens in employment. In the NAP/Incl. 2004-2006, measures and priorities in the field of employment mostly relate to the Active Employment Policy.[196]

The AEP program for 2006 includes measures, the aim of which is faster and more efficient employment, decreases in unemployment, increases in opportunities for employment, social integration, and prevention of unemployment traps, as well as reductions in regional differences within the state. The fundamental objective of the AEP is to increase the employment prospects for disadvantaged persons (those hard to employ).[197] *In the year 2006, a special commission was formed for the preparation of the Roma Employment Programme within the Program of Active Employment Policy measures for 2006.*[198]

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[193] Government of Slovenia, NAP/Incl. 2004-2006, p. 19.
[194] Ibid. 34.
[195] The NAP/Incl. only mentions the creation of public works (for help in learning) to reduce the school drop out rate but there are also other public works programmes for the Roma and we shall include all of them in our analysis.
[196] Government of Slovenia, "First Annual Report", op. cit.
[197] Government of Slovenia, NAP/Incl. 2004-2006, p. 8.
[198] Source Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs, 31 May 2006.

Within the Programme of Active Employment Policy measures for 2006, Roma are mentioned as a special target group of this policy and are listed among the "less employable unemployed persons" and "particularly vulnerable groups of unemployed persons"[199]. In accordance with the measures for 2006, Roma are among the groups that will have priority in the inclusion in education and training programmes, public works and non-market employment programs (intended for non-profit employers, for the performing of social services and other activities that are in public interest)[200]; Roma, as a special target group, are also mentioned with all other AEP measures[201].

The Employment Service of Slovenia estimates that about 2,600 Roma are registered as unemployed. The number is an estimation, as with registration and further evidence records,a statement of ethnical adherence is not obligatory; it is, however, stated by the advisor after the interview with the job seeker if the advisor believes that this fact can be an obstacle to employment. In the Roma Employment Programme for 2006, 820 new inclusions of Roma into the AEP are planned and 30 'exits' in regular employments.[202]

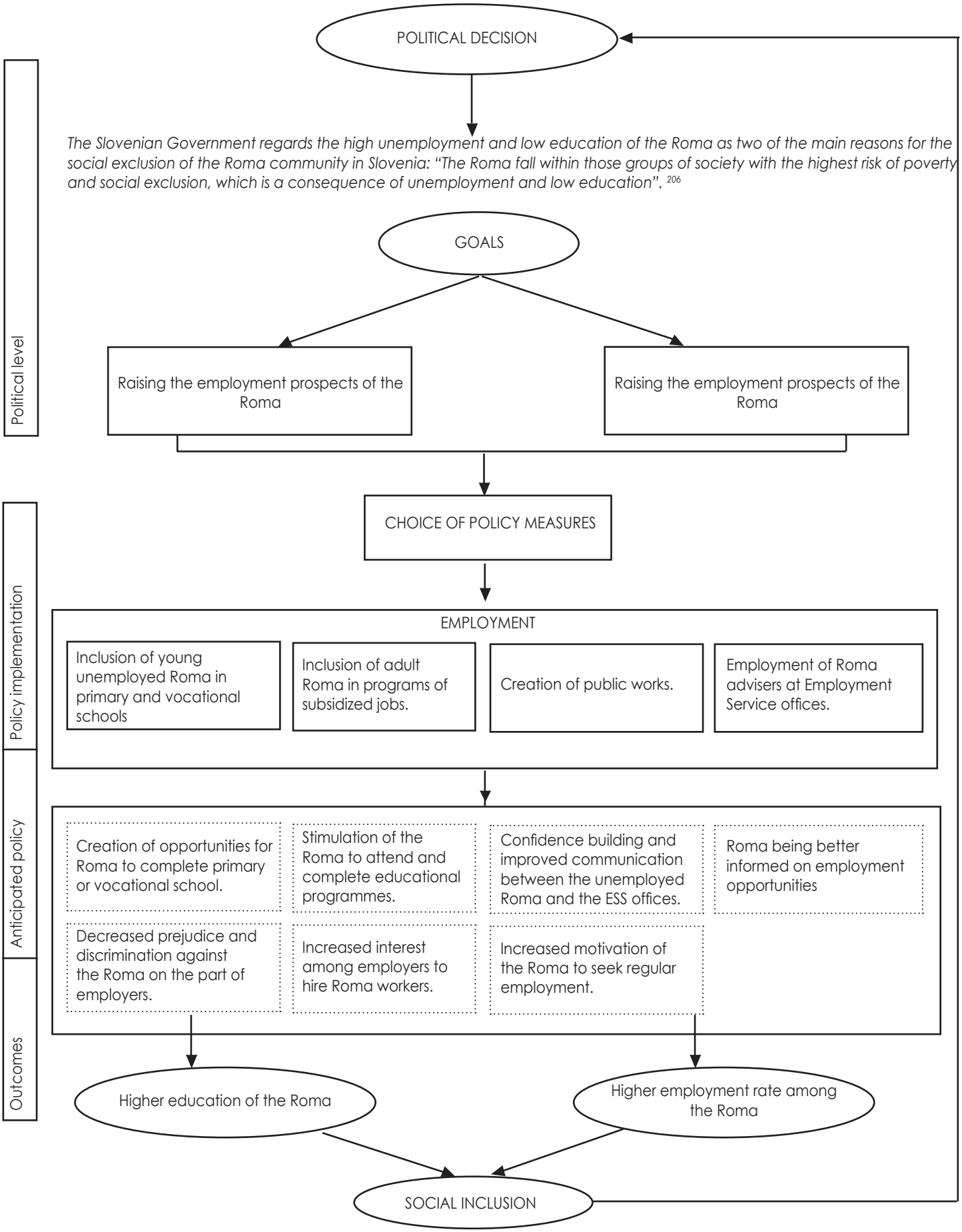
Alongside the existing AEP programmes, plans are in hand for special programmes for employment and social inclusion, which will respond to the needs of disadvantaged persons.[203] A new National Action Programme for Employment and Social Inclusion of Roma will be drawn up during the course of 2006.[204]

Evaluation

Even though the answer to the question of whether it is better to include the Roma in the general programmes of employment policies or to design special employment programmes only for them has not been agreed upon,[205] we believe that the inclusion of special policies to improve the employment opportunities of the Roma in the NAP/Incl. 2004-2006 is a good idea, not only because the Roma face disproportionately high risks of unemployment (compared to the majority population as well as other groups at risk), but because the special employment policies for the Roma are designed in a way that helps improve the social situation of Roma communities in a much broader sense than just in terms of reducing their high unemployment rates.

[199] Government of Slovenia, "Programme of Measures of the AEP for 2006", Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia (2006) No. 26/06, p. 2739.
[200] Ibid., p. 2739.
[201] Žagar et al., "Final Report Slovenia", op. cit., Table 28, p. 128.
[202] Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs, 31 May 2006.
[203] Government of Slovenia, NAP/Incl. 2004-2006, p. 33.
[204] Council of Europe's Commissioner for Human Rights, 29 March 2006, p. 8.
[205] See, for example, the report from Workshop I of the project South East Europe Regional Project to Promote Employment Opportunities for Roma, held in Novo Mesto, 3-5 October 2001, in Vera Klopčič and Miroslav Polzer (eds.), *Europe, Slovenia and Roma* (Ljubljana: Institute for Ethnic Studies2003), p. 332."The question whether or not Roma should be identified as a special group within unemployed persons (and therefore given special rights), or whether they should be granted the same and equal status, protection and opportunities as for all other unemployed persons was vigorously discussed, as well as consequences for both alternatives. The participants could not achieve a consensus."

Figure 8 - Model of the Employment Policy for Roma in Slovenia



[206] Government of Slovenia, NAP/Incl. 2004-2006, p. 19.

The NAP does not envisage special mechanisms to monitor and evaluate the implementation of the envisaged measures and the attainment of the objectives.[207] Therefore much of the data that would be needed to evaluate the effectiveness and cost-effectiveness of the policies is not being collected. In some cases, the data are being collected for all unemployed and the number of Roma cannot be disaggregated.

The implementation of the measures to include young unemployed Roma in primary and vocational schools can be measured through the numbers of Roma included in the educational programmes. These numbers, as we have seen, have risen in recent years. Nevertheless, the objectives to be achieved by this measure are to get the Roma not only to attend but also to successfully finish the educational programmes and eventually obtain regular employment. At the moment, there are no data being systematically gathered that would enable the assessment of these outcomes. It is also difficult to evaluate how cost-effective such a measure is, because all the outcomes cannot be translated into numbers. For example, if a Roma person successfully finishes his/her educational programme, but does not obtain regular employment afterwards, the money spent on his/her education can still be justified if this person's education positively influences future generations – an educated person is better able to help his/her children at school and is more likely to encourage them to attend school and participate in school activities. On the other hand it is possible that the consequences in the case we mentioned are quite the opposite. If a person cannot find regular employment after finishing an educational programme, this can persuade him/her or strengthen his/her previous opinion that education does not matter and that it is not worth putting any effort into finishing school. If such an attitude is transmitted to this person's children, then the measure has missed its goal and the money spent on his/her education was in vain.

The problems of evaluating cost-effectiveness can be encountered in other measures, such as the public works programme. The financial compensation that unemployed persons participating in the public works programme are entitled to, is only slightly higher (in some cases even lower) that the social aid they would be receiving if they remained unemployed. This leads to the conclusion that, for the state budget, expenses are not essentially higher if unemployed persons are participating in public works. Other positive results of the inclusion of the unemployed in the public works programmes probably outweigh the means invested, although it is hard to estimate them in numbers - especially in public works dedicated to the solving of Romani social problems. (e.g., public works for helping Roma children in school (a Roma assistant), public works for improvement of the employment opportunities of the Roma, public works aimed at Roma settlements renovation). Such public works not only help eliminate unemployment, but also improve the status of the Roma community in different spheres, from education to housing, etc. This has a long-term effect on the improvement of the social integration of Roma.

It is therefore necessary to see the whole picture and not to evaluate each measure (only) on its own. The measures proposed in the NAP complement each other and we believe that only in this way can the general objectives of improving employment opportunities and reducing the high unemployment rates among the Roma be achieved. However, the outcomes of the measures, the implementation of which began only in the past few years, cannot be fully observed yet. Therefore, our conclusions on the effectiveness of the measures can only be partial as well. To sum up these (partial) conclusions we could say that:

- *The measures introduced in the NAP/Incl. 2004-2006 to help improve the employment opportunities of the Roma are being implemented;*
- *All the introduced measures have had some positive effects – more Roma are included in educational programmes for adults; more Roma are included in the public works programmes; the employment of the first two Roma coordinators at the Employment Service's offices has produced positive results and the programme has now been expanded to include 11 Roma coordinators; the introduction of Roma assistants in schools and kindergartens through public works will result in the systematization of this occupation and the jobs of a Roma assistant and a Roma coordinator will be included in the Occupation Core;*

[207] It only defines the Slovenian Government Office for Nationalities as competent for monitoring and coordination of the programs and measures that competent ministries formulate and implement in their area of work (employment, education, housing , etc.). See Government of Slovenia, NAP/Incl 2004-2006, p. 34.

• There have been some deficiencies identified in some of the measures (e.g., the non-stimulative payment for the public works; the overly short maximum duration of the programme of public works (one year); the incompatibility of different programmes within the active employment policy; the unsuitable system of providing financial means for the organization of educational programs for adult Roma) but this does not mean that the measures are bad or completely ineffective – it only means that some modifications in their implementation could help improve their effectiveness;
• The government did not envisage special mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating the implementation of proposed measures in the NAP/Incl.. Nevertheless, in the field of employment, the programme of measures of the AEP for the year 2006 envisages constant monitoring of the implementation and effectiveness of the measures by the Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs, and also a final evaluation by an external evaluator. Since most of the measures listed in the NAP/Incl. that relate to employment are being implemented through the AEP programmes, we could actually say that most of the NAP/Incl.'s measures (their implementation and effectiveness) are being monitored and (will be) evaluated. However, as far as Roma are concerned, it is not always possible to detach data related specifically to them (e.g., there are no exact data on the money allocated specifically to the Roma in certain programmes of the AEP, since the Roma are included in these programmes together with other unemployed);
• Many potential outcomes of the proposed measures cannot be measured in numbers and can also not be explained as a consequence of only one measure. This makes the effectiveness and cost-effectiveness analysis much more complicated.

Access to Culture[208]

The Slovenian NAP/Incl. (2004-2006) does pay attention to the role of culture and cultural activities but contrary, to what one might expect, it does not indicate a direct link between participation in cultural activities and increased social inclusion (such as, for example, participating in certain cultural activities resulting in employment in the arts sector). Instead of this, it emphasizes a cultural rights approach. In 2002, an analysis of the situation in the area of protecting the cultural rights of minority ethnic communities, children and disabled persons was carried out - at the Ministry of Culture. There were some deficiencies identified in the analysis. For this reason, the basic objective of the NAP/Incl. is to eliminate the deficiencies assessed in the analysis.

The long-term objectives defined in NAP are:

• Promoting cultural diversity in public programmes and raising the share of programmes for ethnic minorities supported by the Ministry of Culture; developing amateur culture and increasing the number of cultural associations and the average number of those attending by 10% by 2007; increasing the organizational efficiency of amateur culture (help from expert mentors, adequate premises);
• Ensuring the conditions for adequate treatment of the cultural rights of ethnic minorities;
• Promoting the development of minority cultures and improving information;
• Promoting cooperation between the Ministry of Culture and local communities;
• Supplementing and developing the regional network of cultural links;
• Improving social cohesion and awareness of diversity; and
• Improving access to cultural goods and conditions for creativity irrespective of the location.

Measures and priority tasks for improving access to culture:

• Fulfilling the conditions for financing of what are called 'new minorities' (for the most part comprising people who settled in Slovenia from the former Yugoslav republics);
• Fulfilling the concept of cultural diversity in the interest of improving the quality of life for all.

[208] Žagar et al., "Final Report Slovenia", op. cit., p. 167.

In the assessment of the implementation of the above mentioned objectives, we will focus on selected minority ethnic communities – Roma and new ethnic minorities – although the aims and measures, anticipated in the NAP do not relate exclusively to these ethnic minorities.

The Slovene government considers inclusion and cooperation in cultural activities as one of the important aspects that can positively contribute to the social inclusion of individuals or groups.

Inclusion in cultural groups has strong socialisation significance, since it enables the self-assertion of those groups of society and individuals that in their everyday working or family environment do not achieve personal satisfaction and affirmation or for biological (youth, old people, disabled), age or other reasons are pushed to the margins. Cultural appreciation programs act in the function of social cohesion. This is manifested primarily in the form of social life accompanying cultural activities, as a counter to the growing trends of alienation.[209]

In the NAP/Incl. (2004-2006), the Slovene government envisaged a policy of ensuring access to culture as one of the policies to promote the social inclusion of different groups and individuals, living in Slovene society (special attention has been paid to (new) ethnic minorities). The measures and priority tasks to attain the goals of this policy were vaguely defined and might lead to different interpretations of what the anticipated effects of the policy might be. We believe that in general they are supposed to run in two directions: 1. increased opportunities for different ethnic communities to apply for financial support for their cultural projects; and 2. increased support for diverse ethnic contents of the projects financed by the state and local communities. This should improve the access of ethnic minorities to cultural activities, especially their opportunities to preserve and develop their cultures and also to present them to the broader public.

It is evident (see Figure 9) that the existing 'cultural policy' (policy to promote ethnic minorities' access to culture) deals mostly with creating conditions for the preservation of the minority cultures and with providing financial means for the cultural activities of ethnic minorities. The cultural policy neglects the potentials of the human and social capital of ethnic minorities. Culture is not recognized as a factor that contributes to the personal growth of an individual, a factor that could provide for employment possibilities in the filed of culture and arts, etc. The connection between participation in cultural activities and social inclusion is not established.

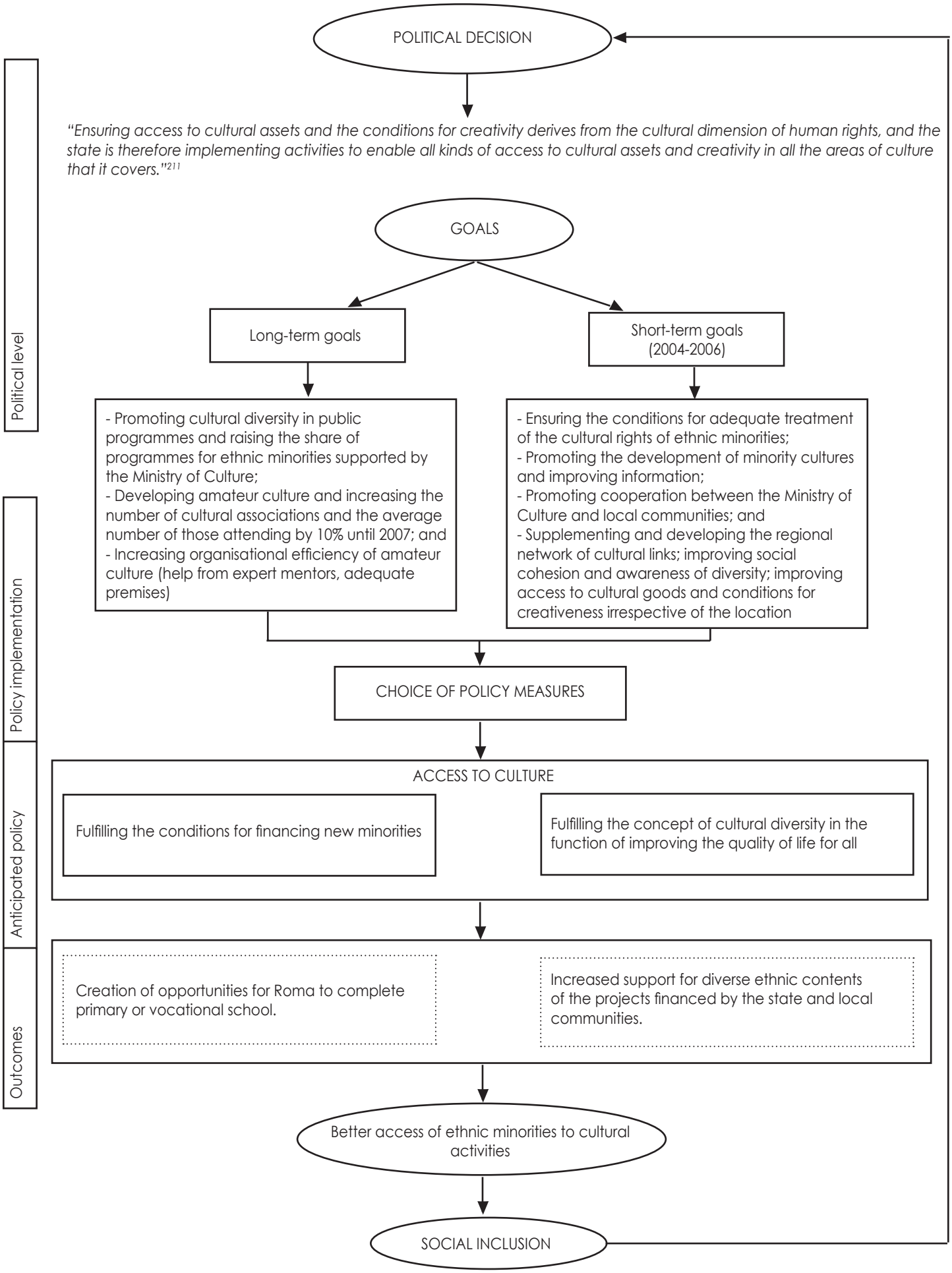
Evaluation

In the field of promoting access to culture for the most vulnerable ethnic groups in Slovene society, the NAP/Incl. 2004-2006 envisages very general measures, the implementation of which cannot be easily evaluated. Nevertheless, according to the indicators that we used we could say that the policies to promote cultural pluralism and the development of minority cultures in Slovenia are being implemented and that progress can be noticed in a number of areas:

- *The amount of money allocated for these policies has been rising in the last few years;*
- *More and more minority cultural associations have been able to obtain money for their cultural projects from the Ministry of Culture; and*
- *The number of projects that signify the presentation of minority cultures across Slovenia and abroad and contribute to greater accessibility of information on the minority communities' cultural activities has also been rising.*

[209] Government of Slovenia, NAP/Incl. 2004-2006, pp. 14-15.

Figure 9 - Model of the Policy to Improve Ethnic Minorities' Access to Culture in Slovenia[210]



[210] The structure of the model was inspired by Grin's 'policy-to-outcome-path' model, published in Grin and Moring, Suppport for Minority Languages, op. cit., p. 79.

[211] Government of Slovenia, NAP/Incl. 2004-2006, p. 14.

In the course of our research we interviewed individual members of new ethnic communities, who were active in cultural associations and were also participating in the process of financial means acquisition (tenders, donations) for the performance of association activities. We asked them to estimate the implementation of the NAP/Incl. on social inclusion 2004-2006 measures.

Representatives of individual cultural associations of new minorities in Slovenia are mostly satisfied with the cooperation with the Ministry of Culture and with the personal endeavours of individual Ministry employees in charge of the financing of cultural projects of minority associations. Likewise, they are satisfied with the cooperation with the Public Fund for Cultural Activities, which also finances some of their projects. However, the question is to what extent the existing system contributes to the actual preservation of minority cultures in Slovenia, to what extent it reflects and considers the minority communities' needs and contributes to the promotion of inter-culturalism.

Our respondents confirmed the increase in financial means reserved by the Ministry of Culture for the cultural activities of ethnic minorities but at the same time stressed that it remains insufficient. Along with the increase in financial means from the Ministry of Culture, the number of ethnic communities and cultural associations applying to tenders has also increased, which means that individual communities do not get more money in the end. They are satisfied with the work of the professional service, which helps and advises them with tender applications, although many bureaucratic procedures are unnecessary, and frequent changes of tender conditions are disturbing.

The shortage they exposed is the fact that they can only acquire financial means from the Ministry of Culture. Many of their projects belong to the field of education (courses in minority languages, etc.) and could be financed by the Ministry of Education and Sport, if this ministry disposed with funds, reserved for ethnic minorities. They also disagree with the fact that the Ministry of Culture does not allocate funds for visiting minority artists from abroad. Furthermore, they miss the possibility of being paid for work on the projects they perform as members of cultural associations.

Minority associations members emphasized that there are differences between their needs in culture and the needs of the majority nation. These specificities and differences are not paid sufficient attention by the Ministry of Culture. They pointed out that the existing programme of financing of cultural (art) projects of minority communities is insufficient for the preservation of minority cultures in Slovenia and does not contribute enough to the promotion of inter-culturalism in society. For ethnic minorities, culture is not merely artistic creativity (theatre, music, publishing) but refers to lifestyle as a whole. For the preservation of minority cultures – rather than project financing of individual minority artists – continuous financing of association activities would be necessary, which would provide for the preservation and transmission of language, traditions and culture. Their needs are: long-term non-project organizing and financing of different activities, which would allow for associating with their members (creation of a social network) in various activities (sports associations, choruses, days of cultural celebrations, etc.).

They expressed the need to establish a public or private institution (for archival, information, cultural or economic activities), which would be headed by adequately educated community members.[212] *The fact is that cultural associations are amateur and their functioning is based exclusively on the voluntary work of a narrow circle of individuals. They are faced with the problem that many intellectuals (minority community members) do not wish to expose themselves, as being active in the cultural associations of ethnic minority communities is not socially 'desired' or positively evaluated. They would need infrastructural support, which would contribute to improving the quality of their work.*

They also stressed that they had no access to information channels through which to inform the public on their work. Strong media like public television and large circulation papers charge prices (commercial), which these

[212] Such a solution would alleviate reproaches on discrimination between 'classical' minorities and 'new' national communities. Above all, this would mean a similar treatment of new ethnic minorities in Slovenia and members of the Slovene communities outside Slovenia with regard to the fact that the Article 28, item 1, Act on the Relations of the Republic of Slovenia with Slovenes Outside its Borders, *Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia (2006) No. 43/06,* states: "RS stimulates establishing of public or private centres (archival, informational, cultural, economic) in those states, populated by a larger number of Slovenes".

associations cannot afford. Thus they are left with mail (mostly to their members), email, Internet, posters and free publications of events on informative pages of major newspapers. This kind of information only reaches a limited number of people.

The increase in the financial means allocated to the cultural projects of the Roma and the new ethnic minorities has been accompanied by an increase in the number of cultural associations of these ethnic communities in the last five years. This is especially true for the cultural associations of the Roma. The higher number of cultural associations is not only important for the preservation and the development of minority cultures, it is also important for the better overall organization of the minority communities. The purpose of the minority cultural associations is not only to carry out creative cultural projects, but also to connect and unite the members of the minority in order to be better able to attain common goals and improve the overall position of their community in different social areas. Especially for the Roma community in Slovenia, it could be claimed that, through the cultural associations, the Roma are included in the activities of the local communities and their cultural associations represent collocutors to the local authorities in the matters related to the solving of Romani social problems.[113]

The Slovenian research team further provided the following overall conclusion of its study of cultural and social inclusion policies in the NAP/Incl. of Slovenia:[114]

There is a discord among the stated aims and measures of the NAP/Incl., the legislation that has been adopted and its practical implementation.

Education: with regard to the legislation and measures anticipated in the NAP/Incl. in promoting the inter-cultural approach to education and introducing multicultural contents in curricula, much more could be done than mere operationalization and implementation of the (legislative) measures already adopted.

As it turns out, there is no political consensus on the implementation of certain measures recommended by professionals.

Education: there is currently no political will to introduce multicultural concepts into the educational system, which would truly alter the school atmosphere.

Culture: there seems to be no political consensus on the inclusion of new ethnic minorities into the mass media. The duty of the state is to create adequate conditions for the preservation and promotion of the cultural and languistic identity of all its inhabitants. This means that media entry ought to be available to ethnic minorities.

Some of the NAP/Incl. aims were not sufficiently transformed into operative measures. In particular, two of them were too generally formulated.

Education: there are no concrete measures at the national level in the field of inclusion of Roma children in kindergartens.

Culture: measures for improving access to culture such as - fulfilling the concept of cultural diversity in the function of improving the quality of life for all – are defined too vaguely.

Members of ethnic minorities are still not sufficiently involved in the formation of specific policies. Measures are often formed from the standpoint of the majority population, which can differ from the aspirations and needs of ethnic minorities.

Education: a positive example is the Ministry of Education and Sport, whose working group for the preparation of an action plan for the implementation of the Strategy for Education of the Roma in the Republic of Slovenia included 13 members, 4 of whom are Roma, including the president. The tasks of the working group comprise the preparation of an action plan for the implementation of the strategy, monitoring of the implementation of the programme, proposals related to Roma schooling problems and yearly reports.

[113] Žagar et al., "Final Report Slovenia", op. cit.

Culture: the second example of good practice is the establishment of the special department for cultural activity of the Italian, Hungarian and Roma community, as well as of other minority communities and immigrants at the Ministry of Culture. This department created a special programme for financing the cultural activities of the ethnic minorities.

The absence of mechanisms and methods for monitoring and evaluation of the measures to promote social inclusion of ethnic minorities is evident. Individual ministries or other institutions nevertheless do monitor the implementation of some of the measures but there is no coherent system for evaluation of the efficiency of the existing policies.

Employment: special mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating the implementation of the employment policy for the Roma have not been envisaged in the NAP/Incl.. Nevertheless, monitoring and evaluation are envisaged in the programme of measures of the AEP for the year 2006 and since most of the measures listed in the NAP/Incl. that relate to employment are being implemented through the Active Employment Policy programs, we could actually say that most NAP/Incl. measures (their implementation and effectiveness) are being monitored and (will be) evaluated. However, as far as the Roma are concerned, it is not always possible to detach data related specifically to them (e.g., there are no exact data on the money allocated specifically to the Roma in certain programmes of the AEP, since the Roma are included in these programs together with other unemployed). Besides, the evaluation of AEP probably won't explain how or whether the outputs of the AEP measures improve the social inclusion of the Roma, which is the ultimate goal of the NAP/Incl. on social inclusion (2004-2006).

In the NAP/Incl., new ethnic minorities are only considered within cultural policies. With regard to ethnic structure in Slovenia and future demographic trends, more attention should be dedicated to new ethnic minorities and immigrants. Empirical research studies have shown that members of new ethnic minorities also do not have equal opportunities in employment, education and access to culture.

The link between the national and local levels must be strengthened. The present shortcomings are: inadequate mutual communication, insufficient consideration of local needs at the national level, unclear distribution of competence in certain spheres, due to which competence is being shifted from one level to another.

There are still gaps in data availability, especially with respect to the Roma and new ethnic minorities. The Protection of Personal Data Act limits gathering of data on ethnic adherence, which prevents quality evaluation of individual measures.

It is necessary to ensure mutual compatibility and complementarity of policies in individual social spheres: education, employment, culture, healthcare, and housing.

Apart from the implementation of the measures dedicated to vulnerable groups or ethnic minorities to promote their social inclusion, two things should be considered:

A lot can be done by minority communities themselves. Self-segregation of minority communities from public life, feelings of inferiority feelings, acceptance of the status of victims due to intolerance and social exclusion from the majority population is non-productive and does not contribute to problem solving and co-existence.[214]

[214] Darko Rudaš, a Roma from Murska Sobota, said that it is evident from the previous discussions that there are shifts in this field but these are not leading to the improvement of Roma community status. This status itself requires a different approach but it is a question of which measures are needed to make the topic more commendable. Until Roma themselves can figure out what is good for them, they will have problems. Roma have to take the first step and unite within their own community. In his opinion, policy is an instrument for improving societies, so the situation will not be improved until Roma become politically active. Roma are stigmatized in society but a change will only take place through their own political action, supported by the state and local communities. A strategy based on the interests and needs of Roma is necessary and above all Roma should make their wishes known, instead of pointing out their problems. When they are educated and employed, they will know what brings them benefit and negative majority attitudes towards them will improve. See Vesna Miletič, "Zapis posveta Problematika ekonomsko-socialne integracije Romov v Sloveniji" [Notes from the Conference on the Problems of Economic and Social Integration of Roma in Slovenia, Ljubljana, 1 July 2004.

New minority communities must be aware of the mutual influence between majority and minority. A minority that does not act dogmatically and rigidly, and is willing to accept reasonable compromise or dialogue on common aims can have an impact on the majority. Minority communities must act consistently, autonomously (political and financial autonomy are important), transparently but above all in accordance with the idea of active citizenship.[215]

Regardless of the dimension of ethnic minority social inclusion we are dealing with (education, employment, culture, housing, etc.), discrimination and ethnic distance from the part of the majority population prove to be important aspects. In recent years, we have become increasingly (but still not sufficiently) aware of the significance of effective struggle against discrimination. The number of projects, publications, programmes for education of teachers, healthcare workers, public administration on phenomena and prevention of discrimination is increasing. A more systematic approach to education and the sensitizing of people from kindergarten on is necessary. It would be good if society accepted multiculturalism as an opportunity, challenge and source of creative potential for the young state. At the same time, we should not be satisfied with declarations, but should implement measures, leading to the decrease of discrimination and ethnic intolerance.

Despite the shortcomings, the general estimation of measures and policies defined in the NAP/Incl. is positive. Gradual progress can be seen, making a long-term contribution to the improvement of social cohesion and integration of all citizens.

[215] Mirjana Nastran Ule, Temelji socialne psihologije. 2. dopolnjena izdaja (Ljubljana: Znanstveno in publicistično središče, 1997);and Serge Moscovici, Social Influence and Social Change (London, New York: European Association of Experimental Social Psychology Academic Press, 1976).

Chapter 13 - SWEDEN

Sweden is a multicultural society with residents from over 200 different countries. There are five Swedish national minorities: Sami, Roma, Jews, Tornedal Finlanders and Swedish Finlanders. Swedish also has a substantial immigrant and first generation population. According to the latest census (2002), 11.8% of the Swedish population is foreign born and an additional 9.6% of the population born in Sweden has at least one parent that is foreign born. The Swedish NAP does not single out ethnic minorities but rather reflects a concern with poverty, education and substance abuse. Two years after accepting a NAP (2001), Sweden adopted an Agenda for Culture 2003-2006 as a companion to the NAP. It emphasizes the concept of the equal value of all people and attempts to promote inclusion for all residents in Sweden premised on the shared value of equality among all citizens and emphasizes children, language and work.

In February 2006, the European Commission wrote the following about Sweden's NAP/Incl.:[216]

The 'primacy of work' principle and a universal social security system continue to be the cornerstone of the Government's strategy to fight poverty and social exclusion. The two national targets for 2004 on employment (80% for 20 to 64-year-olds) and on social assistance dependency (to be halved compared to 1999) have not been reached, although for the latter there has been progress. The targets have been retained and should be reached as soon as possible. The Government estimates that the target to halve the number of sick leave days between 2002 and 2008 can be reached. There is a strong focus on policies aiming at promoting an inclusive labour market, an efficient social security system and the importance of education and training in preventing poverty and social inclusion. Measures emphasise tackling youth long-term unemployment, integrating immigrants, including combating discrimination, reducing the number of sick leave days and improving the situation of elderly people.

The Government also encourages the production of new housing units for rent and will ensure that young people in particular should have easy access. National plans to tackle the abuse of alcohol and drugs have been implemented. Increased resources have been allocated to support people in vulnerable situations, such as drug abusers, mentally disabled persons, homeless people, people under threat of honour-related violence and newly released prisoners. There is continued emphasis on mainstreaming (gender, immigrants, children and young people), with the situation of disabled people as a new mainstreaming field.

Challenges ahead:

- *To maintain a high level of welfare services through a further increase in labour force participation, given the high dependency ratio, while keeping a balance between incentives and solidarity in welfare systems;*
- *To continue efforts to make the labour market inclusive, in particular to ensure better and quicker integration of immigrants into the labour market;*
- *To continue to address early exit from the labour market through sick leave and disability pensions and to monitor the outcome of current pension reforms;*
- *Demographic developments will require not only a much more streamlined organization of care services and cooperation between different care providers, but also significant re-organisation of the political and administrative levels responsible.*

***

The Swedish research team selected to review educational policies, with an emphasis on language as well as media and political participation, among the policies of the Swedish NAP/Incl. and juxtapose these with the ambitious Agenda for Culture 2003-2006 implemented by the Swedish government. The Agenda

[216] European Commission, "Annex to the Draft Joint Report on Social Protection", op. cit., pp. 55-56.

for Culture is thus assessed in light of its role rather than its direct ability to reduce the social exclusion of ethnic minorities. The particular focus of the Swedish research team has been on ethnic minorities of immigrant background whose educational attainment the team describes as follows:[217]

The number of non-Swedish born students leaving compulsory school with an incomplete grade and thus not able to continue to the national programmes in secondary school has increased between 1998/1999 and 2003/2004 from 20.86% to 22.67%. Incomplete grades in comparison to Swedish born students increased from a difference of 12.57% in 1998/1999 to 13.73% in 2003/2004. Even for those students who were Swedish born with non-Swedish born parents, the difference between the percentage of students with an incomplete grade and students who were Swedish born with Swedish born parents, although minimal, had increased (from 7.48% in 1998/1999 to 7.87% in 2003/2004). Differences in school results continue for those students with a foreign background, even in the upper secondary school, which is a three year, non-compulsive, programme. In 2002/2003, 19.5% of students with a Swedish background left secondary school without a complete diploma. For those with a foreign background, the number with an incomplete diploma was 28.1% . Two years later there was a marginal percentage reduction for foreign born with incomplete diplomas as compared to students with Swedish backgrounds. In 2004/2005, the number of students with a Swedish background leaving school with an incomplete diploma was 17% and for foreign students 25.2%. Even adult community education shows that a difference in final grades exists between adult students with a Swedish background and those with a non-Swedish background. Using language for adult immigrants to ease assimilation processes shows that not all that immigrate to Sweden participate in the course and that a large number quit the programme before completion. Only about a third of those taking the language course complete the course with a satisfactory grade within a three year period.

The effectiveness of the three policy areas are described below. Cost-effectiveness was not feasible due to lack of data.

The goals and effectiveness of the three policy areas under the NAP/Incl. are described by the Swedish research team as follows:

Education and Language [218]

The primary stated educational goal for children (0-19 years of age) is:

- *Access and participation in native language classes;*
- *Participation in Swedish language lectures in both pre-school and compulsory schools, as well as upon leaving compulsory school; and*
- *Meeting the requirements for admission to a national programme at upper secondary school.*

The goal for adult education (>20 years old) is access and participation in:

- *Swedish language courses for immigrants and other Swedish language courses at the Community Adult School;*
- *Qualified occupational education where skills for entry into the labour market are lacking; and*
- *Adequate schooling to qualify for tertiary education.*

These goals, both for children and adults, show a promise of inclusion and a well-developed policy to integrate ethnic minorities into society. As such, the goals touch upon sharing cultures through respect for native languages, as well as responsibility for all to communicate in one shared language. In this way, both respect for the individual background/heritage as well as a shared responsibility for maintaining and sharing a common culture are integrated.

[217] Hetzler, Persson and Lundin, "Final Report Sweden", op. cit.
[218] Ibid.

Pre-school has a stated goal regarding those children with another native language than Swedish. Each child shall receive the necessary support to develop his competency to communicate both in Swedish and in his native language.[219]

Compulsory schools and upper secondary schools should provide all students with the knowledge they need to be equipped for the future and to live both a social and culturally rich life. In addition, a primary goal for compulsory schools is that every student meets the requirements for admission to a national programme at upper secondary school. Moreover, in those areas of Sweden known to be highly socially and ethnically segregated, the number of students that fail to meet requirements for applying to upper secondary schools are over represented. A new agency, the Swedish Agency for School Improvement, was founded with the specific task of improving the situation in pre-schools in segregated areas[220]*. Classes in a native language are offered to students in compulsory schools who have another language in their home environment (foreign born) than Swedish. The goal was to increase the cognitive capacity of children living within a non-Swedish speaking environment for learning Swedish and for spreading a cultural heritage among children for the culture embraced by their native language.*

Adult education's primary goal for ethnic minorities is to increase the skills of immigrants in relationship to the national labour market. Knowledge of the Swedish language is seen as essential to meet this goal. It is assumed that a good knowledge of the Swedish language makes it easier to gain employment in the Swedish labour market and thus increase economic independence. Therefore, a national educational goal is to provide a flexible Swedish language education for the foreign born, which eases a future connection with working life.[221]

Swedish for immigrants (Sfi) is an independent educational form for adults and provides education in the Swedish language and Swedish society. It is available to those who do not have Swedish as a native language. The exact goal of Sfi is to develop and integrate individuals in the educational process and to gain the capacity to "reflect over sameness and differences between one's own cultural experiences and the culture the student meets in Sweden" and thereby, "contribute to understanding of different cultures and to intercultural competency".[222]

Evaluation

The cultural indicators we can glean from the educational system are certainly those primarily related to the programmes installed to increase language capacity both in the home language for the young and in Swedish language and culture for adults. Although the policy is admirable, both home language programmes for the young and Swedish language for adults seems to have failed.

For the young, financial costs for local authorities to maintain quality home language programmes have been extensive and home language quickly became a low priority. At the compulsory school level, home language is being squeezed out. Learning the Swedish language seems to be a problem here, as students with foreign backgrounds more often than students with Swedish backgrounds complete compulsory school without reaching state levels of competency to continue on to upper secondary schools.

The magnitude of the varying backgrounds of adults in language classes under the Swedish for immigrant programmes has riddled the program with problems. Many leave the programme before completing it. The programme has rightly changed its goal and has adapted to the individual needs of its students. Yet there seems to be stereotype assumptions baked into the programme that mitigates against it being a program for building a bridge into a multi-cultural society.

Media as a Cultural Meeting Place[223]

Five groups are recognized as national minorities and are represented as part of Sweden's cultural heritage. Thus, the state is responsible for providing them with the support and protection needed to maintain their distinctive

[219] Government of Sweden, NAP/Incl. 2005, p. 22.
[220] Government of Sweden, NAP/Incl. 2003, p. 34; and NAP/Incl. 2005, p. 22.
[221] Government of Sweden, NAP/Incl. 2003, p. 33.
[222] SKOLFS, Förordning om ändring i förändringen (SKOLFS 1994:28) om kursplan för svenskundervisning för invandrare (Stockholm: SKOLFS, 2002).
[223] Hetzler, Persson and Lundin, "Final Report Sweden", op. cit.

character and to keep their languages alive. The policy towards immigrants and minority ethnic groups took over three decades to evolve and actually is aimed at both preserving distinction of language and culture and promoting assimilation. This dual policy is reflected in the relationship between the Swedish state and minority media production. How should resources be divided to maintain cultures and to help assimilation? Should those groups belonging to recognized cultures inherent in Sweden's cultural heritage be treated differently than those groups representing cultural heritages from other parts of the globe. These questions have not been solved but instead are grouped together under the concept of "diversity", which is currently seen as a positive value.

Thus a new policy age began in Sweden in 2000. The Proposition on National Minorities takes upon itself the responsibility to support national minorities and minority languages in areas such as education, culture, mass media, eldercare, translation of certain statutes, etc. As positive as this development must appear, Camauër points out facts that we could well anticipate which threaten the entire reform. We will return to these issues in our summary and recommendations for this report.[224] We would, however, like to point out that two distinct and different policies are being developed simultaneously by the Swedish government. Immigration is being approached through policies of assimilation to avoid economic exclusion. National minorities are seen as "Swedish" and should be supported to maintain the Swedish heritage.

Cultural programmes including the development of the media as a cultural instrument are caught between these two processes. Much of the development of media policy has been to preserve the national heritage and the language of national minorities, or those ethnic groups considered a part of the Swedish national heritage. This "dual split" in minority policy has direct consequences in areas of culture, especially media culture.

The primary goal of media policy in Sweden is to support freedom of expression, diversity and the independence and accessibility of the mass media, as well as to counteract harmful content in the mass media. Because there was no national encompassing policy on minority and the media, the Press Subsidies Council was commissioned in 2001 to map and analyze the situation of the media, chiefly as it is directed to immigrants and national minorities in Sweden. The investigation report was presented in 2002.[225]

The investigation points out that a number of activities for minority representation in media that were started during the 1970s and 1980s have recently been cancelled. The special subsidy for an immigrant press has been abolished and only newspapers that can meet stringent requirements are now entitled to support (see below). The national Immigrant Newsletter has been abolished and even local radio with local news in different languages has been cancelled.

Furthermore, the investigation showed clearly that Sweden had gone in the opposite direction from many of their Nordic neighbours and other European countries. While ethnic media grew in size and in position in Germany, the Netherlands and Great Britain and enjoyed increased subsidies, Sweden reduced support and cancelled existing programmes.

Yet, despite the lack of subsidies from local and national government agencies, a number of new media methods and techniques have developed that allow organizations and ethnic associations to communicate. These developments have occurred in local radio, local TV and through the internet.

The conclusion of the investigation was as follows:

- *Minority media play an important role in minorities' well-being and integration;*
- *Sweden lacks a system of state support for radio and TV in minority languages;*
- *Sweden is now the only Nordic country that lacks specific forms of support for minority media production;*
- *There is a lack of further education and training for minority media workers; and*
- *Minority media needs increased support, not just economic, but also regarding coordination, development and training in such areas as marketing, advertizing and promotion.*

[224] Leonor Camauër, Minorities and their Media in Sweden: A Mapping (Stockholm: Styrelsen för psykologiskt försvar, 2005).
[225] Presstödsnämnden, The Media of the Minorities. A Mapping Analysis of the Situation for Media that Focus on Immigrants and National Minorities in Sweden (Stockholm: ElandersGotab, 2002), p. 11.

This constitutes a severe criticism of Sweden's action on minority media. Camauër attempts to make sense of why no action was taken on the results of this investigation in the months following the presentation of the results. Some indications had come from the Ministry of Culture that there would be a new inquiry but nothing specific developed. She found some solace in the work of media scholars Hadenius and Weibull, which pointed out that Swedish media policy in general is characterized by: a) state intervention concerning the structure and organization of the media and market regulations on newspapers that safeguards the diversity of the news; b) steering through norms and rules for media content such as impartiality and objectivity and c) the market functioning as a steering instrument.[226] *Thus, she concludes "that the overall media policy combines elements from the free-market and the social-responsibility ideologies".*[227] *(Camauër 2005).*

Evaluation

We attempted to move our report from measures designed to thwart social exclusion by promoting economic self-sufficiency to measures designed to expand social inclusion by use of cultural media to increase meeting places and understanding in a multicultural society. We have shown that Sweden who has a high percentage of foreign-born inhabitants but also a large number of individuals, although born in Sweden, have parents who immigrated to Sweden and whose culture they share. We have also discussed that Sweden changed suddenly into a multicultureal society with the number of immigrants increasing rapidly from the 1950s onward.

Immigrations policy was not systematized until the middle of the 1970s. Policy developed from a scattered approach that focused on assimilation into the Swedish culture to a gradual understanding for a policy that valued diversification and multiculturalism. However, problems for new immigrants to equally partake in the rights and obligations of Swedish citizenship meant that measures to increase the conditions for assimilation remained a duty for the state. National ethnic minority groups, on the other hand, wanted to preserve their language and culture and not see it die out or become swallowed up by the majority culture. Thus, by 1999, Swedish minority policy developed in two different ways: towards favourable conditions of assimilation for newly landed immigrants and preservation of language and heritage for national minorities seen as part of the Swedish heritage.

All of the policies governing access to the media and economic support to ethnic minorities participating in the media recognize this divide of minority policy. The principle of "freedom of choice", that each individual can himself choose how much or how little he will partake in the majority culture, was thought to be a way around the dilemma. However, if there are no options to access one's own culture (newspapers, books, radio or TV), it is not much of a choice.

Access to the cultural media has decreased during the 1990s and is very weak in the 2000s. Economic support is limited and demands for support are many. Local authorities rarely support ethnic minority associations and access to local radio programmes is usually provided by voluntary workers. National minorities do not fare much better. National public broadcasting mandates to increase programmes for national minority groups simply resulted in showing more "old" programmes as repeats. Although Finns are the national minority that has the most access to media (newspapers, radio and TV), the small national minorities (Roma) have almost no exposure to the media.

Where other Nordic countries are increasing resources for the participation of ethnic minorities in the media, Sweden is decreasing economic support. One explanation that has been provided by media researchers is the policy of letting market forces play a role in which ethnic minority groups are successful in media participation. Those cultural activities that are free, however, such as visits to the libraries, show that minority groups need meeting places. These are well visited by those with foreign backgrounds. Minority groups have also been active in Community Radio but again, since most of the work is voluntary because of lack of economic support, the biggest minority groups are the most successful, although this is not always the case, as can be seen in the case of Ethiopians, who have strongly profiled themselves within Community Radio.

[226] Camauër, Minorities and their Media, op. cit. (this footnote should really have a page number, as it refers to a direct quote. If you can get one off the authors, do so).
[227] Stig Hadenius and Lennart Weibull, Massmedier Press, Radio & Tv i förvandling (Stockholm: Bonniers, 2000).

Radio and TV programmes for minority groups are also often given in Swedish as well. So are many minority periodicals. The idea is that opening-up the programs to the Swedish language creates a meeting place between the majority and minority cultures.

One can say that the cultural policy of Sweden has evolved rapidly and yet has not found the measures and the means to implement cultural policy.

Political Participation

Sweden, as with other countries, has extensive rules on who can and who cannot participate in elections. Citizenship is not enough to qualify for voting in national elections even for Swedish born citizens residing abroad. Citizenship must be accompanied by recent resident requirements. Without elaboration of too much detail on the intricacies of the laws surrounding voting and required procedures, a rule of thumb for immigrants is that they are able to vote in both municipal and county elections if they have been a legal resident in Sweden for three consecutive years preceding the actual election. The age requirement for voting for all participants is to have reached 18 years of age by the day of the election. If one is a Swedish citizen and has been registered in Sweden as a legal resident, one can vote in the national elections. The same rules pertain to running as a candidate for office.

When we look at the Swedish National Action Plan 2003, we see that access to political inclusion is seen as highly important but as being dependent on other measures to combat exclusion. The NAP 2003 concludes that social marginalization depends foremost on the failure of a strong connection to the labour market.[228] Even if the Swedish NAP does not separate political participation as a specific NAP area, inequality in political participation has figured strongly in the Swedish debate. In the government proposition it is stated that the ethnic and cultural diversity in Sweden is not sufficiently represented in the democratic and political system.[229] A long line of research reports have all come to the same conclusion. That conclusion is that not all citizens in Sweden are given the same and equal possibilities to make themselves heard within the democratic system and to obtain acceptance for matters they see as important and to find their interests represented in decision-making bodies.[230]

Evaluation

We have chosen to use two indicators for social participation of ethnic minorities to represent social inclusion: election to political posts and voting rates in elections. These are not merely measures of formal participation but are also indicative of participation in society's social arenas. If one is not present in public political meeting places, it is a strong signal of marginalization from public life.[231]

We strengthen our claim but questioning the view that low voting rates among immigrants is a sign of passivity by presenting a series of time distinct measurements of political interest. In all of the areas examined, there were no differences between those born in Sweden and those born abroad. Most interesting was that interest in political questions has increased both for the Swedish born and those born abroad. However, participation in political association life (unions and political parties) has fallen off.

Impact Assessment

There are two aspects of these results that are important. The first is that society's major and traditional institutions have begun to lose their traditional legitimacy with sections of the population both Swedish and those with foreign backgrounds. Second, the consequences for the changes in the basic structure of the welfare state during the recession of the 1990s has seriously affected many personal lives, excluding them from equal membership in all of society's social arenas. Measures to offset this social exclusion, both economically and culturally, have failed.

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[228] Government of Sweden, NAP/INcl. 2003, p. 57.

[229] Government Proposition 1997/98:16, "Sweden, the Future and Diversity - From Immigration Policy to Integration Policy".

[230] SOU, Democracy in Swedish? Structural Discrimination and Political Participation (Stockholm: Fritzes, 2005).

[231] Antoinette Hetzler, Social Politics in Reality: The Handicapped and the Social Insurance Agency (Lund: Bokbox Förlag, 1994).

The measures to reach the goals in the NAP /Incl. s are designed to make a person "non-vulnerable" by increasing his or her chances on the job market and thus increasing his or her economic well-being. The Agenda 2003 programme is designed to increase an individual's or a group's resources to a strong position and thus decrease the risk for social exclusion.

In terms of our model of risk for social exclusion (see Part I, Chapter 2), we can deem individuals with a non-Swedish background including native minority groups as being vulnerable for a risk of social exclusion.

We explained that the resources we specify in this report are the resources of social and economic security, human capital and self-confidence. The goals of the NAPs are usually to try and increase a person's resources by increasing his or her ability to support him or herself. Agenda 2003 works through culture and language, media and participation to increase an individual's or a group's social identity and thus strengthen his or her self-confidence. The goals of the NAPs and Agenda 2003 are intertwined. All are working to make ethnic and national minority groups less vulnerable to social exclusion by making them resource-strong. The hypotheses we use are that the risk of social exclusion is strongest for those individuals and groups that find themselves in block "A". Ethnic minorities and first and second level immigrants, within a Swedish society that is not fully multicultural, find themselves vulnerable to social and economic exclusion by the majority society. A society itself can by macro-political decisions and an ideology that "all are included" be devoted to moving these groups from block "A" and "B" to the "not vulnerable" lower half of the model, or block "C" or "D".

But this is a long process. One can say that this is the process we see in Agenda 2003. What we have looked at in this research is what is happening to ethnic and cultural minorities while a society tries to adapt from homogeneity to heterogeneity. Are the NAPs and Agenda 2003 working together to move individuals and groups from a "resource-weak" to a "resource-strong" position even if they are "vulnerable"?

If we limit ourselves to merely talking about resources in economic terms, we can say that the NAPs are attempting to work on the horizontal level of our model, moving people from "resource-weak" to "resource-strong" positions. We can also say that Agenda 2003 and the Multi-Cultural Year is working on the vertical level, attempting to move society from classifying minorities as "vulnerable" to "not vulnerable". If we include human capital and self-confidence as resources, however, we see that both the NAPs and the Agenda 2003 have as a goal to increase the resources for vulnerable groups.

The programmes instituted and the measures taken have not increased equality between the majority population with a Swedish background and those with a non-Swedish background.

If we first look at results in the education system where programmes have been in play for over 30 years to strengthen both competency in native languages (children) and the Swedish language (children and adults). We saw the following:

- *Pre-school children's access to native language activities decreased from 60% to 14% between 1990-2005;*
- *In compulsory first level school, lectures in the native languages are considered a low priority and are being replaced by courses in Swedish taken as a second language;*
- *Participation in native language lessons is voluntary and only 54% of entitled children chose to participate in 2005/2006;*
- *The percentage of girls and boys with a non-Swedish background who meet the requirements for admission to a national program at upper secondary school is only 79.3% for girls and 75.7% for boys;*[232]
- *The percentage of girls and boys with a non-Swedish background who, after four years, leave with a complete diploma are 78.7% for women and 70.8% for men;*[233]
- *The percentage of adults in special adult education who leave school with a grade of failed is 14.2%;*[234] *and*
- *The percentage of adults leaving courses in Swedish for immigrants without completing the course was 49% in 2004 and 39% in 2005.*

[232] For those with a Swedish background, the figure is 92.5% for girls and 89.6% for boys.
[233] For those with a Swedish background, the figure is 84.8% for women and 81.2% for men.
[234] For those with a Swedish background, the figure is 9.2%.

We see that in areas where the cultural programme is to increase competency in the native language, for small children activity has fallen off and for young children interest has decreased. Interest in learning Swedish for adults has always been low. Lately, with the introduction of penalties for dropping out of class, some municipalities have increased attendance and in 2005 we see that only 39% of the students drop out.

However, we also see that the results of education - completion with a complete passing grade - is lower at every level for those with a non-Swedish background. A conclusion is that even if these programmes are strengthening the resources of some of the population in the minority groups it has not increased equality between the groups, measured as equal results.

In fact, we can see that the statistics above show that, in 2005, one of five girls and one of four boys leave compulsory school at the age of 16 without meeting the requirements for admission to a national programme at upper secondary school. This significantly increases the risk of social exclusion.

When we examined the media and ethnic and cultural minority groups we looked at newspapers, radio and television, production of ethnic literature, and libraries. We can say the following:

- *Access to media for ethnic and cultural minority groups has decreased over the last ten years. Economic support is limited and demands for support are many;*
- *Finnish is the national minority that has the most access to media (newspapers, radio and TV), while small national minorities such as the Roma have almost no exposure to the media;*
- *Those cultural activities that are free are well visited by those with non-Swedish backgrounds;*
- *Local TV: in 2002, only five local TV stations produced programmes for minorities;*
- *National TV: Swedish Public Broadcasting has increased the air time reserved for the four national minority groups by 54 hours from 2001 to 2005, or by about 33%; and*
- *Public libraries: the statistics on "reading books every week" has fallen considerably for those with non-Swedish backgrounds, even though immigrants use the library as a meeting place more frequently than those with a Swedish background.*

It is obvious that minority media plays an important role in both minorities' well-being and in integration. Local radio has been the most prominent media for the dissemination of culture to minority groups. However, local radio is run almost entirely with the help of volunteers and, as such, different groups are born and disappear. Sweden does not have a system of state support for radio and TV in minority languages. The library and their subscriptions to newspapers in many different languages fills a void and the library as a meeting place is well documented.

Mass media can do much more, yet it has not been a key figure in Agenda 2003.

In the political arena, participation through voting and elective office is a definite sign of the successful integration of minority groups, primarily because it shows that the legitimacy of the political system as supporting all residents is accepted as a common resource for opportunity and for representation of different interests. We can point to the following results in the political arena:

- *83% of those born in Sweden voted in the national elections in 1998 and in 2002. Of those born abroad, only 70% voted in 1998 and even less in 2002, 67%;*
- *Statistics also show that the number of years one has been a Swedish citizen is reflected in voting behaviour. 80% of those that became Swedish citizens in 1970 voted in the 2002 elections but only 61% of those that became citizens after 1991 voted;*
- *The number of non-Swedish born elected to parliament increased by 217% during the last 20 year period. The increase for the period of county congresses was 115% and for city councils 66% during the same period; and*
- *During the last 20 year period, those with a Swedish background (7%) were elected in a disproportionately higher number than those with non-Swedish backgrounds (2%).*

The results from the examination of political participation show a worrisome tendency. Voting participation is much lower on the part of those immigrants who became citizens after 1990. However, non-Swedish born are more often elected to political positions but the dramatic proportional increases still represent only very small numbers.[235]

Conclusions

We conclude that the ambitious and carefully planned programmes to strengthen native languages and Swedish as a second language for the young and Swedish for adults have failed in relationship to their goals. Access to native-language activities for pre-school children decreased from 60% of children entitled to such activities in 1990 to 14% in 2005.

Language, both competency in the native language and competency in Swedish, is a necessary cultural component to both equality of differences and equality in assimilation. The failure to bring about equal results in school for those with a non-Swedish background, despite these ambitious programmes, shows that language is a necessary component for inclusion and as a protection against exclusion but is not in itself sufficient.

Generally, we report that access to the media in Sweden for immigrants has decreased in the last ten years. Economic support from the government is limited and the demands for support are many. Although Finnish is the national minority language that has the most access to the media (newspapers, radio and television), the small national minorities (Roma) have almost no exposure to the media.

In general, Sweden needs a better and more coordinated media policy for ethnic and national minority languages. The media is important and is being used by minority groups. This can be seen in the use of local community radio licenses and among other activities such as in the use of the Internet. However, these are uses to promote access to the media. They point to the fact that immigrant groups as well as native minorities are restricted by their economic situations. When public economic support is not available or, if available, difficult to obtain, minority groups rely on their own initiatives and their own convictions to reach an outlet and to reach each other. As we have seen in Sweden, not all minority groups have the resources to do just that.

The conclusion drawn was that not all citizens are given the same and equal possibilities to make themselves heard within the democratic system and to obtain acceptance for matters they see as important and thus find their interests represented in decision-making boards. It should be mentioned that the number of elected immigrants and minorities to political office is low but has been increasing over time. In national elections, the rate of those who were not born in Sweden went from 1.7% in 1982 to 5.7% in 2006. For those elected to office in a county election, the rate increased from 3.2% of elected officials to 6.9% in 2002. Those foreign born elected to office increased to 6.5% in 2002 from 3.9% in 1982.

The NAP, focusing on the job market has been directed towards increasing economic resources for the individual and combating exclusion by moving a person horizontally from a resource-weak to resource-strong position. Agenda 2003 works by changing attitudes in the majority population towards those with non-Swedish backgrounds from classification as "vulnerable" to "not vulnerable".

The results discussed in the report have not been able to point to a successful integration pattern for Sweden. However, we have been able to show that the programmes designed and in force in Sweden are significant and have as a goal to both move individuals and groups out of a vulnerable position (the vertical scale in our model) and into a position with strong resources (the horizontal scale in our model).

We conclude by specifying better goals and policy in the area of mass media. In the area of language and equal education and political participation, we conclude that the dual policy developed towards immigrants and ethnic and cultural minority groups creates a cultural conflict between promoting assimilation and preserving the distinction of languages and cultures. This is a conflict in the goals of assimilation in the NAPs and the goal of multiculturalism as an attempt to reinforce ethnic identities and increase self-confidence for the individual while introducing more knowledge and tolerance into the majority Swedish culture.

[235] Hetzler, Persson and Lundin, "Final Report on Sweden", op. cit., Chapter 5.

The acknowledgment of a "hidden" culture where immigrants learn an unspoken "code of behaviour" on how to "get-by" in Swedish society is a form of assimilation that is subtle and works at an individual level. Teaching each other these codes is becoming well established within Swedish society and is happening in ethnic organizations and by individual experience. However, there is a long way to go. We conclude that assimilation is based on the Swedish language and after that on gaining access, either to an improved level of higher education or a place in the job market. After that, a second process of assimilation starts. This is a process built on the capacity to learn "hidden" codes of behaviour.

Although Swedish society is outspoken in its support for a process of diversification in integration and respect for a multicultural approach to a more heterogenic society, the norm of assimilation is quite strong and perhaps even gaining in prominence. This creates a tension between differing policies and might underlie why voting participation by immigrants who have recently become new citizens has fallen. Demands for assimilation are seen as being set too high and the rhetoric of equality and diversification has changed expectations but has not been able to fulfill them.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As noted in Chapter 3, the European Commission's outline for the structure of NAPs/Incl. specifically draws the attention of Member States to the role that services, including the cultural sector, can play in alleviating the risk of exclusion. The European Commission has argued that Member States should develop, for the benefit of people at risk of exclusion, services and accompanying measures that will allow effective access to education, justice and other public and private services, such as culture, sport and leisure. Although the revised common objectives for the streamlined OMC process adopted in 2006 do not emphasize the importance of culture and the cultural sector, the multi-dimensionality of social exclusion is implied. Moreover, as we have shown in Part III, the European Commission's February 2006 evaluations of the six NAPs/Incl. encouraged a number of Member States to improve on cultural policies, especially with the aim of ethnic minority integration and Roma integration. There is therefore reason to believe that the NAPs/Incl. evaluation of the impact of cultural policies on improved social inclusion of ethnic minorities would reflect this concern.

However, our research revealed that conceptualizing and implementing cultural policies as part of a multi-dimensional view of social exclusion of ethnic minorities, especially Roma, is not a method included in the NAPs/Incl. of Estonia, the Czech Republic, Latvia, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia and Sweden. Generally, a strong link between culture/the cultural sector and social exclusion is not made in NAP/Incl. strategies. Vague formulations of the relevance of culture and cultural dialogue may be found in NAPs/Incl. but operationalization of cultural policies as auxiliary measures to social inclusion policies do not exist in the six NAPs/Incl. evaluated. Consequently, goals and targets are not set, except for the Slovenian NAP/Incl., and cultural indicators are not developed.

National cultural policies studied parallel to the NAPs/Incl. refer in general terms to the value of culture in the process of social integration. Goals and targets specifically related to social inclusion are neither set nor operationalized. Although one might argue that there is a growing momentum at the national level towards a multi-dimensional understanding of social exclusion, the actual operationalization and implementation of multi-dimensional policies are lacking.

Specific references to improving the rate of social integration of ethnic minorities are made in most of the six NAPs/Incl., especially in relation to employment and language policies, and, in the case of Roma, in relation to education in general. Goals, but generally no targets are set in these policies. Similarly, some of the parallel national cultural policies studied make specific references to the importance of improving the cultural participation of ethnic minorities but do not set goals and targets specifically related to these minorities. Generally, there are good intentions among most of the six Member States to address ethnic exclusion but the link between culture and ethnic minority exclusion is not made explicitly.

Using circumstantial analysis based on qualitative reports and focus groups research has provided several inputs for the evaluation. Educational policies aimed at increasing the social inclusion of the Roma in **Slovenia** and in **the Czech Republic** have had some positive effects, both in terms of the general educational performance of pupils and/or youngsters and in terms of the attitudes of the Roma themselves as well as of the majority. No clear-cut conclusion has emerged in the case of **Slovakia**. Moreover, educational policies in **Sweden**, in particular at the compulsory school level, do not seem to have been effective in reducing differences between ethnic groups. In the domains of the media, political participation and cultural activities, no specific and well defined policies have been designed and implemented under the NAPs/Incl., although a positive trend is seen in Slovenia where funding for cultural activities of ethnic minorities is on the increase and the content of cultural services is becoming more ethnically diverse. Cultural policies in the domain of employment have also produced some interesting results in **Slovenia**, as shown in the case of the public works programme for Roma assistants.

In the two Baltic States of **Estonia and Latvia**, policies for social inclusion relate mostly to the domain of education. Strong emphasis is put on language policy, in particular on the teaching of national languages. Differences of proficiency in the national languages, rather than disparity in the level of education achieved, are regarded as

the most important factor explaining inequality of outcomes in the job market. Unfortunately, the educational reforms have started too recently to provide any reliable results about the results achieved.

In this final chapter, we gather some of the conclusions made by the research teams with regard to the treatment and application of culture in the NAPs/Incl. as well as observations on effectiveness and cost-effectiveness made by the comparative team. Section A offers observations on the treatment of the concept of social exclusion in the NAPs/Incl. and Section B describes the relation between culture and the domains selected for evaluation: education, media, participation and employment. Section C provides general conclusions on the effectiveness and cost-effectiveness of the NAPs/Incl. and, where feasible, points to opportunities for benchmarking. Section D discusses common indicators and offers our general conclusions on the feasibility of an OMC framework of Common Inter-Cultural Indicators (CICI). Section E sums up our policy concerns with regard to both NAPs/Incl. and the OMC/Incl. process at three levels: the technical, policy related and political levels. Section F provides a set of final recommendations.

A. Culture and Ethnic Minorities in the Six NAPs/Incl.

In this section, we present conclusive statements on the relation between culture and social inclusion of ethnic minorities made by the research teams in the country reports and by the comparative experts.

On the Relation between Culture and Social Inclusion

- The most striking factor has been the missing bridge between cultural policies and social inclusion, in particular of the Roma. The factor of culture is understood in the very narrow sense of supporting Roma culture in the same way as the culture of other national minorities is being supported. Therefore, supporting Roma folklore contributes to rather than alleviates prejudices and stereotypes. Support for culture in the sense of increasing social participation is missing in the NAP/Incl. (Slovakia);

- The overall orientation of the NAP/Incl. emphasizes the economic aspects of social exclusion. Where cultural aspects of integration are noted, these are non-specific. Attention to ethnic minority exclusion is concentrated on overcoming the apparent manifestations of social exclusion, deprivation of access to resources in the economic sector, especially in the area of housing and education. A multi-dimensional operationalization of social inclusion policies is therefore not implemented (Czech Republic);

- The NAP/Incl. emphasizes a cultural rights approach. In 2002, an analysis of the situation in the area of protecting the cultural rights of minority ethnic communities, children and disabled persons was carried out at the Ministry of Culture. There were some deficiencies identified in the analysis, resulting in one of the basic objectives of the NAP/Incl. being to eliminate these deficiencies. Therefore, the NAP/Incl. promotes ethnic minorities' access to culture and deals mostly with creating conditions for the preservation of minority cultures and with providing financial means for the cultural activities of ethnic minorities. The cultural policy neglects the potentials of the human and social capital of ethnic minorities. Culture is not recognized as a factor that contributes to the personal growth of an individual, a factor that could provide for employment possibilities in the filed of culture and arts, etc. The connection between participation in cultural activities and social inclusion is not established. Even where ensuring access to culture is a specific goal to promote the social inclusion of different groups and individuals, the measures and priority tasks to attain this goal are vaguely defined and might lead to different interpretations of what the anticipated effects of the policy might be (Slovenia); and

- In the sphere of minority cultural policies and social inclusion, implementation of bilingual education policy is seen as the most important policy issue in the period 2004-2006. Educational reform – introduction of bilingual education in minority education establishments – was launched with the aim of raiseing Latvian language competency among the youth of non-Latvian ethnic origin, in order to ensure they are able to study further in Latvian and to integrate successfully in the labour market (Latvia).

On Addressing Ethnic Minority Exclusion

• Ethnic minorities are not defined explicitly in the NAPs/Incl. Generally, they are distinguished from national minorities. Estonia and Latvia do not make this distinction but refer to ethnic minorities, whereas Sweden's NAP/Incl. includes immigrants in the category of ethnic minorities. Slovenia refers to immigrants as new minorities;

• Dual policies are developed whereby a conflict between promoting diversity and seeking assimilation is created. This conflict has ramifications for the goals of the NAPs/Incl. as they become incoherent (Sweden);

• The NAP/Incl. mentions approaches and good practices that contribute to a multicultural symbiosis or that may improve the ability of society to respond to the situation of excluded ethnic minorities. These include liaison officers for minorities, inclusion of human rights, respect for minorities and their protection within the frame of professional ethics in the work of the police and special assistants in the police force specifically for cooperation with the Roma community. However, these activities are not sufficiently established in the NAP/Incl. (Czech Republic); and

• There is no consensus as to whether various measures aimed at improving the socio-economic situation of the Roma are to be aimed at the Roma population as a whole or only at those segments of it that are in a state of social dependence. In this context, questions arise whether the Roma can be viewed through the prism of an ethnic definition as an ethnic minority suffering discrimination compared with the rest of the population or through the prism of a social definition as the poorest group within the population (Slovakia).

B. Culture in Four Domains of the Six NAPs/Incl.

In this section, we present statements on the relation between culture and the three domains of education, media and participation selected for evaluation, as well as the domain of employment, which was included in two of the country reports. We also present statements made by the comparative experts.

On the Relation between Culture and Education

From our research of the circumstances of social exclusion in the six Member States, we observed that:

• Bilingualism in kindergartens promotes multi-dimensional tools for life;
• A child's capabilities not only as a school pupil but also at an early age are dependent on a number of inter-cultural factors in its environment;
• Expanding the exposure of the child to the majority culture while supporting both the child's learning of the native and the majority language, the child may perform better in school and the likelihood of dropping out is diminished;
• Command of the majority language should be seen not as a 'bridge to the majority culture' but as a 'bridge to a multicultural society'; and
• Clarity of legislation on bilingualism promotes understanding of the purpose of applying two languages in one society.

Our research of the six NAPs/Incl. revealed that:

• In the domain of education, the NAP/Incl. pays attention to the issue of access of ethnic minorities to education, in particular Roma. However, in relation to immigrants, the issue of access to education is dealt with mainly in terms of the creation of foreign-language textbooks and language instruction (Czech Republic);

• Implementation of bilingual education policy is seen as the most important policy issue in the period 2004-2006. Educational reform in terms of the introduction of bilingual education in minority education establishments was launched with the aim of raising national language competency among the youth of non-national origin, in order to ensure they are able to study further in Latvian and to integrate successfully in the labour market (Latvia);

• Language, both competency in the native language and competency in the national language, is a necessary cultural component of both equality of differences and equality in assimilation. The failure to bring about equal results in school for those with a non-national background, despite these ambitious programs simply shows that language is a necessary component for inclusion and a protection against exclusion but is not in itself sufficient (Sweden);

• Special measures introduced for Roma in some NAPs/Incl. include the employment of Roma teaching assistants. This is an interesting case of multi-dimensional inclusion policy, in which systemic effects and spill over effects are taken into account. The final goal is to increase the educational attainment and school results of Roma pupils, and this result has been achieved. The special measure of ethnic teaching assistants is also a useful experience for the Roma teaching assistant themselves, not only because they receive a salary for their assistantship and gain professional experience in the domain of education but also because they actively contribute to the integration of other Roma. However, these multi-dimensional benefits could disappear, if the investment in Roma teaching assistants is not permanent and experience does not translate in to an acknowledged and stable profession (comparative);

• One of the strong points of the Roma assistant policy has been the active involvement of families in the programme. By involving families in the process, Roma assistants have contributed to creating positive attitudes in the environment surrounding the implementation of school reform, thus avoiding possible tensions between the school and family spheres (comparative); and

• According to some experts, the Latvian language reform has been set up in a hurry, without clear criteria and mechanisms for evaluation. More attention should be paid in both Latvia and Estonia to the political atmosphere in which reforms are carried out and more efforts should be made to promote positive attitudes toward educational reform. A precondition to achieving this is to clearly define and specify the nature of the reasons underlying language policy in both Member States. Perhaps one of the points of weakness in policy design was that not enough attention was paid in influencing positively the attitudes of minorities toward language policy (comparative).

<u>On the Relation between Culture and Media</u>

From our research of the circumstances of social exclusion in the six Member States, we observed that:

• Activities of inter-cultural dialogue in the media are an example of the level and extent of social inclusion;
• The ability of ethnic minorities to participate in e-learning and to gain Internet access empowers ethnic minorities;
• The engagement of the majority in ethnic minority cultures promotes implementation of cultural pluralism;
• The level of support both financially and morally of ethnic minority media is important to avoid obstacles to journalistic freedom and freedom of expression of ethnic minorities; and
• The social aspect of culture is communication about understood conventions.

However, our knowledge about ethnic minorities and the media is poor. The effects of cultural policies on ethnic visibility in the media are virtually non-existent. Media are seen by and large as entertainment and news communication and therefore neglected in social inclusion policies. Monitoring and measuring culture and inter-cultural understanding in the media is rarely done. The impact of culture on social inclusion through the media is therefore an untapped resource for social inclusion policies.

The evaluation of the six NAPs/Incl. revealed that:

• In the four Member States considered, no NAP/Incl. defines clear policy measures either to increase and improve the presence of minorities in the media or to enhance the visibility of the media belonging to the minorities. Moreover, no specific links between social inclusion and the media are made explicit (comparative);

• The media domain is not thematized separately in the NAP/Incl. Attention is paid mainly to the issue of e-inclusion and the development of the information society. Some connection is made between media activities and the situation of ethnic minorities, especially Roma. Goals refer to the creation of conditions for development of a tolerant environment without prejudice, including equalization procedures, such as targeted assistance, and fieldwork in excluded Roma communities (Czech Republic);

• Cultural programming, including the development of the media as a cultural instrument, is caught between the two processes followed by the government, the support for diversity and the aim of assimilation at the same time. Much of the development of media policy has been to preserve the national heritage and the language of national minorities, or those ethnic groups considered to be a part of the national heritage. This "dual split" in minority policy has direct consequences in areas of culture, especially media culture (Sweden); and

• In general, a better and more co-ordinated media policy for ethnic and national minority languages is needed. Media is important and is being used by minority groups. This can be seen in the use of local community radio licenses and, among other activities, the use of the Internet. However, these are uses to promote access to media. They point to the fact that immigrant groups as well as native minorities are restricted by their economic situations. When public economic support is not available or, if available, difficult to obtain, minority groups rely on their own initiatives and their own convictions to reach an outlet and to reach each other. As we have seen, not all minority groups have the resources to do so (Sweden).

<u>On the Relation between Culture and Participation</u>

From our research of the circumstances of social exclusion in the six Member States we observed that:

• Participation in cultural activities enhances opportunities for employment and promotes greater cultural visibility of ethnic minorities;
• Cultural associations and NGOs enhance the capabilities of ethnic minorities to perform in civil society;
• Free entry to museums enhances the opportunities of ethnic minorities to learn about majority culture;
• Ethnic participation in civil society indicates the level of interest in the overall common culture of society and exhibits the feasibility of a common cultural identity;
• Universal civic education is of vital importance to the goal of social cohesion and inter-cultural understanding;
• A feeling of belonging may be exhibited in the number of ethnic people participating in public affairs;
• The creation of minority literature, poetry and drama to preserve the minority culture and language is essential for cultural and ethnic survival; and
• The inclusion of ethnic minority culture and history in the school curriculum promotes access to culture and inter-cultural understanding.

The evaluation of the NAPs/Incl. revealed, however, that the domain of social and political participation is not thematized separately in any of the six NAPs/Incl.

• The domain of political participation and cultural activities is rarely the specific target of an integrated and systemic policy of social inclusion. In most cases, support to cultural activities reflects a 'museum' approach, in the sense that the cultural activities of minorities are simply conceived in a vacuum: they are designed and implemented by and for the minority themselves, almost without any contact with mainstream society. Moreover, political participation is never at the top of the agenda in NAPs/Incl. (comparative);

• General presumptions of multiculturalism, which may influence participation, are observed, such as employment, safety of ethnic minorities (racial crimes, usury), prevention of socially negative phenomena, housing, education or social environment without prejudice. (Czech Republic);

• The direct link between participation in cultural activities and increased social inclusion, such as, for example, the fact that participating in certain cultural activities, might result in employment in the arts sector, is not made in the NAPs/Incl. (Slovenia); and

• The NAP/Incl. considers inclusion and co-operation in cultural activities to be one of the important aspects that can positively contribute to the social inclusion of individuals or groups. Participation in cultural group activities has strong socialization significance, since it enables the self-assertion of cultural groups of society. Social life accompanying cultural activities counters alienation (Slovenia).

On the Relation between Culture and Employment

From our research of the circumstances of social exclusion of ethnic minorities in the six Member States, we observed that:

• Employment improves inter-cultural understanding;
• Successful inter-cultural performance in the labour market heightens social inclusion and contributes to the individual's sense of well-being and belonging to mainstream society, as well as to the improvement of the ability of the individual ethnic person to purvey a multi-cultural ethos to fellow ethnics;
• Cultural motivation for seeking employment shows the intention of ethnic minorities to participate and support the overall goal of social cohesion;
• Improved socio-economic status of ethnic minorities promotes integration and understanding of the relation between lack of cultural skills and acquirement of labour tools;
• Any help that can be rendered to an ethnic person in seeking social integration through the job market will enhance his or her opportunities and life chances; and
• Improved inter-cultural communication in job activation and job placement services is one way to overcome some of the obstacles that lead to social exclusion.

From our research on the NAPs/Incl. we found that:

• Even though special measures to help Roma with employment are included in some NAPs/Incl., the goals and objectives of special employment policies/measures for Roma are not clearly set. A positive fact is that some Member States have special NAPs on Roma inclusion and Roma employment or are in the process of developing such (comparative);

• A view of ethnic labour as an internal resource rather than an intruder needs to be promoted. Research shows that there are still some internal resources that remain unused but could enhance the employment level. These internal resources are related to the re-training of the young labour force, especially young ethnic minorities. The implementation of such an accelerated strategy would undoubtedly be complicated but its social cost would be much lower compared to the alternative of importing a labour force from abroad (Estonia); and

• All the measures introduced have had some positive effects. More Roma are included in educational programmes for adults; more Roma are included in the public works programs; the employment of the first two Roma coordinators at the Employment Service's offices has produced positive results and the programme has now been expanded to include 11 Roma coordinators. The introduction of the Roma assistants in schools and kindergartens through public works will result in the systemization of this occupation and the jobs of a Roma assistant and a Roma co-ordinator will be included in the occupation core. There have been some deficiencies identified in some of the measures (e. g., the non-stimulative payment for public works; the overly short maximum duration of the programme of public works (one year); the incompatibility of different programmes of the Active Employment Policy; and the unsuitable system of providing financial means for the organization of educational programmes for adult Roma) but this does not mean that the measures are bad or completely ineffective. It only means that some modifications in their implementation could help improve their effectiveness (Slovenia).

C. Effectiveness, Cost-Effectiveness and Benchmarking of NAPs/Incl. Policies

In this section, we present conclusive statements made by the comparative experts and by the research teams on effectiveness, cost-effectiveness and benchmarking.

On Effectiveness

From our research on the effectiveness of cultural policies of the NAPs/Incl. we found that:

- NAPs/Incl. are not clearly defined; often a number of documents constitute NAPs/Incl., making it difficult to carry out assessments. Where existing national policies constitute supporting policies, this is seldom indicated clearly in NAPs/Incl. (comparative);
- NAPs may have goals but not targets. Even where NAPs/Incl. state goals, these are vague and not well defined. Sometimes goals are not clearly defined because of a lack of precision but in some cases vagueness can also reflect a low political concern for the issue at hand (comparative);
- The lack of data sources and, in particular sources disaggregated according to ethnicity was a major obstacle in the evaluation of all six NAPs/Incl. If assessment is to be made possible, some kind of empirical findings are needed. We have suggested that at least some forms of data collection could be allowed in the case of pilot or experimental programmes, in order to have some feedback for further discussion and policy design (comparative);
- Striving to solve the task of filling the gap in the data on Roma, both researchers and policymakers often encounter objections that imply discrimination fears. Gathering data about a particular group of people does not necessarily question the equality of all citizens or imply discrimination. The demographic, socio-economic and frequently also human position of many Roma is significantly different from that of the rest of population today. The situation in some cases is so complicated that the Roma themselves can hardly change their situation without the help of others. However, such help cannot be sufficiently effective without the necessary information. Acquiring demographic and statistical data is thus not aimed at discrimination of the Roma. On the contrary, it is supposed to benefit them. The second reason why we need as exact data on the Roma as possible is the struggle to prevent unprofessional or premeditated estimates from being created (Slovakia);
- The NAP/Incl. does not envisage special mechanisms to monitor and evaluate the implementation of the envisaged measures and the attainment of the objectives.[236] Therefore, much of the data that would be needed to evaluate the effectiveness and cost-effectiveness of the policies is not being collected. In some cases, the data are collected for all unemployed and the number of Roma cannot be disaggregated (Slovenia); and
- There are still gaps in data availability, especially with respect to the Roma and new ethnic minorities. The Protection of Personal Data Act limits the gathering of data on ethnic adherence, which prevents quality evaluation of individual measures (Slovenia).

On Cost-effectiveness

From our attempt to provide a cost-effectiveness analysis of the 4+2 NAPs/Incl., we found that:

- Data on cost was extremely hard to come by and often simply lacking. Therefore, goals are not linked to cost. Where data is available, it is often difficult to apply, as it is only multi-annual and in the form of very general budgetary figures. A fundamental condition is the availability of data or experimental results on cost. Moreover, in order to carry out a proper cost-effectiveness analysis, it is vital to be able to isolate exogenous effects to avoid selection biases. This may be done through the experimental design method or using

[236] It only defines the Slovenian Government Office for Nationalities as competent for monitoring and coordination of the programmes and measures that competent ministries formulate and implement in their area of work (employment, education, housing, etc.). Government of Slovenia, NAP/Incl 2004-2006, p. 34.

multivariate analysis with a large dataset. None of these methodologies was feasible. Without a sufficient basis for hypothesis testing, the power of analysis is reduced (comparative);

• The case of the Roma assistant policy in Slovenia has been used to provide an example of how cost-effectiveness analysis can be carried out and what insights it can provide. Although it is partial and incomplete, this example shows us that cost-effectiveness analysis for cultural policy is feasible. Nevertheless, the main purpose of cost-effectiveness analysis is not to compute cost-effectiveness ratios as such, but to provide criteria for comparison. In other words, if no particular alternative is compared with the policy under evaluation, cost-effectiveness analysis looses power. For example, although Roma assistant policies have been adopted in the Czech Republic and in Slovakia, with the data at our disposal it was not possible to make a full-fledged comparison based on the rank ordering of policies alternatives (comparative).

On Benchmarking

From our attempt to provide a benchmarking of the 4+2 NAPs/Incl., we found that:

• Benchmarking of NAPs/Incl. was premature at this point. In principle, there is potential for a more detailed comparative evaluation of inclusion policies in different Member States. In Slovenia, Slovakia and the Czech Republic, for example, very similar policies have been designed and implemented and this makes comparison easier. All three countries adopted Roma assistants policies and some form of preliminary preparation for compulsory school (either kindergarten or preparatory classes). In the Czech Republic and in Slovakia, some forms of support for the Roma at a higher education level are envisaged. The adoption of a set of commons indicators for all countries is a first step toward comparison between policy achievements and thus toward the identification of good practices. In Appendix B, several cultural indicators for the domain of education are proposed. We think that they can be a useful starting point to think about what kind of data are needed for analysts to populate those indicators and thus to ease comparison between countries. The cost-effectiveness analysis of Roma assistant policy in Slovenia is an example of how indicators of effectiveness (e.g., enrolments in secondary schools, dropout rates, etc.) can be related to cost figures (comparative);

• There is a strong potential for more detailed comparative studies in the Baltic states, as in many cases the policies adopted are very similar and therefore it would be relatively easy to populate common indicators. For this purpose, Appendix B provides a set of useful indicators, not only for education, that could provide a stepping-stone for further research. Also, in the case of Latvia, a comparison between different models of bilingual education would be extremely interesting, when preliminary results are published (comparative); and

• Benchmarking at the Member States level or within individual NAPs/Incl. was also not feasible but could be made possible. Even though, in the case of the Czech Republic, at least in principle, a comparison could be made between Roma assistant policy and preparatory classes, provided that a common unit of measurement for effectiveness is found. However, we were not able to achieve this. Similarly, in the case of Latvia, a comparison of the different models of bilingual education would be extremely interesting when the preliminary results are published (comparative).

D. Common Inter-Cultural Indicators (CICI)

The concern for piloting common indicators for the OMC process is underscored by numerous European Commission documents (see Chapter 3) and the ongoing debate on how to render the Lisbon Strategy effective in order to achieve its 2010 goals. Piloting a framework of primary and secondary Common Inter-Cultural Indicators (CICI) for this report was therefore considered a major deliverable goal towards achieving higher social inclusion of ethnic minorities in a post-Lisbon society. While it was not a major problem for the research teams to draw up a framework for primary (overarching) CICI, the research teams revealed, however, as noted in our comparative analysis, a fundamental problem early on with populating tertiary indicators in general and common secondary indicators, in particular. The primary reason for this is the lack of available

data disaggregated according to ethnicity at both the national and European levels. Moreover, the disparity between the policies and goals defined in the NAPs/Incl. rendered the possibility of finding common issues to measure difficult. Consequently, we decided to split the comparative exercise into 4+2 so that the educational policies aimed at the improved educational attainment of Roma and immigrant children in the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia and Sweden were compared separately. For the two Baltic Member States, we compared language policies aimed at the inclusion of the Russian-speaking minorities in the employment sector.

The primary (overarching) CICI index includes, but should not be limited to:

- Official recognition of the ethnic minority;
- Recognition of international minority obligations and compliance with these;
- Freedom of religion and establishment;
- Protection and promotion of minority languages;
- Protection and promotion of minority cultures,
- Education in minority languages,
- Full access to the sound and print media, as well as the establishment of own media;
- Linguistic support in public affairs, including public information;
- Protection of minority names;
- Freedom to advertise in minority languages;
- Border region freedoms and protection, including trans-frontier relations;
- Education material about minority cultures; and
- Protection against population resettlement.

A table summarizing the primary (overarching) CICI is attached in Appendix A. It follows general international minority standards to which all six Member States are legal partners. The secondary CICI are discussed below, and the tertiary indicators in Appendix B.

The research teams arrived at two common secondary indicators that both relate to the aspect of culture and inter-cultural relationships in social exclusion:

1. Improved educational attainment of ethnic minority children measured by the impact of ethnic teaching assistants on school attendance and school results; and
2. Improved employment rate of ethnic minorities measured by command of bilingualism.

Indicator 1 was piloted from the NAPs/Incl. of the three Central European Member States and Sweden while Indicator 2 was identified in the research on the NAPs/Incl. of the two Baltic states. (See also education and employment indicators in Appendix B on tertiary ICI.)

Indicator 1: Improved Educational Attainment of Ethnic Minority Children

Definition: the impact of ethnic teaching assistants on improved school results of ethnic minority children. In this case, Roma assistants and Roma children, measured by:

- The number of justifiable absences,
- The number of unjustifiable absences,
- The number of Roma parents' attendance at interviews with teachers,
- The number of Roma parents' attendance at school meetings,
- Average marks comparison,
- The number of Roma children ending schooling after primary school,
- The number of Roma children continuing schooling in a three year programme,
- The number of Roma children continuing in secondary a school programme.

Rationale: school results may be improved by the attendance of ethnic teaching assistants at both kindergarten and higher level education, especially the school results of Roma children. Roma assistants at school are expected to play different roles and therefore the expected results are manifold. In particular, Roma assistants are supposed to contribute to the improvement of Roma pupils' self-perception, to the improvement of their scholastic performance, to better communication between Roma pupils and teachers, as well as between parents and teachers, and to lower dropout rates among Roma pupils. In general, the attendance of ethnic teaching assistants impacts on the inter-cultural skills that ethnic minority and Roma children need to perform in mainstream society later in life.

Discussion: notwithstanding the impossibility of making an effectiveness and cost-effectiveness analysis on the basis of this indicator as well as the difficulties we encountered in arriving at a comparative effectiveness evaluation in the four Member States, the indicator allowed us to ascertain a degree of successful impact of Roma teaching assistants on the school results of Roma children in Slovenia and slightly less so in the Czech Republic. While we lack similar knowledge from the Slovak Republic, we do know, however, that after ten years of applying Roma teaching assistants through private means, the Slovak government has now initiated its own programme. In Sweden, the means of applying ethnic teaching assistants is not used and hence the impact on the school results of ethnic minority and immigrant children is visible and deteriorating, even with extensive language instruction offered in both minority and majority languages.

Indicator 2: Improved Employment Rate through Bilingualism among Ethnic Minorities

Definition: the impact of the level and command of bilingualism among ethnic minorities on securing employment measured by:

- The rate of increase in command of the national language among ethnic minorities.

Rationale: that employment improves inter-cultural understanding is underscored by the history of immigration throughout the world and promoted by the current EU Social Policy Agenda implemented through the OMC process. Successful inter-cultural performance in the labour market heightens social inclusion and contributes to the individual's sense of well-being and belonging to mainstream society, as well as to the improvement of the ability of the individual ethnic person to purvey a multicultural ethos to fellow ethnics. Bilingualism in terms of proficiency in the national language among ethnic minorities and immigrants is the object of increasingly more employment policies in the EU.

Discussion: although very little can be said at the moment on the effectiveness and cost-effectiveness of bilingual education programmes in Estonia and Latvia, the indicator of employment inclusion through bilingualism in Estonia and Latvia was nevertheless a natural object of comparison, even though the result of the comparison between the two Member States gave us a mixed picture. For example, according to interview, with Estonian-speaking and Russian-speaking students carried out in Estonia in 2006, many Russian-speaking students claim that ethnic differentiation takes place in Estonia and the main factor of this process is the special status of the Estonian language as the national language. In this sense, language policy seems to be perceived by these youngsters as a possible source of exclusion rather than a simple help for inclusion in mainstreaming society. Most of the Russian-speaking students who participated in the interviews believe career possibilities are decent but their opinions about gaining higher education in Estonia are pessimistic. The growth of active knowledge of Estonian among Russian speakers has been 17% from 2002 to 2006 with higher growth in the main urban areas. The trend is thus positive overall, although unequivocal success cannot be claimed.

We observed a similar pattern also in Latvia, although the situation is less clear cut. The Latvian language competence indicator shows a tendency towards rapid improvement of Latvian skills in the 15-24 age group in the period 1999-2006. It has been reported that students and teachers have a positive attitude toward bilingual education, believing that it represents a compromise in terms of minority education reforms. However, dominant attitudes about the shift toward a system in which most classes are taught in Latvian were negative. During

the latter phase of education reform implementation, negative attitudes among target groups, particularly students, have been exacerbated. The two CICI are summarized in Table 16 below.

Table 16 – Common Inter-Cultural Indicators (CICI)

SECONDARY (PERFORMANCE) INDICATORS

Domain	Indicator	Index of Cultural Policies	Methodology and Data Sources
Education	1. Improved educational attainment of ethnic minority children	The impact of ethnic teaching assistants on improved school results of ethnic minority children measured by: The number of justifiable absences; The number of unjustifiable absences; The number of Roma parents' attendance at interviews with teachers; The number of Roma parents' attendance at school meetings; Average marks; The number of Roma children ending schooling after primary school; The number of Roma children continuing schooling in a 3-year programme; and The number of Roma children continuing in secondary school programme.	Ministry of Education; Surveys; and Academic studies,
Education/	2. Improved employment rate of ethnic minorities	The impact of the level of command of bilingualism among ethnic minorities on securing employment measured by : The rate of increase in command of the national language among ethnic minorities.	Ministry of Employment; Surveys; Academic studies.

E. Policy Concerns

The inability to arrive at a full framework of CICI is clearly a policy concern in light of the Lisbon goals to be achieved by 2010. If we agree that the modus operandi of the OMC process is to create a development process that is fashioned by the use of indicators,[237] the NAPs/Incl. that we have studied must be able to do better. Moreover, if we agree that measuring improved inter-cultural relations between ethnic minorities and majorities is one way of indicating the rate of social integration and eventual social inclusion of ethnic minorities and Roma, the six NAPs/Incl. strategies are clearly not up to the task. The OMC/Incl. process would have to kick into a much higher gear if common indicators in the domain of culture are to be found that are normative, robust, policy relevant and timely. While one may argue that the OMC/Incl. process is perhaps making the initial strides towards reform, there appears to be a long road ahead, full of national and local obstacles. At the pace that the OMC process is going, it is questionable whether the Lisbon Strategy can wait for this indicator development process to run its course. In the following, we will sum up the major technical, policy related and political concerns that we have found in relation to linking the domain of culture to the social inclusion of ethnic minorities.

At the technical level, we have mentioned numerous times the problems of data availability and collection. We will not enter into the debate concerning the collection of data according to ethnicity. There are several well-founded reasons behind the choice not to gather such data, in particular as the data could be used - and

[237] Mary Daly, "EU Social Policy after Lisbon", 44(3) Journal of Common Market Studies (2006), pp. 461-481, at 472.

have been used - against the minorities themselves, in apparent contradiction with the goals of integration and inclusion formulated by policy makers. This risk is certainly credible. However, monitoring and evaluation are necessary ingredients for the feedback that policy makers need not only to understand whether or not the policies adopted achieve the outcomes desired, whether they are effective or not, but also to ascertain whether they have been the best alternatives in terms of the employment of society's resources, a concept that is at the heart of cost-effectiveness analysis.

Another technical point that we wish to make relates to the indivisibility of indicators. For years, it has been accepted canon to speak of economic indicators versus social indicators or legal indicators versus political indicators. In Europe, we have now begun to operate with legal-political indicators, socio-economic indicators, cultural indicators and, more recently, as we have also found, with "majority indicators" (see Appendix B).[238] Given that a higher level of social inclusion can be attained if we observe simultaneous improvements in all the key areas related to social inclusion, the development and use of cross-domain indicators may be the way forward. The capability to bring about simultaneous improvements in different domains, rather than some isolated improvements in only one or two domains is of vital importance to achieving effective social inclusion policies. Developing a cross-domain analysis method is clearly supportive of the multi-dimensional view of social exclusion.

Multi-dimensionality is therefore a genuine policy concern that needs to be taken more seriously. While its normative value is taking hold in policy circles in the EU, it is clearly not at a level where it is ready for implementation. In fact, some NAPs/Incl. that we have studied have been deemed decidedly one-dimensional by the evaluators. The fact that the impact of cultural policies on the rate of social integration is not well understood supports this argument. According to the OMC policy model, conceptualization and operationalization must happen at the national level. This means that the EU may have as many concepts of multi-dimensionality as there are Member States unless a method is found whereby common concepts can be used. This major problem of the OMC/Incl. is of course related to the current debate on a new social model for Europe and we recognize that this is a discourse that involves far greater issues than the evaluation of six NAPs/Incl. Nevertheless, it has been argued that reforming the NAPs/Incl. without a social model template is difficult.[239] It is therefore a general concern that the aim of reforming NAPs/Incl. through the OMC process is not attainable without more work on conceptualization and operationalization of the concept of multi-dimensionality as a phenomenon that extends beyond the market and across Member States.

The one indicator that will arguably create debate in OMC circles is the ICI on the majority (see our discussion in Part II and in detail in Appendix B). The majority is not normally subject to monitoring in connection with verifying social exclusion indicators of ethnic minorities and the systematic monitoring of attitudes of the majority about ethnic minorities may not be deemed normative in many Member States. However, as we have noted in our preliminary remarks, the problem of cultural hegemony and the vying for space in societies where several ethnic groups co-habit is not to be neglected in the analysis of social exclusion. As in all binary relationships, it is important to study both the strong and the weak component. In majority-minority relationships, the minority is usually the weak component and often in the discipline of ethnic minority studies the focus is far too strong on the minorities, thus leaving perhaps the most influential factor, the majority, under-explored. The picture of the social exclusion of ethnic minorities is therefore seldom fully focused.

The majority as a domain is broad and closely related to ideas, perceptions, attitudes, awareness, national identity formation, etc. From our research of the circumstances of social exclusion of ethnic minorities, we found that attitudes and actions of the majority population may both promote and devalue the importance and understanding of inter-cultural dialogue and cultural pluralism. Knowledge and data collection on the majority exists in abundance but is rarely directed towards issues of cultural pluralism and the majority's view of ethnic

[238] See also Hans Entzinger and Renske Biezeveld, "Benchmarking in Immigrant Integration", ERCOMER Report, August 2003.
[239] Daly, "EU Social Policy after Lisbon" , op. cit., p. 478.

minority cultures. The impact of the majority's awareness, acceptance and understanding of cultural pluralism on improved social inclusion is therefore not clear. Cultural policies aimed at social inclusion assume that ethnic minorities will accept the majority culture but does not question whether the majority will accept ethnic minority cultures. The majority's understanding and appreciation of ethnic minority cultures is therefore a worthwhile ICI, as is the monitoring of the majority's respect for minority languages. Finally, we suggest that the majority's knowledge of the importance of accepting difference as well as its motivation to promote social inclusion and take co-responsibility for a common culture are important indicators of the conditions under which social integration of ethnic minorities is taking place.

With regard to uniform policy making across the EU, the research teams observed that the NAPs/Incl. of the new Member States suffer from the legacy of communistic practices or transition adjustment. This fact has also been reported by previous research in the domain of culture.[240] Basically, historical perspectives are different between new and old Member States and cultural institutions operated differently in East and West. The path dependency of democratizing culture is not happening automatically everywhere. Moreover, the new Member States often have to achieve more with fewer resources. Indeed, the nature of problems is different and the solutions proposed will continue to be diverse for some time to come. While Europeanization is clearly taking place through the OMC process, it is not certain that accepted assumptions about reforming NAPs/Incl. can remain uncontested in new Member States.

Finally, our research teams have found that a long-term vision is needed in the area of social inclusion policies to allow for well structured and well-integrated programmes and to avoid ad hoc policies, the presence of which is quite often a symptom of a lack of long-term political commitment. Short-term and small scale activities rather than long-lasting intervention seem to be a problem in several NAPs/Incl. Sometimes substantial resources are spent inappropriately on short-term ad hoc activities.

At the normative and political level, it has been argued that reforming NAPs/Incl. and hence improving the state of social inclusion in the EU is clearly a mammoth task to be accomplished by a minor policy in the form of the OMC.[241] By minor, it is meant that the OMC process is relatively insignificant compared to the large apparatus of Community Actions that the European Commission is implementing. However, more importantly, by minor it is also indicated that the OMC has no teeth, meaning it is a policy without legal foundation in Community law and therefore it is clearly a voluntary exercise in which most but not all Member States have decided to participate. This creates a lack of collective agency[242] in the entire OMC process, which is not to be disregarded when we discuss reforming NAPs/Incl.

Collective agency is indeed a problem to contend with in relation to the moral placement of the responsibility to reform the NAPs/Incl. and ultimately to reform the social sectors of Member States. The OMC process has been accused of being no more than a dialogue process,[243] even though the learning process has been appreciated by many Member States.[244] However, even with a stronger competence level behind the OMC process, it is not clear that it can achieve the harmonization level that is normally expected in other policy areas in the EU. The social sphere is clearly different from Member State to Member States, as we have shown in our report, and it would be a fatal mistake to expect that one size fits all in social policy. It may work in political and economic affairs, but when the raw material is humanity, methods need to be sensitive to specific concerns. In the current EU structure and level of integration, the responsibility to improve on records of social integration ultimately lies with the individual Member States. As we have noted above, institutions vary according to historical experiences and shaping the social and cultural institutions to create opportunities - and hopefully results - lie with Member States.

[240] See Woods et al., "Report of a Thematic Study", op. cit.
[241] Daly, "EU Social Policy after Lisbon", op. cit., p. 478.
[242] Ibid., p. 475, footnote 5.
[243] Ibid., p. 475.
[244] European Commission, "Evaluation of the Open Method of Coordination for Social Protection and Social Inclusion. A Synthesis of Replies by Member States and other Actors to an Evaluation Questionnaire on the Open Method of Coordination in the Fields of Social Inclusion and Adequate and Sustainable Pensions", SEC(2006)345 (2006), 8 March 2006.

Finally, a moral issue that has emerged from our research and occupied much of the discussions among the teams: in our research, we have found that at times there is a duality in national goals on integration. It is not always clear whether certain policies have the goal of diversity or the aim of assimilation. This ambiguity has spilled over into NAPs/Incl. and appears visible in language policies. This is a serious concern not only for the well-being of members of ethnic minorities trying to integrate at the national level but also for the social unity of individual Member States. More importantly, for the EU in general this could pose problems to the "Unity in Diversity" agenda. As noted in our preliminary remarks, cultural hegemony is a phenomenon to contend with at all times in multi ethnic and multi cultural societies. It is clearly a social phenomenon that cannot be eradicated and perhaps should not be eradicated. It is part of the core understanding of cultural pluralism. The signal that NAPs/Incl. send when they are not clearly focused on cultural pluralism is therefore worse than cultural hegemony. It is a signal of "culturcide".

F. Recommendations

In this final section, we present our recommendations under three headings: technical, policy and political recommendations.

Technical Recommendations

1. NAPs/Incl. should be drawn up in a single document subdivided into areas of policy. National policies that are considered supportive of the NAPs/Incl. goals should be incorporated into NAPs/Incl. in a coherent manner. Where this is not possible, justification should be made and cross references should be made very clearly and with easy access.

2. Objectives have to be clearly stated and be explicit. Goals need not be specified from the beginning; it is perfectly possible to provide a set of general goals as a preliminary step toward more detailed objectives, but the latter have to be explicit at some stage.

3. Alternative means of data collection should be developed. For instance, temporary authorization for ethnic data collection for specific and innovative pilot programmes could be pursued. This could be done for pilot programmes only and be limited to the extent that it is strictly necessary for the monitoring and expost evaluation with a view to possible generalization.

4. Data collection on cost should be refined. Multi-annual and general budgetary figures should be avoided.

5. Links should be made between goals and cost. Exogenous effects should be isolated to avoid selection biases. This may be done through the experimental design method or using multivariate analysis with a large data set.

6. Indicators should be understood as indivisible. The indicator discourse could learn from the discourse of the indivisibility of human rights. Policy makers should consider a redirection of the discourse on indicators towards a better understanding of the indivisibility of causes of social exclusion and the development of cross-domain indicators.

7.The development of cross-domain indicators should be considered as a method to move policies toward a view of social exclusion as multi-dimensional. Particular attention should be paid to whether or not NAPs/Incl. are designed and implemented in such a way that systemic effects and positive spillover effects between policies are taken into account. Indexes on culture and education, as well as indexes on culture and employment, would be natural areas of cross-domain indicator development. Cross-domain indicators should be seen as a means to operationalize multi-dimensionality. EU research and social funds (ESF and COST in addition to PROGRESS) should be allocated to developing cross-domain indicators across Member States.

8. Indicators on the majority should be developed as part of the cross-domain effort. Majority indicators should be seen as part of the indivisibility of indicators and the multi-dimensionality of social exclusion. Developing indicators and collecting data on the majority is usually not combined with major difficulties. Questions about the general understanding and acceptance of cultural pluralism and the right to difference could be incorporated in universal surveys.

Policy Recommendations

9. A higher level of monitoring and control over policies that specifically address social exclusion should be pursued – in particular when these policies are at a pilot or exploratory stage.

10. Conceptualization of multi-dimensionality should to be sought rigorously – not only at the national level but also at the EU level. Inter-disciplinary research should be pursued and a stronger public discourse on multi-dimensionality should also be encouraged. (Framework Programme 7, Activity 8.6 could be expanded to include cross-domain indicators.) A flexible common concept that could be applied in all Member States should be the aim of the conceptualization.

11. Culture should be mainstreamed into all NAPs/Incl. policies. The European Commission should seek operationalization of inter-cultural policies by inviting Member States to adopt a broader concept of culture. In particular, Member States should be asked to contemplate an instrumental understanding of culture as a value in support of social inclusion.

12. NAPs/Incl. should be clear on ethnic minorities eligible under social inclusion policies. Ambiguous and exclusionary language should be avoided and cross-references to other existing minority policies should be encouraged.

13. Roma policies on education should be further developed. Member States should consider employing Roma assistants in kindergartens and primary schools.

14. Duality in goals on integration should be avoided. It should be clear from NAPs/Incl. that all cultural groups and ethnic minorities are invited to compete for the cultural space in society.

15. Clarity in legislation on bilingualism should be sought – especially in those Member States where a few or more large language groups live within the same territory. Bilingualism should be promoted by Member States as a bridge to a multicultural society rather than a bridge to a majority culture.

16. Systematic monitoring of attitudes of the majority should be considered normative – as cultural pluralism requires respect for all cultures.

17. Long-term vision would improve the NAPs/Incl. – allowing for well-structured and well-integrated policies and programmes. Long lasting intervention instead of ad hoc policies should be sought and, where short-term ad hoc policies cannot be avoided, resources allocated should be kept at a minimum.

Political Recommendations

18. Ethnic minorities should be seen as internal resources. Member States should consider tapping into the ethnic labour before importing labour forces from abroad. This requires a two pronged approach. First, the majority and the general public should be introduced to the idea through public discourse. Politicians and public figures should assure the population that this resource is needed and show encouragement to ethnic minorities in their efforts to integrate. Second, ethnic minorities should be supported with specific 'internal resource' policies providing tools of integration, including inter-cultural policies.

19. Reforming NAPs/Incl. and the ongoing development of a new social model for Europe should be pursued in tandem – or at least in close contact with each other. This should include both conceptualization of multi-dimensionality and development of cross-domain indicators. Moreover, the reform process should revisit assumptions about Europeanization in order that NAPs/Incl. may address social exclusion issues relevant for Member States.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A – OVERARCHING COMMON INTER-CULTURAL INDICATORS

PRIMARY (POLICY) INDICATORS

	Indicator	Index of Policies	Data Sources
1	Official recognition of the ethnic minority	Constitutional recognition, or special laws, statutes	Constitutional texts; Ministry of Justice
2	Recognition of international obligations and compliance	Signatures to international instruments, such as FCNM, Language Charter, implementation of EU Race Directive and Equal Employment Directive	Public international law documents; Ministry of Justice; Ministry of Foreign Affairs; European Commission
3	Freedom of religion and establishment	Separation of church and state, value pluralism policies	Constitutional texts; Ministry of Justice
4	Protection and promotion of minority language	Education and cultural policies	Ministry of Education; Ministry of Culture
5	Protection and promotion of minority culture	Political and cultural policies	Constitutional texts; Ministry of Interior; Ministry of Culture
6	Education in minority language	Education and cultural policies	Ministry of Education; Ministry of Culture
7	Full access to the sound and print media as well as establishment	Media policies, freedom of expression, cultural diversity policies	Ministry of Culture; Ministry of Communication
8	Linguistic support in public affairs, including public information	Equal rights before the law, social cohesion awareness, social unity policies, cultural policies	Special statutes on minorities; leadership statements; Ministry of Culture; Ministry of Justice
9	Protection of minority names	Political and cultural policies	Ministry of Justice; Ministry of Culture

10	Freedom to advertise in minority language	Freedom of expression, cultural policies, trade policies	Ministry of Culture; Ministry of Trade and Commerce
11	Border region freedoms and protection, including trans-frontier relations	Bilateral treaties, bilateral commissions, regional policies, political and economic policies, trade policies, EU co-operation policies	Public international law documents; Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Ministry of Interior; Ministry of Trade and Commerce; Ministry of EU Affairs
12	Education material about minorities	Education and cultural policies	Ministry of Education; Ministry of Culture
13	Protection against population resettlement	Political policies, decentralization policies, local government policies, districting policies	Leadership statements; Ministry of Interior;

APPENDIX B – TERTIARY INTER-CULTURAL INDICATORS

Developing indicators for the OMC process has been and remains one of the highest priorities in the EU's changed approach to social policy making after the adoption of the Lisbon Strategy. As noted in Chapter 3, the initiative to streamline the OMC process, the Community Programme for Employment and Social Solidarity (PROGRESS) establishes sectors, five of which have objectives to develop indicators through analysis and studies.[245] A total of €4.9 million has been earmarked for development of indicators in the period 2007-2013 and other actions are foreseen in support of developing indicators. Clearly, policy makers are aware that there is a need in the EU to develop indicators for the improvement of the implementation of the Social Policy Agenda (SPA). In particular, the emphasis in the EU is on common indicators. As the research on the NAPs/Incl. carried out under this project shows that not only new Member States but also 'older' Member States need to work hard to become eloquent in the discipline of indicators, we noted in the General Conclusions that our research has shown that identifying common indicators is fraught with problems (see the section on CICI).

In the area of cultural indicators, the problem is even more acute than in the general area of social inclusion. We showed in our preliminary discussion that piloting cultural indicators has come off to a very slow start at the international level and, at the national level, only New Zealand has sought to fill the gap with a report issued in July 2006. Even this excellent report was unable to populate indicators in a number of areas related to culture, in particular social cohesion. It did, however, pilot two indicators in the area of cultural diversity: grants to minority ethnic cultural groups; and attendance/participation at/in ethnic cultural activities[246] as well as a number of indicators in the areas of engagement, identity and economic development.[247] In its Introduction, the New Zealand report notes that:

The cultural sector is pivotal to the government's goal of achieving sustainable development. This is because it is driven by an infinitely renewable resource – human creativity – which, when given nourishment and support, provides the potential for job creation through the generation and exploitation of human intellectual property.[248]

It argues further that decision making and the measurement of the performance of the cultural sector, which receives considerable public funding, is hampered because the sector is diverse and fragmented and, in many cases, its organizations cannot produce robust statistical data. Moreover, knowledge about the cultural sector's social and economic contribution is still lacking. This latter aspect is clearly also the case in EU Member States and in the OMC/Incl. process. Of course, the New Zealand study arrived at an index of national level indicators or what in the OMC process are called tertiary indicators. In fact, the New Zealand report clearly states that, even though indicators are often developed with the intention of providing data for making international comparisons, an international literature review undertaken early in the process was unable to find any comparable cultural-indicator methodology.[249] This corroborates our preliminary remarks in Part I, Chapter 1. In the research of the six NAPs/Incl., we have therefore also arrived at a number of tertiary indicators piloted from the diverse approaches taken by the six Member States. These are the focus of this Appendix.

As noted further in our preliminary remarks, we have concentrated on piloting ICI, as these are more representative of the relationship between culture and social exclusion of ethnic minorities. Measuring participation in ethnic cultural activities as suggested by the New Zealand study would only make sense if it breaks down the data according to ethnicity. As the New Zealand methodology does apply such a breakdown, the indicator makes

[245] European Commission, "Establishing a Community Programme for Employment and Social Solidarity – PROGRESS", COM(2004)488 final and 2004/0158 (COD) of 14 July 2004; and Decision No. 1672/2006/EC of 24 October 2006 the European Parliament and the Council establishing a Community Programme for Employment and Social Solidarity – Progress, *Official Journal of the European Union* L315/1 of 15 November 2006.
[246] Statistics New Zealand, "Cultural Indicators for New Zealand", op. cit., p. 32.
[247] The authors are grateful for the permission by Statistics New Zealand and the Ministry for Culture to reproduce material from the report and for the methodology provided.
[248] Statistics New Zealand, "Cultural Indicators for New Zealand", op. cit., 2006, p. 1.
[249] Ibid., p. 3.

sense. In Europe, as we have noted numerous times in our report, data collection according to ethnicity is not possible in many EU Member States. Hence, our index of indicators has deliberately been named inter-cultural indicators (ICI) in an effort to accentuate the importance of the inter-action between ethnic minorities and majority cultural groups.

Our methodology has furthermore been different from that of New Zealand in that our research is based on a collection of uneven documents and data resources, whereas the New Zealand study was able to develop on the basis of a cultural statistics programme established in 1993. The ICI piloted by our research and the aim of presenting them in this Appendix are therefore merely to contribute to the furthering of the development of social inclusion indicators in the EU by providing some specific ideas on ICI. In a perfect world, we would have piloted cultural indicators broken down according to ethnicity.

We follow the New Zealand study, however, in identifying desired outcomes in terms of performance in a number of domains with a view to pinning down indexes that would provide a picture of the achievements towards these outcomes. As noted in our preliminary remarks, performance indicators are by far the most difficult to pilot and hence they are often poorly defined, or too many are defined, or they are indicators without accessible data sources, thus likely to be underutilized. However, the European Commission has clearly stated that it expects Member States to work with performance indicators in their NAPs/Incl.[250] For a performance indicator to be useful in terms of measuring improvement in outcome, experts argue that it should:

- Have a clear and accepted normative interpretation;
- Be robust and statistically validated;
- Be responsive to policy interventions but not subject to manipulation;
- Be measurable in a sufficiently comparable way across Member States; and
- Be timely.[251]

More ambitious criteria can be set, of course, but, as noted in the New Zealand study, it is important that indicators are relevant, reliable, accessible and clear.[252] In addition, it should be susceptible to sub-group divisions, such as gender, age, and ethnicity. The ICI that we have piloted from the study of the six NAPs/Incl. meet in most cases three out of the five criteria listed above, namely normativity, policy relevance and timeliness. Unfortunately, we were not able to meet the second and fourth requirements, making them robust and comparable, hence the relegation of the ICI to the Appendix status.

The social inclusion domains we have begun to fill with indicators follow the domains that we set out to research at the beginning of the project with two domains added along the way as follows:

1. Education;
2. Employment;
3. Participation/access to culture;
4. Media; and
5. The majority.

The desired outcomes identified in each domain relate, we feel, in various ways to the impact of culture and inter-cultural relations on social exclusion, even though they may seem to indicate rather obvious social outcomes. For instance, we believe that the success rate in school results among ethnic children and young adults is dependent on the approach to culture in the school system, i.e., special inter-cultural programming, inter-cultural content in the induction material, etc. The desired outcomes are listed in column two of the following table. Column three lists the indexes that we have identified for each desired outcome. These indexes are by

[250] European Commission, "Portfolio of Overarching Indicators and Streamlined Social Inclusion, Pensions, and Health Portfolios", D(2006) of 7 June 2006.
[251] The authors would like to thank Deborah Mabbett for her contribution to this part of our research.
[252] Statistics New Zealand, "Cultural Indicators for New Zealand", op. cit., p. 3.

no means exhaustive and further research is clearly needed to take this approach further towards success. For some desired outcomes, we have found a number of measurements that immediately lend themselves to inaccuracy or overload. This, we feel is, however, necessary at this stage of conceptualization. Member States have different policies and the process of identifying data resources should begin at a very broad level. Column four suggests possible methodology and data sources for populating the indicators. Given that our ICI are not populated but merely extracted from the cultural circumstances of social exclusion reported by the research teams, our discussion of methodology and data resources is rather speculative.

In the following, we discuss briefly each domain and list the indicators piloted followed by more detailed description of each indicator. The discussion is summarized in the table below.

1. Education

The impact of culture on education, in general, and on the educational attainment of ethnic minority children and young adults, in particular, is under-explored in current policy making on education. Except for the cultural impact of bilingualism on participation in employment opportunities, culture in relation to education as a multi-dimensional factor of social exclusion is not targeted, measured and monitored in the EU.

Education as a preparation for life in the mainstream culture of society is vital not only for the self-esteem of members of ethnic minorities but also for the possibilities to perform in the socio-economic sphere. If based on an inclusive curriculum, education is also a primary source for promoting inter-cultural understanding between minority and majority populations. The right to education is considered a human right. From our research of the circumstances of social exclusion in the six Member States, we have found that:

- Bilingualism in kindergartens promotes multi-dimension tools for life;
- A child's capabilities not only as a school pupil but also at an early age are dependent on a number of inter-cultural factors in its environment;
- Expanding the exposure of the child to the majority culture while supporting both the child's learning of the native and the majority language, the child may perform better in school and the likelihood for dropping out is diminished;
- Command of the majority language should be seen not as a 'bridge to the majority culture' but as a 'bridge to a multicultural society'; and
- Clarity of legislation on bilingualism promotes understanding of the purpose of applying two languages in one society.

Tertiary cultural indicators on education piloted from our research include:

a. Improved educational attainment among ethnic minority children and adults;
b. Improved kindergarten life for ethnic minority children;
c. Improved inter-cultural activities in kindergartens;
d. Improved bilingualism among ethnic minority children; and
e. Improved cultural skills among ethnic minority children.

<u>Indicator 1.a: Improved educational attainment among ethnic minority children and adults</u>

Definition: An index of school results of ethnic minority children.

Rationale: Educational attainment is a major factor in the successful integration of ethnic minorities in both the socio-economic sphere and mainstream culture. School attainment can be monitored in numerous ways but must be compared to non-ethnic figures.

- The percentage of ethnic children who finish pre-school preparation;
- The percentage of ethnic youth in higher education compared to non-ethnic youth;

- The percentage of ethnic youth leaving secondary school system with grades providing access to higher education compared to non-ethnics;
- The percentage of pupils with poor results;
- The percentage of missed, non-justified hours;
- The percentage of ethnic minority pupils in segregated schools and institutions;
- The rate of dropouts;
- The percentage of ethnic minority members who return to education;
- The number of ethnic teaching assistants;
- The rate of knowledge of English or other third international language; and
- The number of ethnic youth and adults in vocational or skills training.

Discussion: The normativity, policy relevance and timeliness of measuring school attainment are indisputable. The indicator was selected as a feasible common indicator for the six Member States studied. However, it was only in terms of the number of ethnic teaching assistants that we found data to populate it and only in four of the six Member States (see our discussion in General Conclusions). It remains questionable therefore whether the indicator is robust. The primary problem with the indicator is that it cannot easily be populated without a breakdown of data on ethnicity.

Indicator 1.b: Improved kindergarten life for ethnic minority children

Definition: An index of the various aspects of ethnic kindergarten life that influence the ability to attain education and function in mainstream society later in life.

Rationale: A child's capabilities not only as a school pupil but also at an early age are dependent on a number of inter-cultural factors in its environment. Ethnic kindergarten life can be monitored in a number of ways:

- The percentage of ethnic children in kindergartens two years prior to primary school;
- The rate of bilingualism in kindergartens;
- The number of special programmes in segregated areas that focus specifically on the inter-cultural aspect of society;
- The number of ethnic teaching assistants;
- The quality of cultural components of teaching;
- The language used during meetings with parents; and
- The rate of dropouts.

Discussion: The normativity of this indicator is supported by the fact that kindergarten attendance impacts on the formation of the individual person's capabilities later in life. It is both responsible to policy interventions and timely. However, populating this type of indicator with data is complex. It requires both quantitative and qualitative data, and surveys and questionnaires would be required. At present, the indicator is not a robust indicator, and it is not comparable across Member States. It also overlaps with other indicators in the domain of education.

Indicator 1.c: Improved inter-cultural activities in kindergartens

Definition: An index of the quality of performance of inter-cultural activities in kindergartens.

Rationale: Monitoring the quality of inter-cultural activities in kindergartens provides an early indication of how the ethnic child is being supported in the path towards acculturation. The quality of the performance of inter-cultural activities can be measured by:

- The number of ethnic parents who see the benefit of pre-school education;
- The number of ethnic minority children who enrol earlier;
- The number of ethnic teaching assistants;

- The increase in number of inter-cultural activities compared to previous years; and
- The amount of funding allocated to inter-cultural activities compared to mono-cultural activities.

Discussion: The normativity, responsiveness and timeliness of this indicator seem evident for the same reasons as noted in the previous indicator and in light of the EU seeking to achieve "Unity in Diversity". Populating this indicator would not necessarily be overly cumbersome. Customized surveys of parents' attitudes as well as quantitative data would be needed. However, without a breakdown on ethnicity it will be difficult to isolate the figures that relate to ethnic children. The indicator is therefore neither robust nor comparable across Member States. It also overlaps with other indicators in the domain of education.

Indicator 1.d: Improved bilingualism among ethnic minorities

Definition: An index of the rate of bilingualism among ethnic minority children.

Rationale: The better the knowledge and command of both minority and majority languages among ethnic minority children, the greater the chances are for them to function in mainstream society later in life. The command of the majority language is a necessity to perform day-to-day functions in society. The level of bilingualism can be measured in numerous ways, including:

- Number of hours of language teaching in both languages,
- Number of hours of using both languages,
- School results in both languages, and
- The use of information materials and entertainment materials in the non-native language.

Discussion: While the normativity of bilingualism versus mono-lingualism is usually not questioned, experts do not agree on the merits of bilingualism during the early formative years. The normativity of bilingualism could also be questioned if the target group is only non-majority language speakers. In that case, we cannot speak of bilingualism but language tuition in support of integration. However, the policy relevance and timeliness of bilingual policies are not usually questioned in those Member States where large groups speak diverse languages. To populate the indicator with data is not particularly difficult. It has the potential to be made robust. It is not, however, comparable across Member States, except in Member States with comparable immigration levels, or in Member States with large national minorities, such as Estonia, Belgium, Latvia, Slovakia, and Spain. The indicator overlaps with indicators in the domain of employment.

Indicator 1.e: Improved cultural skills among ethnic minorities

Definition: An index of the cultural skills of ethnic minorities that relate to inter-cultural understanding.

Rationale: Measuring cultural and inter-cultural skills is a way to ascertain the extent of the social exclusion in society in general and in education in particular. Cultural and inter-cultural skills are the core elements of successful socialization and promote well-being in terms of personal self-esteem. Many more skills are cultural than we would initially imagine. Monitoring the existence of cultural and inter-cultural skills entails measuring people's actions and behaviour in various situations, such as:

- Encounters in the street, in the school and in the work place;
- Character of contacts of deeper involvement (with doctors, lawyers, teachers, etc.);
- Reactions to foreign cultures and ethnicity;
- Understanding of other cultures and ethnicities;
- The percentage of ethnic minorities in positive leisure time activities;
- The percentage of delinquencies.

Discussion: The normativity of this indicator is perhaps dubious unless universal society is monitored. Policy relevance and timeliness seems justified in a time of renewed debates about the merits of multiculturalism.

Populating this indicator is very complex and its robustness is therefore questionable. It requires breakdowns on ethnicity if universal data is sought and, if only ethnic minorities are measured, it requires specifically targeted surveys and questionnaires. Since all Member States of the EU are considered multicultural, the potential for comparison exists. There could be an overlap with other domains, such as employment and participation.

2. Employment

That employment improves inter-cultural understanding is underscored by the history of immigration throughout the world and promoted by the current EU SPA being implemented through the OMC process. Successful inter-cultural performance in the labour market heightens social inclusion and contributes to the individual's sense of well-being and belonging to mainstream society as well as to the improvement of the ability of the individual ethnic person to purvey a multicultural ethos to fellow ethnics. Cultural motivation for seeking employment shows the intention of ethnic minorities to participate and support the overall goal of social cohesion. Improved socio-economic status on the part of ethnic minorities promotes integration and understanding of the relation between lack of cultural skills and acquirement of labour tools.

Any help that can be rendered an ethnic person in seeking social integration through the job market will enhance his or her opportunities and life chances. Unfortunately, there is not consensus as to whether the right to work is a universal human right.

Except for bilingualism in terms of the proficiency in the majority language among ethnic minorities and immigrants, the impact of culture on successful employment is not monitored in employment policies in the EU. Improved inter-cultural communication in job activation and job placement services is one way to overcome some of the obstacles that lead to social exclusion. From our research on the circumstances of social exclusion in the six Member States, we piloted three tertiary cultural indicators on employment:

a. Higher cultural motivation for employment among ethnic minorities;
b. Improved inter-cultural performance in labour market competition; and
c. Improved labour market activation.

Indicator 2.a: Higher cultural motivation for employment among ethnic minorities

Definition: An index of the cultural motivation among ethnic minorities for employment.

Rationale: Measuring cultural motivation for seeking employment shows the intention of the ethnic minority to participate and support the overall goal of social cohesion. Many things influence the cultural motivation of ethnic minorities to seek employment. Bilingualism or proficiency in the majority language is one of them. The higher the inter-cultural understanding, the higher the success rates in the job market. Cultural motivation could be monitored by measuring:

- The rate of bilingualism;
- The number of ethnic candidates in job placement seminars;
- The rate of ethnic participation in inter-cultural activities;
- The rate of ethnic minority emigration;
- Perceptions among ethnic minorities of why they have or do not have a job; and
- The rate of delinquency over time.

Discussion: The normativity, policy relevance and timeliness of measuring cultural motivation in job seeking are underscored by the figures on social exclusion in Member States. The rate of bilingualism was one of the measurements that appeared feasible for a common indicator in the six Member States studied (see our discussion in the General Conclusions). However, it turned out that only in the two Baltic states was there enough data and research available on this indicator. To populate this indicator would not be a major obstacle except where breakdown according to ethnicity does not exist. Perceptions among ethnic minorities would require custom surveys. It has the potential to be made robust, and comparability should also be feasible.

Indicator 2.b: Improved inter-cultural performance in labour market competition

Definition: An index of the ability to perform at the inter-cultural level of labour market competition.

Rationale: Measuring successful inter-cultural performance in the labour market is an indicator of heightened social inclusion. Successful inter-cultural performance also contributes to the individual's sense of well-being and belonging to mainstream society, as well as to the improvement of the individual's ability to purvey a multicultural ethos to fellow ethnics. Measuring successful inter-cultural performance could be done by monitoring:

- The number of successful ethnic candidates in targeted training on certain deficiencies;
- The number of internships for ethnic minority youth;
- The number of segregated ethnic minorities in jobs;
- The rate of ethnic self-employment;
- The rate of ethnic employment in the public sector;
- The number of successful state co-financing schemes; and
- The rate of long-term or permanent employment.

Discussion: The normativity of measuring the inter-cultural performance of ethnic minorities is perhaps dubious if one believes that all cultures have equal moral worth. If all cultures have equal moral worth, universal data should be compiled from all cultures in society. However, in the paradigm of inter-human hierarchy where ethnic minorities are in the minority, stronger pressure is put on ethnic minorities to learn inter-cultural performance than on the majority. Policy relevance and timeliness are therefore underscored by the paradigm of inter-human hierarchy, or what we have termed cultural hegemony. Populating the indicator with data would be feasible but would require a breakdown according to ethnicity. There is a potential for making it a robust indicator and since the Lisbon Strategy requires all Member States to improve on their employment rates, there should also be potential for comparability.

Indicator 2.c: Improved labour market activation

Definition: An index of ethnic minorities in labour market activation.

Rationale: Any help that can be rendered an ethnic person in seeking social integration through the job market will enhance his or her opportunities and life chances. Labour market activation is a relative new and innovative approach followed in some Member States. However, labour market activation may be both foreign and difficult for ethnic minorities and immigrants to understand. It therefore needs a cultural component targeting these groups. An index on labour market activation and job placement could be measured by:

- The number of public works programmes employing less employable ethnic minorities;
- The rate of ethnic employment in the public sector;
- The number of pilot projects targeting unemployed ethnic minorities;
- The number of ethnic minority assistants in job placement services;
- The number of inter-cultural awareness campaigns targeting unemployed minorities;
- The number of inter-cultural awareness campaigns targeting the majority;
- The degree of awareness among government officials that ethnic minorities should be targeted for employment help;
- The number of publicly funded pilot projects targeting ethnic minorities; and
- The degree of understanding among ethnic minorities of the relation between command of majority language and labour market activation.

Discussion: The normativity, policy relevance and timeliness of this indicator are underscored by the current situation in many Member States and the Lisbon Strategy. Populating the indicator would be feasible using national statistics and surveys, thus giving it a potential to become robust. However, labour market activation is not a policy followed in all Member States. Hence, comparability remains questionable. The indicator overlaps with the previous indicator.

3. Public Participation/Access to Culture

Participation is a very broad domain, which includes not only socio-economic and political participation but also culture. It is considered a universal human right. While meeting within the political process and deciding together the future of society is a sign of a high level of social inclusion and cultural acceptance, access to culture may improve the individual's ability to understand other cultures and function in both one's own and foreign cultures. It may therefore promote the understanding that inter-cultural exchanges enhance social cohesion. From our research of the circumstances of social exclusion in the six Member States, we found that:

• Participation in cultural activities enhances opportunities for employment and promotes greater cultural visibility of ethnic minorities;
• Cultural associations and NGOs enhance the capabilities of ethnic minorities to perform in civil society;
• Free entry to museums enhances the opportunities of ethnic minorities to learn about majority culture;
• Ethnic participation in civil society indicates the level of interest in the overall common culture of society and exhibits the feasibility of a common cultural identity;
• Universal civic education is of vital importance to the goal of social cohesion and inter-cultural understanding;
• A feeling of belonging may be exhibited in the number of ethnic people participating in public affairs;
• The creation of minority literature, poetry and drama to preserve the minority culture and language is essential for cultural and ethnic survival; and
• The inclusion of ethnic minority culture and history in the school curriculum promotes access to culture and inter-cultural understanding.

The impact of culture on public participation, including access to the cultural sector, is dependent on policies that promote interest in society, understanding of other cultures and feelings of belonging. Inter-cultural communication is therefore a strong component in improving public participation. Inter-cultural communication should be promoted in all sectors, political, socio-economic and cultural.

Tertiary cultural indicators on participation and access to culture piloted from our research include:

a. Improved ethnic minority interest in civil society
b. Improved understanding of ethnic and cultural diversity
c. Higher ethnic participation in cultural activities
d. Improved understanding of majority culture
e. Improved co-responsibility for a common culture
f. Improved ethnic political participation

Indicator 3.a: Improved ethnic minority interest in civil society

Definition: An index of ethnic minority interventions in civil society.

Rationale: Civil society participation is considered one of the cornerstones of democracy. Measuring the ability of ethnic minority organizations and individuals to participate in civil society indicates the level of interest in the overall common culture of society and exhibits the feasibility of a common cultural identity. Ethnic interest in civil society may be measured by

• Number of ethnic NGOs active in civil society;
• Number of ethnic cultural associations active;
• Number of civic education programmes attended by ethnic minorities; and
• Number of ethnic minorities active in cross-cultural organizations.

Discussion: The normativity of measuring civil society participation does not seem questionable given that all Member States of the EU are considered democratic. Policy relevance ought therefore to be high. The

timeliness may vary from Member State to Member State depending on the political interest in integrating ethnic minorities into mainstream society. To populate this indicator would require extensive surveys of the NGO communities and participation in civic education programmes unless national statistics are broken down according to ethnicity. However, with a breakdown on ethnicity, a potential exists for making this a robust indicator. Comparability should also be feasible.

Indicator 3.b: Improved understanding of ethnic and cultural diversity

Definition: An index of the perceptions of the importance of cultural diversity.

Rationale: The rationale for measuring the understanding of cultural diversity will assist in explaining the degree to which a shared cultural identity is feasible. Ethnic and cultural identities are multi-layered and, whether we belong to the majority, or the minority we self-identify at various layers. The understanding that we are all multi-layered and therefore that our societies are not only multicultural but also multi-layered multi-culturally is vital for social unity. The perception of the importance of cultural diversity may be measured universally or by ethnic breakdown by monitoring:

- The number/percentage of public programming promoting ethnic and cultural diversity;
- The number/percentage of projects presenting ethnic minority cultures to the general public;
- The rate of funding allocated to co-financing of ethnic minority projects;
- The percentage of ethnic content in national cultural programming;
- The rate of production of ethnic minority literature, poetry and drama;
- The number of university departments teaching ethnic minority studies;
- The number of students studying ethnic minority related subjects at university;
- The number of public libraries holding ethnic minority literature; and
- The percentage of public space allocated to ethnic minority culture information.

Discussion: The normativity of this indicator does not seem disputable given the EU's motto "Unity in Diversity". Its relevance for policy and timeliness will vary from Member State to Member State. To populate this indicator would require quantifiable data compiled through mapping. Eurobarometer may be a good tool. It could, however, be difficult to make this a robust indicator. The success rate of the programming could also be identified, although this would overlap with indicators in the domain of the media. Comparability across Member States would be difficult given the uneven minority policies adopted in Member States.

Indicator 3.c: Higher ethnic participation in cultural activities

Definition: An index of ethnic participants in both minority and majority cultural activities.

Rationale: Measuring the willingness to participate in cultural activities exposes the level at which ethnic minorities feel a sense of belonging and social inclusion. Minority as well as majority cultural events should be monitored to give full scope to the indicator. There are numerous ways of seeking understanding of ethnic willingness to participate, among these but not exhaustive:

- The number of ethnic minorities seeking funding for projects and/or assistance to project applications;
- Percentage of ethnic minority cultural projects over time;
- Number of co-ethnic and inter-cultural projects;
- The rate of ethnic participation in majority events;
- The rate of ethnic participation in national sports events; and
- The number of ethnic minority visits to national museums.

Discussion: The normativity of this indicator does not seem to be disputed as long as access to culture is considered a human right. Policy relevance and timeliness may, however, vary from Member State to Member State. To populate the indicator should be easy where there is a breakdown according to ethnicity; otherwise,

custom surveys are needed. The indicator has the potential to become robust. Comparability across some Member States may be feasible. The indicator may overlap with the indicator on civil society.

Indicator 3.d: Improved understanding of majority culture

Definition: An index of the perceptions of and interest in the majority culture among ethnic minorities.

Rationale: Lack of knowledge and understanding of the majority culture hinders social inclusion. Even though inter-cultural relations should be a two-way exchange, minorities, being in the minority or lower ranking in the inter-human hierarchy of most societies, will not improve their chances of social inclusion without some knowledge and understanding of the prevailing culture. Monitoring perceptions and interest among ethnic minorities in the majority culture could be measured through:

- The number of ethnic minority visits to national museums;
- The number of ethnic viewers of national cultural programming;
- The number of ethnic adults in majority language training;
- The number of ethnic readers of majority newspapers; and
- The general perceptions among ethnic minorities of majority culture.

Discussion: The normativity of surveying only minority attitudes is perhaps questionable as noted above (see Indicator 2.b). However, in addition to supplying a picture of minority attitudes towards the majority, monitoring perceptions of and interest in majority culture could also provide material for improvement of indicators. Hence, it would seem policy related to monitor this indicator. Populating it with data would require breakdown according to ethnicity or, alternatively, customized surveys. It should nonetheless be feasible to make it robust. Comparability would be feasible.

Indicator 3.e: Improved co-responsibility for a common culture

Definition: An index of perceptions and attitudes about a common culture.

Rationale: Taking co-responsibility for fostering a common culture is essentially the same as accepting that common culture is a plural and multi-faceted culture; that plural cultures can co-habit in one society and learn from each other; that every culture has something valuable to bring to society; and that all cultures have equal moral worth. Measuring this type of co-responsibility requires monitoring both ethnic minority and majority perceptions and attitudes. This may include:

- Including ethnic minority culture, history and identity in education curriculum;
- Providing public information in several languages;
- Making access to citizenship easy;
- The rate of Roma accepting their identity;
- Establishing multi-cultural commissions on public issues; and
- Legislating tolerance towards diverse cultural habits in public spaces and in the work places.

Discussion: The normativity of taking co-responsibility seems justified in today's world of mass migration and globalization. Certainly, the EU motto "Unity in Diversity" would require co-responsibility. The policy relevance seems obvious but would depend on the model of democracy chosen in Member States and thus timeliness may vary. To populate this indicator with data would require mapping exercises and monitoring the findings over a period of time. It may not be easy to make this a robust indicator. Comparability would be feasible. There is overlap with the domain of the majority and, in fact, one indicator could monitor both domains if data is broken down according to ethnicity.

Indicator 3.f: Improved ethnic political participation

Definition: An index of ethnic minority participation in politics and trade unions.

Rationale: Meeting within the political process and deciding together the future of society is a sign of a high level of social inclusion and cultural acceptance. However, taking membership in trade unions and political parties and interest in politics in general also indicates a level of political participation. Legal requirements for voting both at the national and local levels must be monitored. There are various ways of measuring political participation, including:

- The rate of ethnic voting;
- Ethnic interventions in the political public debate;
- The number of ethnic minority members elected to office;
- The number of articles written by ethnic minority politicians published in mainstream press;
- The number of ethnic minorities active in trade unions and political parties; and
- Surveys of national political programmes on TV watched by ethnic minorities.

Discussion: The normativity of political participation is undisputed, at least at the individual level. Ethnic minorities participating in the political process as groups is not recognized across the Member States. Policy relevance and timeliness may therefore vary from Member State to Member State. Except for the problem of controlling for ethnicity, there are no major obstacles to building data on political participation. National statistics and EU wide data collection already performs numerous actions in this field. It is therefore feasible to make it a robust indicator and comparable.

4. Media

It is a tautology to say that media and culture are connected but it cannot be emphasized enough that the media are perhaps the most important conveyors of culture. The media provide meeting places and, if used ethically, can promote cultural participation and inter-cultural understanding. The visibility of ethnic minority cultures in mainstream media, if objective and non-divisive, can promote inclusion. From our research, we have found that:

- Activities of inter-cultural dialogue in the media are an example of the level and extent of social inclusion;
- The ability of ethnic minorities to participate in e-learning and to take Internet access empowers ethnic minorities;
- The engagement of the majority in ethnic minority cultures promotes implementation of cultural pluralism;
- The level of support both financially and morally of ethnic minority media is important to avoid obstacles to journalistic freedom and freedom of expression of ethnic minorities;
- The social aspect of culture is communication about understood conventions.

However, our knowledge about ethnic minorities and the media is poor. The effects of cultural policies on ethnic visibility in the media are virtually non-existent. The media is seen by and large as a source of entertainment and news communication and is therefore neglected in social inclusion policies. Monitoring and measuring culture and inter-cultural understanding in the media is rarely done. The impact of culture on social inclusion through the media is therefore an untapped resource for social inclusion policies.

Tertiary cultural indicators on the media piloted from our research include:

a. Improved ethnic participation in the knowledge society and e-learning
b. Improved dissemination of ethnic minority culture
c. Improved knowledge and understanding of ethnic minority culture
d. Improved visibility of ethnic minority cultures
e. Improved implementation of cultural pluralism
f. Improved implementation of inter-cultural dialogue

Indicator 4.a: Improved ethnic participation in the knowledge society and e-learning

Definition: An index of ethnic minority use of the Internet.

Rationale: The use of the Internet has clearly become a primary socialization and acculturation factor in a large part of the world. It is clearly also an empowering tool. Moreover, it has taken over as the primary manner in which to do surveys. Hence, it is not only important in terms of monitoring social inclusion but also as a tool to survey groups that would otherwise not be reachable. Measuring the use of the Internet and the ability to use it among ethnic minorities would entail monitoring:

- The number of ethnic Internet users;
- The number of websites owned by ethnic minorities;
- The number of e-schools targeting ethnic minorities; and
- The number of ethnic minorities in e-learning programmes.

Discussion: The normativity of an indicator monitoring the Internet should of course note that the Internet is potentially both a cultural uniter and a cultural divider. Its policy relevance and timeliness is, however, difficult to dispute. Populating the indicator with data would be feasible, especially if universal data is taken and broken down according to ethnicity. It is therefore feasible to make it robust, and comparability should not pose a problem either.

Indicator 4.b: Improved dissemination of ethnic minority culture

Definition: An index of ethnic participation in media dissemination.

Rationale: Producing and disseminating programmes about their own cultures as well as cross-cultural programming contributes to giving members of ethnic minorities a sense of belonging. Monitoring ethnic participation in dissemination includes measuring, among others:

- The number of TV and radio stations owned/run by ethnic minorities;
- The number of minority newspapers in ethnic language;
- Mapping minimum requirements of number of ethnic newspapers to be distributed;
- The number of ethnic minorities employed in mainstream media;
- The percentage of ethnic minority that get news and entertainment from 'across the border' kin-state media.

Discussion: The normativity of including ethnic minorities in producing and disseminating cultural as well as cross-cultural programmes has been underscored recently in by a number of Member States' official channels having begun to employ ethnic minority news broadcasters. The policy relevance and timeliness is obvious in most Member States. Populating the indicator with data would not be cumbersome but would be enhanced if universal data were broken down according to ethnicity. It is feasible to make it robust, and also comparable.

Indicator 4.c: Improved knowledge and understanding of ethnic minority cultures

Definition: An index of public programming dedicated specifically to ethnic minority cultures.

Rationale: In societies where cleavages along ethnic lines are particularly strong, information about foreign cultures is but a first step in the direction of improving knowledge and hence understanding of other cultures. A targeted media policy is therefore required. Monitoring public programming about ethnic minority cultures requires measurement of, for instance:

- The number of hours in mainstream TV and radio dedicated to ethnic minority programmes;
- The number of hours within mainstream programming dedicated to ethnic minorities; and
- The number of ethnic minority language newspapers.

Discussion: The normativity of promoting ethnic minority cultures through the media is seldom disputed but financial support is not forthcoming in many Member States. The policy relevance and timeliness of monitoring ethnic minority programming in mainstream media is pertinent in those Member States where social exclusion is particularly extreme. Populating this indicator is not a major problem. Quantitative data would suffice. Making it robust is therefore feasible as would be its comparability. It may overlap with other media indicators.

Indicator 4.d: Improved visibility of ethnic minority cultures

Definition: An index of placement and timing of ethnic minority programming.

Rationale: Measuring the visibility of ethnic minority cultures in terms of placement and timing in the mainstream media shows the level of minority inclusion in the media. Some Member States allocate air time to ethnic minorities or programmes about ethnic minority life in those broadcast periods where the number of viewers/ listeners is likely to be very low, such as after midnight. The monitoring of the visibility of ethnic minority cultures in the media could therefore entail mapping:

- The time of the day that programmes about ethnic minorities are broadcast;
- The number of ethnic minority articles in prominent spaces in mainstream press; and
- The price of advertising in majority media in relation to ethnic minority media.

Discussion: The normativity of monitoring the visibility of ethnic minority cultures is perhaps still rather weak in many Member States. Most Member States do not collect data on ethnic minority culture, in the media. The policy relevance and timeliness in relation to social exclusion is, however, notable. To populate this indicator would require a mapping exercise and is hence difficult to make robust. Comparability is questionable given the reluctance among some Member States to recognize the fact of multiculturalism. This indicator overlaps with the previous one on improved knowledge and understanding of ethnic minority cultures.

Indicator 4.e: Improved implementation of cultural pluralism

Definition: An index of cultural programming in all media outlets in the mainstream media.

Rationale: Measuring the tools and the nature of the tools that help implement cultural pluralism provides society with a self-check. If Member States are accepting cultural pluralism as a paradigm for society, verifying this indicator should not be difficult. The problem that always remains is that in most Member States there is a hierarchy of cultures, and the paradigm is rather more cultural hegemony versus small cultures. Monitoring the implementation of cultural pluralism must therefore be very broad but could include:

- The number of bilingual TV and radio stations;
- The number of bilingual newspapers;
- The number of new entrants into the ethnic media;
- The character of programmes about and with ethnic minorities;
- The rate of references to stereotypes, drugs and violence in connection with ethnic minorities;
- The character of the journalistic curriculum in terms of ethics;
- The level of financial support to ethnic minority media; and
- The rate of majority population receptive to ethnic minority programming.

Discussion: The normativity of implementing policies on cultural pluralism is not generally disputed, although Member States may find it difficult. Policy relevance and timeliness is therefore appropriate. The indicator requires quantitative and qualitative analysis, as well as mapping of the character and contents of programming. Public and private finance opportunities can be screened, as can lottery grants. Surveys of majority culture consumers can be used. The indicator could feasibly be made robust and comparable across Member States. It may overlap with indicators in the domain of the majority and with the media indicator on implementation of inter-cultural dialogue.

Indicator 4.f: Improved implementation of inter-cultural dialogue

Definition: An index of inter-cultural exchanges in the mainstream media.

Rationale: Measuring inter-cultural dialogue in the mainstream media provides a picture of the nature of social exclusion. It also indicates the level of freedom of expression of ethnic minority journalists. If cultural pluralism is accepted as the paradigm of society, the mainstream media are likely to allot more space to public debates about and with ethnic minorities. Implementing inter-cultural dialogue thus entails monitoring:

- The number of ethnic associations and NGOs invited to participate in the mainstream media;
- The number of ethnic politicians in the mainstream media; and
- The rate of use of ethnic minority media by majority.

Discussion: The normativity of implementing inter-cultural dialogue is not disputed; it is clearly part of the EU's policy on culture. International organizations, such as the Council of Europe and the UNESCO, have championed inter-cultural dialogue for years. The policy relevance and timeliness is therefore appropriate. Populating the indicator requires quantitative as well as qualitative analysis of media use at the universal level and with breakdown according to ethnicity. It could be made robust and comparable. The indicator may overlap with indicators in the domain of the majority.

5. The Majority

The majority is normally not subject to monitoring in connection with verifying indicators of social exclusion. However, as we have noted in our preliminary remarks, the problem of cultural hegemony and the vying for space in societies where several ethnic groups co-habit is not to be neglected in the analysis of social exclusion. As in all binary relationships, it is important to study both the strong and the weak component. In all majority-minority relationships, the minority is clearly the weak component and often in the discipline of ethnic minority studies the focus is far too much on the minorities, leaving perhaps the most influential factor, the majority, under-explored. The picture of the social exclusion of ethnic minorities is therefore seldom fully focused.[253]

The majority as a domain of indicators is broad and closely related to ideas, perceptions, attitudes, awareness, national identity formation, etc. From our research of the circumstances of social exclusion of ethnic minorities we found that:

- The attitudes and actions of the majority population promote or devalue the importance of inter-cultural dialogue and understanding;
- The celebration of a 'Multicultural Year' is a sign of willingness in the majority to embrace cultural pluralism; and
- Funds allocated to co-financing of ethnic minority projects promotes ethnic minority culture while also promoting inter-cultural acceptance, as funds are usually allocated by the majority.

Knowledge and data collection on the majority exists in abundance but is rarely directed towards issues of cultural pluralism and the majority's view of ethnic minority cultures. The impact of the majority's awareness, acceptance and understanding of cultural pluralism on improved social inclusion is therefore not clear. Cultural policies aimed at social inclusion assume that ethnic minorities will accept the majority culture but does not question whether the majority will accept ethnic minority cultures.

Tertiary cultural indicators on the majority piloted from our research include:

a. Improved awareness of cultural pluralism;
b. Improved acceptance of cultural pluralism;
c. Improved understanding of ethnic minority cultures;

[253] See also Entzinger and Biezeveld, "Benchmarking in Immigrant Integration" , op. cit.

d. Improved appreciation of ethnic minority cultures;
e. Improved knowledge of the importance of accepting difference;
f. Improved respect for minority languages;
g. Improved motivation to promote social inclusion; and
h. Improved co-responsibility for a common culture.

Indicator 5.a: Improved awareness of cultural pluralism

Definition: An index of the degree of knowledge about positive aspects of cultural pluralism.

Rationale: Compiling knowledge about the awareness among the majority population of the positive influence of ethnic minority cultures on society provides an indication of whether cultural pluralism is likely to be accepted as a paradigm for the entire society. Often there is a tendency to believe that cultural pluralism has been accepted but without tangible proof that the individual member of society actually knows what it means. Monitoring awareness of cultural pluralism as a positive notion could include surveying:

- The general view of ethnic minorities expressed in qualitative terms;
- Attention to ethnic stereotyping in public discourse;
- Perception of ethnic minorities as internal resources;
- Link in public discourse between culture and social exclusion; and
- National definitions of social inclusion.

Discussion: The normativity of cultural pluralism has been discussed above. Surveying awareness could be considered normative insofar as cultural pluralism is acknowledged by the EU as the paradigm in most Member States. Policy relevance and timeliness is also pertinent given the EU motto of "Unity in Diversity". Populating this indicator would require customized surveys and mapping, making it problematic to render robust. Comparison across Member States would be feasible. The indicator overlaps with indicators in the domain of the media and others in the domain of the majority.

Indicator 5.b: Improved acceptance of cultural pluralism

Definition: An index of the degree of approval of cultural pluralism as the paradigm for society.

Rationale: Measuring the acceptance rather than the awareness of cultural pluralism provides a different picture of the majority's view of society in general and ethnic minorities in particular. Acceptance of cultural pluralism requires individual positive action on the part of the majority. The degree of acceptance can be monitoring in numerous ways, among others:

- Perception of ethnic minorities as internal resources;
- Perception of bilingualism as positive for society;
- Participation in non-segregated cultural and sports associations;
- Existence of non-segregated education;
- Number of majority media providing space at lower rate or free for ethnic minority programmes/articles; and
- Number of majority viewing or listening to ethnic minority programmes.

Discussion: The normativity of cultural pluralism has been discussed above and the policy relevance and timeliness seems obvious. Measuring the degree of acceptance of cultural pluralism should put a true picture forward. However, surveying people's perceptions can be complex and, if surveys are not carefully designed, does not always put a true picture forth. The indicator may therefore be difficult to make robust and would need further work. Comparability is also questionable without further conceptualization. It overlaps with other indicators in this domain.

Indicator 5.c: Improved understanding of ethnic minority cultures

Definition: An index of the majority's understanding of ethnic minority cultures.

Rationale: Measuring the level of understanding of ethnic minority cultures among the majority population could provide a better picture of the reasons for social exclusion and perhaps even the state of affairs of prejudice in society. Prejudice is often related to lack of understanding and knowledge. The degree of understanding could be measured through a monitoring and analysis of the public discourse in terms of the:

- Degree of sympathy and empathy with minorities experiencing discrimination;
- The ills of discrimination against ethnic minorities; and
- The nature of public rhetoric.

Discussion: The normativity of surveying the understanding of ethnic minority cultures among the majority should not be disputed if society wants to promote social inclusion. It seems policy relevant and timely in those Member States where social exclusion is high. Populating this indicator would require customized surveys and it is thus not easy to make this indicator robust. Comparison is also very complex given the differentiated levels of social exclusion in Member States. The indicator overlaps with other indicators in this domain.

Indicator 5.d: Improved appreciation of ethnic minority cultures

Definition: An index of the positive appreciation of ethnic minority cultures.

Rationale: Appreciation of ethnic minority cultures is clearly a very individual issue. However, often people will recognize that, at the individual level, interfacing with other cultures is not a problem but, at the group level, they feel threatened. Measuring appreciation for ethnic minorities and their cultures must therefore address both the individual and the group level. Monitoring whether appreciation of ethnic minority cultures has increased entails, among others:

- Number of majority citizens visiting ethnic minority festivals;
- Perceptions about individual encounters and relationships;
- Perceptions about ethnic minorities as groups;
- Changes in degree of stereotyping and prejudice in the media;
- Number of majority citizens learning ethnic minority languages;
- Number of majority citizens watching ethnic minority TV; and
- Number of majority citizens buying ethnic or bilingual newspapers.

Discussion: The normativity of monitoring appreciation of ethnic minority cultures could be questionable in some Member States if cultural pluralism has not been acknowledged and accepted. In support of other indicators on cultural pluralism, monitoring appreciation of ethnic minority cultures could, however, seem policy relevant and timely. The indicator could be populated through surveys and questionnaires and should not be difficult to make robust since universal data can be used. The indicator overlaps with indicators on cultural pluralism.

Indicator 5.e: Improved knowledge of the importance of accepting difference

Definition: An index of how important the majority finds the acceptance of difference.

Rationale: Measuring the willingness among the majority population to accept difference provides a picture of the nature of the inter-cultural environment and the obstacles that societies have to address if needed. While this is an individual issue, the tone of the public discourse and the actions of groups in civil society may influence the perceptions held by individuals. The index could monitor both individuals and the public sphere as follows:

- Universal surveys of the majority on the perception of accepting difference;
- The number of voluntary organizations providing help to socially excluded groups; and
- The ability of public figures to come to the defence of ethnic minorities in the public discourse.

Discussion: The normativity of accepting difference should not be questioned but nonetheless often is. Given the events in France and the Netherlands in 2005, the policy relevance and timeliness are nevertheless pertinent. Moreover, the EU's motto of "Unity in Diversity" seems to indicate that citizens of the EU should be prepared to live with difference. Populating this indicator would be fairly simple. Data on humanitarian NGOs and universal surveys are feasible and likely available in many Member States and at the EU level. Mapping the political discourse over a period of time would also be necessary. The indicator could feasibly be made robust statistically. Comparison of public discourses across Member States is more problematic and would need a rating system.

Indicator 5.f: Improved respect for minority languages

Definition: An index of perceptions and knowledge of ethnic minority languages.

Rationale: The awareness and acceptance of the fact that there is more than one language being used in society, and acknowledgement among the majority that the monopoly of the national language is perhaps creating difficulties for minority groups is an indication that minority languages receive respect. If ethnic minorities know that their native language is being respected they may be more willing to become fully bilingual and hence profit from the socio-economic opportunities that this offers. An index of the degree of respect for minority languages could include measuring:

- The number of majority citizens learning ethnic minority languages;
- The level of public support for minority languages; and
- The level of financial support for minority language teaching.

Discussion: The normativity of respecting minority languages is very difficult to dispute. It relates to the discussion of the equal moral worth of cultures. However, if the second language is one of the major world languages, the normativity is usually not questioned. The policy relevance and timeliness in terms of social exclusion could therefore be questioned. It should not be overly cumbersome to make the indicator robust but comparison across Member States may pose problems, as the political stand on official/national language versus minority languages differs considerably from Member State to Member State.

Indicator 5.g: Improved motivation to promote social inclusion

Definition: An index of the degree of motivation to help ethnic minorities enjoy greater social inclusion.

Rationale: Motivation among the majority population to promote social inclusion is a question of solidarity. Solidarity is usually higher in smaller societies but is also dependent on the character of the groups that are socially excluded. If there is a perception among the majority that a given group is not acceptable to the general population, solidarity is very difficult to foster even in small societies. Even though the right to be socially included is gradually becoming more accepted, solidarity towards the excluded groups is vital for social inclusion policies. An index of the degree of motivation among the majority to promote social inclusion could include:

- Affirmative action implemented in important sectors;
- Special programming targeting ethnic minorities and especially children and youth.

Discussion: The normativity of affirmative action is highly disputed in both politics and social sciences. Often the debate hinges on technicalities rather than normative aspects. However, the relevance of monitoring public motivation, including the political, seems accepted. Human rights monitoring is one such function. Whether it is timely and policy relevant can vary from Member State to Member State depending on the degree of social exclusion. Making the indicator robust would require better conceptualization. Comparison across Member

States should be feasible once the indicator is robust. The indicator overlaps with a number of indicators mentioned earlier, including the indicator on cultural pluralism.

Indicator 5.h: Improved co-responsibility for a common culture

This indicator is essentially similar to Indicator 3.e. However, rather than monitoring the ethnic minorities and their circumstances, universal surveys would be required. As noted above, universal data collection broken down according to ethnicity would unite this indicator with Indicator 3.e.

Policy	Indicator	Index of Cultural Policies	Methodology and Data Sources
1. Education			
1.a	Improved educational attainment among ethnic minority children and adults	The percentage of ethnic youth in higher education compared to non-ethnic youth; The percentage of ethnic youth leaving secondary school system with grades providing access to higher education compared to non-ethnics; The rate of dropouts; The number of ethnic teaching assistants; The rate of knowledge of English or other third international language; and The number of youth and adults in vocational or skills training.	National statistics; Ministry of Education; Surveys; Academic studies; and Breakdown according to ethnicity required.
1.b	Improved kindergarten life for ethnic minority children	The percentage of ethnic children in kindergartens two years prior to primary school; The rate of bilingualism in kindergartens; The number of special programmes in segregated areas that focus specifically on the inter-cultural aspect of society; The number of ethnic teaching assistants; The quality of cultural components of teaching; The language used during meetings with parents; and The rate of dropouts.	National statistics; Ministry of Education; Surveys; Academic studies; and Breakdown according to ethnicity desirable.
1.c	Improved performance of inter-cultural activities in kindergartens	The number of ethnic parents who see the benefit of pre-school education; The number of ethnic minority children who enrol earlier; The number of ethnic teaching assistants; The increase in number of inter-cultural activities compared to previous years; and The amount of funding allocated to inter-cultural activities compared to mono-cultural activities.	National statistics; Ministry of Education; Customized surveys; Academic studies; and Breakdown according to ethnicity desirable.
1.d	Improved bilingualism among ethnic minority children	Number of hours of language teaching in both languages; Number of hours of using both languages; School results in both languages; and The use of information materials and entertainment materials in non-native language.	National statistics; Ministry of Education; Surveys; Academic studies; and Breakdown according to ethnicity desirable.
1.e	Improved cultural skills among ethnic minority children	Encounters in the street, in the school and in the work place; Character of contacts of deeper involvement (with doctors, lawyers, teachers, etc.); Reactions to foreign cultures and ethnicity; and Understanding of other cultures and ethnicities.	Surveys; Academic studies; and Breakdown according to ethnicity required if universal data is sought.

Policy	Indicator	Index of Cultural Policies	Methodology and Data Sources
2. Employment			
2.a	Higher cultural motivation for employment among ethnic minorities	The number of ethnic candidates in job placement seminars; The rate of ethnic participation in inter-cultural activities; The rate of ethnic minority emigration; Perceptions among ethnic minorities of why they have or do not have a job; and The rate of delinquency over time.	National statistics; Ministry of Employment; Custom surveys; Academic studies; and Breakdown according to ethnicity required.
2.b	Improved inter-cultural performance in labour market competition	The number of successful ethnic candidates in targeted training on certain deficiencies; The number of internships for ethnic minority youth; The rate of ethnic self-employment; The rate of ethnic employment in the public sector; The number of successful state co-financing schemes; and The rate of long-term or permanent employment.	National statistics; Ministry of Employment; Custom surveys; Academic studies; and Breakdown according to ethnicity required.
2.c	Improved labour market activation	The number of public works programmes employing less employable ethnic minorities; The rate of ethnic employment in the public sector; The number of pilot projects targeting unemployed ethnic minorities; The number of ethnic minority assistants in job placement services; The number of inter-cultural awareness campaigns targeting unemployed minorities; The number of inter-cultural awareness campaigns targeting the majority The degree of awareness among government officials that ethnic minorities should be targeted for employment help; The number of publicly funded pilot projects targeting ethnic minorities; and The degree of understanding among ethnic minorities of the relation between command of majority language and labour market activation	National statistics; Ministry of Employment; Custom surveys; and Academic studies.
3. Participation/access to culture			

3.a	Improved ethnic minority interest in civil society	Number of ethnic NGOs active in civil society; Number of ethnic cultural associations active; Number of civic education programmes attended by ethnic minorities; and Number of ethnic minorities active in cross-cultural organizations.	National statistics; Ministry of Interior; Ministry of Education; Ministry of Culture; Custom surveys; Academic studies; and Breakdown according to ethnicity required.
3.b	Improved understanding of ethnic and cultural diversity	The number/percentage of public programming promoting ethnic and cultural diversity; The number/percentage of projects presenting ethnic minority cultures to the general public; The rate of funding allocated to co-financing of ethnic minority projects; The percentage of ethnic content in national cultural programming; The rate of production of ethnic minority literature, poetry and drama; The number of public libraries holding ethnic minority literature; and The percentage of public space allocated to ethnic minority culture information.	Various ministries; Mapping; Custom surveys; Eurobarometer; and Academic studies.
3.c	Higher ethnic participation in cultural activities	The number of ethnic minorities seeking funding for projects and/or assistance to project applications; Percentage of ethnic minority cultural projects over time; Number of co-ethnic and inter-cultural projects; The rate of ethnic participation in majority events; The rate of ethnic participation in national sports events; and The number of ethnic minority visits to national museums.	National statistics; Ministry of Culture; Custom surveys; Academic studies; and Breakdown according to ethnicity required.
3.d	Improved understanding of majority culture	The number of ethnic minority visits to national museums; The number of ethnic viewers of national cultural programming; The number of ethnic adults in majority language training; The number of ethnic readers of majority newspapers; and The general perceptions among ethnic minorities of majority culture.	National statistics; Ministry of Culture; Custom surveys; and Academic studies.

	Improved co-responsibility for common culture	Including ethnic minority culture, history and identity in education curriculum; Providing public information in several languages; Making access to citizenship easy; Establishing multi-cultural commissions on public issues; and Legislating tolerance towards diverse cultural habits in public spaces and in the work places.	Various ministries; Custom surveys; Academic studies; and Breakdown according to ethnicity required.
3.f	Improved ethnic political participation	The rate of ethnic voting; Ethnic interventions in the political public debate; The number of ethnic minority members elected to office; The number of articles written by ethnic minority politicians published in mainstream press; The number of ethnic minorities active in trade unions and political parties; and Surveys of national political programmes on TV watched by ethnic minorities.	National statistics; Ministry of Interior; Custom surveys; Academic studies; and Breakdown according to ethnicity desirable.
4. Media			
4.a	Improved ethnic participation in knowledge society and e-learning	The number of ethnic Internet users; The number of websites owned by ethnic minorities; The number of e-schools targeting ethnic minorities; and The number of ethnic minorities in e-learning programmes.	National statistics; Ministry of Communication; Ministry of Culture; Custom surveys; Academic studies; and Breakdown according to ethnicity required.
4.b	Improved participation in dissemination of ethnic minority culture	The number of TV and radio stations owned/run by ethnic minorities; The number of minority newspapers in ethnic language; Mapping minimum requirements of number of ethnic newspapers to be distributed; The number of ethnic minorities employed in mainstream media; and The number of ethnic minority that get news and entertainment from 'across the Border' kin-state media.	National statistics; Ministry of Culture; Mapping; Custom surveys; Academic studies; and Breakdown according to ethnicity required.
4.c	Improved knowledge and understanding of ethnic minority cultures	The number of hours of mainstream TV and radio dedicated to ethnic minority programmes; The number of hours within mainstream programming dedicated to ethnic minorities; and The number of ethnic minority language newspapers.	National statistics; Ministry of Culture; Custom surveys; and Academic studies.

4.d	Improved visibility of ethnic minority cultures	The time of the day that programmes about ethnic minorities are broadcast; The number of ethnic minority articles in prominent spaces in mainstream press; and The price of advertising in majority media in relation to ethnic minority media.	Ministry of Culture; Mapping; Custom surveys; and Academic studies.
4.e	Improved implementation of cultural pluralism	The number of bilingual TV and radio stations; The number of bilingual newspapers; The number of new entrants into the ethnic media; The character of programmes about and with ethnic minorities; The rate of references to stereotypes, drug and violence in connection with ethnic minorities; The character of the journalistic curriculum in terms of ethics; The level of financial support to ethnic minority media; and The rate of majority population receptive to ethnic minority programming.	National statistics; Ministry of Culture; Mapping,; Custom surveys; Academic studies; and Breakdown according to ethnicity desirable.
4.f	Improved implementation of inter-cultural dialogue	The number of ethnic associations and NGOs invited to participate in the mainstream media; The number of ethnic politicians in the mainstream media; and The rate of use of ethnic minority media by the majority.	Ministry of Culture; Custom surveys; Academic studies; Universal data; and Breakdown according to ethnicity required.
5. The Majority			
5.a	Improved awareness of cultural pluralism	The general view of ethnic minorities expressed in qualitative terms; The attention to ethnic stereotyping in public discourse; Perception of ethnic minorities as internal resources; Link in public discourse between culture and social exclusion; and National definitions of social inclusion.	Custom surveys; Mapping; Discourse analysis; and Academic studies.
5.b	Improved acceptance of cultural pluralism	Perception of ethnic minorities as internal resources; Perception of bilingualism as positive for society; Participation in non-segregated cultural and sports associations; Existence of non-segregated education; Number of majority media providing space at lower rate or free for ethnic minority programmes/articles; and Number of majority viewing or listening to ethnic minority programmes.	National statistics; Ministry of Culture; Custom surveys; Mapping; Academic studies; and Universal data.

5.c	Improved understanding of ethnic minority cultures	Degree of sympathy and empathy with minorities experiencing discrimination; The ills of discrimination against ethnic minorities; and The nature of public rhetoric.	Custom surveys; and Academic studies.
5.d	Improved appreciation for ethnic minority cultures	Number of majority citizens visiting ethnic minority festivals; Perceptions about individual encounters and relationships; Perceptions about ethnic minorities as groups; Changes in degree of stereotyping and prejudice in the media; Number of majority citizens learning ethnic minority languages; Number of majority citizens watching ethnic minority TV; and Number of majority citizens buying ethnic or bilingual newspapers.	National statistics; Ministry of Culture; Custom surveys; Academic studies; and Universal data.
5.e	Improved knowledge of the importance of accepting difference	Universal surveys of the majority on the perception of accepting difference; The number of voluntary organizations providing help to socially excluded groups; and The ability of public figures to come to the defence of ethnic minorities in the public discourse.	Custom surveys; Academic studies; and Universal data.
5.f	Improved respect for minority languages	The number of majority citizens learning ethnic minority languages; The level of public support for minority languages; and The level of financial support for minority language teaching.	National statistics; Ministry of Education; Mapping; Custom surveys; and Academic studies.
5.g	Improved motivation to promote social inclusion	Affirmative action implemented in important sectors; and Special programming targeting ethnic minorities and especially children and youth.	Ministry of Culture; Ministry of Justice; and Academic studies.
5.h	Improved co-responsibility for common culture	Same as 3.e	See 3.e

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