

Administering Roma Inclusion Reforms in Central and Eastern Europe

How did European Semester monitoring affect the implementation of the EU policy on Roma inclusion in selected CEE states between 2011 and 2016?



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Dedicated to my family and friends

'Cigány himnusz'

Zöld az erdő, zöld a hegy is,
a szerencse jön is, megy is.
Gondok kése husunkba vág,
képmutató lett a világ.

*... The forest is green and the
mountain is green, too.
Luck is coming and going, too.
The knife of worries cuts deep
into our flesh,
Hypocrisy became the world.*

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Abstract

The EU has recognized that social exclusion of Roma must be addressed. The European Semester—a monitoring tool in the context of the Europe 2020 strategy—features the need for Roma inclusion reform implementation extensively. Yet, which difference does monitoring make in Roma inclusion reform implementation? This study is designed as a qualitative comparative multiple-case study assessing a selection of three EU Member States. The approach is descriptive and explanatory. Data is collected for a period of six years making use of yet understudied European Semester monitoring reports. The paper answer the following research question: *How did European Semester monitoring affect the implementation of the EU policy on Roma inclusion in selected CEE states between 2011 and 2016?* This study proposes that European Semester monitoring indeed has a beneficial effect on EU Roma policy. Acknowledging the need for an in-depth analysis of one of the most recent EU monitoring tools this meta-study analyses reform implementation monitoring pertaining to the inclusion of Roma in Central and Eastern Europe. Additionally this paper carves out the working mechanisms of European Semester monitoring chronology. This study finds that the extent to which European Semester Monitoring referred to Roma specifically had mixed effect on the implementation of Roma inclusion reforms in the analyzed countries between 2011 and 2016.

1 Introduction

Referring to the states of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) is no easy endeavor. It is a region that stretches out from the Baltic Sea to the Balkan mountains with the Carpathians in between. A region rich of different cultures, languages and nations, which calling undiversified nobody would dare. Yet, many of these countries do share similar values, religion, alphabets or, at least, a shared Eastern Bloc heritage. Even ethnic groups live across nation state borders—the heterogeneous group of Roma is the best example for that. In 2004 and 2007 many CEE countries entered the EU. Since that time many Central and Eastern Europeans are EU citizens. Accession to the European Union triggered public sector reform activity, but the situation of Roma in the Central and Eastern European parts of the Union remains far from sufficient.

“Often referred to as Europe’s largest minority, the continent’s 10-12 million Roma people continue to live on the margins of their countries’ economic, social and political lives. And, although the consequences of Roma social exclusion have never been more visible, recent statistics show few signs of meaningful progress. While national governments have adopted policies aimed at integrating Roma, more often than not those policies are implemented half-heartedly. At the same time, political parties campaigning on openly anti-Roma platforms have entered national and European parliaments. Violence against Roma, often with fatal consequences, has now become an almost regular feature of Europe’s life.” (Romahomeland, 2017).

NGOs, such as Romahomeland, frequently call for more hands-on help or grass-root approaches, calling the work of public administrators vague, disconnected and ineffective. Yet, in the canon of EU development strategies “Europe 2020” the inclusion of Socially Excluded Communities is one of the top priorities in the reform programs of the CEE regions (European Commission 2016¹). What is the reason for the continuing need of Roma inclusion reforms in the EU? What has been done so far? Since 2004 Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia and Slovenia, since 2007 Bulgaria and Romania are eligible and responsible to implement reform objectives and agendas as set out by the European Commission. Yet up until today the situation of Roma in Central and Eastern Europe is far away from being sufficient: Reform and legislation pertaining to the inclusion of Roma lacks thorough implementation. This research project inspects the monitoring of public sector reform implementation concerning Roma inclusion in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). Which role does EU-level monitoring play for the implementation of Member State administrations’ reform initiatives? What are possible reasons for their perceived ineffectiveness?

Recent research conducted on reform implementation has given valuable insight into the way we have to look at reforms in Central and Eastern European states. Meyer-Sahling (2011) evaluated public sector reform implementation primarily from a managerial perspective focusing on the (non-)prevalence of New Public Management and the like. However, authors like Drechsler and Randma-Liiv (2016) emphasize the need to take into account also the politico-administrative environment of states. This claim is largely supported by Rainey’s review of public management research literature (2014). Finally, Junjan and Torenvlied (Milward 2016) emphasize the need to as-

ness reform success or failure beyond the realms of public management dimensions, including the dimension of democratic responsiveness of reforms. From this follows the notion that the way in which reform implementations in Central and Eastern Europe are followed up is crucial for understanding success or failure of the reform endeavor.

1.1 Structure of the Paper

This section introduces the reader to the structure of this paper. Altogether it consists of five substantial chapters. The following sections of Chapter One point out the relevance of this research (Section 1.2) and introduce the research question (Section 1.3). Further, Section 1.4 gives stage to the wider context of the research problem. Essentially, the section describes the history of Roma in Europe (Subsection 1.4.1 ‘Who are *the* Roma?’) accompanied by an account of the EU’s institutional and programmatic Roma integration efforts since 1989 (Subsection 1.4.2 ‘The EU’s approach to Socially Excluded Communities’). Concluding Chapter One the notion of Roma as subjects of analysis is reflected upon from a research ethics point of view (Subsection 1.4.3 ‘Critical posture’).

Chapter Two streamlines the research interest and research questions by underlaying the main theoretical concepts of this paper with a review of the available literature. In that way a theoretical framework of relevant recent research is made available. In effect, this framework models all further steps of the research process.

Chapter Three provides insight into the methodological aspects of the study. Introducing the type of research design makes this research comprehensible and reproducible. The section on ‘Case selection and sampling’ (3.1) justifies the choice of CEE countries. Finally Section 3.2 ‘Operationalization’ processes all theoretical insights drawn from Chapter Two into usable and practical tools for assessing Roma integration monitoring. The last section ‘Data collection’ (3.3) characterizes the European Semester as data resource and introduces the employed means of data collection.

Chapter Four presents the analysis of the different cases and compares them with respect to the two subquestions of the main research question (SQ1 and SQ2). Section 4.1 ‘Intra-case compliance’ presents the selected country data case by case eventually answering SQ1. Section 4.2 ‘Cross-case relations’ compares the three cases with each other eventually answering SQ2.

Chapter Five briefly summarizes all findings and evaluates them in the wider context of EU Roma integration monitoring as set out in the introduction of this paper. Section 5.1 ‘Underlying reasons’ makes assumptions about possible underlying reasons for the findings of Chapter Five. Building on these insights the chapter finally answers the main research questions. Additionally, this Section 5.2 ‘Outlook’ refers to possible starting points for further research.

1.2 Relevance

The societal relevance of this paper is tremendous. Inhabitants of inclusive communities live together in a network of social interrelations profiting from one another. Social exclusion, however, causes and is caused by a vicious circle of poverty, resentments and violence. Socially excluded communities weaken and destabilize also the surrounding majority society. In a recent report on the

state of art of Roma inclusion the European Commission identified the ongoing need for action: Roma citizens are a vulnerable group in the EU largely because they face discrimination on numerous areas of the social, political and economical realms of society. Within their respective Member States their access to health care and education is hampered. Above all women and children are endangered (European Commission 2016²). This research project seeks to understand the causal relation between EU monitoring and Member State level of Roma inclusion reform implementation. Does reform monitoring matter? Beyond that, this paper aims to raise awareness for the Roma people and contribute to the social integration of this disadvantaged community.

This research project is also scientifically relevant. The paper focuses on a yet understudied corpus of EU monitoring data: the European Semester 2011-2016. While Roma-specific monitoring reports exist and continue to be published, the study decidedly employs the European Semester reports as data resource. This is an innovative approach in research concerning Roma-specific monitoring. The reports provide a theoretically interesting dataset for the European Commission's performance monitoring at Member State level. Reform implementation paths in the CEE countries led to differing results. Which role did public management and performance measurement play? What is the role of states? How were tasks performed towards Roma inclusion reflected in the monitoring of the European Semester? The study aims to trace back the post-accession development in the respective public administrations of a selection of Central and Eastern European states. Performance monitoring at country level provides valuable insights into the interplay of Member State reform implementation inside the EU. The European Semester encompasses a broad set of policy areas. By assessing the Semester's monitoring endeavors with respect to Roma inclusion policy this research paper adds to the debates of how effectively EU policies work. The strength of this study lies in the possibility of laying open both generalizable patterns and unique peculiarities of administrative culture in three countries of Central and Eastern Europe. These may prove to be valuable country-based information to be taken into account by future researchers. Additionally, it adds a part to the corpus of research conducted on Roma inclusion.

1.3 Research Questions

As Rainey (2014) notes, attribution of outcomes to certain reform steps is often challenging. Also the monitoring of reform implementation progress is frequently hampered by the conceptual difficulties that goal ambiguity implies. The societal and scientific relevance of monitoring Roma inclusion reform implementation was stated; it is now possible to phrase a research question for this project: *How did European Semester monitoring affect the implementation of the EU policy on Roma inclusion in selected CEE states between 2011 and 2016?* This paper focuses on the system of EU performance monitoring as one determining aspect that affects the success or failure of Roma inclusion reform implementation. The research question implies a combined approach of descriptive and explanatory elements. The two subquestions to the main research question (SQ1 and SQ2) demonstrate this quite clearly. Subquestion One depicts the descriptive character of this research. *SQ1: What were the reforms considered necessary for the selected states and how were they monitored in the EU Semester in the period from 2011 till 2016?* In answering this subquestion the paper

describes the goals of the Roma inclusion reform as laid down in the European Semester and how they emerged over time (description of the dependent variable). Further, the paper describes the type of monitoring employed in the European Semester concerning Roma inclusion reform implementation (description of the independent variable). subquestion Two depicts the explanatory character of this research. SQ2: *How did Member States reform implementation outcomes evolve in the period 2011 and 2016, and how can monitoring explain differences and similarities of goal implementation?* In answering this subquestion the paper analyses the relation between the dependent and independent variables by comparing the three cases in the six years. It is envisaged to discover a pattern or at least an answer to the paper's working hypothesis: "the more transparent the monitoring is, the more the Roma inclusion reform goals will be reached". The whole set of questions goes as follows:

How did European Semester monitoring affect the implementation of the EU policy on Roma inclusion in selected CEE states between 2011-2016?

(SQ1) What were the reforms considered necessary for the selected states and how were they monitored in the period from 2011 till 2016?

(SQ2) How did Member States reform implementation outcomes evolve in the period 2011 and 2016, and how can monitoring explain differences and similarities of goal implementation?

The previous sections provided an introduction to the monitoring of EU Roma inclusion reform monitoring which is the central topic of this paper. Furthermore, the societal and social relevance became clear. The main research question and the related subquestions were stated.

1.4 Context of This Research

This section provides a threefold introduction to the context of this research paper: a socio-historical, a politico-administrative and an ethical overview about the state of Roma inclusion in the EU. Essentially, this section comes to speak about who defines as a Rom or Romni (socio-historic perspective). Subsequently the EU's approach to Roma integration will be displayed (politico-administrative perspective). Another important part is to reflect upon the role of Roma as subjects of academic research (ethical perspective).

1.4.1 Who are *the* Roma? In the context of this research Roma in Central and Eastern Europe are the in focus of analysis. In assessing EU monitoring efforts of Roma integration policies one must know very accurately who Roma are and what makes them distinct. As Hancock notes

"a proper understanding of the contemporary situation of Romanies can only be reached in the context of history; to know why present-day conditions exist, they must be acknowledged as being the end of the centuries-old continuum of the Romani experience following their initial westward migration" (Hancock 2001).

As Matter (2005) notes “the Roma” do not exist as a homogeneous ethnic group. Rather, there are many different groups of Roma. In order to avoid antiziganist stereotyping it is necessary to clarify whom actually this paper is talking about and how this is done.

Names and naming. This paper refers to the Romani people of Central and Eastern Europe in the period of 2011 until 2016 collectively as Roma. At the same time this study resolutely acknowledges the fact that there is no single homogeneous group of Roma, neither in Central and Eastern Europe, nor in the rest of Europe, Asia and the Americas. Marushiakova and Popov (2001) employ the term ‘Gypsies’ for Romani people in the time until 1989, as well as for those communities who do not identify as Romani but as Sinti, Egypti, Vlax or Bosha (Guy 2001: 37). In this way the paper mirrors official EU language usage where “the term ‘Roma’ is used—similarly to other political documents of the European Parliament and the European Council—as an umbrella which includes groups of people who have more or less similar cultural characteristics, such as Sinti, Travellers, Kalé, Gens du voyage, etc. whether sedentary or not.” (European Commission 2011). This paper has a spatial and temporal focus on the Romani population of three states in Central and Eastern Europe between 2011 and 2016. The ethnonym Roma/ Romani endonymically—and thus most appropriately—refers to these Central and Eastern Europe people. Additionally the term Roma is largely free of prejudiced usage and stigma as opposed to the term ‘Gypsies’.

Ethno- and demographic genesis. Roma are an “intergroup ethnic community” sui generis spread over whole Europe (Marushiakova & Popov 2001: 33). They live in various sub-groups all across Europe. Sometimes these groups are even opposed to each other. The Roma have no own state. Each and every Roma group is thus differently influenced by the social, economic and political situation of their respective home country. They cannot be generalized. As Marushiakova and Popov point out

“[t]he present-day Roma of Central and Eastern Europe are extremely diverse and can be classified on the basis of certain key criteria such as their language, lifestyle, boundaries of endogamy, professional specialisation, duration of settlement in their respective countries, and so on. All these specific features strongly influence their self-consciousness and sense of identity and, taken together, provide a full picture of the current state of the wider Roma community. However, since situations change and Roma are adaptable, such a picture can be regarded as a snapshot, valid at the time it was taken but not necessarily true for the past and likely to change in future as conditions alter over generations.” (2001: 36)

Kovats impressively demonstrates this diversity of Romani people described by citing language use as an example. While three thirds of the Roma in Hungary speak exclusively Hungarian, most Roma in Romania speak a variant of the Romani language *Romanes* (Kovats 2001). Others have adopted the local languages to varying extents (Marushiakova & Popov 2001:40). In the same way, Roma often adhere to the faith of the majority population of their country (Matter 2005). Roma are defined less by common ethnic characteristics, but rather by exclusion experiences shared by all other Roma sub-groups. The extent to which Roma identify with their respective country varies widely (ibid.). Accordingly, also the way in which national states deal with their Roma minorities

varies. Hungary traditionally fostered minority policy domestically in order to sustain reunion prospects for Magyar minorities in surrounding countries. On the contrary Romania keeps minority politics low in order to prevent ethnic disintegration (Kovats 2001).

Historically, Roma groups migrated from the Indian subcontinent through the Caucasus arriving in Europe (first in the Balkans) in the fourteenth century (Matter 2005). Stressing that Roma are a 'truly European people' Guy points out that the people who left India became Romanies only en route towards Europe (Guy 2001).

Current social situation of Roma in Central and Eastern Europe. The living conditions of Roma can vary from country to country and also within one country (Guy 2001). Yet, the general social situation of Roma in Central and Eastern Europe must be considered as very poor. A 2004 report on the "Situation of Roma in an Enlarged European Union" states that Roma face exclusion from or impeded access to health care services, education and housing. This makes them especially vulnerable (European Commission 2004).

"In many Member States, Roma represent a significant and growing proportion of the school age population and therefore the future workforce. The Roma population is young: 35.7% are under 15 compared to 15.7% of the EU population overall. The average age is 25 among Roma, compared with 40 across the EU 3. The vast majority of working-age Roma lack the education needed to find good jobs. It is therefore of crucial importance to invest in the education of Roma children to allow them later on to successfully enter the labour market. In Member States with significant Roma populations, this already has an economic impact. According to estimates, in Bulgaria, about 23% of new labour entrants are Roma, in Romania, about 21% 4." (European Commission 2011).

"Some 80% of Roma surveyed live below their country's at-risk-of-poverty threshold; every third Roma lives in housing without tap water; every third Roma child lives in a household where someone went to bed hungry at least once in the previous month; and 50% of Roma between the ages of six and 24 do not attend school." (FRA 2017).

Establishing the exact number of Roma in Central and Eastern Europe is difficult. Official census data from the 1990s frequently vary greatly from unofficial countings (Marushiakova & Popov 2001). Often Roma avoid to be counted as Roma, in fear of state persecution. This "phenomenon of preferred ethnic identification" (ibid.) is also connected to the "ongoing re-creation of Roma identity" nowadays (Guy 2001). On the other hand, official census is sometimes blurred by majority society's civil servants who alter the number of Roma counted randomly (Marushiakova & Popov 2001: 34). In the 1990s estimations about the number of Roma compared to the total population in Bulgaria, Hungary and the Czech Republic Gypsies amounted to 5-10 percent of each country's total population (ibid.). Census data collected by the Council of Europe Roma and Travellers Division (2011) indicate the percentage average of the countries' Roma population compared to the total country population as follows: In Bulgaria the number of Roma inhabitants makes out 10.33% of the country's total population, in the Czech Republic 1.96% and in Hungary 7.05% (European

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Commission 2011). A census data collection of 2012 shows only slightly different numbers: Bulgaria 9.94%, the Czech Republic 1.90% and Hungary 7.49% (CoE 2012).

1.4.2 The EU's approach towards Socially Excluded Communities (SEC). This subsection sheds light on the politico-administrative perspective of Roma inclusion policy in the European Union. First, it provides insight into EU policy monitoring of Socially Excluded Communities within the framework of the European Semester. Secondly, it enumerates EU activities towards Roma inclusion in the course of history since 2004.

EU policy monitoring. A central mechanism of EU policy monitoring is the European Semester. It is a “yearly policy coordination cycle implemented by the European Union (EU) since 2011 with a view to synchronizing and coordinating instruments and procedures related to budgetary and macro-economic policies and structural reforms in a number of policy domains” (Sabato et al. 2017). The European Semester consists of three substantial pillars: The Europe 2020 strategy, the reformed Stability and Growth Pact (SGP) and the Macro-economic Imbalances Procedure (MIP). While the latter two pillars aim at financial and economical aspects, the Europe 2020 strategy exclusively addresses structural reforms in several policy areas (ibid.). It is thus the European Semester's first pillar which is of central importance for this paper. Subsequently, references to ‘the European Semester’ in this paper apply to the Europe 2020 strategy only.

The European Commission initiated the Europe 2020 strategy as a monitoring tool which aims at enhancing economic growth and an increase of national economic coordination within the Union between 2011 and 2020 (European Commission 2016¹). In the course of one year European Semester reports comprise important information about reform objectives set out by the European Commission and the Council as well as policy implementation reports by the Member States.

Needs for reform are flag-shipped consistently and can be traced in the course of several years. There are different levels of flag-shiping needs for reform: The Europe 2020 strategy set out five EU ‘Headline targets’ three of which are significant in the context of improving the situation of socially excluded communities: By 2020 achieve 1) the employment of 75% of adults; 2) education: reduce the rates of early school leaving below 10% and and at least 40% of 30-34 year-olds completing third level education; and 3) poverty and social exclusion: at least 20 million fewer people in or at risk of poverty and social exclusion (Sabato et al. 2017). These Headline targets are valid for the period of 2011 until 2015. From 2014 onwards the successive Commission college (Juncker Commission) proposed refinements to the goals of the Europe 2020 strategy in some points (ibid.). However, the headline targets remained the same for the election period of the current Commission (European Commission 2017¹). Member States may translate these Headline targets into National Targets (European Commission 2015).

European Semester reports provide an exclusive opportunity for monitoring the implementation of EU policies. At the same time the question persists whether the European Semester monitoring can indeed affect the inclusion policy implementation in selected Member States beneficially. This is why the working mechanisms of the European Semester are especially relevant for this paper.

EU approaches towards Roma inclusion. Social inclusion policies feature prominently in European Semester reports. The European Commission acknowledges Roma people as vulnerable group prone to social exclusion, same as single parents, parents with multiple children and persons with disabilities. The EU employs a mainly economic mechanism of Roma integration. By providing access to the labor market and thus improving the Roma's individual economical situation also social cohesion will improve (European Commission 2011).

The very history of Roma inclusion policy dates back farther than 2011, when the European Semester was established. The European institutions started to focus on Eastern European Roma policy after the end of the Cold War. In the beginning of the EU's activities towards Roma inclusion the work of the Council of Europe and the OSCE greatly influenced the activities of the European Community (Kovats 2001, Pusca 2012). At that time the "pan-European Roma policy paradigm" (Kovats 2001: 93) emerged: the ambition to address problems of Western European Gypsies, Sinti and Travellers and Eastern European Roma by means of one (institutional) European approach. Still, the economic and political transitions of post-Communist states imposed practical challenges to the implementation of Roma policy which differed from the situation in states without Communist heritage (Kovats 2001).

Contrary to a pan-European Roma inclusion policy the European institutions made Roma inclusion a prerequisite for the accession candidates from Central and Eastern Europe hoping that this would ensure the situation of Roma (Pusca 2012). As Johns (2012) finds the 2004 accession candidates thus had to adhere to much higher standards in terms of Roma integration, than Member States with similarly high proportions of Romani inhabitants. This is true because the Copenhagen criteria, which all accession candidates must needs fulfill for a successful accession, were developed with a heavy focus on minority rights protection (Schimmelfennig & Sedelmeier 2005: 134). The European Institutions thus envisaged to improve the situation of Roma in Central and Eastern Europe by a conditionality mechanism that tied successful Roma inclusion reforms to the process of single countries' EU accession. Assessing the way in which EU monitoring affected Roma inclusion reforms in selected countries it is important to take into account this conditionality mechanism. The example of the European Decade of Roma Inclusion showed quite clearly the strong influence of the conditionality mechanism. States which had promoted Roma inclusion actively in the context of the Roma Decade loosened their efforts noticeably upon acceding the EU. As Zeljko Jovanovic from Open Society Foundations noticed in 2015 the Roma Decade failed to improve the situation of Roma in Central and Eastern European States in the long run (Jovanovic/ Open Society Foundations 2015). The accession dates of 2004 respectively 2007 are thus important reference points for the analysis.

After the 2004 and 2007 Eastern Enlargements and many Roma's becoming EU citizens Roma the EU approach to inclusion policy was enhanced by funds such as the European Social, Regional Development, and Agricultural Fund. In 2011 the EU established the European Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020 (European Commission 2011; Pusca 2012). It sets out Roma integration goals which should be accomplished by 2020. They pertain to the four areas of

access to education, employment, health care and housing. They are, in proportion, geared to the respective national size of the Roma population (European Commission 2012). In 2010 the European Commission created a Roma Task Force in charge of assessing how effectively resources from EU funds are made use of in all Member States.

Criticism of EU approaches. There is no uniform way of regarding Roma inclusion policy. While the European Union depicts its Roma inclusion endeavors as straightforward and effective, critical voices point towards insufficiencies of the Union's action: Kovats criticizes that the EU's initial approaches towards Roma inclusion focused on change of legal circumstances only. In effect this disregards the complexity and diversity of problems which Roma face in their respective states (Kovats 2001). What is needed additionally would be a "channeling of policy-initiatives through state-level structures" (Kovats 2001). The EU must needs address underlying problems of Roma poverty. Raising the income of Roma to the same level as their non-Romani fellow citizens. Concerning oneself with Roma inclusion one should acknowledge the complexity and sensitivity of the topic. Kovats argues for country-specific approaches. Also other authors indicate the need of taking a specific look at each and every Roma community for itself, in order to improve the prevalent conditions (Marushiakova & Popov 2001). Fifteen years after Kovats's critique, a 2016 working paper on Roma inclusion the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) concluded that

"[i]n consideration of the situation and vulnerability of Roma and related groups in Europe, mainstream inclusion indicators cannot sufficiently monitor the specifics of Roma exclusion. Therefore the choice of indicators need to go beyond the Europe 2020 concept of poverty and social exclusion taking into account the indicator for the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) to overcome some of the data gaps and provide comparability with the general population (FRA 2016)."

Quite obviously EU approaches towards administering the policy of Roma inclusion have changed and developed enormously from the begin of the 21st century until the composition of this paper in 2017. The above-mentioned statement of the Fundamental Rights Agency indicates the need to expand Roma inclusion policy beyond the Europe 2020 strategy towards Sustainable Development. However, this does not render research on the European Semester's monitoring of Roma inclusion reforms irrelevant. To be sure, the need to assess and understand the effect of the European Semester on three selected countries' reform processes between 2011 and 2016 persists.

This subsection made clear that it is difficult to formally identify Roma as a self-contained, homogeneous ethnic group. The abstract of the EU's historical Roma integration approaches demonstrated this quite clearly. Social factors are at the core of this difficulty: Majority societies often stigmatize Roma. The latter, in turn, may refrain from officially self-identifying as Roma. As a consequence, formulating, implementing and monitoring Roma inclusion policies is a challenging endeavor. This is what makes it so important to assess European Union monitoring activity and its impact on implementing Roma inclusion reforms in the EU.

1.4.3 Critical posture. This subsection sees into the researcher's own role and cultural predisposition for the process of this qualitative research process. While EU reform endeavors have the

notion of theoretical constructs with a disposition for technicalities and administrative details it is important to always envision that one is talking about fellow human beings. As pointed out above, there is no homogeneous group of *the* Roma in Europe.

Doing research on Roma bears the danger of stereotyping Roma as a uniform group. Without critical reflection about one's own role in the research process, and more important, one's own presupposed implicit conception of Roma, one simply reproduces clichés. Instead of improving the Roma's situation the "standard narrative" of the socially excluded group of Roma is merely reproduced (Simhandl 2007). As Simhandl points out, within the European Union the political discourse about Roma is marked by using "the Roma" as analytical category. From this constructivist point of view the EU indirectly supports discriminative behavior against Roma (ibid.). It is the ambition of this research project to distinguish and sustain the different roles of the author: as a scientist and as a citizen. The author acknowledges that this study is set in and predominately deals with the 'standard narration' (Simhandl) of Roma in Europe. Since this perspective significantly influences actions taken in with regard to Roma inclusion it seems justifiable to remain within this standard narrative in order to analyze its main modes of functioning.

Besides an introductory section, a reflection on relevance and the concrete research questions Chapter One provided the structure of this paper, which is essential for following the line of argument throughout this research. This chapter also defined the wider context of the research problem and pointed towards critical ethics-based implications of researching monitoring of Roma integration reforms.

2 Literature Review

This chapter provides a theoretical reflection on the main concepts deriving from the research questions in this study: 'Reform implementation' and 'performance monitoring'. Chapter Two discusses literature related to these two concepts and aligns the paper with previous research conducted on the topic of reform implementation and monitoring. The theoretical concepts guide the process of inference throughout this research process. Section 2.1 reflects on the relationship between different agents in an implementation process. Section 2.2 'Reform implementation' and Section 2.3 'Performance monitoring' consecutively establish the concepts with regard to relevant theoretical discussions from public management literature. Section 2.4 combines the two concepts in one causal framework stating, eventually, that performance monitoring enhances reform implementation.

2.1 Local Agents Theory

The Relationship between the EU and its Member States can be seen as an example of Pressman and Wildavsky's Principal-Agent Theory (1984). It is beyond the scope of this paper to assess the roles distribution between the European Institutions and the EU Member States. However, a theoretical outlook on the interrelations of Principal and Agent is necessary for defining the concepts 'reform implementation' and 'performance monitoring'. According to Pressman and Wildavsky's the-

ory within an organization the Principal has the Agent execute activities. These are of vital importance to the Principal. While the Agent executes these tasks, the Principal decides how this should be done. Yet one cannot expect the Agents comply, or to be able to comply, with the Principal's policy. Agents thus have discretion. Because of local differences they will use this discretion in different ways (Pressman & Wildavsky 1984). In the context of this paper monitoring of Roma inclusion reform implementation may be conducted in different ways. This might explain similarities and differences in 'performance monitoring' and 'reform implementation' across the different countries under observation. The subsequent sections explicitly feature who is the agent within the main theoretical concepts of this research.

2.2 Reform Implementation

One central concept of this study is policy implementation. In the context of this paper implementation always refers to *Roma inclusion reform* implementation. The concrete policies, respectively, reform endeavors in this paper pertain to the improvement of the Roma people's living conditions and their inclusion into the majority societies of their respective states in Central and Eastern Europe. Most theoretical approaches unanimously acknowledge that finding a suitable definition for the concept of 'implementation' is challenging (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2011, Rainey 2014).

2.2.1 Implementing agents. The different contexts public management literature localizes reform implementation in, affect which agent or organization is considered to be the implementer and what is implemented. Rainey (2014) and de Bruijn (2007) focus on public professional organizations below state-level: In their analyses government agencies, hospitals and schools implement reforms. Their theories must needs be adjusted to the state-level approach of this research. The determining implementers in this paper are three selected EU Member States.

McConnell illustrates the peculiarities of the intra-state level of analysis. He points to the fact that successful policy implementation is a matter of political interpretation: Policy initiators are often incumbent politicians of governing parties. They would thus more deliberately call a policy successful. On the other hand opposition politicians would rather like to see their political adversaries' policies failing. They would thus tilt towards calling a policy failed (McConnell 2010: 346). The author provides a definition for policy success that reconciles the conflicting views of policy initiators and opposing politicians. According to McConnell "a policy is successful if it achieves the goals that proponents set out to achieve and attracts no criticism of any significance and/ or support is virtually universal" (2010: 351).

However, as noted at the outset, this research paper cannot take the intra-state decision-making process of single states into account for the theoretical conceptualization of policy implementation: the data at hand only show which EU state adopted (and implemented) which kind of Roma policy in which year. The data disallow assumptions to what extent support within countries was universal. However, this does not contradict McConnell's intra-state definition of a successful policy: The Roma inclusion policy proposals of one country can be understood as that kind of policy that received no significant criticism within the state. Because otherwise the action would not have been

proposed at EU-level. Whatever conclusion this research paper draws about Roma inclusion reform implementation, McConnell's approach indicates that explanatory factors for successful or failed reform implementation are to be found also below state level.

2.2.2 Policy implementation as goal achievement. In "Policy Success, Policy Failure and Grey Areas In-Between" (2010) McConnell explicitly focuses on reform implementation. He provides a framework that understands policy implementation as goal achievement and goals as policy targets (McConnell 2010). Conceptualizing policy implementation in such a way is an often encountered strategy in public management literature. A 'result' is "closely tied to the concept of performance" as Politt and Bouckaert (2011) note. Also de Bruijn (2007) and Rainey (2014) regard goal achievement as appropriate conceptualization for policy implementation (although Rainey sees 'goal achievement' as only one possible way of conceptualizing 'performance' or 'effectiveness' of an organization). Yet, 'goal achievement' brings about the question whether an organization's achievements are outcomes or outputs of an implementation endeavor. McConnell describes achieved goals as "bundels of outcomes" (McConnell 2010). Rainey distinguishes two types of goals: on the one hand official goals like mission statements or broad objectives; and on the other hand operative goals, which have a smaller scope and immediate applicability (Rainey 2014). Also Pollitt and Bouckaert (2011) distinguish two types of goals which come into consideration for state-level analysis: 'operational results' and 'process improvements'.

In contrast, de Bruijn (2007) is more inclined to call achieved goals outputs. He differentiates closely between outputs and outcomes: While outputs refer to the direct result of an organization's activity (a report, a publication etc), outcomes are intermediate or final effects which can be influenced by several external factors outside the vicinity of the implementing organization (de Bruijn 2007). Politt and Bouckaert's view on goal achievement supports this notion. In their conceptual framework of performance the authors provide a rationalistic model of an ideal policy cycle. It clearly separates the process of generating policy *output*—as something that can be directly influenced by the state—from generating intermediary and long-term *outcomes*: A process which states do influence, but which is also affected by a wider range of socio-economic conditions in a particular society (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2011).

2.2.3 Goal ambiguity. Rainey points to the difficulty of clearly defining goals. This is what he calls goal ambiguity. According to Rainey's definition "an organizational goal is a condition that an organization seeks to attain" (Rainey 2014: 150). Yet, a goal must always be perceived as a set of sub-goals for it may pertain to different dimensions, actors or contexts at the same time. In that, goals might conflict with each other. In the end, goals are no self-contained entities but rather blurred parts in a hierarchy of an interdependent chain of goals (Rainey 2014). Depending on how one understands 'goals' this has implications on the extent to which one uses them as conceptualization for reform implementation.

McConnell also sees goal ambiguity as a challenge of policy implementation. He conceptualizes goals as 'bundles of outcomes' (McConnell 2010). A policy may be successful in three 'realms' independently: in the realm of processes, programs or politics. (1) The realm of process typically fo-

cuses on the collective decisions of governments. In which way do the authorities determine, assess and find solutions for current societal problems? Which alternatives are there? (2) The realm of programs concentrates on the concrete means employed to a policy end. Which instruments do the authorities employ to reach their over-arching objective? Finally, (3) the realm of politics assesses, which political implications the policy has on its initiator. Is he or she gaining votes?

2.3 Performance Monitoring

The second important concept in this study is performance monitoring. It is considered a technique that derives from the private sector. It is closely connected to the concept of performance: Monitoring is the process of assessing whether and to which extent policy endeavors (reforms) are implemented. Or as de Bruijn puts it:

"a professional organization formulates its envisaged performance and indicates how this performance may be measured by defining performance indicators. Once the organization has performed its tasks, it may be shown whether the envisaged performance was achieved and how much it cost" (de Bruijn 2007:7).

2.3.1 Monitoring agents. Similar to the theoretical concept of policy performance, one needs to clarify who is the agent also for the concept of performance monitoring in the present study. Depending on the practical context each author situates his or her theory in, the type of monitoring agent is a different one. As reform policy performance takes place on state-level, also performance monitoring takes in the supra- or inter state-level perspective. In this paper the European Commission is the monitoring initiator.

The process of monitoring however, involves two agents: the manager and the professional (de Bruijn 2007). The professional designs the primary policy process. The manager is in charge of assessing the implementation of this process by means of performance monitoring. Manager and professional engage in a process of feeding back to each other information about the state of play of policy implementation. According to de Bruijn manager and professional take divergent roles. While both are equally important for an organization, the manager is accountable for the whole process and the organization's external accountability. He or she thus aims for the organization to report productive and positive output. The professional is closer to the actual policy implementation process. He or she cares for the technicalities of implementation regardless of the organization's external accountability. The process of monitoring collaboration between professional and manager is thus subject to the main agent's diverging focuses. This may affect the quality of performance measurement (de Bruijn 2007).

Applying de Bruijn's terms to this paper one can say that the European Commission, as initiator of the European Semester, functions as monitoring manager. The three selected Member States, as implementers of Roma inclusion policies are the monitoring professionals.

Yet, one could argue that the application of this terminology is challenging in the context of the European Union. The EU as an organization *sui generis* might not be considered a typical 'professional organization' as described by de Bruijn. EU Member States are no federal states of the

Union, but autonomous members. In this respect, one could say that Member States are both professionals and managers: On a sub-national level they both implement and account for their policy outputs. However, since this paper limits itself to the state-level Member States are not assessed below state level. They must thus be considered policy professionals only.

Rainey draws a similar picture. He understands performance monitoring as the diagnosing process and communicative data transfer between employees and leadership of an organization (Rainey 2014: 428). Despite Rainey's analytical focus on single public organizations, it is possible to apply his definition to the context of this study. Translating the inventory of Rainey's definition into the setting of this paper the 'public organization' of Rainey's analysis stands for the European Commission. Employees of Rainey's public organization in this study equal the three selected Member States of the Union. Finally, 'organizational change' correlates to the reform objective of Roma inclusion. With this approximation at hand, Rainey's notions on "patterns of successful organizational change" yield important insights on the conceptualization of 'monitoring'.

2.3.2 Implications of performance monitoring for policy implementation. De Bruijn holds that performance measurement has both a positive and a negative side. Under certain circumstances it may affect positively effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy of public professional organizations (2007). However, effectiveness and efficiency are two rival aims.

Public organizations provide services which are multi-valued and rendered in co-production with third (external) parties. Values and production steps are sometimes conflicting and often need to be traded off. Yet, performance measurement only assesses the output dimension of a public organization: the complex setting which public organizations operate in and which determines their outputs is thus reduced to one single dimension: the amount of outputs. Only because an organization yields few outputs once can still not make any statement about the quality of internal working processes. Performance measurement thus simplifies and disregards the challenges of professional accomplishments. This negative side of performance measurement leads to a number of perverse effects in an organization's policy performance: bureaucratization, daunting professional and innovative incentives and strategic behavior (de Bruijn 2007:5).

On the other hand, performance measurement has positive sides, too. The tasks which professional organizations perform are very complex. In order to accomplish them they need autonomy. Yet, autonomy bears the risk that public organizations develop bureaucratic internal structures which hamper the organization's goal achievement. Professional organizations therefore must be not only autonomous but also accountable for what they do (perform). Performance measuring is an appropriate communicative tool for ensuring accountability. Reducing the complex working process of professional organizations to one essential (output) dimension (and communicating it externally) is thus also a strength.

Rainey follows de Bruijn's positive justification of performance management. He holds that monitoring is a key feature in affecting organizational change because it makes the performing entities accountable for their activities. However, changes must be effectively institutionalized in order to

prevent a backslide to old behavioral patterns. Monitoring helps sustaining the change of (members of) an organization (2014: 104). Within the process of organizational change Rainey locates 'monitoring' in the phase of diagnosis and recognition (2014: 435). This phase is defined by a high amount of power-sharing because fact-finding and problem-solving involve all members of the organization (ibid.). Especially monitoring makes organizational change more visible and thus comprehensible. As Rainey notes "[t]he people in [an] agency must see the changes as important and useful to them" (2014: 442). If this is the case then one further positive side of performance monitoring is that it induces learning effects. In retrospect, organizations changed more successfully if the approach was defined by multilateral and cooperative measures such as monitoring. Power-sharing and vision are important components of that (Rainey 2014). Rainey also provides examples that show how performance monitoring in/ of public organizations is hampered: excessive red-tape, deficient resources, bad policy design or factors pertaining to the political realm, such as "political interventions and turnover" (Rainey 2014: 451). The latter factors suit the difficulties related to the formulation of performance indicators that McConnell finds.

According to de Bruijn (2007) both positive and negative arguments are valid. Weighing the pro and contra arguments for performance measuring is the key motive of de Bruijn's reflections on performance measurement: This synthesis of a professional logic and a managerial system logic constitutes his picture of effective performance measurement. Applied performance measurement avoids the negative side-effects only if it comprises "interaction, variety and dynamics" (de Bruijn 2007:5).

The previous paragraphs showed which implications has on reform implementation—and consecutively—goal achievement. Both positive and negative arguments are valid. However, this paper opines that monitoring affects implementation and implementation affects goal achievement. A lack of goal achievement is, apart from other reasons, the result of defective implementation. This could be the consequence of the type of monitoring.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

The previous literature review provided valuable insights for this research project. Acknowledging that theory on reform implementation and performance monitoring is abundant the theoretical implications that guide this study can be summarized in the following way: The type of performance measurement affects reform implementation, and thus, also goal achievement.

2.4.1 Endogenous concept. The endogenous concept in this research study is the extent to which Roma inclusion reforms are implemented successfully. Reform implementation is understood as goal achievement: The circumstance of having altered the status quo in such a way that it resembles the conditions (goals) that were set out in advance. Goals are fully achieved when the new status quo equals the set-out goals. However, it is assumed that this condition is rarely met. Acknowledging that full goal achievement is hampered by goal ambiguity, this study understands goal achievement as a continuum: Changes of the status quo range on a scale of goal resemblance. As long as changes of the status quo go in the direction of the reform goal a certain extent of goal achievement counts as prevalent. No change of the status quo means that there is no goal achieve-

ment. Changes of the status quo that immanently contradict the set-out goals are regarded as no goal achievement. The dependent variable (DV) in this research paper is thus the extent to which selected EU Member States achieve goals pertaining to the inclusion of Roma (compare *Illustration 1*).

2.4.2 Exogenous concept. The exogenous concept in this research paper is the extent to which European Semester monitoring is transparent. Transparency is understood as the reports’ being specific about Roma. This notion is important because ES reports do not exclusively aim at Roma; yet, they constitute the most important tool of monitoring Roma inclusion reform implementation in the time between 2011 and 2016.

As de Bruijn finds, monitoring is a key prerequisite in order to sustain certain performances or attain certain outputs. He defines how performance monitoring affects goal achievement constructively: Beneficial performance monitoring is characterized by the extent of its immanent transparency. The more transparent monitoring is the better it is suited to influence goal achievement positively.

In this paper transparency of performance monitoring is understood as the extent to which Roma are featured in the European Semester reports. How often are they and the need for improving their situation mentioned? Which concrete measures, steps and deadlines are mentioned to attain Roma inclusive societies? The independent variable (IV) in this paper thus relates to the extent to which European Semester monitoring is Roma specific (cf. *Illustration 243*).

2.4.3 Rendering theory graphically. *Illustration 243* features a dotted line around the two theoretical constructs respectively variables. This symbolizes the setting of the exogenous and endogenous constructs within the monitoring mechanism of the European Semester reports. Section 3.3.4

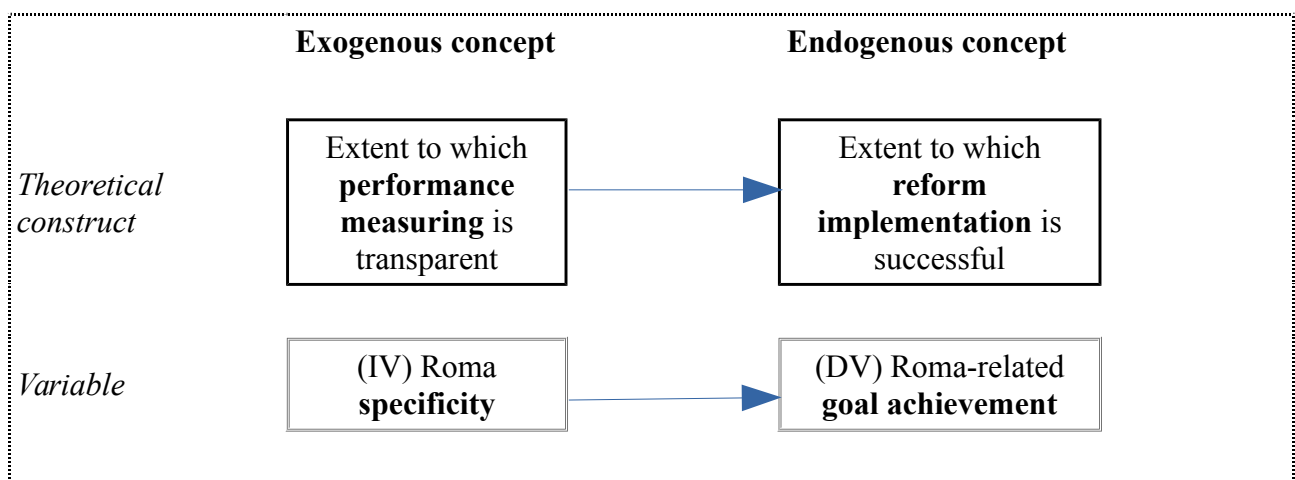


ILLUSTRATION 243. FROM THEORY TO VARIABLES

shows which exact legal documents there are and how they relate to the theoretical framework. With this theoretical framework at hand it is possible to assess and evaluate the differences and similarities in monitoring the implementation of the EU policy on Roma inclusion in selected CEE

states as set out in the research question: *How did European Semester monitoring affect the implementation of the EU policy on Roma inclusion in selected CEE states between 2011 and 2016?*

3 Methodology

Chapter Three introduces the methodology employed in this paper. It provides information about research design, case selection and sampling, operationalization, and data collection. The chapter shows how this research project is designed and to what extent it follows a rigorous and straightforward approach in pursuing research. This strengthens the paper's comprehensibility and makes this research reproducible. The present paper can be considered a comparative case study. The paper assesses the EU monitoring of reform processes in three states for a period of six years: from 2011–2016.

This study paper adheres to the logic of qualitative research. Qualitative methods are especially well suited to describe processes and perspectives of phenomena in small-n studies. In explaining phenomena qualitative approaches take into account the overall context (Flick 2009). Yin indicates the central advantages of case study research compared to quantitative approaches: While research based on hypotheses-testing yields strong results especially in establishing the effectiveness of certain treatments, the more holistic approach of qualitative case studies manages to better account for why and how certain treatments work (Yin 2015: 21). Qualitative methods are thus an extraordinarily strong approach in the process of researching EU monitoring of Roma inclusion policy implementation. Accordingly, case study research seems to be the most appropriate of qualitative approaches. Robert Yin's ideas on case study research (2015) provide valuable insights for the research design of this paper: Section 3.1 follows his approach of setting up a appropriate research design. Seawright and Gerring (2008) and Maxwell (2009) points towards the important contributions to causal inference from qualitative research in general and case study research in particular.

3.1 Research Design

In order to make assumptions about the tasks performed towards Roma inclusion and how they were reflected in the monitoring of the European Semester one needs to take into consideration basic decisions concerning the research design employed. For arriving at a rigorous research design, Yin (2015) distinguishes five necessary research design decisions relating to the study question (Subsection 3.1.1), the study proposition (Subsection 3.1.2), the unit of analysis (Subsection 3.1.3), the linking of data to propositions (Subsection 3.1.4), and the criteria for interpreting a case-study's findings (Subsection 3.1.5). These analytical decisions determine the structure of this section.

3.1.1 Study question. The research design should reflect the substance of the research question (Yin 2015). Essentially, the paper asks how EU monitoring affected Roma inclusion policy implementation. This research project is a qualitative study combining descriptive and explanatory elements. The wording of the main research question and its subquestions reflect on this: *How did European Semester monitoring affect the implementation of the EU policy on Roma inclusion in selected CEE states between 2011 and 2016? (SQ1) What were the reforms considered necessary for*

the selected states and how were they monitored in the period between 2011 and 2016? SQ2) How did Member States reform implementation outcomes evolve in the period between 2011 and 2016, and how can monitoring explain differences and similarities of goal implementation?

3.1.2 Study proposition. This research aims to explain differences in Roma inclusion reform implementation in the EU by assessing European Semester monitoring. A study proposition, as a before-hand statement about the expected findings of this research is essential. It goes as follows: *The more transparent EU inclusion reform monitoring is the better will Roma-related policy be implemented (achieved) in the respective state.* In order to prove this proposition the research design provides a set of dependent and independent variables. Assessing all variables for all cases endows the researcher to make final statements whether the proposition was replicated as planned or not. The *dependent variable* for this research project is the extent to which EU monitoring documents display countries' Roma inclusion reform goals as achieved. The *independent variable* is the extent to which monitoring is transparent in specifically addressing reform needs relating to Roma. Section 3.3 'Operationalization' describes in detail how these variable are measured.

3.1.3 Unit of analysis. The introduction to the context of this study (section 1.4) indicated clearly that Roma inclusion in CEE states depends on a large number of different contextual factors. However, the actual *phenomenon* of a study—the unit of analysis—must be distinguished from the study's *context* (Yin 2015). While the life of Roma in the societies of Central and Eastern Europe serves as context, the unit of analysis is the monitoring of Roma inclusion reform implementation in three selected Member States. This paper employs a holistic multiple-case design as provided by Yin (2015). Additionally, it includes notions about case selection provided by Seawright and Gerring (2007). This research design assesses Member States within their societal contexts. At the same time it maintains a distinction between the context and the unit of analysis. The research design is holistic because it assesses Roma inclusion monitoring at state level. The states function as cases which are closed entities: How each individual state internally arrives at certain decisions is not under examination. Rather, states' official statements and national policy intents are in focus. In step one the study analyzes all three states individually and, in step two, it compares the outcomes for each state among each other. The study propositions are expected to be met in terms of Yin's literal replication logic (2015): The cases should serve with similar (literal) results as set out in the study proposition.

3.1.4 Linking data to propositions. This paper collects evidence on the basis of policy documents published by the European Commission and by all selected Central and Eastern European Member States. These documents are the units of observation. The limited scope of this research project allows to study only a selected number of cases in detail. A choice is thus made to focus on three cases. The country selection is discussed in section 3.2 'Case selection'.

Yet, context and phenomenon are, especially in case studies, sometimes hard to distinguish. This leads, as Yin acknowledges (2015: 35), to a large amount of variables. The causal line of inference must thus be specified. Reform policy success is understood as goal achievement. This, in turn, is measured by the European Semester data and possibly additional sources. The reform implementa-

tion process of each country is understood as a question-and-answer-like exchange of policy documents over time. In the course of one European Semester Country-Specific Recommendations issued by the European Commission are followed-up by National Plans issued by the selected Member States. In order to ensure a variety of data also reports and documents that are not released within the European Semester's canon might be evaluated. However, the period of six years that can be covered by European Semester data provides this study design with a strong longitudinal approach. In that way a detailed and valid picture of Roma inclusion policy monitoring can be drawn.

3.1.5 Criteria for interpreting the case study's findings. In line with the research questions, as set out in the sections before, a concrete plan of actions is designed. As a first step the policy documents are evaluated in terms of Roma inclusion monitoring for each country in the period from 2011 until 2016. Plotting results of this evaluation for all three cases it is possible to determine main directions of reform, actors and stakeholders (SQ1). As a second step it is possible to compare all cases (SQ2). In that an interpretation of these results in the light of similarities or differences takes place, ultimately answering the main research question: *How did European Semester monitoring affect the implementation of the EU policy on Roma inclusion in selected CEE states between 2011 and 2016?*

3.1.6 Threats to validity. The research design accounts for threats to validity on several dimensions. This subsection pays attention to the different forms of validity threats, namely threats to construct validity, internal validity and external validity. Possible threats to construct validity pertain to the conceptualization of the study's key theoretical concepts. Chapter Two pointed to the challenge of defining what reform implementation is. In order to conduct theoretically valid research this concept must be transferred into a "sufficiently operational set of measures" (Yin 2009: 41) lest construct invalidity occur. Reform implementation, as one of the key theoretical concepts, must be measured in a way which depicts the concept most closely (sufficiently). Thus in understanding reform implementation as achieving goals one must acknowledge that reform goals which organization have to achieve are often ambiguous. This fact can be taken into account by marking each reform's envisaged goal separately. This reduces the threat of construct validity.

Threats to internal validity concern considerations taking the right conclusions about cause and consequence of (successful) reform implementation and the role monitoring plays in it. The research project may encounter this project by means of triangulation. Roma inclusion is a well-researched topic with abundant EU material published. In such a way inferred interrelations can be double-checked.

External validity refers to the findings' generalizability. In the concrete example of this study this puts up the question whether the EU reform policy monitoring affects other policy areas than Roma inclusion in similar ways. This study produces valuable insights on the functioning of European Semester reports monitoring. At the same time it acknowledges the uniqueness of Roma inclusion endeavors compared to other inclusion reform endeavors of the European Union. Sustaining this presupposition reduces the risk of wrongly attributing and generalizing outcomes of this study to other areas of EU reform implementation monitoring.

Considering the data employed the threat of data invalidity lies in wait. Subsection 1.4.1 ‘Who are *the* Roma?’ made clear that census data acquisition standards relating to Roma-relevant issues vary greatly from country to country within the EU. One must acknowledge that no set of data can depict the real situation of Roma in their respective CEE states. This study relies on EU data provided by the European Semester reports. While these data might be prone to error alongside the aforementioned reasons, they are employed by the EU itself. The data employed are thus considered valid within the special context of their analysis.

The field of monitoring Roma inclusion policy is a large one. This paper thus faces certain limits in scope and depth of analyzing the effects of EU monitoring on Roma inclusion reforms. This paper does not assess the state of Roma inclusion in the selected states beyond the statements made in the nation performance reports. Neither, attention is paid to intra-institutional processes of the European Union as such. The EU is represented by the European Commission. The Member States’ behavior within the European Council is not taken into closer account. The focus of this paper is merely in the way the European Semester monitors national reform steps, and how selected countries fare in comparison to each other.

3.2 Case Selection

The preceding sections of this paper provided many important aspects about the setting of the study already. This paper acknowledges case study research as an appropriate approach to the study problem presented so far. Yet, there is a need to specify case selection and sampling more explicitly. Cases show to take in a central position within the research. But what counts as case? Case selection in small-n studies is highly contested in social sciences: Researchers tend to argue about the way in which cases in case studies best be selected. There is thus a need to enumerate and justify the prevalent case selection. In this paper the following three subsections provide this justification: Subsection 3.2.1 points to the importance of representativeness of samples. Subsection 3.2.2 provides notions about the generalizability of findings in this paper. Finally, Subsection 3.2.3 shows how the variables employed vary on important dimensions throughout the case study. The study aims to assess how monitoring affects reform implementation in three selected states. This research project assesses three cases of Central and Eastern European countries. The careful reader noticed that Chapter One did not explicitly commit itself to three particular Central and Eastern European states. This section clarifies why Bulgaria, the Czech Republic and Hungary are chosen as cases.

3.2.1 Representativeness. Seawright and Gerring point to the importance of representativeness in the sampling process of small-N case studies: Cases should be selected in such a way that “general causal theories about the social world” can be “[t]ested or build on the basis of one or a few cases” (Seawright & Gerring 2008). Case selection must take place purposively. However, neither pragmatic nor randomized selection ensure representativeness: Choosing cases for pragmatic reasons (temporal or local availability, low costs etc) imposes the danger of leaving out important cases which are more difficult to come by. In small-n studies choosing cases by means of randomized selection results in samples which are highly unrepresentative for the whole population (Seawright & Gerring 2008). For the latter reason also Yin (2015) rejects sampling as selection method. Since

this paper focuses on EU Member States, the concerns against randomized sampling definitely apply: There are only 28 Member States which could possibly be assessed. The number of Member States with Eastern Block heritage is even smaller. The study is thus small-n. Seawright and Gerring propose an analytical framework for purposive case selection in small-n studies: the case study types.

3.2.2 Context-case relations and generalization. Seawright and Gerring provide a set of seven case study types for justifying purposive case selections (2008: 295). From this basket of methods the *deviant case(s) approach* is the most fitting one for this study. The cases under observation deviate as far as possible from a given proposition. ‘Deviantness’ is judged according to a general model of causal relations. Deviant cases are yet poorly explained, because they contradict general causal propositions. Outcomes of a case study on deviant cases thus result in new explanations and arrives at a new general proposition. Deviant cases are then no longer deviant (Seawright & Gerring).

The context of this study centers around the effects of EU monitoring on Roma inclusion policy implementation. The review of scientific literature showed that performance monitoring largely contribute to the implementation of policies. The contextual introduction into Roma inclusion policy also showed that monitoring of these policies in EU context persist at least since the end of the Cold War. Why then does Roma inclusion policy implementation still have to be monitored? Roma inclusion policy implementation seems to be an out-lier case in the context of reform monitoring because it fulfills the criterion of being as far as possible away from the study proposition: *The more transparent the EU monitoring the better will the policy be achieved in the respective state.*

The findings of this study are not subject to generalization beyond the cases that are actually assessed. This study acknowledges the unique situation and common conditions that all these countries share. Their similar legacy of administrative incapacity to deal with Roma inclusion before accession to the EU, is what qualifies and justifies the selection of these three countries.

3.2.3 Variation on important variable dimensions. One has to take into account a further prerequisite of case selection as mentioned by Seawright and Gerring. In assessing different cases one wants to achieve useful variation on the dimension of interest, that is, the state-specific implementation of Roma inclusion reforms. Sufficient variation is given by the fact that the percentages of Roma inhabitants vary widely from country to country. *Table 323* shows that Bulgaria and Hungary have a comparatively higher share of Roma inhabitants (9.94% and 7.49%) than the Czech Republic (1.90%). At the same time the countries can be considered almost equal in terms of total population: All three countries have between 7.5 and 10.5 million inhabitants. Admittedly, Hungary’s total population (about 10 million people) is more similar to that of the Czech Republic (about 10.5 million) than to that of Bulgaria (about 7.5 million people).

TABLE 323. SHARES OF ROMA POPULATION 2012 (COUNCIL OF EUROPE)

Average estimate as % of total population	Average estimate (CoE used figure)	Total population (WB 2010)
--	---------------------------------------	-------------------------------

BG	9.94	750,000	7,543,325
CZ	1.90	200,000	10,525,090
HU	7.49	750,000	10,008,703

Also geographically the selection of countries seems justified. Bulgaria, Hungary and the Czech Republic are countries in Central and (South-)Eastern Europe. However, neither of the countries shares a common border. Hungarian speaking Roma, for example, also live in the South of Slovakia and the North of Romania (Transylvania). Roma inclusion measures introduced in one country could spill over to parts of the Roma population in neighboring countries. By excluding Romania and Slovakia from analysis the paper controls for such spill-over effects.

The numbers of countries' total populations is not the only decisive dimension on which variation may be achieved. While there are Roma communities in all three selected countries, the extent of their inclusion varies greatly in several important dimensions such as access to health, housing, education, employment and political participation.

3.3 Operationalization

This part of the paper provides operationalizations of the main theoretical concepts established so far. Subsection 3.3.1 connects the research procedural step of operationalization with the previous parts of the paper. Subsection 3.3.2 describes the operationalization logic of 'reform implementation and goal achievement'. Subsection 3.3.3 operationalizes the 'transparency of performance measurement'. Finally Subsection 3.3.4 gives a detailed insight into the publication canon of European Semester reports.

3.3.1 The process of operationalizing. As Maxwell (2009) points out, operationalization is not to be understood in a comparatively rigid way as in quantitative research. The theoretical framework rather guides interpretation and analysis of data. Nevertheless, the conceptual baseline as set out in the *Section 2.4* 'Theoretical Framework' bears several important pragmatical implications for the process of operationalization and data collection methods. This section connects the theoretical framework with concrete measures: How are the key concepts observed within the units of observation? How exactly are the dependent and independent variables constructed? The *endogenous concept (dependent variable)* for this research project is the extent to which reform implementation is successful. Successful reform implementation is understood as Roma-related goal achievement displayed in the EU monitoring documents. Goal achievement is understood as change of the status quo in favor of the Roma inclusion policy. The *exogenous concept (independent variable)* is the extent to which EU performance measuring is transparent. Transparency is understood as the extent to which EU monitoring flagships reform needs related to Roma. This logic follows de Bruijn's assumption that "what gets measured gets done" (de Bruijn 2007:10). *Illustration 2* shows that each concepts is represented by a dependent variable (DV1–3) and an independent variable (IV1–3) respectively. Two sets of measurements measure these variables. IM1-3 measures the independent variable and DM1-3 measures the dependent variable. Also, *Illustration 2* indicates which data re-

sources the different measures employ. The following sections enumerate and explain the different variables, sets of measures and data resources in more detail.

3.3.2 Operationalizing ‘Reform implementation’. Talking about *implementation*—the endogenous concept of this study—requires a small terminological elaboration. In the context of EU reform endeavors implementation is sometimes equaled with the mere *adoption* of a reform step. However ‘adoption’ does not equal ‘implementation’. Rather, implementation means that a reform step is not only legally adopted but also practically put into practice. Chapter Two ‘Theoretical Framework’ indicated that ‘reform implementation’ is a multi-layered concept. ‘Goal achievement’ operationalizes this concept most suitably. European Semester reports provide information about the Member States’ actual goal achievement. The reports describe to what extent Member States attain reform endeavors as set out by the European Commission.

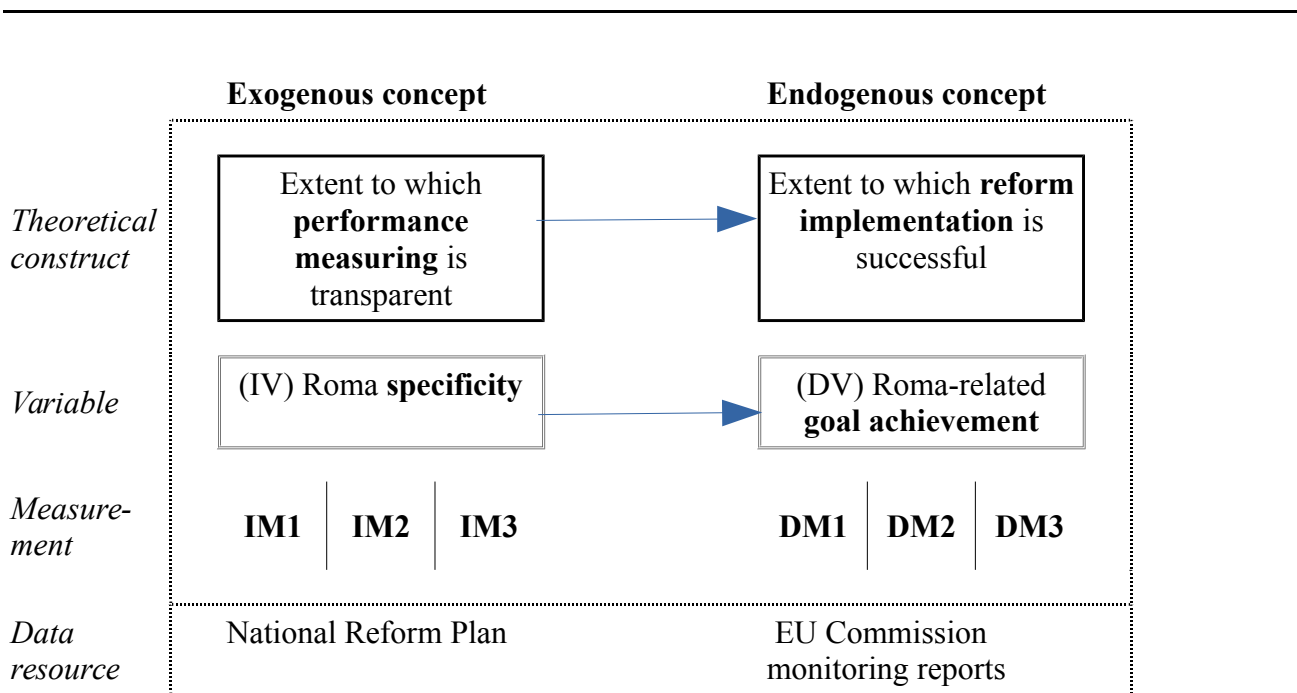


ILLUSTRATION 332. MEASURING THE VARIABLES

This paper understands goal achievement as a change of the status quo in a way that benefits the inclusion of Roma according to predefined standards (goals). In order to assess whether the selected states achieve a certain extent of reform goals related to Roma one needs to know which exact goals there are. In a pre-structured approach, the goals are inspired by the headline targets of the European Commission as set out in the Europe 2020 strategy (cf. Subsection 1.4.2): The employment goal—achieving the employment of 75% of adults by 2020; the education goal—reducing the rates of early school leaving below 10% and and at least 40% of 30-34-year-olds completing third level education by 2020; and the poverty and social exclusion goal—having at least 20 million fewer people in or at risk of poverty and social exclusion by 2020.

Accordingly goal achievement is operationalized as a set of three measures: The extent to which the three selected countries change their status quo in favor of fulfilling the *employment goal*, the *education goal* and the *poverty and social exclusion reduction goal*. The measures rely on the self-proclaimed statements published in the European Semester reports. Namely ES monitoring reports issued by the European Commission and National Reform Programmes (NRPs) issued by the Member States. The paper envisages to identify the self-proclaimed change of status quo for each of the three measures, for each of the three countries between 2011 and 2016. Illustration 2 features the three measures as DM₁, DM₂, DM₃ (*dependent variable measurement*). They go as follows:

- DM₁. Attaining the employment goal. Achieve the employment of 75% of adults by 2020.
- DM₂. Attaining the education goal. Reduce the rates of early school leaving below 10% and at least 40% of 30-34-year-olds completing third level education by 2020.
- DM₃. Attaining the poverty and social exclusion goals. Have at least 20 million fewer people in or at risk of poverty and social exclusion by 2020.

Selected states comply to reforms endeavors successfully if they improve conditions that they set out to achieve and experience no backslide over a longer period of time. A longitudinal approach is thus needed. This study proposes that the higher the level of each DM the more the goals are achieved. One has to keep in mind, that the study judges achievements of the goals only insofar as they relate to the situation of Roma. *Subsection 3.4.5* provides more insights into the way in which the single goal compliance variables are measures and coded.

3.3.3 Operationalizing quality of performance measurement. Having established an operationalization of the endogenous concept this subsection specifies the exogenous concepts that guide this study: the transparency of performance measuring. As set out in *Section 2.3 'Theoretical framework'* monitoring is proposed to have largely positive effects on reform implementation policy, and thus goal achievement. The independent variable is the extent to which monitoring endeavors of the EU are, in de Bruijn's terms (2007), transparent. The extent to which monitoring is transparent is conceptualized as the extent to which performance measuring reports are specific and explicit about Roma. This Roma specificity is operationalized as a set of three measures (IM₁₋₃).

- IM₁. Percentage of Roma in selected country per whole population of the country.

This variable takes into account the average percentage of a country's Roma population compared to the total population as of the last available census data (compare *Subsection 1.4.1*). Due to the fact that official census data are only available for the selected countries' Roma population ratio as of 2012 this variable remains stable (unchanged) for the whole analysis. It is assumed that the population of Roma in their respective countries remains stable.

- IM₂. Number of red-flags pertaining to Roma inclusion reform implementation need in one year.

This measure shows how often the terms “Roma”, “Romani”, or “Romanes” are mentioned across the European Semester reports. The idea is that these words red-flag explicitly the need for Roma inclusion measures. This variable is crucial in the sense of de Bruijn’s wording: “What gets measured gets done” (de Bruijn 2007:10). One reference of the word “Roma” is, however, is not understood as one red-flag. Rather, a whole passage which refers to Roma is counted as one red-flag. In cases where Roma are referenced even in the heading of a section, the whole section counts as one red-flag. Due to the structure of the European Semester reports, red-flags thus do not only refer to Roma, but also to specific societal themes (e.g. employment, education or poverty) and to specific monitoring tools (such as Country-Specific Recommendations or National Targets). This definition of red-flags does justice to the qualitative nature of this paper. Single words have to be seen in their textual contexts. The paper proposes that a higher amount of red-flags leads to increased Roma-related goal achievement and thus to increased Roma inclusion reform implementation.

- IM₃. Elaborateness of red-flags pertaining to Roma inclusion reform implementation need
 - Is the red-flag presented in running text or in tabular form?
 - Is need for improvement mentioned only? Or does the red-flag present achievements or concrete plans envisaged? If yes:
 - Is a deadline mentioned?
 - Are specific target values mentioned?
 - Is a responsible implementation agent mentioned?

This measure assesses how elaborate red-flags pertaining to Roma inclusion reform implementation need are. The paper proposes that a higher level of elaborateness can be understood as a more transparent form of monitoring. The more elaborate a red-flag the more it affects the Roma inclusion reform implementation positively.

This subsection introduced the main measured for the dependent and independent variables in this study. Subsection 3.4.4 ‘Analytical grid’ provides a more detailed view on on the variables’ concrete value ranges.

3.3.4 European Semester reports. This research project relies on on-line retrievable secondary data. The reports originate in the large out-put of monitoring documents of the European Union’s institutions (European Commission, Fundamental Rights Agency etc). For conducting data triangulation (cf. *Subsection 3.1.6 ‘Threats to validity’*) also data from research institutes concerned with Roma may be taken into account; for example the Center for Roma Research in Brussels. While the methodological approach of this research project is qualitative, collected data can be both qualitative and quantitative. However, it is expected that data will be mostly qualitative.

At this point it is needed to shortly point towards the distinctive features of European Semester monitoring reports, which are in the focus of analysis and which thus make this research especially strong. The European Semester (ES) is a an annually recurring period of macro-economic scrutiny

in the context of the European Union's *Europe 2020* strategy. Besides the Annual Growth Strategy Reports (AGS) central documents of this monitoring cycle are Member States' national plans on reform implementation (NRP) and European Commission monitoring reports (dubbed 'Commission Staff Working Paper (SWP), Commission Staff Working Document (SWD) or Country Report (CR) which are published twice a year by the European Commission and the Council of the EU (European Commission 2016¹). The above mentioned ES reports are the result of the institutional cooperation between the European Commission, the Council and the EU Member State governments. The European Commission describes this process as follows:

“Each year, the Commission undertakes a detailed analysis of each country's plans for budget, macroeconomic and structural reforms. It then provides EU governments with country-specific recommendations for the next 12-18 months. It also monitors EU countries' efforts towards the 'Europe 2020' targets. The Commission proposals are endorsed and formally adopted by the Council. Any policy decisions in response to the country-specific recommendations are made by the national government in question, based on whatever action they deem appropriate” (European Commission 2017²).

The European Semester encompasses the monitoring of a wide set of reform activities. One of these is the notion of improving the living conditions of Socially Excluded Communities. This is what makes the European Semester reports an interesting unit of observation. Chapter One showed the relevance of monitoring Roma inclusion reform implementation. Chapter Two indicated that monitoring may have a positive impact on reform implementation. Large parts of European Semester reports document exactly this form of monitoring. Hence, to the extent that European Semester reports pertain to marginalized communities inclusion monitoring, and within, to the Roma inclusion monitoring, these reports count as data for this research project. Considering reports issued both by the Commission and the national governments for all three selected Member States that are to be assessed in the period of six years the European semester provides a dataset of about 36 monitoring reports. Apart from the European Semester canon there is also a number of monitoring reports that focuses explicitly on Roma. Quite obviously, a large amount of data is available to ensure a small-stepped longitudinal evaluation of monitoring on Roma inclusion reform implementation. This paper pays special attention to the way in which monitoring reports refer back reform implementation statements of Roma inclusion policy.

This section presents the technicalities of data collection. *Subsection 3.4.1* starts off with a short reflection on theoretical implications of data collection together with notions about data validity. *Subsection 3.4.2* introduces the logic of coding. *Subsection 3.4.3* deals with the process of categorizing relevant data. *Subsection 3.4.4* provides a concrete template of the case coding grids also it elaborates on the measurement of variables.

3.4.1 Collecting Data. This research project relies on data acquired from document and content analysis. The main data sources of this project are qualitative monitoring reports. That said, quasi-statistical approaches are not to be precluded from the outset. Reports monitoring the prevalence or non-prevalence of measures relating to Roma inclusion reforms, for example, feature useful binary

data sets (yes/no). However, the main analysis follows qualitative approaches. Maxwell (2009) stresses that data collection and data analysis take place simultaneously. Also the choice of analytical approaches may be adjusted during the research process.

Data collection runs the risk of aggregation issues. Because a large amount of data is gathered from various reports, data might be aggregated and processed invalidly. This is why outside-checks are needed. This paper backs up findings with data from institutions other than the EU in order to ensure data validity. Also the researcher's personal subjectivity might blur the findings. Having conducted the data collection the data analysis follows. Analysis may be conducted once again some time later, ideally by a second "researcher" or the author himself. By redoing analysis measurement errors or other research irregularities become transparent.

3.4.2 Coding. The process of defining (and forecasting) sets of words as indicators for variables is called coding. Maxwell mentions three possible coding strategies in qualitative analysis: *categorizing*, *connecting* and *memos and displays* (Maxwell 2009). Categorizing refers to the process of re-grouping data in different categories that reflect either pre-assumed similarities (e.g., all data pertaining to one Member State) or "fractures" deduced from theory. (Maxwell 2009). Connecting approaches analyze the "narrative" character of the textual data allowing to retain and interpret the relations between various elements of retrieved information. Finally, memo and display techniques are a form of administering micro-insights gained from analyzing data pieces. These memos can be collected and set in a relation to each other making visible one's ideas. Computer-based programs of document analysis, such as Atlas.ti may be applied (Maxwell 2009). Atlas.ti is a coding tool. It allows to search documents systematically and to code and save qualitative contents.

3.4.3 Categorizing. European Semester data is freely accessible on the websites of the European Institutions. Both consilium.europa.eu and ec.europa.eu provide information about the European Semester. However, they only refer to current Semester cycles. It is worth noting that finding the data for 2011 until 2016 requires a bit of searching. The data is located on an archived web-page of the European Commission ([HTTP://EC.EUROPA.EU/EUROPE2020/MAKING-IT-HAPPEN/COUNTRY-SPECIFIC-RECOMMENDATIONS/INDEX_EN.HTM](http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/making-it-happen/country-specific-recommendations/index_en.htm)). The current Council website provides insights into the European Semester only back until 2014. The same is true for the current Commission homepage. One can assume that European Semester data dating back farther than 2014 formally lie outside the responsibility of the Commission under Jean-Claude Juncker respectively Council under Donald Tusk incumbent in the time of conducting this research study (2017).

European Semester reports serve a broad range of goals. They are to "[e]nsure sound public finances (avoiding excessive government debt), [to p]revent excessive macroeconomic imbalances in the EU [to s]upport structural reforms, to create more jobs and growth, [and to b]oost investment" (European Commission 2017²). For the aims of this research paper only some of the documents issued in the European Semester canon between 2011 and 2016 are relevant. Namely those that (1) relate to the of support structural reforms and (2) those that are issued by either the European Commission or the Member States. Consequently, all European Semester documents must be categorized according to their contents-based relevance.

The result of the categorizing process is that some European Semester documents are deemed irrelevant for analysis. They are thus not taken into account. This is true for the Stability Programmes and Convergence Plans—documents which relate mainly to the European Union’s fiscal policy. Furthermore the categorizing process yields the important distinction between documents issued by the European Commission (SWP, SWD or CR) and documents issued by the Council of the European Union. While the Commission employs a merely executive focus on monitoring, Council-issued reports also reflect the political processes of monitoring decisions. Yet, Member State constellations of the Council go beyond the focus of this research. This paper thus excludes Council reports and takes into account Commission reports only.

To sum up, Commission monitoring reports —providing the whole picture of Member States policy implementation—are the data basis for running the dependent variable. The Member States’ National Reform Programmes—depicting tangible Roma-related red-flags—are the data set for running the independent variable. *Appendix A.1* provides the details of this categorizing process.

3.4.4 Analytical grid. Having established the type and number of documents of analysis it is crucial to employ analytical grids for further analysis. This guarantees the reproducibility of this research. It also provides a structured approach toward uniform data collection according to rules established beforehand. Every variable may feature an analytical grid. *Table 344* exemplifies an analytical grid for ‘goal achievement’.

TABLE 344. EXAMPLE GRID. GOAL ACHIEVEMENT [MEMBER STATE N.N.] 2011-2016.

		National targets					
Baseline		2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
2008	2009						
Employment (%)							
Education (%)							
a) drop-outs							
Education (%)							
b) tertiary educ.							
Poverty (mil.)							
		Country-Specific Recommendation					
baseline		2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
2008	2009						
Employment							
Education							
Poverty							

The table provides spaces for writing down the respective variable's measurement values for each year. Within intra-case assessment (Section 4.1) every country (case) may have its own set of analytical grids. Section 4.2 'Cross-case relations' may feature all three cases in one set of tables.

3.4.5 Measurement values. The different measures for the dependent and independent variables may have different parameter values. The independent variables feature ratios, numbers or qualities relating to the transparency, i.e. Roma-relatedness of performance measurement in the time form 2011 until 2016. According to theory, these variables must be derived from documents which feature Roma needs red-flags, i.e. the National Reform Programmes.

IM1. The percentage of Roma per whole population of a country (p) is drawn from a separate 2012 CoE census data reports (Council of Europe 2012). As discussed in *Subsection 3.3.3* it is assumed that this variable remains stable for all assessed cases throughout the analysis. p may take values between 0 and 100. With p=0 meaning that the Roma make out no part of the country's whole population, and p>0 Roma make out p% out of the country's whole population.

IM2. The number of red-flags (n) is drawn from Roma-related passages of ES monitoring reports. Values for n range from zero to hundred with n=0 meaning that the term "Roma" is not mentioned at all, and n>0 meaning that Roma-specific passages can be found n times throughout the whole document. Since n is an absolute number it can be compared with other cases' n-values to a limited extent. Yet IM2 gives a hunch of how the number of Roma-specific references varies in one case from year to year.

IM3. The elaborateness of red-flags (e) is measured by a set of eight sub-points comparable to a survey. Values for this variable can either be yes (y; sub-point is given) or no (n; sub-point is not given). The sub-points IM3.1 till 3.8 are *distinct Roma reference* (IM3.1), *distinct thematic reference* (IM3.2), *distinct monitoring tool reference* (IM3.3), *comparability* (IM3.4), *scope* (IM3.5), *termination* (IM3.6), *distinct measurement* (IM3.7) and *distinct agency* (IM3.8). To what extent each sub-point measures elaborateness, and thus transparency, is elaborated on as follows:

- **IM3.1 Distinct Roma reference.** *Red-flag refers to Roma: explicitly or implicitly respectively mainly or not-mainly.* Only text passages dedicated to Roma count as red-flags. The extent to which the passage mentions Roma is a characteristic of its red-flag elaborateness. Red-flags may mention Roma *explicitly* ('Roma', 'Romanes', 'Romani') or *implicitly* ('[ethnic minority]', '[most] vulnerable ethnic group', '[people whose] mothertongue [is not official language]'). Further, red-flags may mention Roma *mainly* if no other group is addressed or mentioned. Or it may mention Roma *not-mainly*, i.e. they enumerate Roma *pari passu* with other disadvantaged groups (low-income families, people with disabilities, women etc.). The more explicitly and the more exclusively Roma are mentioned the more elaborate, and thus more transparent, is Roma-related monitoring.
- **IM3.2 Distinct thematic reference.** *Red-flag refers to specific societal goal or target (employment/ education/ poverty [y]/ neither or indistinct [n]).* Knowing the specific societal target of a red-flag makes it more concrete, and the potential measure related to it more

transparent. Even if sometimes themes overlap (e.g the relation between children's hampered access to education and their families' poverty and social exclusion) red-flags are marked as distinct, if they clearly point towards thematic interrelations.

- **IM3.3 Distinct monitoring tool reference.** *Red-flag refers to specific monitoring tool (NT or CSR or other [y] / none [n]).* A red-flag is more elaborate, and thus more transparent, if it conveys clearly the exact European Monitoring tool it relates to. Either Country-Specific Recommendations (CSR) or National Targets (NT) are possible tools.
- **IM3.4 Comparability.** *Red-flag is presented in form of a table (y/n).* Red-flags in tables are more elaborate, and thus more transparent, than red-flags conveyed in a running text. Tabular information about Roma-specific needs and measures can be assessed and compared more easily. Tables thus contribute to the elaborateness, and thus transparency of red-flags.
- **IM3.5 Scope.** *Red-flag states more than need for change, eg. reports achievements, future plans etc. (y/n).* The more red-flags propose envisaged measures, plans or past achievements, the more elaborate they are.
- **IM3.6 Termination.** *Red-flag prescribes a deadline (y/n).* A red-flag which terminates a Roma-related measure can be followed more easily. The extent to which termination is given (y/n) makes a red-flag more elaborate, and thus, more transparent.
- **IM3.7 Distinct measurement.** *Red-flag defines target value(s) (y/n).* A red-flag which defines target values for Roma-related goal achievement is more elaborate than a red-flag without defined target values. Target values are statements of envisaged outcome conditions. In that way target values make it easier for implementers to address the need voiced in the red-flag.
- **IM3.8 Distinct agency.** *Red-flag defines the institution responsible for implementation (y/n).* A red-flag which defines the implementing institution creates responsibility in the implementing agent. Red-flags with defined agency are thus more elaborate than those without defined agency.

Note that the value *yes* in the sub-point *IM3.5 Scope* may render further entries (other than *no*) in the following sub-points IM3.6 till IM3.8 illogic and thus impossible: A red-flag which does not state more than the need for change cannot comprise as detailed characteristics as put forward in IM3.6 till IM3.8. In the same way reporting a past achievement does not require to mention termination measurement or agency.

DMI-3. The dependent variables relate to the monitoring reports issued by the European Commission, which refer to and comprise Member States' goal achievement for every year in the time from 2011 until 2016. The data collection for the dependent measurement differentiates data that relates to the implementation of Country-Specific Recommendations (CSR) from data that relates to the implementation of National Targets under the Europe 2020 Strategy (NT). However, for assess-

ing a country’s overall state of Roma inclusion reform implementation both data sets contribute jointly and equally.

Data collected for CSR implementation is coded. These codes vary on the parameters *progress achieved (+)*, *situation unchanged (=)*, *situation is worse than before (-)*, *no data (X)*. This kind of shorthand is employed because statements about goal achievements are often put in a qualitative manner. In contrast to that, data collected for NT achievements is coded differently: Because goal achievement here is measured with percentages or absolute numbers, the original numerics are provided in the analysis grid.

Filling in the measurement values into the analysis grid requires chronological considerations: One needs to compare the situation (status quo) of one year with that of the previous year (status quo ante). The previous value is thus always the baseline (*b*) for the following year of analysis. The European Commission monitoring reports comprise this comparisons in Overview Tables. Data provided outside these tables (e.g. in footnotes or annexes) is not primarily taken into account. The idea is that overview tables themselves should provide sufficient information for following up the implementation process. In terms of coding of the data

	2008	...
employment	1.6 ₁₂	...
...

Coding ‘chronology’

collection reflects these chronological considerations in the following way: All measurement values are indexed with a shorthand of year dates ranging from ₁₁ till ₁₆. The indexes refer to the year in which the measurement value was reported. As example let’s take the measurement value 1.6₁₂, being located in *table row ‘employment’* x *table column ‘2008’*. This entry denotes that goal achievement evidence for the sphere of employment for 2008 is provided by a country’s 2012 report with the concrete value of 1.6. Similarly (+)₁₂ would denote evidence for *progressive* goal achievement evidence provided in a country’s 2012 report.

Only to a limited extent, data collection takes into account passages which are not Roma-specific. Europe 2020 Headline Targets—and thus countries’ National Targets which are geared at these—are understood as Roma-specific automatically. *Subsection 3.3.2 Operationalizing ‘Reform implementation’* justified this methodological step. Country-Specific Recommendations, however, are taken into account only if they relate to Roma explicitly. Passages relevant for measuring Roma-specific goal achievement qualify by three sets of key words (put in italics):

- 1) The passage focuses on *Roma*, *most vulnerable* or *minority* groups or people whose *mother tongue* is *not* the state language.
- 2) The passage refers to *national targets* or *country-specific recommendations* relating to employment (DM1), education (DM2) or poverty and social exclusion (DM3) respectively.
- 3) The passage states the *progress/* state of goal achievement explicitly or implicitly by using a past or present tense but no future tense.

This chapter provided important methodological implications of this research paper. Building on the theoretical framework established in Chapter Two it explained and justified the holistic multiple-case approach of the research design employed. The study proposes that the transparency of monitoring affects positively the implementation of Roma inclusion related reforms in the given period of time. Furthermore, it became clear that in this research design cases are countries: Three European Union Member States from Central and Eastern Europe function as units of analysis. The dependent and independent variables are operationalized as ‘goal achievement’ and, respectively, as ‘Roma specificity of performance measurement’. The variables vary on important dimensions. Finally, this chapter explained the European Semester reports as main data resource and pointed to data collection methods employed.

4 Analysis

This chapter presents the analysis of the different cases and compares them with respect to the two subquestions of the main research question (SQ1 and SQ2). Section 4.1 ‘Intra-case compliance’ presents the selected country data case by case eventually answering SQ1. Section 4.2 ‘Cross-case relations’ compares the three cases with each other eventually answering SQ2.

4.1 Intra-case assessment

This section describes for each country for the time between 2011 and 2016 the development of and variation in both the dependent variable ‘Roma-related goal achievement’ and the independent variable ‘Roma specificity of ES reports’. For the *dependent variable* this section describes (1) the goals of the Roma inclusion reform as set out by the EU and reflected in the Commission-issued monitoring reports and (2) the extent to which the country self-acclaims changes of its status quo in favor of fulfilling these goals. The development of countries’ goal achievement is described over time. Which trends emerge? Which chronology do the Commission-issued monitoring reports follow? For the *independent variable* this section describes Roma specificity of the measures set out in the National Reform Programmes published in the canon of the European Semester. To that end the measures described in Section 3.3 ‘Operationalization’ are employed. At the end of this section the description of each case is completed and Subquestion One (SQ1) is thus answered: *What were the reforms considered necessary for the selected states and how were they monitored in the period between 2011 and 2016?*

4.1.1 Bulgaria

This subsection presents the case assessment of the Republic of Bulgaria (Bulgarian: Република България, Romanes: Republika Bulgariya). The total population of Bulgaria in 2012 amounted to 7,543,325 inhabitants with an estimate of 750,000 people of Roma origin. The average estimate of Roma citizens in Bulgaria makes out 9.94% of the total population (CoE 2012). All reports considered necessary for analysis (as set out in Section 3.4 Data Collection) were available and accessible in English language versions. The following sections feature retrieved data for the dependent variable measurement (DM) under the subheading ‘Goal achievement (2011-2016)’. Data retrieved for

the independent variable measurement (IM) is presented under the subheading ‘Roma specificity of monitoring (2011-2016)’.

Goal achievement (2011-2016). This paragraph presents the Roma inclusion reform goals of Bulgaria as reflected in the Commission-issued monitoring reports SWP (2011), SWD (2012-2014) and CR (2015 and 2016). Bulgaria has pledged to follow up National Targets (NT) and Country-Specific Recommendations (CSR), both of which contain records of Roma inclusion reform goal achievements. In terms of both NT and CSR, Bulgaria’s commitments to Roma inclusion reforms are geared towards the three *Europe 2020 Headline Targets* ‘employment’, ‘education’ and ‘poverty reduction’ (cf. *Subsection 1.4.2*). With respect to these targets, Bulgaria between 2011 and 2016 envisaged the following National Targets:

EMPLOYMENT. National Target 1: Reaching 76% employment of the population aged 20-64 by 2020.

EDUCATION. National Target 4: (a) 11% share of the early school leavers by 2020, and (b) a 36% share of the people aged 30-34 with higher education by 2020.

POVERTY REDUCTION. National Target 5: Reducing the number of people living in poverty by 260 thousand (baseline 1 630 000 [cf. SWD Bulgaria 2013]).

Interestingly, Bulgaria’s National Targets differ from the Europe 2020 Headline Targets in some important dimensions: Concerning the employment of adults Bulgaria’s target value of 76% was one percentage point more ambitious than the Europe 2020 Headline target. Concerning the education goal Bulgaria was 1 p.p. more ambitious when it came to achieving reduced rates of early school-leaving (11% compared to 10% Europe 2020 Headline Target); however Bulgaria envisaged a 4 p.p. lower increase in 30-34-year-olds completing third level education (36% compared to 40% Europe 2020 Headline Target). Concerning the poverty reduction goal Bulgaria’s envisaged target value for reducing the number of people living in risk of poverty and social exclusion differs largely from the Europe 2020 Headline target (260 thousand compared to 20 million fewer).

With respect to the three societal areas *employment*, *education* and *poverty reduction* Bulgaria envisaged to implement Country-Specific Recommendations, whose wording and contents-based focus vary over time of publication:

EMPLOYMENT. **2011:** none. **2012:** CSR5—[...] Take measures for modernising public employment services to enhance their capacity to match skills profiles with labour market demand; and focusing support on young people with low skills. **2013:** CSR3—Accelerate the implementation of the national Youth Employment Initiative. Ensure that the minimum thresholds for social security contributions do not discourage declared work. Step up efforts to improve the Public Employment Service’s performance. [...]. **2014:** CSR3—[...] Ensure concrete delivery of the National Strategies on Poverty and Roma integration. **2015:** CSR3—Improve the efficiency of the Employment Agency by developing a performance monitoring system and better targeting the most vulnerable, such as low-skilled and elderly workers, the long-term unemployed and Roma. Extend the coverage and effectiveness of active labour market policies to match the profiles of

job-seekers, and reach out to non registered young people who are not in employment, education or training, in line with the objectives of a youth guarantee. Improve the effective coverage of unemployment benefits and social assistance and their links with activation measures. Take forward the comprehensive review of minimum thresholds for social security contributions so as to make sure that the system does not price the low-skilled out of the labour market. Establish, in consultation with social partners, transparent guidelines for the adjustment of the statutory minimum wages taking into account the impact on employment and competitiveness. In order to alleviate poverty, further improve the accessibility and effectiveness of social services and transfers for children and older people. **2016:** CSR3—Develop an integrated approach for groups at the margin of the labour market, in particular older workers and young people not in employment, education or training. In consultation with the social partners and in accordance with national practices, establish a transparent mechanism for setting the minimum wage and minimum social security contributions in the light of their impact on in-work poverty, job creation and competitiveness.

EDUCATION. **2011:** *none*. **2012:** CSR5—[...] Advance the educational reform by adopting a Law on Pre-School and School Education and a new Higher Education Act by mid-2012. [...]. **2013:** CSR4—Speed up the reform of relevant legal acts on schools and higher education and of accompanying measures by focusing on modernising curricula, improving teacher training, and ensuring effective access to education for disadvantaged groups. [...]. **2014:** CSR4—[...] Improve access to inclusive education for disadvantaged children, in particular Roma. [...]. **2015:** CSR4—Adopt the School Education Act and pursue the reforms of vocational and higher education in order to increase the level and relevance of skills acquired at all levels, while fostering partnerships between educational institutions and business with a view to better aligning outcomes to labour market needs. Strengthen the quality of vocational education and training institutions and improve access to lifelong learning. Step up efforts to improve access to quality inclusive pre-school and school education of disadvantaged children, in particular Roma, and implement strictly the rules linking the payment of child allowance to participation in education. **2016:** CSR4—Adopt the reform of the School Education Act, and increase the participation in education of disadvantaged children, in particular Roma, by improving access to good-quality early schooling.

POVERTY REDUCTION. **2011:** *none*. **2012:** CSR5—Take steps to address the challenge of combating poverty and promoting social inclusion, especially for vulnerable groups facing multiple barriers [...]. **2013:** CSR3—[...] To alleviate poverty, improve the effectiveness of social transfers and the access to quality social services for children and the elderly and implement the National Roma Integration Strategy. **2014:** *none*. **2015:** *none*. **2016:** *none*.

The CSRs for each *employment*, *education* and *poverty reduction* differ in wording, elaborateness and text length. There are no CSRs available for the year 2011 and—in the case of the poverty reduction goal—neither for 2014-2016. Throughout the years major reform implementation targets were, among others, the modernization of the Employment Agency (EMPLOYMENT 2012, 2013 till 2015) and an educational reform (EDUCATION 2012, 2013 and 2015).

The extent to which National Targets and Country-Specific Recommendations were reported as implemented varies across years and, most of all, between NT-type and CSR-type targets. The following table shows Bulgaria's goal achievements as reported within the European Commission reports. The table head features year dates from 2008 till 2016 which refer to the time of achievement. In some instances reports from different years reported differing values. In such cases the values which were quoted more often by other year reports were taken preferably. It seemed practical to do this since goal achievement values are to provide a notion of the whole state of Roma inclusion reform implementation. To that end the picture should not be too fragmented. However, all (double or deviating) values for goal achievement may be gleaned from *Appendix A.2*. In case of their contributing to the analysis, deviating values are also discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

TABLE 411-1. GOAL ACHIEVEMENT BULGARIA 2011-2016, NT.

<i>Time of achievement</i>	National targets							
	Baseline		2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
	2008	2009						
Employment (%)		65.4	62.9 _{14, 15}	63.0 ₁₄	63.5 _{14, 15}	65.1 ₁₆	X	X
Education (%) a) drop-outs		14.7	11.8 ₁₃	12.5 ₁₃	12.5 _{14, 15}	12.9 ₁₆	X	X
Education (%) b) tertiary educ.		27.9	27.3 ₁₃	26.9 ₁₃	29.4 _{14, 15}	30.9 ₁₆	X	X
Poverty (mil.)	1.632 ₁₂	3.5	3.693 ₁₃	1.559 _{14, 15}	X	1.578 ₁₆	X	X

Table 411-1 shows that National Targets and Country-Specific Recommendations account in different ways for Roma inclusion reform implementation. While Bulgaria's National Target reports cover the time from 2009 till 2014 (five European Semester circles of monitoring), Bulgaria's Country-Specific Recommendations report reform implementation between 2011 and 2015 (four European Semester circles of monitoring). Hence, the baseline for interpreting reform implementation progress for National Targets (2009) lies two years earlier than that of Country-Specific recommendations (2011). Over the time of observation Bulgaria's National Targets reported successful goal achievement for two employment targets (2013, 2014), four education targets (type [a] 2010, 2011; type [b] 2013, 2014) and for two poverty reduction targets (2010, 2012). All National Targets (except for the Poverty Target) depict reform back-steps in 2012.

To be sure, National Targets' goal achievement records also show certain irregularities. For the percentage of adults in employment in 2011, the 2013 report depicts a goal achievement value which in subsequent reports differs by one digit (63.9 vs. 62.9, *Appendix A.2.1*). Most likely this difference results from a typing error in the 2013 report because the later reports "quote" the percentage of adults in employment only as '63.9%'. Consequently the more often quoted value is employed in this analysis. Another peculiarity of the 2013 report relates to goal achievement interpretation in the running text: The report acclaims 63.9% of Bulgarian adults in employment as progress even

though previous years indicated higher values (65.4% in 2009 and 2010). Such contradictory self-attribution of reform success was also noticed for Education Target b) in the 2012 report and in two instances for the Poverty Reduction Target in the 2011 and 2013 reports (cf. *Appendix A.2*). The validity of the National Target relating to poverty reduction must be seriously questioned: The number of people in the risk of living in poverty appears to oscillate between about 1.5 and 3.5 million people alternately. Data aggregation issue may be the reason for this. Lastly, the reports published in 2015 provide goal achievement statements only for the year 2013. These records, however, are already mentioned by the 2014 report.

TABLE 411-2. GOAL ACHIEVEMENT BULGARIA 2011-2016, CSR.

<i>Time of achievement</i>	Country-Specific Recommendation					
	baseline 2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Employment	(+/=) ₁₂	(=) ₁₃	(=) ₁₄	(=) ₁₅	(=) ₁₆	X
Education	(+/=) ₁₂	(=) ₁₃	(=) ₁₄	(=) ₁₅	(+) ₁₆	X
Poverty	(+/=) ₁₂	(=) ₁₃	X	X	X	X

Except for the baseline year 2011, where goals were partially achieved, Roma inclusion goal achievement based on the Country-Specific Recommendations report reform progress only in one instance: Namely when in 2015 the educational reform was achieved (adoption of the School Education Act). Similarly to the National Targets, the sphere of poverty reduction is covered deficiently also in terms of CSRs; Recommendations for the years 2013-2016 are lacking.

The assessment of Bulgaria's Roma-specific goal achievement between 2011 and 2014 resulted in two important implications. Firstly, both NT and CSR report the lack of progress in Roma inclusion goal achievement. The National Targets were reported as achieved in 6 of 16 instances. Furthermore, between 2011 and 2014, 5 of 16 National Targets were reported as back-step. Between 2011 and 2015 Bulgaria, more often than not, reported the CSRs as not achieved. An exception of that is the Education Recommendation in 2015. Secondly, as becomes evident from the measurement values' indexes, NT and CSR employ different chronologies in reporting goal achievement. Section 4.2.1 'Monitoring chronology' discusses the implications of this phenomenon in more detail.

Roma specificity of monitoring (2011-2016). This section provides an assessment of Roma specificity of the measures set out in Bulgaria's National Reform Programmes published in the canon of the European Semester. The way in which Roma are put on the respective national agenda is of central importance in this section. Therefore it first provides some notions about the National Reform Programme's choice of words. Afterwards it provides an overview about the (non-) prevalence of the quantifiable measurement indicator values (IM₂, IM_{3.1-8}).

In talking about Roma and in addressing Roma issues, Bulgaria's National Reform Programmes refer to the group of Roma both explicitly and implicitly. Explicit mention defines by using the word

“Roma” or derivations of it (Romanes, Romani). However, Bulgaria also implicitly refers to Roma by the words ‘[people] “from ethnic minorities”’ (e.g. Appendix A.3 BG-2016: #5). The high frequency of this word combination is unique for the Bulgarian case. The plural form of the word ‘minority’ implies that Roma may be included in this group. However, also other relevant ethnic minorities of Bulgaria’s are targeted. This choice of words underlines that in Bulgaria inclusion reforms for socially excluded communities do target Roma; but not exclusively.

Table 411-3 describes the number of Roma-specific red-flags (IM₂) and the elaborateness of these (IM₃) on a glance. The table head features the NRPs’ publication years.

Distinctive monitoring features qua indicator. Between 2011 and 2016 the number of red-flags per report varies: While the reports of 2011 and 2012 feature only five respectively six passages with Roma-specific needs, 2013 has eight red-flags. The reports of 2014-2016 mention Roma needs not under ten times per report. There is thus an increased tendency in Bulgaria’s monitoring reports to put Roma needs on the agenda of the Europe 2020 Strategy for Inclusive Growth. However, while the number of Roma-related passages increases until 2015, the extent to which these red-flags distinctly refer to Roma decreases from 2012 until 2016: In 2013 and 2014 more than half of all red-flags mentioned Roma explicitly and exclusively. In 2015 and 2016 less than half of the red-flags referred in such distinct way to Roma.

TABLE 411-3. ROMA-SPECIFICITY BULGARIA 2011-2016.

<i>Report published in (year)</i>	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
IM₂ Number of red-flags	5	6	8	11	19	10
IM₃ Elaborateness of red-flags						
3.3 <i>Roma reference</i>	1/5	6/6	6/8	7/11	7/19	4/10
3.1 <i>Thematic reference</i>	5/5	6/6	6/8	9/11	14/19	9/10
3.2 <i>Monitoring tool reference</i>	4/5	6/6	8/8	11/11	12/19	9/10
3.4 <i>Comparability</i>	3/5	3/6	2/8	3/11	0/19	4/10
3.5 <i>Scope</i>	2/5	6/6	7/8	8/11	16/19	8/10
3.6 <i>Termination</i>	4/4	2/2	5/6	5/5	4/9	5/8
3.7 <i>Measurement</i>	1/4	2/2	4/6	5/5	6/9	7/8
3.8 <i>Agency</i>	3/4	1/2	4/6	3/5	5/9	2/8

Distinctive monitoring findings qua year. The fact that year report 2011 provides the fewest Roma-relevant passages may be traced back to its being the very beginning of European Semester monitoring. While the following year report (2012) provides only one additional red-flag more, the extent to which passages explicitly and exclusively relate to Roma increased noticeably (1/5 in 2011 vs. 6/6 in 2012).

In 2014 the number of people in employment was increased (from 63.5% to 65.1%) and also the share of people aged 30-34 with higher education increased (from 29.4% to 30.9%). Yet, 2014 also

shows two back-steps: The share of early school leavers increased from 12.5% (2013) to 12.9% in 2014, turning its back on the 11%-margin envisaged for 2020. Also the number of people living in the risk of poverty slightly increased compared to 2012.

The year 2015 can be considered a peculiarity in terms of indicator IM3.4 ‘Comparability’: While all other year reports provide both running text and tables (and sometimes, a sort of in-between: bullet points), the 2015 report contains no single table. This is why zero out of 19 red-flags are reported as comparable. Indeed, the exceptionally high number of red-flags may be owing to the absence of tabled data.

Distinctive monitoring findings qua year. Out of all monitoring years in the time span of observation, the year 2012 achieves the highest possible values for red-flag elaborateness in all monitoring indicators (IM3.1-8), except for IM3.6 ‘Termination’ and IM3.8 ‘Agency’. However, also those indicators denominate monitoring elaborateness as positive in at least half of all relevant red-flag instances.

This subsection assessed the reported results of Bulgaria’s goal achievement and the extent to which its monitoring efforts were Roma-specific and therefore transparent. This answers Subquestion SQ1 *What were the reforms considered necessary for the selected states and how were they monitored in the period between 2011 and 2016?* for Bulgaria. The southern-most EU Member State of this analysis showed to achieve Roma-related goal achievement rather by means of aiming at its National Targets, than at its Country-Specific Recommendations. Between 2011 and 2016 Bulgaria reported about as many goal achievements (6) as back-steps (5). Monitoring was the most transparent in 2012, the most Roma-related red-flags per year were counted in 2015.

4.1.2 Czech Republic.

This subsection presents the case assessment of the Czech Republic (Czech: Česká republika, Romanes: Republika Chexiya). The total population of the Czech Republic in 2012 amounted to 10,525,090 inhabitants with an estimate of 200,000 people of Roma origin. The average estimate of Roma citizens in the Czech Republic makes out 1.90% of the total population (CoE 2012). Most of the reports considered necessary for analysis (as set out in *Section 3.4 Data Collection*) were available and accessible in English language versions. However, in two instances appendices were available only in Czech. This resulted in a smaller number of red-flags counted for the independent measurement ‘Roma specificity’. The following sections feature retrieved data for the dependent variable measurement (DM) under the subheading ‘Goal achievement (2011-2016)’. Data retrieved for the independent variable measurement (IM) is presented under the subheading ‘Roma specificity of monitoring (2011-2016)’.

Goal achievement (2011-2016). This paragraph presents the Roma inclusion reform goals of the Czech Republic as reflected in the Commission-issued monitoring reports SWP (2011), SWD (2012-2014) and CR (2015 and 2016). The Czech Republic has pledged to follow up National Targets (NT) and Country-Specific Recommendations (CSR), both of which contain records of Roma inclusion reform goal achievements. In terms of both NT and CSR, the Czech Republic’s commit-

ments to Roma inclusion reforms are geared towards the three *Europe 2020 Headline Targets* ‘employment’, ‘education’ and ‘poverty reduction’ (cf. *Subsection 1.4.2*). With respect to these targets, the Czech Republic between 2011 and 2016 envisaged the following National Targets:

EMPLOYMENT. *Employment rate (20-64): 75%; with sub-targets for different categories of the most vulnerable.*

EDUCATION. National Target 4: (a) *Early school leaving: 5.5%*, and (b) *tertiary education attainment: 32%*

POVERTY REDUCTION. *Reduction in number of people in or at risk of poverty or exclusion: Maintaining the number of persons at risk of poverty or social exclusion at the level of 2008, with efforts to reduce it by 30,000.*

The Czech Republic’s employment target is congruent with the overall Europe 2020 Headline Target of achieving at least 75% employments of all adults in the country. Both the education goal and the poverty reduction goal of the Czech Republic aim at lower values than the Europe 2020 Headline Targets: Reducing the number of early school-leavers to 5.5% (EU 10%) and having at least 32% of the 30-34 year-olds attain tertiary education (EU 40%). The Czech Republic aims to reduce by 2020 the number of people in or at risk of poverty by 30,000 (EU 20,000,000).

With respect to the three societal areas *employment*, *education* and *poverty reduction* the Czech Republic envisaged to implement Country-Specific Recommendations, whose wording and contents-based focus vary over time of publication:

EMPLOYMENT. **2011:** *none*. **2012:** CSR4—Improve the performance of the public employment service in order to increase the quality and effectiveness of training, job search assistance and individualised services, linking funding of the programmes to results. In cooperation with stakeholders, extend tailor-made training programmes for older workers, young people, low-skilled workers and other vulnerable groups. **2013:** *none*. **2014:** CSR4—Take additional efforts to strengthen the efficiency and effectiveness of the public employment service. Increase significantly the availability of inclusive childcare facilities with a focus on children up to three years old, and the participation of Roma children, notably by adopting and implementing the law on provision of childcare services and strengthening the capacities of both public and private childcare services. **2015:** *none*. **2016:** *none*.

EDUCATION. **2011:** *none*. **2012:** *none*. **2013:** *none*. **2014:** *none*. **2015:** CSR5—Ensure that the accreditation, governance and financing of higher education contribute to improving its quality and labour market relevance. Accelerate the development and introduction of a new methodology for evaluating research and allocating funding in view of increasing the share of performance-based funding of research institutions. In compulsory education, make the teaching profession more attractive, implement a comprehensive evaluation framework and support schools and pupils with poor outcomes. Increase the inclusiveness of education, in particular by promoting the participation of socially

disadvantaged and Roma children in particular in early childhood education. **2016:** CSR4—Adopt the higher education reform. Ensure adequate training for teachers, support poorly performing schools and take measures to increase participation among disadvantaged children, including Roma.

POVERTY REDUCTION. 2011: none. 2012: none. 2013: none. 2014: none. 2015: none. 2016: none.

The CSRs for each *employment*, *education* and *poverty reduction* differ in wording, elaborateness and text length. Throughout 2011 till 2016 there were no CSRs published whatsoever for the societal sphere of poverty reduction. Needs for Roma-related policy improvements are addressed by CSRs that relate to either the employment goal (2012 and 2014) or the education goal (2015 and 2016). Throughout the years major reform implementation targets were, among others, the reform of public service employment and the envisaged adoption of an education law.

The extent to which National Targets and Country-Specific Recommendations were reported as implemented varies across years and, most of all, between NT-type and CSR-type targets. The following table shows the Czech Republic's goal achievements as reported within the European Commission reports.

TABLE 412-1. GOAL ACHIEVEMENT CZECH REPUBLIC 2011-2016, NT.

	National targets							
	Baseline		2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
	2008	2009						
Employment (%)		70.9 ₁₂	70.9 _{12, 13}	71.5 ₁₃	72.5 ₁₄	73.9 ₁₅	75.1 ₁₆	
Education (%) a) drop-outs		5.9 ₁₁	X	5.5 ₁₃	5.4 _{14, 15}	5.5 ₁₆	X	
Education (%) b) tertiary educ.		17.5 _{11,1} 2	X	25.6 ₁₃	26.7 _{14, 15}	28.2 ₁₆	X	X
Poverty (%/mil.)	1.566 ₁₂	X	15.3% ₁₃	X	1.580 _{14, 15}	1.532 ₁₄	X	

The Czech Republic's national target of achieving 75% employment of its total working age population was achieved in 2015 (75.1%). From 2011 till 2015 the share of people employed had increased continuously: 70.9% employed in 2011, 71.5% in 2012 and 72.5% in 2013.

As regarding the Czech Republic's education targets, the drop-out rate of youths who leave school before the age of 16 had been below the EU's envisaged Europe 2020 Headline Target of 10% already in 2009 (5.9%). While 2011 is not covered by the data retrieved, the years from 2012 onwards indicate values around 5.5%. The first of the Czech Republic's two education targets can thus be considered achieved since 2012.

2011 data are missing also for adults' tertiary education attainment. However, compared to the baseline value of 17.5% in 2009 the 2012 achievement of 25.6% of adults' having attained tertiary edu-

cation depicts an improvement of 8.1 p.p. within two years. From 2012 onwards the values increase, but more slowly: 26% in 2013 and 28.2% in 2014.

The number of people in or at risk of poverty amounted to 15.3% of the Czech Republic’s total population in 2011. Taking as a basis the country’s 2012 population number of 10,525090 then the absolute number of people in or at risk of poverty amounts to about 1.6 million in 2011. With about 1.5 million people in 2013 and 2014 these years feature significant decreases of this number.

Below *Table 412-3* presents the data on goal achievement reported for the Czech Republic’s four Country-Specific Recommendations between 2011 and 2016.

TABLE 412-2. GOAL ACHIEVEMENT CEZCH REPUBLIC 2011-2016, CSR.

	Country-Specific Recommendation							
	baseline		2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
	2008	2009						
Employment			(=) ₁₂		(+) ₁₄			
Education						(+) ₁₅	(=) ₁₆	
Poverty								

As described at the outset, the Czech Republic’s Country Specific Recommendations relate to the societal spheres of employment and education only. To the extent that they relate to Roma-relevant topics, Recommendations for the years 2013 (employment) and 2014 (education) are reported as achieved. Relevant CSRs were found—if at all—only once per year report (2012, 2014, 2015 and 2016).

This section drew the picture of the Czech Republic’s goal achievement on important societal dimensions of Roma inclusion as reported by the European Commission. The results were presented on the basis of two monitoring tools: Country-Specific Recommendations and National Targets. The Czech Republic fares well in implementing its national targets. Out of four CSR partially relating to Roma, two were implemented with limited success; the other two were not put into practice.

Roma specificity of monitoring (2011-2016). This section provides an assessment of Roma specificity of the measures set out in the Czech Republic’s National Reform Programmes published in the canon of the European Semester. The way in which Roma are put on the respective national agenda is of central importance in this section. Therefore it first provides some notions about the National Reform Programme’s choice of words. Afterwards it provides an overview about the (non-) prevalence of the quantifiable measurement indicator values (IM₂, IM_{3.1-8}).

The Czech Republic’s National Reform Programmes refer to Roma explicitly. Additionally, wordings including “vulnerable” are found frequently in instances in which Roma needs are red-flagged by implicit reference (e.g. “socially vulnerable persons”, Appendix A.3 CZ-2014: #2).

Table 412-3 describes the number of Roma-specific red-flags (IM₂) and the elaborateness of these (IM₃). The table head features the NRP publication years.

TABLE 412-3. ROMA-SPECIFICITY CZECH REPUBLIC 2011-2016.

<i>Report published in (year)</i>	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
IM₂ Number of red-flags	2	5	6	10	6	4
IM₃ Elaborateness of red-flags						
3.3 <i>Roma reference</i>	1/2	1/5	2/6	0/10	4/6	0/4
3.1 <i>Thematic reference</i>	0/2	4/5	3/6	7/10	5/6	3/4
3.2 <i>Monitoring tool reference</i>	0/2	1/5	2/6	7/10	5/6	3/4
3.4 <i>Comparability</i>	0/2	1/5	2/6	4/10	0/6	0/4
3.5 <i>Scope</i>	0/2	3/5	5/6	6/10	4/6	2/4
3.6 <i>Termination</i>	0/2	0/4	3/5	3/6	2/2	0/2
3.7 <i>Measurement</i>	1/2	2/4	2/5	4/6	2/2	1/2
3.8 <i>Agency</i>	0/2	0/4	3/5	4/6	1/2	1/2

Distinctive monitoring features qua indicator. Roma-related passages were found in Czech National Reform Programmes between 2011 and 2016 only from two (2011) up to maximally ten times (2014). At last in 2016, the Czech Republic scored the second lowest number of Roma references (four). The extent to which Roma were mentioned explicitly *and* exclusively (IM3.1) never exceeded more than a half of all red-flags mentioned for one year. 2015 depicts an exception to this: four out of six entries were explicitly *and* exclusively Roma-related red-flags.

Throughout the years 2011–2016 more than half of all yearly red-flags were specific about the societal sphere they related to. Only 2011 features exceptionally low values in that respect. Between 2011 and 2013 the Czech Republic scored comparably low in ‘Monitoring tool reference’ (i.e. the extent to which red-flags relate to either CSR or NT). Only from 2014 onwards the Czech Republic scores higher in this respect (seven out of ten entries in 2014, five out of six in 2015 and three out of four in 2016).

Interestingly, Czech National Reform Programmes seldom featured Roma needs in tabular form (IM3.4 ‘Comparability’). While 2011, 2015 and 2016 do not mention Roma needs or inclusion endeavors in tables only the 2014 report features a higher number of Roma red-flags in annexed tables (four out of ten entries). In terms of comparability the Czech Republic’s Roma-relevant passages score quite low.

Except for the year 2011, in all other years at least half of all red-flags reported inclusion measures (achieved or envisaged) beyond a mere need statement for changing the Roma’s situation in the Czech Republic (IM3.5 ‘Scope’). Year reports with a higher amount of red-flags also showed to report with a high scope more often. Out of all measures with a high scope published between 2013 and 2015 about half of them featured data on measures’ termination. Yet, high-scope red-flags in

2011, 2012 and 2016 do not include such information at all. Quantitative or qualitative target values were provided by about half of all high-scope red-flags between 2011 and 2016. All of 2011 and 2012 high-scope red-flags lack to indicate the agent responsible for implementing the measure. In the subsequent years at least half of all high-scope red-flags indicated agents responsible.

Distinctive monitoring factors qua year. Given the fact that Roma-related passages amount to no more than ten in one year, the Czech Republic's extent of Roma-related transparency may be considered comparably low. However, overall transparency scores vary for the different years under observation. 2011 yielded the least number of red-flags. Also all other indicators scored low. This might be related to the fact that 2011 was the first year of monitoring within the specifications of the European Semester.

The 2014 National Reform Programme showed to have the highest amount of Roma red-flags and—interestingly—the least number of instances in which red-flags referred to Roma explicitly *and* exclusively. What the raw data (cf. Annex CZ-2014) show quite clearly is that the word “Roma” in 2014 appears only once in the NRP's running text. Namely, as a quotation of the Commission-issued CSR. In all other instances the running text refers to Roma only implicitly (“socially vulnerable persons” CZ-2014: #2, “people at risk of social exclusion” CZ-2014: #3). Only in the annexed tables Roma are referred to explicitly (CZ-2014: ##7-10). While red-flags in NRP 2014 score high on all other indicators, Roma reference is almost non-existent in running text. This evokes the notion of concealing the need for Roma-inclusive measures.

Except for the fact that NRP 2015 does not provide any tabular information, it scores highest in all other transparency indicators. Yet, again reference to Roma is never explicit or exclusive at the same time. All in all, Roma specificity for the Czech Republic between 2011 and 2016 may be considered low. Even though most measures achieved or envisaged in terms of Roma inclusion were reported largely transparently.

This subsection assessed the reported results of the Czech Republic's goal achievement and the extent to which its monitoring efforts were Roma-specific and therefore transparent. This answers Subquestion SQ1 *What were the reforms considered necessary for the selected states and how were they monitored in the period between 2011 and 2016?* for the Czech Republic. The northern-most EU Member State of this analysis showed to achieve Roma-related goal achievement rather by means of aiming at its general National Targets, than at its Country-Specific Recommendations. The Roma-specificity of monitoring was on a generally low level. While the years 2013 till 2015 showed the most Roma-related red-flags, Roma-issues appear to take in a low priority.

4.1.3 Hungary.

This subsection presents the case assessment of Hungary (Hungarian: Magyarország, Romanes: Ungariya). The total population of Hungary in 2012 amounted to 10,008,703 inhabitants with an estimate of 750,000 people of Roma origin. The average estimate of Roma citizens in Hungary makes out 7.49% of the total population (CoE 2012). All reports considered necessary for analysis (as set out in Section 3.4 Data Collection) were available and accessible in English language versions. The

following sections feature retrieved data for the dependent variable measurement (DM) under the subheading ‘Goal achievement (2011-2016)’. Data retrieved for the independent variable measurement (IM) is presented under the subheading ‘Roma specificity of monitoring (2011-2016)’.

Goal achievement (2011-2016). This paragraph presents Hungary’s Roma inclusion reform goals as reflected in the Commission-issued monitoring reports SWP (2011), SWD (2012-2014) and CR (2015 and 2016). Hungary has pledged to follow up National Targets (NT) and Country-Specific Recommendations (CSR), both of which contain records of Roma inclusion reform goal achievements. In terms of both NT and CSR, Hungary’s commitments to Roma inclusion reforms are geared towards the three *Europe 2020 Headline Targets* ‘employment’, ‘education’ and ‘poverty reduction’ (cf. *Subsection 1.4.2*). With respect to these targets, Hungary between 2011 and 2016 envisaged the following National Targets:

EMPLOYMENT. *Employment rate (20-64) 75% by 2020.*

EDUCATION. a) *Early school-leaving: 10% by 2020 and b) tertiary education attainment: 30.3% by 2020.*

POVERTY REDUCTION. *450,000 people in or at risk of poverty by 2020.*

Hungary’s employment target corresponds to the general European Headline Target. Both the EU and Hungary envisage to have 75% of their adult population in employment by 2020. Furthermore, Hungary envisages to reduce the number of early school-leavers to below 10%—a target value which the EU envisages as well. However, Hungary’s 2020 goal for tertiary education attainment (30.3%) is considerably lower than the Europe 2020 Headline Target (40%). Both Hungary and the EU set out to decrease the number of people living in or at risk of poverty by a number which corresponds to round about 4% of the respective total population: Hungary—450,000 people; EU—20,000,000 people.

With respect to the three societal areas *employment*, *education* and *poverty reduction* Hungary envisaged to implement Country-Specific Recommendations, whose wording and contents-based focus vary over time of publication:

EMPLOYMENT. **2011:** *none*. **2012:** CSR4—Improve the performance of the public employment service in order to increase the quality and effectiveness of training, job search assistance and individualised services, linking funding of the programmes to results. In cooperation with stakeholders, extend tailor-made training programmes for older workers, young people, low-skilled workers and other vulnerable groups. **2013:** CSR4—[...] Implement the National Social (Roma) Inclusion Strategy, and mainstream it with other policies. **2014:** CSR4—[...] Ensure that the objective of the National Social Inclusion Strategy is mainstreamed in all policy fields in order to reduce poverty, particularly among children and Roma. **2015:** CSR4—[...] In order to alleviate poverty, implement streamlined and integrated policy measures to reduce poverty significantly, particularly among children and Roma. **2016:** *none*.

EDUCATION. **2011:** *none*. **2012:** *none*. **2013:** CSR6—Prepare and implement a national strategy on early school-leaving by ensuring adequate financing. Ensure that the implementation of the higher education reform improves access to education for disadvantaged groups. **2014:** CSR6—[...] Improve access to inclusive mainstream education, for those with disadvantages, in particular Roma. [...]. **2015:** CSR6—Implement a national strategy on early school leaving prevention with a focus on drop-outs from vocational education and training. Put in place a systematic approach to promote inclusive mainstream education for disadvantaged groups, in particular Roma. Support the transition between different stages of education and towards the labour market, and closely monitor the implementation of the vocational training reform. Implement a higher-education reform that enables greater tertiary attainment, particularly by disadvantaged students. **2016:** CSR5—Increase the participation of disadvantaged groups in particular Roma in inclusive mainstream education, and improve the support offered to these groups through targeted teacher training; strengthen measures to facilitate the transition between different stages of education and to the labour market, and improve the teaching of essential competences.

POVERTY REDUCTION. **2011:** *none*. **2012:** *none*. **2013:** *none*. **2014:** *none*. **2015:** *none*. **2016:** *none*.

Throughout 2011 till 2016 Hungary received Country-Specific Recommendations only relating to the spheres of employment (2012–2015) and education (2013–2016). Poverty reduction was not addressed by any CSR. The recommendation mainly related to improving the performance of public service providers (employment sphere) and to implementing education reforms (education sphere).

Tables 413-1 and 413-2 describe the extents to which National Targets and Country-Specific Recommendations were reported as implemented. Similar to the Czech and Bulgarian cases, National Target implementation and Country-Specific Recommendation implementation also in the Bulgarian case differ in monitoring chronology.

TABLE 413-1. GOAL ACHIEVEMENT HUNGARY 2011-2016, NT.

	National targets							
	Baseline		2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
	2008	2009						
Employment (%)		60.5 ₁₁ , 12	60.7 _{12, 14, 15} , 70.9 ₁₃	71.5 ₁₃ , 62.1 _{14, 15}	63.2 _{14, 15}	66.7 ₁₅	69.7 ₁₆	
Education (%)		11.7 ₁₁	11.2 _{14, 15}	5.5 ₁₃	11.8 _{14, 15}	11.4 ₁₆		
a) drop-outs		11.2 ₁₂	11.4 ₁₆	11.5 _{14, 15}				
Education (%)		23.9 ₁₁	28.1 _{14, 15}	25.6 ₁₃	31.9 _{14, 15}	target		
b) tertiary educ.		25.1 ₁₂		29.9 _{14, 15}		achieved ₁₆		
Poverty (% mil.)	X	28.5 ₁₁	15.3 ₁₃	X	X	X	3.10 ₁₆	
	2.83 ₁₄ ,	X	3.05 _{14, 15}	~3.19 _{14, 15}	3.285 _{14, 15} ,			
	15				3.39 ₁₆			

Goal achievement as reported for Hungary's National Targets shows interesting trends for each of the societal spheres 'employment', 'education' and 'poverty reduction'. Compared to the 2009 baseline value of 60.5% the share of people in employment has increased continuously until 2015 (69.7%). However, Hungary did not reach the 2020 target of 75% until 2016. While there is a clear upward trend of attaining employment there are two interesting values as reported for 2011 and 2012. The struck-through values (70.9% in 2011 and 71.5% in 2012) were provided by the 2013 report. In the adjacencies of 2011–2013 values ranging between 60 and 63 p.p. these appear to be unexpectedly high.

The trend for Roma-inclusive education reform implementation appears to be stable throughout 2011 till 2016 regarding the drop-out rate of early school-leavers: Percentages range between 11.8% and 11.2%. At last, in 2014 the share of students who left school before reaching the age of 16 amounted to 11.4 % of that age cohort. Again, the 2013 report depicts a starkly outlying value for 2012 (struck-through: 5.5%). The trend of tertiary education attainment of adults increases between 2011 and 2014: Compared to the baseline values for 2009 (either 23.9% or 25.1%) Hungary denotes its National 2020 Target as achieved in 2013 and 2014 already (31.9 resp. "target achieved").

Hungary indicates achievements concerning its National Poverty Targets in both absolute numbers and percentages. The values depict the number of people living in or at risk of poverty in Hungary between 2011 and 2014. The absolute values for 2011 till 2013 show an increase in people of the target group (2011: 3.05 million people and 2013: 3.285 resp. 3.39 people in poverty). 2014 shows a slight decrease (3.10 million people in poverty). The 2009 baseline value (28.5% of the total population) corresponds to this trend. Yet again, the 2013 report indicates a highly outlying value for the share of people in or at risk of poverty in 2011 (15.3%). This value indicates a number half as high as the 2014 and 2015 reports which relate to the same year. The following table (*Table 413-2*) reports the state of implementation of Hungary's Country-Specific Recommendations.

TABLE 413-2. GOAL ACHIEVEMENT HUNGARY 2011-2016, CSR.

	Country-Specific Recommendation							
	baseline		2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
	2008	2009						
Employment			(=) ₁₂	(-) ₁₃	(+) ₁₄	(+/=) ₁₅		
Education				(+/=) ₁₃		(+/=) ₁₅	(+) ₁₆	
Poverty								

As CSRs only relate to the spheres of employment and education, the sphere of poverty cannot possibly show any change of status quo regarding the recommendations' implementation. Country-Specific Recommendations relating to employment were not implemented in 2011. Changes of the status quo in 2012 led to deteriorated employment conditions which opposed the CSR suggestions. For 2013 a progress and for 2014 limited progress was reported in the sphere of employment.

The education sphere sees no back-step in CSR implementation, however unlimited progress was only achieved in 2015. The years 2012 and 2014 had only shown limited progress in implementing education-related measures for the benefit of Roma. Quite interestingly, Hungary always contrasted general reform implementation data with special information about the Roma's situation (cf. *Appendix A.3*).

Roma specificity of monitoring (2011-2016). This section provides an assessment of Roma specificity of the measures set out in Hungary's National Reform Programmes published in the canon of the European Semester. The way in which Roma are put on the respective national agenda is of central importance in this section. Therefore it first provides some notions about the National Reform Programme's choice of words. Afterwards it provides an overview about the (non-) prevalence of the quantifiable measurement indicator values (IM₂, IM_{3.1-8}).

Hungary makes frequent use of first person plural pronouns in describing its ambition to achieve certain goals ("we intend to increase day-care capacities" Appendix A.3 HU-2011: #1). This sounds inclusive and approachable. Furthermore Hungary, as the only country speaks of Roma as "Gypsies" in two red-flags (Appendix, HU-2013: #21, #44). In both instances Hungary expresses the need of fostering a "Gypsy intelligentsia" (ibid.).

Table 413-3 describes the number of Roma-specific red-flags (IM₂) and the elaborateness of these (IM₃) on a glance. The table head features the NRP publication years.

TABLE 413-3. ROMA-SPECIFICITY HUNGARY 2011-2016.

<i>Report published in (year)</i>	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
IM₂ Number of red-flags	11	17	45	30	19	25
IM₃ Elaborateness of red-flags						
3.3 <i>Roma reference</i>	4/11	9/17	31/45	14/30	12/19	22/25
3.1 <i>Thematic reference</i>	10/11	17/17	42/45	28/30	17/19	20/25
3.2 <i>Monitoring tool reference</i>	11/11	17/17	44/45	29/30	16/19	20/25
3.4 <i>Comparability</i>	7/11	10/17	32/45	17/30	6/19	17/25
3.5 <i>Scope</i>	5/11	14/17	39/45	26/30	13/19	24/25
3.6 <i>Termination</i>	4/5	12/13	34/36	11/25	9/13	13/24
3.7 <i>Measurement</i>	4/5	11/13	28/36	19/25	12/13	23/24
3.8 <i>Agency</i>	4/5	12/13	29/36	20/25	5/13	12/24

Distinctive monitoring features qua indicator. The number of passages red-flagging Roma-specific needs varies between a minimum of 11 entries in the 2011 report and a maximum of 45 in the 2013 report. At last, in 2016, the number of red-flags was third-highest compared to all other year reports (25 entries). Apart from the first year report (2011: 11 entries) also 2012 and 2015 show comparably low mentions of Roma-specific red-flags (17 and 19 entries respectively). The extent to

which the reports refer to Roma explicitly and exclusively follows a similar trend throughout 2011 till 2016.

As regards thematic and monitoring tool reference Bulgaria's monitoring reports can be considered highly transparent in the most instances: Throughout 2011 till 2016 red-flags more often than not indicated clearly whether they relate to Country-Specific Recommendations or National Target reform endeavors. Also red-flags referred distinctively to either (or all) of the societal spheres 'employment', 'education' or 'poverty reduction'. Except for 2014, all year reports provided red-flags in tabular form for a bit more than half of all entries. It is assumed that tabled information facilitates goal achievement comparisons between years (and also countries).

Except for 2011, in all following year reports significantly more than half of all red-flags featured more than a mere call for change of the Roma's situation: In 2011 only 5 of 11 red-flags proposed measures that go beyond a declarative statement. All other year reports more often than not provide red-flags that inform about planned, achieved or envisaged policy measures. Of all red-flags that implied more than a mere declarative statement at least 50% provided information about either the measure's termination, or about its target values, or about its implementation agent or a combination of these.

Distinctive monitoring findings qua year. The six year reports differ mostly, and most gravely, in their number of featured Roma-specific red-flags. In that respect the 2013 report attracts the most attention: All transparency indicators were achieved in significantly more than half of all instances. 2014 and 2016 score equally high in all transparency indicators.

This subsection assessed the reported results of Hungary's goal achievement and the extent to which its monitoring efforts were Roma-specific and therefore transparent. This answers Subquestion SQ1 *What were the reforms considered necessary for the selected states and how were they monitored in the period between 2011 and 2016?* for Hungary. The Central European Member State showed to achieve Roma-related mixed results for both NT and CSR goal achievement. However, the overall trend is positive. The Roma-specificity of monitoring was on a generally high level.

4.2 Cross-case Relations

Having provided an answer to the descriptive Subquestion SQ1 for all three cases, this section summarizes these findings and relates them to one another: The previous section described the measured values for the independent and the dependent variables over time. It is envisaged to find a pattern which explains differences and/or similarities within cases and finally, also amongst the cases. Comparing all three cases on the dependent and independent variables it is possible to make tentative statements about the study proposition's validity: "*The more transparent EU inclusion reform monitoring is, the better will Roma-related policy be implemented (achieved) in the respective state*". Eventually Subquestion Two (SQ2) is answered: "*How did Member States reform implementation outcomes evolve in the period between 2011 and 2016, and how can monitoring explain differences and similarities of goal implementation?*". In order to explain cross-case results this sec-

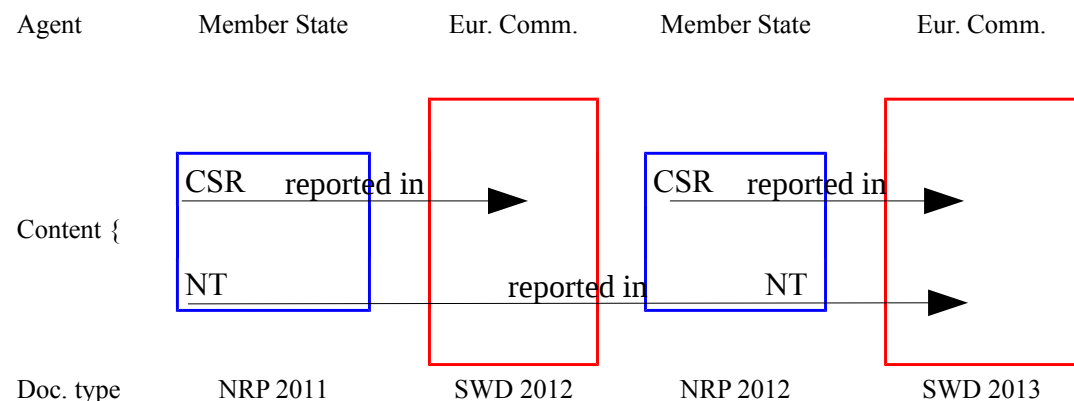
tion takes into account also context-related and country-specific information which may add to the insights.

4.2.1 Monitoring chronology. The analysis of the independent variable ‘goal achievement’ for all cases in the time between 2011 and 206 yielded an important insight in terms of the monitoring reports’ sequential arrangement. European Commission monitoring documents employ different chronologies in reporting National Target goal achievement on the one hand and Country-Specific Recommendations goal achievement on the other hand.

The case of Bulgaria demonstrated this strikingly. Yet, also the Czech Republic and Bulgaria adhere to this logic: Documents issued by the European Commission about a country’s state of goal achievement report NT goal achievement mostly for the time two years prior to the document’s publication (for example *Table 411-1*: **65.1**₁₆ in **2014** or **27.3**₁₃ in **2011**).

The state of CSR goal achievement is reported for the year directly preceding the document’s year of publication (for example *Table 411-2*: (=)₁₃ in **2012** or (+/=)₁₂ in **2011**). Thus, for assessing the effect of Roma-specificity on goal achievements one must take into account whether a red-flag refers to a National Target or to a Country-Specific Recommendation. The following graphic makes this train of thought clearer.

ILLUSTRATION 421. MONITORING CHRONOLOGY.



The NT-specific and CSR-specific working principles of the monitoring chronology have important implications for assessing the causal assumption of the study proposition.

4.2.2 Country findings. Throughout the description of the single cases’ dependent and independent variables, this paper revealed interesting peculiarities and irregularities of the respective monitoring processes. The monitoring chronology holds that the effect of Roma-specificity on goal achievement must needs be assessed separately for CSRs and NTs. The collected raw data do provide this very information separately for both monitoring tools. However, in the course of the present analysis Roma-specificity indicators were applied to both CSR-related red-flags and NT-related red-flags indiscriminately. In the limited scope of this research project an in-depth assessment of all collected red-flags is not feasible. This may be an ambition of future research possibly following up this project.

However, the collected insights on Roma-specificity—even if it accounts aggregately for CSR and NT monitoring—do mark and pre-structure possible correlations between the extent of a red-flags Roma-specificity and presumed goal achievement for the respective case. Statements of such tentative correlations are subject of the follows section.

Bulgaria. There are several interesting instances in which both the goal achievement variable and the Roma-specificity variable show extreme values. Out of all three analyzed countries Bulgaria has the highest percentage of Roma inhabitants compared to its total population (9.94%). The extent to which Bulgaria’s monitoring was Roma-specific was higher significantly higher in 2012 in 2011. According to the study proposition this increase of transparency would result in more beneficial Roma-related goal achievement in the first subsequent year after 2012 (if the increase of Roma-specificity was related to a CSR) or in the second subsequent year after 2012 (if the increase of Roma-specificity was related to a National Target). Indeed, *Table 411-1* reports improved values (goal achievement) in all societal spheres of 2014. Except values for early school-leaving deteriorated slightly. *Table 411-2* reports neither progress nor back-steps for implementing Country-Specific Recommendations in 2013.

Bulgaria’s 2015 NRP did not provide any tabular data at all. Tables provide information (about Rom-inclusive measures) in a better comparable way. Absence of tables makes monitoring thus less transparent to a certain extent. To be sure, it would be interesting to assess whether this absence correlates with extreme values for goal achievement in 2016 or 2017. Unfortunately these years lie outside the scope of this analysis due to a limitation on reports up to 2016.

Tentatively comparing results for Bulgaria’s dependent and independent variables, and keeping in mind the rules of monitoring chronology discovered above, the analysis provides a mixed picture: In the instance were high goal achievement values, and thus successful Roma inclusion reform implementation was expected the corresponding overview tables indicated both progresses and back-steps. The Bulgarian case thus cannot give a distinct answer to the study proposition.

Czech Republic. There are several interesting instances of peculiarities in the Czech case. Out of all three analyzed countries the Czech Republic has the lowest percentage of Roma inhabitants compared to its total population (1.90%). The Czech Republic employs consistent monitoring, nevertheless Roma take in subordinate priority. This is why the extent of Roma-specific monitoring is considered low. However, the Czech Republic’s overall tendency of achieving reform implementation goals that target also Roma, is quite positive. This finding intuitively contradicts the study proposition: “*The more transparent EU inclusion reform monitoring is, the better will Roma-related policy be implemented (achieved) in the respective state*”. In assessing the study proposition’s validity for the Czech case one should keep in mind the comparatively low percentage of Roma citizens in the Czech Republic. Also distinct statements on Roma-related goal achievement are lacking. Roma-issues may be of lower priority and other policies might well benefit from highly transparent monitoring. On the other hand, Roma are well a priority for the Czech Republic, otherwise they would not be featured in the European Semester. The 2014 NRP showed that Roma issues were to a

certain extent taken off the agenda. In such a case neither reform back-step or success can be reported for this group.

Hungary. There are several interesting instances in which both the goal achievement variable and the Roma-specificity variable show extreme values. Out of all three analyzed countries Hungary has the second highest percentage of Roma inhabitants compared to its total population (7.49%). The 2013 Commission Staff Working Document reports extraordinarily beneficial achievement of the Hungary's National Targets. According to the study proposition the extent of Roma-specificity must have been high two years prior to this reporting. However, 2011 values for Roma specificity indicate a comparatively low number of red-flags (11) out of which only 4 referred to Roma explicitly *and* exclusively; all this paired with high scores on all other transparency indicators. Monitoring was thus transparent, but not in terms of Roma-references.

Another peculiar instance is the high number of red-flags in the 2013 National Reform Programme. 45 red-flags of largely high elaborateness should—according to the study proposition—affect Roma inclusion goal implementation most beneficially. And indeed, all of Hungary's change in status quo reported for the CSR achievement in 2014 reports and for the National Targets in 2015 reports is successful: There is a full implementation of a Roma-related CSR in the sphere of education (education/ 2013: (+)₁₅, *Table 413-2*) and progress in the poverty, education and poverty reduction goal (education/ 2013: 63.2_{14, 15}, education/2013: 11.8_{14, 15} and 31.9_{14, 15}, poverty/ 2013: 3.285_{14, 15}, *Table 413-1*). To be sure, this finding demonstrate that the high number of Roma-specific red-flags may have in some way positively affected Roma-inclusive reform implementation in Hungary in 2013.

Conclusive statement. This subsection depicted the evolution of how the Roma inclusion reform implementation is monitored in three Central European States. Consequently, this gives an answer to the second subquestion of this research project (SQ2): *How did Member States reform implementation outcomes evolve in the period 2011-2016, and how can monitoring explain differences and similarities of goal implementation?*

This subsection showed that there are two European Semester monitoring tools: Country-Specific Recommendations (CSR) and National Targets (NT). They are related to the same set of Europe 2020 Headline Targets, yet they differ in their respective monitoring chronology. Adherence to CSR is usually followed up in the monitoring report one year after the publication of the CSR. Adherence to NT in a certain year, however, is usually followed up in reports two years after the targeted year. This implies that also data retrieved for the independent must needs discriminate these two variables in all indicators.

Acknowledging the fact that IM data did not discriminate CSR and NT in this analysis, this subsection assessed the validity of the study proposition for all three cases. *“The more transparent EU inclusion reform monitoring is, the better will Roma-related policy be implemented (achieved) in the respective state”*. Studies on Bulgaria, the Czech Republic and Hungary have shown to satisfy the study proposition in varying extents: Concerning Bulgaria there is a mixed picture. The study proposition cannot be fully negated not affirmed. As regards the Czech Republic, policy that was

beneficial—among other target groups also for Roma—was achieved largely successfully between 2011 and 2016 even if EU inclusion reform monitoring was not very Roma-specific. The Hungarian case provided clear evidence for affirming the study proposition between 2011 and 2016.

5 Conclusion

This chapter locates all findings made so far in the wider context of the European Union's Administering of Roma inclusion reforms in Central and Eastern Europe. Reflecting on theoretical assumptions made in Chapter Two, *Section 5.1* 'Underlying reasons' tries to come up with reasons for the findings so far. Discussing why the study proposition was rejected or affirmed in one way or the other, Chapter Five concludes this research project in answering the main research questions. Additionally, this chapter shortly reflects on limitations of this research project as well as possible starting points for further research.

5.1 Underlying Reasons

Chapter Four showed that the study proposition cannot be said to be simply true or wrong. Instead the three cases provide a mixed picture of the effect of transparent monitoring on the implementation of Roma-related reforms. Consequently, an answer to the main research question cannot be provided by a single sentence. Rather this section aims to round up the picture of Roma inclusion reform administration. So, *how did European Semester monitoring affect the implementation of the EU policy on Roma inclusion in selected CEE states between 2011 and 2016?* The analysis of Bulgaria, the Czech Republic and Hungary depicted three fundamentally different approaches towards the monitoring of Roma inclusion reforms. In the light of the introductory reflections about the Roma's socio-cultural location in Europe this finding is not surprising. Since there is no one Roma people there can also be no uniform administration of Roma inclusion reforms.

In line with Pressman and Wildavsky's Principal-Agent theory (1984), this study showed that the European Union Member States, as the ones responsible for implementing EU targets, were endowed with considerable discretion as regards Roma inclusion reform implementation between 2011 and 2016. European Semester monitoring makes this visible. While Hungary indicates priority for Roma inclusion in words that relate quite clearly and directly to the situation of Roma, the Czech Republic targets Roma inclusion verbally in the context of other disadvantaged groups. In terms of phrasing monitoring, Bulgaria takes in a place in between.

The proposition that a high transparency of monitoring results in high achievements of Roma inclusion reform implementation could not be affirmed unequivocally. Rather, and this is still in line with de Bruijn's theoretical assumptions, this study showed that monitoring may have both beneficial and maleficent effects on reform implementation. Monitoring is ambiguous and it is multi-faceted. In order to understand the effects of EU performance measuring even better it is necessary to take into account textual aspect of the Union's large monitoring output. The classification and comparison function of tabular information may make a measure more comprehensible. On the other hand, a high number of different indicators in a table might make a proposed measure less comprehensi-

ble than in form of a well-written running text. The data collected in this study provides evidence for both instances.

5.2 Outlook

The critical reader may not be satisfied with the answer that the effect of monitoring on reform implementation is just ‘ambiguous’. The question whether the situation of Roma in CEE states really improved through European Semester monitoring remains. However, ‘ambiguity’ sounds like a simple answer only initially. In a second step it opens up a plethora of possible further research directions. The findings of this research project are of high scientific relevance. In the course of data collection and data analysis this project assembled, among others, data on EU-supervised (-funded) local and regional projects where Roma are involved in, or in which public agencies cooperate with Roma. This was made possible only by means of understanding the working principles of European Semester monitoring. Data collected in this study may be the starting point for accessing further mechanisms of Roma-relevant monitoring on EU level. For example data aggregation issues in publishing and cross-referencing come to mind.

This paper is also societally relevant. The ambiguity of monitoring and the discretion of EU Member States in carrying out both monitoring and implementation leaves space for the qualitative subtleties of Roma inclusion. As Red-flag #12 in Hungary’s NRP states: “The additional instrument for balancing social disadvantages is mainly to support and raise awareness of the Roma culture, which can be essential in eliminating stereotypes” (Appendix A.3 HU-2014).

The analysis of this study showed that the extent of Roma-specificity of European Semester Monitoring had mixed effect on the implementation of Roma inclusion reforms in three Central and Eastern European Countries between 2011 and 2016. The role of European Semester in the process of improving the situation of Roma in Central and Eastern Europe is an ambiguous one. While the study proposition is neither verified nor negated completely de Bruijn’s assumptions on monitoring are true still: Performance measurement is a process which—to some extent—affects reform implementation. Even if it is difficult (or impossible) to assess whether this effect is positive or negative. Also, in the context of Roma inclusion, what gets measured may not necessarily get done; yet certainly, what gets measured *can* get done.

European Semester monitoring between 2011 and 2016 red-flagged and evaluated Roma inclusion reforms in a way which was largely structured, comprehensible and comparable across countries. This data provides practitioners—both in state institutions and in governments—with important notions about the quantity and quality of available funds, envisaged measures and achieved projects in the realm of Roma inclusion.

European Semester monitoring of Roma inclusion reform implementation may not fully satisfy the Roma, non-governmental practitioners or Roma advocates. But the fact that Roma take in such a prominent position in an all-encompassing EU monitoring tool as the European Semester should be understood as a due tribute to a truly European people and to Europe’s eldest and largest minority.

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Appendices

A.1 ‘Categorizing’

Appendix A.1 depicts the details of the categorizing process as mentioned in Subsection 3.4.3. The European Semester reports between 2011 and 2016 consist of a number of documents which are freely available in the Internet (http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/making-it-happen/country-specific-recommendations/index_en.htm).

A.1.1 Document abbreviations as employed by the European Institutions. For the purposes of this paper every document was downloaded that is possibly related to European Semester publications between 2011 and 2016. *Categorizing* is the follow-up process after retrieving the raw-data ES reports. Upon retrieving all documents they were filed according to their document (file) name. These document names are matched with a full title and, if necessary, a short description about what the document contains. The following table provides an alphabetic overview.

TABLE A11. FILE DECODING

<i>Document name</i>	<i>Full title and description</i>
annex	various annexes and annotations to the following documents
celex	Council Recommendation on NRP and on updated CP
cohesion	Proposal for a Council Implementation Decision lifting the suspension of commitments from the Cohesion Fund for Hungary
cp	Convergence Programme
cr	Country Report
csr	Country Specific Recommendation
csr (COUNC)	Council-approves Country-Specific Recommendation
edp	Excessive Deficit Procedure
idr	In-Depth Review
nrp	National Reform Programme
socpart	Social Partnership
stretref	
swd	Commission Staff Working Document
swp	Commission Staff Working Paper

A.1.2 Documents in alphabetic order according to years of publication. Subsequently all document names are matched with the six possible years of publication. In the resulting table document availability is noted down for every of the three selected EU Member States. To this end the paper makes use of a country code shorthand. In order to do justice to the multi-linguistic context of this study all state names are provided in English, in the state’s official language and in Romanes. However, full state names and shorthands follow the English naming.

TABLE A12. MEMBER STATE SHORTHANDS

<i>State name shorthand (N.N.)</i>	<i>Name employed in the paper / Official name</i>	<i>Official name (State language)</i>	<i>Official name (Romanes)</i>
B	(Republic of) Bulgaria	Република България	Republika Bulgariya
C	Czech Republic	Česká republika	Republika Chexiya
H	Hungary	Magyarország	Ungariya

The document availability for every case in the period of 2011 till 2016 goes as follows in Table A.1.3. Note that all documents are enumerated in alphabetical order and irrespective of their relevance for the paper.

TABLE A13. DOCUMENTS—ALPHABETIC

	annex	celex	cohesion	cp	cr	csr
2011		B, C, H		B, C		B, C, H
2012	CC		H	B, C		B, C, H
2013	CCC, R			B, C, H		B, C, H
2014	CC			B, C, H		B, C, H
2015	C(cp)CC(nrp), H(nrp)			B, C, H	B, C, H	B, C, H
2016	C(nrp), H(nrp)	B, C, H		B, C, H	B, C, H	B, C, H
	csr (counc.)	edp	idr	nrp	socpart	ST
2011				B, C, H		
2012		B, H	B, H	B, C, H		B, C, H
2013	B, C, H			B, C, H	H	
2014	B, C, H			B, C, H		
2015	B, C, H			B, C, H		
2016				B, C, H		
	swd	swp				
2011		B, C, H				
2012	B, C, H					
2013	B, C, H					
2014	B, C, H					
2015						
2016						

A.1.3 Documents in systematic order according to years of publication. Sorting all file types not only alphabetically, but also by institutional authorship (European Commission, Council of the European Union or Member State) as well as by contents-based criteria (related to fiscal or monetary policy or not) yields the following systematic overview of the European Semester reports between 2011 and 2016 set out in *Table A14*.

TABLE A14 DOCUMENTS—SYSTEMATIC

<i>Commission monitoring reports</i>				
	cr	swd	swp	
2011			B, C, H	
2012		B, C, H		
2013		B, C, H		
2014		B, C, H		
2015	B, C, H			
2016	B, C, H			
<i>Council monitoring reports</i>				
	csr	csr (COUNC)	celex	ST
2011	B, C, H		B, C, H	
2012	B, C, H			B, C, H
2013	B, C, H	B, C, H		
2014	B, C, H	B, C, H		
2015	B, C, H	B, C, H		
2016	B, C, H		B, C, H	
<i>Member State implementation reports</i>				
	nrp	socpart	annex	
2011	B, C, H			
2012	B, C, H		CC	
2013	B, C, H		CCC	
2014	B, C, H	H	CC	
2015	B, C, H		C(cp) CC(nrp), H(nrp)	
2016	B, C, H		C(nrp), H(nrp)	
<i>Fiscal monitoring reports</i>				
	cp	cohesion	edp	idr
2011	B, C, H			
2012	B, C	H	B, H	B, H

2013	B, C, H
2014	B, C, H
2015	B, C, H
2016	B, C, H

A.1.4 Categorization. Grouping the different file types according to year, authorship and content yields visualizes important implications for the categorization of the raw data. It becomes visible in Table *A14* that there are certain types of report files available throughout every year of analysis and for all countries (e.g. Country-Specific Recommendations). Other types are complemented in some years and for some cases by other document types; for example the Commission Staff Working Papers for 2011, Commission Staff Working Documents for 2012 until 2014 and Country Reports for 2015 and 2016. The following table (*A15*) assesses the functions of each and every document type based on its contents. Subsequently the documents' relevance for this research paper is stated.

TABLE A15 FUNCTIONAL TABLE

<i>Abbreviation</i>	<i>Years of publication</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Function</i>	<i>Relevant ?</i>
Council monitoring reports				
csr	[11-16]	Country-Specific Recommendation	Recommendation for a COUNCIL RECOMMENDATION on the National Reform Programme 20YY of N.N.	no
csr (COUNC)	[13-15]	Council-approved	COUNCIL RECOMMENDATION of	no
celex	[11 + 16]	Country-Specific Recommendation	DD. MM. 20YY on the National Reform Programme 20YY of N.N.	no
ST	[12]			no
Commission monitoring reports				
cr	[15-16]	Country Report. Commission Staff Working Document	CORRIGENDUM. This document corrects document SWD [15-16]. The text shall read as follows: COMMISSION STAFF WORKING DOCUMENT. Country Report N.N.	given
swd	[12-14]	Commission Staff Working Document	Assessment of the 20YY National Reform Programme for N.N.. Accompanying the document Recommendation for a COUNCIL RECOMMENDATION on N.N.'s 20YY National Reform Programme	given

swp	[11]	Commission Staff Working Paper	Assessment of the 20YY National Reform Programme and convergence programme for N.N.. Accompanying the document Recommendation for a COUNCIL RECOMMENDATION on the National Reform Programme 20YY of N.N.	given
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Member States implementation reports

nrp	[11-16]	National Reform Programme	Individual country-specific description of reform implementation processes. Issued by the Member States.	given
prgprep	[13]	Progress Report	“Short Progress Report on the Implementation of the National Reform Programme 2011-2013”.	given
socpart	[13]	Social Partnership	NRP Hungary Annex 4: Social partnership of the National Reform Programme. During the preparation of the National Reform Programme (NRP), the involvement of the professional and non-governmental organizations was crucial, in line with the previous years’ practice and the recommendations of the European Commission.	given

Other relevant documents

annex	[12-16]	Annexes are relevant for analysis as far as they relate to relevant documents mentioned above.		given
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Monitoring documents (fiscal) none

cp	[11-16]	Convergence Programme	3-year budget plan, for non-euro area countries.	
cohesion	[12]	Proposal for a COUNCIL IMPLEMENTING DECISION lifting the suspension of commitments from the Cohesion Fund for Hungary		
sp	[11-16]	Stability Programme	3-year budget plan, for euro area countries.	
edp	[12]	Excessive Deficit Procedure		
idr	[12]	In-Depth Review	in accordance with Article 5 of Regulation (EU) No 1176/2011 on the prevention and correction of macroeconomic imbalances	

Employment	(+/=)	(=)	(=)	(=)	(=)	X
Education	(+/=)	(=)	(=)	(=)	(+)	X
Poverty	(+/=)	(=)	X	X	X	X

A.2.2 Czech Republic

Table A22. Goal achievement Czech Republic 2011-2016.

Goal achievement in (year):	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Employment (%)				70.9 ₁₂	70.4 _{11,12}	70.9 _{12,13}	71.5 ₁₃	72.5 ₁₄	73.9 ₁₅	75.1 ₁₆	
Education (a) (%)				5.9 ₁₁	4.9 ₁₂	X	5.5 ₁₃	5.4 _{14,15} (of whom 72% Roma)	5.5 ₁₆		
Education (b) (%)	13.1 ₁₁	13.3 ₁₁	15.4 ₁₁	17.5 _{11,12}	20.4 ₁₂		25.6 ₁₃	26.7 _{14,15}	28.2 ₁₆		
Poverty (% of total population, absolute share of total pop. In mil. people)	18.0 ₁₁	15.8 ₁₁	15.3 ₁₁ , 1.566 (b) ₁₂	14.0 ₁₁ , 1.488 ₁₂	1.495 ₁₂	15.3 ₁₃		1 580 (ths?) _{14,15}	1.532 ₁₄		
Country-Specific Recommendation											
	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Employment						(=) ₁₂		(+) ₁₄			

ment	
Education	(+) ₁₅ (=) ₁₆
Poverty	

A.2.3 Hungary

TABLE A23. GOAL ACHIEVEMENT HUNGARY 2011-2016.

Goal achievement in (year):	National targets										
	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Employment (%)				60.5 _{11, 12}	60.4 ₁₂	60.7 _{12, 14, 15} , 70.9 ₁₃	71.5 ₁₃ , 62.1 _{14, 15}	63.2 _{14, 15}	66.7 ₁₅	69.7 ₁₆	
Education (a) (%)				11.7 ₁₁ , 11.2 ₁₂	10.5 _{12, 14, 15}	11.2 _{14, 15} , 11.4 ₁₆	5.5 ₁₃ , 11.5 _{14, 15}	11.8 _{14, 15}	11.4 ₁₆		
Education (b) (%)				23.9 ₁₁ , 25.1 ₁₂	26.0 ₁₂	28.1 _{14, 15}	25.6 ₁₃ , 29.9 _{14, 15}	31.9 _{14, 15}	target achieved ₁₆		
Poverty (share of total pop. million persons)			X 2.83 _{14, 15}	28.5 ₁₁ X	29.9 ₁₂ X	15.3 ₁₃ 3.05 _{14, 15}	X ~3.19 _{14, 15}	X 3.285 _{14, 15} , 3.39 ₁₆	X 3.10 ₁₆		
Country-Specific Recommendation											
	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Employ-						(=) ₁₂	(-) ₁₃	(+) ₁₄	(+)= ₁₅		

ment

Education

(+/=)₁₃

(+/=)₁₅ (+)₁₆

Poverty

A.3 ‘Country Case Data’

cf. separate document “Country Case Data”.