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GENDER AND MINORITIES

Gender Aspects and Minority Data: An Illustrative Case of Roma Women in Southeast Europe

Submitted by UNDP*

ABSTRACT

1. This paper explores the concepts of gender and minorities in data collection and use. The need for disaggregated data - by sex and ethnicity - is paramount for identifying causal relationships related to social exclusion. Data collection instruments tend to lack gender-sensitive approaches or appropriate ethnic dimensions. This paper examines the 2004 UNDP survey on Roma in Southeast Europe as an illustrative example. Recommendations are presented to address the shortcomings of non-sensitized methods of data collection.

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INTRODUCTION

2. Reducing poverty and overcoming social exclusion are global challenges, not solely issues of developing countries. Poverty pockets and excluded and/or marginalized groups, deprived of opportunities for equal participation in development efforts exist in countries regardless of their overall level of national development.

3. Including marginalized minorities in social and economic development efforts is critical for maintaining societal cohesion. However, proper policy targeting must be enhanced on the basis of appropriate analysis that employs adequate socio-economic data. Furthermore, adequate data is needed for monitoring development interventions in order to assess their impact on targeted groups. Without sufficient data, the design and impact of development policies and measures will be based on questionable assumptions.

4. No social group is homogenous, aspects such as gender, age and class needs to be taken into account in any analysis prior to policy formulation. Yet, how can minorities and gender aspects be effectively included in policies, and be monitored, without the ethnic and gender sensitive data which would reveal the particular situation of these sub-populations?

5. This paper addresses why ethnic and gender sensitive socio-economic data is vital if minorities are to benefit from development programmes. The paper starts by discussing the main conceptual issues pertaining to the intersection of gender and ethnicity and its relevance to policy formulation and monitoring. By using the example of Roma minority women in Southeast Europe,¹ the need for adequate socio-economic data, sensitized to gender and ethnicity is highlighted. Specific shortcomings of current data collection systems are discussed and recommendations to address these are proposed. Although issues pertaining to both, quantitative and qualitative data are raised in the conceptual discussions, recommendations focus mainly on the improvements of quantitative data collection systems.

I. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

6. There is no universally accepted definition of 'minorities', but it is generally agreed that national, ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities: (1) have a common national or ethnic origin, culture, language and/or religion; (2) usually constitute less than half of the population, are non-dominant and have trouble gaining acceptance in a state; (3) have had a long-term presence on the territory concerned and (4) self-identify as minorities.²

7. In terms of this definition, Roma would be considered a minority only if they self-identify as Roma in surveys or censuses. This easy example already shows the extent of the problem concerning ethnic data collection, as self-identification often leads to under-representation of ethnic minorities in official statistics. The fear of discrimination or stigmatization but also the multiple identities of minorities fail to provide accurate statistics about their situation. It must also be underlined that minorities are not homogenous - some members face further marginalization due to gender, age, class, disability or other factors, wherefore ethnic data needs to be sensitized to the differences within any group.

8. The concept of gender can be understood as the social roles that are ascribed to human beings as a cause of their respective sex. The use of a gender perspective acknowledges the fact that being a man or a woman, and carrying the ascribed gender as follows, impacts the places people have in society at large, in communities and in the household where they live. This for example applies to the access to resources, employment opportunities and the power to make choices.

9. For similar reasons that it is insufficient to implement the same policies to all groups disregarding ethnic differences and expecting equal results for all groups, it is also insufficient to implement the same policies for men and women, without looking at their particular needs. Without data sufficiently sensitized to map the situation applying to women as well as men, policy formulation will risk neglecting those most in need.

10. Irrespective of the importance of looking at gender aspects, the needs of white western middleclass women have tended to dominate the debates around gender discrimination and gender equality. This have created a reduced understanding of gender inequality, where patriarchy has been seen as the one monolithic and universal oppressing structure to women, and by this way come to neglected racial and ethnical issues equally essential to the forms that gender discrimination takes.³

11. Looking only at gender discrimination as uniform in this respect is not enough too, as the forms it will take depend on multiple sets of stratifiers. Women's movements have been criticized for failing to address this adequately. In order to properly analyze vulnerability, issues pertaining to class, ethnicity and race must also be considered together with gender – or, in other words, gender-related differences within a particular ethno-class that melds ethnic and social criteria need to be addressed.⁴

12. Similarly, there has been a tendency within race and ethnic struggles to ignore the gender issues, focusing only on the specificities of being of an ethnic minority, in this case Roma. These tendencies in both movements have resulted in the separation of gender and ethnic issues. The social exclusion a Roma woman faces, differs from the discrimination that a women from the majority population faces. By the same token, the social exclusion a Roma woman faces will be different from the social exclusion faced by a Roma man.

II. GENDER AND MINORITIES

13. The above conceptual discussion argued that in order to analyse social exclusion and formulate respective policies, the needs and problems of different groups and sub-groups have to be identified by looking at disaggregated data. Therefore, development scholars and practitioners argue for the need to look at multiple sets of stratifiers, where ethnicity and sex is one intersection. Other examples of these would be class, location, age and race. Although contemporary feminist literature have addressed this gap and brought issues related to the intersection of sex, ethnicity and race, the split between the areas remains reinforced by the shortage of relevant data mapping this intersection.

14. As regards to Roma women, it is repeated, that they get lost between the women's movements and the ethnical movements.⁵ In fact, the situation of Roma women illustrates the impediments of each of the two approaches, which, taken on their own, are unproductive and do not yield to results in the form of inclusive participation of Roma women as equal individuals in the mainstream societies. The double axis of exclusion they face being both women and Roma applies to them with exclusion both within the Roma groups and through their relation with institutions outside of the group.⁶ This perpetuates the marginalization of Roma women in data collection.⁷ There is a strong necessity to bridge this gap and integrate gender with ethnic aspects when monitoring social exclusion.

15. Another aspect of the double axis of discrimination is identity which has wider implications for policy uptake. Being 'chained' to their ethnic identity and the assigned traditional roles, Roma women have to make the choice between being an 'integrated woman' (and excluded from the group) or being a 'Roma woman' (but excluded from broader participation outside of the group). A combination of both (a 'Roma woman integrated into mainstream society') is rare and far from a common pattern. This may lead to Roma women having to make the choice (falsely so) between identifying with being a 'woman' or being 'Roma'. Identifying as a woman and with women's movements (necessarily going beyond the ethnic box with its traditional gender roles), there is a risk of being classified as non-Roma.⁸ Following from this argument, being 'Roma' might be equalised to 'non-women's' movements or even the opposite, being patriarchal. Not only does this falsely force Roma women to make a choice between two equally disadvantaged options (between being a 'Roma woman' with the traditional roles assigned – and being emancipated but excluded from the ethno-class), but also risk taking their voices and definitions as empowered women out of the concept of being Roma. Identifying with the (non-Roma) women's movements even risks alienation from their families and communities. This circle can become self-perpetuating. In several contexts this issue has led to the identification of different cultures as specifically patriarchal. There are examples of court cases where arguments of a 'patriarchal culture' have overruled the claims from human rights as women's rights.⁹

16. How does this apply to social exclusion? For example it might be argued that it is a part of a 'culture' that women remain in a certain status. Strong gender norms among Roma in Bulgaria provide incentives to girls to marry and give birth at an early age. 'Virginity cult' – also part of traditional pattern in those communities – plays an important role and early marriage can be seen as a peculiar reaction of traditional culture to acceleration due to which young people begin sexual life earlier than their parents.¹⁰ By placing a greater emphasis on the group (traditional) values and patterns than on the individual choice, the minority effectively reduces the availability of other choices, such as education, which then puts them at higher vulnerability and dependency risks with girls particularly (or disproportionately) affected.¹¹ Thus, targeting women with certain social policies might risk spurring resistance, unless it is done in a culturally sensitive way. Therefore it is important to derive sufficient information and data that describe these relationships. Otherwise, policies risk alienating individuals in the group and will ultimately be inefficient. There might also be a fear for repercussions from within the group towards women who take sides with non-Roma women.

17. When looking at table 1, it becomes clear that both axes of gender and ethnicity are of high relevance to monitoring poverty and social exclusion. The example of Albania well

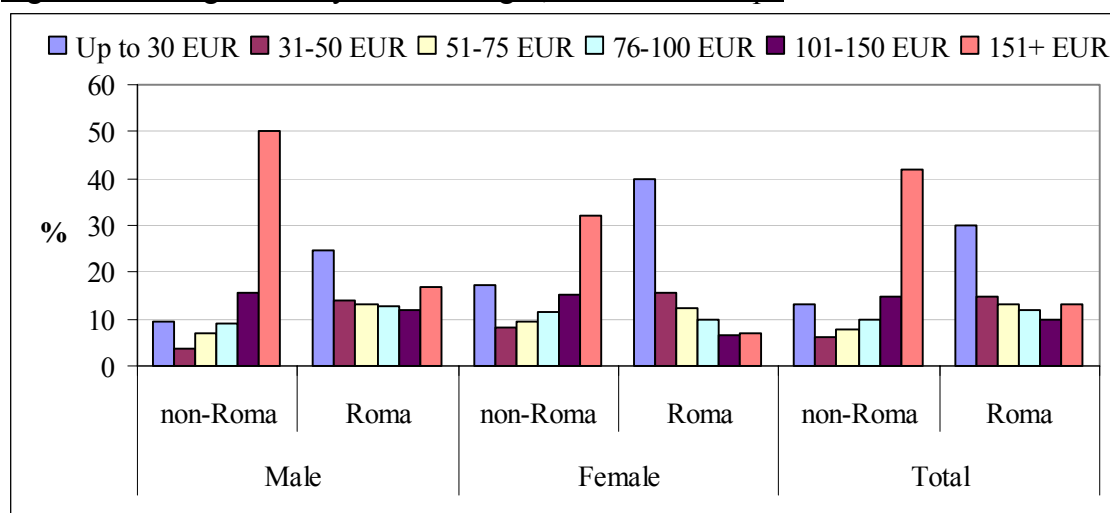
illustrates the intersection of ethnicity and sex looking at data on income levels: looking at average monthly income by sex and ethnicity, it becomes apparent that there are two parameters on which exclusion is based. One is being a woman: as it is common in any ethnicity, men have higher income levels compared to women within the same group. The other parameter is being Roma. Roma in all cases have lower income levels compared to the majority, regardless of their sex. Thus, considering that Roma women have the lowest income levels, using both, ethnic and gender perspective makes apparent how gender and ethnicity operate as social stratifiers together.

Table 1:

Total average monthly income for a household member in Albania (euros)			
	Men	Women	Total
Non-Roma	208.9	125.8	174.5
Roma	78	50.1	68.0

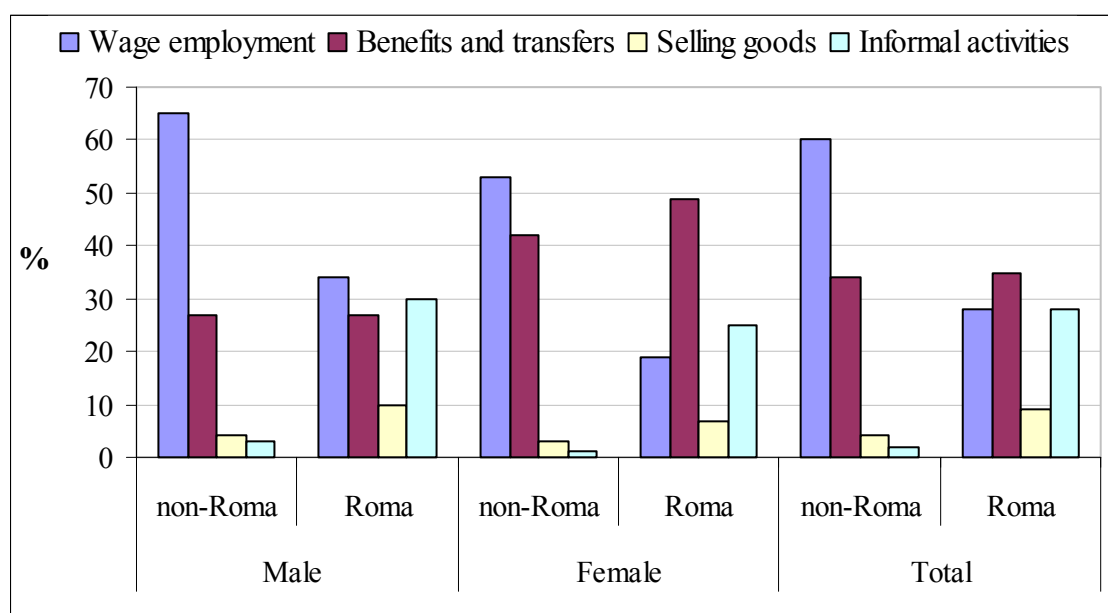
18. The situation is similar in whole of Southeast Europe (SEE). For example, data from the UNDP Vulnerable Groups Survey¹² show that gender inequalities within the Roma community are larger than within the majority community. Roma women have only 58 percent of Roma men's average monthly income, whereas non-Roma women have 69 percent of non-Roma men's average monthly income. Looking at the percentages of individuals with income levels in a specific income range, Roma women are by far the poorest with almost 40 percent having incomes only up to 30 EUR per month. In contrast, 50 percent of non-Roma males have income levels higher than 151 EUR (see Figure 1). There are a variety of reasons that could explain these differences. Women can have lower education levels or higher unemployment, they are also more involved in child care and homecare activities that are unpaid and are not reflected in monitored income.

Figure 1: Average monthly income ranges, Southeast Europe



19. The outcome of these income differences by men and women are reflected in poverty results. Women are more dependent on the head of the household or other household members. However, the worse situation among Roma women reflects their double disadvantage of being female and Roma. This is seen in differences between Roma women and non-Roma women of main income sources. While 53 percent of non-Roma women have wage employment as main source of income, only 19 percent of Roma women receive main income from this source. Roma women are much more reliant on benefits, which include pensions, child and maternity benefits as well as social transfers and unemployment benefits (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Main source of income, Southeast Europe



20. Hence, there is a need to look at the underlying causes for these income differences. These can be lack of access to the same quality education, barriers to the labour market, lower wages and higher levels of unpaid work in home activities. The lack of opportunities is predominant for women, for Roma and particularly for Roma women.

21. Lack of access to quality education is a particular problem for Roma and especially for Roma girls. While 55 percent of male non-Roma achieve secondary education, only 45 percent of female non-Roma reach this level. For male Roma it is only 11 percent and for female Roma only 6 percent. Enrolment rates show that Roma girls drop out much earlier than Roma boys. The lack of education prevents Roma, and especially Roma women from the access to the labour market. This is reflected in unemployment rates. For example in Serbia, Roma women have higher unemployment rates (72 percent) than Roma men (35 percent). Although non-Roma women also face higher unemployment rates (26 percent) than non-Roma men (17 percent), Roma women are in a much more disadvantaged position. Roma also face other barriers to enter the labour market, such as discrimination. The returns to education have shown to be lower for Roma compared to the majority population.¹³

22. Health is another area where some important gender differences exist. In terms of incidence of chronic illnesses, more women than men among Roma and non-Roma are affected

(22 percent of women versus 17 percent of men). However, non-Roma women report fewer average days lost due to illness than non-Roma men, whereas Roma women report more average days lost than Roma men.

23. The large disparities between the situation of Roma women and non-Roma women can only partially be found in segregation of Roma as a group and the isolation of Roma communities from the mainstream society. The second set of determinants is related to gender roles stemming from strong patriarchal values with their roots in cultural aspects. Consequentially life and choices as well as coping strategies look different for Roma men and Roma women. These illustrative examples show that in looking at social exclusion and its causes, there is a need to incorporate a broader framework which includes attention to both gender and ethnical axes of discrimination.

III. CHALLENGES OF DATA COLLECTION

24. Monitoring of vulnerable groups is a major prerequisite for any future policy measures as long as targeted social inclusion policies and reforms are required. In order to identify groups at risk of falling into poverty, and better understand social exclusion issues for minority women, quantitative data disaggregated by ethnicity and sex and sensitized indicators, methods and instruments are necessary. However, monitoring the ethnic socio-economic situation with a gender perspective remains a challenging task.

Problems related to ethnic statistics

25. Data on household incomes and expenditures and in Labour Force surveys disaggregated by ethnicity is scarce. For many reasons, statistical institutes do not tend to monitor household budgets by ethnicity. In the Roma context, this reflects both political sensitivity regarding Roma and the rest of society and resistance from Romani organisations. The latter have (not wholly unreasonable) concerns that ethnically disaggregated data could be used for discriminatory purposes and thereby increase tensions and intolerance between the minority and majority.

26. Current data collection instruments fail to capture accurate information about minorities because of various reasons. First in some countries, legal constraints prevent collection of ethnic data in censuses or other surveys. Second, both government and minorities fear the consequences of data collection. Third, household surveys and censuses often significantly underestimate the size of ethnic minorities. In censuses, members of ethnic minorities opt not to self-identify often out of fear of discriminatory practices. With fluid definitions of ethnic identity, the very populations in question are unclear and any estimates can be susceptible to speculation. National representative survey samples are usually based on census data with all the consequences from under-representation of minority groups. Minorities who did not self-identify in the census are therefore likely to be under-sampled.

27. Here both researchers and policy-makers face a peculiar vicious circle: Data is necessary but not available. When available, it is not reliable (different estimations of minorities can be equally acceptable and justified using different sets of arguments). As a result, the opportunity for data misinterpretation is disturbingly broad: Depending on whether higher or lower estimates “work” better in the particular political context, different actors can argue for or against some

current political issue usually unrelated to the goal of improving the socio-economic status of minorities.

A. Legal frameworks

28. Data protection laws are often cited as prohibiting the collection of ethnic data. Yet European data protection laws distinguish between the collection of individually identifiable data and that of anonymous data, permitting the latter. EU law applies to personal data and exempts anonymous data.¹⁴ The Council of Europe notes that statistical results are not personal data because they are not linked to an identifiable person and highlights the need for balance between the need for research and the protection of privacy of individuals.¹⁵ Hence legal obstacles to collecting anonymous ethnic data cannot be justified but yet, in some countries national laws do not recognize this difference and anonymous ethnic data collection is also officially prohibited.

B. Fear

29. Fear of the consequences of collection of ethnic data is pervasive. The fears of minorities and governments differ. Governments fear include concerns that data showing large inequalities between groups will cause conflict or exacerbate historical conflicts between groups. However, as mentioned above, the lack of ethnic data provides even more room for various perceptions or stereotypes of the situation or exclusion of different groups.

30. Minorities fear may include distrust towards government claims that data intended for beneficial use instead will create more discrimination. Governments need to build trust among minorities that the data will be used properly. The benefits of ethnic data need to be clearly seen by the minority in improved development programmes. There is a need to clearly explain the reasons for collecting data and how the data will be used and stored. One possible way is to involve minority NGOs in data collection or minority experts in Statistical Offices.

C. Self identification

31. The major problem in collecting data on minorities is the identification issue. Groups tend to identify themselves by ethnicity or religion. The second aspect of group identity is the self identification of members with the group and their wish to preserve the characteristics of the group.¹⁶ Self identification is recognised under international law; the CERD stated in General Recommendation VIII that the way individuals be identified as belonging to ethnic groups will 'if no justification exists to the contrary, be based upon self-identification by the individual concerned'.¹⁷

32. However, if governments rely purely on self-identification of individuals in data collection, under-reporting of minorities in official statistics risk occurring due to the fear of discrimination among minorities. This in turn leads to the use of inaccurate data in developing policies and programmes and could undermine their effectiveness.¹⁸ However the opposite can occur as well. Where programmes are established for particular groups, for example a programme to assist members of minorities obtain jobs, individuals who do not meet any of the objective criteria for membership of a particular ethnic group (culture, ethnicity, religion, language), may attempt to self-identify with that group in order to benefit from the programme;

however, there is no right to arbitrarily choose to belong to a particular minority. ‘The individual’s subjective choice is inseparably linked to objective criteria relevant to the person’s identity’.¹⁹

33. Equally problematic is external identification. The state may not impose an identity on individuals so it is not acceptable to use the perception of the interviewer as the sole means of identifying different individuals’ membership of a group. Practically, this method would also be subject to the prejudices of the interviewer and therefore likely to be inaccurate. Resolving these ambiguities about self-identification requires confidence and trust building efforts by the government and minority NGOs.

Problems related to gender statistics

34. As we have seen above, looking at data collection and social policy from a gender perspective has benefits. When it comes to the availability of gender sensitized data there are usually two major problems: First, with the tradition of using a male normative framework for data collection, measurements, indicators and methodologies used may not adequately respond to the needs for mapping the causal links to women’s social exclusion. Second, data may not be sufficiently disaggregated, thus not giving a complete picture of the different situations for men and women. By using gender sensitive data these dimensions can be included to policy formulation in order to sufficiently target both women and men, but also, importantly this paves the way for addressing gender inequalities in a more efficient way.

A. Poverty measurements

35. There is a wide range of challenges when it comes to poverty measurements and gender aspects.²⁰ For example, the limitation of poverty measurement to income and consumption fails to capture the complexity around causes to poverty as well as processes and coping strategies.²¹ A large body of gender research stresses the need to incorporate wider understandings of poverty measurements, there needs to be a wider concept taking into consideration broader aspects such as lack of political rights, limited social options, time constraints and greater vulnerability to risks.²² Another problem with the income-consumption measurement is that when it comes to women ‘the capacity to command and allocate resources may be considerably more important than the actual resource base in their household’.²³ Economic income to the family does not by default mean an income for all family members, which seems to be a common assumption underlying policymaking.

36. This leads to the issue concerning the commonly used model of the household as the unit of measurement. Firstly, it does not measure intra household distribution of resources; secondly the model views the household as a unitary model driven by an altruistic and just household head. The latter assumption has been challenged through research and it highlights the need to measure poverty on individual levels as well as to understand poverty within a broader context. New models have been developed to understand the dynamics of households as sites of both cooperation and conflict²⁴ and as strongly influenced by larger context of social constructed norms and ideologies. These models also take into account the individual household member’s power to negotiate. The power that an individual enjoys in negotiations within the household is informed by their respective bargaining positions. The bargaining positions are in turn influenced

by determinants specific to the context of the household, gender norms and ideologies in community/society at large. By looking at these specific determinants, women's positions in the household, and their positions within the communities at hand can be more properly assessed. Factors to look at could for example be: ownership and control over assets, especially land; access to employment and other income-earning means; access to communal resources such as village commons and forests; access to traditional social support systems such as of patronage, kinship, caste groupings etc; support from NGOs; support from the states; Social perceptions about needs, contributions and other determinants of deservedness; and social norms.²⁵

B. Employment

37. Another example of challenges that becomes visible by adding a gender perspective to statistics is monitoring of employment. The indicator of economic activity measures when a person is engaged in economic activity related to production, barter or services provided on the formal market. Although National Statistical accounts have begun to account for products not exchanged on the formal markets, non- income generating activities are still not included. Women are usually the main providers of the unpaid domestic- care- and community- work. As the efforts made in these services remain invisible by the measurements of economic activity, not only is this level of 'production' invisible in GDP calculations, but women are falsely represented as less active than men. To measure women's activity, a tool that is receiving increasing attention and use is time-use surveys to complement traditional indicators as economic activity. Time- use surveys map the hours of women's and men's daily activities and gives a fuller picture of their participation in economic and social life, and suffice a far better base for targeted policy interventions complimented with economic activity rates.

C. Health and violence

38. Another area where gender statistics is highly relevant is health and related issues, such as violence. In terms of data collection, particular methodological difficulties arise. Firstly, the decision about what kind of data sources to use needs to be taken. For example, the use of criminal record does not provide a complete picture of the situation as issues regarding violence tend to be underreported. Another issue pertains to definitions of violence, which tend to vary between different studies and make trans-national comparisons difficult.²⁶ Sensitive issues here can be how questions are asked, and to whom they are addressed. The safety of women plays a role here as well as possible repercussions may face women who share details about intimate relationships.

Data collection instruments

39. Household budget surveys (HBS) and labour force surveys (LFS) are the most important surveys when looking at issues of poverty, unemployment and social exclusion and respective policies to address those issues. Unfortunately, these surveys in most countries fail to include a representative sample of ethnic minorities (especially when a minority is small or lives segregated from the majority) or when it is solely based on census data. To overcome this sampling problem and use HBS/LFS as a regular and precise data collection mechanism for minorities, sampling boosters of the respective minorities (i.e. increasing the sample size of minorities) or separate minority samples would be necessary. This is however very costly and

impossible when several minorities exist in one country. In light of the above discussion on conceptual issues, including sensitive questions that are necessary to capture specific problems relating to gender and minority women in terms of incomes, employment, health care, violence and exclusion might be difficult. These include questions on abortions, contraceptive use, domestic violence or intra-household decision-making that might be difficult to capture with current instruments.

40. The *census* is still the best instrument to collect comprehensive data on the population of a country. The major difficulty lies in capturing the multiple identities of minorities. As outlined above, using the ethnicity question, even if it is not prohibited, will not necessarily produce accurate statistics on the situation of minorities, given the fears and self-identification problems. Therefore, the census needs to be improved in various ways to accommodate the multiple identities minorities might have, increase their willingness and trust to state their ethnicity and believe in the value and benefit of data. In addition, some questions, especially in the area of health need to be modified and some added to capture gender sensitive issues. As regards to the problem with the ethnicity question, there are various suggestions on how to circumvent this problem. One is to introduce a multiple-choice question on ethnicity. Another suggestion is to differentiate clearly between ethnicity and citizenship or nationality to prevent the respondent from the need of choosing one option only, though s/he feels to have various identities. Another option is to add questions on language, religion, partner's ethnicity or country of birth or origin as objective identification criteria.

41. *Registries* are important but cannot serve as the main data collection instrument. Registries however are usually "ethnicity blind". They are useful for data disaggregated by sex (which is difficult to dispute) but not ethnicity. Ethnic minorities are often opposed to introducing ethnic markers in registries fearing discrimination (the simplest example is unemployment – introducing 'ethnicity' code can be used for discrimination in access to jobs or other employment promotion services). Health, education and criminal registries face another problem – that of external identification imposed by an outsider and usually present a biased picture. It can often differ from the individual's self-identification. But where possible, registries should be at least engendered – and broken by sex. For example, business registers can and should be engendered to provide disaggregated data on entrepreneurship and agriculture. On the other hand, registries can be used for sampling surveys. A user of services (for example health or employment) can be asked to fill in an anonymous questionnaire, which will provide the necessary data on the specific issue and at the same time would retain the individual's anonymity.

42. In addition to the presented methodological difficulties, more emphasis needs to be put on improving the *fieldwork*. The fieldwork has an important role within the data collection process. This role becomes even more important when minorities or gender sensitive aspects are involved. Simple factors turn very relevant, such as the sex or ethnicity of the interviewer, the way a question will be asked, or how the interviewer will be accepted by the respondent. Therefore, one of the major prerequisites for relevant data collection is the participation and involvement of the communities surveyed in the process of data collection at all stages.

43. The issue is particularly relevant for Roma who often feel isolated from the state (and any structures perceived as "alien" to the community). Due to high levels of distrust, without explicit

efforts in this area, figures obtained during surveys or censuses may not correspond to reality. Minority representatives including women should be trained as interviewers. They should be trained on the basics of sociological data collection, interviewing techniques, the contents and context of individual questions. The fieldwork could then be carried out by the trained interviewers or regular interviewers will be accompanied by an “assistant interviewer” from the surveyed community. Women interviewers are needed to build up trust to women respondents when asking sensitive questions. In this case for example, the fieldwork needs also to take into account that women should be interviewed alone without the presence of the husband or other male household members.

44. The role envisaged for the “assistant interviewers” is much broader than community penetration. These people could constitute the core of the future data collectors who could actively cooperate with the national statistical institutes and other bodies interested in collecting adequate data on the socio-economic status of marginalised groups. This is a long-term investment that goes far beyond the validity of the results of surveys and censuses. This kind of partnership with local communities and NGOs is required to improve the data collection process and respective results.

RECOMMENDATIONS

45. The paper has outlined the need of ethnic data which is also sensitive to gender aspects and highlighted the difficulties when it comes to collecting such data. In order to overcome some of these challenges, following summary of the main suggestions and recommendations for improvements in data collection should be considered:

- (a) Collect gender and ethnically sensitive data together;
- (b) Statistical institutions need to have the capacity to provide necessary guarantees on the privacy and use of the data;
- (c) Legal frameworks need to balance the protection of privacy (individual data) and the need of anonymous ethnic data for policy analysis;
- (d) Existing data collection systems need to be sensitized to issues regarding ethnicity and gender for example by:
 - (i) sufficiently disaggregating existing data;
 - (ii) developing adequate indicators that capture a wider context;
 - (iii) complementing data collected with the household as the unit of measurement;
 - (iv) involving the ethnic community in the collection of data;
 - (v) modifying existing questionnaires or creating new ones with emphasis on gender and ethnic sensitive questions;
- (e) Cooperation and partnership between data producers and users is necessary;
- (f) Standards for collected data (reliability, consistency, usefulness) needs to be ensured;
- (g) Develop methodologies to complement registries data with unanimous survey-based instruments complementing ethnic dimensions to the specific topic studied.

ENDNOTES

¹ The 2004 UNDP 'Vulnerable Groups Survey' was conducted in November 2004 in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro (with separate samples for Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo) and Romania. In total 8,273 households were surveyed (3,534 Roma, 3,537 representing majority populations living in close proximity to Roma, and 1,202 representing IDP's and refugees) with 34,116 household members' individual profiles recorded (17,270 Roma, 12,548 from the majority populations living in close proximity to Roma and 4,298 IDP's and refugees). In all countries the survey used identical questionnaires and followed identical sampling and methodological guidelines. The datasets and methodological information can be found on <http://vulnerability.undp.sk>.

² Minority Rights Group, <http://www.mrg.org>.

³ Kandiyoti, 1988, "Bargaining with patriarchy" *Gender and Society* 2, 274 – 290. Mohanty (1991), "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses". In *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, ed. Mohanty, Chandra Talpade, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

⁴ The term "ethno-class" is not new in social anthropology; different studies apply the term *ethno-class* to different groups. For example in Sub-Saharan Africa, Hutus and Tutsis in the Congo and Black Moors in Mauritania are referred to as 'ethno-classes'. In Namibia and Zimbabwe, *Europeans* are also defined as an ethno-class.

⁵ Banda and Chinkin 2004, Gender Minorities and Indigenous Peoples, Minority Rights Group International, <http://www.minorityrights.org/admin/Download/Pdf/MRGGenderReport.pdf>.

⁶ Banda and Chinkin 2004; Open Society Institute 2006, Broadening the Agenda: the Status of Romani Women in Romania, Budapest, http://www.soros.org/initiatives/roma/articles_publications/publications/broadening_20060313/broadening_agenda.pdf.

⁷ Oprea, 2003 'The Erasure of Romani Women in Statistical Data: Limits of the Race Versus Gender Approach', eumap, <http://eumap.org/journal/features/2003/april/romastats>.

⁸ This pattern is common also for other ethnic groups. For example, women from Turkish minorities in Germany are often expected to be explicitly 'non-German' if they are supposed to remain part of the particular ethno-class. Non-compliance with the group pressure may lead to violence and even 'honor murders' in the community.

⁹ Coomarswamy, 1994, To Bellow Like a Cow: Women, Ethnicity and the Discourse of Rights in *Human Rights of Women: National and International Perspectives* 39-57, Philadelphia: U of Penn Press; Another example is the citizen rights case with Unity Dow in Botswana, <http://www.law-lib.utoronto.ca/diana/fulltext/dow1.htm>, Narayan, (1997), *Dislocating Culture: Identities, Traditions, and Third World Feminism*. New York: Routledge.

¹⁰ See for example Oprea, 2005. "Child Marriage a Cultural Problem, Educational Access a Race Issue? Deconstructing Uni-Dimensional Understanding of Romani Oppression". *Roma Rights*, 2/2005.

¹¹ UNDP, 2006, "At Risk: Roma and the Displaced in Southeast Europe", Bratislava: UNDP.

¹² UNDP, 2004, "Vulnerable Groups Survey", <http://vulnerability.undp.sk>.

¹³ UNDP, 2006, "At Risk: Roma and the Displaced in Southeast Europe", Bratislava: UNDP.

¹⁴ EU directive on the protection of individuals with regard to the processing of personal data and on the free movement of such data, 95/46/EC, 24 October.

¹⁵ Council of Europe Convention for the Protection of Individuals with Regard to Automatic Processing of Personal Data (1981) and Recommendation No. R(97) 18 of the Committee of Ministers Concerning the Protection of Personal Data Collected and Processed for Statistical Purposes (1997).

¹⁶ Individuals have the right to choose whether or not to identify with the group and they must not suffer disadvantage from whichever choice they make (UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (UNDM), Article 3.2). Groups also define their own boundaries in terms of who they accept to be members. This is not unlimited because they cannot act in a discriminatory manner. See Human Rights Committee (HRC) case *Lovelace v Canada*, Communication No. 24/1977, UN Doc. A/36/40 pp. 166-75.

¹⁷ UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) General Recommendation VIII, UN Doc A/45/18, 1990.

¹⁸ Governments may also have vested interest in using self-identification based estimates for policy design and resource allocation: resources are allocated usually on the basis of population estimates; higher estimates mean more resources to be devoted to minority populations.

¹⁹ CoE, Framework Convention for the protection of National Minorities (FCNM), Article 3.1 and Explanatory Report, H(1995)010, para 35.

²⁰ For a summary see Chant, 2006, "Re-Visiting the Feminization of Poverty and the UNDP Gender Indices: What Case for a Gendered Poverty Index?" London School of Economics, working paper series.

²¹ Chant, 2006.

²² Rodenberg, 2004, 'Gender and Poverty Reduction: New Conceptual Approaches in International Development Cooperation'. Reports and Working Papers 4/2004, German Development Institute, Bonn.

²³ Chant, 2006.

²⁴ Sen, 1990, 'Gender and Cooperative Conflicts', Tinker (ed.) *Persistent Inequalities*; Kabeer 1991, 'Gender Production and Well-Being, Rethinking the Household Economy'. IDS Discussion Paper 28, University of Sussex; Agrawal 1997, "'Bargaining" and Gender relations: Within and Beyond the Household', *Feminist Economic* 3 (1).

²⁵ Agrawal 1997. In practice however, it is very difficult to implement such approaches. One possible approach could be to complement traditional household models with "bargaining" or "power sharing" components, applying a set of weights to the results of the traditional model. The weights (increasing/decreasing individual's share in estimated benefits, assets etc.) can be determined on the basis of qualitative research targeting the group specifics.

²⁶ WHO, 2002, "World Report on Violence and Health", Geneva: WHO.
