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**PARALLEL SUBMISSION
BY THE EUROPEAN ROMA RIGHTS CENTRE
TO THE COMMITTEE ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF
RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
ON SERBIA
FOR ITS CONSIDERATION AT THE 78th SESSION
14 FEBRUARY TO 11 MARCH 2011**

INTRODUCTION

1. The European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC)¹ submits this parallel report to the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (the Committee or CERD) commenting on the First Periodic Report of Serbia, submitted under Article 9 of the United Nations International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (the Convention or ICERD).
2. This parallel report describes the current situation of Roma in Serbia, particularly noting recent developments in connection with anti-discrimination law, human rights judgments and anti-Romani violence and provides updates on the housing, education and health conditions in Romani communities in Serbia.

ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAW

3. On 26 March 2009, Serbia adopted its "Anti-Discrimination Law" which entered into force on 1 January 2010. On 5 May 2010, Nevena Petrušić was elected to the position of Commissioner for Equality. The Commissioner had 45 days from the date of election to establish the office and develop internal regulations for the functioning of the equality body. As of January 2011, the equality body institution was not yet operational. As the equality body is intended to conduct investigations and adjudicate complaints of discrimination, this serious delay in establishing the body implicates Serbia's obligations under Article 6 of the ICERD.

HUMAN RIGHTS JUDGMENTS

4. On 8 May 2009, the UN Committee Against Torture issued a decision finding Serbia in violation of a number of provisions of the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT) in relation to a case of violence and racial abuse against a Romani man. Besim Osmani was jointly represented by the ERRC, the Humanitarian Law Center (HLC) and the Minority Rights Center (MRC) in a complaint relating to an incident on 8 June 2000. Mr Osmani was beaten and verbally abused by what were believed to be plain-clothes police officers, in the presence of uniformed officers during a forced eviction and demolition operation at the "Antena" settlement in New Belgrade. During the incident Mr Osmani's four-year-old son was also hit and, following his eviction and the destruction of his property, Mr Osmani was forced to live in the basement of his place of work with his wife and three young children. The Committee Against Torture found that Mr Osmani had been subjected to "cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment," noting in its decision that the "infliction of physical and mental suffering [was] aggravated by the complainant's particular vulnerability, due to his Roma ethnic origin and unavoidable association with a minority historically subjected to discrimination and prejudice." The Committee Against Torture pointed to the fact that "the State party's authorities who witnessed the events and failed to intervene to prevent the abuse have at the very least consented or acquiesced to it." With the assistance of the HLC, Mr Osmani tried to assert his rights within the Serbian criminal justice system, but to no avail. The Committee Against Torture found that Serbia was in breach of its obligations: to proceed with a criminal investigation (Article 12); to ensure that Mr Osmani had the right to complain to, and to have his case promptly and impartially investigated by, the competent authorities (Article 13); and to enable Mr Osmani to obtain redress and to provide him with fair and adequate compensation (Article 16). The Committee Against Torture urged Serbia to: conduct a proper investigation into the acts that occurred on 8 June 2000; prosecute and punish the persons responsible for those acts; provide Mr Osmani with redress, including fair and adequate compensation; and inform the Committee Against Torture within 90 days of the relevant steps it has taken. There is no information available publicly on the government's response.
5. The ERRC, HLC and MRC contacted the Ministry of Human and Minority Rights, the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Justice asking that these matters be addressed. There was no response to this communication. As of the end of 2010, the perpetrators have not been identified, prosecuted or punished. Based on the Committee Against Torture's decision, in January 2010 the MRC filed a civil complaint against the Republic of Serbia for non-pecuniary damages with the Belgrade First Instance Court. The State Agent contested the amount of non-pecuniary damages but accepted the legal grounds on which compensation was requested. The First Instance Court found in favour of Mr Osmani but the State appealed the decision so no compensation has yet been paid.

¹ The European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) is an international public interest law organisation engaging in a range of activities aimed at combating anti-Romani racism and human rights abuse of Roma, in particular strategic litigation, international advocacy, research and policy development, and training of Romani activists. Information about the European Roma Rights Centre is available at <http://www.errc.org>.

VIOLENCE AGAINST ROMA

6. According to the European Commission's 2010 Progress Report on Serbia, "There has been little progress concerning *the prevention of torture, ill-treatment and impunity* where a number of cases continued to be recorded"² (emphasis in the original). In 2009, the UN Human Rights Committee expressed grave concern about the apparent rise in violent anti-Roma groups and activities, as well as the lack of an effective response from police:

Between 2004 and 2007 the statistics indicated a declining trend in display of all forms of intolerance against Roma. [...] However, in the course of 2007 the number of the referred-to incidents rose. In addition to the recorded increase in the number of physical assaults (from 11 in 2006 to 25 in 2007), there were also more cases of fights between Roma and Serbs (from 2 in 2006 to 6 in 2007). Besides, in 2007 the activity of the members of some unofficial social groups advocating violence against Roma on ethnic and racial grounds also intensified (Skinheads and Nacionalni Stroj).³

7. Indeed, tensions between Roma and non-Roma in Serbia have erupted into violence at certain points, particularly over the last few years.
8. Beginning on 10 June 2010, anti-Roma protests occurred for at least five consecutive nights in Jabuka, Pančevo municipality. Crowds of up to 500 non-Romani residents came to the houses of the Roma shouting violent threats, attempting to attack Romani people and damaging their property. The ERRC sent a letter to urge authorities to intervene to protect the Roma on 17 June 2010, at which time at least two children had been injured and one home destroyed. Romani residents had been hiding in their homes for days, unable to leave for work or to attend school. Although the Serbian police were present, reports from NGOs and interviews indicated that they were passive and failed to respond or prevent the ongoing violence and intimidation.⁴ Serbian authorities did not respond to this letter but Human Rights Watch reported in January 2011 that the neighbourhood was still under constant police protection.⁵
9. The Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia (HCHRS) reported that at 2:30 AM the night of 6-7 April 2009, a group of neo-Nazis attacked a Romani settlement near an open-air flea market in Novi Beograd.⁶ Witnesses reported that 20-30 attackers in two vans armed with knives and metal sticks and shouting "We will move you" attacked a group of Romani children, women and men sitting outside. Several children were reportedly beaten up and one young man sustained serious injuries when he was hit on the head by a bottle. Several older people collapsed due to fear and panic. According to the HCHRS, the neo-Nazis ran away after 50 men from nearby shacks organised to defend the settlement.⁷ Five or six policemen patrolling the settlement during the attack reportedly did not react, stating that "they do not have a right to intervene."
10. Earlier on the same day, 6 April 2009, at 9:00 AM, another incident took place in a refugee shelter housing Roma located on the periphery of the "Resnik" settlement. An unknown group set the forest and meadow near the shelter on fire. Fire fighters arrived at the scene and stopped the fire just before it reached the shelter. According to the HCHRS, this shelter, home to 46 Romani families, is constantly targeted by threats and attacks. Groups of 10-15 persons reportedly participate in attacks. The HCHRS reported that inhabitants are afraid for the safety of their children in school and they are also afraid to go to local shops alone. There is reportedly a lack of trust in the police because the Romani residents are often taken into police custody and beaten during questioning.⁸

² European Commission, Conclusions on Serbia (extract from the Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament "Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2010-2011", COM(2010)660 final), available at:

http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2010/package/conclusions_serbia_en.pdf, 2.

³ Human Rights Committee, Consideration of reports submitted by States Parties under article 40 of the Covenant, Second periodic report of States parties: Serbia, 28 August 2009, available at: <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrc/hrcs98.htm>.

⁴ European Roma Rights Centre, "Rights Organisations Urge Prevention and Prosecution of Racist Attacks in Serbia", Press Release, 17 June 2010, available at: <http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=3596>.

⁵ Human Rights Watch, World Report 2011, 24 January 2011, available at: <http://www.hrw.org/en/reports/2011/01/24/world-report-2011>, 464.

⁶ Press release of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, 8 of April 2009, http://www.helsinki.org.yu/serbian/saopstenja_t39.html.

⁷ Press release of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, 8 of April 2009, http://www.helsinki.org.yu/serbian/saopstenja_t39.html.

⁸ Press release of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, 8 April 2009, available at: http://www.helsinki.org.yu/serbian/saopstenja_t39.html.

11. In 2008, the UN Committee Against Torture expressed concern about the inadequate law enforcement response to anti-Romani violence in its review of Serbia: “The Committee [...] expresses concern at the failure to protect minorities, especially when political events indicate that they may be at heightened risk of violence (arts. 10, 12 and 16).”⁹ The Committee Against Torture called on the State to take all necessary measures to ensure that minorities are protected, to increase ethnic diversity in the police force and to develop training and communication campaigns that condemn violence. Furthermore, the Committee Against Torture asked that the State gather statistical data about torture and ill-treatment disaggregated by ethnicity among other factors.¹⁰

ACCESS TO ADEQUATE HOUSING AND FORCED EVICTIONS

12. Although the Government asserts that there is no discrimination in access to housing,¹¹ ERRC research indicates the opposite. ERRC research conducted in 2009-2010 on the housing situation of Roma in 7 countries, including Serbia, indicated that many Roma in Serbia live in highly substandard conditions, that Roma have been subjected to forced evictions and placed in substandard accommodation, that non-Roma have protested the relocation of Roma to their neighbourhoods and that the criteria for accessing social housing may discriminate against Roma.¹²
13. As of 2007, 50% of Roma in Serbia lived in 573 segregated Romani settlements, of which only 11% are developed while 44% are unhygienic slums.¹³ Little progress has been made in improving the conditions in these settlements.
14. In Leskovac, residents of the Romani settlement do not have access to safe drinking water, which poses an obstacle to drinking, cleaning and bathing. According to the Romani NGO “Forum for Roma Initiative”, residents have fallen ill with skin diseases as a consequence of their bad housing conditions and the lack of clean water.¹⁴ Local authorities have reportedly rejected offers of financial support from several foreign foundations to build infrastructure in the settlement because it was built without legal permission.¹⁵ As one of the residents, J.C., told the ERRC, “It is hard to live when you do not have water.”¹⁶
15. In Novi Sad, the Veliki Rit Romani settlement is home to around 3,000 Romani Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) from Kosovo. The lack of a sewage system and paved roads causes waste to flow in the streets, which are impassable due to mud when it rains.¹⁷ The absence of infrastructure such as lighting or electricity causes hazardous, difficult living situations.
16. Segregated Romani settlements also leave Romani residents far from work, education and other essential services. For example, children walk more than 5 kilometres to school from Novi Sad’s Sunny settlement.¹⁸
17. Numerous high profile forced evictions of Romani communities in Serbia were carried out or are imminent, according to ERRC research and monitoring. On 8 October 2010, eight Romani families (all 33 people were Serbian citizens, registered in Belgrade), including 16 children, three babies and one pregnant woman were evicted from Vojvodjanska street 25 in New Belgrade. According to information gathered by the ERRC and the Regional Centre for Minorities in August 2010, the families in question were informed that the Belgrade Land Development Public Agency (BLDA) had requested their eviction from the building which it had provided these families in 2003 following their forced eviction from “Stari Grad, Dorcol – Marina.” The residents made statements about their housing at a hearing held at the Department of Property and Legal Affairs and Housing – Administration of the Municipality of New Belgrade (DPLAH). Directly after taking their statements, the representative of the DPLAH informed the

⁹ Committee Against Torture, *41st Session (3-21 November 2008) Concluding Observations: Serbia*, available at: <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cat/cats41.htm>, Paragraph 17.

¹⁰ Committee Against Torture, *41st Session (3-21 November 2008) Concluding Observations: Serbia*, available at: <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cat/cats41.htm>, Paragraph 23.

¹¹ Government of Serbia, Initial Report to CERD, August 2009, 53.

¹² This research was supported by the United Nations Democracy Fund and will be published in a forthcoming report. It documented the housing situation of Roma in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia and Slovakia, employing Romani activists as researchers, authors and reviewers. ERRC, “ERRC Presents Findings of Roma Housing Research”, press release, 13 December 2010, available at: <http://errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=3798>.

¹³ Roma Education Fund, 2007 Country Assessment and the Roma Education Fund’s Strategic Directions – “Advancing Education of Roma in Serbia”, available at: http://www.romaeducationfund.hu/documents/Serbia_report.pdf.

¹⁴ ERRC interview with Mr T.K., Forum for Roma Initiative. Leskovac, Serbia: December 2009.

¹⁵ ERRC interview with Mr T.K., Forum for Roma Initiative. Leskovac, Serbia: December 2009.

¹⁶ ERRC interview with Ms J.C. Lebane, Serbia: 21 December 2009.

¹⁷ ERRC interview with Mr S.K. Novi Sad, Serbia: 4 December 2009.

¹⁸ ERRC interview with Mr D.F. Novi Sad, Serbia: 17 November 2009.

families that they could expect eviction orders soon thereafter, that they will have to leave and that no alternative accommodation would be provided. On 24 August, the DPLAH issued eviction orders requesting that the residents move. The residents did not move as they had nowhere else to go. After several days of negotiations municipal authorities provided six families with alternative accommodation in containers measuring 16 square metres: one remaining family moved in with other relatives and the other family left the country.

18. Serbian authorities conducted two significant forced evictions of Roma in 2009: New Belgrade's Block 67 Romani settlement and the Romani settlement under Belgrade's Gazela Bridge. Media reports and ERRC documentation indicate that on 3 April 2009, police forcibly evicted and destroyed the personal property of a group of 128 Romani individuals, among them many IDPs, women and children, who had been living in Novi Beograd's Block 67. Residents received official information about this eviction less than 24 hours before bulldozers arrived, despite notices which indicated that they would be removed from the property in 15 days. Only the evicted Roma with residence registered in Belgrade were provided with alternative accommodation in segregated, substandard containers in Zvezdara's longstanding Orlovsko Romani settlement. The ERRC, in partnership with Human Rights Watch, wrote a letter to Serbian authorities requesting adequate alternative accommodation for all evicted residents, but received no answer.¹⁹
19. According to Ms Marija Leković, an official from the municipality of Zvezdara, no advance consultation took place prior to the relocation of 13 Romani families to the Orlovsko settlement by Belgrade authorities. The land was not properly prepared (it could not be connected to sewage) and the residents were initially relocated to empty containers, without furniture, and left on their own. Municipal representatives reportedly provided the residents with beds and clothing.²⁰ At the end of July 2009, the Municipality of Zvezdara organised a meeting with Belgrade city authorities at which it was decided that municipal authorities should replace the containers; according to ERRC research, as of late January 2011 this has not taken place.
20. The Ministry of Internal Affairs, along with the Belgrade Fire Department and the Service for Public Infrastructure, coordinated relocation efforts after the Gazela eviction. Residents were informed 10 days prior to the eviction, which started on 31 August 2009 at 7:00 AM and finished by 2:00 PM on the same day. ERRC research indicated that no property was destroyed and all affected persons were provided segregated, substandard alternative accommodation. In total, 113 Romani families (1000 residents) with residence registered in Belgrade were moved to container homes in 5 different locations: in Belgrade (Kijevo, Makis, Lipovica and Krnjaca) and Mladenovac. The remaining 53 Romani families who were not registered in Belgrade were returned to their last registered residence in eight southern Serbian municipalities. Among these was Mr K.N. who had been living with his family under the Gazela Bridge for 15 years. He is unable to work and his children are not in school, as they were returned to his parents' house in Vranje: "I worked there in Belgrade, now I am without a job, without water, electricity and sewage system; I have three children who could not continue school after we returned to Vranje. [...] Nothing is close to us: hospital, health care centre, police, other social services, the school etc."²¹
21. In Niš, after a foreign company purchased land on which the Crvena Zvezda Romani settlement is located, local authorities began indicating that the residents would be removed at the owner's request in April 2009.²² The residents of Crvena Zvezda reported to the ERRC that they learnt about their impending resettlement from the media and that authorities were largely unavailable and unwilling to meet with them. The authorities, who have reportedly used racist derogatory language when referring to the residents,²³ still had not met with the Romani residents as of October 2010, despite having assured the ERRC that they would do so in September 2010.²⁴
22. The ERRC is not aware that the relevant authorities explored the option to offer regularly-available social housing to Roma affected by these and other evictions before placing them in segregated container housing.

¹⁹ ERRC, "International Human Rights Groups Urge Human Rights Respect of Roma and Government-Roma Partnership", press release, 8 April 2009, available at: <http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=3026>.

²⁰ ERRC interview with Ms Marija Leković, Zvezdara: 17 September 2009.

²¹ ERRC interview Mr K.N., Vranje: 25 February 2010.

²² "Seeking relocation of Roma settlement", *Danas*, 23 April 2009.

²³ ERRC interview with Mr H.H., NGO Romsko Srce, Niš, Serbia: 10, 21 August 2009.

²⁴ ERRC interview with Nis City Council Representative Dusica Davidovic, Niš, Serbia: 12 August 2010.

23. Indeed, Roma face obstacles in accessing social housing in Serbia. In Belgrade, the new social regulation system requires applicants to compete for social housing.²⁵ Applicants are awarded points based on different criteria, such as: employment status, length of employment, disability, number of family members (to a maximum of five), etc. A person receives additional points for long-term employment. Unfortunately, Roma face significantly higher unemployment rates across all age cohorts and lower educational outcomes than non-Roma.²⁶ Thus, the new criteria will result in many Roma who may be in need of social housing in Belgrade being at a disadvantage in the competitive system due to their employment status. In October, the Minority Rights Centre and the ERRC submitted a complaint to the Serbian Constitutional Court claiming ethnic discrimination against Roma due to the likely disparate impact of the regulation and asking the Court to assess the constitutionality of the regulation.
24. Racism and discrimination among public officials or private persons pose obstacles to Roma accessing adequate housing conditions. When authorities placed metal containers in a new location following the April 2009 eviction of New Belgrade's Blok 67, non-Romani residents of the new area protested, burning the containers, according to media reports. The Roma who were supposed to move into these containers were forced to spend the night on the streets and the authorities were forced to look elsewhere for relocation sites.²⁷ There was also at least one violent attack in Kijevo on the former residents of the Gazela settlement in their new homes on 26 September 2009: no perpetrators had been identified as of November 2010.²⁸

ACCESS TO EDUCATION

25. In the area of education, the situation of Roma is characterised by low enrolment rates, high dropout rates and misplacement of students in special schools and classes offering substandard education.²⁹ As a residence permit is required for enrolment in pre-school and primary education, many Romani children living in informal settlements whose parents cannot access identity documents face obstacles to enrolment.
26. Problems accessing documents for school registration particularly affect Romani IDPs from Kosovo or returnees from Western Europe. Although many affected families have been in Serbia for years, authorities have not provided a solution. Mr S.K. told the ERRC that since 1999 when he and his family fled to Novi Sad's Veliki Rit Romani settlement from Kosovo, his four children, aged 10, 11, 12 and 13, have not been able to register in school because they can not obtain personal documents.³⁰
27. In some cases, the actions of Serbian authorities have prevented Romani children from registering for school. The Blok 67 eviction on 23 April 2009 is one example. Belgrade authorities relocated 13 Romani families to the Orlovsko Romani settlement. The 13 families were housed in 11 containers which are not registered and do not have an official address. Consequently, the families could not register their permanent residence and enrol their children in the local school. Residents reported to the ERRC that they were forced to commute one and a half hours each way to continue attending the school near their old homes.³¹
28. Following its 2007 review of Serbia, the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) requested that the State collect data disaggregated by gender and ethnicity to combat high drop-out rates and ensure the access of women and girls to education, particularly mentioning Romani women and girls.³² The State has not done so.

ACCESS TO HEALTH CARE

²⁵ Decision on conditions and manner of disposal of flats built under the Project of construction of 1100 flats in Belgrade, Official Gazette of Belgrade, no. 20/2003, 9/2004, 11/2005, 4/2007, 29/2007 and 6/2010.

²⁶ Roma Education Fund, *Advancing education of Roma in Serbia*, 2007, available at: http://www.romaeducationfund.hu/documents/Serbia_report.pdf.

²⁷ Zorica Nikolić, "Dragan Đilas rešava problem nehigijenskih naselja tako što odbija da se sretne sa stanarima", *Borba*, 23 August 2009, available at: <http://www.borba.rs/content/view/8577/123/>.

²⁸ ERRC interview with B.V. Kljevo settlement, Belgrade, Serbia: 1 November 2010.

²⁹ Roma Education Fund, Roma Education Fund, 2007 Country Assessment and the Roma Education Fund's Strategic Directions – "Advancing Education of Roma in Serbia", available at: http://www.romaeducationfund.hu/documents/Serbia_report.pdf.

³⁰ ERRC interview with Mr S.K., Veliki Rit Romani settlement: Novi Sad, 4 December 2009.

³¹ ERRC, EU Progress Report on Serbia, 1 June 2010, available at: <http://errc.org/cms/upload/file/ecprogress-serbia-2010.pdf>, 2.

³² Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, Concluding Comments of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women: Serbia, 11 June 2007, pars. 29 and 30.

29. Although the Serbian government has employed 45 Romani health mediators,³³ there have been no significant improvements in access to health care for Roma in Serbia recently. Roma are four times more likely to be affected by chronic illness and disease than the general population, and the infant and child mortality rates among Roma are almost three times above the national average.³⁴ Ms Dragana Ibisevic, a health mediator in Lebane, told the ERRC that “40% of the Roma that live in Lebane and the surrounding locations have never been to the doctor for a check-up. Women mostly do not give birth to their children in the hospital; they give birth at home and many newborn children suffer from different diseases.” More than 60% of Romani children in Lebane did not have all necessary vaccinations.³⁵
30. Roma also experience discrimination in access to health care: Ms M.B. told the ERRC that doctors in state hospitals have treated her differently because she is Romani. During consultations about the possibility of getting pregnant again, doctors have reportedly told her, “You Gypsy women easily give birth to children and having children but not being able to provide food for them is something that is normal to you.”³⁶

RECOMMENDATIONS

31. The ERRC respectfully requests that the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination recommend that the Serbian government:
- Regularly collect, publicly report and analyse data disaggregated by ethnicity, gender, age and other relevant factors, in education, housing, health, employment, to inform effective policy development and implementation;
 - Ensure that the Office of the Commissioner for Equality is fully functional as soon as possible, with adequate budget and staff to also undertake awareness raising measures concerning its role and their work;
 - Conduct a proper and thorough investigation into Mr Osmani’s case, as directed in the CAT decision, and provide adequate compensation to Mr Osmani;
 - Take all necessary measures to ensure that minorities are protected, to increase ethnic diversity in the police force and to develop training and communication campaigns that condemn violence;
 - Provide information concerning the status of the investigation and prosecutions of the perpetrators of anti-Romani violence and destruction of property in Jabuka in June 2010 and implement measures to reduce incidents of anti-Romani violence by private actors through prosecution of perpetrators and public education;
 - Bring to justice any public officials and other actors responsible for discriminating against Roma in access to adequate housing or conducting forced evictions in breach of national and international law;
 - Combat segregation by investing in the development of integrated, safe housing and taking steps to ensure that Romani communities have practical and affordable housing alternatives;
 - Use all appropriate means to guarantee protection against forced evictions;
 - Provide, without delay, adequate potable water, electricity, waste removal, public transport, road access and other public infrastructure in Romani settlements which presently lack one or more of the above;
 - Review and amend all laws and regulations to ensure that Roma are able to access social housing equally with non-Roma;
 - Conduct anti-racism and anti-discrimination training for teachers, school administrators and medical professionals to eliminate discrimination in access to schooling and health care;
 - Ensure that all Roma are able to access personal documents required to enrol in school, access social housing and other State-provided services.

³³ Government of Serbia, Initial Report to CERD, August 2009.

³⁴ Roma Education Fund, 2007 Country Assessment and the Roma Education Fund’s Strategic Directions –“Advancing Education of Roma in Serbia”, available at: http://www.romaeducationfund.hu/documents/Serbia_report.pdf.

³⁵ ERRC interview with Dragana Ibišević, Lebane: 29 December 2009. Health mediators are a joint project of the OSCE Mission in Serbia and Serbian Ministry for Health which supports the EU and Serbian Ministry for Health. The project started in 2007 and ended in June 2010.

³⁶ ERRC interview with Ms M.B., Nis: 10 August 2009.