

*Online Appendix [on author's website]*  
Reaching the Individual: EU Accession, NGOs, and  
Human Rights

### **Participation protocols**

Non-Roma subjects participated individually, in their homes, for 10-20 minutes. Roma subjects participated individually, at a central location—an NGO common room, a kindergarten or a volunteered living room (a few Roma volunteered their living rooms for participation). To ensure anonymity of decision-making, we used playing cards as identifiers and collected answers in four boxes. Only the subjects knew their identifier. When subjects were signing the consent form, filling out the lottery slip, writing their street name and number on the envelope (senders) and filling out the exit questionnaire we turned our backs. When they were making decisions in the dictator and trust games we left the room.

#### **Four boxes**

Four light boxes were used to collect the answers (see Figure 1):

- Black box: signed consent forms, drawn identifier cards, envelopes with addresses and identifiers (senders).
- Yellow box: lottery result slips and exit questionnaires
- Green box: sealed envelopes containing the sums donated to the family in need in the dictator game. The envelopes were marked with identifiers and date only.
- Blue box: sealed envelopes containing the sums sent to the subjects' partner in the trust game. The envelopes were marked with identifiers and date (senders) only.
- Orange box (receivers only): for receivers a fifth box is also used; the box contains doubled sums sent in the trust game by potential partners. See protocol for the trust game below.

The black box is the only box that contains information that could be used to identify a subject. The same person never handled the contents of that box as well as the contents of the other boxes. I did not handle the contents of the black box. An assistant emptied the black box, collected, sorted, and filed the documents. The same assistant filled and sealed

the envelopes with the sums returned to the senders at the end of the study. I and my team then hand-delivered the sealed envelopes to the participants' mailboxes.

I handled the contents of the yellow, green and blue boxes, and entered the data into a spreadsheet. In the spreadsheet each subject is identified using only the identifier and the date.

[Figure 1 about here]

The protocols presented here were used in Slovenia - the Euro is the local currency. The protocols used in Croatia were identical, except that Croatian Kunas were used instead.

### Participation proceeds as follows:

1) Subject reads and signs two copies of the consent form, and puts one copy in the black box. The subject keeps the other copy.

Text: *This is a consent form; one copy is for you and the other is for us. Please read it carefully. If you have any questions, please ask. The form requires your signature and the date. [once the subject read the form] Do you have any questions? If you have no more questions, please sign and put one copy in the black box. You keep the other copy.*

2) Subject draws card, memorizes the identifier, and puts card in the black box.

Text: *Your answers will be recorded under a code name. Please draw one card from this stack—this is your code name. Please do not show us the card or tell us what it is; we are not allowed to know. Memorize the card. You will write or draw the symbol on the card on all your answers. You can put the card in the black box now, but if you wish to keep it until the end you can do that as well (as long as you don't show us the card). Do you have any questions?*

3) Subject plays the **lottery**, fills out the lottery slip (choice of lottery, result, date, and identifier) and puts it in the yellow box. Subject receives the lottery payoff in the envelope marked "Participant." Subject is instructed to hide that envelope.

Text: *Now you will participate in three practical exercises and at the end you will fill out a short questionnaire. This is the first exercise. On this sheet of paper we have five different lotteries. [show Table 1] In this exercise you pick one of these five lotteries (whichever suits you best) and then you toss a coin. Whatever falls you get. For example, the first lottery is not risky at all. If you choose lottery #1 and you get heads, you receive €4. The same happens if you get tails; with lottery #1 you also receive €4. Lottery 5, on the other hand, is the most risky. If you choose lottery #5 and get heads, you receive €0. If you get tails, you receive €8. Do you have any questions? If not, choose the lottery that you like best, write it on this slip of paper, and then you will toss a coin. [subject picks lottery, writes number on the paper slip, tosses coin] Alright, you got tails/heads. That means you receive X. First fill out the rest of this slip and as you do that, we will turn around so that we don't see your code. [turn so that your back is facing the subject] Fill out the paper slip with date, what*

you chose, what fell (heads or tails), the sum of money you receive, and your code name (the card you drew earlier). Please do not sign or write your name anywhere. Then put the slip into the yellow box. Is the slip in the yellow box? [if the subject affirms, face the subject] This is your envelope. The sum you just received from this lottery is now in this envelope. [put money in envelope] This envelope belongs to you and from now on, we cannot see this envelope or whatever else you put in it. Please put this envelope in your pocket or hide it somewhere else. The first exercise is now finished and whatever sum you received is yours to keep. You will not be using that money in any way during the next two exercises.

[Table 1 about here]

4) Subject plays the **dictator game**. Subject receives a sum (€6 or 36kn) and an empty envelope and is instructed to divide that sum (in any way) between him/herself and a local family in need. Whatever subject keeps he/she puts in his/her own envelope and hides. Whatever subject donates to family he/she puts in the empty envelope, seals the envelope, marks the envelope with identifier and date and puts the envelope in the green box. Subject only acts once the examiner has left the room.

Text: *Now we begin the second exercise. Please listen to the instructions first and do not do anything before we leave the room. You already have the envelope that belongs to you. Now we'll give you another envelope; this one is blank. In this exercise you receive €6.* [set money on the table] *You have the opportunity to divide these €6 between yourself and a local family in need. This family is from your town and will remain anonymous. It is a family that needs financial help—we will choose this family with the aid of the Center for Social Services after this study is over. This family will then receive the bulk sum of whatever the participants in this study send to them. Now, your role is to divide this between yourself and the family in any way you like. You do not need to send anything to this family; you can send something; or you can send everything. Whatever sum you send to the family, you put in this blank envelope. On top of the envelope write your code and today's date. Then seal the envelope and put it in the green box—even if the envelope is empty. Put whatever sum remains in your own envelope, which is hidden either in your pocket or somewhere else. Make sure you put your own envelope out of sight. Once you are done, call us back. Do you have any questions?* [leave the room and return once the subject calls you back. as you are returning, ask:] *Is the envelope for the family in the green box?* [make sure that the envelope is in the green box (subject says yes) before you return to the room.]

## 5) Trust game

### *Senders*

Subject is told that the game is played in pairs and that his/her partner is an anonymous randomly chosen member of the local Romani (treatment) or non-Romani (control) community. Pairs are determined by the draw of the card - the person in the Receiver group who draws the same identifier as the subject is the subject's partner. The subject will not know the identity of his/her partner and the partner will not know the identity of the subject. The trust game is explained. The subject again receives a sum (6 or 36kn) and an

empty envelope and is instructed to divide that sum (in any way) between him/herself and his/her partner. Whatever subject keeps he/she puts in his/her own envelope and hides. Whatever subject sends to his/her partner he/she puts in empty envelope, seals envelope, marks the envelope with identifier and date and puts the envelope in the blue box. Subject only acts once the examiner has left the room.

Text: *This is the final exercise. Just as with the second exercise, please do not do anything until we have left the room. We are not allowed to see what you decide. This exercise is done in pairs. You and your partner receive the same instructions. You will not directly interact with your partner; you will make your decision today and your partner will make his/her decision whenever he/she participates. Your partner is an anonymous, randomly chosen person from your town; your partner is from the Romani community (your partner is not from the Romani community). This is all you know about your partner; your partner will know the same about you. You do not know who your partner is and your partner will not know who you are; you will not meet. The pairs are determined by drawing cards; your partner will be the person who next draws the same code card that you drew. Do you have any questions? [If not, continue and explain the game] In this exercise you again get €6, just like in the second exercise. Your partner also gets €6 in the beginning. Now you get to divide this sum between yourself and your partner. Like before, you can keep all €6 right now. Whatever you choose to keep is yours today. You can also send something, including everything, to your partner. Whatever you send to your partner, we will double. That means your partner will have his/her initial €6 and the doubled sum of whatever you send. Then your partner will decide how to divide his total sum between you two. He can send something back to you (just like you can send something to him/her today), he can send everything to you or he can keep everything for himself. This is a table of examples. [show Table 2 and go through an example:] For example. You and your partner both get €6. Suppose you decide today to send €2 to your partner and keep €4. The €4 you keep stays yours today. The €2 you send to your partner we double, so that your partner receives €4 and his initial €6. Together he/she has €10. He/she then decides to divide the €10 between you two in whatever way he/she wishes. He/she can send something back to you, he/she can send everything back to you or he/she can keep everything. Do you have any questions? [if there are questions, go through another example and keep explaining until the game is absolutely clear] OK, remember, don't do anything until we have left the room. Here are your initial €6. [set money on the table]*

*You've received another blank envelope. This envelope is for your partner. Put the sum you're sending to your partner in this blank envelope, seal it, and write your code name and the date on the envelope. Do this even if the envelope is empty. Then put this envelope in the blue box. Put whatever sum remains in your own envelope and put it in your pocket or hide it somewhere else. Once both envelopes are out of sight, please call us back. Do you have any questions? [leave the room and return once the subject calls you back. as you are returning, ask:] Is the envelope for your partner in the blue box? [make sure that the envelope is in the blue box (subject says yes) before you return to the room.]*

[Table 2 about here]

The examiner returns and explains that whatever the partner (receiver) sends back to the subject a member of the research team will deliver to the subjects' mailbox at the end of the study. The subject is given an empty envelope and instructed to mark it with the identifier and the date on the inside and to write his/her street name and number on the outside (see Figure 2). Subject puts the envelope in the black box.

*Text: This is the final part of this exercise. Here is another blank envelope. This envelope is for our research team; your partner will not see this envelope. When this study is over, our research team will deliver whatever your partner sent to you to your mailbox, in this envelope. All 100 participants in this portion of the study will receive the envelopes on the same day. Just as before, do not do anything until we turn around. On the inside of this envelope, write your code name and the date and on the outside your street and your house number. Please do not write your name anywhere on the envelope. Then put the envelope into the black box. [The author] will work with the yellow, green and blue boxes, but she does not have access to the contents of the black box. None of your remaining information will be connected to the information on this envelope. Do you have any questions? [If there are questions, explain again; if not, turn your back until the subject has confirmed that the envelope is in the black box.]*

[Figure 2 about here]

### ***Receivers***

As with senders, the procedure of selecting partners and the rules of the trust game are explained. The subject is instructed to select an envelope with his/her identifier from a box filled with several such envelopes (usually between 10 and 20; see Figure 3). This envelope contains the doubled sum of the money received from the subject's partner. The subject also receives the initial sum (€6). The subject is then instructed to divide the total sum (in any way) between him/herself and his/her partner. Whatever subject keeps he/she puts in his/her own envelope and hides. Whatever subject sends to his/her partner he/she puts in the envelope in which he/she received the doubled sum (the envelope already has the identifier), seals that envelope and puts it in the blue box. Subject only acts once the examiner has left the room.

*Text: This is the final exercise. Just as with the second exercise, please do not do anything until we have left the room. We are not allowed to see what you decide. This exercise is done in pairs. You and your partner receive the same instructions. You will not directly interact with your partner; your partner has already made his/her decision and you will make your decision today. Your partner is an anonymous, randomly chosen person from your town; your partner is not from the Romani community. This is all you know about your partner; your partner knew the same about you. You do not know who your partner is and your partner does not know who you are; you will not meet. The pairs are determined by drawing cards; your partner is the person who drew the same code card that you drew. Do you have any questions? [If not, continue and explain the game] In this exercise you again get €6, just like in the second exercise. Your partner also got €6 in the beginning. Then, your partner had the opportunity to divide his/her €6 between him/herself and you. Like in the*

second exercise, your partner was able to keep everything for him/herself. Whatever he/she decided to keep was his/hers that day. Your partner could also send something, including everything, to you. Whatever he/she sent to you, we doubled (your partner knew we would double the sum). Today, you receive this doubled sum in addition to your own initial €6. Now you get to decide how to divide this total sum between yourself and your partner. You can send something back to your partner, you can send everything to your partner or you can keep everything. This is a table of examples. [show Table 3 and go through an example:] For example. You and your partner both get €6. Suppose your partner decided to send €2 to you and kept €4 for him/herself that day. The €4 he/she kept was hers/his that day. The €2 he/she sent to you we doubled, so that you receive €4 and your initial €6 today. Together you have €10. You now decide how to divide the €10 between yourself and your partner in whatever way you want. You can send something back to your partner, you can send everything back to your partner or you can keep everything. Do you have any questions? [if there are questions, go through another example and keep explaining until the game is absolutely clear] OK, remember, don't do anything until we have left the room. Here are your initial €6. [set money on the table]

[Table 3 about here]

This orange box contains several envelopes with code names. These envelopes contain the doubled sums sent by partners. One of these envelopes has the code name that you drew in the beginning—this is the envelope from your partner and it belongs to you. When we leave the room, open the box and find your envelope. Take it out, close the orange box, and open the envelope. Put the sum in the envelope (if it's not empty) and your initial €6 together. This is your total sum. You can divide it between yourself and your partner in any way you wish. You can send something to your partner, you can send everything or you can keep everything. Whatever you want to send to your partner, put into the envelope that you got from the orange box (the envelope already has the code name) and seal the envelope. Do this even if the envelope is empty. Then put this envelope in the blue box. Whatever sum remains, put in your own envelope and put it in your pocket or hide it somewhere else. Once both envelopes are out of sight, please call us back. Do you have any questions? [leave the room and return once the subject calls you back. as you are returning, ask:] Is the envelope for your partner in the blue box? [make sure that the envelope is in the blue box (subject says yes) before you return to the room.]

[Figure 3 about here]

6) Subject fills out the exit questionnaire, marks it with identifier and date, and puts it in the yellow box.

Text: *This is the final part of your participation.* [present the questionnaire] *When we turn around, please fill out this short questionnaire. If there are any questions you would prefer not to answer, please skip them. Please do not write or sign your name anywhere; write only your code name and date at the top or bottom of the page. When you're done, please fold it up and put it in the yellow box. Do you have any questions?* [turn around; answer questions if they come up] *If you are done, please put your identifier card in the black box.*

*If you have any questions, ask them now or contact [the author] directly. Her information is on the consent form. Thank you very much for participating.*

## **Additional Results**

[Tables 4, 5 and 6 about here]



Figure 1: Four boxes

Lottery	Head	Tails
1	€4	€4
2	€3	€5
3	€2	€6
4	€1	€7
5	€0	€8

Table 1: Lottery table given to subjects

If you send:	We will double it to:	Your partner (receiver) has what we doubled and his/her initial €6
€0	€0	€6
€0.5	€1	€7
€1	€2	€8
€1.5	€3	€9
€2	€4	€10
€2.5	€5	€11
€3	€6	€12
€3.5	€7	€13
€4	€8	€14
€4.5	€9	€15
€5	€10	€16
€5.5	€11	€17
€6	€12	€18

Table 2: Trust game table given to senders

If your partner (the sender) sent:	We doubled it to:	You receive what we doubled and your own initial €6
€0	€0	€6
€0.5	€1	€7
€1	€2	€8
€1.5	€3	€9
€2	€4	€10
€2.5	€5	€11
€3	€6	€12
€3.5	€7	€13
€4	€8	€14
€4.5	€9	€15
€5	€10	€16
€5.5	€11	€17
€6	€12	€18

Table 3: Trust game table given to receivers



Figure 2: Placement of text on sender's envelope



Figure 3: Inside the orange box: envelopes for receivers containing doubled sums of the amounts sent by the senders

Table 4: Sample means and standard deviations for the outcome variable, proportion of endowment sent to partner in the trust game, for each group of senders

	Murska Sobota		Čakovec		Novo mesto	
	non-Roma paired with non-Roma	non-Roma paired with Roma	non-Roma paired with non-Roma	non-Roma paired with Roma	non-Roma paired with non-Roma	non-Roma paired with Roma
sample mean	.572	.582	.753	.649	.73	.592
standard deviation	.318	.33	.256	.36	.301	.345

Table 5: Summary of key variables for senders in Murska Sobota, Čakovec and Novo mesto

Variable	Number of observations	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Paired with Roma receiver (treatment)	303	0.51	0.50	0	1
Proportion of endowment sent to trust game partner	303	0.65	0.33	0	1
Lottery chosen (1 - no risk, 5 - high risk)	303	2.97	1.31	1	5
Lottery payoff (as proportion of expected value)	303	1.03	0.59	0	2
Proportion of endowment sent to family in need (dictator game)	303	0.80	0.30	0	1
Age group 1(18-24), 2(25-35), 3(36-49), 4(50-64), 5(65+)	302	3.30	1.25	1	5
Woman	302	0.59	0.49	0	1
Income bracket (1-lowest, 3-highest)	282	1.68	0.69	1	3
Education level (1-primary school, 2-secondary, 3-college, 4-post-graduate)	300	2.38	0.67	1	4
Primary nationality (1-Slovene in Slovenia, Croatian in Croatia; 0-otherwise)	303	0.97	0.17	0	1
Primary ethnicity (1-Slovene in Slovenia, Croatian in Croatia; 0-otherwise)	303	0.92	0.28	0	1
Murska Sobota (101 senders)	303	0.33	0.47	0	1
Čakovec (101 senders)	303	0.33	0.47	0	1
Novo mesto (101 senders)	303	0.33	0.47	0	1
Human rights identified as a requirement for EU accession (senders from Čakovec only)	90	0.83	0.37	0	1
Minority rights identified as a requirement for EU accession (senders from Čakovec only)	90	0.44	0.50	0	1
Author present in research team	303	0.61	0.49	0	1

Table 6: Effect of game partner ethnicity (Roma or non-Roma) in Croatia and Slovenia on the amount sent in the trust game

Independent variables	
Roma dummy	-0.301 ( 0.993 )
Čakovec	0.603 ** ( 0.260 )
Čakovec x Roma	-1.122 *** ( 0.413 )
Novo mesto	0.592 ** ( 0.289 )
Novo mesto x Roma	-1.135 *** ( 0.400 )
lottery 2 dummy	0.106 ( 0.380 )
lottery 3 dummy	0.254 ( 0.351 )
lottery 4 dummy	0.483 ( 0.400 )
lottery 5 dummy	0.312 ( 0.417 )
lottery 2 x Roma	-0.012 ( 0.552 )
lottery 3 x Roma	-0.149 ( 0.512 )
lottery 4 x Roma	-0.334 ( 0.546 )
lottery 5 x Roma	0.514 ( 0.652 )
proportion sent to family in need	2.573 *** ( 0.454 )
proportion sent to family x Roma	1.063 * ( 0.591 )
woman	0.010 ( 0.219 )
woman x Roma	-0.283 ( 0.329 )

Independent variables	
age (25-35)	-1.119 * ( 0.611 )
age (36-49)	-0.653 ( 0.576 )
age (50-64)	-0.511 ( 0.604 )
age (65+)	-0.718 ( 0.602 )
age (25-35) x Roma	0.948 ( 0.788 )
age (36-49) x Roma	0.567 ( 0.737 )
age (50-64) x Roma	1.304 * ( 0.762 )
age (65+) x Roma	1.346 * ( 0.767 )
income bracket 2	0.051 ( 0.253 )
income bracket 3	0.910 ** ( 0.437 )
income bracket 2 x Roma	-0.412 ( 0.386 )
income bracket 3 x Roma	-0.937 ( 0.640 )
secondary education	-0.144 ( 0.409 )
college education	-0.258 ( 0.438 )
post-graduate education	-0.680 ( 0.768 )
secondary education x Roma	-0.762 ( 0.707 )
college education x Roma	-0.059 ( 0.770 )
post-graduate education x Roma	-0.398 ( 1.091 )
const.	-1.194 * ( 0.678 )
Number of observations	279

## EU Campaign for Roma Inclusion sample



Figure 4: EU brochure: “Helping Roma with their legal status in the Republic of Croatia”.

## Names and web addresses of selected Roma NGOs in Europe

- For organizations that operate on multiple fronts, engaging in documentation of human rights abuses, research, strategic litigation, and advocacy see, for example, the European Roma Rights Centre at [www.eerc.org](http://www.eerc.org), and Romani Criss, at [romanicriss.org](http://romanicriss.org).
- For human rights organizations that focus on rights generally see, for example, Amnesty International Slovakia at [www.amnesty.sk](http://www.amnesty.sk).
- For local organizations dedicated to aiding Roma in education see, for example, Cega (Bulgaria) at <http://www.cega.bg/>; Romi za Rome Hrvatske (Croatia); Chance for Children Foundation (Hungary) at <http://www.cfcf.hu/>; and Romaversitas (Macedonia) at <http://www.romaversitas.edu.mk/>.
- For local organizations dedicated to aiding Roma in health care see, for example, Drom (Czech Republic) at <http://www.drom.cz/> and Daja - Roma Women Organization in Macedonia (Macedonia) at <http://www.daja.org.mk/>.
- For local organizations dedicated to aiding Roma in legal and administrative matters see, for example, IQ Roma Servis (Czech Republic) at <http://www.iqrs.cz/>; Romani Baht Foundation (Bulgaria) at <http://baht2000.free.bg/>; Zvule Práva (Czech Republic) at <http://www.zvuleprava.cz/>; Neki (Hungary) at <http://www.neki.hu/>; Praxis (Serbia) at <http://www.praxis.org.rs/>; and L'udia Proti Rasizmu (Slovakia) at <http://www.rasizmus.sk/>.
- For local organizations dedicated to aiding Roma in issues relating to infrastructure see, for example, Roma-Lom (Bulgaria) at <http://www.roma-lom.org/>; Amaro Drom (Albania) at <http://www.unioniamarodrom.org/>; and Phralipe (Hungary) at <http://www.phralipe.com/>.
- For local organizations dedicated to aiding Roma in obtaining social services more generally see, for example, Člověk v Tísni (Czech Republic) at <http://www.clovekvtisni.cz/>; Společně Jekhetane (Czech Republic) at <http://www.jekhetane.cz/>; Opera Nomadi Reggio Calabria (Italy) at <http://www.operanomadirc.it/>; Rómsky Inštitút (Slovakia) at <http://www.romainstitute.sk/>; and Romodrom (Czech Republic) at <http://www.romodromcz.cz/>.
- For local organizations that focus on Roma/non-Roma relations see, for example, Vzájemné Soužití (Czech Republic) at [www.vzajemnesouziti.estranky.cz/clanky/o-nas.html](http://www.vzajemnesouziti.estranky.cz/clanky/o-nas.html) and Policy Center for Roma and Minorities (Romania) at [www.policycenter.eu](http://www.policycenter.eu).