

Response to the call for input by the Special Rapporteur on the human rights to safe drinking water and sanitation for the 2022 thematic reports

Submitted by:

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with support of:

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#### I. INTRODUCTION

This input aims to address obstacles in the full realization of human rights to water and sanitation that plague Roma communities in Europe.

The submission has been prepared by the Forum for Human Rights (FORUM)<sup>1</sup>, a non-governmental organization based in Prague, Czech Republic, operating predominantly in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. FORUM would like to thank Northeastern University School of Law (NUSL) and its Program on Human Rights and the Global Economy (PHRGE), based in Boston, Massachusetts, United States, for providing research support and literature review in support of preparing this input.

#### II. QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR

## II.I General questions

1.

- A. FORUM is a human rights litigation and advocacy non-governmental organization. It aims to protect and promote human rights and ensure observance of international human rights law through national and international litigation, human rights reporting, research, and advocacy.
- B. In collaboration, we have conducted research in Roma communities in Slovakia and initiated strategic litigation aimed at securing improvement in their situation. FORUM also provided information to the UN CESCR in 2019 on Slovakia, 2 and prepared an individual communication for the UN CRC, concerning the violation of the right to water harming children in Roma communities.
- C. While FORUM focuses mainly on Slovakia and the Czech Republic, and our experience and data concern mostly these states, FORUM would like to point out that similar deficiencies in relation to the right to water of Roma has been reported across high-income countries of Europe. The 2016 EU MIDIS II survey reported 80% of Roma population in the EU is below the risk-of-poverty threshold, in comparison to the 17% EU average.<sup>3</sup> Specifically in rural settings,

https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CESCR/Shared%20Documents/SVK/INT\_CESCR\_CSS\_SVK\_35669\_E.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In more detaile please consult: <a href="https://forumhr.eu">https://forumhr.eu</a> (in English language).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The report to the UN CESCR is available at:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> EUROPEAN UNION AGENCY FOR FUNAMENTAL RIGHTS. Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey Roma – Selected findings. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2016, p. 14.

Roma often face residential segregation, the inequalities in realizing the right to water are more prominent.<sup>4</sup> The specific data related to Slovakia should therefore be viewed in the broader context of existing discrimination across Europe.

## 3.3.

A. In general, Roma communities are rarely directly involved, and their participation is not at the forefront of priorities. The particular issue when aiming to secure participation of Roma results from the fact that they often live under conditions of extreme poverty. Such poverty impacts significantly their ability to participate in consultation or other forms of participatory processes. For example, the poverty impacts the possibility to pay for travel costs. The distance could mean long hours of traveling, leaving their household unattended.

#### 4.1.

- A. Poverty is extremely prevalent in Roma communities, tied with historical and persistent discrimination, residential segregation, lack of necessary infrastructure, as well as negligence, disinterest and inactivity, but also implicit racism on the side of the state and local authorities.
- B. Apart from providing immediate access to safe water, sanitation and waste management, other structural changes should be adopted with a view to secure measurable improvement of the situation of Roma in general. This requires adopting concrete and targeted measures to combat especially elements poverty, the lack of basic infrastructure, land ownership, ideally by comprehensive policy of inclusive housing.

#### 4.2.

A. Cases have been reported where Roma communities are deprived of the access because of their inability to carry the costs. This is also exacerbated by cases of collective guilt, where for example certain Roma communities are forced to pay lump sum for the water they use through the public water supply, irrespective of their individual consumption. In other instances, Roma communities were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cf. SIKA, P., VIDOVÁ, J., RIEVAJOVÁ, E. Regional View on Housing of the Marginalized Roma Population in the Slovak Republic. In: *Sustainability* [online]. 2020, vol. 12, no. 14. DOI: 10.3390/su12145597 for historical overview, especially regarding Slovakia.

disconnected from the water supply due to non-payment.<sup>5</sup> Up to 28 % of Roma communities across Europe have been disconnected or are at risk of disconnection from the water supply.<sup>6</sup>

#### 4.4.

A. The frequent decision of local or national authorities has been to place entire Roma settlements into quarantines, sometimes protected by security forces, with limited possibility to enter or exit settlements. The community quarantines also posed a barrier in access to water,<sup>7</sup> especially because many Roma lack access to running water in their households, as well as to public wells or taps. They depend on water sources away from their communities.<sup>8</sup> These are often a far from their households,<sup>9</sup> and inaccessible during the community-wide quarantine.

#### 5.2.

Α.

B.A. FORUM focused on the analysis of available funding from the EU, in particular through the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), which focuses on Roma inclusion in various facets of their life, although its local implementation has been disputable. Over 243 million EUR was pledged specifically to issues of technical facilities for marginalized Roma communities, such as infrastructure, education, or community centres.

## 5.3.

A. The use of the finances available through the ERDF up until now has been lacklustre at best. According to the wording of the programme

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> FILČÁK, R., SZILVASI, M., ŠKOBLA, D. No water for the poor: the Roma ethnic minority and local governance in Slovakia. In: *Ethnic and Racial Studies* [online]. 2018, vol. 41, no. 7, pp. 1394-1397. DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2017.1291984

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> EUROPEAN ROMA RIGHTS CENTRE. Thirsting for Justice. Europe's Roma Denied Access to Clean Water and Sanitation [online]. Budapest: European Roma Right Centre, 2017, p. 31. http://www.errc.org/uploads/upload\_en/file/thirsting-for-justice-march-2017.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> BIKÁR, F. Slovakia's Romani settlements are very endangered by the COVID-19 pandemic, some have no access to potable water. In: Romea.cz. 2020; THOOMPAIL, M. Targeted COVID-19 testing in Roma settlements in Slovakia – A positive measure or further stigmatization? In: Minority Rights Group International [online]. 2020. https://minorityrights.org/2020/06/02/roma-slovakia-covid-testing/; KINGSLEY, P., DZHAMBAZOVA, B. Europe's Roma Already Faced Discrimination. The Pandemic Made It Worse. In: New York Times [online]. 2020 [cit. 14.12.2021]. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/06/world/europe/coronavirus-roma-bulgaria.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> MÁČAJ, A. Securing Human Right to Water through Public Procurement in Slovakia. In: *International and Comparative Law Review* [online]. 2020, vol. 20, no. 2, p. 262. DOI: 10.2478/iclr-2020-0028

<sup>9</sup> FILČÁK, SZILVASI, ŠKOBLA, No water for the poor: the Roma ethnic minority and local governance in Slovakia, pp. 1390-1394.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Cf. SOBOTKA, E., VERMEERSCH, P. Governing Human Rights and Roma Inclusion: Can the EU be a Catalyst for Local Social Change? In: *Human Rights Quarterly* [online]. 2012, vol. 34, no. 3, pp. 818-820. DOI: 10.1353/hrq.2012.0050

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> DEPARTMENT OF WORK, SOCIAL AFFAIRS AND FAMILY OF SLOVAKIA. Operational Programme Human Resources for the Programming Period of 2014 - 2020 [online]. 2014 [cit. 05.12.2021], p. 116. https://www.minv.sk/?operational-programme-human-resources&subor=214078

from 2014, 89% of households in marginalized Roma communities already had full access to drinking or service water, <sup>12</sup> and this number was projected to reach 100% by 2020. <sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, government of Slovakia later on pledged to decrease the share of Roma without running water to 5% by 2030, <sup>14</sup> rescinding its prior goal to secure full access to water for everyone by now.

## 5.4.

A. Although the funding from the ERDF in Slovakia has been made available in part specifically for the purpose of combating the lack of access to water in Roma communities, the funds available were met with indifference for a significant period. The interest of the municipalities towards participating in funding by the ERDF has increased only in the last two funding schemes, starting in April and November 2020. However, the number of municipalities eligible to apply for funding has decreased starkly (see question 14 below).

#### 6.2.

A. Both information concerning WASH, and information of access for Roma communities have been matters of concern. For example, in France, it has been established that although law that would strengthen public information and consultation, very little progress regarding WASH had been done. <sup>15</sup> At the same time, Roma communities have been reported to have very little access to information concerning investments and projects aimed at improving their conditions. <sup>16</sup>

#### 7.3.

A. In one case, the incident involved a local "Roma watch", a group of Roma in many municipalities, usually tasked with maintaining order. When they learned FORUM representatives were visiting someone at

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> This has to be reflected with findings of Atlas of Roma Communities 2019, detailed below, which found that even in 2019, at least 21% of Roma lacks access to tap water in their household, which indicates that 89% of households reported by the government included households that had other access to water than tap water in the household.

<sup>13</sup> DEPARTMENT OF WORK, SOCIAL AFFAIRS AND FAMILY OF SLOVAKIA. Operational Programme Human Resources for the Programming Period of 2014 - 2020 [online]. 2014 [cit. 05.12.2021], p. 34, specific objective 6.1.1. https://www.minv.sk/?operational-programme-human-resources&subor=214078

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> GOVERNMENT OF SLOVAK REPUBLIC. Stratégia rovnosti, inklúzie a participácie Rómov do roku 2030 (2030 Strategy for Equality, Inclusion and Participation of Roma). 2021, p. 26 (in Slovak language). https://www.minv.sk/?strategia-pre-rovnost-inkluziu-a-participaciu-romov-do-roku-2030.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> SMETS, H. The Implementation of the Right to Water in French Law. In: *Encironmental Policy and Law*. 2014, vol. 44, no. 1-2, p. 183.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> ŠKOBLA, D., FILČÁK, R. Infrastructure in Marginalised Roma Settlements: Towards a Typology of Unequal Outcomes of EU Funded Projects. In: *Sociológia*. 2016, vol. 48, no. 6, p. 628.

- home, they entered the home, confronted FORUM representatives, and demanded they leave immediately.
- B. In another community, the entire area inhabited by Roma has been under constant video surveillance by the municipal police. When they saw FORUM representatives approaching the community, they arrived. The person that was visited by FORUM was later harassed by the public officials, and told that their home could be demolished, as it was constructed illegally. The person got scared and eventually refused to authorize FORUM to launch court proceedings against the municipality for failing to provide Roma with access to water, necessitating a change in litigation strategy.

# II.III. Specific questions on people living in impoverished rural areas 12.1.

- A. The broad context and situation of impoverished Roma communities living in rural communities in high-income EU countries and Europe has been recently summarized in a review detailing various deficiencies in their living conditions. 17 Although Roma form a largest ethnic minority in Europe, their living conditions are often substandard, they live in dwellings prone to environmental hazards, and form "settlements", a term which, in Slovakia and the Czech Republic in particular, has often been used with a derogatory, if not outright racist context.
- B. The settlements concern various types of segregation: i) integrated concentrations, where Roma live within a municipality, but specific parts of town; ii) concentrations on the outskirts of municipalities; and iii) spatially segregated communities, separated from the towns (by highways, railroads, walls, or natural barriers). <sup>18</sup> The available research and data<sup>19</sup> have firmly established that the third, spatially segregated communities, are in the worst position, lagging significantly vulnerable in essentially all aspects of housing, including WASH.

#### 12.2.

A. Roma face an increased risk of eviction precisely because of their lack of access to water or sanitation, exacerbating their housing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> ANTHONJ, C. et al. A systematic review of water, sanitation and hygiene among Roma communities in Europe: Situation analysis, cultural context, and obstacles to improvement. In: *International Journal of Hygiene and Environmental Health* [online]. 2020, vol. 226. DOI: 10.1016/j.ijheh.2020.113506

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> FILČÁK, R., ŠKOBLA, D., DOKUPILOVÁ, D. Ensuring Access to Sanitation Infrastructure. Roma Settlements and Structural Inequalities in Slovakia. Bratislava: Slovak Academy of Sciences, 2020, p. 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> MUŠINKA, A. et al. Atlas of Roma Communities in Slovakia 2013. Bratislava: United Nations Development Programme, 2014. A similar study was firstly done in 2004, and the newest data are from 2019 as well, to be found at: https://www.minv.sk/?atlas-romskych-komunit-2019. The contents and implications of the third, 2019 iteration of the Atlas are detailed further below.

problems.<sup>20</sup> The housing impact also health hazards and illnesses among Roma. They have significantly higher mortality rates, lower life expectancy, twice higher infant mortality, and a higher likelihood of children dying before reaching one year of age. New born have lower birth weight and are born prematurely more often. Roma are generally more vulnerable to communicable diseases, more intensely exposed to viruses, bacteria, and parasites.<sup>21</sup>

## 12.3.

A. The specific number of Roma people living in Slovakia differs considerably because of sources available. The 2011 official population census, <sup>22</sup> established 105 000 people self-identified as Roma. On the other hand, Atlas of Roma Communities from 2019, a study of 1052 Roma communities<sup>23</sup> across 825 municipalities, lists over 417 000 persons as Roma included in the study. Certain municipalities were not included in the Atlas, and overall estimates put about 450 000 Roma people in Slovakia, out of which approximately 72% are living in segregated conditions.<sup>24</sup> A majority of Roma (72%) live in rural conditions.<sup>25</sup>

## 12.4.

A. The communities in rural settings generally do not get along well with Roma communities in their neighbourhoods. Often, Roma communities inhabit land that does not belong them. The unresolved land ownership status has remained in certain places for generations, perpetuating insecurity of tenure for the Roma communities. Landowners may harbour animosity towards Roma. Authorities and local communities view Roma as unworthy of assistance. In the absence of such help, those "unworthy" subsequently remain segregated and impoverished, in decrepit living conditions. This is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> DAVIS, M.F., RYAN, N. Inconvenient Human Rights: Water and Sanitation in Sweden's Informal Roma Settlements. In: *Health and Human Rights Journal*. 2017, vol. 19, no. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Cf. KOUPILOVÁ, I. et al. Health needs of the Roma population in the Czech and Slovak Republics. In: Social Science & Medicine [online]. 2001, vol. 53, no. 9. DOI: 10.1016/S0277-9536(00)00419-6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Newest population census in Slovakia had been conducted in 2021, however, the complete data are not yet public, and the brief summary data published do not include population of different national or ethnic groups.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> RAVASZ, Á., KOVÁCS, L., MARKOVIČ, F. Atlas rómskych komunít 2019. Bratislava: VEDA, 2020, p. 17. states that Atlas includes 1102 settlements (concentrations). The dataset available on the webpage of Plenipotentiary of the Slovak Government for Roma Communities, however, includes data about 1052 Roma communities. The dataset was however updated multiple times, and therefore some municipalities and communities may have been discarded from the dataset (at one point, the webpage stated dataset is under review, and was unavailable for a certain period of time)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> RAVASZ, KOVÁCS, MARKOVIČ, Atlas rómskych komunít 2019, pp. 18, 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> RAVASZ, KOVÁCS, MARKOVIČ, Atlas rómskych komunít 2019, p. 31.

later again reinforcing the stereotype among responsible authorities that the Roma communities have such "way of life".<sup>26</sup>

#### 13.1.

A. The main concern FORUM addressed is that all too often, Roma communities lack access to safe water for personal use altogether. The deficiencies are even well-recognized by the authorities and international bodies. <sup>27</sup> Slovak Ombudsperson, a legislature-appointed human right institution, produced a special report on the issue. IT verifies a plethora of similar situations noted down in research – Roma communities lacking access to tap water, using natural sources that are not checked for safety, sometimes outright marked as unsafe for drinking. Roma communities face prohibitive water costs and disconnections from water supply. <sup>28</sup>

## 13.3.

A. The already mentioned Atlas<sup>29</sup> provides an essential insight into the quantitative analysis of conditions under which Roma communities across Slovakia access drinking water. Only 79% have tap water across the 825 municipalities, compared to 97% of the majority population. Only 64% of Roma can use their taps, and a huge number of Roma have access to the necessary infrastructure, but not tap water. The disproportionate rate may be the result of policies that often lead to disconnecting Roma from public water supply (such as inability to pay the costs), which has been detailed as frequent practice in Slovakia, and remains a problem for Roma communities in general.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> For further details see: ŠOTOLA, J., POLO, M.R., ŠKOBLA, D. Slovak Roma beyond Anthropological Escapism and Exotic Otherness. Concept of "Whiteness" and the Structure of Everyday Life. In: *Slovenský národopis*. 2018, vol. 66, no. 4; FILČÁK, SZILVASI, ŠKOBLA, No water for the poor: the Roma ethnic minority and local governance in Slovakia [online]. DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2017.1291984; ŠKOBLA, FILČÁK, Infrastructure in Marginalised Roma Settlements: Towards a Typology of Unequal Outcomes of EU Funded Projects

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> UN CESCR, Concluding observations on the third periodic report of Slovakia, E/C.12/SVK/CO/3, 14 November 2019; UN CERD, Concluding observations on the combined eleventh and twelfth periodic reports of Slovakia, CERD/C/SVK/CO/11-12, 12 January 2018.

<sup>28</sup> OMBUDSPERSON OF SLOVAKIA, Report on Survey of Compliance with Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms. Access to Drinking Water and Information on Fire Protection in Roma Settlements (in Slovak language): https://www.vop.gov.sk/files/Pristup\_k\_vode.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> The Atlas was firstly created as a dataset by Plenipotentiary of Government of Slovakia for Roma Communities, and the data from 2019 version were researched by the academia as well: FILČÁK, ŠKOBLA, DOKUPILOVÁ, Ensuring Access to Sanitation Infrastructure. Roma Settlements and Structural Inequalities in Slovakia; RAVASZ, KOVÁCS, MARKOVIČ, Atlas rómskych komunít 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> FILČÁK, SZILVASI, ŠKOBLA, No water for the poor: the Roma ethnic minority and local governance in Slovakia [online] . DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2017.1291984; DE ALBUQUERQUE, C., ROAF, V. The human rights to water and sanitation. In: Research Handbook on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights as Human Rights [online]. Edward Elgar Publishing, 2020, pp. 219-220. DOI: 10.4337/9781788974172.00019

- B. Approximately 8% of the Roma population uses "non-standard" water sources, i. e. neither tap water, nor a well or water fountain, either in their household or in public. Most commonly, it means these communities use water from natural sources, unchecked for safety, water that is located in hardly accessible places, or water sources shared with animals and wildlife.
- C. While only 113 municipalities included in the 2019 Atlas lacked tap water entirely, the same was true for 202 Roma communities. In 24 Roma communities, all the inhabitants were reliant entirely on "nonstandard" water sources. 31 In certain extreme cases, 100% of the inhabitants of Roma community had pipelines constructed, but 0% of them actually used tap water, and communities were entirely dependent on "non-standard" water sources anyway. In many other communities, while all or majority of the inhabitants of the Roma community had pipelines constructed, substantial part of the Roma population does not have access to tap water and are still reliant on "non-standard" water sources. 32
- D. Finally, certain municipalities have full water coverage, while no one in the nearby Roma community has tap water, which occurs in 63 municipalities. In further 124 municipalities, inhabitants of the municipality have at least 50% higher coverage rate, compared to Roma communities nearby.<sup>33</sup>

### 13.5.

A. Roma communities, particularly those isolated in rural areas, are often suffering not only from spatial segregation, lack of infrastructure, and water unsafe in quality, as outlined elsewhere in this input. They often face also bias and prejudice resulting in discrimination. Owing to these conflicts with authorities, lack of recognition as partners, and prejudice, Roma communities often engage in unsafe or unlawful actions of their own accord, to secure the water necessary for survival.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> It has to be noted that the 202 communities entirely without water pipelines and communities entirely reliant on nonstandard water sources do not necessarily overlap, as other variables influence each community and the composition of their water sources.

<sup>32</sup> Data retrieved from the dataset: https://www.minv.sk/?atlas-romskych-komunit-2019

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> RAVASZ, KOVÁCS, MARKOVIČ, Atlas rómskych komunít 2019, p. 52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> ROSA, E. Why self-care matters for Roma people and beyond. Vulnerability and the (un)making of water and sanitation infrastructure at the margins of the city. In: Geoforum [online]. 2019, vol. 101. DOI: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2019.02.008; FILČÁK, R., ŠKOBLA, D. Sanitation Infrastructure at the Systemic Edge: Segregated Roma Settlements and Multiple Health Risks in Slovakia. In: International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health [online]. 2021, vol. 18, no. 11. DOI: 10.3390/ijerph18116079

- A. The efficacy of Slovak government policies designed to improve access to water for Roma communities can be illustrated by comparing the share of Roma population that uses tap water, as established by the different iterations of Atlas in 2004, 2013 and 2019. In 2004, Roma that had not only the requisite infrastructure, but also in fact used tap water, represented 49% of all Roma population. In 2013, the proportion increased to 57%, by an average of only 0,9% annually. In 2019, an increase to 64% of overall Roma population using tap water represented annual increase of 1,2%.<sup>35</sup>
- B. Since 2016, three calls for applications were made for municipalities to apply for funding from the ERDF with the purpose to secure water for Roma communities. The first call was published in December 2016 and ran through six rounds until November 2018. With the ERDF covering up to 85% of the costs, this possibility to secure funding by the municipalities went mostly ignored, with only 2,3 million EUR being awarded, out of more than 16 million available. The second call for applications was published in April 2020 and is still running. The funding available was cut down to 9,2 million EUR, but the interest of municipalities rose, and over 7,3 million EUR was already applied for. Substantial number of projects funded through these two schemes concerned only low-cost construction and maintenance of "vending machines", dispersing water for Roma upon paying through a key card. Such implementation of right to water falls outside its normative content.
- C. The third call for applications, published in November 2020 and ongoing, provided another 17,5 million EUR for municipalities to apply for. This time, only projects that include infrastructure construction are eligible for funding. It seems the interest of municipalities in funding is rising. That being said, this call for applications significantly decreases the number of municipalities eligible. While in principle every municipality included in the Atlas of Roma Communities was eligible to apply for funding under the two previous schemes, only 168 municipalities can seek funding today.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> RAVASZ, KOVÁCS, MARKOVIČ, Atlas rómskych komunít 2019, p. 53.

<sup>36</sup> Details of all three calls for applications have been published online (in Slovak language): https://www.minv.sk/?archiv-vyziev-3&sprava=vyzva-zamerana-na-podporu-pristupu-k-pitnej-vode-oplz-po6-sc611-2016-3-uzavreta-dna-16-novembra-2018 (first scheme); https://www.minv.sk/?aktualne-vyzvy-na-predkladanie-ziadosti-o-nenavratny-financny-prispevok&sprava=vyzva-zamerana-na-podporu-pristupu-k-pitnej-vode-v-prostredimrk (second scheme); https://www.minv.sk/?aktuality\_zahranicna\_pomoc\_MV\_SR&sprava=vyzva-na-podporu-dobudovania-inzinierskych-sieti-v-prostredi-mrk (third scheme).

D. To reflect adequately on the progress in securing access to water, the rate of improvement must be reflected with the current proportion of Roma without access to tap water in their homes, representing approximately 21% of Roma population, as described by summary of the findings of the Atlas, provided above. EU MIDIS II in 2016 found 27% Roma in Slovakia without access to tap water in their household.<sup>37</sup> This suggests that between 2016 and 2019, the annual increase of Roma communities using tap water in their households across Slovakia was about 2%. Even at this increased rate, it is questionable whether the goal of 95% of Roma having tap water can be met by 2030. 38 Even should the goal be successfully achieved, it remains the question whether by then, Slovakia will satisfy its obligations without providing access to the remaining 5% of Roma population, and in particular without taking further steps to ensure that Roma can afford access to existing water supply despite their impoverished status.

<sup>37</sup> EUROPEAN AGENCY FOR FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS. Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey Roma – Selected findings, p. 33. https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra\_uploads/fra-2016-eu-minorities-survey-roma-selected-findings\_en.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> The strategy (in Slovak) is available on: https://www.minv.sk/?strategia-pre-rovnost-inkluziu-a-participaciu-romov-do-roku-2030