

The Roma in Central and Eastern Europe

Avoiding the Dependency Trap



A Regional Human Development Report



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Report team

Project coordinator and lead author

Andrey Ivanov

Authors

Antonina Zhelyazkova, Ben Slay, Márta Márczis, Michal Vašečka,
Niall O'Higgins, Sorin Cace, and Thomas Sirovatka

Contributors

Anna Csongor, Dimitrina Petrova, Dirk Westhof, Nikolay Kirilov, Rebecca
Jean Emigh, Rumyan Sechkov, and Sarah Takach

Peer group

Azbia Mehmedova, *Roma Center, Skopje*; Ilona Tomova, *Bulgarian Academy of Sciences*; Jean-Pierre Liegeois, *Director, Centre de Recherches Tsiganes, Sorbonne*; Maria Ionescu, *Government Expert, National Office for the Roma, Government of Romania*; Rumyan Russinov, *Roma Participation Program, OSI*; Victor A. Friedman, *Chair, Department Slavic Languages and Literature, University of Chicago*.

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Foreword

This report broadens the debate about the marginalization and exclusion of the Roma in Europe, primarily by moving the focus of analysis from human rights alone to the greater challenge of human development.

As the United Nations Development Programme's Human Development Reports have long argued, human rights are an indispensable dimension of human development. However, they need to be viewed not just as ends in themselves but also as a means to help broaden the choices and opportunities for individual citizens to look after themselves and their families. This means looking beyond simple measures of legislation or income to encompass issues such as health, education and gender equality that are critical to providing people with the capabilities to lead decent, productive lives.

Such a focus on increasing people's choices is particularly relevant in dealing with marginalized groups such as the Roma. Since the deprivations they face are not solely legal or political in origin, they cannot be undone simply by writing new laws. To fully enjoy fully what is available to majority populations they need to be provided with active opportunities to enjoy good health, receive an adequate education, and earn sufficient income through productive employment.

Across Central and Eastern Europe, a disturbingly high share of Roma populations— in some cases as high as 70 percent —derive their incomes primarily from state transfers such as child allowances, unemployment benefit and pensions. At the same time, health standards are disproportionately poor and education levels of Roma youth are broadly inadequate for the acquisition of marketable skills. These problems increase dependency on the state, creating a vicious circle that further widens the socio-economic gap between Roma and majority populations with damaging social and political consequences.

By analysing the problem through the prism of human development, this report explains why and how the dependency trap into which many Roma have fallen can be avoided. The data from which this report was developed show that the Roma want to integrate productively into the countries in which they live without losing their distinctive cultural identities and outlines a number of concrete proposals on how this can be better achieved. Above all, the report argues that integration does not have to mean assimilation—but it will require governments and the international community to redouble and reshape their efforts to address the broader development needs faced by Roma communities.

UNDP, as the centre of the United Nations' global development network, is working all over the world to help tackle such problems. Our hope is that this report will help open a new kind of debate about the Roma, their choices and opportunities in a rapidly changing Europe.

Mark Malloch Brown
UNDP Administrator

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—Andrey Ivanov,
principal coordinator and lead author
of the *Roma Regional Human Development Report*

Bratislava, December 2002

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List of abbreviations

ALMP – Active Labor Market Policies	OECD – Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ASA – Agency for Socioeconomic Analysis (Bulgaria)	OSCE – Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
CBO – Community-Based Organizations	OSI – Open Society Institute
CDF – Community Development Facility	PER – Project on Ethnic Relations
CEE – Central and Eastern Europe	PHARE – Poland and Hungary Assistance for the Restructuring of the Economy
CIDA – Canadian International Development Agency	PPP\$ – Purchasing Power Parity (expressed in US dollars)
CoE – Council of Europe	PRSP – Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
EC – European Commission	RBEC – Regional Bureau for Europe and CIS of the United Nations Development Programme
ERRC – European Roma Rights Center	RHDR – Roma Human Development Report
ETP – Environmental Training Project Foundation	ROI – Roma Civic Initiative (Slovak republic)
EU – European Union	SOEs – State-Owned Enterprises
GDP – Gross Domestic Product	UNDP – United Nations Development Program
HDI – Human Development Index	UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Culture Organization
IDUs – Intravenous drug users	UNFPA – United Nations Population Fund
ILO – International Labor Organization	UNHCHR – United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
IMIR – Institute for Minority Studies and Intercultural Relations (Bulgaria)	UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
IMR – Infant Mortality Rate	UNICEF – United Nations Children’s Fund
IOM – International Organization of Migration	VPP – Public Works Program (Slovak republic)
IQL – Institute for Quality of Life (Romania)	WB – The World Bank
LE – Life Expectancy	WHO – World Health Organization
MDGs – Millennium Development Goals	
NGO – Non-Governmental Organization	
NHDR – National Human Development Report	
ODIHR – Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights	

Avoiding the Dependency Trap

Summary

The challenges for the Roma minority are well known: overcoming poverty, improving access to education and developing marketable skills.

Developing policies to assist the Roma requires access to reliable data. But comparative statistical information on the Roma in Central and Eastern Europe has been lacking. Consequently, policymaking so far has relied primarily upon qualitative rather than quantitative information. In some cases, statistics were available for some countries, but the data sets did not cover all countries in the region and were therefore not comparable or standardized.

Through this report, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the International Labour Organization (ILO) have undertaken the first comprehensive *quantitative* survey of the Roma minorities in five Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries (Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania and the Slovak Republic). This study seeks to provide national and international policy makers, academics and representatives of civil society with accurate, reliable, and comparative statistical data, which are necessary to design and implement sound policy.

The survey looks at Roma realities from a “human development” perspective, an approach pioneered by UNDP over a decade ago. Human development seeks to assess development levels of groups or communities according to a broad set of criteria. With the ultimate goal of expanding people’s choices, human development looks at indices of life expectancy, education and per-capita income, which provide a broader perspective on the options available to groups such as the Roma.

This report presents and interprets the findings of the UNDP/ILO survey, which was based on 5,034 individual questionnaires and is representative for the region as a whole, as well as for each of the five countries covered.¹

The report’s objective is to provide answers to a number of crucial questions, such as “Why do most attempts to integrate Roma communities into mainstream societies fail?” or, “What are the systemic causes of the problems faced by marginalized communities and by the Roma in particular?” Based on new comparative data, the report provides in-depth analysis of these systemic causes.² It also offers specific recommendations in selected policy areas so that the long-term objective of policy efforts—integration of Roma people into the mainstream of society—becomes feasible.

The report is written for those concerned with improving the development opportunities of vulnerable groups in general, and of the Roma in particular. This includes central and local governments, international and multilateral donors providing financial assistance for development projects and non-profit organizations involved in project implementation.

Why this report?

The application of the human development paradigm to marginalized minorities is a new framework for Roma issues and includes a focus on human rights. This is particularly relevant as the survey revealed that the Roma understand “human rights” as being inseparably linked with access to jobs and education. An approach that emphasizes the centrality of human rights while expanding the debate to larger developmental issues, responds to

Human Development seeks to assess development levels of groups or communities according to a broader set of criteria than income alone

¹ Details on the survey and its methodology as well as the results by major groups are provided in Annex 1.

² “Systemic causes of exclusion” in this context means the outcome of self-regulating systems, which may produce exclusion or inequality if not properly sensitized (fine-tuned) to meet marginalized populations’ specific needs. For example, lacking access to education is not just a cause of exclusion but even more so an outcome of the way the educational systems work, of the lack of awareness of differences among the groups (both by majorities and minorities), and of low levels of aspirations or distinct cultural patterns. All these causalities form a system leading to exclusion and addressing just one of its elements is usually insufficient.

one of the Roma minority's greatest concerns about existing opportunities and choices.

The survey highlights the Roma minority's desire to integrate, rather than assimilate, in all five countries covered in the study. Integration needs to replace the current financial dependency on state support. To be sustainable, integration policies need to address three major deficiencies in:

- Availability of employment opportunities;
- Equal access to education;
- Participation in government, especially at the local level.

Integration needs to replace the current dependency on state transfers

This report is based on the premise that sustainable integration of the Roma minority can be achieved only when development opportunities are in place. Development opportunities are inexorably linked to human rights, but these linkages have not been fully explored. After the first decade of transition and market reforms in Central and Eastern Europe, essential (though not always complete) legal foundations for guaranteeing the human rights of the Roma have been laid in most countries. The experience so far suggests that legal frameworks for minority rights protection are a necessary but insufficient precondition for sustainable integration. This report builds upon these foundations and thereby attempts to complement the human rights paradigm with one that focuses on development opportunities for the Roma.

Access to development opportunities is the common denominator underpinning the whole report

The report outlines several major policy deficits regarding Roma communities and vulnerable groups in general:

- Lack of adequate disaggregated socio-economic data for proper policymaking;
- Shortage of integrated solutions that treat the problems of marginalized communities in their entirety (for example, by linking education, employment, health and capacity building activities in community-based projects);
- Insufficient awareness that the provision of development opportunities for vulnerable groups is a long-term investment, which ultimately benefits the majority and minority populations equally.

This report seeks to help policy makers address these deficits. It represents the beginning of a long debate on sustainable development opportunities for marginalized groups.

As a UNDP "human development report," *Avoiding the Dependency Trap* conforms to the major aspects of the human development paradigm. Access to development opportunities is the common denominator. Special attention (in line with UNDP's mandate and priorities) is given to measuring and reducing poverty, and to questions of how the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)³ could be applied to Roma communities and translated into concrete development opportunities.

The structure of the report is built around the human development thematic areas with every chapter dedicated to one specific theme: employment and incomes, education, health, political participation and social inclusion. The beginning of each chapter introduces the major hypotheses that are subsequently tested in the survey and analysed. The end of each chapter contains intermediary conclusions. The final chapter on policy implications identifies sustainable development opportunities for the Roma and offers suggestions for their realization.

Major survey findings

Employment

Data from the survey supported the major initial hypotheses regarding employment, namely that unemployment figures will be lower than what is commonly believed. Indeed, Roma unemployment for the five countries studied averaged 40 percent—ranging from a high of 64 percent in Slovak Republic to a low of 24 percent in Romania. These figures contradict frequently reported estimates of nearly 100 percent. The informal sector was found to provide important income generation opportunities and, in Romania, is a key factor in the relatively low Roma unemployment rate. Survey respondents did not consider traditional skills to be marketable in a globalized economy. Therefore, these skills should not be seen as potential solutions to unemployment.

³ On 6-8 September 2000 the UN Millennium Summit took place at the UN Headquarters with the participation of the Heads of State/Government of the Member States of the UN. The Summit adopted the Millennium Summit Declaration and identified the eight Millennium Development Goals. The Goals are global targets that reaffirm the commitment of the Member States of the UN toward eliminating poverty, sustaining development and achieving improvement in people's lives around the world. For more details see Box 10.

The most important reasons for not finding a job were described by survey respondents as 'my ethnic affiliation,' followed by 'overall economic depression in the country,' and 'inadequate skills.' This suggests that labour market discrimination is certainly present, but is not the only reason why Roma have difficulty finding employment. Low skill and education levels suggest that hiring decisions by rational employers in competitive markets are unlikely to favour the Roma. However, the variety of interpretations of causes of unemployment also reflects the cyclical nature of Roma employment problems: lower competitiveness in the labour market today is often due to discriminatory practices and limited access to education in the past.

Household income

The survey data suggest that poverty levels among the Roma in all five countries are comparable, regardless of differences in economic development. Poverty is more severe in rural areas than in urban centres, which means that the Roma in rural areas are "double losers": in addition to lack of access to the social safety nets available in urban areas, rural Roma also lack access to productive resources (mainly land and working capital) needed for subsistence agriculture. The data also indicate that national poverty thresholds should be applied for monitoring poverty in Roma communities.

Another symptom of poverty is the share of household expenditures devoted to food purchases. Only in the Czech Republic is this share below 50 percent of total expenditures. In other countries it ranges between 52 percent in Hungary and 69 percent in Bulgaria.

The survey data provide additional information on the vulnerability of Roma children. Substantial numbers of Roma children suffer from undernourishment, even in the most developed economies in the region. This has profound negative effects on their health and educational capacities and further damages prospects for escaping from poverty and dependency cultures. Moreover, poverty and its consequences are among the major systemic causes of exclusion and segregation.

High rates of poverty and low levels of employment leave Roma households heavily dependent on social welfare and other transfer payments. The structure of state transfers is different from country to country (depending on specific national legislation

and/or social protection levels). Nevertheless, significant numbers of families across the region are primarily reliant on state support for their survival (between 16 percent in Romania and the Czech Republic to 44 percent in Slovak Republic). If pensions are included as part of state benefits, then the level of dependency reaches 24 percent and 55 percent of the households (in the Czech Republic and Hungary respectively). As a result, the Roma often fall into a vicious circle of marginalization: weak incentives to leave the social safety nets today reduce the likelihood of breaking this dependency cycle in the future. At the same time, Roma participation in the formal economy is more limited than that of other groups, so relatively large numbers of Roma do not pay the social security taxes needed to fund these benefits. This causes "asymmetrical" Roma participation in social welfare systems: active regarding benefits, limited regarding contributions. This asymmetry can further promote exclusion and ethnic intolerance.

The importance of informal community relationships was an unexpected outcome of the survey. While Roma rely on neighbours (both Roma and non-Roma) for support, their survival strategies must often include resorting to informal moneylenders who charge exorbitant interest rates. This pattern also promotes vicious circles of dependency and crime.

Education

The survey data outline the magnitude of segregation in education. On average, 19 percent of the children in the households surveyed attend classes comprised mostly of Roma (from 12 percent in the Czech Republic to 27 percent in Bulgaria). The results supported the expectation that the factors responsible for exclusion from education (poverty, involvement in income generation, replication of "ghetto culture") have a systemic character. Data also suggest that discrimination in access to education has a dual nature: discrimination is both a consequence of exclusion as well as its primary cause. Addressing these systemic factors can therefore reduce discrimination.

The data also show that Roma parents are open to a variety of options that can improve their children's educational opportunities (e.g., studying together with children from majority groups, receiving additional majority language training, and using assistant teachers). Attaining equal access to educational opportunities should be a major goal of policy

Hiring decisions by rational employers on competitive markets are unlikely to favour the Roma

Discrimination in access to education is both a consequence of exclusion as well as its primary cause

*Roma have
little trust in
intermediaries
in general*

directed at Roma communities. Integrated education should be seen as a major means of achieving equal educational opportunities. All other efforts to improve the educational status of Roma should be implemented in the context of integrated education as a long-term objective.

The survey data did not support the hypothesis regarding Roma languages as educational tools. The use of Roma languages was not as extensive as expected, even at home. Class instruction in Roma languages segregates as well as integrates; as such, it may further reduce access to education opportunities. In any case, instruction in Roma languages is not a priority for Roma parents. While Roma languages play a vital role in retaining cultural identities, their importance in educational opportunities should not be overestimated. Proficiency in majority languages, and hence explicit strategies for ensuring this proficiency, should be a key policy goal in the field of education.

Pre-school participation has strategic importance for educational opportunities. This is the level at which exclusion from the education system begins, and at which many subsequent problems can be avoided. If Roma children are included in education systems from the very beginning, they have better chances of avoiding the spiral of poverty, unemployment, and marginalization. Pre-school education also provides the best opportunities for integrating Roma children into mainstream education.

*Respondents
feel their interests
are better
represented by
local government*

Removing income-related barriers to education could be another high-impact policy area. These problems have been exacerbated by reductions in central subsidies for education, forcing parents to cover out-of-pocket school costs (e.g., paying for school textbooks). Increased public expenditures in these areas are not public consumption spending, but rather an investment in future labour force competitiveness, human capital, lower morbidity, and better health profiles.

Health

Health in Roma communities sharply deteriorated in the last decade. The survey data, however, show that the respondents are not aware of these negative changes. Instead, most respondents believe their health, and that of their children, is 'good' or 'tolerable.' This result may reflect low levels of awareness and limited aspirations, rather than show that Roma communities genuinely enjoy good health.

The same seems to apply for health insurance: survey results show relatively high coverage levels. Only in Bulgaria and Romania (where 54 percent and 63 percent of the respondents claim to have health insurance, respectively) is coverage relatively low. According to respondents, health problems are usually related to the inability to purchase medicines and pay the patient contributions required by health insurance programs. The data also suggest that respondents may lack sufficient information on the workings of the health care system—and hence they lack adequate access to health services. Further in-depth studies of the health aspects of development opportunities for Roma are necessary.

Roma children are a special health risk group, reflected in high (in some countries—strikingly so) levels of infant mortality. Women's health is another area of concern, due to socioeconomic factors (poverty, inadequate nutrition, lack of access to health services) and to cultural patterns (relatively early and numerous births). The links between frighteningly high infant mortality rates and high fertility rates suggest that expansion of women's reproductive rights is increasingly emerging as a huge challenge and opportunity for women and children's health status.

Problems with access to health services are also important. These are due in part to the cash payments required from beneficiaries; although relatively small, they are often too large for many Roma. Limited access to health services in some countries results from the lack of the appropriate identity documents and birth certificates necessary for health insurance enrolment.

Political participation and social inclusion

The survey data did not support the initial expectation that social interactions between Roma and majority communities are infrequent, and that group solidarity and support exist mainly along ethnic lines. Current "neighbourhood" relations and contacts intermediated by children seem to dominate interactions. Roma and majority children playing together' is an option appearing equally frequently across the region (60 percent of the respondents on average, with a minimum of 56 percent in Hungary and a maximum of 71 percent in Romania). Inter-community interactions were also determined by survival needs. Inter-community interactions were reported to be higher than expected, reflecting inter-group

contacts and support determined by survival needs. Interactions between the poor Roma and non-Roma are, however, more frequent, which suggests the existence or emergence of class (rather than ethnic) solidarity.

The survey data also suggest that, contrary to initial expectations, Roma are willing to interact directly with central government structures, and, if granted the opportunity, are willing to bear the associated responsibilities. This conclusion needs to be reflected in projects designed to improve inter-ethnic relations and decrease Roma social exclusion. It suggests that, in a society with a sizeable Roma population, Roma participation in public services, state administration, police and other spheres of public life should be of roughly similar proportions.

As mentioned above, the survey data indicate that human rights questions are perceived predominantly through the lens of development opportunities, with the legal and political dimensions receiving smaller attention. This may be due to Roma community “survivalist agendas.” Whatever the reason, attention is less focused on having Roma ministries or Roma television channels than on employment and education.

Contrary to expectations, Roma have little trust in intermediaries in general. Support for informal leaders, Roma (and non-Roma) non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and Roma political parties, is limited. These low levels of trust suggest an absence of legitimate representatives to articulate and aggregate Roma interests. This is partially due to internal cleavages within Roma communities, and to inadequate mechanisms for representing minority group interests in general. At present, Roma do not believe that their interests can be properly represented at the national political level through the democratic mechanisms established during the first decade of transition.

The picture is slightly more optimistic at lower levels of government. Respondents feel their interests are better represented by local government—particularly for issues important for overall daily survival. This is also the level at which representation and policy impact is most easily attained, without the introduction of major institutional reforms or compromises. Respondents expect support not from political institutions in general (which are often perceived as abstractions), but from specific institutions capable of providing tangible support, in the areas of employment and social

assistance in particular. These attitudes contain a certain contradiction: despite feeling that they are underrepresented, the Roma nevertheless still expect state institutions to provide support—and believe that the state is capable of doing so.

Conclusions

The general conclusion of the report goes beyond the issues of Roma integration *per se* and is related to the process of the five CEE countries’ integration into the European Union (EU): they will become successful members of the EU if the Roma (as well as other vulnerable groups) become integrated productively into their home societies, via employment, education and political participation. Without proper integration, and without an overall development framework to guide the process, the opportunity provided by EU accession may quickly disappear. The risk is that, if postponed, the cost of finding solutions for marginalized groups will be immeasurably higher and will have few chances of success. The human security costs of exclusion will spiral, potentially resulting in political extremism and setbacks for the democratic process.

But integration is a two-way street. It requires certain changes both from majority populations as well as from minority groups, based on the understanding that integration (as opposed to exclusion or assimilation) is in the best interest of both majority and minority populations. Successful integration will be possible only if the international community shares responsibility with the national governments and the private sector in finding solutions for marginalized groups such as the Roma.

Looking into Roma integration opportunities through a human development framework, the report reaches several specific conclusions:

- Legal frameworks for minority rights protection are a necessary but insufficient precondition for sustainable integration. Without development opportunities, legal rights remain hollow.
- Although employment and labour market discrimination are major concerns in Roma communities, allusions to 100 percent unemployment among Roma are both methodologically and substantively incorrect.
- Roma household incomes are highly dependent on welfare payments and other central government transfers (e.g., pensions or child benefits), while participation in

Human rights questions are perceived predominantly through the lens of development opportunities, while the legal and political dimensions receive less attention

the formal economy is relatively limited. This makes Roma participation in social protection systems asymmetrical (i.e., as a group, they receive more than they pay). This asymmetry is an important cause of social tensions and, ultimately, exclusion.

- Integrated education is a major objective but it cannot be enforced in a top-down manner and/or if basic necessary preconditions are missing. Integration in education requires the removal of the existing systemic barriers.
- Substantial numbers of Roma children suffer from undernourishment, which dramatically reduces their development opportunities.
- Existing intermediaries (political parties and NGOs) do not enjoy broad trust in Roma communities.
- Levels of interaction with majority communities are high, which is a potential asset for social integrity and integration.

Recommendations

- Governments should reassess the impact of subsidized employment programs, paying particular attention to their social inclusion and educational aspects. The impact of such schemes is much broader than their direct economic outcomes (number of temporary jobs, income received, etc.).
- Social benefits should be linked to labor force participation, following the principle of “positive benefits for positive efforts.” Otherwise a major systemic source of racial exclusion will persist.
- The significance of preschool preparation for the life opportunities of children suggests that linkages between obligatory preschool education and social welfare benefits be restored and strengthened.
- Roma children attending integrated preschools have incomparably higher chances to continue their educations than those attending segregated institutions. Preschools should be where integration begins.
- Free textbooks books and meals for all primary school children should be reintroduced. If education is to be a long-term priority, governments should reconsider the withdrawal of this support.
- Simply including Roma in existing health programs is not sufficient to reduce unfavorable health trends. Emergency measures such as massive revaccinations and TB screening for entire communities should be pursued.
- Health awareness and family planning should be encouraged with the active involvement (through training) of Roma communities
- Welfare to work programs should be introduced both in public administration, as well as in partnership with the private sector.
- Donors should invest in extensive collection and development of comparable socioeconomic data sets in order to avoid ungrounded interpretations and speculations on minority issues.
- Community income generation and public employment programs have a profound impact on social inclusion and these aspects should be taken into consideration together with the direct economic impact of such programs.
- Integrated education should be seen as the only effective means of achieving equal education opportunities. All current short- and mid-term steps towards improving the educational status of Roma should be implemented in the context of integrated education as a long-term objective.
- Donor coordination at the community level should focus on avoiding the creation of “local monopolies” on access to funds. It should also seek to avoid duplication of Roma projects and the possible misuse of resources.
- The creation of transparent monitoring and evaluation schemes should be a prerequisite for project approval.
- Local organizations working to improve living conditions for vulnerable communities should involve members of those communities in the design and implementation process. Roma participation is key to the success of programs. People should be seen as active participants not as passive “target groups” of intervention.
- Capacity development (i.e. the ability to identify problems and articulate solutions in a sustainable development framework) at the local level should be a priority.
- Impact assessment and transparency should be promoted as guiding principles of local level involvement.
- A clear division of labor between the non-profit sector and governments should be maintained. NGOs cannot and should not replace governments in their responsibilities, such as replicating the successes of pilot projects at the national level.

Introduction

Issues of Roma integration and sustainable income generation in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) are key policy priorities in the pre-accession countries. Progress on minority issues, specifically concerning the Roma, is among the assessment criteria in the accession preparation process. Significant resources have therefore been devoted to Roma-targeted projects, and more will be devoted in the future.

Regrettably, the efficiency of these investments has often not been as high as anticipated. This is because today, as in the preceding decades and centuries, CEE governments do not employ internally consistent, sustainable approaches to the Roma, or to other marginalized communities. This shortcoming is made critical by the European Union (EU) accession process.

This shortcoming is not unique in either time or space. The problems that Roma face today are linked to long histories of tension and violent solutions of the “Roma question.” Different approaches for dealing with this question have been pursued, ranging from forceful settlement of Roma and provision of (mostly) unskilled state subsidized employment to attempts of physical extermination by the Nazi regime. Since no European country has developed successful, sustainable solutions to Roma issues, there is no universal know-how to replicate. On the other hand, the persistence of similar patterns of exclusion and (at times) aggressive intolerance by the majority societies suggests that some deep and fundamental issues so far have been neglected in approaching the Roma.

These shortcomings combined with the importance of Roma issues in the EU accession context led UNDP to investigate

the situation of Roma in the five CEE pre-accession countries, using a human development perspective.

Assumptions and objectives of the report

This report advocates a new approach, based on the human development paradigm, to Roma integration issues. It suggests that the socio-economic problems facing Roma populations throughout the region require an approach that puts violations of Roma human and civil rights in a broader analytical framework. This new approach should be sustainable, humanistic, and development oriented—it should provide the Roma with opportunities for sustainable development. Without development opportunities, human rights are incomplete. Such a paradigm need not be elaborated in an intellectual vacuum: UNDP has been advocating a broader approach to human rights for years.⁴

This sustainable development perspective has been missing in most analyses of Roma issues. While Roma integration is treated as a policy goal, the focus has generally been on violations of human and civil rights,⁵ or on anti-poverty measures elaborated in the context of increased social spending for marginalized groups. The broader development context—focusing on choices, opportunities, participation, and responsibility—is only rarely considered. This report goes beyond the prevailing “violations” discourse to address the root causes of Roma problems and propose adequate, sustainable policy solutions. “Sustainable” in this context means affordable and achievable solutions, which do not require constant subsidization, and can win support from majority populations.

The sustainable development perspective has been missing in most analyses of Roma issues

⁴ *Integrating Human Rights With Sustainable Development* (UNDP 1998) was followed by UNDP’s 2000 *Global Human Development Report* entitled “Human Rights and Human Development.” Many national human development reports (e.g., a 2000 Report for Armenia) have also dealt with this issue.

⁵ See UNDP 1998: 2.

Box 1. What is Human Development?

Human development is about expanding people's choices. Although it involves the three components (incomes, health, and education) of the human development index (HDI), the concept is much broader.

Development economics and economic policy have increasingly come to acknowledge that development is about more than goods and services. It should serve broader objectives for human welfare. UNDP's annual *"Human Development Report"* has been a major force behind this shift, calling attention to the non-monetary dimensions of human development. The HDI has played a major advocacy role by offering a more holistic and quantifiable alternative to the more common measurement of progress: per-capita gross domestic product.

Ironically, the HDI has reinforced a narrow interpretation of the human development concept. People often tend to forget that the idea of "human development" is much broader than the HDI's three components. The attention devoted to the HDI tends to obscure the fact that people should be the ends (rather than the means) of development processes, which are fundamentally about *human freedoms and dignity, and the role of freedom in development*.

There are three issues to keep in mind when discussing the concept of human development:

- Development must be defined in terms of people's welfare and the expansion of their capabilities and functioning. Growth in goods and services is a means and not the end of development process.
- Human development is inexorably linked to the freedom and dignity of the individual. The expansion of freedoms is at the heart of the concept and should be at the heart of its implementation. As stated in UNDP's 2000 *Human Development Report*, capabilities include "the basic freedoms of being able to meet bodily requirements, such as the ability to avoid starvation and undernourishment, or to escape preventable morbidity or premature mortality. But they also include the enabling opportunities given by schooling, or the liberty and economic means to move freely and to choose one's abode. There are also important 'social' freedoms, such as the capability to participate in the life of the community, to join in public discussion, to participate in political decision-making and even the elementary ability 'to appear in public without shame.'"
- The human development paradigm does not regard people as passive beneficiaries of economic and social activities. People must become active agents of social change. This connotes opportunities for participation, empowerment, access to information, and to influence policy making. People can and should be agents of change through individual and collective action. Being change agents means possessing the health and education necessary to understand social processes and act upon this understanding.

These three elements go well beyond the HDI components, especially when applied to Roma and other marginalized communities. They also explain why, despite the difficulties in computing HDIs for Roma (this report provides a first attempt in this direction), the human development paradigm is the most appropriate for approaching the problems these communities face.

Based on: Fukuda-Parr, Sakiko. "Rescuing the Human Development Concept from the HDI - Reflections on a New Agenda." In Sakiko Fukuda-Parr and A.K. Shiva Kumar et al. *Human Development: Concepts and Measures – Essential Readings*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Focusing on these developmental elements will provide new perspectives on Roma issues. It will also increase sensitivity to the danger that, even with the best of intentions, programs that are not sustainable can in fact deepen the already problematic dependency cultures found in many Roma communities. Successful policies must therefore be linked to the participation of Roma and non-Roma communities in their implementation. The report addresses such issues as Roma access to employment, health care, and education; it identifies the fundamental causes of these problems and it advocates sustainable policy solutions.⁶

The failures thus far in dealing with Roma problems can be attributed to a number of factors. The inability of European societies to guarantee equal development opportunities and free choices to all citizens, regardless of their ethnicity, is one such factor. The legacy of assimilation attempts that have been described as "integration" is another, as has been the failure to explain that both majorities and minorities should be interested in solving Roma problems. Sustainable solutions to the problems facing Roma communities can only be found when both majorities and minorities develop such an interest. Solutions that are imposed—or perceived as imposed—on the majorities are likely to be rejected, and can easily deepen anti-Roma sentiments and prejudices.

The EU accession process provides important leverage to influence policy in the accession countries. Change, particularly regarding the adoption of anti-discrimination legislation, is feasible because it is in line with accession requirements. Roma issues have therefore become an important criterion used for assessing the progress of applicant countries. But laws are just the first step; their implementation and the elaboration of sustainable development policies remain the most challenging parts of the task.

The increasing involvement of European institutions in Roma issues in accession countries deserves special attention. As seen from Graph 1, EU financial support within

⁶ The link between human rights and development opportunities receives increasing attention, one recent example being the publication of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, *A Human Rights Approach to Poverty Reduction Strategies* (UNHCHR 2002). The real challenge however is how to go beyond guidelines and complement basic rights with sustainable opportunities.

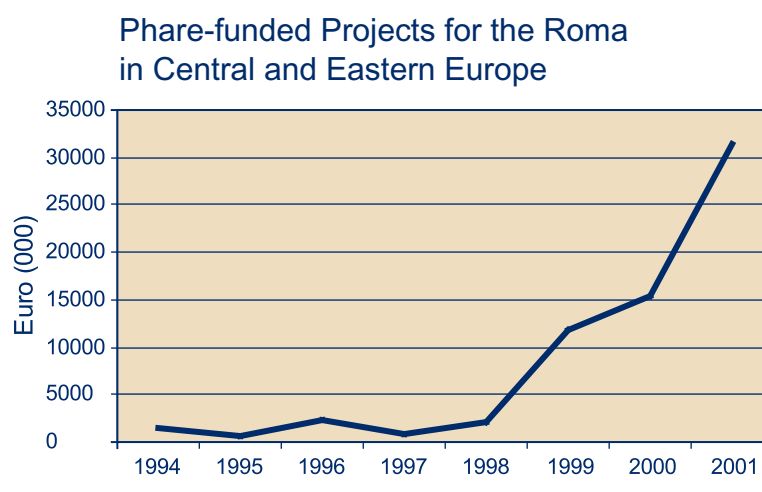
the PHARE Program⁷ for Roma-targeted projects has been growing, but the impact on the ground has often been far smaller than expected. This suggests that sustainable change is not so much a matter of the volume of resources allocated, but of how the money is spent, and especially the conceptual framework in which it is utilized.

The human development paradigm can have major advantages here. It identifies human rights and economic growth not as ends in themselves, but as means to help individuals realize their potential. It emphasizes the sustainability, equity, participatory, and human security dimensions of social welfare. Human development is also about efficiency, measurable impact, mitigating dependency cultures, and avoiding corruption.

This report applies the human development paradigm in two particular ways. First, it provides new quantitative data outlining the existing status of Roma populations in terms of human development opportunities. How high are Roma unemployment rates? How low are education-attendance rates? Without measurable data on these issues, analysis can fall prey to manipulation and speculation. Using data from the comprehensive survey, the report provides at least partial answers to these questions. This helps place Roma issues in a broader development context, and can outline the costs and benefits of different policy approaches. Moreover, such a framework is a prerequisite for involvement by Roma communities in the solutions to the problems they are facing without further deepening dependency cultures.

Second, this report seeks to encourage a debate on the elaboration of a commonly (albeit informally) accepted set of rules for cooperation among major actors involved

GRAPH 1



in development projects for vulnerable communities, including the Roma. Such an informal “code of conduct” could outline the basic conditions that any initiative should meet in order to avoid adverse outcomes (e.g., increasing segregation instead of bridging the gap between majority and minorities, or increasing dependency on social assistance or humanitarian aid instead of encouraging the adoption of active life strategies).

It is also necessary to bear in mind what this report is not. It cannot (and is not intended to) provide blueprints for solutions. Roma groups are very different across and within countries.⁸ Direct comparisons are difficult. Due to this national/regional dichotomy, this report—which has a regional character—cannot be a source of direct policy recommendations. Ensuring regional consistency means excessive generality. The “recommendations” part of the report is therefore focused more on the general attributes of the sustainable development

Sustainable change has less to do with the volume of resources allocated, than it does with the conceptual framework in which it is utilized

⁷ The PHARE Program— *Poland and Hungary Assistance for the Restructuring of the Economy*— is an instrument to assist the EU applicant countries in their preparations to join the Union. The Program began in 1989; it provides support to the countries of central Europe and has helped them through a period of economic restructuring and political change. PHARE had by 1996 been extended to include 13 partner countries from the region. The original budget allocated was Euro 4.2 billion for the 1990-1994; it was increased to Euro 6.693 billion for the 1995-1999 period. On the support for Roma communities in Central and Eastern Europe see EU 1999, EU 2000. For detailed information on the resources allocated by different EU programs see Annex 2.

⁸ In different countries Roma populations are defined in different ways (Gypsy, Romany, Romani, Romanies, Gitanes etc.). There is no consensus even on linguistic aspects of the issue. The authors deliberately avoid a debate on subtle contextual meanings of different terminology using the term “Roma” as an encompassing term to define the population of Roma/Sinti origin regardless of the specific sub-group (often very distinct from each other) to which an individual may belong. From linguistic point of view “Roma” is used both as adjective and as plural noun (instead of “Romany” used as adjective and “Roms” or “Romanies” as plural nouns used in some publications).

Box 2. Human rights and human development

UNDP 2000 report on *Human Rights and Human Development*, stated: "Any society committed to improve the lives of its people must also be committed to full and equal rights for all." The UNDP report implied that human rights are not a result of economic development, but rather a critical prerequisite for economic development. Key indicators for human development include levels of civil liberties and of participation by all individuals and social groups. A broad vision of human rights, including social, economic and cultural rights must accompany the achievement of sustainable human development.

The UN formally recognized the relationship between human rights and human development in 1986 when the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Right to Development. Article 1.1 of the Declaration defines the right to development as "an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized." The Declaration recognizes development as a human centred, participatory process and links human development to the realization of international human rights obligations. The principles of universality, indivisibility, interdependency and inter-relatedness of all human rights adopted by the international human rights agreements in the 1990 (notably the 1993 Vienna World Conference on Human Rights), stress the links between the civil and political rights on one hand, and economic, social and cultural rights on the other.

Although the right to development provided in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights needs further elaboration in relation to other rights, it is clear that approaches to social change based on human rights are complementary to those based on the human development paradigm. In 1998 the UN Secretary General launched a new rights-based approach to development that was intended to help states and development agencies to redirect their development thinking.

The UNDP has summarized the value of a rights-based approach to development as follows: "Through the systematic application of human rights principles during all phases of program development and implementation ways must be found to empower people to make decisions about issues that affect their lives, rather than treating them as passive objects of decisions made on their behalf by bureaucrats. This recognizes that all people are inherently holders of rights... This is particularly relevant at local government level in relation to basic social services delivery." (1998, UNDP: *Integrating Human Rights with Sustainable Human Development*.) The sentence "This is particularly relevant for the rights of Roma people," could easily be added to this declaration.

Box prepared by Dimitrina Petrova, Executive Director, *European Roma Rights Center*. Budapest, 2002.

approach; specific recommendations should be treated rather as illustrations describing what is meant by "sustainability."

This regional report should be treated as a part of a "package" consisting of five national reports and the Roma human development knowledge web site (<http://roma.undp.sk>). Each element of this package has its specific objectives:

- The regional report provides the overall framework for a sustainable approach to Roma issues as well as comparable data outlining certain tendencies regarding employment, poverty, education, and participation.
- Each of the national reports analyses in depth the issues at the country level and makes extensive recommendations relevant to the specific country context. The national reports, rather than the regional ones, are expected to be policy tools at the national level.
- The Roma human development knowledge web site provides access to all six reports (one regional and five national) as well as the accompanying regional and national data sets (downloadable in Excel or SPSS format). These data are intended to promote independent analysis on these issues, and are subject only to the requirements that the source be cited and the research containing it be uploaded to the knowledge web site for similar public access.

The report's preparation was marked by a rich debate on the specific nature and contents of different terms, revealing the complexity of the issues and differences in individual national contexts. The debate also underscored the importance of the common understanding of seemingly self-evident terms. Box 3 provides a glossary.

To ensure proper understanding and clarity of data, analysis and quotations, survey questions are shown in *Italics* (without quotation marks) throughout the report, whereas answer options are shown in single quotation marks. Double quotation marks denote other references.

The partnership framework

Although initially planned as a report on the situation of Roma in five East European countries, the project evolved into a

platform for inclusive dialogue that brought together many actors. The first draft of the report was circulated among a broad circle of experts and practitioners involved in Roma issues. Most of their comments were integrated into the final text. We wish to continue this cooperation by establishing a network of knowledge and people, merging efforts on this common issue. The Roma web site is a key element of this network. The elaboration of a common set of rules of cooperation for major actors in this area could be another.

Roma issues are intrinsically linked to the transition that CEE countries are undergoing. Minority issues are not just about minorities; they are about patterns of coexistence and exclusion, cooperation and tensions between minorities and majorities. Better management of these tensions means investigating different models of behaviour and choice through different “ethnic lenses,” in order to identify areas of cooperation. This approach is consistent with UNDP and ILO support for inclusive policy approaches, and will contribute to building the inter-community understanding that is a prerequisite for sustainable integration policies.

Sources of data and methodology

This report is based on data from several sources:

- Analytical country reports from the five pre-accession CEE countries (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, and Slovak Republic);
- Socioeconomic profiles of Roma populations in the five countries, based on data from representative sociological surveys conducted among Roma households by the joint UNDP/ILO project using a common methodology (described in detail in Annex 1) and a comparable set of questions in all countries; and
- Regional and country analyses on the issue and assessments of existing policies and projects.

The analytical national reports summarizing the existing data on Roma in their respective countries were complemented by information from the sociological surveys. Due to the lack of reliable “hard data” (on the size of Roma populations, among other things) the socioeconomic information from the survey

Box 3. Glossary of main terms used*

Integration

The opportunity to participate in socioeconomic life on an equal basis without losing one’s own distinct identity (linguistic, cultural), while simultaneously contributing one’s individual distinctiveness to the cultural richness of the society.

Assimilation

Social inclusion at the expense of losing distinct group identity. Assimilation of minorities (usually ethnic) generally requires the sacrifice of their ethno-cultural distinctiveness in order to receive to receive “entry opportunities.” Assimilation is rarely successful, at least in the short and medium term. Minorities can easily lose elements of their distinctiveness without receiving commensurate “entry opportunities.”

Social exclusion

Limited or blocked access to the social system. Social exclusion can be associated with long-term unemployment, with such group characteristics as ethnic affiliation or sexual orientation, health status (HIV-AIDS), or with social pathologies (e.g., ex-prisoners or drug abusers). Social exclusion is often a first step toward marginalization.

Segregation

Isolating a part of society by denying access to major social, political, or economic institutions. Segregation by ethnic criteria can lead to “vertical” (as opposed to “horizontal”) social stratification, whereby different entities are separated into their own, mutually incompatible social structures.

Marginalization

A process of socioeconomic degradation resulting from the failure to meet inclusion requirements for participation in different social systems (e.g., the labour market, political institutions, educational and health institutions). These systems are usually interlinked, so exclusion from one makes exclusion from others more likely. Marginalization processes can culminate the formation of under classes.

Sustainable development

While usually understood as environmentally sound development, this report uses the term with a focus on “affordability” and “returns.” Sustainable development is understood as a “not-subsidized development path,” in which development does not occur at the expense of a “third party,” be it other sectors of the economy, the environment, or future generations. In this context, subsidies are acceptable only if they lead to investment in capital (tangible or intangible, physical, financial, or social) that generates explicit returns (be it in increased opportunities, social capital, or individual capacities).

* The authors are aware that these are complex and often debated definitions. The purpose of this box is not to provide a comprehensive overview of the existing literature on these issues, but rather to let the reader know exactly what the authors mean by use of various terms.

component often served as a primary source of information and analytical input. Where possible, the data format is consistent with such similar sources as household and labour market surveys (summarized in Annex 3).

However, data on many issues are still missing. From this point of view, this report is a first step in applying the human development paradigm to issues of Roma integration and development opportunities.

Regarding comparability, the reader should remember that the countries in question have very different historical experiences. Distant although they may be, the different experience and heritage of the Austro-Hungarian and the Ottoman empires strongly influenced cultural and political environments in these countries.

These differences can have a very pronounced impact on Roma issues.

CHAPTER 1

A brief historical overview

The Roma issue cannot be understood without examining the broader context of the evolution of nation states in Europe. The objective of this chapter is not to summarize the extensive literature on this issue,⁹ but to point out elements that influence the success (or failure) of recent approaches to Roma integration.

The persecution and victimization of Roma in Western Europe from the 15th century through the 18th century can be related to the appearance and consolidation of nation states in this part of the continent.¹⁰ This aspect of Roma relations with majority communities is noteworthy for two reasons. First, levels of tolerance and acceptance of Roma in Eastern Europe were generally high (despite such exceptions as the near-slave status of Roma in Wallachia and Moldova until the mid-19th century). Second, the patterns of relations with majority communities in the last few centuries show that anti-Roma sentiments are neither unique to Eastern Europe nor a recent, transition phenomenon. These sentiments should be understood in the broader context of modern nation-state building. Following the collapse of the Soviet system and Eastern Europe's multinational states, processes of renewed nation building and national consolidation came to dominate (and in some cases still dominate) the agenda of many societies in the region. This can lead to ethnic intolerance because rejection of *otherness* is a major element of the nation-building process.¹¹

Roma and social structures of industrial societies

Roma integration has been affected by differences in social structures of Roma

populations compared to the majority, and by the evolution of these structures over time. Roma populations throughout the region have traditionally engaged in non-agricultural activities; they earned their livelihoods by entering into commercial relationships with agrarian cultures. Agrarian cultures, with their private land ownership and related social and state structures, generated institutional and cultural norms for non-Roma populations, while Roma communities did not establish institutions linked to private land ownership. The Roma were never part of a single territory and never cared much about the acquisition of land or real estate, which may be one of the roots of the propensity toward current consumption rather than accumulation.

Today, only a tiny fraction of Roma populations in Europe is truly nomadic.¹² But even after their adoption of sedentary life styles, the Roma's geographic mobility raised demand for their craft skills. Complementarities between this "post-nomadic" lifestyle and the agrarian societies of majority populations were, however, reduced during industrialization. Demands for traditional Roma skills (blacksmithing, musical entertainment, collecting and processing wood and other raw materials, and more recently recycling) fell sharply over time. Not having land of their own and lacking agricultural experience/culture, Roma communities increasingly supplied cheap labour to the heavy industries that expanded during the socialist period—and collapsed afterward. The unemployment, poverty, and social exclusion apparent in many Roma communities result from these historical roots.

Anti-Roma sentiments are neither unique to Eastern Europe nor are they recent phenomenon of the transition period

⁹ The bibliography in Annex 5 includes materials directly related to the specific topics analysed in this report. For a detailed lists of sources, see the *Understanding Roma* bibliography <http://www.osi.hu/exhibition/collection.html> or <http://dmoz.org/Society/Ethnicity/Romani/>.

¹⁰ For vivid examples of the Roma's long history of persecution, see Fraser 1995: 63-175 (Medieval Europe) and 256-269 (the Holocaust). On the historical "sequence of approaches" from ancient to contemporary times (exclusion-containment-inclusion-indecision) see Liégeois 1994: 123-155.

¹¹ See for example CoE 1996, CoE 1999b, Cahn and Peric 1999, or Petrova 1999. For more details on Roma aspects of the Kosovo crisis, see the European Roma Rights Center "Regional Index – Kosovo" <http://errc.org/publications/indices/kosovo.shtml>.

¹² For a first-hand account of nomadic life of Roma groups in 1930s see Yoors 1987.

Changes in Roma lifestyle patterns can come only with significant improvements in Roma living standards

These developments are not solely East European: similar development patterns are apparent in Western Europe. In almost all European countries, minorities are over-represented among the unemployed. In 1998 in Holland, 18 percent to 20 percent of people of Turkish or Moroccan origin were officially registered as unemployed, as compared to 4 percent for the Dutch. The unemployment rate in 1997 in Germany was 20 percent for people of foreign origin as opposed to 9 percent for Germans. In the UK in 2001, the unemployment rate for minority males was 13 percent, compared with 6 percent for majority men.¹³ The major distinctions between East and West in this regard are that social welfare transfers in Western Europe are larger than in Eastern Europe, and that anti-discrimination legislation in Western Europe is more developed—and enforcement more systematic—than in Eastern Europe.

Generally Roma skepticism towards accumulating fixed assets is part of a highly “provisional” lifestyle that is dominated by low savings rates and high current consumption. This impermanence is a consequence of poverty, as well. Saving and investment are not possible when income barely covers subsistence. This means that large changes in lifestyle patterns can come only with significant improvements in Roma living standards.

During the communist period, working class homogenization was expected to eradicate ethnic distinctions

Social systems in newly industrialized societies, in education, health care, social security, and state administration, clash with these provisional lifestyle strategies. For example, the educational institutions of majority populations (irrespective of whether they are part of market-based or centrally planned economies) are viewed with suspicion because they are often perceived as being imposed from the outside. Hence the combination of the weak social role of asset ownership, the “provisional” lifestyle strategies, and poverty facilitates the Roma’s social exclusion. Roma participation in such social institutions as employment, health, and education systems can be viewed as inclusion into a different, sometimes alien (*gadje*) world.¹⁴ The social exclusion traditionally

experienced by Roma has created attitudes towards the non-Roma world that are full of caution, suspicion, and mistrust. To a certain extent, opposition to the non-Roma environment and its social structures is an important traditional element of Roma identity. In their relationships with majority populations, many Roma communities at the end of the 20th century found themselves where they had been a century earlier.¹⁵

Roma often perceive their integration into majority social systems as asymmetric processes. Inclusion means participation in social interactions whose rules were established by other groups. As such, Roma often perceive themselves as “objects” rather than as equal participants, and face polar alternatives of adaptation and non-participation.¹⁶ These perceptions—and the conditions giving rise to them—promote “rejection when possible” and “remain distinctive at all cost” behavioural patterns, irrespective of the long-term consequences of exclusion. This is the cultural context in which European countries found themselves during the first half of the 20th century.

During the communist period, policies towards the Roma were broadly consistent with the regimes’ ideological framework: class rather than ethnic cleavages were viewed as the key drivers of social differentiation. Within this framework attempts were made to “melt” ethnic and individual distinctiveness into a homogeneous class of labourers. Working class homogenization was the key to the “inclusion” of ethnic minorities and was expected to eradicate ethnic distinctions or at least to make their significance negligible compared to class characteristics. Since they did not own land, Roma populations were often seen as ideal subject for this social experimentation.

The social engineering initiatives applied to the Roma included:

- Obligatory employment in the state and cooperative sectors. In rural areas, this mainly consisted of employment on state and cooperative farms. In urban areas, Roma were integrated as workers into the industrial and construction sectors.

¹³ See Shaw 2002: 13

¹⁴ *Gadje* is the Roma term for non-Roma. It refers to representatives of both majority and other minority cultures. The term illustrates the “us” vs. “them” dichotomy.

¹⁵ “Non-identification” and “non-confidence,” “reluctance to trust society,” a tendency “to seek individual alternatives rather than aim at participating in a collective process of change in the individual countries” are among the reasons given for the wave of emigration from the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic at the beginning of the 1990s outlined in CoE 2000e: 15.

¹⁶ See Vašečka and Radičová 2002: 359.

- Administrative allocation of housing to the Roma from state funds for the socially disadvantaged, without regard to cultural patterns.
- Dispersion by settling/intermingling Roma families among majority communities; erosion of the integrity of the Roma group (the basic element of Roma societal organization¹⁷).
- Enforcement of the statutory requirement that children attend school; obligatory Roma participation in the health care system (immunization, periodical medical checks, etc.).

The results of this approach cannot be assessed unequivocally. On the one hand, this re-engineering of traditional Roma lifestyles and culture generated significant improvements in terms of human development. Roma incomes grew, and access to public services and health status improved. On the other hand, the collapse of the development model pursued in these countries during the socialist period suggests that these improvements were economically unsustainable. Moreover, many of the ties within Roma communities were fragmented or destroyed by assimilative social engineering, as well as by industrialization and urbanization. Traditional ties were only rarely replaced by links generated by integration into majority populations. When Roma families were settled among the majority population, they only rarely acquired majority status. They usually remained smaller, isolated, excluded microcosms (sub-groups) among the majority.

In sum, the “socialist project” in CEE failed to construct new, sustainable social links to replace traditional identities and support networks that were eroded under the socialist system. But since it nonetheless provided important human development benefits, Roma groups in a sense were tied to the socialist ideological construct, and were left particularly vulnerable by its collapse.

The social impact of transition

The collapse of large state owned enterprises (SOEs) as employment providers was not the only reason for the deterioration of Roma socio-economic status during the transition. Roma were also affected by land restitution and the collapse of cooperative farming in rural areas. Roma were never landowners—not because of legal restrictions (as was the case with Jews in most of CEE countries until the end of the 19th century), but because of cultural and economic factors. In the pre-industrial period, Roma were part of non-agrarian societies and possessed limited economic resources. They continued to be poor under central planning, and even when granted plots of land or housing, these plots generally remained under formal state ownership. When post-communist restitution began, many Roma families not only did not have any property to reclaim: they also had no legal grounds to retain their houses. As a result, Roma migration from rural to urban and suburban areas intensified, leading to the expansion of ghettos with all their attendant social consequences.¹⁸ The magnitude of this phenomenon is very difficult to assess, but it seems to take the following form: the suburban ghettos are expanding and people are returning to semi-nomadic patterns. They commute to surrounding villages in search of employment, look for seasonal jobs in neighbouring countries, or simply become involved in informal cross-border trade. This would suggest that providing Roma with opportunities to purchase land and seek employment in rural areas, including engagement in subsistence agriculture, might help promote sustainable livelihoods.

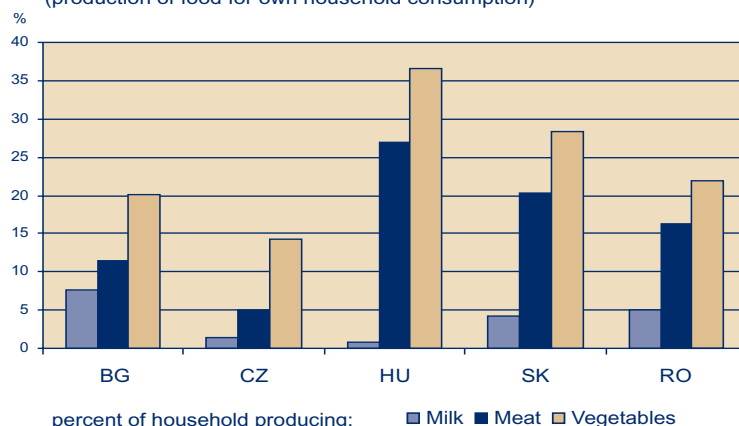
Subsistence agriculture as a survival strategy should be considered with caution, especially in the context of EU membership and the expected decrease in the share of the population involved in the agricultural sector. Nonetheless, it is definitely more feasible (and perhaps more cost-efficient in the short run) in reducing extreme poverty than urban employment generation schemes. In the long run, however, an increase of rural population cannot be considered a sustainable solution.

Post-communist restitution encouraged Roma migration from rural to urban and suburban areas, leading to the expansion of Roma ghettos

¹⁷ On the role of the group and group identity in Roma social organization see Marushiakova, Popov, 1993: 65–66.

¹⁸ See for example Save the Children 2001a: 308 on the expansion of ghetto-like settlements in Romania.

GRAPH 2

Prevalence of subsistence agriculture
(production of food for own household consumption)

CEE countries today are a strange mix of elements from industrial and third world societies

A delicate compromise between the survival needs of vulnerable groups and the development of competitive agribusiness is necessary. Each of the hypothetical options ("survival through subsistence agriculture" or "survival through urban employment generation") has its cost. Whatever the options taken, they will inevitably involve substantial resources that can be best utilized only if an appropriate balance between short-, mid- and long-term priorities is in place.

Additional evidence of the social impact of transition on Roma populations can be found in their stated source of incomes and food consumption. The UNDP/ILO survey data show that less than a quarter of Roma households produce vegetables, and only 16 percent produce meat as elements of their survival strategies. In most countries

this is much lower than the shares of majority populations (particularly at similar income levels) producing food at home. Moreover, these results are in a sense skewed by the Hungarian data: 37 percent of Roma households produce vegetables and 27 percent produce meat (see Graph 2). More generally, the UNDP/ILO survey data indicate that currently only 15 percent of Roma receive earnings from agricultural activities, and 9 percent from construction related activities. In all the other countries, these types of activities are overshadowed by the response 'did nothing—did not earn money during the last 6 months.' These figures underscore the problem of access to productive resources, specifically land, agricultural machinery, and working capital.

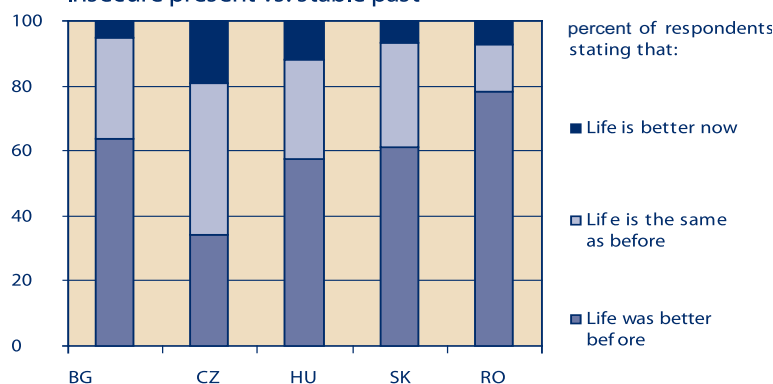
The current heritage

Many of the problems affecting Roma communities reflect transitions from pre-industrial to industrial societies, and later to post-industrial societies. CEE countries today are a strange mix of elements from industrial societies (e.g., economic structure, gross domestic product per-capita, social assistance networks), and developing world elements (marginalization of entire communities, cases of extreme poverty, high incidence of poverty-related diseases, etc.). As seen from Box 4, the "developing world segments" in CEE societies can be identified by using such composite indicators as UNDP's human development index, disaggregated by ethnic groups.

This "industrialized countries" and "developing world" mixture often precludes the direct application of best practices developed in other social environments. For example, approaches to poverty alleviation that are effective in developing countries may be less relevant in CEE countries due to the "industrialized world reality" of the background against which they are implemented. In addition, many of these countries are presently in the last phase of nation building, with all the related patterns and attitudes of exclusion and intolerance that inevitably arise. That means that in the near future, societies that are still completing the process of national consolidation and nation-

GRAPH 3

Insecure present vs. stable past



¹⁹ Roma are often considered to be "the biggest loser" of transition, but determining which group is "the biggest loser" is an extremely difficult task. In many respects, older citizens with drained savings and small pensions, or people with disabilities having negligible income generation opportunities, also seem to be big losers. Such groups often tend to be "invisible," and as such receive less political attention and advocacy opportunities. On the issue of "invisible minorities" see the section entitled "Minorities other than ethnic" in UNDP Bulgaria 1998b: 71-72.

state building will probably face rising tensions related to Roma exclusion and rejection.

Being the “double losers” of transition,¹⁹ Roma tend to view the current situation negatively in comparison to “past memories.” This “nostalgic” perception of current changes (relevant for the society at large but especially for the Roma) has been neglected during the last decade. During the socialist period, a significant part of the population in CEE countries (including, to some extent, Roma) essentially belonged to the middle class. These groups had access to goods and services typical for the middle class in industrial societies (quality dental care, medical security, personal cars, summer houses). Asked in private, informal discussions what they miss most from the socialist period, Roma often answer “The opportunity to have a vacation with the whole family with the majority population in company tourist resorts.”²⁰ Such activities were tangible examples of the integration of the Roma population into majority populations. As transition has significantly reduced the opportunity to engage in such activities, survey data suggest that most Roma currently assess their life 5 to 10 years ago as better than it is now (see the responses in Graph 3, which are based on the question, *How is your life in comparison to 5 years ago?*). The graph shows that Roma in all these countries believe that their life has deteriorated since the inception of the transition from socialism to capitalism.²¹

It is not only Roma who are nostalgic for the past, of course; majority groups also exhibit significant amounts of nostalgia as well. Such sentiments are probably not really nostalgia for the past, but rather a longing for a safe and predictable—although restricted—past. Since non-Roma populations also demonstrate similar nostalgia, the basic correlation is most likely between the level of inclusion in economic transformation

Box 4. Roma Human Development Index: Developing world fragments in industrialized societies

The material deprivation experienced by Roma and their limited development opportunities can be measured by computing human development indexes (HDIs) for Roma populations. Due to data inconsistencies (and, in many countries, the absence of data disaggregated by ethnicity), the standard methodology cannot be applied directly. Initial attempts have been made to estimate HDIs for Roma living in Romania. These are crude estimates, but they are consistent with other sources of information and case studies.

Life expectancy. Although mortality tables for the Roma population in Romania are unavailable, life expectancy can be estimated on the basis of the Roma infant mortality rate, which is roughly three times higher than the national average. Roma mortality in the one to four years age group is also several above the national average. When compared with other countries with similar infant mortality trends, these trends suggest that a realistic estimate for the average life expectancy is between 63 and 64 years. By contrast, the overall Romanian life expectancy value is almost 70 years. The resulting life expectancy index for Romanian Roma can therefore be taken as **0.64**.

Education. Adult literacy among Romanian Roma is around 72 percent. Although data on the average combined gross enrolment ratio are missing, expert estimates place this at 35 percent. This yields a Roma education index of **0.60**.

Gross domestic product (GDP). This is the major unknown factor. Studies done on sub-national HDIs in Brazil and UNDP/ILO survey data on poverty and income suggest that Roma per capita GDP is roughly one-third of the national average (around \$1,500—measured by a purchasing power parity method—for Romania as a whole). This produces a Roma GDP index of **0.5**.

Since the HDI for Romania as a whole in 2000 was 0.775, these estimates place the HDI value for Roma in Romania at around **0.570**. This is roughly comparable to the 2000 HDI level recorded in Botswana (0.572). The uncertainties surrounding this calculation suggest that a range of possible HDI values should be considered. Use of such a range would place the HDI for Roma in Romania between countries like Zimbabwe (0.551) and Swaziland (0.577).

Analysis by Dirk Westholf, independent consultant and demographer.

and the intensity of nostalgic sentiments. Opportunities, rather than ethnic affiliation *per se*, seem to be the primary determinant of the presence/absence of such views. Being among the groups most excluded from the “transition benefits,” Roma are also among the most nostalgic.

The emergence of a sense of “historical injustice” is another aspect of the shrinking former “socialist middle class.”²² Irrespective of rational explanations about the unsustainability of Soviet-type socialism,²³

²⁰ Fieldwork reports, IMIR Archives 2001. On the importance of informal social networks (such as the work collective) during socialism see World Bank 2000e: 32–33. On the sense of lost stability and predictability see World Bank 1999a: 23–29.

²¹ The 10 years period was chosen as a “time horizon” because in most transition countries the momentum of the old system (especially regarding social protection and state-subsidized employment) remained in the early 1990s.

²² The shrinking of the former “socialist middle class” and its measurement in the case of Bulgaria were comprehensively analysed in Raichev (ed.) 2000. The framework of this study could be applied to all transitional countries.

²³ Ensuring that human development prospects for the current generation are not advanced at the expense of prospects for future generations is an important and often underestimated aspect of sustainable development. A substantial part of the “socialist welfare” generated by the socialist system was of a borrowed nature, and generated large external debts in Bulgaria, Romania, and Hungary during the 1970s and 1980s.

many people cannot come to terms with the deterioration of their status and feel deprived. These sentiments naturally generate expectations that *someone* (the state, foreign donors) should *do something* to improve the situation. In Roma communities, where the gap between memories of the “secure past” and current deprivation is extremely large, such expectations are quite high and are susceptible to political manipulation.

State paternalism and weakened community ties

Expectations of state paternalism are a significant aspect of the current heritage, and they need to be taken into consideration when designing policies regarding Roma. Through the socialist-era policies of resettlement, ethnic intermingling, and employment provision, Roma communities became particularly reliant on social policy to meet basic needs. By making Roma populations reliant on state paternalism, social policy weakened traditional family solidarity, both within and between families. As the data from the UNDP/ILO survey show (see Graph 4), in all the countries, a significant share of respondents (and in Bulgaria and

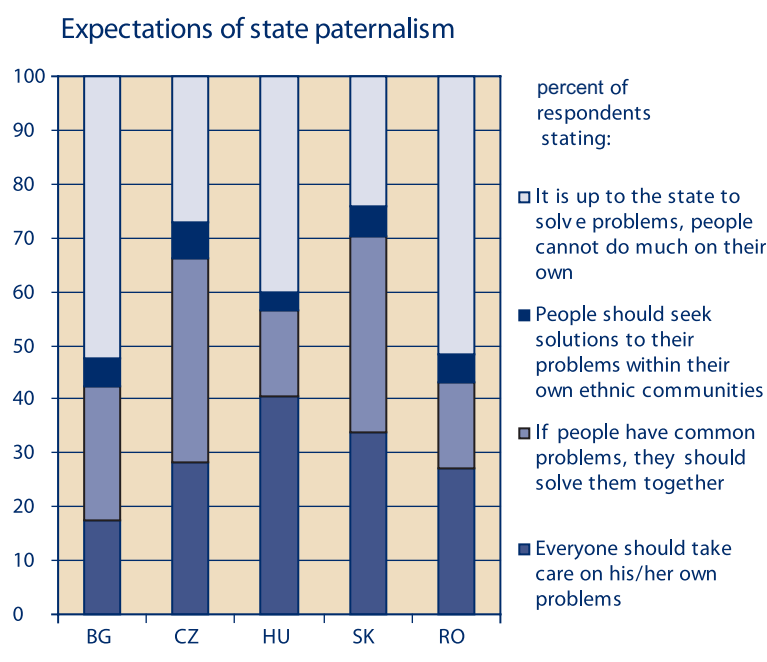
Romania a definite majority) choose the option, ‘It is up to the state to solve problems, we cannot do much’ when asked what is the best way for people to solve their problems. Individualist attitudes like, ‘Everyone should take care of themselves,’ dominate only in Hungary. Collectivist attitudes dominate in the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic, with most respondents choosing the option, ‘If people have common problems, they should approach them jointly, no matter what ethnicity they are from.’

State paternalism was the price paid for the assimilation model of integration of Roma communities pursued under socialism. It was the flip side of the destroyed community networks. This heritage and the related decreasing ability of Roma communities to support their members, is reflected in the striking level of disagreement with the statement ‘People should seek solutions to their problems within their own ethnic group.’ Respondents from all countries, regardless of their socioeconomic standing, provided only 5 percent to 6 percent support for this option. This response can also be interpreted as indicating that people do not trust the community’s capacity to deliver solutions. The pessimistic aspect of this message is related to the insufficient potential of the communities to play the role of “actors of change.” From a policy perspective, however, even more important is the integration potential of such attitudes. They suggest that Roma are not focused primarily on “closing” within their own ethnic identity, but tend to look for solutions within integrated approaches and are willing to cooperate with the majorities.

For this reason, it was important to investigate the role of the community²⁴ from a development perspective, and answer the question, “To what extent can it promote Roma involvement and participation?” These are major issues regarding opportunities for non-assimilative Roma participation. In order to avoid biases, for example, in the form of respondents reacting to what they assume are interviewer’s expectations, the research team adopted indirect methods for estimating the extent to which Roma communities provide rules, values, knowledge, assistance, security, and the like. Educational processes are a complex interaction between the community

Roma tend to look for solutions within integrated approaches and are willing to cooperate with the majorities

GRAPH 4



²⁴ “Community” in this context is understood more as a source of informal ties, Roma tradition, language and history and not as a form of local organization (such as community councils).

(or the family) and educational institutions. One survey question asked respondents to select from a list of alternatives those skills and practices they learned in the community and not at school (summarized in Graph 5, based on the question, *You most likely have some individual knowledge or skill, which you did not learn in school but rather from the community. Please select items from the following list for which this is the case.*).

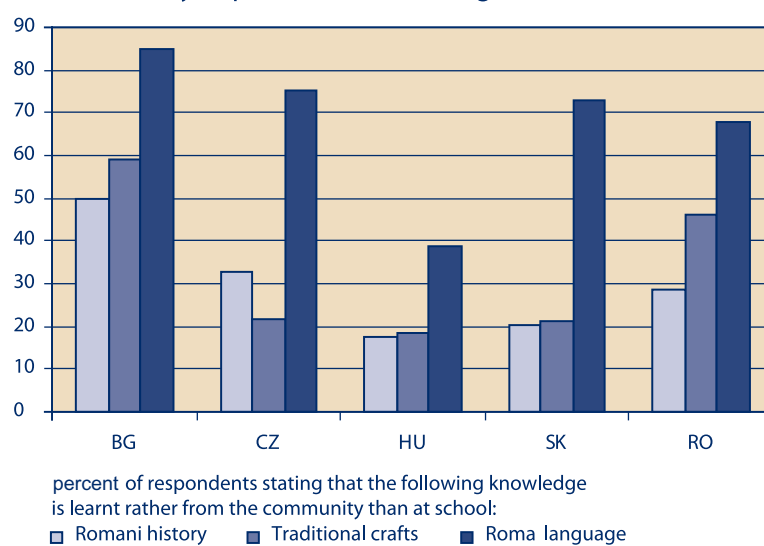
The results show that the community plays an important role as a knowledge provider on Roma language and traditions, but less so with regard to Roma history.²⁵ Communities are only an important provider of skills (such as 'harvesting from nature') in countries with less advanced reforms, namely Bulgaria and Romania. In all the countries (with a slightly lower incidence in Hungary) Roma communities are important sources of moral values. The survey data show that the moral hierarchy (moral values, respect for the elderly and love of the country where the respondent lives) is similar in all five countries.

This supports the assumption that Roma communities play an important (and for values—a major) role in the individual's development and socialization. Individual beliefs and behaviours are unlikely to change if community patterns do not change. The ghetto however is also a community, and as such it has a profound influence on individual behavioural and socialization patterns. This vicious circle can only be broken by policy measures if both the community and the individual are addressed simultaneously. The success of development policies targeted at vulnerable groups depends upon their ability to address the incentives of the individual and the community, as well as subjecting different actors to performance-related competitive pressure, in order to avoid creating "local community monopolies."

Inherited conditions, of course, varied from country to country, with each having national specifics regarding legal framework, strength of market elements, and the like. However, policies during the communist period in all the CEE countries had some common features: inclusion of Roma in socialist societies was done in an assimilative and non-participatory

GRAPH 5

Community as provider of knowledge about Roma



way. After the system collapsed, consistent policies regarding Roma were not pursued, and governments responded on largely *ad hoc* activities. Current efforts to develop strategies to integrate Roma communities face enormous difficulties because they are rarely rooted in comprehensive visions of CEE societies, visions that would include the presence of, and a role for, the Roma.

The social impact of transition

The collapse of the socialist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe during 1989-1990 had far-reaching implications for the Roma living in these countries. These implications were broadly similar across the CEE region, reflecting the broadly similar challenges posed by the post-communist economic transition. Nonetheless, this transition did not proceed in an identical fashion in each CEE country during the 1990s, and these differences have influenced the situations of Roma communities in different countries in different ways.

The Czech Republic is the wealthiest of the countries examined in this report. Per-capita gross domestic product (GDP) expressed in purchasing-power-parity (PPP) terms in

Inclusion of Roma in socialist societies was done in an assimilative and non-participatory way

²⁵ In order to control the length and complexity of the questionnaire, the survey did not distinguish between the overall history of Roma in the European context and the history of Roma in a particular country. This issue, being a part of the fast developing Roma self-consciousness, definitely deserves additional attention and research.

*The balance
between
traditional Roma
nomadic lifestyles
vis-à-vis majority
agrarian societies
eroded during
the course of
industrialization*

2000 was nearly \$14,000, more than double the levels reported in Bulgaria and Romania. This relative wealth reflects historical factors: the Czech lands prior to the World War II were among the richest in Europe. It also reflects the fact that the Czech economy suffered relatively little from the peaceful dissolution of the Czechoslovak Federation in 1993, and reported strong GDP growth during 1994-1996. Czech policy makers also pioneered the use of vouchers to privatize state-owned enterprises (SOEs), which led to rapid growth of the private sector (at least on paper) in the early 1990s. This apparently rapid progress in transition, combined with the low (2 percent to 3 percent) unemployment rates recorded in the mid-1990s, led policy makers to claim that the Czech transition had been completed.

Such claims proved to be premature, however. A currency crisis in May 1997 caused GDP to drop during 1997-1999, and unemployment rose to above 9 percent during this time. Strong owners did not appear in many of the SOEs and banks, and restructuring initiatives lagged. GDP growth resumed during 2000-2002, but it did not reach the levels recorded during 1994-1996, and unemployment rates have stayed high. The billions of dollars spent to recapitalize Czech banks and bail out large companies also created large fiscal deficits during 2000-2002, limiting the government's ability to pursue ambitious social policy measures. Unlike neighbouring Slovak Republic and Poland, GDP in the Czech Republic in 2002 remained below its 1990 level. Still, thanks to the Czech Republic's relatively high levels of income and employment, Czech Roma are on average the wealthiest in the CEE countries.

Bulgaria differs from the Czech case in a number of respects. Bulgarian per-capita GDP in 2000 was only \$5,700 (in PPP terms), and Bulgaria has not been regarded as a leader in transition. GDP in 2000 had fallen to about half of its 1990 level, and the country suffered ruinous inflations during the early 1990s and again in 1996-1997. A large foreign debt inherited from the socialist period combined with weak restructuring in the enterprise and banking sectors to depress foreign investment, further contributing to Bulgaria's economic problems. Restructuring took hold, the foreign debt was rescheduled, and economic growth returned, following

the 1997 elections. But privatisation and restructuring initiatives kept unemployment rates in the vicinity of 18 percent to 20 percent during 2000-2002, making the socio-economic position of the Roma (and other marginalized groups) increasingly untenable. The UNDP/ILO data suggest that Roma unemployment rates at the end of 2001 in Bulgaria were above 50 percent, the second highest of the five countries surveyed. The survey data also indicate that more than half of the children in Bulgarian Roma households experience severe undernourishment, bordering on starvation.

As in Bulgaria, significant attempts at economic restructuring in Romania did not begin until the second half of the 1990s, following the 1996 elections. The restructuring and privatisation initiatives begun in that year, combined with the challenges of reducing large fiscal and external deficits, caused GDP to contract by some 15 percent during 1997-1999. Unemployment rates doubled during this time (from 6 percent to as much as 12 percent), exacerbating poverty problems. A strong economic recovery took hold during 2001-2002: GDP grew by some 10 percent during this time, helped by large inflows of foreign direct investment. Unemployment declined only slightly, however (to between 8 percent and 9 percent), while poverty remained an acute concern. The UNDP/ILO data indicate that more than 40 percent of the children in Romanian Roma households experience severe undernourishment, bordering on starvation.

Alone in the region, policy makers in Hungary during the first half of the 1990s focused extensively on attracting foreign direct investment, in order to privatise and restructure SOEs and to pay down the unsustainable foreign debt inherited from the socialist period. These efforts paid off handsomely during the second half of the 1990s: Hungary's GDP during 1997-2001 grew by 25 percent, and the unemployment rate dropped below 6 percent. Some major successes were also recorded during this time in attracting FDI to the country's depressed eastern regions, where many of Hungary's Roma communities are located. But despite this, large east-west regional imbalances continue to plague the country. Recent studies indicate that the strong growth recorded during 1997-2001 did not significantly reduce poverty.²⁶ As in the Czech Republic, large fiscal deficits appeared

²⁶ On poverty dynamics in Hungary see: *Towards eliminating human poverty. Human Development Report for Hungary, 2000/2001* (upcoming).

in Hungary during 2001-2002, which limit possible increases on social spending in the future.

Slovak Republic is the only one of the five CEE countries considered in this report in which GDP in 2002 exceeded levels of ten years earlier. This largely reflects the rapid economic growth recorded during the mid-1990s, but this growth was made possible by unsustainably large fiscal and external deficits. Growth slowed, and unemployment rose sharply, following the adoption of a macroeconomic stabilization program and accelerated privatisation and restructuring initiatives in 1998. Unemployment rates settled into the 18 percent to 19 percent range during 2000-2002, as the prosperity that took hold in Bratislava failed to spread to depressed regions in central and eastern areas of the Slovak Republic. The UNDP/ILO data show that Roma unemployment rates in Slovak Republic are around 70 percent—the highest in the five countries surveyed. While these high rates reflect weak labour market conditions generally, they also stem from the strong work disincentives that are built into Slovak Republic's social welfare system. Not surprisingly, local government officials from regions with large Roma communities are in the forefront of social policy reform efforts in Slovak Republic.

Main conclusions of Chapter 1

Anti-Roma sentiments are neither unique to Central or Eastern Europe, nor are they a transition phenomenon. They should be approached in a broader conceptual framework in which issues of nation building and consolidation of nation states are intrinsic parts.

Roma populations in the CEE region have traditionally engaged in non-agrarian activities, and made their livelihoods by entering into commercial relationships with the agrarian societies of the majority populations. Complementarities between traditional Roma nomadic lifestyles vis-à-vis majority agrarian societies eroded during the

course of industrialization. As the demand for traditional Roma skills declined, Roma communities increasingly became a source of cheap labour to quickly-expanding, heavy industries.

Class, rather than ethnicity, was viewed as the primary social cleavage during the communist period. Class-formation processes were seen as being of primary significance, and attempts were made within this framework to “melt” individual and ethnic distinctiveness into a homogeneous working class. Working class homogenisation was seen as key to the inclusion of ethnic minorities, and was expected to eradicate ethnic distinctions. The results however were dubious. On the one hand, the Roma under communism were better off in virtually every aspect relevant for human development, although this progress came at the cost of lost traditional cultural and economic patterns. This improvement, however, was unsustainable, as was the economic growth during the socialist period.

In addition, many community ties were fragmented or destroyed by the industrialization, urbanization, and explicitly assimilative social engineering of the socialist experiment, and were rarely replaced by majority patterns of behaviour and living.

CEE countries today are a strange mixture of elements from industrial societies (e.g. economic structure, GDP per-capita, social assistance networks) and developing world elements (marginalization of entire communities, cases of extreme poverty, high incidence of poverty-related diseases, etc.). The “developing world” segments of CEE societies are predominantly made up of Roma.

Despite the ambiguous impact of the central planning period on Roma, they tend to view their current situation negatively in comparison to that period, when a significant part of the population in CEE countries (including Roma) essentially belonged to the middle class.

Being degraded to the poorest strata today, they tend to perceive the current economic setbacks through a nostalgic lens.

Demography and social structures

All countries in the CEE region are being pressured by the European Union (EU) to tackle Roma issues. Responses to these pressures are complicated by the absence of basic information about these people. For one thing, there are no firm data on the actual size of Roma populations in the region. This leaves the magnitude of the region's "Roma problem" unclear and creates risks in interpreting and generalizing from the data that are available.

This is the reason why Roma populations are usually much larger than what are officially registered during censuses. Roma often avoid identifying themselves as Roma, in order to escape prejudice (or being stigmatised). Determining to what extent this is the case was one of the explicit objectives of the survey.

Investigating the demographic patterns of Roma groups was another objective. Are they gradually converging toward majority family models or do they tend to follow the traditional patterns? Finally, due to the important impact on other aspects of human development opportunities, it was important to address the issue of early marriages and their incidence.

Problems of demographic measurement

A number of factors both complicate the task of determining the size of Roma populations and suggest that official demographic data systematically undercount Roma. The first reason reflects the desire to avoid the "ghetto stigma," especially in countries where the word "Roma" has become synonymous with poverty, marginalization, and exclusion. This hypothesis is supported by the results of the UNDP/ILO survey, which indicate that more affluent respondents

are less willing to identify themselves as Roma.²⁷ Fears of anti-Roma discrimination in the labour market, and in education and health systems, are a second reason. This is one of the reasons why unemployment registries in CEE countries do not track ethnicity.²⁸

Measurement difficulties also stem from the fact that, in social surveys, Roma populations (especially when Roma communities are relatively small and living among other minority populations) tend to identify themselves as affiliated with local ethnic or religious majorities ("local majorities" are not necessarily national majorities; they could be other minority groups concentrated in a certain region). In Bulgaria, Roma living in areas populated primarily by ethnic Turks tend to identify themselves as Turks, even though they may not speak Turkish. This may be seen as another aspect of the desire to escape the ghetto stigma.

These difficulties notwithstanding, such data are desperately needed in order to design appropriate policies to address Roma issues. The first step probably should be reaching a consensus on major affiliation criteria. Should affiliation be based solely on individual self-identification? Or should additional markers, such as cultural identity, behavioural patterns, traditions, and language be applied? From a political perspective, this issue is addressed by article 32 of the Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference of Human Dimension of the Council for Security and Cooperation in Europe (5 June-29 July 1990), which explicitly states that "to belong to a national minority is a matter of a persons [*sic*] individual choice and no disadvantage may arise from the exercise of such choice."²⁹ But for various reasons, including the desire to avoid stigmatization, self-identification is often

Official data systematically undercount Roma because many Roma wish to avoid the "ghetto stigma"

²⁷ This largely depends on the specific country context, field of professional affiliation, belonging to specific Roma group, etc., and is not a general rule. In many cases the opposite trend is observed: the revival of Roma identity, and the growing pride of being Roma that is manifested by prominent Roma individuals. See for example Goldston 2002.

²⁸ On the complexity of the issue of ethnically desegregated data, see: round table discussion "Roma and Statistics" organized in May 2000 by the Council of Europe and the Project on Ethnic Relations (CoE 2000f); Haug Werner, *Statistics on minorities between science and politics* in Haug Werner, Compton Paul, Courage Youssef. 2000, vol. 1; Krizán Andrea, 2001.

²⁹ See CSCE 1990.

Box 5. Who is a Roma?

Roma ethnicity is a fluid concept. Strong assimilationist policies during the Habsburg and socialist periods diminished the salience of Roma ethnicity, while the post-communist transition seems to have increased it. Moreover, the Roma themselves are highly heterogeneous, and are viewed as a unitary group only by outsiders.

Recent survey data from a project supervised by Emigh and Szelenyi illustrate the difficulties in answering the “Who is a Roma?” question. The proportion of the respondents in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania identified as Roma by the interviewers is higher than the proportion of the respondents identifying themselves as Roma in these countries. Self-identification as Roma by survey respondents is virtually always accepted by interviewers. While at first glance that may seem obvious, this pattern does *not* hold true for such minorities as Turks in Bulgaria, Hungarians in Romania, or Ukrainians in Russia. The same holds for self-identification with majority groups (Bulgarians in Bulgaria, Hungarians in Hungary, Romanians in Romania, Russians in Russia). For example, over half of the survey respondents in Russia who identified themselves as Ukrainian were not classified as Ukrainian by interviewers. Contradiction of survey respondents’ self-identification almost *never* happens with Roma. This suggests that interviewers perceive Roma to be such a stigmatized group that no one would claim to be Roma if s/he were not.

To a far greater degree than for other ethnicities, interviewers classified survey respondents as Roma who do not self-identify as such. The Emigh and Szelenyi survey shows that other social and economic factors affect interviewers’ perceptions of ethnicity (apart from declared self-identity). One such factor is income: respondents in the bottom half of the income distribution are more than twice as likely to be classified as Roma. Education also has a strong effect: those with only an elementary school education or less are almost three times as likely to be classified as Roma compared to those with more schooling. Living in a large household or a Roma settlement also increases the likelihood of being categorized as Roma.

These results support the interpretation that, as a racially stigmatized group, the Roma’s status is ascribed externally, by others. Outsiders tend to classify individuals as Roma based on such social characteristics as whether they are poor, uneducated, and live in large households. However, such factors are not significant predictors of interviewer classifications of other ethnic minorities (Turks, Hungarians, Ukrainians), suggesting that these other groups’ ethnic boundaries are not similarly demarcated by socio-economic characteristics. This suggests that the criteria for identifying the highly stigmatised Roma differ from those used to identify other ethnic groups.

These results illustrate that much more research is needed to clarify who the Roma are. They also suggest that the causality between poverty and ethnicity needs to be examined. Social scientists should be wary of perpetuating stereotypes by conflating Roma ethnicity with economic hardship and discrimination, thereby inadvertently compounding their stigmatization

Box prepared by Rebecca Jean Emigh and based on: Patricia Ahmed, Cynthia Feliciano, Rebecca Jean Emigh, “Ethnic Classification in Eastern Europe,” American Sociological Association Annual Meetings, Los Angeles, CA, August 2001.

amended with “experts’ estimates” or with “linguistic markers.” This broader approach was reflected in the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (Article 3 paragraph I), which states that “every person belonging to a national minority shall have the right freely to choose *to be treated or not to be treated* as such.”³⁰ The explanatory report to the Convention further states that “Paragraph I ... does not imply a right for an individual to choose arbitrarily to belong to any national minority. The individual’s subjective choice is inseparably linked to objective criteria relevant to the person’s identity.”³¹

These objective criteria refer primarily to cultural and behavioural dimensions of individual identity. These markers complement ethnic self-identification with opinions of professionals working with Roma or with Roma issues (teachers, social workers, doctors, police etc.) or opinions of the interviewers (whether of market research or scientific studies).

In addition to this “extended self-determination” approach to ethnic identification, a second approach—identity imposed by social context—also exists, and affects Roma in particular (Box 5). This identity is imposed by the surrounding majority culture (which may be another minority in the broader society).³² Within the imposed identity pattern, a person from a distinct group is not regarded as an individual with individual characteristics (education, income, etc.), but instead as a carrier of group characteristics. According to these views, it does not matter how educated a Roma may be: being Roma automatically implies illiteracy. Imposed identification is a major factor behind refusals to self-identify as Roma.³³

These problems notwithstanding, credible estimates indicate that some 8 million Roma live in Europe, 70 percent of whom live in Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans.³⁴ Roma populations in the five countries covered in this report are estimated as follows:

³⁰ CoE 1995a: 3.

³¹ CoE 1995b: 5.

³² This is the case of the Bulgarian Turks, a minority in Bulgaria but a majority in certain areas of the country. The population in these areas often refuses to ascribe non-Roma identity to Roma living in the same neighbourhood, even if they have acquired all the characteristics (religious affiliation, language, political voting patterns) of the local majority. For more details see Tomova 1995: 20.

³³ On the issue of identities see also Hancock 1998.

³⁴ In this section data from the national teams and the Fact Sheets of the European Roma Rights Center are used (online access <http://errc.org/publications/factsheets/numbers.shtml>). For the approximate (minimum and maximum) numbers of the estimated Roma populations in the five countries see Table B13 in Annex 3 part B.

- Romania. Official data (1992 census) count 409,723 Roma, or 1.8 percent of the population. Different expert estimates (Institute for Research of the Quality of Life, 1998) place this figure at around 1.5 million, or 6.5 percent of the population. Other estimates report between 1.4 million and 2.5 million Roma, making this group the largest Roma population in Europe and possibly the world.
- Bulgaria. Official data (2001 census³⁵) report 365,797 people of Roma identity or 4.7 percent of the population. Different experts' estimates (data from sociological polls, labour offices, social assistance service, Ministry of Interior) vary between 600,000 and 750,000, without showing essential changes over the last years.
- Hungary. The 1990 Hungarian census reported that 142,683 Hungarians were Roma, the 2001 census registered 190,046 Roma in the country.³⁶ Roma groups and NGOs put this number between 400,000 and 500,000, and sometimes go as high as 800,000. The sample survey generally recognized as the most systematic attempt to calculate *inter alia* the size of the Roma population was undertaken in 1993/94, and estimated that on 1 January 1994, there were 456,646 Roma living in Hungary (a little under 5 percent of the population).³⁷
- Slovak Republic. Official data (2001 census) report 89,920 people of Roma identity, or 1.7 percent of the population.³⁸ However, the London-based Minority Rights Group NGO estimates the number to be 480,000 to 520,000, or 9 percent to 10 percent of the total population. This would make the Roma the second largest minority in the Slovak Republic, after the Hungarians.
- Czech Republic. According to official data (2001 census), the number of Roma is 11,718, sharply below the 1991 census figure of 32,903.³⁹ Different experts' estimates vary between 160,000 and 300,000 (Liégeois 1994). The Minority Rights Group estimates

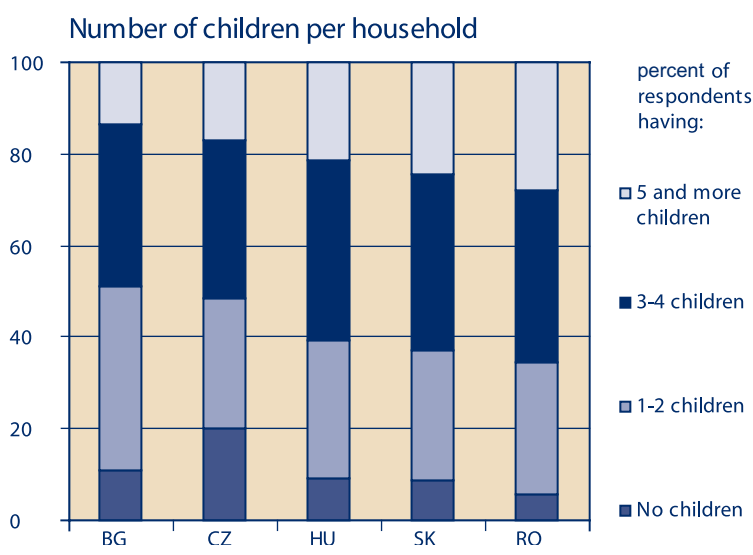
the number to be 275,000 (2.5 percent to 2.9 percent of the population).

Birth rates and demographic trends

Roma birth rates across the region are higher than those of majority populations, although this difference varies across countries (see Tables B1 and B2 in Annex 3). Higher birth rates reflect the Roma demographic characteristics and reproduction behaviour, which are related to socio-economic status. That is one of the most important reasons why Roma families have traditionally been large.⁴⁰ The data from the UNDP/ILO survey suggest that, in all the countries, except Bulgaria, Roma households average 3 to 4 children (see Graph 6). Likewise, the number of children per Roma mother is higher than the number of children per majority mother across the region. In the Czech Republic, married Roma women with children had on average 5 children at the end of reproductive age (in the 45 to 49 age group), while the corresponding figure for Czech women was only 2.17 children.⁴¹ In poor Roma settlements in Slovak Republic, the number of children per family reaches 7.8.⁴² In Romania, the total

Higher birth rates are related to the socio-economic status of Roma

GRAPH 6



³⁵ <http://www.nsi.bg/Census/Census-i.htm>

³⁶ <http://www.nepszamlalas2001.hu/dokumentumok/pdfs/nemzetiseg.pdf>

³⁷ Kemény et al., 1994.

³⁸ <http://www.statistics.sk/webdata/english/census2001/tab/tab3a.htm>.

³⁹ <http://www.czso.cz/eng/figures/4/41/410101/data/tab41.xls>

⁴⁰ "The social status of a Roma in his community is enhanced through creating his own family and producing more children, and this is one of the highest traditional values in Roma culture." Tomova: 1995, 37.

⁴¹ Kalibová 1999: 105

⁴² Filadelfiová and Guráň, 1997.

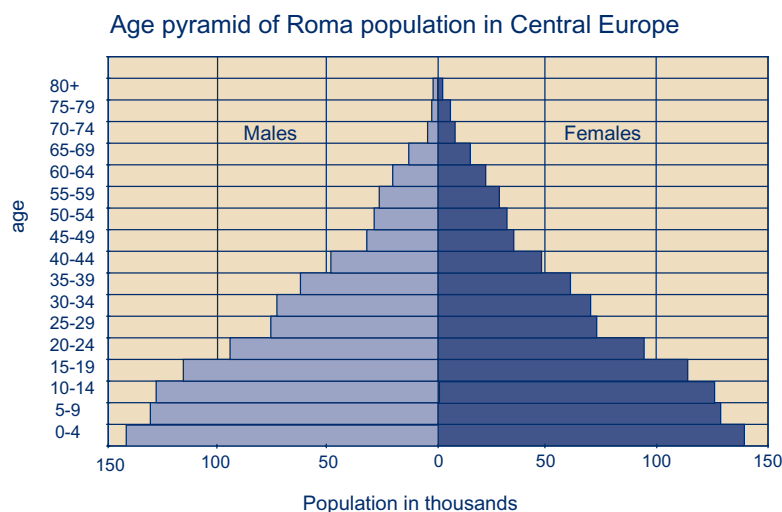
fertility rate (births per woman) for Roma is 2.6, compared to 1.2 for Romanian and 1.3 for Hungarian women.⁴³ These trends make the shape of age pyramids for Roma minorities similar to their shapes in developing countries (as seen from Graph 7, based on population data from the National Statistical Offices

consequences in the region during the next 10 to 15 years. If significant improvements in Roma access to education are not achieved soon, labour forces in Central and Eastern Europe by 2015 (when these countries expect to be EU members) will have large and growing unskilled and uneducated components. This will generate significant amounts of structural unemployment in these countries—an issue that is discussed in more detail below. As Table 1 shows, the share of Roma in the 0 to 15 age group is roughly double the share of Roma in the overall population.

At first glance, the data for different countries are markedly different. It seems that only Bulgaria and perhaps Romania could experience rapid growth in the unskilled labour force during the next 10 to 15 years. But Bulgaria is among the countries where the discrepancy between the registered and estimated numbers of the Roma population is lowest. Also, in all three countries the share of Roma populations in the youngest age cohorts is roughly double the share for the total Roma population. In any case, if current conditions of socio-economic marginalization and inadequate education persist, in 10 to 15 years substantial parts of the labour force (today's population in the 5 to 15 year age cohort) in CEE countries may be virtually unemployable. This potential threat should be addressed today.

High Roma birth rates illustrate how different aspects of Roma life patterns could be both a benefit and a problem. Currently, majority populations perceive these high birth rates mostly as a problem ("Roma will overwhelm us"). On the other hand, high birth rates are exactly what ageing European societies need for labour force growth and socio-economic vitality. The problem is not the birth rates *per se*, but rather providing development opportunities and quality education for current and future Roma generations, so that Roma can contribute to the societies to which they belong.

GRAPH 7



Based on Kalibova 2000: p. 179.

Roma demographics have substantial labour force and other socio-economic consequences

regarding the Roma population in Eastern Europe).

These demographic patterns explain why Roma populations are very young. The aging index (number of people over 65 per 100 people below 15) for Roma is 15. For total populations in all the countries, this figure reached 50, with the highest levels recorded in Bulgaria, Hungary, and the Czech Republic. The median age for Roma is 19.3 years, compared to 33.6 for the overall population.⁴⁴ Major scenarios of the increase of the Roma population, based on available data on demographics in Hungary, Romania and Slovak Republic, are summarized in Tables B14, B15 and B16 in Annex 3, Section B.

Roma demographics are not just about population growth: they will have substantial labour force and other socio-economic

⁴³ ARSPMS 2001: 34.

⁴⁴ "Median age" is defined as the age of the person in the middle of the total population arranged in order of magnitude. See Kalibová 2000: 180-181. Available data however suggest that the number of children in Roma families is beginning to decline. According to a 2001 survey conducted by A.S.A. (commissioned by UNDP Bulgaria), reproductive attitudes of Roma are converging toward the "two child model" preferred by Bulgarians and Turks. 51.1 percent of Roma surveyed preferred two children. On the other hand, 25.4 percent of Roma respondents would like to have three children, while only 14.7 percent of Turkish and 11.7 percent of Bulgaria respondents expressed a preference for three children (Mihailov 2001a).

Table 1

Share of Roma population in young er age groups

	Bulgaria			Slovak Republic			Romania		
	All population	All Roma		All population	All Roma		All population*	All Roma**	
		Number	percent of total		Number	percent of total		Number	percent of total
Total	7,781,369	365,160	4.69	5,398,657	91,284	1.7	22,408,393	409,723	1.8
0-4	305,069	35,987	11.80	291,630	7,544	2.6	1,135,506	38,855	3.4
5-9	375,390	40,042	10.67	366,408	11,173	3.0	1,198,739	43,439	3.6
10-14	487,192	44,388	9.11	411,336	11,857	2.9	1,651,378	56,463	3.4
15-19	522,624	38,990	7.46	447,766	10,756	2.4	1,623,469	47,295	2.9
20-24	563,224	35,663	6.33	475,444	9,610	2.0	1,924,862	46,859	2.4
25-29	554,587	32,622	5.88	419,220	8,456	2.0	1,854,851	35,581	1.9

Source:

For Bulgaria: Population census, 1.03.2001 (based on the 2 percent of the census results), Available on the Internet at <http://www.nsi.bg/Census/Census-i.htm>

For Slovak Republic: ŠÚ SR, 2000: *Bilancia pohybu obyvateľstva podľa národnosti v SR - 1999*

For Romania: * - 2001 Population Census; ** - Estimated breakdown based on the 1992 population census number of Roma population (409,723) and age structure of the extended database (5836 persons) from the December 2001 survey.

Early marriages and family hierarchies

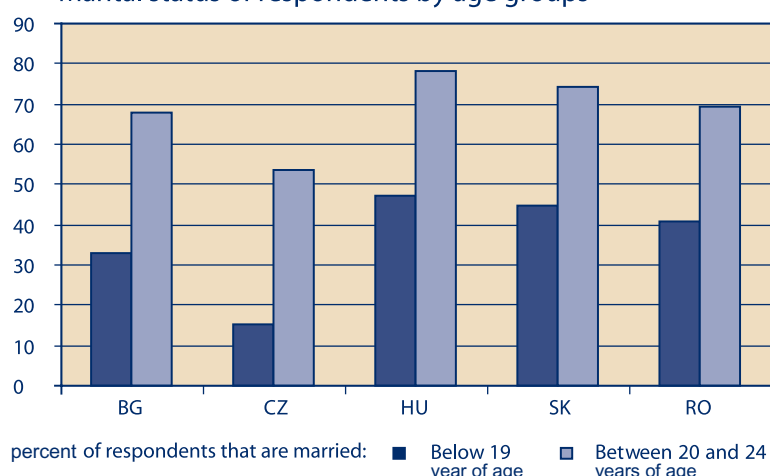
Early marriages and the almost complete absence of contraceptive practices also contribute to the large number of children in Roma families. In the case of Bulgaria, most Roma marriages occur in the 15 to 20 age group, and marriages before the age of 15 are not rare. According to 1995 IMIR research data, 40 percent of the Roma marry before reaching the age of 16, 32 percent marry at the age of 17 to 18, and 22 percent marry between the ages of 19 and 22.⁴⁵ The situation is similar in Romania: 35 percent of married Roma women started their wedded life when they were 16, 17 percent at 17 to 18 years, and 26 percent between 19 and 22. Only 8 percent of marriages were concluded after this age interval (Institute for Quality of Life, 1998).

These data are mirrored in the results of the regional UNDP/ILO survey, which show that, in four of the five countries, 33 percent to 47 percent of respondents in the 16 to 19 age cohort are married (see Graph 8, which shows the share of respondents stating 'married' or 'living with a partner'). The share of married in the 20 to 24 year old age group is generally at 68 percent to 78 percent; only in the Czech Republic is it smaller (54 percent).

Growing numbers of so-called "custom law" marriages, at the expense of formal civic marriages, are another important demographic tendency in Roma communities. In contrast to the Anglo-Saxon legal tradition, custom law marriages are not "common law" marriages and are not recognized by the state as legally binding. "Custom" means that the couple is viewed as married by the community, relatives and their own—but not in the eyes of the administration.

GRAPH 8

Marital status of respondents by age groups



⁴⁵ IMIR Archives, 2000.

Table 2

Number of Roma children and parental education

	Level of education achievement			
	No or incomplete primary education	Primary education	Incomplete secondary education	Secondary education and higher
No children	8	9	15	21
1 child	10	10	13	16
2 children	15	22	22	30
3 children	18	24	23	16
4 children	19	14	13	7
5 children	11	10	6	3
6 children	9	6	4	2
7 children	4	2	1	0
8 children	3	1	1	0
9 or more	5	3	2	5
Total (percent)	100	100	100	100

Percent of Roma parents with various number of children categorized by level of education achievement
Source: UNDP/ILO regional survey

The link between education levels and the number of children underscores the importance of family planning

The numbers of unmarried mothers, divorced women, and comparatively young widows who bring up their children alone have also increased. In Slovak Republic in 1993, 46 percent of children were born to Roma mothers living out of wedlock, and this share has been increasing since then. Large numbers of these births were to very young mothers (20 percent of these children were born to mothers under 18 years of age, and for 13.2 percent of those mothers these births were not their first delivery). Women under 19 give birth to about 40 percent of all children born out of wedlock. Most of these young Roma mothers have only basic education or vocational training.⁴⁶ These figures contrast sharply with national averages (see Tables B3, B4 and B7 in Annex 3).

The regional UNDP/ILO survey data show a correlation between the number of children, years of education completed, and living standards.⁴⁷ Of people with 'five and more children,' 45 percent have none or incomplete primary education; 38 percent—primary; 15

percent—incomplete secondary education; and only 2 percent—secondary education or higher. In the group with 3 to 4 children those with primary education dominate, but the correlation between large numbers of children and low education is evident here as well (see Table 2).

The link between education levels and number of children underscores the importance of educating girls and young women to increase their awareness of reproductive health and family planning. Data on this issue are scarce, but a number of different sources outline the negative impact of tradition and cultural patterns in this regard. In traditional Roma families, husbands and mothers-in-law are often the main opponents of the use of diaphragms and contraceptive pills.⁴⁸ Abortion therefore remains the "universal means" for family planning for many Roma. Of those women who have had abortions in the past, almost two thirds report having had more than five during their reproductive period. Data from Romania indicate that the use of contraceptives among Roma is not widespread. Men rarely use condoms, and among Roma women family planning is known and used with less frequency than in the overall population. Research conducted by the Institute of Quality of Life in 1998 indicated that 14 percent of Roma women at fertile ages used contraceptive methods, while the percent of women in the overall population using contraception was over 4 times higher (57 percent in 1993). 23 percent of Roma women interviewed declared that they did not possess the knowledge needed to use contraceptive methods. In Romania in 1999 the total induced abortion rate for women aged 15-44 was 4.6 per 1000 Roma women, compared to 2.1 for Romanians and 1.2 for ethnic Hungarians.⁴⁹ (For national averages and trends in abortion rates, see tables B8 and B9 in Annex 3.⁵⁰)

On the other hand, data from UNDP/ILO survey suggest that substantial changes are emerging in Roma family hierarchies and roles. The traditional family hierarchy

⁴⁶ Filadelfiová and Gurán, 1997.

⁴⁷ On the positive correlation between the number of children in the household and poverty risks, see World Bank 2000e: 85-87.

⁴⁸ Tomova 1995: 42.

⁴⁹ ARSPMS 2001: 65.

⁵⁰ In the regional survey the issue of family planning and contraceptive use was not approached because of the complexity of the questionnaire. Special research on the issue is definitely necessary.

features men as heads of households. When, however, respondents were asked, *Who keeps the money in your household?* the responses were, 'women more than men,' and 'mothers more than fathers.' Only in a small number of households did mothers play a smaller role than fathers. This underscores the important family roles played by women and wives, roles that have not been formally acknowledged (Table 3). While women in many cultures manage the money even while men are seen as head of the household, in the case of the Roma it may be evidence of a changing pattern.⁵¹ Women seem to have a stronger participatory role in family decision-making than would appear to be the case on the surface. This has important implications for projects being developed in Roma communities. To be successful, projects should be gender sensitive, taking their role into account and promoting the broad participation and involvement of women.

Responses to the question, *How are important decisions taken in your family?* give additional information on gender relations within Roma families. The "paternalistic" option⁵² in which 'the head of the household decides' received less than one-quarter support across the region. The highest incidence was in Romania—36 percent—and the lowest was in Hungary—16 percent. Most of the respondents (44 percent) chose, 'The head of the household together with his/her spouse decides' (63 percent in Hungary and 32 percent in the Czech Republic). The option, 'In the decision-making all members except the children participate,' received the most support in the Czech Republic (24 percent). There are no substantial discrepancies in responses broken by gender: the "joint decision making" options are almost equally supported by both men and women (48 percent and 47 percent, respectively).

Main conclusions of Chapter 2

This chapter shows that the simple question, "Who is Roma?," does not have a simple answer. Different affiliation criteria can

	Family hierarchies			
	Who is the head of your household?		Who is keeping the money in your household?	
	Gender of the respondent		Gender of the respondent	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Myself	88	23	53	61
My wife/husband	5	71	39	32
My father	4	2	2	1
My mother	1	1	2	1
My grandfather	0	0	0	0
My grandmother	0	2	3	4
Somebody else - who	1	1	1	1
N/r	1	0	0	0
Total (percent)	100	100	100	100

The table summarizes responses from respondents identified as married or with a partner. It does not include single, divorced, or widowed respondents.
Source: UNDP/ILO regional survey.

be used and each will produce different results. However, reliable demographic data are needed for reliable assessments of the magnitude of the problems facing the Roma, and of the resources necessary for their solution. These data are not always available.

Reproduction patterns in Roma populations are among the most sensitive demographic questions. The issue is not limited to the fact that Roma families are large and young; the causes and consequences of these trends—including early marriages and the near total absence of contraception, other than abortion—must be analysed, as well.

ILO/UNDP survey data indicate that Roma women play significant roles in family decision-making. This has important implications for practical measures to improve the situation of Roma communities: to be successful, projects should take these roles into consideration and promote broad participation and involvement of women.

Women seem to have a stronger participatory role in family decision-making than would appear to be the case on the surface

⁵¹ On the situation of Roma women see the report "Young Roma/Gypsy Women: Twice Discriminated," prepared by the Forum of European Roma Young People, 1999.

⁵² In this context "paternalistic" means traditionalist elderly and male-dominated hierarchies, rather than state paternalism as an element of the post-socialist heritage, as was analysed in the introductory chapter.

Employment and unemployment

Reduced employment opportunities are generally perceived as a major human development challenge for Roma. Because significant problems with existing employment data can generate arbitrary interpretations and ungrounded conclusions, employment issues were a high priority addressed by the UNDP/ILO survey. For example, Roma unemployment is often reported to reach 95 to 100 percent. These assumptions, however, do not take into consideration involvement in the informal sector, which is often not perceived as “employment.” That is why quantitative information on the real magnitude of unemployment and the types of employment was crucial in the research.

Another important aspect related to employment was ethnic discrimination in the labour market and its relationship to the low competitiveness of the Roma labour force. Where does low competitiveness end and discrimination begin as a cause of Roma unemployment? Finally, the issue of traditional skills as possible source of employment opportunities was explicitly addressed. Do Roma perceive them as marketable in a global economy and if yes, what types of skills?

The magnitude of unemployment

Employment and labour income problems are usually ranked highest among the problems “seriously affecting” Roma households. The UNDP/ILO survey data indicate that, in the five CEE countries examined here, it is only in the Czech Republic that Roma concerns about labour market discrimination exceed overall employment and economic questions. This in itself may reflect the *relatively* low levels of Roma unemployment in the Czech Republic, as compared to other countries. Asked to assess the magnitude of different problems affecting their household, respondents in all five countries rate employment and economic hardship as being of highest importance. As seen from Table 4,

concerns about unemployment and economic hardship in almost all the countries exceed concerns about “discrimination in access to employment.”

Unemployment levels are difficult to assess for several reasons. First, exact Roma population numbers are not known. Second, unemployment registries usually do not maintain ethnically disaggregated statistics. Third, the concept of “unemployment” may have different interpretations for different people. Respondents often understand “employment” as having a “steady job”—in other words stable wage or self-employment. But according to the standard ILO definition, an unemployed person is one who is willing, able and *actively seeking* work. In some circumstances, the third criterion (actively seeking work)⁵³ is

Respondents often understand “employment” as having a “steady wage job” and not as involvement in any form of income generation

Table 4

Ranking of problems facing Roma

	BG	CZ	HUN	RO	SK
Unemployment	1.1	1.6	1.5	1.2	1.4
Economic hardship	1.1	1.8	1.4	1.2	1.5
Discrimination in access to employment	1.4	1.6	1.7	1.8	2.5
Unclear housing regulation status	2.3	2.1	2.2	1.6	2.0
Limited access to social services	2.0	2.3	2.2	1.7	2.4
Lack of educational opportunities	2.0	2.3	2.5	2.0	2.6
Crime	2.0	2.3	2.7	2.1	2.6
Restricted possibilities for free movement	2.5	2.5	2.7	2.1	2.6
Loose family ties	2.4	2.6	2.7	2.3	2.9
Lack of respect for the old people	2.5	2.6	2.8	2.2	2.9

Source: UNDP/ILO regional survey. Based on the question *Which of the following problems are seriously affecting you and household?* Respondents were asked to assess the magnitude of the problem on a scale 1-3 where 1 means ‘a major problem,’ 2 – ‘this is a problem but not serious’ and 3 – ‘not a problem at all.’ Values in the table are the mean score for each option. Different options in the table are ranked by regional averages (mean values for each option for the whole sample in the five countries).

⁵³ The use of the active job search behaviour in defining unemployment has also been brought into question by empirical work by Micklewright and Nagy (2002) in Hungary.

Box 6. Roma on the Hungarian labour market

The social integration of low-skilled workers has become a global social problem. The changes in employment and labour market trends in Hungary during the 1990s had a particularly dramatic impact on the Roma in that country. Two thirds of the jobs that they had occupied under the socialist system were wiped out during the transition. According to data produced by the national Roma survey in 1993, 57,000 Roma were unemployed in that year, yielding an unemployment rate of nearly 50 percent (compared to 13 percent for the non-Roma population). The 57,000 Roma who were registered as unemployed constituted 9 percent of the total registered unemployed. According to a survey conducted by NEO-Autónómia in May 2002 (based on local job centre data from May 2001), in 2001 registered Roma unemployed numbered between 55,000 and 58,500. While this figure constituted 15 percent to 17 percent of the total number of unemployed, only 8 percent of those receiving unemployment benefits were Roma. This imbalance probably reflects the long-term nature of Roma unemployment, as many unemployed workers exceeded the period of eligibility for receiving benefits. The share of Roma among those receiving "post-benefit support was 16 percent, while Roma comprised 14 percent of "unassisted registered unemployed" group. The survey also indicated that Roma were over-represented in the group participating in various public works programs: 14 percent of those involved in large public works projects, and 19 percent of those involved in local public works, were Roma.

These data point to two basic facts. First, although (registered) unemployment rates fell, the proportion of Roma in total unemployment nearly doubled between 1993 and 2001. Unemployed Roma workers have dramatically fewer chances than non-Roma workers for entering or re-entering the Hungarian labour market. The data also show that a smaller portion of unemployed Roma workers actually receive official labour market assistance than do non-Roma workers.

Hungary's overall population is shrinking, and the share of the population comprised of working-aged individuals is falling. The demographic currents among Hungarian Roma run sharply counter to these trends: the population of Hungarian Roma grew from an estimated 500,000 in 1993 to 570,000–620,000 in 2001, and the working-aged population grew as well. If (as is suggested by the above data) Roma unemployment rates have not fallen sharply, then a smaller proportion of the inactive Roma population in 2001 was classified as unemployed—and received unemployment benefits—than in 1993.

All these are reasons for higher dependency of Roma on central transfers, constituting 22 percent of those receiving social benefits. This suggests that a sustainable solution for Roma unemployment is still to be found and in the mid-term this population will have to rely largely on state-funded employment and income-generation schemes.

Box prepared by Autónómia Foundation, Hungary, based on: Kemény István (ed.) *A romák/cigányok és a láthatatlan gazdaság*. Osiris – MTA Kisebbségkutató Műhely, 2000; Kertesi, Gábor. "Cigány foglalkoztatás és munkanélküliség a rendszerváltás előtt és után," In: *Cigánynak születni*, Bp., ATA, 2000; Hablicsek, László. "Kísérlet a roma népesség előreszámítására 2050-ig." In: *Cigánynak születni*, Bp., ATA, 2000; Kemény, István (ed.). *A magyarországi romák*, Press Publica, 2000; Köllő, János. *Roma Unemployment and the Benefit Reform of Year 2000 – Indirect Evidence Based on Regional Data* (recent survey on the Roma labour market programs in Hungary)

relaxed, leading to the so-called "broad" ILO definition of unemployment. Many commentators (e.g. O'Higgins *et. al.*, 2001 and O'Higgins 2001) have suggested that the broad unemployment rate may be a more appropriate measure, in some circumstances, since the very act of looking for a job often depends on subjective expectations of the chances of finding employment. In any case, the numbers of "discouraged workers"⁵⁴ will depend on objective labour market conditions that may be different for different areas or for different groups of people.

These difficulties led the UNDP/ILO survey to approach the employment issue from a number of different angles. One was captured in the question: *What is your current socio-economic status?* Another source of information on unemployment levels came from a response of, 'Nothing – I did not earn any money last month' to the question, *What type of work/activity did you do to earn money in the last month?* A further question was, *When did you last have a job?* Finally, information on unemployment levels was also provided by the 'No unemployment in the family' answer to the question, *Who is unemployed in your family?*

Based on the subjective interpretation of unemployment—in the form of responses to the question, *What is your current socio-economic status?*—three outcomes dominated: unemployed (46 percent on average for the region), employed (20 percent), and retired (15 percent). On this basis, Graph 9 (left bars) shows subjective unemployment rates among the Roma in the five countries.⁵⁵ As might be expected, the subjective beliefs produce relatively high unemployment rates, ranging from 46 percent in the Czech Republic up to 85 percent in Slovak Republic. However, the rates do tend to reflect the overall unemployment rates reported for the country in question.

In an attempt to get closer to the ILO definition of unemployment, information from the self-definition question and the question *What was the type of labour relation with which you earned money last month?*, were combined to produce a broader

⁵⁴ That is to say, people who would wish to work but do not seek employment because they are aware of the lack of job opportunities available to them.

⁵⁵ The standard unemployment rate is calculated as the number of unemployed divided by the labour force (unemployed plus employed).

definition of Roma unemployment. The resulting trends are shown in Graph 9 (right bars). The average rate for the region using this revised definition was 40 percent, ranging from 24 percent in Romania to 64 percent in Slovak Republic. Notable here is the relatively low rate in Romania, which reflects extensive informal sector and casual employment activities, which are considered “employment” by the ILO definition but would not necessarily be viewed as such by the respondents themselves. Even using this less restrictive definition of unemployment, unemployment rates remained at or above 25 percent of the economically active population across the region. That is, at least one in every four Roma on the labour market was unemployed at the end of 2001.

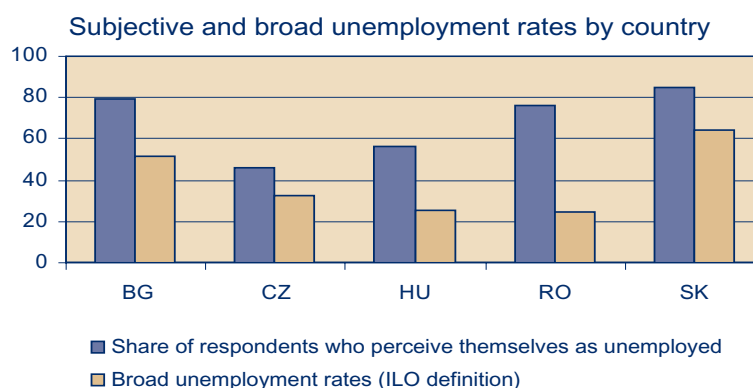
Unemployment is not evenly distributed among the Roma; rates differ according to age and educational level. Graphs 10 and 11 (p. 34) show rates of (broadly defined) unemployment, broken down by age and education. Educational level is clearly an important determinant of success on the labour market, although subjective unemployment rates are relatively high for all groups. Age also has an influence, however, as the difference between Roma youth and adult unemployment rates is smaller than for overall population of these countries.

Unemployment duration was explicitly addressed by the question: *When was the last time you had a job?* Responses to this question point to the long-term nature of Roma unemployment: more than half (51 percent) of unemployed respondents stated that they last held a job before 1996. Respondents with primary or lower education levels stated that they last held a job prior to 1995 more often than respondents with at least a secondary education (56 percent compared to 46 percent). Their long durations of unemployment indicate why many Roma are ineligible for unemployment benefits, and thus have to rely on minimal social assistance.

Causes of unemployment

The ILO/UNDP survey data indicate that the majority of respondents in all the CEE

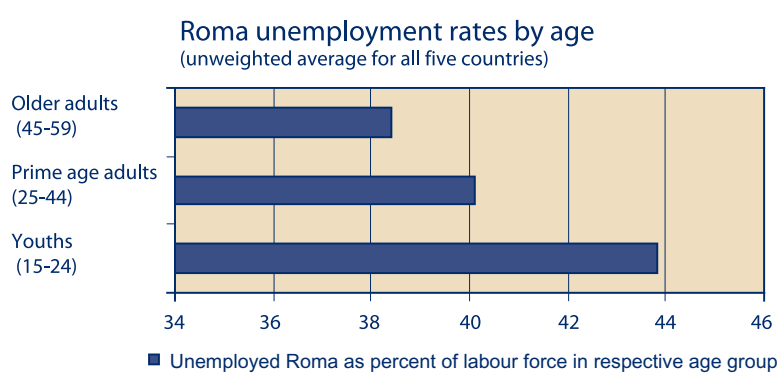
GRAPH 9



countries face difficulties on the labour market. Only in the Czech Republic is the share responding ‘No, do not have difficulties’ relatively high (30 percent), in all other countries this percent varies between 7 percent (Bulgaria) and 10 percent (Hungary). When asked, *What are the three main difficulties in finding a job?*, respondents usually mention ‘Overall economic depression in the country,’ or ‘My ethnic affiliation’ and ‘Inadequate skills’ (Graph 12, p. 34).⁵⁶ There are many possible interpretations of these responses. One could be that Roma perceptions of existing ethnic discrimination regarding employment are accurate. Another could be that respondents tend to interpret the objective impediments they face in the labour market (being linked to their low skill levels) as ethnic discrimination. This distinction is one of the reasons why discussions about the ethnic

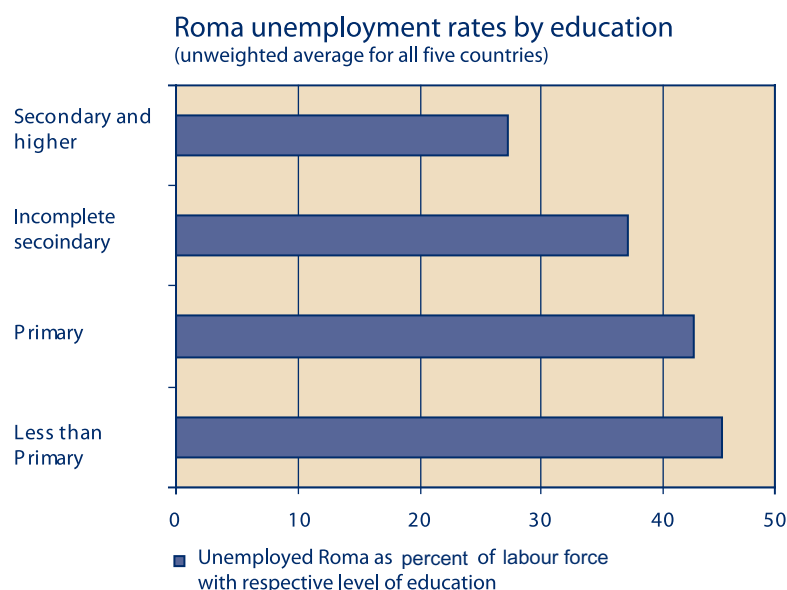
Long durations of Roma unemployment indicate why many of them are ineligible for unemployment benefits

GRAPH 10



⁵⁶ This graph is based on responses to a question concerning the subjective reasons for difficulties in finding work that included as options: bad luck, age, poor health, and gender. In all countries, the principal responses were consistently ethnic affiliation, economic depression, and lack of qualifications.

GRAPH 11



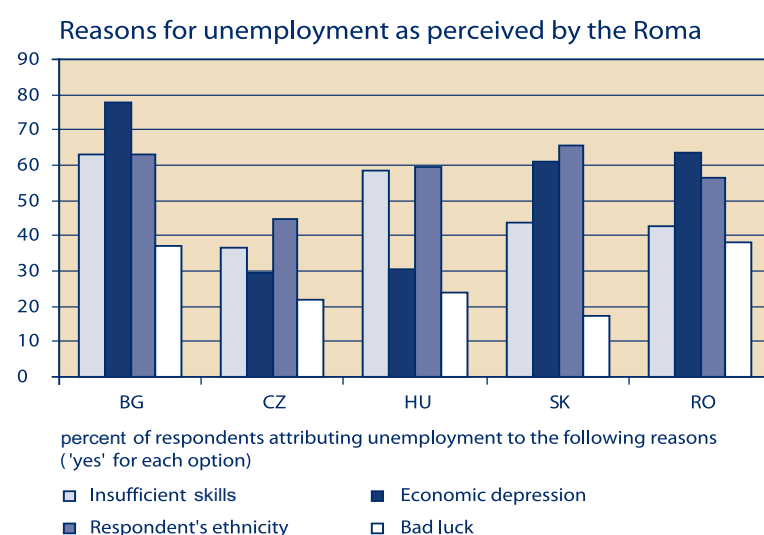
aspects of employment policies can be so difficult. Both interpretations may be correct: the skills of many Roma workers do not meet labour market requirements, whereas those Roma who possess marketable skills can still face barriers of prejudice and imposed identification (discussed in Chapter 2). Finally, the variety of possible interpretations also reflects the cyclical nature of Roma employment problems: lower competitiveness in the labour market today is often due to discriminatory practices

and limited access to education in the past (discussed in Chapter 5).

Unemployment issues also relate to different types of income generation activities (pertaining, for example, to monetary and non-monetary incomes). Roma who stay out of the formal labour market are often involved in income generation in the shadow economy or subsistence agriculture.⁵⁷ Graph 13 demonstrates this phenomenon across countries, reporting the percents of employed Roma working in the formal or informal sectors. Consistent with the data cited above, involvement in informal sector activities in Romania is particularly high. Although there are relatively low unemployment rates for Roma in Romania, they are mirrored by relatively high involvement in informal sector activities. Although “only” one in four Romanian Roma is unemployed, of those involved in income generation activities, less than one in three obtains employment in the formal sector.

Looking at the picture by education (Graph 14) provides further useful information. For Roma with higher education levels (only one in four has secondary education or better), employment in the informal sector is relatively rare. Not only does better education improve the chances of finding employment, it also greatly improves the chances of finding a job in the better paid and more stable formal sector, thereby providing a way out from the vicious circle of low wage and unstable employment prospects in many Roma communities.

GRAPH 12



The complexities of employment opportunities are often oversimplified both by Roma and by different actors involved in Roma employment issues. The real problem is in determining where inadequate skills end and ethnic discrimination begins. Roma employment prospects in dealing with opportunities for arbitrary assessments by employers are enormous, and significant prejudices exist in this regard, as negative stereotypes of Roma are deeply rooted. The simplest approach to this dilemma is to explain everything in terms of “discrimination,” and to propose passage and implementation of anti-discrimination legislation to address these labour market issues. But such solutions run afoul of the relatively low skill levels of many Roma

⁵⁷ Involvement in informal sector as “the other part of the labour market story” is outlined also in Ringold, 2001: 16.

workers, and as such must be complemented by measures to increase skill levels.

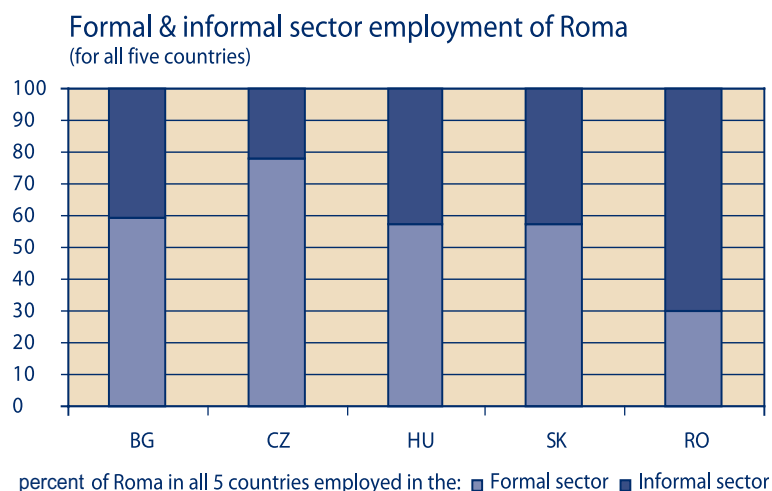
The responses to the question, *Which of the following problems are seriously affecting you and household?* (summarized in Table 4: “Ranking of problems Roma are facing” at the beginning of this chapter) lend additional support to the hypothesis that respondents tend to underestimate the objective labour market requirements and overestimate the impact of their ethnicity. The option, ‘Lack of educational opportunities,’ was selected by disturbingly small numbers of respondents, suggesting that many Roma may not directly connect their employment difficulties to their competitive weaknesses on the labour market. Despite being aware of their low skill levels, many respondents apparently do not appreciate the importance of education and training for improving their employment prospects.

Employment: possible approaches

In order to improve Roma access to employment and income generation, policy makers must decide whether to emphasize wage employment, self-employment, or some combination of the two. High subjective unemployment rates and extensive involvement in the informal economy suggests that Roma tend to perceive “employment” primarily in the terms of wage employment. Such opportunities are diminishing, however, especially for unskilled labour. This suggests that policy makers should focus on improving the employability of the Roma labour force, and that other possible policies should be assessed from this perspective.

Active labour market policies (ALMPs) in CEE countries do not seem to be very effective for Roma. Between 6 percent (in Bulgaria) and 25 percent (in Slovak Republic) of respondents to the UNDP/ILO survey participated in employment and retraining programs. The high share in Slovak Republic is due to the dominance of public works programs in that country. In the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Romania, training programs play the most important role in ALMPs, while in Bulgaria public works slightly prevail. In all these cases, however, the impact (in terms of improvements in employability) was rather poor. Asked, *How did those programs increase your chances of finding a regular job?*, a majority of respondents in most of

GRAPH 13

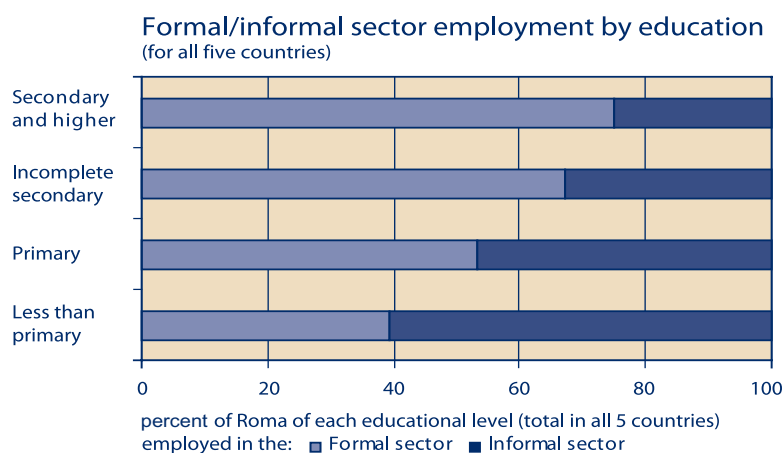


the countries said ‘Not at all’ or ‘Not much’ (86 percent in Bulgaria, 84 percent in Slovak Republic, 76 percent in Hungary, and 66 percent in the Czech Republic). Only in Romania are respondents more optimistic about the potential of ALMPs to improve their employability: 33 percent there responded ‘substantially’ (although the share of those not responding there was the sample’s highest—21 percent). These trends could illustrate the key link between the two major problems Roma are facing: lack of education opportunities and unemployment. If the training and retraining efforts are not effective, there may be little incentive for further participation in educational programs.

The real problem is in determining where inadequate skills end and ethnic discrimination begins

The issue of employability is also often approached by focusing on traditional skills as sources of potential competitive advantages for Roma workers. But are these

GRAPH 14



Box 7. Roma vs. non-Roma unemployment in the Czech Republic

High unemployment levels are one of the most important problems facing Roma communities in the Czech Republic. Roma are over-represented among the chronically and long-term unemployed. If long-term unemployment is defined as lasting for more than one year (according to ILO standards), then about 75 percent of unemployed Roma fall into this category. Some 30 percent of unemployed Roma have not had employment for more than four years. Survey data indicate that Roma perceive themselves to be victims of labour market discrimination more often than other job seekers. Research on inter-ethnic relations suggests that Roma unemployment rates in the Czech Republic are four times greater than those for Czechs (Kaplan states that the Roma unemployment rate is 3.4 times higher).

Survey data indicate that low skill levels are the main cause of high Roma unemployment rates. Some 75 percent of Roma workers have no skills whatsoever. About 15 percent of Roma workers are classified as skilled labourers, and some 10 percent have professional status. One fifth of Roma workers older than 20 have not worked at all, so their socio-economical status cannot be derived from their occupational position.

A large negative role is played by the social welfare system. Many employers are unwilling to employ Roma workers because of unfavourable (subjective) assessments of Roma workers' productivity and their work ethic. Research on long-term and chronic unemployment shows that Roma unemployment rates are between 40 and 50 percent, while the overall unemployment rate in the Czech Republic is 8 percent to 9 percent.

Based on: Výzkum interetnických vztahů: zpráva. PHARE Project "Improvement of Relations Between the Roma and Czech Communities" (CZ 9901.01) Fakulta sociálních studií Masarykovy univerzity v Brně, Brno, 2002; Kaplan, P. 1999. Romové a zaměstnanost neboli zaměstnatelnost Romů v České republice. In: Romové v České republice, pp. 352-377. 1999. Praha: Socioklub.

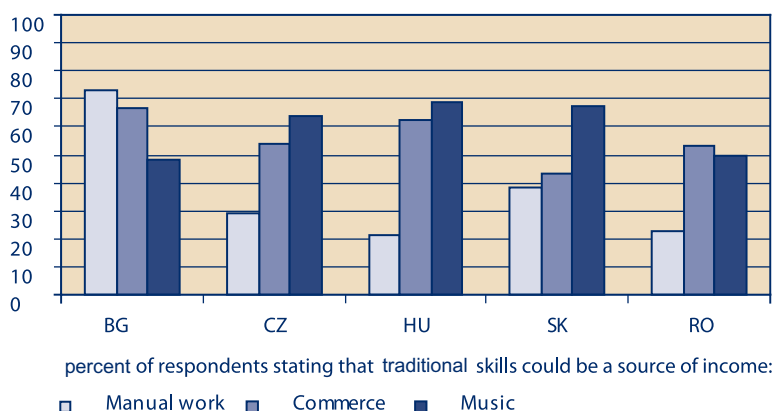
skills marketable today and could they serve as a basis for sustainable employment? The answer is generally "no." Traditional forms of Roma employment (e.g., smiths, spindle-makers, horse-traders) are no longer viable in industrialized Central and Eastern European societies. For all their cultural distinctiveness, Roma populations are like all ethnic groups: if they are unable to benefit from globalization via economic integration, they will be unable to address the challenges of poverty, deprivation, and marginalization. Developing and maintaining competitive advantages today inevitably mean integration, which implies a certain abandonment of distinctiveness.

The survey data produced by the ILO/UNDP study support this analysis. The three responses to the question, *What traditional Roma activities practiced in your close community could be a source of income today?* (Graph 15), that received the greatest support are music (60 percent), commerce (56 percent), and handicrafts (43 percent). The expectation that music can be a source of competitive advantage is lowest in Bulgaria and Romania (supported respectively by 48 percent and 50 percent of respondents). Handicrafts are seen as an area of potential advantage mostly in Bulgaria (73 percent, which places this option as the first in the country). All other options receive negligible support. The problem is the lack of sufficient demand for these skills in current economic environment.

Moreover, focusing on traditional skills and crafts sends a "retroactive" message: it implies that it is possible to reverse the post-communist economic structure (a sensitive issue in countries experiencing the collapse of old industries, which is perceived by growing constituencies as intentional de-industrialization). Instead of emphasizing exotic but outmoded handicrafts, the flip side of traditional Roma occupations should be promoted: their flexibility and service-oriented character. The traditional service-oriented focus of Roma crafts suggests that Roma could be well suited for inclusion in rapidly growing service sectors. The real advantage of traditional Roma skills may

GRAPH 15

Traditional skills as a potential source of income



⁵⁸ The Background Document on the situation of Roma in the candidate countries adopted by the EU (COCEN Group) explicitly suggests that, with regard to the integration of Roma into the labour market, governments should "explore the possibilities for creating jobs in the public sector, making use of the traditional ability of Roma for the provision of service" – EU 1999: 6.

lie not in the skills themselves but in the entrepreneurship that underpins them.⁵⁸

The above factors need to be taken into consideration when employment policies for Roma (and other disadvantaged groups) are being devised. Its current skill set significantly limits the competitiveness and marketability of the Roma work force. As such, the official sectors in the CEE economies and the EU will not generate large job opportunities for many Roma workers. Public works schemes should therefore be considered as an important source of employment provision, at least in the short- and medium-term—especially if they have training/retraining components. While the fiscal implications of such programs can be significant, investment in such schemes is often preferable to unconditional social welfare that can create dependency cultures. Donor resources can also be mobilized to cover these expenditures.

The so-called “social economy” (also known as the voluntary, community, or third sector economy) is another area that deserves closer attention. Social economy organizations are motivated by social purpose rather than by profit, combining economic with social criteria. While this sector cannot generate resources itself, it can be a perfect partner for governments and donors in the delivery of services in such areas as health, welfare, housing, training, and education. Involving vulnerable groups in social economy enterprises not only provides employment but can have profound socialization effects as well.

Main conclusions of Chapter 3

This chapter provides a realistic assessment of the magnitude and duration of unemployment, and explains what “employment” means for many Roma. Unemployment rates are far below the levels that are often reported. It shows that respondents often understand “employment” to mean a “steady job” rather than the broader conception of “income generating activities.” This explains why self-reported subjective unemployment rates often substantially exceed conventionally defined unemployment rates: Roma who are involved in income-generation, in the shadow economy or in subsistence agriculture, often describe themselves as unemployed and this is the reason why subjective and broad unemployment rates differ substantially. But despite extensive involvement in the informal

Box 8. Bulgaria: Market-based poverty alleviation is feasible

Self-employment and subsistence agriculture are important survival strategies for many Roma in Bulgaria, even though their access to land and working capital is limited. At the same time humanitarian assistance often has a demoralizing impact on Roma communities, and encourages dependency cultures.

For that reason the Creating Effective Grassroots Alternatives (CEGA) Foundation NGO, together with the Institute for Market Economics (IME), initiated the “Land-based Income Generation for Poor Roma Families in South Bulgaria” program, with financial support from the NOVIB and Friedrich Naumann Foundations. Since its inception in 1993 the program has evolved into a consistent and sustainable mechanism for combining access to land and secured credit with the development of new skills.

The basic scheme is simple. Participants establish (in accordance with Bulgarian legal requirements) limited partnership companies in their communities. The NGO (as the manager of donor funds) has a representative in the company with veto rights. Each member of the company chooses a plot of land and negotiates the price with the owner. The price may not exceed certain limits which are set in advance. Participants must deposit 20 percent of their own money to purchase the land. The company provides the remaining 80 percent in the form of a 3-5 year intra-company loan with a 6 percent annual interest rate. Participants become legal owners of their land only after the loan has been paid back in full. If they don't pay the loan back in full, participants lose their investment (the initial 20 percent deposit and any further repayments), which is securing the loan and donors' money. The annual payments are comparable to the cost of leasing land from private owners. Short-term working capital is made available to participants under similar conditions. Participants also have access to agro-technical training and expertise within the Agro-information Centre run by CEGA.

The fact that participants are “almost owners” from the very beginning is crucial, as it makes the prospect of becoming owners seem feasible. Their self-esteem and prestige within the community can grow dramatically.

The scheme differs from most assistance-oriented programs in a number of respects. It both distinguishes between and combines social objectives and market-based rules. It is consistent with the market environment (loans, not grants are provided) while simultaneously providing opportunities for socially motivated support (in certain circumstances the donor may decide to reduce the interest rate). Since the program is not based on grants, participants think twice before investing their initial capital. The scheme is also flexible enough to allow for individual approaches depending on the region, participant, or other specific characteristics.

At the end of 2000 only 6 participants had signed up for the program. A year later the number of participants had grown to 14, 8 of whom had selected land plots that were purchased by the company. The next step should be scaling up. This however goes beyond the capabilities (and the mandate) of the third sector.

Box prepared by CEGA (*Creating Effective Grassroots Alternatives*) Foundation, Bulgaria, www.cega.bg

economy, Roma households are heavily dependent on welfare payments and other central government transfers (pensions, child support etc.).

Low levels of employment and employability are key features of the Roma labour market performance. This is due both to discriminatory practices and to the low competitiveness of Roma workers. Poor education opportunities for Roma today guarantee poor employment prospects of Roma tomorrow. Income generation projects based on traditional skills

should not be viewed as likely to effect large reductions in unemployment.

Long-term unemployment has profound, negative effects on the social fabric of Roma communities. ALMPs have so far failed to reach many Roma communities. This suggests that public works employment for Roma (and other disadvantaged groups) should be promoted—especially if they can be tied to job training or retraining activities. Social economy entities could be extremely helpful in this regard.

Household incomes and poverty

An analysis of Roma household incomes, when supplemented by comprehensive data on household ownership of durable goods, provides crucial information regarding poverty and the quality of life for Roma in the five countries. The UNDP/ILO survey focused special attention on the links between sources of household incomes and dependency on social welfare payments. The survey was intended to go beyond the statement that Roma households dominate among those most affected by poverty. It was expected to provide additional information on the magnitude of poverty, of the most affected groups, and particularly to investigate to what extent children are affected as a particularly vulnerable group.

Another aspect of household incomes was related to the role that social welfare payments play in Roma household survival strategies. What is the magnitude of dependency on social welfare? How does it affect recipients' life strategies? What is the impact of this dependency on relations with the majority populations?

Levels of incomes

Data on household incomes and expenditures that are disaggregated by ethnicity are scarce. For many reasons statistical institutes do not monitor household budgets by ethnic distribution.⁵⁹ A recent World Bank⁶⁰ analysis of Roma and transition in Central and Eastern Europe supplied socioeconomic data broken down by ethnic groups for only two countries (Bulgaria and Romania). These data make possible certain estimates of poverty ratios and depth, which are shown in Table 5.

Filling these data holes (at least in part) was one of the objectives of the regional UNDP/ILO survey, which included a set of questions that were modelled on the format of the official household surveys. The respondents were asked to assess the incomes of their household, their main income sources, their total expenditures, and expenditures by main product and service groups. The results show that Roma are among the poorest of the poor in Central and Eastern Europe.

Some idea of the relative dimensions of Roma poverty is provided by the data summarized in Table 6, which compare levels of stated overall expenditures of Roma households in all countries to the average household expenditures (reported in household surveys) and average gross wage levels.⁶¹ In all five countries, levels of Roma household expenditures are, surprisingly, equally low

Roma households in most countries are equally poor compared to national averages

Table 5

Poverty and ethnicity (the case of Bulgaria and Romania, 1997)*

Ethnic group	Share of the respective ethnic group in total population (percent)	Poverty rate (percent of the resp-ective ethnic group below poverty line)	Poverty depth (average shortfall below poverty line)
Bulgaria			
Bulgarians	83.6	31.7	8.5
Bulgarian Turks	8.5	40	12.8
Roma	6.5	84.3	46.6
Other**	1.4	46.9	15
Bulgaria total	100	36	11.4
Romania			
Romanians	89.8	29.7	7.3
Hungarians	6.8	28.4	6.7
Roma	2.3	78.8	33.2
Other**	1.1	32.6	8.0
Romania total	100	30.8	7.9

* Table based on Ringold, 2000: 11.

** Due to the small number of respondents self-identified as "other," the stochastic error regarding poverty rate and poverty depth could be quite high.

⁵⁹ In the Roma context, this reflects both political sensitivity and resistance from Roma organizations. There is reasonable concern that ethnically disaggregated data could be used for discriminatory purposes (for example, in access to jobs or to active labour market policies for unemployed) if ethnic identity is stated in the files.

⁶⁰ Ringold, Dena. 2000.

⁶¹ The survey explores household expenditures through a set of questions that focus on the "household" rather than the "individual." The respondents were asked to assess not their personal but overall household expenditures.

Table 6

Levels of poverty reflected in household budget expenditures (€ per capita per month)

Country	Average monthly wage per employee (in Euros, 2001)	Average monthly household expenditures per capita		Average monthly Roma household expenditures (as stated by respondents)		
		Amount	percent of average wage	Amount	percent of average wage	percent of average monthly household expenditures per capita
Bulgaria	138	60	43	20	14	33
Czech Republic	410	244	60	111	27	45
Hungary	403	265*	66	70	17	26
Romania	165	62**	38	18	11	29
Slovak Republic	286	169	59	51	18	30

Table based on data from the national statistical offices data and the UNDP/ILO survey. For more detailed information on the sources and the electronic links used see Tables D2, D3 and D4 in Annex 3.

* Household expenditures data for Hungary – from 1999.

** Household expenditures data for Romania – from 2000

relative to national averages (between 26 percent in Hungary and 46 percent in Czech Republic). These figures suggest that Roma households in most countries, with the possible exception of the Czech Republic, are equally poor compared to national averages.

Another symptom of poverty is the share of household expenditures devoted to food. Only in the Czech Republic is this share below 50 percent. In other countries it ranges from 52 percent in Hungary and 59 percent in Romania to 69 percent in Bulgaria.⁶²

Issues of household income generation were approached through various questions. Answers to, *From which of the following*

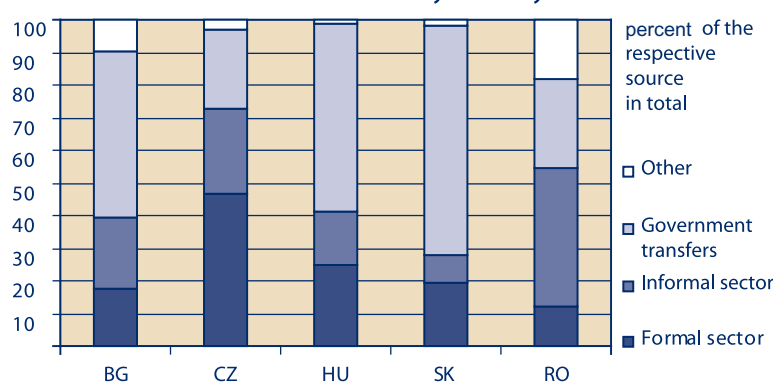
sources did the household usually receive money during the last 6 months? reveal the sources of family income (not the share of the household revenues coming from the respective source). Another question investigates the largest sources of household income. Graph 16 shows the responses to these questions classified by formal or informal sector employment, government transfers (including pensions) and 'other sources' (including remittances and loans).

Sources of income

The data summarized in Graph 16 are not directly comparable with the "sources of household incomes" outlined in household surveys, but still provide an idea of the magnitude of Roma household dependence on central transfers for each country. The share of formal sector employment is highest in the Czech Republic and lowest in Romania. The distances between individual countries are smaller when "total incomes" are considered, due to relatively larger informal sector involvement in Romania. Notable here is the fact that government transfers as a main source of household income are relatively low in both countries. The reasons for this are very different. Whereas a relatively large proportion of Roma are integrated into formal sector employment in the Czech Republic, in Romania access to (and levels of)

GRAPH 16

Main income source of Roma by country



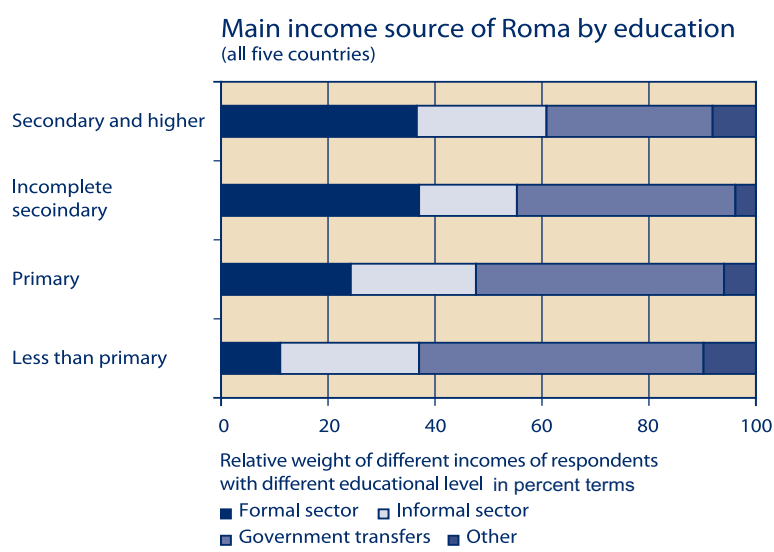
⁶² These figures are estimated on the basis of stated expenditures by major commodity groups and the sum of total expenditure on these items.

government welfare are such that people are constrained to look to the informal sector for some kind of alternative income. Graph 17 shows that reliance on government transfers (social welfare, child support or pensions) falls off markedly as education levels improve.⁶³

Since Roma reliance on the state is manifested through social assistance, this crucial issue is related to all other dimensions of poverty (employability, active/passive life strategies, aspirations, etc.). On the one hand, poverty in Roma communities makes social protection and security networks key to their survival strategies. On the other hand, social security benefits combined with low general aspirations can discourage the adoption of pro-active life strategies. A difficult compromise must be found between providing adequate social protection while still giving Roma the incentive to invest in themselves. In particular, social assistance should go hand in hand with efforts to increase social aspirations (especially among the young), and must somehow be linked to productivity for those able to work.

This is not the case with social protection today. The data from the regional UNDP/ILO survey indicate that Roma are very dependent on transfers (see Graph 18 showing responses to the question, *Which of the following sources provides the most money for the household?*). The structure of state transfers is different from country to country (depending on specific national legislation and/or social protection levels). Nevertheless, in all of them significant numbers of families are primarily reliant on state support for their survival (between 16 percent in Romania and Czech Republic and 44 percent in Slovak Republic). If pensions are included as part of state benefits, then the level of dependency reaches 24 percent and 55 percent of the households (in the Czech Republic and Hungary respectively). Data also show the importance of pensions (which, due to relatively low life expectancy, probably reflects invalidity pensions or benefits paid to families after the death of a principle wage earner) in Roma household

GRAPH 17

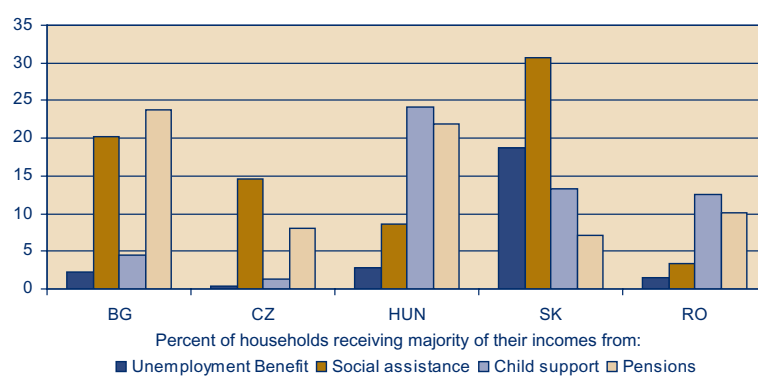


incomes, compared to household incomes overall. Given the relatively short Roma life expectancy, the importance of pension incomes can generate additional tensions for stressed household budgets.

The case of Slovak Republic—where government welfare payments and other central government transfers are the main source of income in almost 70 percent of Roma households—deserves special attention.⁶⁴ A possible explanation for the importance of transfer payments is that, following the Czechoslovak Republic's

GRAPH 18

Structure of transfers from the state



⁶³ Some care is required here because the question concerning educational levels refers to the respondent, while the question concerning main income sources refers to the household. It is not unreasonable, however, to suppose that the level of education of the respondent will reflect the average level of education in the household.

⁶⁴ Other sources also support the survey findings regarding high level of dependency on social welfare of Roma in Slovak Republic. An IOM report estimates that up to 80 percent of the Roma population in Slovak Republic depends on the state's welfare system IOM 2000: 50.

Social security benefits combined with low aspirations can discourage the adoption of pro-active life strategies

dissolution in 1993, many Roma families were precluded from receiving such benefits in the Czech Republic. This may have lead “Slovak” Roma residents in the Czech Republic to seek benefits in Slovak Republic.⁶⁵ Another is the “side effect” of VPP (public works programs) involving Roma: after six months of VPP work, recipients eligible to return (and they usually do so) to the list of unemployed also become eligible for benefits that otherwise would be unobtainable.

The impact of social assistance

The social welfare systems in the five countries are based on passive measures (e.g., unemployment compensation) that create negative work incentives and perpetuate dependency cultures.⁶⁶ Although their magnitudes are different, social benefits are a significant source of Roma household income in all five countries. It can be argued that, once an individual attains a certain threshold income level in the form of transfer payments, incentives to seek employment are weak—especially for the relatively low wages available for unskilled workers. This is especially likely to be the case if the social environment is, or is perceived to be, hostile and offers limited opportunities for inclusion.

In order to decrease dependency cultures, social welfare systems should reflect the principle of “positive net benefits for positive net efforts.”⁶⁷

Dependency on social welfare has problematic implications affecting both

majority and minority populations. The minority can fall into a “vicious circle” of marginalization: weak incentives to leave the social safety net today both increase the costs and reduce the likelihood of departure in the future. The implications for the majority can be equally serious. Extensive dependence of minorities on social transfers increases the social tax burden—or, for the same level of tax revenues, reduces the resources available for other public uses.⁶⁸ In both cases—especially in countries with high tax burdens—income-generating populations become increasingly concerned about the uses of their social security tax contributions. Such economic frictions between Roma communities and income-generating non-Roma populations (especially in countries with high social security tax rates) are often behind allegations that “employed” non-Roma populations “raise Roma children.”⁶⁹

This issue goes far beyond social welfare: it is a key cause of ethnic intolerance and Roma exclusion. Roma participation in formal social welfare systems is asymmetrical: active regarding benefits, but less so regarding contributions. At the individual level, such asymmetry can be an important element of social solidarity. Majority populations often accept that certain *individuals* require more assistance than others and will therefore be net beneficiaries. They are not perceived as “free-riders.” The situation changes dramatically where *groups* are concerned, especially when they are defined on an ethnic basis. Social solidarity vis-à-vis individuals in this situation is easily converted into *group*

Social welfare systems should reflect the principle of “positive net benefits for positive net efforts”

⁶⁵ The dissolution of Czechoslovakia brought the issue of citizenship (Czech or Slovak) to the fore for many Roma who were born in Slovak Republic but had resided in the Czech lands. Due to the formally “ethnically neutral” provisions of the 1992 Czech Law on Acquisition and Loss of Citizenship, many of these Roma could not receive Czech citizenship. Amendments regulating the issue were approved in 1999. For more details see Šiklová and Miklušáková, 1998.

⁶⁶ The “discouraging” effect of permanent cash benefits on the beneficiaries is noted for example in Ringold 2000: 33.

⁶⁷ The logic of this recommendation corresponds to that of the negative earned income tax. While this instrument is not directly applicable in a transition economy where large shares of personal income are earned in the informal sector, there is no reason why this approach can not be applied to marginalized communities.

⁶⁸ As Nicolae Gheorghe and Jennifer Tanaka (1998: 11) point out, “public policies concerning Roma and Sinti may be either an ethnic or social approach, or a combination of the two, depending on the issue or situation. Roma-specific policies ... may also create a negative reaction among non-Roma, as non-beneficiaries. On the other hand, strictly social policies may fail to account for intermediary institutions and persons who, owing to deep-rooted prejudice and stereotypes, may act in ways, which impede full participation of Roma in societal relations. Indeed, governments, especially those in Central and Eastern Europe, are faced with the challenge of preventing new forms of Roma exclusion through dependence on social welfare, and the shortcomings and tensions related to the costs and distribution of welfare assistance at the local level.”

⁶⁹ This was not the case in the communist period with its non-market, egalitarian, class- (rather than community-) based ethos (everyone equal in relative poverty and everyone taken care of).

solidarity within his/her own group vis-à-vis *other groups*. In these circumstances the social welfare system can create systemic preconditions for ethnic exclusion, providing rational economic arguments for ethnic intolerance and rejection.

This systemic link between asymmetrical participation in social welfare systems and ethnic intolerance has many aspects and practical consequences. Among other things, it suggests that tolerance depends on the financial affordability to be tolerant. To make things even more complicated, affordability (like poverty) is a relative, subjective category, which has to do more with marginal costs than with absolute costs. On the other hand, once marginalized, those communities fall into a vicious circle: being excluded and unemployed, they cannot contribute to the social systems. They face further exclusion from labour markets and stigmatization, which further reduces their chances for contributing to social welfare systems and perpetuates dependency. This points to the need for policies that can be simultaneously justified to non-Roma populations on the grounds that they will decrease the economic burden posed by Roma dependency on social welfare, and to Roma by promoting access to employment. A key element of such policies should be the awareness of the joint interest (both of majorities and minorities) in decreasing Roma dependence on social assistance.

Profile of poverty

Poverty is not just an income issue: it is a complex social phenomenon. Official statistical data, which are generally supported by the results of the regional UNDP/ILO survey, shed additional light on the process of “ghettoization” of whole communities in the CEE countries. Inadequate education, poor health, long-term unemployment, fragmentary work history, labour market participation limited to informal sector employment and a dependence on social welfare benefits—these elements contribute to ghetto cultures. If they persist, they can lead to irreversible marginalization and vicious circles of exclusion. Their overrepresentation in the poorest social strata could lead Roma to dominate these ghettoized communities. This could have profound negative consequences, the most dangerous of which is the transformation—certainly in the perception of majority

Box 9. Slovak Republic: Development opportunities challenge the dependency culture

Slovak Republic's Middle Spiš region during 2000-2002 reported unemployment rates around 25 percent. Roma unemployment rates for the region are particularly high, and most Roma in the region are completely dependent on social welfare. The challenge is to provide the region with development opportunities that can help break dependency on social welfare. In order to develop a systematic approach to addressing the region's problems, UNDP together with the Slovak government and the ETP Slovak Republic NGO initiated the pilot program *Your Spiš: Sustainable Community Development in Middle Spiš* at the beginning of 2001.

By late 2002 the program had established cooperative partnerships with ten towns and villages. Community activists employed by the program help the residents of the partner towns and villages to establish community-based organizations (CBOs) to address local development concerns. Small grants are distributed to CBOs to implement projects and start self-help initiatives. In addition to providing small grants, a micro-credit program was launched in 2002, to provide seed capital to finance micro- and family businesses. In partnership with the Dutch Government, the project is also seeking to establish community development service centres, which will serve as micro-incubators for start-up entrepreneurs. The program also facilitated the establishment of 10 new Roma CBOs and had supported 21 community projects.

Your Spiš has worked closely with the local authorities to introduce positive incentives into social assistance policies and decrease the work disincentives that pervade social policy in Slovak Republic. The program is helping people who have traditionally been dependent on social welfare to reduce this dependency. The mayors of the partner villages have presented several draft amendments concerning Slovak Republic's social legislation to the Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs. These proposals include providing long-term unemployed individuals interested in starting their own businesses with the opportunity to gradually phase out social welfare support and gradually phase in tax obligations. Linking payment of social benefits to active participation in small municipal public works projects has also been proposed. Many municipalities in Slovak Republic (and other countries) have already introduced this principle.

Since the Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs supports these suggestions, they could be implemented in the future. The major outcome to date, however, has been the increased willingness of local development actors to seek and apply “non-dependency” approaches to poverty alleviation, approaches that are supported by majority and minority communities.

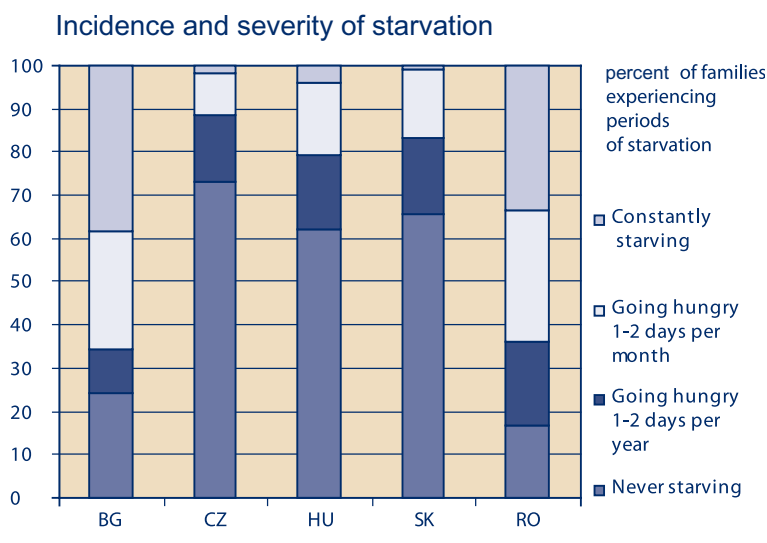
Box prepared by ETP (*Environmental Training Program*), Košice, Slovak Republic

populations, and potentially in Roma self-perception as well—of Roma from an ethnic or cultural minority into a social minority with marginalized status.

When asked to assess the material status of their families, 51 percent of the participants in the UNDP/ILO survey defined it as ‘Poor,’ 14 percent as ‘Living in misery,’ 32 percent as ‘Doing relatively well’ and just 2 percent considered themselves as ‘Rich.’ It is not the share of those assessing their status as ‘doing relatively well’ that is important: had majority populations been asked the same question, answers may not have differed significantly. What really matters is the evident correlation between incidence of poverty and family size within the Roma sample. The ‘doing

Decreasing Roma dependence on social assistance is in the joint interest of both majorities and minorities

GRAPH 19



relatively well' option was selected by 43 percent of households with no children, by 37 percent of households with 1 to 2 children, and by 29 percent of the households with 3 to 4 children. This response fell to 21 percent for families with five and more children. The share of households assessing their situation as 'poor' and 'living in misery' increases with the number of children and with the age of the head of the household. It decreases with higher levels of education and more extensive interactions with majority populations.

Another perspective on this issue is provided by answers to the question, *Were there periods during the last year when your family did not have enough to eat?* Less than half of the

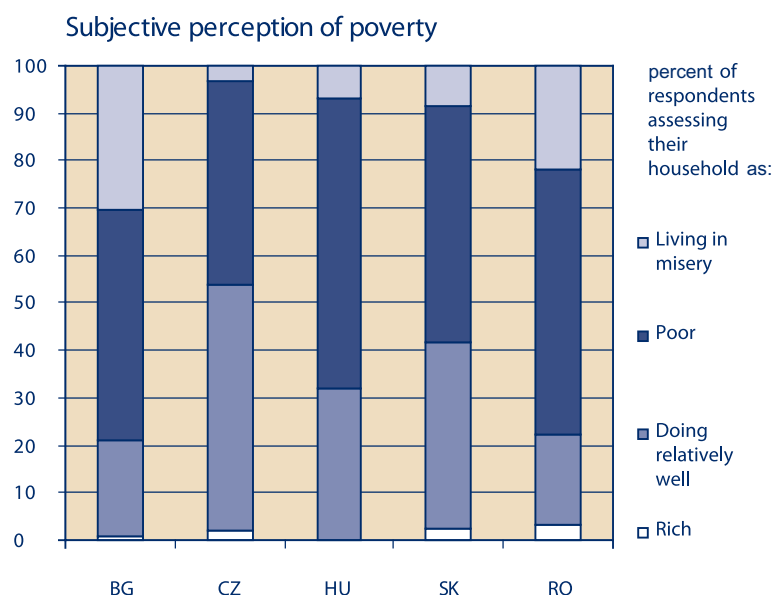
respondents (47 percent) answered 'never,' 16 percent 'did not have enough food for 1 to 2 days during the year,' 20 percent 'did not have enough food for 1 to 2 days every month,' and 15 percent declared that they are 'constantly struggling with starvation.' Again, as in the assessment of family material status, there is a clear correlation between the incidence of starvation and family size.

Most interesting is the distribution by countries (presented in Graphs 19 and 20) of answers to the questions, *Were there periods during the last year when your family did not have enough to eat?* and *How [well off] do you consider your family?* The share of respondents assessing their households as 'poor' and 'starving' is highest in countries where economic reforms are most sluggish and per capita incomes lowest (Bulgaria and Romania). The regional leaders in transition and economic reform—the Czech Republic and Hungary—have the highest share of 'never' responses to this question. These trends suggest that progress in economic reforms, which form the basis for strengthening (rather than being an alternative to) social welfare systems, is key to generating sustainable improvements in the situation of Roma (and other marginalized groups).

As expected, the UNDP/ILO survey revealed a strong correlation between the incidence of starvation and household material status (measured by the number of household possessions). Respondents assessing their households as 'doing relatively well' constituted only 7 percent of the households at low levels of material status (possessing 1 to 4 household items). This figure rose to 28 percent for households at medium levels of material status (possessing 5 to 9 household items), and to 61 percent among those at high levels of material status (possessing 10 or more household items). The opposite is also true: the 'living in misery' response was chosen by 35 percent of the "low" household possession groups, by 8 percent of the medium group, and only by 2 percent of the high group.

The magnitude and profile of poverty in Roma households are illustrated by the responses to the question, *Which household items do you have in your household?*, which are summarized in Table 7. These responses point to strong disparities in Roma living standards across the CEE countries. The situation of Roma in countries closer to EU

GRAPH 20

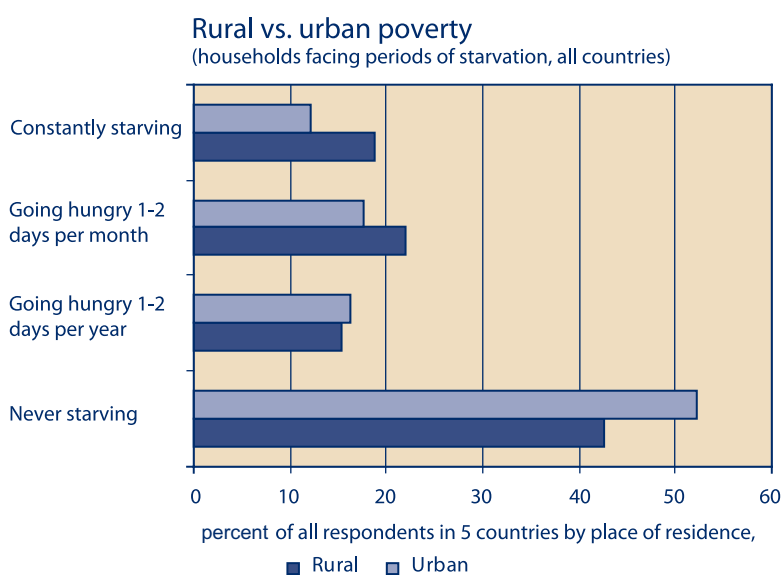


accession is substantially better than in Bulgaria and Romania.

Data from the UNDP/ILO survey suggest that the territorial (urban versus rural) dimension of poverty is significant in the region, due to the different nature of poverty and different approaches to its eradication. Information shown in Graph 21 indicates that the incidence of starvation is substantially higher in villages and small towns than in larger cities and national capitals. Rural respondents answered 'never' to the question, *Were there periods during the last year when your family did not have enough to eat?*, less frequently than urban respondents (51 percent of urban respondents did not have such periods, compared to only 43 percent of rural respondents). In urban areas, 12 percent of respondents answered, 'We are constantly starving' and 19 percent choose this option in rural areas. The same trend appears in answers to the question about family material status. In response to the question, *How well off do you consider your family to be?* 38 percent of urban respondents, and only 24 percent of rural respondents, report 'doing relatively well.' By contrast, 47 percent of urban respondents and 55 percent of rural respondents reported 'poor,' while 'living in misery' was stated by 11 percent and 18 percent, respectively.

This territorial distribution of poverty suggests that rural Roma are "double losers." They lack access both to social safety nets (which are more easily tapped by urban residents) and to the land and working capital needed to engage in subsistence agriculture. The fact that the reverse is often true for majority populations makes the

GRAPH 21



relative poverty of rural Roma even more alarming. This is another argument in favour of designing special schemes for providing Roma with access to agricultural resources as part of sustainable solutions to their nutritional problems.

Roma and the Millennium Development Goals

When disaggregated at the sub-national level, UNDP's human development index (HDI) can be an interesting analytical and policy tool. The territorial distribution of human development levels in CEE is affected by concentrations of ethnic minorities, particularly Roma. For example, UNDP Bulgaria's *National Human Development Report* for 2000 shows that only 6.5 percent of Bulgaria's minority

Table 7

Share of Roma households possessing selected household items

	Radio	Clock	Refrige- rator	Oven	TV set	Washing machine	Bed for each family member	Living room furniture	Satellite dish
Bulgaria	45	76	48	72	76	26	64	21	13
Czech Republic	88	95	91	74	93	84	84	87	12
Hungary	75	92	81	81	95	83	88	83	9
Romania	41	67	25	38	53	13	26	18	6
Slovak Republic	82	91	80	73	92	69	70	79	16

Source: UNDP/ILO regional survey

⁷⁰ UNDP Bulgaria 2000: 30.

Box 10. **The Millennium Development Goals: Going beyond advocacy**

The eight UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are intended to help governments to take actions to improve the situation of poor and marginalized social groups. Goal 1 calls for halving absolute poverty (defined as living below PPP\$1/day, and for such developed countries as Central European PPP\$4/day) by the year 2015. Goal 2 envisages reaching 100 percent primary school completion by 2015. Goal 3 supports gender equality, empowering women and eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education. Goal 4 calls for reducing child mortality by two thirds by 2015. Goal 5 aims to reduce maternal mortality by 75 percent. Goal 6 deals with combating HIV/AIDS, malaria, TB and other socially significant diseases. Goal 7 addresses environmental causes of poverty, while Goal 8 calls for developing global partnerships for development. For each of these goals a number of specific targets should be reached (such as improving access to safe water, sanitation, and increasing access to development opportunities for different groups).

CEE countries are generally “on track” to achieve MDG targets, and their national averages suggest that these countries have less pronounced problems regarding absolute poverty and social exclusion than most developing countries. Although marginalized communities (such as Roma) face severe problems regarding all aspects of the MDGs, national averages cloak the severity of these problems and deprive them of policy attention.

This raises several questions regarding MDG monitoring and reporting in the CEE countries. One cluster of problems relates to how disparities in MDG-related indicators are measured at sub-national levels. Is “one PPP\$” (or 4 PPP\$ for more developed countries) the appropriate standard for grasping the real development challenges at national and sub-national levels? Or should broader national-oriented measurements such as national poverty lines be used? A second cluster of problems relates to the question of how to report the progress achieved. Assuming that certain communities (such as the Roma) lag far behind in most of MDG areas, should the target for the specific country be “halving the national level of poverty” or rather “halving levels of poverty for marginalized groups?”

Box prepared by UNDP team, Bratislava.

National measurements of poverty, rather than universal thresholds, should be emphasized populations live in municipalities with high human development levels, while 36 percent live in municipalities with low levels of human development.⁷⁰ The task of monitoring and reporting the United Nations’ Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) provides additional opportunities for in-depth investigation of these relationships. Although the UNDP/ILO survey was not explicitly designed to meet MDG reporting requirements, it provides interesting data regarding two aspects of MDGs: poverty, and access to safe drinking water. The survey data also provoke reflections on the indicators themselves.

The data shown in Table 8 suggest that the “one dollar threshold” (measured in PPP\$ terms) as a measure of absolute poverty is not equally applicable to all countries of the region. In Bulgaria and Romania, substantial shares of Roma populations fall below this threshold. But in the other three countries, less than 1 percent of Roma live in households with daily expenditures below PPP\$1. Applying the PPP\$4 threshold seems to generate more relevant results, but outcomes still differ substantially across the region. Using this threshold for Bulgaria and Romania generates poverty rates that are strikingly close to those presented in Ringold 2000, which are based on data from the World Bank Integrated Household Surveys (see Tables 4 and 5 in this publication). Data for Hungary and Slovak Republic also show Roma poverty levels that are substantially above those of majority populations.⁷¹ The share of the Roma population with expenditures below the PPP\$4 daily threshold is lowest in the Czech Republic. This can be explained by the relatively high living standards of Czech Roma, reflected for instance in higher minimum wages in this country. As seen from Table E5 (Annex 3), the Euro equivalent of the PPP\$4 daily threshold during 2000–2001 differs substantially from the respective value of poverty lines and minimum subsistence levels in different countries.

These data suggest that national-based measurements of poverty should be emphasized over universal thresholds. The latter may be appealing for their simplicity and high advocacy potential, but they are not very useful as policy targets.⁷² This suggestion is reinforced by the data on poverty rates generated by the application of national-based poverty thresholds. As seen from the last column in Table 8, Roma poverty rates are similar for four of the five countries of the region (the Czech Republic is the exception). Roma poverty rates in the other four countries are between 84 percent and 91 percent.

The importance of these results deserves special emphasis. Despite meeting international criteria for overall poverty—even at the PPP\$4 daily threshold—the Roma face significant poverty problems in all the CEE countries. And despite important

⁷¹ For assessments of poverty lines and poverty rates in CEE countries, see Eurostat 2000: 89–93 and 245–270; UNDP Bulgaria 1998a.

⁷² On the issue of poverty measurements see Scott, 2002, and Reddy et al., 2002.

Table 8							
Roma poverty rates for different poverty thresholds*							
	Total number of people in surveyed household	Number of people in households with monthly per-capita expenditure below:			Poverty rates (percent)		
		PPP\$1/day	PPP\$4/day	National poverty line**	Below PPP\$1 threshold	Below PPP\$4 threshold	Below national line
Bulgaria	4767	1363	3924	3990	29	82	84
Czech Republic	4532	27	495	2196	1	11	48
Hungary	4567	28	2208	4171	1	48	91
Romania	5874	2426	5022	5193	41	85	88
Slovak Republic	5312	34	2804	4519	1	53	85

Source: UNDP/ILO regional survey.

* Based on responses to the questions *How much money did your household spend last month?*, and *How many people live in your household?* Data in local currencies were converted into € using average annual exchange rate for 2001. For estimating the € equivalent of the respective PPP\$1 daily thresholds, US\$ and PPP\$ per-capita GDP data for 2000 were used. The differences between the values expressed in national currency and in PPP\$ terms in 1999 and 2000 are minimal, suggesting that using the 2000 rate for conversion of 2001 values in PPP\$ values is unlikely to generate major distortions. For details, see table E4 in Annex 3.

** Since most of the countries have not adopted national poverty lines, these calculations are based on subsistence minimum levels or other estimations of poverty lines outlined in table D4 in Annex 3.

economic differences between these countries, Roma in Slovak Republic, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria are similarly poor relative to majority populations.

MDGs 4, 5, and 6 pertain to infant and maternal mortality, and to malaria and other infectious diseases. These can be monitored indirectly by indicators concerning access to sanitation and safe drinking water. Data from the UNDP/ILO survey and presented in Table 9⁷³ show striking differences between Roma communities within these countries, and national averages (summarized in Table E6 in Annex 3). Access to major sanitation facilities, including sewage, is only at tolerable levels in the Czech Republic. In all other countries, the data outline the magnitude of the Roma's poor living conditions. On the other hand, the figures reported as national averages for Romania in the global human development reports for 2001 and 2002 (Table E6 in Annex 3) are surprisingly low for a Central European country, even taking into consideration Roma poverty pockets.

Poverty and child undernourishment

The relationship between poverty and child welfare in Roma communities is also cause for serious concern. Although the correlation between family size and poverty (and therefore undernourishment) is not a novelty, the UNDP/ILO survey data allow in-depth quantitative estimation of the phenomenon.

Table 9					
Sanitation of Roma dwellings					
Percent of Roma population living in households without access to major sanitation facilities in the dwelling					
	BG	CZ	HUN	RO	SK
Running water	45	4	34	65	32
Toilet in the dwelling	75	15	46	65	44
Sewage treatment	51	6	63	62	46
Bathroom in the dwelling	70	12	41	66	37

Source: UNDP/ILO regional survey.

⁷³ The table presents responses to two questions *How many people live in your household?*, and *To which of the following items do you have access in your household?* The data show the share of the population living in households (not the share of households) without access to appropriate sanitation facilities. A "lack of running water" in the dwelling need not be synonymous with "lack of access to safe water," since some respondents may have access to public well water. These wells cannot always be considered safe, however, particularly in areas where sewage is not treated. A "lack of running water in the dwelling" can therefore be treated as a measure of the magnitude of the problem Roma are facing in this regard.

Table 10

Relationship between incidence of undernourishment and family size

	Households with no children	Households with 1-2 children	Households with 3-4 children	Households with 5 or more children
No, never	58	50	47	38
For 1-2 days during the year	15	15	15	19
For 1-2 days every month	15	18	20	24
We are constantly starving	10	14	16	19
N/r	3	2	2	1
Total (percent)	100	100	100	100

Source: UNDP/ILO regional survey. The table shows (in percent terms) responses to the question *Were there periods during the last year when your family did not have enough to eat?* distributed by number of children in the household

As seen in Table 10 (which correlates answers to the starvation question with data on numbers of children in a household), the probability of undernourishment is substantially greater for children in large families.

These data underline the crucial importance of family planning as an integral element of sustainable poverty reduction, and of pursuing deliberate “de-ghettoization” through sustainable development opportuni-

ties. The issue cannot be reduced solely to the “supply side,” (i.e., to the performance of social welfare systems). The “demand side” (i.e., the number of Roma household members dependent on social welfare—which is inevitably related to the “affordable number of children”) must be taken into consideration as well.

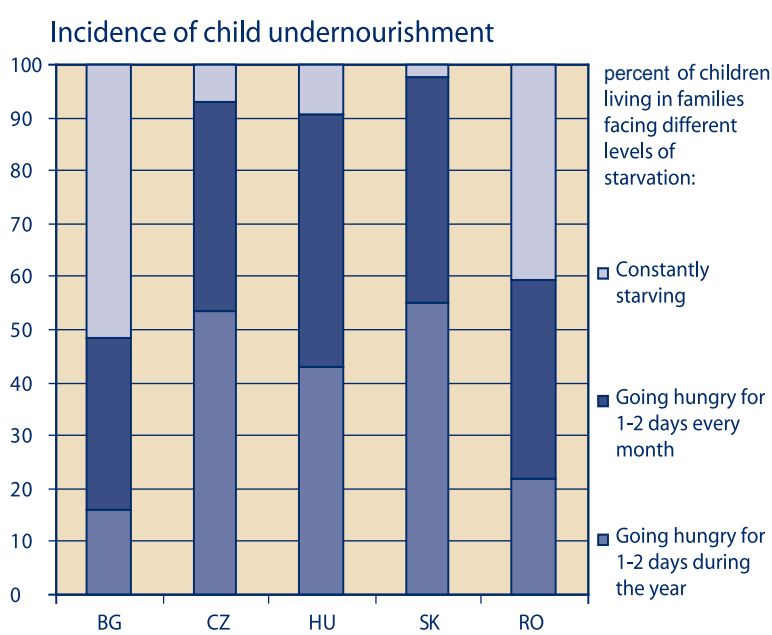
This issue often triggers two parallel monologues that impede open debate. The first is the demand for measures to control Roma birth rates. This is periodically manipulated by politicians who consider high birth rates to be the primary cause of Roma poverty and dependency. The second represents an extreme aspect of the anti-discrimination paradigm. It is primarily focused on reproductive rights (often treated in isolation from responsibilities), and denounces any debate on Roma reproductive patterns as “racist.” The intensity and the incompatibility of these two monologues can preclude the consideration of alternative viewpoints, as well as fail to address the complexity and cyclical nature of this issue.

The two monologues, however, neglect the crucial role of aspirations. Levels of aspiration are positively correlated with the number of children in Roma families. This is particularly true when state support is declining, which is the case in most transition economies. When aspirations rise (and especially when achieving these aspirations is feasible), the option of living on social assistance holds less appeal for future generations.

That is why birth rates are a development issue *per se*—aspirations and their feasibility can only be influenced through sustained and sustainable improvement in living conditions. Debates on the “affordable number of children” and the design of social assistance systems will only make sense when they are linked to raising aspirations and providing access to development opportunities. The issue is not the number of children *per se*, but low aspirations and the danger that Roma children will fall in to vicious cycles of vulnerability and marginalization. Social policy should not encourage declining levels of aspirations, as is currently the case. This, again, is a development issue.

Shares of Roma children living in households facing different levels of starvation can be a proxy for the magnitude of the

GRAPH 22



undernourishment risk they face. These shares are shown in Graph 22 (based on responses to the questions, *Were there periods during the last year when your family did not have enough to eat?*, and *How many children do you have?*).⁷⁴ These data indicate that the largest undernourishment risk occurs in Bulgaria and Romania (with 39 percent and 30 percent, respectively, of the total number of children living in families having constant nutrition problems, and 25 percent and 28 percent, respectively, not having enough to eat 1 to 2 days per month). Slovak Republic, the Czech Republic, and Hungary have similarly high shares of Roma children living in families that do not face this problem.

These are sufficient reasons for an honest debate on the issues of “affordable children” and family planning described above.⁷⁵ This debate, however, will only generate policy-relevant outcomes if they are introduced within a consistent policy framework targeted at improving socioeconomic conditions, improving girls’ education and health awareness and changing life patterns (in which numbers of children are an important element) within Roma communities. The ultimate losers of the inability (or unwillingness) to have such a debate are the Roma children who face undernourishment and all the consequences for their health and future life opportunities.⁷⁶

The data shown in Graph 22 strongly suggest that many Roma children—perhaps the majority—are undernourished, despite the various income support programs targeted at low-income citizens in CEE countries. This particularly seems to be the case in Bulgaria

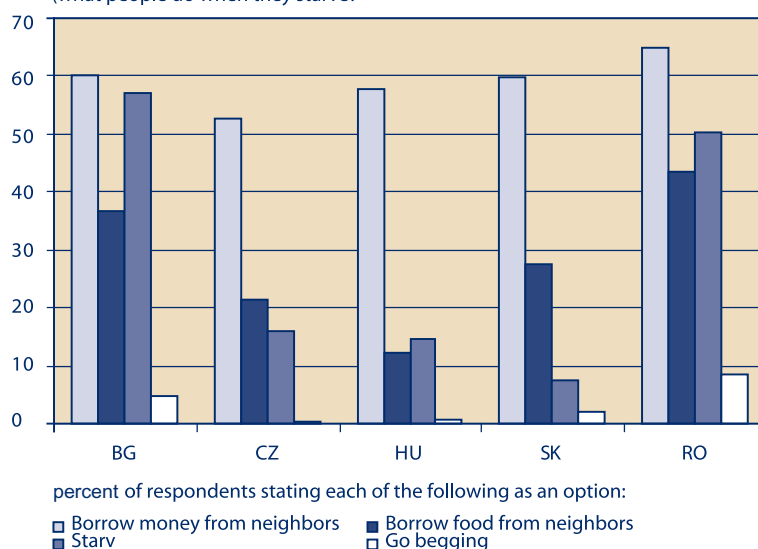
and Romania. The fact that existing social policies are not adequately protecting children from the poverty of their households and communities suggests that these social policies are in need of reform.

Coping with poverty: the issue of moneylenders

What are the survival strategies in cases of starvation? The responses summarized in Graph 23 (based on responses to the questions, *Were there periods during the last year when your family did not have enough to eat?*, and *If it happens, what do you do?*) indicate that ‘borrowing money from neighbours’ is a major survival strategy. The

GRAPH 23

Strategies for coping with poverty (what people do when they starve?)



⁷⁴ The data shown in the graph illustrate the “household survey” format of the questionnaire that generated them. Respondents were asked *Were there periods during the last year when your family did not have enough to eat?*, and *How many children live in the household?*. Based on responses to these two questions (showing the number of children living in households with different levels of undernourishment, and the number of children living in households covered by the survey), the overall share of children living in households facing various levels of starvation risk was estimated.

⁷⁵ Reproductive health programs are increasingly seen as intrinsic element of sustainable poverty reduction strategies: “Reproductive health programs address unmet needs for family planning, relieving the poor of the burden of unwanted pregnancies and large families; they provide much-needed information and services to promote sexual health and responsible behaviour among adolescents and young people; and they promote gender equity and women’s empowerment, necessary conditions for the success of reproductive health interventions. In so doing, these programs contribute directly to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of the United Nations” - UNFPA 2002: 7.

⁷⁶ Data also proves the correlation between high birth rates and infant mortality rates. The latest issue of the UNFPA report (*State of World Population 2002 – People, Poverty and Possibilities*) explicitly highlights the link between family size and development opportunities of children: “Larger families drain poor people’s capacity to provide for children. Whatever economies of scale they provide – sharing living space or handing down clothes, for example – are outweighed by increasing expenditures and competition for scarce resources... There is a higher risk of malnutrition associated with birth intervals of less than two years in households with little property. Losses to health and education are considerable.” UNFPA 2002b: 23.

frequency of its application is more or less similar in all five countries.

This strategy is paradoxical, in a number of respects. First, it is likely that the neighbours of those borrowing are also poor, and could face similar financial difficulties. Second, lending to desperately poor people is definitely a financially risky operation. Even when the desperately poor live in the same community as well-off Roma, as is often the case, other survey questions show that the wealthier Roma are rarely among those people upon whom poor Roma can rely for assistance. In response to the question, *On whom can Roma in your country rely for support?*, the 'well-off or rich Roma individuals' option receives the lowest support.

Family planning is of crucial importance for sustainable poverty reduction and the "de-ghettoization" of Roma communities

Reliance on loans is nonetheless apparent in responses to questions about the sources of household incomes: loans are described as a source of income by 14 percent of the UNDP/ILO survey respondents in Bulgaria, and by 27 percent in Romania.

The high support for 'borrowing money from neighbours' option most probably reveals the scale of informal money-lenders—a documented problem in at least two countries – Bulgaria and Slovak Republic.⁷⁷ Moneylenders at times act as criminal organizations and are a major factor encouraging criminality in Roma communities. Not having access to other financial opportunities, Roma borrow at monthly interest rates of 100 percent or more, and repay these loans under death threats. In this way, significant shares of Roma communities can become totally dependent on local usurers. Facing the real threat to the lives of family members, people will do everything possible to pay back the money. The negligible development opportunities facing many Roma mean that criminal activities can be the only feasible way to avoid the usurers' revenge. Many cases of murder reported in Roma communities are unofficially explained as resulting from

failure to pay back such debts. Some local Roma leaders prefer to attribute these to racist groups and assaults against Roma. Providing lending opportunities linked to sustainable, legitimate, income-generation activities will reduce the economic underpinning of a significant part of Roma criminality. It is not a coincidence that local money-lenders in many communities are among the most vigorous opponents of microlending schemes.

Main conclusions of Chapter 4

The survey results supported most of the initial hypotheses regarding household incomes. Roma poverty levels are broadly comparable in all five countries, regardless of the economic differences between them. Substantial numbers of Roma children face starvation on a frequent basis even in the wealthiest of these economies, which negatively affects their health status and educational prospects. The values of UNDP's HDI estimated for Roma communities are well below the HDI levels for majority populations, and are similar to those of developing countries. National poverty lines, rather than universal poverty thresholds, should form the basis of poverty-alleviation policies.

The survey results also point to a dangerous trend in the form of growing marginalization of Roma communities and extensive dependence on state transfers. The data also show that Roma poverty is more pronounced in rural areas. The fact that the incidence of poverty and child malnutrition is larger in villages suggests that rural Roma are "double losers." They do not have access either to the social safety nets that are available in big cities or to the land and working capital needed to engage in subsistence agriculture. This suggests that special schemes should be designed to increase the access of rural Roma households to agricultural production resources, as part of a sustainable solution to nutrition problems.

⁷⁷ See for example the country reports for Bulgaria submitted within the research project "Poverty and Social Structure in Transitional Societies" directed by Ivan Szelenyi, available at www.yale.edu/ccr. Another recent documented example was the so called "Zrankovi case" in Vidin, Bulgaria, where the local Roma community revolted against the money-lenders clan in July 2002, evicting them from their houses. The inhabitants of the "Nov pat" Roma neighbourhood in Vidin filed 21 complaints against the Zrankov clan, complaining mostly about money-lending, torture, and racketeering. 63 members of the Zrankovs family have been settled in various locations around the country but have been evicted by the locals not wanting to host them. For more details see: http://www.the-balkans.net/22_e.html.

Poverty has another dimension that should be taken into consideration. Vast segments of majority populations in all five countries were impoverished during the first phase of transition, but nonetheless retain “memories” of their previous social status. Members of this “impoverished new poor,” while incomparably better off than poor Roma in absolute terms, may feel much worse off relative to their lost previous status. As such, they may perceive Roma-targeted development programs as initiatives conducted at their expense and may support measures that perpetuate the social exclusion of Roma communities.

The survey data suggest that moneylenders in Roma communities may be a major obstacle to creating sustainable survival strategies. Money-lenders are undermining development efforts undertaken by many donors (such as micro-lending projects) and can be at the core of organized crime schemes.

The UNDP/ILO survey provides interesting data regarding two aspects of the MDGs: poverty, and access to safe drinking water. The results for Roma diverge sharply from national averages, suggesting that data and analysis of MDGs should be disaggregated to sub-national levels. The results also question the relevance of

international poverty lines (both the PPP\$1 and PPP\$4 per day) for analysing Roma poverty. If measures of Roma poverty are to be relevant and policy-oriented, they should reflect national-based measurements of poverty.

Access to social assistance is an important aspect of Roma survival strategies. From the perspective of majority populations, social policy vis-à-vis the Roma may be perceived as asymmetrical, in that social security benefits paid to Roma recipients can dramatically exceed their contributions to social security funds. Group reliance on social welfare may be perceived as “free-riding” and thereby provide economic arguments that can be used to support ethnic intolerance and social exclusion. Social welfare systems in the region should be redesigned so as to ensure that social assistance does not reduce social aspirations (especially among the young), and is linked to efforts to increase individual human capital and productivity.

If social welfare systems are to decrease (rather than increase) dependency cultures, they should be based on the principle of “positive net benefits for positive net efforts.” Social welfare systems should provide incentives (and not disincentives) for the adoption of pro-active life strategies.

Money-lenders appear to be a major impetus for criminality in Roma communities

Education

In all the countries in which the regional UNDP/ILO survey was conducted, Roma education levels are dramatically low.⁷⁸ Roma populations are generally characterized by 'primary' and 'incomplete primary' education profiles; only 7 percent of respondents completed secondary or post-secondary schooling (Graph 24). Because education is directly correlated with labour market skills, inadequate education is a major factor behind Roma workers' decreasing competitiveness.

For this reason, the cause of limited access to education was among the major issues investigated by the survey. To what extent is this exclusion poverty-related and to what extent is it a result of explicit discrimination?

Another important topic of this issue was the role of Roma language as an educational tool.⁷⁹ Can it be used to improve the educational levels of Roma? Finally, the survey aimed to shed more light on possible solutions for providing Roma children the access to education desired by their parents. Do they prefer integrated education or do they expect some special forms/framework of support?

Impediments to education

Poverty, early marriages and births, the collapse of centralized educational and socialization opportunities in the 1990s, the isolation of Roma communities, the growing role of ethnicity in educational institutions: all these issues can limit Roma access to education, and were directly addressed in UNDP/ILO regional survey.

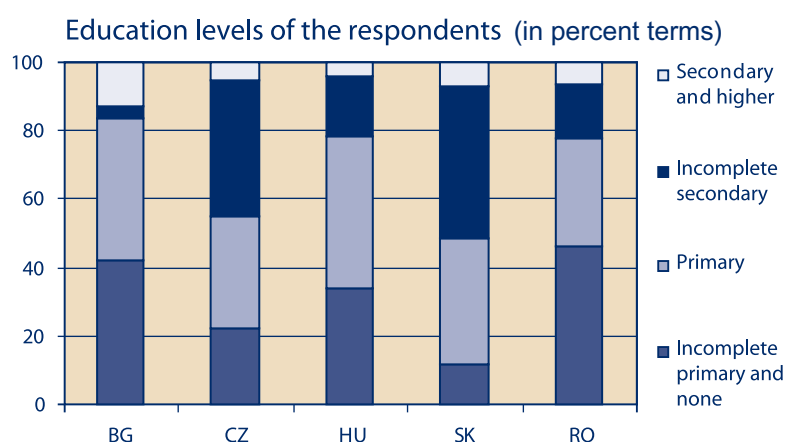
The data produced by this survey indicate that poverty is a major impediment to education

and makes desegregation of education (even when political will exists) more difficult. In most poor families, Roma parents cannot afford to provide their children with some of the most basic items necessary for school, such as clothes and books.⁸⁰ Smaller state subsidies for education have reduced educational opportunities for Roma and other marginalized communities. There is a clear danger that short-term savings to the state budget may be offset by the long-term social welfare costs of supporting an uneducated and unemployable work force.

Poverty also means that Roma children often go to school hungry, which makes learning very difficult. Weak command of majority languages can make it hard for Roma children to understand what they are being taught. The miserable conditions in which many Roma children live can prevent them from preparing homework assignments.

Poverty is a major impediment to the education of Roma children

GRAPH 24



⁷⁸ The UNDP/ILO survey generated data on the educational profiles of Roma respondents over 16 years of age. These profiles, not surprisingly, differ from educational statistics produced by Education Ministries, which register current enrollment rates at different educational levels.

⁷⁹ Home language of Roma (when different from the majority language).

⁸⁰ In Bulgaria, for example, the cost of a textbook for a child attending first grade is almost 40 € (compared to an average monthly wage of 135 € for the first quarter of 2002—see <http://www.nsi.bg/statistika/Statistics.htm>). One of the pre-electoral promises of the Hungarian Socialist Party (which won the 2002 parliamentary elections) was to abolish payment for textbooks in all primary and secondary schools. Implementation of the new free textbook policy started already from academic year 2002/2003. Similar changes have been suggested by the Ministry of Education and Science in Bulgaria, and may be implemented during the next academic year.

The opportunity costs of sending children to school rise in households with falling incomes

The parents, who are often poorly educated themselves, are unable to help them in this regard. Finally, Roma children are frequently involved in income generating activities or care for younger siblings.

These factors have led to increasing numbers of Roma children dropping out of school in CEE countries. Roma children are heavily over-represented among school-age children who do not attend school. In Bulgaria, Roma dropouts are estimated at between 22,000 and 66,000. Data from a representative survey conducted for the needs of the Social Assessment of childcare in Bulgaria show that 8 percent of surveyed households have a school-aged child or children not attending school. The highest dropout rate is among Roma (32 percent), followed by Bulgarians (8 percent) and Turks (6 percent).⁸¹ Field research conducted by the Institute for Minority Studies in Bulgaria shows that, out of 100 Roma children entering school, only five (three boys and two girls) have the opportunity to pursue a secondary education, and of these, only one has a chance to receive a higher education.⁸² To make matters worse, the rejection of majority cultural values that is apparent in some Roma ghettos and isolated villages in Bulgaria can mean the rejection of education as well.

Drop-out rates in other countries are not substantially different. In Hungary, more than 90 percent of children start secondary education, but only 33 percent of Roma youth do. The dropout rate is particularly high between the primary and secondary school levels, with only around 4-5 percent of Roma youth completing the latter.⁸³ In Romania (according to the 1992 national census data), 27 percent of Roma boys and 35 percent of girls do not complete primary school. In Slovak Republic, the dropout rate of Roma children in the first grade rose from 46 percent in 1976 to 63 percent by 1999.⁸⁴

The UNDP/ILO survey addressed school non-attendance by including two yes/no questions that investigated possible causes of school

non-attendance. The poverty dimension, which was reflected in the 'Lack of decent clothes' option, was most pronounced in Bulgaria (29 percent for boys and 25 percent for girls) and Romania (52 percent and 48 percent, respectively). 'Helping raise the younger children' was an important reason for girls (as high as 18 percent in Romania). 28 percent of respondents in Hungary and 17 percent in Bulgaria selected the 'She gave birth' option—another frequent reason for Roma girls to drop out of school.⁸⁵ The 'I would not stop my children from going to school' option was selected most frequently in the Czech Republic (55 percent for boys and girls) and in Slovak Republic (72 percent for boys, 67 percent for girls). In the Slovak case, this may be partially due to better enforcement of rules linking payment of social assistance to children's school attendance.

The picture generated by the UNDP/ILO survey data and other relevant studies is multifaceted, but it has a common denominator: poverty. This makes the disaggregation and monitoring of the MDGs in Roma communities particularly relevant. As many researchers point out, the opportunity costs of sending children to school rise in households with falling incomes.⁸⁶ But poverty may not be the only cause of low levels of Roma education attendance. Oral learning traditions, perhaps due to the historical lack of codified Roma languages, may also play a role. This may produce different attitudes toward books, learning, and knowledge acquired from books. It may be that this pattern of knowledge acquisition has become identified with *Gadje* culture as something alien that is promoted by the official education system.⁸⁷

The "Roma schools"

The type of school and general quality of educational services are major determinants of access to quality education. The issue is not related solely to educational infrastructure (type of facilities, school supplies, etc.). It also relates to the education system's

⁸¹ Mihailov 2000.

⁸² IMIR archives.

⁸³ CoE 2000c: 5.

⁸⁴ Data on Romania cited from Save the Children 2001a: 323. Data on Slovak Republic cited from Save the Children 2001b: 185.

⁸⁵ The significance of early marriages as a factor for dropping out of school was outlined in a study on communications channels in Roma communities conducted by UNDP in Bulgaria. Respondents under 18 years of age indicated that early marriages were more of a reason for dropping out of school than was intolerance demonstrated by teachers (89 percent vs. 77 percent). See UNDP Bulgaria 2001b: 20.

⁸⁶ See Ringold, 2000: 25; Tomova, 2000: 34.

⁸⁷ See PER 1992: 17. On the traditional Roma socialization process and the attendant problems in Roma relationships with surrounding societies, see Marushiakova and Popov 1997.

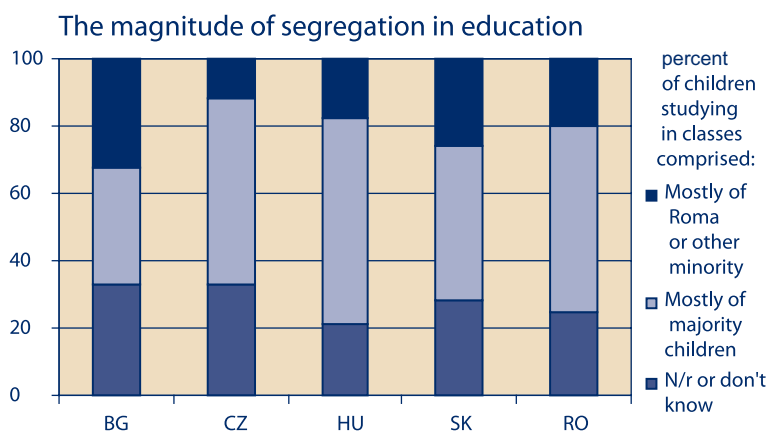
responsiveness to the individual needs of children, in this case, Roma children.

The UNDP/ILO survey approached this issue by including such indirect questions as, *What is the ethnic affiliation of the majority of the children in the class your children attend?* The responses summarized in Graph 25 provide information about the most common types of schools. Most Roma children—51 percent on average for the region, ranging from 62 percent in Hungary to 35 percent in Bulgaria—seem to study with children from the ethnic majority. 19 percent of respondents explicitly indicated that ‘most of [my child’s schoolmates] are Roma’ (ranging from 27 percent in Bulgaria to 12 percent in the Czech Republic).

The relatively large number of ‘do not know’ responses raises doubts about the extent to which the picture outlined above is correct. If the ‘no response’ options are distributed equally across the options for children attending majority and minority (segregated) classes, then the share of children attending segregated (minority) classes rises from 27 percent to 49 percent in Bulgaria, from 12 percent to 28 percent in the Czech Republic, from 14 percent to 32 percent in Romania, from 24 percent to 40 percent in Slovak Republic, and from 17 percent to 28 percent in Hungary. The incidence of ‘Roma dominated classes’ is also higher in rural than in urban areas.

“Roma schools,” where Roma children study predominantly with other Roma children, come in two main types: schools, which are made up predominantly by Roma children, and majority schools with separate classes for Roma. In Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic, these are formally integrated schools with *de facto* ethnic segregation. In most of the CEE countries, “Roma schools” emerged as an objective result of the socialist regimes’ attempts to “solve the Roma problem.” Roma, like the rest of the population were attached to the regions where they had (or had been) settled; address registration was obligatory, and residence permits were granted according to place of birth or employment. Since many Roma communities live in compact neighbourhoods, Roma children are likely to be over-represented in local schools.

GRAPH 25



The psychological and economic constraints that Roma families have continued to face have generally meant that educational standards in these schools have progressively deteriorated. Many have turned into “special schools,” officially called “schools for children from disadvantaged families” (or variations on that theme). In Bulgaria, population concentration in Roma neighbourhoods had a decisive influence on the development of segregated Roma schools. In Hungary, Slovak Republic, and the Czech Republic, Roma children were explicitly channeled into schools with “special” curricula (different from institutions for children with disabilities described below).

Schools for mentally retarded children and orphanages can be a third type of “Roma school.” In all CEE countries Roma children outnumber non-Roma in schools for mentally retarded children, and in most cases there are no good health-related grounds for this. The magnitude of the phenomenon is different in different countries, but in all of them, Roma children are over-represented in special schools and underrepresented in mainstream education. In Bulgaria in 1997, there were 299 special schools of various types attended by 27,148 children. More than a third of those attending schools for children with learning disabilities were Roma.⁸⁸ In Slovak Republic, there are approximately 380 special schools for mentally and physically disabled children attended by roughly 31,000 students. A majority of Roma students from segregated villages in Slovak Republic attend such schools.⁸⁹ According to Czech government data, “approximately three-fourths of Roma

Roma children outnumber non-Roma in schools for mentally retarded children with no good health-related grounds for this

⁸⁸ Save the Children 2000a: 96.

⁸⁹ World Bank, S.P.A.C.E. Foundation, INEKO, OSI. 2002: 38.

Special schools have clear financial incentives to keep their children-clientele

children attend special schools for children with light mental defects, and more than 50 percent (estimations are again close to three-fourths) of all pupils attending special schools are Roma children.⁹⁰ A 1997 survey indicated that 63 percent of Roma children of primary school age were attending special schools, compared to 4 percent for the total population in the Czech Republic.⁹¹ In Romania, according to official data there are 246 special schools, and the number of children with disabilities registered in those schools was 48,237.⁹² In Hungary, Roma children in special schools rose from 26 percent of total enrollment in these schools in 1974-1975 to 43 percent in 1992-1993. Other research suggests that there are regions of Hungary in which up to 90 percent of special school pupils are Roma.⁹³

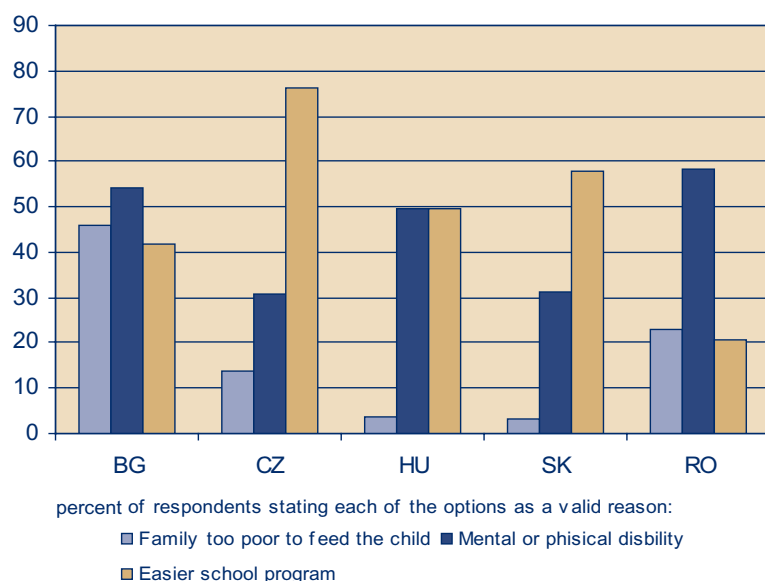
This picture is indirectly supported by the data from the UNDP/ILO survey. When asked, *Do you have in your family a child in a special school (with mental problems or lagging behind in their development)?*, on average 14 percent of the

households responded affirmatively. The highest incidence was recorded in the Czech Republic (27 percent), Slovak Republic (19 percent), and Hungary (17 percent). In all three cases the reason given for placing the child in such a school was 'the program there is easier.' (This explanation was given by 76 percent of respondents in the Czech Republic with children in such institutions.) In addition to the 'easier program' explanation, a number of poverty-related factors seem to lie behind the prevalence of Roma children in these schools. These include learning disabilities linked to such problems as high morbidity rates, poor health awareness, and early births. Data from the regional UNDP/ILO survey summarized in Graph 26 confirm this. The current situation calls for the adoption of decisive policies to halt the placement of Roma children in "special schools" or "special classes" for the mentally handicapped, and for the development and implementation of national action plans to transfer children currently placed in such institutions—especially those without mental disabilities—into the mainstream educational system. Even though such strategies often exist at the national level, their implementation is sluggish.⁹⁴

The expansion of "Roma schools" is both an outcome of the last decade's transition process and an illustration of its complexity. The inadequacies of the previous educational system—which was designed to operate in an ideologically uniform environment and was relatively intolerant of diversity—are one aspect of this complexity. These inadequacies remain pronounced in educational administration, particularly in the lack of capacity for dealing with diversity and implementing principles of integrated education. Moreover, special schools have clear financial incentives to keep their children-clientele. As long as the finances of such schools (i.e., staff employment and salaries) depend on the number of children enrolled, segregated schools will continue to exist.⁹⁵

GRAPH 26

Reasons for placing children in special schools



⁹⁰ OSCE 2000: 77.

⁹¹ ERRC 1999: 23.

⁹² Save the Children 2001a: 325. The source does not mention explicitly the year for which the figures are related, but it was most likely the academic year 1999-2000.

⁹³ Save the Children 2001b: 123.

⁹⁴ For example, in Bulgaria, a Framework Program for Equal Integration of Roma in Bulgarian Society has existed since 1999, but it was only in 2002 that the Ministry of Education and Science adopted explicit, practical directives that were to become effective in the 2002-2003 academic year. The directives provide practical and realistic approaches to many of the problems the Roma minority is facing. See Bulgarian Ministry of Education, 2002: 151-158.

⁹⁵ The practice of special schools administrators lobbying Roma parents of pre-school children to persuade them to send their children to special school has been described in the Czech Republic. See Save the Children 2001b: 43.

The withdrawal of the state from key social policy areas (partially due to budget constraints, partially for ideological reasons) also contributed to the expansion of “Roma schools.” While entire education systems have been hit by financial pressures, “Roma schools” have been hit the hardest. As the costs of providing education services started to move from the state to family budgets, parents (through parents’ committees or other channels) have had to contribute more and more resources for educational purposes. This indirect “local taxation” resulted in the emerging cleavages in society within the educational system. To put it simply, the children of poorer parents started getting poorer education. With their parents over-represented among the poor stratum, Roma children are over-represented among the children receiving poorest education. Not surprisingly, educational opportunities for Roma children have declined further.⁹⁶

The emergence of “Roma schools” also reflects fears and prejudices of those parents from majority communities with the financial means to attempt to escape from pockets of poverty and ghetto cultures. The domination of a certain school by children from a marginalized community can automatically trigger negative selection mechanisms,⁹⁷ similar to the expansion of the “rolling ghetto” in the United States. From this perspective, limited access to education is due not just to political, legal, or physical constraints: it is also associated with perceptions of minority groups as inferior, and with attributed characteristics that majorities (or representatives of minorities seeking to escape marginalization) wish to avoid.

Long-term solutions to these problems must rely on encouraging the adoption of attitudes and life strategies among Roma families that value education as an asset. Current levels of marginalization in many Roma communities are not conducive to families playing the role of “educational agents.” Families living in Roma ghettos are often

Box 11. Alternative schools in Hungary: Variety of options with a common objective

Many approaches to Roma education have been tested in Hungary. For various reasons, most of them proved unsuccessful. At the beginning of the 1990s a new approach was articulated by committed educators to creating alternative schools and other forms of education for Roma children, to compensate for the community’s educational disadvantage. A special Roma kindergarten was established by a foundation in the Csepel district of Budapest; a foundation of the teachers of a school for mentally retarded children in Edelény city created a “Labour School”; the *Gandhi Public Foundation Grammar School* was established for the 12-18 age group in Pécs; and the *Kedves House* was formed in Nyírtelek (Eastern Hungary) for elementary school children. Successful vocational training programs were also established. These include the *Roma Chance Alternative Vocational School* in Szolnok, and the *Kalyi Jag Minority Vocational School*. Alternative schools also provide special services for Roma children: the *Don Bosco Primary and Vocational School* in Kazincbarcika, the *Rainbow School* in Martfű and the *Burattino School and Care Center* in Budapest are the best-known examples of this.

In addition to special schools and classes, Roma students can also be supported by supplementary after school activities. *Collegium Martineum* in Mánfa was the first of this kind of establishment providing educational support to Roma secondary school students in the vicinity of Pécs. The *Józsefváros Day School* in Budapest is a similar institution. The *Weekend College* in Nagykanizsa, in the Roma Community house, offers weekend tuition for Roma children from neighbouring villages. *Romaversitas*—an “invisible college” for Roma university students—offers mentoring and tutoring in Budapest. The *Rabindranath Tagore Foundation School* in Ózd, established by a Roma painter, offers additional art classes. This school tries to provide mainstream knowledge without depriving Roma children of their ethno-cultural identity. Roma culture and language courses are included in the curriculum, and Roma art is something to be proud of in most of these schools. The Roma parent is not a burden, but is instead welcome in the school, and made part of the school life.

Despite the diversity of their approach, founders, and methodology, these schools have something in common: they provide opportunities to Roma children that offset at least some of the weaknesses of the mainstream educational system. These institutions demonstrate the variety of possible approaches, and show that sensitivity, tolerance, and respect for diversity are prerequisites for success.

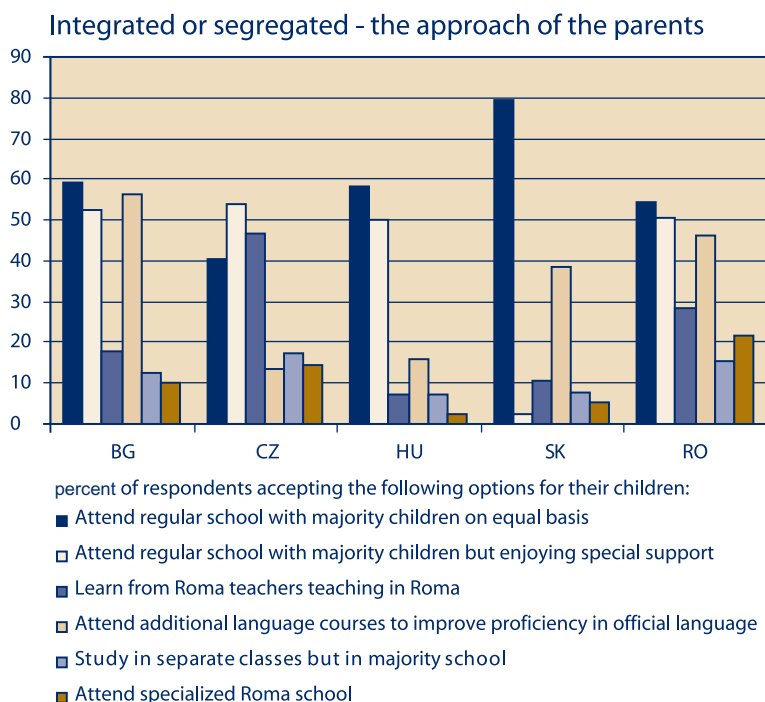
The results are promising, as ever-increasing numbers of pupils enjoy the advantages of alternative schooling. But these schools have not reached the critical mass needed to change the mainstream education in Hungary. Scaling up is what needs to be done next. All these institutions are NGOs, and only a few receive significant support from the state. None can easily plan for the coming years. The state is rather reluctant to view them as workshops to find adequate ways of teaching Roma children. These schools do show, however, that financial support for such institutions is a good long-term investment in Hungary’s Roma children.

Box prepared by Anna Csongor, based on: *Alternative Schools and Roma Education: A Review of Alternative Secondary School Models for the Education of Roma Children in Hungary*. World Bank regional office Hungary. NGO Studies No.3; McDonald Christina et al. 2001. *The Roma Education Resource Book*. Budapest: OSI; Ferenc Babusik et al. 2002. *A romák esélyei Magyarországon*. Budapest: Delphoi Consulting. For more information visit www.romacentrum.hu and www.romapage.hu

⁹⁶ Economic hardship is increasingly causing Roma parents to place their children in institutions outside of the home. As was recently outlined in a study on the educational opportunities of Roma children in Europe: “economic crisis... has led to a growing number of parents temporarily leaving their kids in homes for children and youth, whilst maintaining parental rights. Others have sent normal and healthy children to schools for children with learning disabilities where they are at least provided with meals” (Save the Children 2001a: 97-98). Similarly poverty-related economic motives for placing children in special schools have been described in the Czech Republic (Save the Children 2001b: 42-43). On the relationship between poverty and access to education, see also Vandycke, 2001, UNICEF 1998, and section 5 of Micklewright 2000.

⁹⁷ This “negative selection” pattern is not unique for Eastern Europe. In his testimony before the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Nicolae Gheorghe →

GRAPH 27



The real problem is not the type of school or the institutional setting, but the degree to which the solutions pursued actually help “reduce the ghetto”

unable to engage with education institutions in a satisfactory manner. Once a certain level of marginalization takes hold, several very difficult problems emerge: determining which short-term steps to take when the long-term goal is to help people out of the ghetto; minimizing the current impact of ghetto culture on the children and halting reproduction of the ghetto mentality in the next generations. Different countries have adopted different approaches (all more or less assimilative) to these problems at various times. Although the record is mixed in this regard, it is clear that the real problem is not the type of school or the institutional setting (specialized for Roma or formally integrated), but the degree to which the solutions pursued actually help “reduce the ghetto.” Integrated schools in this regard are one of the possible approaches; they may be more or less effective, depending on the specific conditions and the substantive contents

(as opposed to the formal structure) of the specific measures chosen.⁹⁸

Possible approaches

How do the Roma themselves view their children’s possible inclusion in the educational systems? Asked, *What would be the best way to provide your children with access to education equal to what the children from the majority have?*, (Graph 27) most of the respondents demonstrate an extremely reasonable approach. Roma believe that the only sustainable way to provide their children with equal access to education is by encouraging integration, rather than by segregating them from the majority.

The option receiving the strongest support—‘attending school with majority children without special support, on an equal basis with the other children’—was selected by 59 percent of the participants in the UNDP/ILO survey. Providing ‘additional language courses in the official language’ was most widely suggested in Bulgaria and Romania, where insufficient language proficiency is a major barrier for Roma children, at times disqualifying them from primary school enrollment. These responses show that Roma parents know that poor knowledge of majority (official) languages is a major obstacle to their children’s education.

The argument that Roma children’s access to quality education can be improved by teaching at least some subjects in Roma languages reflects the assumption that these languages are widely known and used by these children. Even assuming that differences between various Roma dialects are negligible, data on the issue are uncertain. Data from the UNDP/ILO survey show that, on average, only 54 percent of the respondents state they use Roma at home, with the highest incidence in Bulgaria (see Graph 28). Bilingual education strategies may not be appropriate.

→ (OSI Contact Point for Roma and Sinti) points out that similar patterns are now apparent in France, whereby French parents are withdrawing their children from Roma-dominated schools. See “Old Problems, New Possibilities—Barriers to Roma Education,” Hearing before the Commission on Security and Cooperation on Europe (Helsinki Commission), <http://www.csce.gov/official.cfm>. The Report on the situation of Roma and Sinti in the OSCE area admits the same problem: gains in Roma enrollment in regular public schools are “offset by the reaction of non-Romany parents removing their children from schools that, in their view, have too many Romany children” (OSCE 2000: 69).

⁹⁸ This conclusion follows the line of argument suggested by Jean-Pierre Liégeois: “Gypsy classes integrated into the school system may, like other type of structures, exist for the better or for the worse. They can be a bridge, a transition, but can also be a prison.” See Liégeois 1994: 215.

Roma language is definitely one of the parameters of the “educational environment” of Roma children, but it does not seem to be a primary factor. Language duality can be both an asset and a segregating factor; large numbers of people in Europe are bilingual or multilingual. In this context it is important to distinguish between “language of study” and “language of instruction.” Bilingualism can only be an asset if it goes hand in hand with proficiency in the official language, as a second language in addition to, not in place of, the official one. If Roma language is perceived as a substitute rather than as a supplement to majority language proficiency, it will reduce educational and employment opportunities and will promote further isolation, and subsequent ghettoization, of the community.⁹⁹

Excessive emphasis on Roma-language instruction could also promote exclusionary behaviour among majority populations. The results of a 1994 survey conducted in Slovak Republic indicate that the proposition that Roma children should be able to be educated in their native language is not popular among the majority population (only 39 percent of respondents agreed with this proposition, while 53 percent disagreed). Even fewer respondents favoured broadcasting television and radio programs in Roma, as a way of raising the educational and cultural standard of the Roma. (34 percent of the respondents agreed with this, and 53 percent opposed it.)

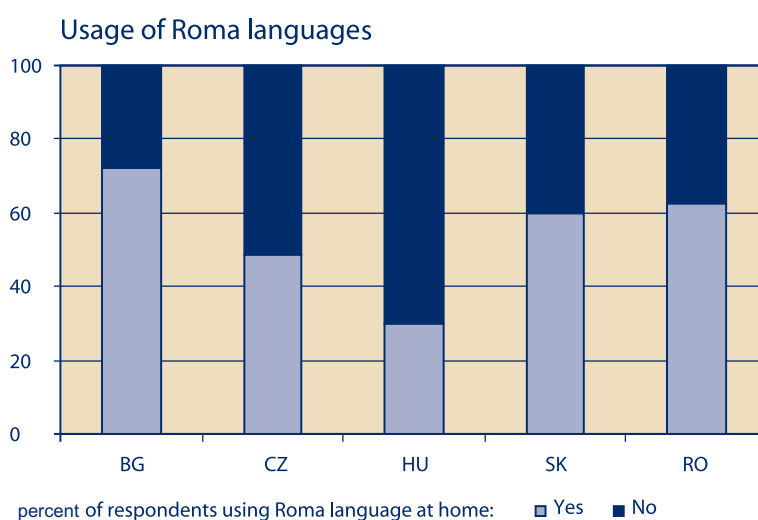
These data underscore the fact that bilingualism is likely, at best, to be a mixed blessing. The easier exchange of cultural codes in the schools may instead be more important. Here, Roma teaching assistants could play an important role, not as “linguistic translators” but as “cultural intermediaries.” This issue should also be approached from a long-term perspective: larger numbers of “ordinary” teachers teaching in “ordinary” majority schools and classes should be employed from Roma groups. Employing Roma teachers who teach majority and minority children together seem to be the

most sustainable and integration-oriented solution.

On the other hand, Roma language can play a crucial role in preserving and developing Roma cultural heritage. Culture, in its broadest sense, could be one of the effective responses to the challenges of the ghetto. The issue here is the presence of positive models or scenarios—based on well-educated, successful Roma, underscoring the fact that the opportunity costs of investment in education and culture are not negligible. This is possible only if Roma parents themselves become convinced that education matters for their children. Unfortunately, real-life experiences continue to provide counter examples, in the form of unemployed workers who are both skilled and educated. The high unemployment rates in the CEE countries (except for Hungary) send the message that education does not really matter. In the current economic environment, higher education is not a guarantee against unemployment.¹⁰⁰ From this point of view, it is necessary, first, to distinguish (and explicitly communicate) the difference between possessing high educational levels and adequate skill sets for a market economy. Second, even if education does not provide

Bilingualism can only be an asset if it goes hand in hand with proficiency in the official language

GRAPH 28



⁹⁹ On the cost of the simplistic approach to the issue of education access and Roma language see Gheorghe 1997: 32.

¹⁰⁰ Results of the International Social Survey Program conducted in 1999 prove the correlation between advance of economic reforms (and in broader terms – inclusion in economic transformation) and the perception of education as an asset. While as many as 75 percent of respondents in Bulgaria, where reforms were delayed, strongly disagree with the statement “In your country people get rewarded for intelligence and skills,” 17 percent in the Czech Republic and 12 percent in Hungary held that view. Suhrcke 2001: 35.

Box 12. “Balancing steps in education” in the Czech Republic

The “Balancing Steps in Education” approach to improving educational access for Roma in the Czech Republic involves many actors. At the central government level, the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Physical Education works with the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (which is responsible for human rights), and with the Council for Roma Community Affairs. The Education Ministry develops methods for establishing preparatory classes for Roma students. It also manages and finances the preparation of teacher’s assistants. County councils, municipalities, and NGOs implement “balancing steps” at the local level. They are involved in the preparation of preparatory classes and also support the teacher’s assistants.

The preparatory classes and educator-teachers assistants scheme was introduced on a pilot basis from September 1, 1997 to June 6, 2000. An evaluation of the program during this time concluded that “Balancing steps” could serve as a suitable tool for eliminating educational problems of children from disadvantaged environments. During the 2000-2001 school year, preparatory classes were held in 63 primary schools, 40 special schools, and 7 kindergartens. As of December 31, 2001, there were 230 teaching assistants in schools and other educational institutions. Despite this, there are still entire districts with large Roma communities that do not have either preparatory class or educator-teachers assistants.

Schools with “all-day programs” are another locally implemented approach to improving educational access for Roma children. This project has been carried out in five selected schools using several pilot programs. Based on the analysis of this experience a more comprehensive pilot will be developed and suggested for broader implementation.

A third locally implemented program focuses on multicultural education and teaching tolerance. This program concerns teachers, pupils and ordinary citizens, and features the participation of numerous NGOs.

Box prepared by Tomas Sirovatka based on *Koncepcie politiky vlady vuci prislusnikum romske komunity, napomahajici jejich integraci do spolecnosti* (Conception of the government towards the members of Roma community enabling their integration into society). Praha: Vlada Ceske Republiky; 2000.

immediate employment opportunities, it still matters in the long run: remaining in the education system helps children to accumulate social capital, opening the way for further social integration.

The importance of pre-school education

Pre-school education is usually the critical point at which limitations on access to education begin. If children do not develop adequate majority language proficiency at

that age, they will most probably lag behind in primary school and end up in a “Roma school” or a “Roma class.” As mentioned above, the state’s declining role in education systems has affected all schools, but the shock was particularly pronounced for pre-school institutions. Many pre-schools in the socialist era were attached to and subsidized by SOEs. These subsidies usually ended with the privatisation or liquidation of SOEs, and were generally not offset by adequate funding from central government or other sources. In most cases kindergartens were assigned to municipalities, which were generally in dire financial straits.¹⁰¹ As a result, decreasing numbers of children (from minorities in particular) participate in pre-school programs: their parents simply cannot afford the additional costs. In Romania, for example, data from a 1998 survey showed that only 17 percent of Roma children between three and six years of age participated in pre-school activities, compared to 60 percent for the population as a whole.¹⁰² In Hungary, although nursery school attendance is compulsory from the age of five, around 11 percent of Roma of the same age do not attend.¹⁰³ In Slovak Republic, 85 percent to 90 percent of Roma children attended kindergarten until 1991, but in the 1990s attendance fell dramatically, mainly due to economic reasons.¹⁰⁴

Reinvigorating pre-school education systems, with additional majority language courses/activities for Roma children, is key to changing this situation. If Roma children are not included in the educational system from the very beginning, they most probably will be doomed to fall into the spiral of poverty, unemployment, and marginalization. This inclusion can be achieved through enrollment in so-called preparatory or zero classes for pre-school children. This should be a government priority, and should receive the necessary financial support. It should be made obligatory for all families. Pre-school is also the phase at which integration into mainstream education systems should begin. Experience shows that Roma children attending integrated pre-schools have much better chances to continue their education in an integrated environment than those

¹⁰¹ See UNICEF 1998 and section 4 of Micklewright 2000.

¹⁰² Save the Children 2001a: 323.

¹⁰³ Save the Children 2001b: 122.

¹⁰⁴ Between 1988 and 1995, the total number of children attending kindergartens in Slovak Republic dropped from 166,852 to just 1,181 (Save the Children 2001b: 181).

who have their first contact with the system later.¹⁰⁵

Hence the issue of poor access to educational opportunities for Roma children, like the issue of equal access to the labour market, is much more complex and multi-dimensional than it is often perceived to be. The question is not just about deprivation and discrimination. These problems exist, but they are often outcomes of complex webs of systemic causalities, including objective demographic and geographical factors. If these issues are not considered in their full complexities, the policies adopted are unlikely to be effective.

Limited access to education also reflects a problematic dialogue between Roma communities and the education system. Roma are expected to conform to the logic and rules of the system and the local level (represented by teachers and school principals) in what is often a one-way process. Centralized, unresponsive education systems rarely ask questions like: “What are the specific problems behind an individual Roma child’s failure to attend school?” or “Does s/he have at least a table on which to do homework?” and “Is it hunger that makes it hard for a Roma child to pay attention in school?” There is a myriad of similar questions that need to be (and most often are not) asked by the education system, in order to fully understand why Roma children do not attend school or drop out. It is only on the basis of such an understanding that barriers to participation in education can be removed.¹⁰⁶

Main conclusions of Chapter 5

Data from the UNDP/ILO survey support most of the initial hypotheses, with the exception of the wide usage of Roma languages. The results suggest that there are *systemic* reasons for exclusion in education—namely poverty and the perpetuation of the *ghetto culture*. Discrimination is often an effect rather than a cause, and unless the systemic causes are dealt with, Roma children will continue to have negligible educational

Box 13. Bulgaria: Focus on pre-school increases integration opportunities

Poor knowledge of majority languages, as well as social differences between school and their local communities, are major barriers to Roma children’s failure to attend school. Pre-school attendance can help to bridge these social differences. But for various reasons Roma children rarely attend pre-schools, dramatically diminishing their educational opportunities from outset. The logical conclusion is that pre-school for Roma children should be given special attention.

Several years were necessary for this apparently obvious idea to gain momentum and support from the Bulgarian government. In the middle of the 1990s in Stolipinovo neighbourhood in Plovdiv (one of the largest Roma neighbourhoods, part of which is essentially a ghetto) the first summer pre-school courses for bilingual children were organized by a local Roma NGO. Each pre-school group had a professional teacher and an assistant teacher from the Roma community. The results were impressive. Within four months the children had acquired the necessary proficiency in the Bulgarian language and important knowledge of society “outside the neighbourhood.” When school began the Roma children were already well integrated with the rest of the children. Subsequent monitoring showed that the drop-out rate among these Roma children did not differ from the overall drop-out rate.

During the next few years the practice of focused pre-school education for Roma children spread in other cities with sizeable Roma minorities: Lom, Sliven, Montana, Vidin, Sofia. Local Roma NGOs, in close cooperation with local governments and school management, implemented the projects. In all cases the results were similar: Roma children started the first grade with the necessary knowledge and experience, as well as with higher self-esteem. The drop-out rate was negligible.

Based on the experience from these pilots, a specific component targeted at children from vulnerable groups was launched in 2001-2002 within the governmental project on “Improvement of children welfare reform in Bulgaria,” funded by the Japanese Social Development Fund. During summer 2002, 19 local NGOs organized pre-school trainings for 1335 children in Plovdiv, Stara Zagora, Sliven, Russe, Varna, and Shumen. All the children who participated in these trainings subsequently enrolled in first grade. Since their families could not afford to buy clothing and school supplies, they were provided by the project at a total cost of €250,000. A follow-up program is envisaged, with a target of helping over 2500 disadvantaged children complete pre-school education.

The project illustrates the specific roles that can be played by the NGO sector and the central government (both executive and legislature). It also underscores the importance of pre-school programs. The Bulgarian Parliament amended the Public Education Act in September 2002, making pre-school education obligatory and financed by the state budget. According to a directive issued by the Ministry of Education and Science regarding the integration of children from minorities effective academic year 2002-2003, the introduction of assistant teachers is to be a standard element of pre-school education for Roma children.

Box prepared by Rumyan Sechkov, based on data from the *Roma-Plovdiv Foundation*, the *Stolipinovo Coalition*, the *Roma-Lom Foundation*, and the *Self-Help Bureau*, Sliven.

¹⁰⁵ The Hungarian researcher Zita Réger drew the attention to the necessity of early integration of Roma children through intensive pre-school education as early as in 1970s. See Réger, Zita. “Gypsy Classes” and “Mixed Classes” – In View Of the Facts.” Fényes, Csaba et al., 1999.

¹⁰⁶ See UNDP Bulgaria 2001b: 23 as well as Annexes 2 (“Young Roma on Education”) and 3 (“NGO and Governmental Educational Institutions”).

opportunities. Poor families cannot provide children with clothes, books—the basic items necessary for school. These problems have been exacerbated by reductions in central subsidies for education, forcing parents to cover out-of-pocket school costs, specifically paying for textbooks. If education is to be a long-term priority, governments should reconsider the withdrawal of this support. Poverty also limits access to education by requiring that Roma children be engaged in income generating activities, or by helping to raise younger siblings.

Integrated education should be seen as the major effective means of achieving equal educational opportunities in the long run

Poor knowledge of majority languages is another potent constraint on access to education. Providing Roma children with additional opportunities to improve their command of the majority language is therefore a precondition for improving their access to education.

Roma-language instruction is not a substitute for good command of majority languages. Reliance on Roma languages as educational instruments may be ineffective and could even contribute to the further isolation of Roma communities. Bilingualism can be both an asset and a segregating factor.

Pre-school participation has strategic importance for educational opportunities. This is the level at which future exclusion from the education system is determined, and at which many subsequent problems can be avoided. If Roma children are included in the education system from the very beginning, they have better chances of avoiding the spiral of poverty, unemployment, and marginalization. Pre-school education also provides the best opportunities for further integration of Roma children in mainstream education.

Integrated education should be seen as the effective means of achieving equal educational opportunities in the long run. All other action towards improvement of the educational status of Roma should be implemented in the context of integrated education as a long-term objective. But “Roma schools”—and segregation in education in general—are complicated issues.

Discrimination is an important but not the sole (and often not the major) cause of segregation. Solutions that attempt to improve Roma access to education must bear these complexities in mind.

Health status and trends

The task of monitoring the health status of Roma populations is another area that is negatively impacted by the lack of statistical data, which are disaggregated by ethnicity. At the same time, health aspects are at the core of MDGs 4, 5, and 6.¹⁰⁷ There is much evidence that life expectancy, infant mortality, morbidity, and other major health indicators are substantially worse for Roma than for majority populations in CEE countries. This chapter analyses these problems on the basis of the data produced by the UNDP/ILO survey.

Due to the constraints of the survey,¹⁰⁸ its objectives regarding health issues were rather modest and limited to the self-assessment of the respondents. Another important area investigated was the inclusion in health insurance systems.

57 percent claim that their children are in good health. As shown in Graph 29, the distribution of these responses by countries is more even, with only Bulgaria showing a slightly lower share of parents assessing their children's status as 'perfect.' But the high morbidity and infant mortality rates reported for Roma children suggest that such optimistic assessments are less a reflection of reality than of low levels of parental health awareness.

Life expectancy is a good proxy for quality of life and for the impact of morbidity levels. Comparisons of life expectancy levels calculated for different ethnic groups at different ages (i.e., the probable number of years that representatives of different ethnic groups and different ages will live) can be very revealing in this respect. Data summarized

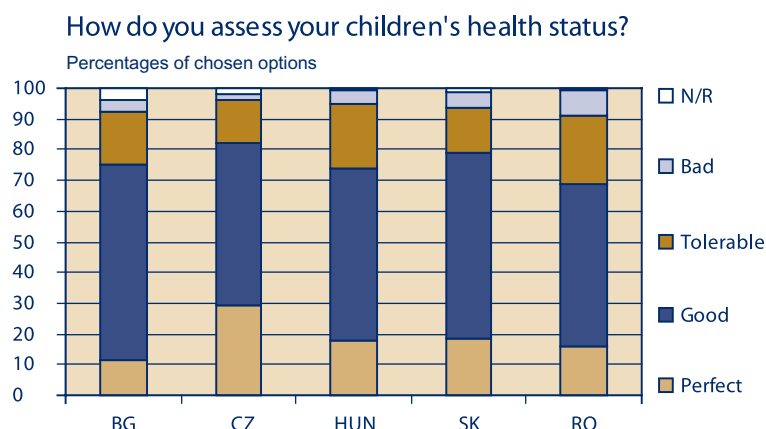
Optimistic assessments of children's health are less a reflection of reality than of low levels of parental health awareness

Self-assessment of Roma health status

The UNDP/ILO survey provides general information on the self-assessed health status of Roma populations. Only 12 percent of survey respondents assessed their health as 'perfect,' and only 41 percent assessed it as 'good.' The remainder, over 45 percent, assessed their health as either 'tolerable' or 'bad.' The distribution of the assessments by countries is similar, with substantially more Roma in Romania and Hungary assessing their health status as 'tolerable' or 'bad' than in the other countries.

Only 18 percent of the Roma think that their children are in perfect health, but

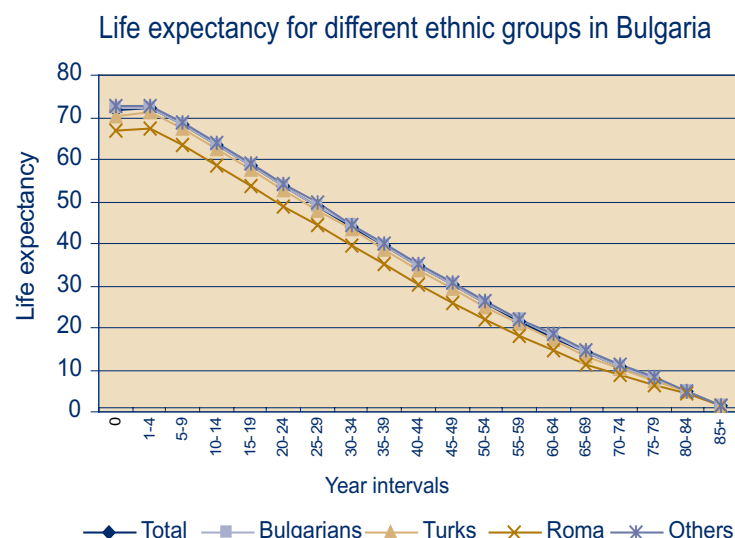
GRAPH 29



¹⁰⁷ MDG 4, "Reducing child mortality" sets the target of reducing the under-age-five mortality rate by two-thirds between 1990 and 2015. Goal 5, "Improve maternal health" sets the target of reducing the maternal mortality rate by three-quarters between 1990 and 2015. Goal 6, "Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases" sets two targets: to halt and reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS by 2015; and to halt and reverse the spread of malaria and other diseases by 2015.

¹⁰⁸ The authors are aware of the fact that this is the weakest section of the report. Health issues require a completely different methodological framework, which was not possible to include in a regional household-type survey. For a comprehensive overview of the health problems Roma are facing, see Zoon 2001a and 2001b as well as UNICEF 1992, Puporka and Zádori 1998, ARSPMS 2001.

GRAPH 30



in Graph 30 show this trend for Bulgaria¹⁰⁹. As seen from the graph, life expectancy of Roma is on average 5 to 6 years lower than for other ethnic groups (for example, the life expectancy at birth for Roma is 66.6, while for ethnic Bulgarians it is 72.3).

The most common chronic diseases reported by Roma are cardiovascular and respiratory ailments, tuberculosis, renal, gastric, enteric, and liver diseases. Neurological and psychiatric diseases, gynecological disorders, and carcinomas are more frequently encountered among Roma than in majority populations, but the persons afflicted by these misfortunes do not always report them. Reference here is to reported diseases, and since these data are not desegregated by

ethnicity, monitoring their incidence can be difficult. Infectious and parasitic diseases that are rarely found among majority population are often observed among Roma children. Another big danger is the spread of viral meningitis.

Children's and women's health status

Roma children are a special risk group in terms of health. Infant mortality data are scarce due to the lack of consistent monitoring by ethnic groups. Still, various, albeit fragmentary, data show large discrepancies between majority and Roma populations. Table 11 presents infant mortality by ethnic groups for Romania in 1999. These data suggest that Roma child mortality rates are 3 to 4 times higher than those for the majority population or other ethnic groups.

In the Czech Republic, Slovak Republic, and Hungary, Roma infant mortality rates are roughly double the national averages.¹¹⁰ In the Czech Republic, Roma children represented 2.5 percent of all live births and accounted for 4.9 percent of infant deaths; in Slovak Republic, these figures were 8.4 percent and 17.8 percent, respectively.¹¹¹

The situation in Bulgaria is even worse: in 1989, the infant mortality rate for Roma children was 240 per 1000, compared to the national average of 40.¹¹² These figures contrast dramatically with the average infant mortality rates for the five countries (Tables B10 and B11, Annex 3) and are probably among the strongest arguments for more active sub-national MDG monitoring and initiatives in pre-accession countries.

Women's health is another area of concern. Problems with women's health reflect both socioeconomic factors (poverty, inadequate nutrition, lack of access to health services) and cultural patterns like early marriages and early births. There is a direct relationship here between frighteningly high infant mortality rates and high fertility rates. Unfortunately, data on the health status of Roma women are fragmentary and not always reliable. Systematic research on

Table 11

Infant and child mortality rates in Romania (infant and child mortality rates deaths by 1000 live births)

Ethnic group	Infant mortality (0 to 1 year)	Child mortality (1 to 4 years)	Total infant and child mortality (0 to 4 years)
Romanian	27.1	1.1	28.2
Hungarian	19.8	0	19.8
Roma	72.8	7.2	80.0

* Children born between July 1994 and June 1999. Source: Reproductive Health Survey: Romania (draft, 1999).

¹⁰⁹ The graph is based on data from the 1992 and 2001 census and reflects information only for people who declared their ethnic affiliation.

¹¹⁰ Puporka and Zádori 1998: 25.

¹¹¹ Kalibová 2000: 184.

¹¹² OSCE 2000: 125.

this issue is definitely needed, in order to go beyond the national averages and to adequately monitor the health-related aspects of MDGs as well. But even these fragmentary data suggest that promoting reproductive health and rights, including family planning, is indispensable not just for economic growth and poverty reduction, but for decreasing mortality and morbidity rates.¹¹³

Major determinants of poor health status

Poor sanitation levels due to inadequate basic infrastructure are a major reason for the poor health status of Roma communities. In Slovak Republic, for example, these factors contribute to the high mortality rates for Roma infants: it is 34.8 per 1,000 children born, while the mortality rate among non-Roma infants is 14.6 per 1,000 children born.¹¹⁴ These data illustrate the link between sanitation conditions in Roma settlements and the need for sub-national MDG monitoring.

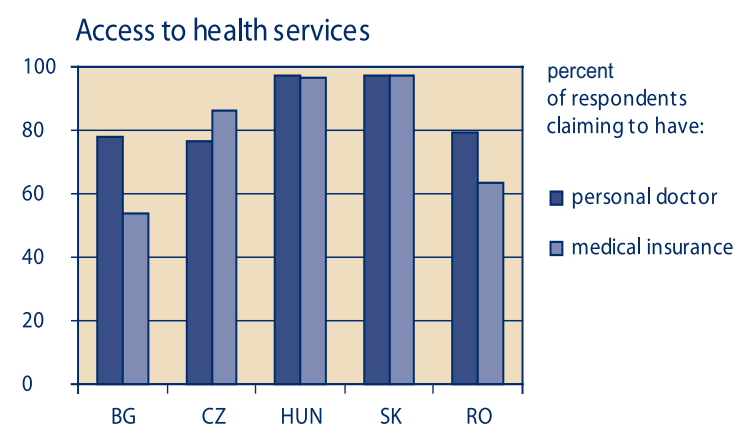
Limited access to health services is another determinant of poor Roma health status. In many cases it is due to open or hidden discrimination.¹¹⁵ But even if discrimination were completely abolished, certain systemic factors limiting access are “imbedded” in the reform of old health care systems and transitions to new systems based on health insurance. First, not all of the population is aware of the procedures and the need to have such insurance. Second, the financial contributions required from patients—even if small—are often too high for poor people. Third, large shares of Roma communities lack the new identity cards necessary for inclusion in the system.

The data from the UNDP/ILO survey show that the broadest medical insurance coverage for Roma is in Slovak Republic (where 97 percent of the respondents claimed to have medical insurance),

followed by Hungary (96 percent) and the Czech Republic (86 percent). The low levels reported in Bulgaria (54 percent) and Romania (63 percent) seem to reflect the fact that these two countries were among the last in the region to launch their health sector reforms. The same picture emerges if we compare the responses of people who explicitly state that they do not have insurance. In the first three countries the share of this group is between 1-4 percent, while in the last two, it is 35-36 percent.

On the other hand, most respondents in all five countries claim to have a personal doctor (Graph 31). This probably means that significant numbers of respondents in Bulgaria and Romania either do not know how the health system works, or do not have real access to it. In any case, the reality regarding access to health seems to be worse than reported by respondents.

GRAPH 31



Poverty and HIV/AIDS

HIV/AIDS has been found to disproportionately affect certain minority groups in Central and Eastern Europe, due to their higher poverty rates and limited access to basic social services. Various sources show that CEE countries are experiencing significant problems associated with drug trafficking and use. The links between drug trafficking

¹¹³ Data also prove the correlation between high birth rates and infant mortality rates. Countries with infant mortality rates of less than 20 per 1,000 live births have an average fertility of 1.7 children per woman, while those with an infant mortality rate over 100 have an average fertility rate of 6.2. See WHO 2001: 36. On the human cost of poor family planning see also <http://www.unfpa.org/mothers/contraceptive.htm>. The last UNFPA report (State of World Population 2002 – People, Poverty and Possibilities) reaches the same conclusion: “Health risks to infants and children are worse in poor families with many children. Larger families are more common among the poor and the children in them are less likely to receive basic preventive health care.” UNFPA 2002b: 35.

¹¹⁴ World Bank 2000c.

¹¹⁵ See Zoon 2000a and 2000b.

**Box 14. “Hidden impediments”
to social services in Romania**

Discrimination may have different faces and often is not explicit. In many areas, especially those involving provision of social services, ostensibly neutral legal provisions may in practice have a discriminatory impact.

These “hidden impediments” are apparent in the regulation of health care services. In Romania, the right to health protection (and the state obligation to provide it) are enshrined in the Constitution. Romania embarked on a contribution-based overall health care reform in 1998. Families receiving social support receive health insurance without paying any contribution. Eligibility for non-contributory health insurance is conditional on access to social support, the eligibility criteria for which can be affected by various administrative practices, potential exclusion errors, possible discriminatory denials, and insufficient information. Access to health care for certain social groups—like Roma—can therefore be denied on administrative grounds.

Another theoretically neutral but potentially discriminatory legal provision concerns different definitions of the “family” in different Romanian laws. In the *Law on Social Support*, the “family” is defined as parents and children regardless of the existence of a civil marriage or of the civil status of the child. In the *Health Insurance Law*, two notions that imply the existence of a civil marriage have been used, namely “wife” and “husband.” Under the social support law couples living in customary-law marriages are eligible for social support, but only the “wife of” or the “husband of” an insured person have the right to non-contributory health insurance. This opens the way for administrative discretion regarding interpretations of eligibility for social support and thus access to health insurance. Since customary-law marriages are more wide-spread among Roma, they are disproportionately affected by these ambiguities.

Romania’s social security system also create “hidden impediments” to supplying social services. Access to social support is conditioned on the apparently neutral requirements of permanent residence and possession of appropriate identity documents. Large parts of the Roma population however do not have identity documents and consequently cannot be registered as permanent residents. Some government employees refuse to consider the temporary structures in which Roma often live as habitable dwellings and deny Roma permanent resident status on these grounds. Additionally, local governments are given the discretion to decide on the needs, content, and extent of social support. Even though the right to social support is guaranteed by national law, it may be circumscribed by local government decisions to not allocate funds or to delay the distribution of benefits.

Box prepared by UNDP RBEC team based on Zoon, Ina. 2001a.

and use and commercial sex work (as well as with other high-risk behaviours) have been well documented. Not surprisingly, CEE countries have also seen dramatic increases in the incidence of HIV/AIDS.

Data on the spread of HIV/AIDS in CEE are not very reliable. Figures available from the end of 2000 listed the number of total registered HIV/AIDS cases in Bulgaria (testing began there in 1985) at 357, of which 96 were confirmed AIDS cases with 73 deaths. The actual number of cases is thought to be much higher, however. In Hungary, a 1999 estimate showed a very low (0.05 percent) prevalence of HIV/AIDS, but more recent figures are likely to be noticeably higher. Romania has the dubious distinction of having the largest number of pediatric HIV/AIDS cases in Europe, due to the extensive use of unscreened blood products and repeated use of contaminated needles during the Communist regime. Since 1985 (when the first AIDS case was reported), available data indicate a total of 6,422 registered cases in children and 1,348 adults living with HIV/AIDS. According to data for 2000, less than half of the people requiring anti-retroviral therapy can afford to purchase it.

Due to their difficult socioeconomic circumstances, Roma are disproportionately exposed to risks related to Hepatitis B and C, sexually transmitted disease, and HIV/AIDS. As poverty and discrimination drive Roma to seek income-generating opportunities in the underground economy, reports indicate that growing numbers of Roma (either on their own volition or through forced exploitation) are entering HIV/AIDS-risk industries¹¹⁶. These include drug trafficking and drug use, and commercial sex work. Another possible explanation why young Roma are more at risk than non-Roma for illicit drug use could be related to early-age alcohol and tobacco use by Roma children.¹¹⁷

Initial reports indicate that Roma intravenous drug users (IDUs) tend to fall into two age groups: teenagers under 16, and adults in the 35 to 40 age group, most of whom live in urban areas. While this information is helpful, more research regarding the extent

¹¹⁶ On vulnerable populations and Roma in particular see OSI 2002: 15.

¹¹⁷ This is one of the reasons reported in a recent OSI Working Paper on drug use and HIV risks among the Roma in CEE: “some respondents... pointed out that many Roma start to use and abuse alcohol →

to which Roma girls and boys are involved in drug trafficking and use, including links to child commercial sex activities, would be beneficial. UNAIDS reports that, in most CEE countries, child prostitutes and young working women who receive cash payment for their services remain a hidden group. Little information is currently available about these groups, including the extent to which Roma women and children are involved in these activities.

Main conclusions of Chapter 6

While the insufficient data on health matters limit our ability to draw far-reaching conclusions, it is clear that Roma health status is substantially worse than that of majority populations. Most of the causes of poor health status are related to poverty, poor sanitation conditions, and non-existent basic infrastructure in Roma communities. Projects not directly related to health improvement (such as infrastructure development) can have significant, albeit indirect, effects on health status.

Roma children are a special health risk group, reflected in high (strikingly high in some countries) levels of infant mortality. Women's health is another area of concern, due both to socioeconomic factors (poverty, inadequate nutrition and lack of access to health services) and to cultural patterns like early marriage and early births.

HIV/AIDS is a new but rapidly growing area of concern for Roma populations. The disease's spread can be linked to poverty and poverty-related issues, including especially drug trafficking and use. An additional risk factor linked to drug trafficking/use is commercial sex work, as well as other high-risk behaviours that are often among the few available survival strategies for Roma.

Problems with access to health services are also important. These are due, in part, to the cash payments required from beneficiaries; although relatively small, they are often too

Box 15. Child morbidity in a Roma settlement: The case of Svinia

In 2001, two Canadian researchers conducted a health survey in Svinia, one of the most destitute and isolated Roma settlements in Slovak Republic. Although the survey is not representative of all isolated Roma settlement, it gives some idea of the magnitude of the problems.

The total population of the Svinia settlement was estimated at 700 people. The survey counted 352 children under 16; parents and other family members were interviewed about the children's physical health. Of 246 responses, the overwhelming majority (223) felt that their children were healthy. 21 children were reported to be not healthy, and one child was said to "need special care." When asked to identify the season during which children are most likely to get sick, parents were most likely to select summer. This points to a link between morbidity and poor sanitation conditions. The settlement has no sewage infrastructure; the only source of drinking water was a single well; and water from the well did not qualify as potable. Of the settlement's 352 children, 250 were visually inspected, and 28 had distended stomachs (there is usually a link between very distended stomachs and parasites).

The average number of people living in a single household containing children under the age of 16 in the settlement was six. The lowest number was 3, while the highest is 28. The shower facilities that were available in the settlement took the form of a building known as the Dutch Portable, and these were accessed by requesting the key from whoever kept it. Users had to pay for the energy used for their shower. Of 590 respondents, only 172 people were using the showers on a regular basis, while 418 were bathing at home using water heated on the stove. Roughly three quarters of the respondents were not using these shower facilities. 420 respondents were questioned about the management of toilet issues in Svinia. While six people used the regular toilet in their apartment (flushing it with water brought from outside), 269 had their own outhouse, and another 75 shared an outhouse with up to six other families. Of 74 people who did not have access to an outhouse, 52 indicated that they simply use the field.

Box prepared by Sarah Takach based on data from monitoring carried out by Glen Murray and Ruth Mitchell funded by Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)

large for many Roma. Limited access to health services is caused in some countries by the lack of the appropriate identity documents and birth certificates necessary for health insurance enrollment.

→ and tobacco at an earlier age and that children as young as 7 sniff glue and solvents. In the past, many of these young people became alcoholics, but with the increased access to hard drugs... they are more likely to become addicted to illicit substances." For more details see Grund et al., 2002: 6.

Interactions with other ethnic groups

One of the major hypotheses underpinning this study is that mutual interactions, rather than mutual knowledge (information), overcome prejudices and stereotypes.¹¹⁸ This view is supported by recent trends in sociology and economics, which emphasize the important links between social capital and material welfare. Social capital develops as people interact in their everyday lives to achieve common ends, building networks of civil, religious, or economic character. While interactions within Roma communities may be intensive, interactions between Roma and majority communities are typically limited, and are often characterized by confrontation rather than by cooperation.

The regional UNDP/ILO survey, therefore, focused explicitly on issues of interactions between Roma and other groups. Given the diversity of different Roma groups, “other groups” in this context means “other Roma groups.” It was extremely interesting to investigate the magnitude of relationships with other Roma groups and to compare them with the intensity of relationships with the majority.

Another important aspect of the survey was the perception of state institutions and structures in the context of possible cooperation with them. Are Roma willing to cooperate or do they tend to perceive the state as an alien subject? Are they willing to share societal responsibilities vis-à-vis involvement in state structures?

Community-level interactions

Data from the survey point to extensive inter-community relationships. The share of respondents confirming that they maintain some relationship with majority communities varies between 87 percent (in

Slovak Republic) and 80 percent (in the Czech Republic). In fact, respondents reported that they have more intensive relationships with majority communities than with other Roma groups. This underscores the extent of the diversity among different Roma groups, and helps explain the difficulties Roma face in establishing unified political representations. By contrast, respondents who claimed ‘no

Box 16. Romania: The crucial role of community involvement in development

In 1996 a local community development project started in Nusfalau (Salaj County), linking community mobilization, training, and other development activities. In April 1997, two representatives of the community of Brazilia-Nusfalau were included in a training program for Roma leaders organized by the *Association Rromani Criss*. At the end of the training courses a project idea for establishing a small brick factory employing Roma and producing bricks for Roma houses was formulated.

The idea was appealing because it could provide assistance without dependency. In addition to receiving part of the necessary development resources from external donors, the Roma community pledged to “match” the donor’s investment with labour inputs. Part of the production was used for Roma housing construction, part was sold to cover project costs, and part was used to improve living conditions in the community. In 1997, the project helped six families to be connected to the electricity infrastructure, and clothing and school supplies were purchased for school children.

By the project’s formal completion in September 1998, over 300,000 bricks had been produced. 10,000 bricks were donated to the victims of calamity from a neighbouring commune to repair damaged houses.

The project did not stop with the expiration of the external funding, however. Starting from 1999 the project was continued by Agency for Community Development “Împreună”. In 1999 the brick factory supplied the bricks needed for the construction of 10 social houses in Nusfalau. Another three houses were built and two others renovated in 2000; a community centre was established with support from the *Roma Participation Program* of Budapest; and six other houses were renovated with the support of the *Resource Centre for Roma Communities*. Almost 250,000 bricks were produced in 2001, representing a good source of income for Roma in the community.

Box prepared by the *Institute of Quality of Life*, Romania.

¹¹⁸ UNDP’s 2001 National Human Development Report for Bulgaria suggests that “those who know more about the Roma...are those who do not live near and who do not want to live near. Actually the factor, which seriously brings down intolerance, did not prove to be knowledge, but the actual interaction practices with the Roma community. Bulgarians who really have Roma for neighbours report much less frequently (36.3 percent) that they would not like to have Roma for neighbours as compared to those who in reality have no such neighbours (50 percent).” UNDP Bulgaria 2001a: 33-34.

Table 12

Interactions with the majority and other Roma groups (in percent terms)

	BG		CZ		HUN		RO		SK	
	With majority	With other Roma group	With majority	With other Roma group	With majority	With other Roma group	With majority	With other Roma group	With majority	With other Roma group
Mixed marriages	19	73	31	43	35	37	33	55	28	56
Joint business	16	47	52	19	4	5	35	43	6	10
Ordinary neighbourhood contacts	93	94	96	72	87	72	79	75	93	80
Help each other in dealing with the police	29	57	10	25.5	8	9	35	46	12	14
Practice sport or engage in joint entertainment	44	76.8	45	41	23	26	48	58	39	49
Our children play together	60	81	56	50	55	50	71	75	56	58
Have a beer together	59	82	43	41	31	37	49	52	30	20
Invite each other for marriages or other family holidays	45	84	22	47	31	47	51	77	28	53

Source: UNDP/ILO regional survey. Table based on 'yes' responses to the question *What type of relations do you have?* These figures provide information about the frequency of certain types of interactions. For example, in Slovak Republic, mixed marriages between Roma groups are twice as prevalent as between Roma and majority. This does not mean, however, that 56 percent of all Roma in Slovak Republic have mixed marriages with other groups of Roma.

relations' with majority communities ranged from 12 percent in Slovak Republic to 17 percent in Bulgaria. Most of the respondents with no relationships with majority communities live in segregated or separated communities.

What type of interactions do they have? 'Just ordinary contacts from living in the same neighbourhood' is the prevailing answer. Almost 90 percent of all respondents claim these daily contacts. Only in Romania is this share substantially lower—79 percent. Contacts 'intermediated by children' was the second largest response, 60 percent on average for the region. Between 59 percent of the respondents in Bulgaria and 31 percent in Hungary maintain informal relationships ('have a beer together'). Participation in joint celebrations ('Invite each other for marriages or other family holidays') was reported as frequently as 'Practice sport or engage in joint entertainment.' Perhaps surprisingly, 'mixed marriages' appear relatively often: 29 percent on average for the region and above 30 percent for the Czech Republic, Romania, and Hungary.

The UNDP/ILO survey also compared the intensity and pattern of respondents' interactions with majority communities to those with other Roma groups. The results (summarized in Table 12) indicate that inter-

Roma interactions are less intense than might have been expected. Instead of a single "Roma community," these results suggest the existence of substantial diversity between various groups.

The frequency of Roma inter-marriage with majority communities and with other Roma groups ranges from 19 percent with majority communities to 73 percent with other Roma groups in Bulgaria. These rates almost coincide with levels in Hungary (35 percent and 37 percent, respectively). This suggests that Roma communities in Hungary are the least "introverted" in the region, being equally willing to engage in close and lasting inter-ethnic relations (like marriage) both with majority and other Roma groups.

'Help dealing with the police' provides another interesting example of group interactions that reveal important solidarity patterns. In Bulgaria and Romania, Roma cooperate extensively with one another in these matters, but relatively extensive cooperation is also reported with the majority groups (who may also be rather poor, since they are likely to live in or close to a Roma neighbourhood). These responses could be interpreted as manifestations of an emerging class-type solidarity pattern, within which the police and "the state" in general are perceived as alien subjects.

Within the emerging class-type solidarity pattern, the police and "the state" in general are perceived as alien subjects

This does not mean, however, that Roma are predominantly uncooperative with the state. Respondents were asked about their willingness to work for the police if offered a position. Positive responses were generally high with 57 percent of the males saying they would be willing to work for the police and 64 percent of females saying they would not object to their husbands working for the police (Graph 32). Explicitly negative responses of 38 percent and 26 percent were given, respectively. Differences across countries are not substantial, indicating an overall willingness of Roma to share responsibility, if offered the opportunity to do so.

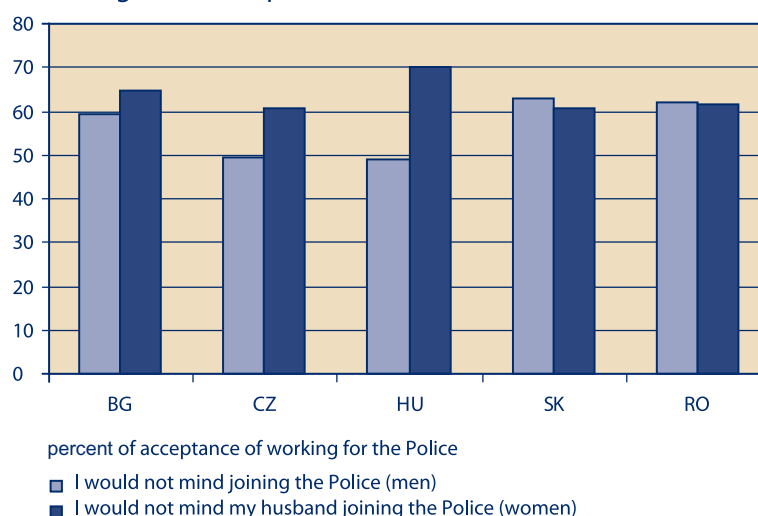
“Roma criminality”

The ethnic dimensions of criminality, specifically, its “romanization,” are major determinants of interethnic relationships and have a profound impact on stereotypes about Roma. In all CEE countries, majority populations are susceptible to portrayals of Roma as “lazy and thieves,” and the lack of open debate contributes to such perceptions.¹¹⁹ Data on “ethnic criminality” are quite scarce, reflecting both the unresolved demographic aspects of the “Who is a Roma?” question, and the issue of whether criminal registries should track ethnic affiliation. Some conclusions are nonetheless possible. In Bulgaria, police statistics from 1993 to 1997 (when such data were collected) show that major crimes were committed by representatives of various ethnic groups with differing frequencies (Table 13), and that the Roma share of committed crimes is higher than their share in the overall population. It must be asked, however, if anybody can assess what this share would be for other ethnic groups if they had to deal with the survival challenges facing Roma. Seen from this perspective, Roma crime is directly associated with poverty: the cost of complete compliance with the law is often starvation.

Asymmetries of information and perception are related to the issue of “ethnic criminality.” The police, most of who are recruited from majority communities, often tend to act more vigorously against Roma-associated

GRAPH 32

Willingness to cooperate with the state



crime than against majority crime. The media often demonstrates the same ethnic bias. Also, certain offenses (like white-collar crimes or corruption—where Roma perpetrators are underrepresented) are not included in the official crime data, so the overall picture of Roma criminality is exaggerated. This also reflects Roma communities’ unequal access to power and economic resources when compared with other ethnic groups.

Table 13

Ethnic aspects of criminality (the case of Bulgaria)					
Type of crime:	Committed by (in percent terms):				Total
	Bulgarians	Roma	Turks	Other	
Robbery	55.2	38.1	6	0.7	100
Rape	68.5	23.1	8	0.5	100
Murders	72.2	19	7.1	1.7	100
Share in the total population of the country	83.6	4.6* 8-9**	9.5	1.5	100

Source: *Crime rate in Bulgaria, Analysis for the period 1993-1997. Criminological survey*, IMIR's archives, Sofia. It should be noted however that police determination of the perpetrators' ethnicity did not always occur in a clear manner.

* 2001 census results, available on the Internet at <http://www.nsi.bg/Census/Census-i.htm>.

** Based on expert estimates of the size of Roma population.

¹¹⁹ For more information on social distance and perceptions of majority communities, see the background national reports (available at <http://roma.undp.sk>).

Roma crime is directly associated with poverty: the cost of complete compliance with the law is often starvation

As a result, public attention is focused on petty crimes committed by Roma, which have a much smaller economic impact than that of the profit draining schemes of state-owned enterprises, or privatisation-related corruption, and the like. In Slovak Republic, for example, official statistics show the incidence of Roma criminality to be much higher than that of Slovaks. Some 40 percent of the 7,000 prisoners serving time in Slovak prisons in mid-2000 were classified as Roma, based on rather cursory inspections of prisoners conducted by prison guards.

Among the factors contributing to relatively high rates of Roma criminality are unfavourable economic circumstances, high unemployment rates, and the inefficiencies of the penal system. The most important new factor after 1989 is the high proportion of Roma who are addicted to drugs, gambling, and other hazardous habits. For a considerable part of the Roma population in Slovak Republic, petty crime has become the only feasible method of survival. Petty crime is not something to be condoned; it is a poor strategy that only makes social integration more difficult. As in other countries in the region, Roma crime is motivated most often by the difficulties of daily survival. The situation in the Czech Republic is similar. Data on Roma crimes are not prepared or released systematically, and are often manipulated for political purposes.

The stealing of crops for food, such as potatoes, and the felling of trees for firewood are among the crimes commonly associated

with the Roma. In recent years, such thefts have become a frequent occurrence in countries like Bulgaria, Romania and Slovak Republic. Financial losses have become sufficiently serious to increasingly anger local farmers, adding an ethnic dimension to a classical petty crime issue. This issue was addressed in the UNDP/ILO survey in a "semi-direct" way. Since respondents could obviously not be asked if they stole from their neighbours, they were asked, instead, *What do you do when your family does not have enough to eat?* One of the responses was 'Take some food from abandoned fields/plots' (the results of this answer are summarized in Graph 33). Since the completion of agricultural and land reforms, abandoned fields with food are rarely found in the region. The frequency with which this option was selected provides a proxy indication of the magnitude of the crop-stealing phenomenon.

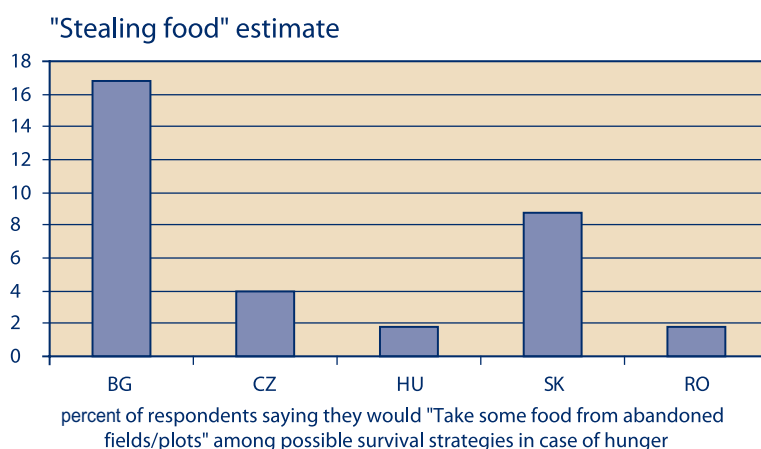
Main conclusions of Chapter 7

The survey results show that the intensity of interactions with majority populations is higher than anticipated. Contrary to initial expectations, Roma are willing to cooperate with the state and bear relevant responsibilities if granted the opportunity to do so. These are optimistic signs given the importance of interactions in overcoming ethnic prejudices and stereotypes.

Poverty dynamics have affected interactions between Roma and majority communities. The data suggest that extensive interactions between poor Roma and poor representatives of majority groups are present. These interactions could lead to the emergence of class-type solidarity patterns in which state institutions (and "the state" in general) are perceived as alien subjects.

The "romanization" of criminality is another concern with public attention more focused on the petty crimes of Roma than on corruption and the "white collar crimes" committed by non-Roma. Roma crime is directly linked to poverty and the stealing of crops, for example, may be a survival strategy against starvation. Better development opportunities, rather than improvements in penal systems, seem to be the key to reducing "Roma crimes."

GRAPH 33



Political representation

In all five countries, Roma are underrepresented at all levels of government. The survey therefore paid special attention to questions of trusted intermediaries and patterns of political representation.

One important dimension of political representation was the role of intermediaries. What is the role of NGOs, political parties (both Roma and those of the majority)? Do the Roma trust them? What is the role of informal Roma leaders in this regard?

Another important dimension was related to representation at different levels of government. What is the level of government most trusted by the people? Which are the preferred political parties – ethnic-based or majority parties?

The role of intermediaries

The roles that local Roma elites can play (and are expected to play) in the development of Roma communities depends on the trust and support they receive from their constituencies. Most development projects are based on the assumption that informal Roma leaders are influential in their communities, and they should play a strategic role as active “agents of change” and intermediaries.

Reality is often more complicated than this. Local elites often play decisive roles in Roma communities, but these roles are not necessarily beneficial. The definition of “elite” status may also be problematic, as material position does not always translate into leadership roles. Data produced by the UNDP/ILO survey (shown in Table 14) indicate that, for many Roma communities, well-off Roma individuals are a “last resort” for support in all the countries (except in Bulgaria). While informal leaders are not the most important intermediaries in this regard, they do play a larger role than well-off Roma in this respect. This distinction suggests that

a “class-type solidarity” may be emerging within Roma communities, reflecting the wealth-poverty cleavage.¹²⁰

This emerging division along the wealth-poverty cleavage has major implications for donors developing projects targeted at Roma communities. Many of these projects rely on the active involvement of local leaders. Unfortunately, donors do not always properly assess the credibility of these leaders before beginning projects. Too often donors are not sufficiently sensitive to internal community stratification, exploitation, and misuse of resources by “family-based” instead of “community-based” NGOs. These problems can prevent projects from benefiting communities on the whole. The fact that local Roma leaders enjoy less credibility than friends and neighbours, from both Roma and majority communities—and

Roma elites often play decisive roles in Roma communities, but these roles are not necessarily beneficial

Table 14

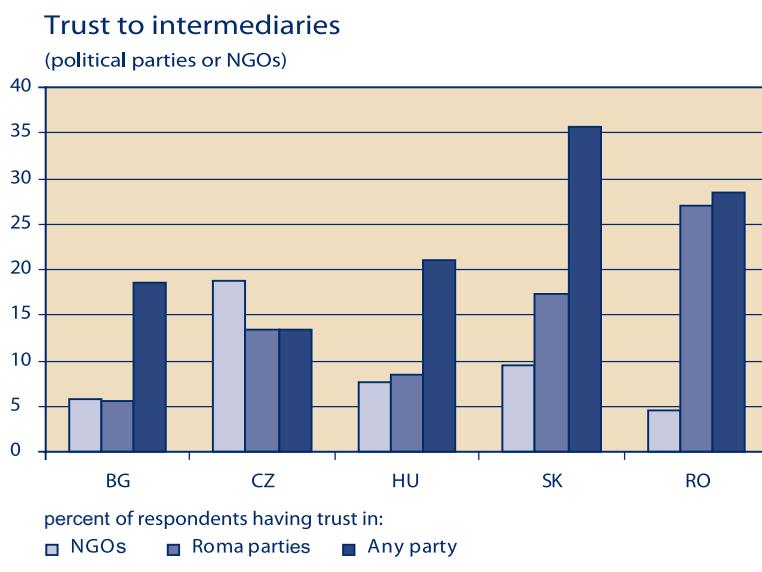
Roma support networks and institutions (in percent terms)

'Rather yes' options	Regional average	BG	CZ	HUN	RO	SLO
Roma neighbours and friends	45	47	48	31	29	67
Neighbours and friends from the majority	31	35	23	33	19	46
The government itself	24	43	20	32	21	7
Informal Roma leaders	22	14	35	5	29	27
Roma parties	21	20	19	14	36	14
Roma NGOs	17	20	25	13	13	12
Foreign donors/institutions	16	30	14	6	13	15
Non-Roma “human rights” NGOs	16	12	22	18	18	11
Well-off or rich Roma individuals	13	17	18	6	12	9

Source: UNDP/ILO regional survey. Options are responses to the question *On whom can Roma in your country rely for support?* Respondents were asked to choose ‘rather yes’ or ‘rather no’ for each option. The table shows the percent of ‘yes’ answers for each option.

¹²⁰ This trend was noted in the UNDP’s 2001 National Human Development Report for Bulgaria. Data from research on citizens’ participation and interactions showed that practical interactions occur primarily between poor Bulgarians and poor Roma (UNDP Bulgaria 2001a: 34).

GRAPH 34



even the government itself—offers further confirmation of this point.

The credibility of other “traditional” intermediaries also seems to be low. Data summarized in Graph 34 show that NGOs are among the least trusted intermediaries.¹²¹ Only in the Czech Republic does the level of trust in NGOs reach 19 percent of the respondents. In all other countries, it ranges between 5 percent in Romania and

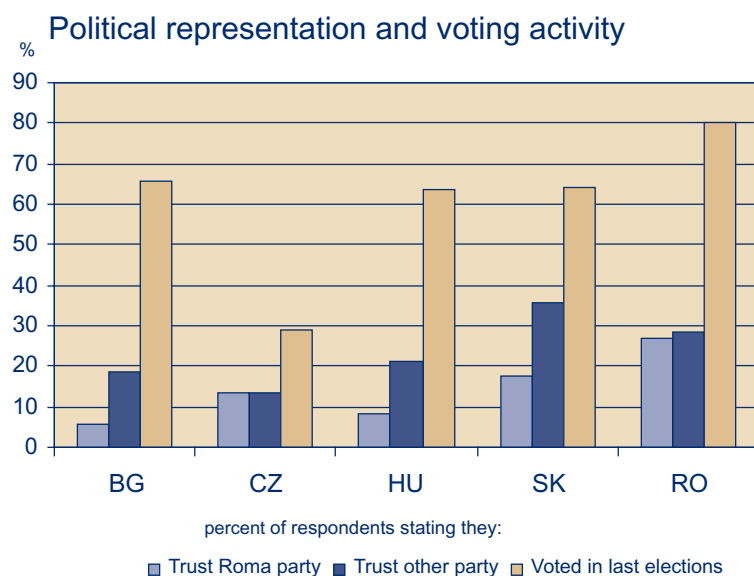
10 percent in Slovak Republic. This low confidence in Roma NGOs suggests that the potential benefits of not-for-profit activities are not being fully realized in many Roma communities. This may result from confusion between “NGO activities,” “political parties,” and “business”—a confusion that could open the way for corruption. The agendas of such organizations can correspond to narrow family interests. As a result, donor support for a given Roma NGO can unintentionally mean support for a single Roma family or group, support that can polarize communities.

Political representation

The CEE countries have had various experiences with Roma political parties and their representation in parliaments, which are described in detail in the UNDP national reports. One common feature may be that non-Roma parties of both the left and right have viewed the Roma electorate as something worth pursuing. Despite their social exclusion, Roma voters participate in national elections. As the data in Graph 35 show, Roma turnout runs between 60 percent and 80 percent in four of the five CEE countries. The Bulgarian and Hungarian cases are interesting in this regard: Roma voter turnout in these countries was even higher than the share of the Roma respondents declaring their trust in political parties, Roma or other.¹²² This may result from the small role of Roma political officials at all levels, and generate more apathetic views toward politics. This lack of representation, however, has not yet led to Roma non-participation in elections.

Roma elites in the CEE region are generally characterized by political fragmentation and the absence of common political strategies. This may be one of the reasons why Roma usually vote for other (majority) political parties in national elections. But after having captured Roma votes in elections, these parties often forget about Roma concerns. Minimal electoral thresholds for entering parliament are another common problem. Since Roma voters constitute relatively small shares of electorates, even strong Roma support for a single national Roma party would not guarantee that party the votes

GRAPH 35



¹²¹ During the interviews, the interviewers did not use abbreviations (NGO, CSO or other) to be sure that respondents understood the meaning of the questions.

¹²² Electoral activity was estimated based on the question, *Did you vote in the last elections? (local or parliamentary).*

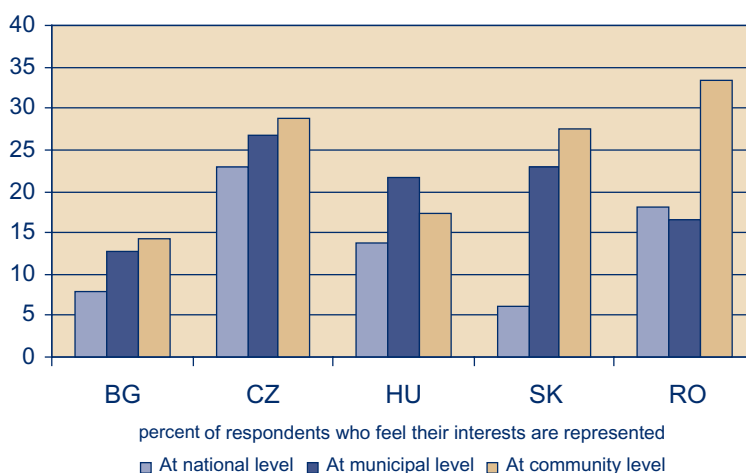
needed for parliamentary representation. This fact works against the formation of national Roma parties.¹²³

There are better opportunities for local level Roma political participation and representation in regions or municipalities where Roma electorates are substantial. The most promising level of political representation (and the most trusted, according to the UNDP/ILO survey data) is not surprisingly local government. This is also the level at which people feel their interests are best represented, as is shown in Graph 36. This sentiment could promote broader inclusion of Roma in local government and politics. Moreover, the UNDP/ILO survey revealed high levels of “local level political awareness” among Roma respondents. When asked to name the local mayor, most respondents did so correctly.¹²⁴ Awareness was highest in Hungary (88 percent of respondents could name their mayor), followed by Slovak Republic (80 percent), Romania (78 percent), and Bulgaria (62 percent). Only in the Czech Republic did the share of correct answers to this question fall to 30 percent.

The answers to the question, *Who best defends your interests in your community?* reveal major tensions in Roma attitudes about the representation of their interests (see Graph 37, p. 76). Despite being underrepresented at various levels of government, most respondents expect support from state institutions, particularly social assistance agencies and local government bodies. The responses to this question also suggest that, despite low levels of trust in informal leaders, Roma still expect these leaders, rather than Roma NGOs or Roma political parties, to defend their interests. Tensions are also apparent in the survey data on the extent of interactions with majority communities.¹²⁵ As is seen in Table 15, the intensity of interactions with majority communities (reflected in responses to the question, *What type of interactions with the majority do you have?*) is correlated with the feeling

GRAPH 36

Roma perceived political representation



of “being represented.” This suggests that Roma inclusion and equal representation go hand in hand with interactions with majority communities. The extent to which this message is understood and internalized by Roma and majority communities remains an open question.

The most promising level of political representation is local government

The meaning of equal rights and opportunities

The UNDP/ILO survey approached issues of opportunities and equal rights for

Table 15

Feeling of being represented (in percent terms)

Level of representation	Intensity of common practices with majority		
	Low	Medium	High
At national level	10	15	18
At municipal level	15	22	26
At the community level	21	26	27

The numbers represent percents of the respondents with different intensity of common practices with majority who feel their interests are represented at the respective level of government

Source: UNDP/ILO regional survey. Responses based on the question *Do you think your interests are represented well enough?* broken down by major groups.

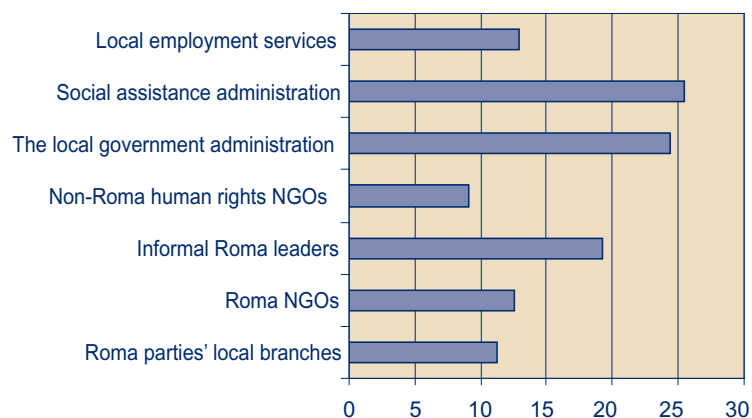
¹²³ Lower thresholds are one of the recommendations of the OSCE “Guidelines to Assist National Minority Participation in the Electoral Process (see OSCE 2001: 22). The “Lund Recommendations” focused primarily on national- and not local-level representation.

¹²⁴ These names were subsequently verified by the interviewers. In the data set, incorrect answers were treated as non-responses.

¹²⁵ The intensity of Roma interactions (common practices) with majority communities was assessed on the basis of responses to the questions *Do you maintain some relations with representatives of the majority?* and *If yes, what type of relations?* Answers of ‘yes’ to questions concerning less than three types of relations were interpreted as indicators of low intensity of interactions; 3 to 6 ‘yes’ answers were viewed as indicators of “medium” intensity; and more than six ‘yes’ answers were viewed as indicators of high intensity.

GRAPH 37

Who best defends your interests in your community? Indicated options (in percent terms)



Employment is unambiguously perceived as the precondition for equality

Roma from various angles. Respondents were asked to compare their life chances and opportunities with those of majority communities. They were also queried about the most important objective determinants of successful integration. When asked, *Which pre-conditions are the most important for ensuring that your human rights are respected?*,

	BG	CZ	HUN	RO	SK
To live life free of hunger	1	4	1	1	3
To have the same living standard as the rest of the people in the country	2	1	4	3	1
To be able to find a job	3	2	3	2	2
To be able to provide a good education for my children	7	5	2	4	4
Respected by the state administration	6	3	6	5	5
To receive social assistance on time	4	6	8	6	7
Not to be arrested without prosecutor's order	5	7	5	7	8
To be able to change my job for a better paid one	7	8	7	8	6

The respondents were asked to indicate each option as of primary or secondary importance. The ranking is based on the frequency of options indicated as of primary importance. 1= most important, 8= least important

Source: UN DP/ILO regional survey. Based on responses to the question *Which preconditions are the most important for ensuring that your human rights are respected?*

respondents generally pointed to such socio-economic options as 'To live life free of hunger,' 'To be able to find a job,' and 'To have the same living standards as the rest of the people in the country' (Table 16). The same emphasis on economic considerations appears in responses to the question, *What do you think is of primary importance for Roma to become equal members of the society?* (Table 17). In both cases respondents ranked issues of 'primary' and 'secondary' importance. Table 16 and 17 show these rankings, based on the frequencies of 'primary importance' indicated for each option.¹²⁶

As can be seen from the tables, employment and freedom from poverty are unambiguously perceived as the precondition for equality. The second most important precondition (receiving equal support in all five countries) is involvement in government, especially at the local level (represented by the options 'To be equally represented at all levels of state administration' and 'to participate in the state administration at local levels'). The second most important precondition is political representation, 'Roma party capable of entering the Parliament.' These issues are perceived as even more important than having government ministers who are Roma. Creating Roma newspapers or TV channels seems to be relatively unimportant. The option, 'To live together with the majority but not as part of the majority' was ranked highly as a precondition for equal participation in four of the five CEE countries (with Romania the exception).

Questions of social inclusion and intensity of minority-majority interactions are part of what might be described as "integration trade-offs"—the degree to which the integration of minority groups into majority cultures occurs at the expense of their distinctiveness and identity. While protecting minority cultures is an important dimension of basic human rights, problems arise when "distinctiveness protection costs" are present. When these costs are covered by social redistributive systems (taxation and social safety nets), majority communities must be aware of and support this protection. If such support is lacking, the door is open to the

¹²⁶ In both questions respondents were asked to consider each of the options and decide whether it is of 'primary' or 'secondary' significance in terms of guaranteeing their human rights and equal opportunities. An option receiving rank 1 was designated by the highest percent of respondents as being of 'primary significance.' The different options are arranged in the tables according to unweighted averages of rankings for each option.

exclusion and potentially violent rejection of cultural diversity.

Analyses and programs that focus on the prevention of Roma human rights violations have not always afforded adequate attention to this crucial question. This approach focuses on constructing the legal framework needed to protect individual and collective rights. Substantial progress has been achieved during the last decade in this regard, making possible the adoption and subsequent ratification of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities by all five CEE countries. Questions of enforcement and generating the necessary political support—among majority communities—for this legal framework have now come to the fore.

This support can only be attained if both majority and Roma communities come to perceive their joint interests. In terms of Roma development opportunities, this means communicating to both communities the contributions that Roma can make to European societies, and explaining what needs to be done in order to utilize this potential. As was pointed out in the “Demography” chapter, high Roma birth rates could be both a problem and an opportunity for aging European societies. The same applies to other aspects of Roma culture, such as the ability to enjoy life, to be grateful for even modest improvements (a trait that is vanishing in consumer societies), the highest respect for freedom and independence, for flexibility and adaptation, and for internal mobility. In the current setting, all these attributes are latent assets—provided they are understood in a clear development perspective. It is only within such a perspective that current obstacles can be transformed into benefits.

Since the five countries covered in this report are in the process of EU accession, they have unique opportunities to convert the negative attributes often associated with the Roma into positive characteristics. The desire to meet the accession criteria can provide governments with strong incentives to take action on Roma issues. All five countries have established the necessary institutional structures related to ethnic issues, and they have signed and ratified most of the international instruments related to human rights and the protection of minorities (see Table E7 in Annex 3). However, while all five countries have advisory bodies at the central

level (affiliated with the council of ministers) and most countries have parallel bodies operating at the sectoral and local levels, few of these bodies have executive prerogatives. In some countries the focus of these bodies is in practice limited to the demographic and social aspects of Roma questions.

As the overview to these questions in Annex 4 shows, institutional structures are in place,

Table 17

**Ranking of perceived preconditions
for equal Roma participation**

	BG	CZ	HUN	RO	SK
To have employment for Roma	1	1	1	1	1
Roma should participate in local level administration	3	2	3	3	2
Roma should be equally represented in all levels of state administration	2	4	2	2	3
Roma should have a common political party capable of entering the Parliament	4	6	5	4	6
Roma should participate in the central state administration	8	5	4	5	5
To live together with majority but not as part of the majority	5	3	5	12	4
To have Roma government ministers	6	8	7	8	7
To recruit Roma as policemen at equal level as the majority	6	9	8	7	12
To have Roma TV journalists	10	7	11	6	10
To have Roma newspapers	12	10	9	10	8
To have a nation-wide Roma TV channel	9	11	9	11	11
To have a local Roma TV channel	11	12	12	9	9

1= of primary significance

Source: UNDP/ILO regional survey. Based on responses to the question *What is of primary significance for Roma to become equal members of the society?*

the political will is there (or at least has been declared), and there are funds available to finance Roma-related initiatives. Two major factors have to date prevented the introduction of effective policies to address these issues. The first has been the lack of an internally consistent conception of what to do and how to do it. In particular, a detailed human development approach to Roma issues has not, until now, been articulated. The second and related factor has been inadequate administrative and policymaking capacity in those agencies that would have to execute a strategy based on the human development approach to Roma issues. Concerted efforts by governments, NGOs, and international donors are needed to address both obstacles.

*Both majority
and Roma
communities
should come to
perceive their
joint interests*

Box 17. Roma political parties in Slovak Republic

In March 1990, representatives of Roma intelligentsia registered at the Ministry of Interior the *Roma Civic Initiative* (ROI), a Roma political party on a nationwide basis. In June 1990, the ROI ran in the first free and democratic parliamentary elections following more than 40 years of Communist rule; in the Czech Republic it did so in coalition with the *Civic Forum*, in Slovak Republic it teamed up with the *Public Against Violence*, respective political movements that played an instrumental role in bringing down the Communist regime. The ROI obtained four seats in the Czechoslovak federal parliament, and one mandate in the Slovak National Council, Slovak Republic's national parliament. In the 1990 parliamentary elections, Roma appeared also on a candidates' list of the Communist Party of Slovak Republic (KSS, later transformed into the Party of Democratic Left, or SD). In the course of 1990, the political activity of Roma in Czechoslovakia bloomed and many new Roma associations, cultural organizations and political parties were established. As a result, the Roma movement began to splinter more and more, dissipating its political weight. In 1992 ROI decided to run in the parliamentary elections as an independent political party but failed receiving only 0.53 percent of votes.

After the Slovak Republic became independent, the *Roma Civic Initiative* (ROI) remained the most important and influential Roma political entity. Apart from the ROI, a number of other Roma political parties kept emerging, but their influence was and remains irrelevant, since most of them fail to go beyond a regional or even local importance. Currently there are more than 15 registered Roma political parties in the country.

In early 1998, Roma politicians strove to unite Roma political parties in Slovak Republic. But after several unsuccessful negotiations, the Roma leaders parted ways. In the 1998 parliamentary elections no Roma political party ran independently. In the municipal elections of December 1998, Roma were featured mostly on the candidate lists of the ROI and the RIS (*Roma Intelligentsia for Coexistence*), and ran as independent candidates, but they also appeared on the HZDS, SDK, SDL', KSS, SMK and the Association of Slovak Workers (ZRS) party lists. After the 1998 municipal elections, a total of 56 Roma were elected as deputies and six Roma candidates became mayors of municipalities or city districts.

At the beginning of September 1999, representatives of 14 Roma political parties established the *Coalition Council of Roma Political Parties*. In October 2000, 14 Roma political parties and 37 Roma NGOs signed an agreement on a joint strategy for the 2002 parliamentary elections. The agreement (the most remarkable achievement so far in Roma political unification) states that all Roma political parties will team up behind the ROI, the oldest and most consolidated Roma political party. Joint action however was not achieved in practice and two Roma political parties (ROI leaded by Milan Ščuka and ROMA led by Ladislav Fízik) ran independently in the October 2002 parliamentary elections. Both failed, receiving respectively 8420 votes (0,29 percent) and 6234 votes (0,21 percent). RIS (leaded by Alexander Patkoló) signed an agreement with the HZDS of Vladimír Mečiar and was offered 75th place on the candidacy list. As a result there is no Roma MP in the National Council of the Slovak Republic.

The greatest political obstacle for the Roma is the 5 percent threshold for entering the Parliament. Given the number of Roma in Slovak Republic and their demographic characteristics (i.e. the high proportion of children under 18 and their low literacy rate), it appears almost impossible for even a single Roma party to cross the 5 percent threshold for parliamentary representation.

Box prepared by Michal Vašečka, *Institute for Public Affairs*, Bratislava, Slovak Republic.

Main conclusions of Chapter 8

The survey did not support some of the research team's hypotheses. Neither Roma NGOs, nor Roma political parties enjoy significant levels of trust from Roma communities. Roma also seem to have little trust in non-Roma NGOs. These low levels of trust seem to reflect the perceptions that these actors have not made significant contributions to Roma development opportunities. They also suggest that many Roma do not feel well represented by their "leaders" or by institutions that provide assistance. The survey data indicate that Roma believe that their interests are not sufficiently represented at virtually all levels of government. But despite this perception of under-representation, most Roma expect support from state institutions, particularly from social assistance agencies and municipalities. Although Roma feel under-represented at all levels of government, respondents in all five countries indicated that their interests are better represented at local than at central levels of government.

The survey revealed high levels of "local political awareness." Combined with weak support for national-level Roma parties, this suggests that participation at the local and community level should be given priority as feasible and sustainable instruments for Roma participation. This assumption is supported by the fact that many successful Roma projects are community-oriented, and involve community mobilization elements. At the same time, national-level representation should be promoted through changes in electoral mechanisms (i.e., reductions in percent thresholds for parliamentary representation) to ensure the presence of minority interests in national policy-making.

Survey responses indicate that human rights are perceived predominantly through the development opportunity lens, rather than through its legal dimensions. Respondents unanimously perceive employment opportunities as the precondition for equality and integration. The second most important precondition is involvement in government, especially at local levels. Local level participation is perceived as more important than either participating in the central state administration, or having government ministers who are Roma.

Policy implications

It is easier to recommend solutions to Roma issues than it is to implement them.¹²⁷ This report does not simply provide another set of recommendations. It seeks instead to capture the complexity of these issues and to suggest ways in which the human rights paradigm can be complemented by focusing on economic and human development opportunities. The recommendations outlined below are intended to suggest how the sustainable development paradigm could be applied to Roma issues, rather than to suggest implementation blueprints. The recommendations also seek to improve cooperation among different actors addressing Roma issues.

Roma and the development paradigm

This report, and the survey data on which it is based, suggest that—for all their cultural distinctiveness—Roma face challenges similar to other ethnic groups in CEE countries. It is easy to identify with the aspirations and concerns expressed by the survey respondents. What differentiates Roma from the rest of Central and Eastern Europe populations is the combined impact of the attempted extermination during the World War II, the oppressive assimilation policies pursued under communism, and the ruinous neglect of the post-communist period. Poverty, dependency on social welfare, and a disinterest in adopting proactive life strategies are both historical legacies of the past and the root causes of the social exclusion and discrimination that Roma experience today. To be sure, the underlying problems are exacerbated by social exclusion and discrimination against the Roma—by violations of their human rights. But since the roots of Roma problems are socioeconomic and poverty-related, improved access to development opportunities is a precondition for the full realization of their human rights.¹²⁸

Such an improvement has several major aspects. Possible approaches to each of these aspects are outlined below.

Education

Education is the critical element in short-, medium-, and long-term programs supporting the development opportunities for Roma, and should be accorded the highest priority. Policy initiatives in education often fail to reflect the multidimensionality of the problems in this area. As outlined in this report, low Roma education levels are not solely due to “exclusionist patterns of educational systems.” They also reflect limited proficiency in majority languages, inadequate incomes for purchasing children’s clothes and books, and an absence of compelling role models showing success through education.

Policies regarding education should be based on two pillars: integration and participation. Integrated education should be seen as the best—if not the only—way of equalizing educational opportunity in the long run. Other measures directed at improving the educational status of Roma should be pursued within the context of this long-term objective. Whichever options are chosen, they should actively involve Roma communities in the process.

To the extent possible, education reform should conform to a set of general principles agreed upon among donors (see below), in order to avoid conflicting messages, approaches, and projects. Significant gains could result from cooperation between UNDP and other international organizations and donors (the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the Open Society Institute, and the UN Children’s Fund—UNICEF to mention just a few) on such issues as curriculum reform. Coordinated

Expansion of people’s choices and improved access to development opportunities are preconditions for the full realization of Roma human rights

Policies regarding education should be based on two pillars: integration and participation

¹²⁷ See OSCE 2000: 162-166; OSI 2001a: 68-69 and the specific country recommendations; Ringold 2000: 35-44; World Bank 2000d: 55-61; Zoon 2001a: 155-159, Zoon 2001b: 95-100.

¹²⁸ The authors here refer to Amartya Sen’s concept of development seen as capabilities expansion. See Sen 1984.

Strengthening support for pre-school education should be treated as a priority by central and municipal governments

measures to make schools more tolerant of diversity, and to improve vocational training programs, would attract broad support from many actors.

Education systems in most CEE countries do not fully reflect the cultural diversity of their societies. Since education reform (particularly in the area of curricula) is often hampered by self-perpetuating prejudices, education specialists from countries with experience in tackling the challenges of multiculturalism could be extremely helpful. Mobilizing UN volunteers, or even setting up an “Education Corps” (following a model like the Peace Corps) could encourage cultural change.

Pre-school education is key to improving educational opportunity for Roma children. Strengthening support for pre-school education should be treated as a priority by central and municipal governments. NGOs have an important (albeit supplementary) role to play here, and many are currently providing pre-school education services. But this supplementary assistance should not weaken the responsibility of the state to realize sound education policies at the local level. In particular, state policy should not hesitate to link parental eligibility for social welfare support to their children’s school attendance.

Special schools could be transformed into resource centers where teachers from “mainstream” educational institutions could be retrained for integrated education

Changing the “special school system” into which so many Roma children are tracked — and which feature a host of obstacles to integrated education—is another area requiring major political commitment. More rapid progress in this area is likely if inclusive policies are pursued both in these and in “mainstream” educational institutions. Special schools could then be transformed into resource centres where teachers from “mainstream” educational institutions could be retrained for integrated education.

Since inadequate education is linked to poverty, policies regarding state budget expenditures on education should be changed. Spending on education should be treated as a long-term investment and as such be eligible for EU funding. This support could take the form of providing free or subsidized textbooks and hot meals for school children, especially at the primary school level. Such measures would have the additional benefit

of protecting students from the poorest families regardless of their ethnicity, rather than being targeted at specific ethnic groups *per se*. The financial burdens for educational budgets posed by these measures will be substantially less than future burdens on social safety nets associated with supporting populations with weak labour market skills.

The introduction and expansion of weekly boarding schools, as a form of educational assistance for poor families, should be considered as well. In addition to promoting educational inclusion for Roma children, these schools could increase aspiration levels and support health education (particularly regarding nutrition). Boarding schools are not without problems: the “export” of bright children to boarding schools can weaken community ties, and the quality of the educational and socialization benefits they deliver are often below those of regular schools. But if these schools function according to participatory and inclusive principles, they can offer superior educational alternatives and provide Roma children with positive role models.¹²⁹

Finally, special efforts to identify and promote the educational prospects of talented Roma children are necessary. The creation of a “United Roma Fund” to support university (or advanced vocational) education for talented Roma students (much like the United Negro College Fund in the United States) is one such possibility.

Employment

The UNDP/ILO survey data strongly suggest that employment is a critical missing link in Roma integration policies. The potential future social benefits of helping Roma to catch up with other CEE populations almost certainly justify investing in Roma today. These investments need to be made carefully, however, in order to ensure that they increase development opportunities and do not encourage cultures of dependency.

Several general principles regarding employment opportunities need to be kept in mind. First, the full economic and non-economic impact of various policy options should be considered. The return on

¹²⁹ “Funding and increasing the supply of boarding facilities for all underprivileged pupils, especially Roma” is one of the recommendations for increasing educational opportunities for Roma in Hungary suggested by Dominique Rosenberg in *Final Report on a Long Term Strategy for the Roma in Hungary*, CoE 2000c: 20.

investments in employment opportunities for vulnerable groups today goes well beyond their current labour market implications. They include the long-term beneficial effects on social welfare and social security systems. Second, as with education, labour market participation is a prerequisite for breaking patterns of social exclusion. Finally, social policies should have a clear “welfare-to-work” character and strengthen incentives to seek employment. Observance of these principles is the only sustainable way to avoid dependency.

Employment through appropriately designed public works projects can be consistent with these principles. UNDP’s “beautiful city” projects introduced throughout the region (“Beautiful Bulgaria” and “Beautiful Romania,” for example)—which mobilize central- and local-government, as well as donor resources to clean up and reconstruct important public spaces and structures in ways that provide meaningful employment opportunities—are good examples that are worthy of replication. Since these projects typically draw extensively on donor resources, as well as on budget revenues that have been set aside for such purposes, they pose no threat to fiscal or macroeconomic stability.

As with education, active participation of representatives of Roma and other vulnerable groups in decision-making and managing such public works activities is a must. Special emphasis should be placed on integration, capacity building, and social mobilization. Active community involvement, rather than passive expectations that “someone should do something,” should be the *sine qua non* of public works projects. While Roma communities should receive external financial support for community-based projects, they should be expected to organize themselves to do the specific job and be held accountable for achieving the expected results. For example, Roma housing or neighbourhood infrastructure issues should be a matter of “providing Roma with the resources needed to build their own houses and improve their own sanitation,” rather than “building houses or improving sanitation for Roma.”

“Investment multiplier effects” should be sought wherever possible. Companies participating in such public works projects should be praised for employing Roma, since this employment can boost their labour market experience and skills. But the impact of such activities is even greater when

they are accompanied by capacity building for Roma entrepreneurs. Employing Roma workers to construct or reconstruct Roma housing is desirable. But the social impact of investing the same money into public works projects that is realized by Roma-owned construction companies employing Roma workers is even greater. Once these companies are established and have learned how to utilize their comparative advantage—relatively inexpensive (but productive) Roma labour—they should be able to survive with decreasing amounts of external support.

Public works programs should be considered in the context of local economic development and decentralization in general, and fiscal decentralization in particular. This means involving local actors in finding solutions to local-level problems (as Roma-related problems usually are)—especially since local actors are usually better aware of local conditions than actors at the centre. It does not mean that municipalities should be expected to generate the revenues needed to finance such projects all by themselves.

Experience with social investment funds (SIFs) should be carefully reassessed in this regard. SIFs targeted at Roma communities should become more “investment-” and less “social-” oriented than has often been the case in the past. For taxpayers, SIF monies are a World Bank loan repayable by future generations. For local governments, these monies are grants without substantial repayment obligations. In their current form, SIFs often do not feature strong links between the “borrowers” of the resources invested in such projects (i.e., taxpayers) and their beneficiaries (e.g., local governments). The absence of strong links between these two parties weakens the sustainability of SIFs. Imposing (at least partial) repayment obligations on beneficiaries, and linking social investment funds to municipal bonds or the flexible management of municipal assets, could make SIFs more sustainable.

Welfare reform

The dependency-oriented nature of social assistance systems in CEE countries means that social benefits can easily weaken work incentives for Roma. Social policy needs to be considered within the context of efforts to reduce dependency cultures and strengthen incentives to adopt proactive life strategies. This is only possible however within the

Spending on education should be treated as a long-term investment and as such be eligible for EU funding

The return on investments in employment opportunities for vulnerable groups today goes well beyond current labour market implications

Social investment funds should become more “investment-” and less “social-” oriented

Social policies should have a clear “welfare to work” character that strengthen incentives to seek employment

Payment of social assistance in cash should be limited, and offset by the use of instruments that facilitate the purchase of explicitly defined categories of first-need goods

framework of policies that raise income levels by strengthening labour market skills.

The principle of “positive net benefits for positive net efforts” should accompany the solidarity principle in underpinning social welfare systems. Social policy should ensure that “staying on social welfare” is less attractive than engaging in income-generating activities. When a Roma entrepreneur tries to start a business or become self-employed, social assistance should not be cancelled immediately. A certain transition period is needed to provide the individual with a necessary minimum income during the business’s start-up period. Social welfare recipients should be afforded as much individual choice as possible in their support options. For example, unemployed workers could be offered tax relief in lieu of unemployment benefits if they were to start their own small business or become self-employed.

For social welfare recipients unwilling or unable to start their own business, assistance should be linked to activities that benefit the community and society at large. In this context social assistance should be tied to public works projects. The disbursement of social assistance should be managed by, or closely coordinated with, administrative bodies responsible for the public works projects. Local development projects, especially at the municipal level, can play an important role in these activities. But municipalities should not be left alone in this endeavour. Resources must also be mobilized from the funds set aside by central government institutions for these purposes, as well as from donors and community based organizations.

Social policy reforms that attempt to break dependency cultures by reducing benefits for indigent families can have very painful side effects. This can particularly be the case for children whose health and nutrition can depend on the benefits provided by income support programs. However, the data presented in this report strongly suggest that existing social policy regimes leave many Roma children—perhaps the majority—undernourished. This especially seems to be the case in Bulgaria and Romania. The inadequacies of existing social policies remove a major argument against reforming social policies in order to break dependency cultures.

Delivery mechanisms ensuring that social assistance actually meets its targeted purposes should be widely introduced in CEE countries. Payment of social assistance in cash form should be limited and offset by the use of instruments that facilitate the purchase of explicitly defined categories of first-need goods. The experience of “food stamps” in the United States—whereby social assistance takes the form of special stamps (or, increasingly, electronic cards) that cannot be used to purchase alcohol, cigarettes, and the like—should be studied for its possible application in CEE countries.¹³⁰ All such mechanisms have their weaknesses, of course: food stamps can be resold for cash that can be used to purchase cigarettes for parents rather than milk for children. These mechanisms should be viewed as secondary instruments in poverty reduction strategies. Still, the introduction of such mechanisms can further strengthen the case for welfare-to-work social policy reforms.

Health

The health status of Roma and their access to health care should not be considered in isolation from issues of economic development, culture, and social aspirations. Health indicators should be made part of nationally set MDG targets and should be the starting point for profound debates on lifestyles and family models. Specific health issues should be approached in a holistic manner.

This is apparent in high maternal mortality rates, which reflect a number of factors that go beyond poor access to health care. These include high teenage pregnancy rates, which cannot be reduced without communications efforts directed at changing the lifestyles and aspirations of young Roma women and men. Likewise, child undernourishment does not result solely from low incomes and high unemployment rates. Unaffordably large families contribute to this problem, so that sustained improvement is unlikely without family planning campaigns.

While most Roma health issues have such multidimensionality, these linkages are not always taken into account in health-oriented Roma projects.

¹³⁰ On the potential of “food stamp” programs, see Patel et al., 2002: 8-9.

The universal inclusion of all Roma in the healthcare system, with some arrangement that establishes continuity with a single physician, should be the end goal of health care reform. Such an arrangement could dramatically improve access to outpatient care and health education. Incentives and resources for expanding and equipping village health centres need to be generated. If possible, these efforts should be combined with targeted support for Roma students interested in careers in medicine, who could then staff these facilities. New criteria and screening procedures should be developed for placement in the “special schools” for disabled students, to prevent the placement of healthy Roma children in these institutions. Preventive measures against HIV/AIDS should be integrated into social policies regarding other health-related issues (drug abuse, family planning). The role of health education, especially among young people, is crucial in this regard.

Health is another area where stronger cooperation among international actors is both possible and desirable. Agencies including the World Health Organization, the UN Population Fund, and UNICEF have specific expertise and hence have comparative advantages in different areas of targeted involvement (vaccinations, teen pregnancy, family planning, and child nutrition). Organizations with comparative advantages in a given area should coordinate the activities of the various donors in their areas of expertise.

Social inclusion

Supporting vulnerable groups’ desires for social integration in the CEE countries is the only sustainable way to prevent the emergence of impoverished, alienated, underclass strata when these countries join the EU. Social inclusion however means acquiring the status of real (and not just formal) citizens and taxpayers, possessing rights and discharging obligations. Ensuring that Roma are issued appropriate personal identification documents and birth certificates are key steps towards reaching such status, and important elements in taking Roma communities out of the “legal limbo” in which they often find themselves.

Many policies vis-à-vis Roma today contain elements of pre-transition assimilation models. Social inclusion means empowering

excluded and marginalized communities and giving them the opportunity to, and responsibilities for, escaping dependency. Both individuals and institutions need to better understand why inclusion is in the long-term interest of both Roma and majority communities.

Social inclusion should be approached from “both sides.” Community activities supporting Roma culture, language, and traditions, both in and outside of schools, should receive stronger support. New types of leadership that both empower, and are accountable to, Roma communities should be encouraged. Decentralizing government, especially public administration, to promote Roma participation in local-level decision-making can be extremely beneficial in this regard. At the same time, the message that both majorities and minorities need to change should be clearly delivered. UNDP’s Local Agenda 21 programme, which emphasizes social mobilization and decentralization as paths to social inclusion, could be particularly important in this regard. Roma integration components could be added to Local Agenda 21 priorities and assessment criteria in CEE countries.

Promoting tolerance vis-à-vis Roma is especially important in law enforcement institutions. Activities in this area should include training to prevent oppression and brutality and to promote awareness and respect for human rights, particularly among the police, judiciary, and correctional institutions. Recruiting Roma to work in these systems is a sustainable way to promote tolerance and diversity within these institutions, and should be encouraged. Because they encourage mutual interaction and understanding, such policies are long-term investments in social cohesion.

Anti-discrimination legislation does not by itself change the social position of Roma. But it can have a major symbolic impact in demonstrating how society and its representatives value non-discriminatory behaviour. Support for Roma representation in state institutions should be codified and institutionalized. But social inclusion cannot be achieved without supportive economic development projects. This is apparent in housing and land-use policies. Renovating dilapidated housing in Roma neighbourhoods not only improves Roma housing conditions and provides employment and job training for Roma construction workers: it can

High maternal mortality rates reflect a number of factors that go beyond poor access to health care

Social inclusion means acquiring the status of real citizens and taxpayers, possessing rights and discharging obligations

Support for Roma representation in state institutions should be codified and institutionalized

reduce barriers to interactions with majority communities and thereby promote social inclusion. Steps should also be taken to remove Roma property ownership from states of legal limbo. Many Roma families live in dwellings or facilities that are *de jure* owned by central or local governments, but which are abandoned or otherwise bereft of *de facto* non-Roma owners. Although Roma communities often play the role of *de facto* owners of such properties, the absence of legal titles to these properties prevents the legal connection of these dwellings to electricity, water, and other infrastructure systems. In addition to promoting social inclusion, converting *de facto* into *de jure* property rights for Roma dwellings would promote income-generating activities by new Roma property-holding entrepreneurs.¹³¹

When cooperation is lacking, different donors are doomed to perpetuate inefficiencies in local-level involvement

More reliable quantitative data must be developed to provide a basis for formulating adequate policies targeted at the Roma and other marginalized communities. Maintaining ethnically disaggregated statistics in areas such as unemployment registration can be problematic because of desires to avoid discrimination or escape the stigmatization of imposed identification. Household budget and labour force surveys should instead be used to generate data that are disaggregated by ethnicity. These survey instruments can provide adequate, reliable information on development opportunities, levels of marginalization, and the magnitude of specific problems to be solved without the threat of negative consequences for the individual.

Improved donor coordination: towards a common code of conduct

Effective cooperation among donors is a major requirement for success in Roma-targeted projects. Respecting certain common “rules of the game” is increasingly seen as a prerequisite for increasing the impact of Roma-related projects. Different donors often target the same communities and work with the same counterparts without

coordinating their activities or exchanging information—except for exchanging “best practices” when the projects are over. The most significant aspects of these projects—the negative experiences, the knowledge about where and why a project failed, information about the trustworthy partners—are often treated as “classified information.” Different donors are often doomed to repeat the same learning curve, perpetuating inefficiencies in local-level involvement.

The elaboration and adoption of a “common code of conduct” promoting donor coordination could be very helpful in this regard. Ideally, every donor could commit to including the following elements in its Roma projects:

- More coordination between donors in project design and implementation should be encouraged. The current practice of holding informal inter-agency information-sharing and coordination meetings¹³² should be extended into more practical cooperation between the donors most closely involved in Roma projects.
- Every project design should be consistent with basic requirements for sustainability, in terms of affordability and declining long-run subsidization. Projects should not promote dependency cultures, and should elaborate a phase-out strategy at the very beginning.
- Before a project in a certain area is started, other donors previously or potentially involved in this area should be consulted, at least informally. These consultations should provide a forum for sharing negative experiences. In general, maximum coordination between different projects pursued by different donors is desirable. If several donors are active in the same area, cooperation to avoid duplication of efforts and to substantially reduce implementation costs should be attempted. Cooperation can also promote the regional (sub-national) coordination

¹³¹ On Roma housing issues and the crucial importance of legalizing existing ownership status “where possible,” see the *Memorandum Prepared by the Secretariat on Problems Facing Roma/Gypsies in the Field of Housing*, CoE 2000d: 11. On the significance of converting informal property rights into real, enforceable property rights developing economies, see Hernando De Soto, *The Other Path. The Economic Answer to Terrorism*. This argument is strongest in the case of state properties which are not claimed by other owners. The application of this approach to state properties and dwellings occupied by Roma and subject to restitution claims would of course have to be handled in a different manner.

¹³² Currently involving UNHCR, OSI, IOM, CoE, EU/EC, and OSCE, and convening regularly in Strasbourg.

of resources devoted to Roma projects, which can make project implementation easier and more transparent.

- Wherever possible, donors should work with several partners in an individual community to ensure an element of competition. The emergence of “local monopolies” controlling access to donor resources can have strongly negative effects on the communities in which the projects are being conducted.
 - Wherever possible, projects should be clustered. Projects addressing different but related issues should be co-managed synergistically, linking, for example, health and sanitation projects with education and employment generation projects.
 - Real project impact should always be the primary project assessment criterion (as opposed to ensuring that budgeted and actual expenditures are in compliance). “What has changed on the ground?” is the obvious (but sometimes difficult) question that always needs to be posed upon the completion of a project. Whenever possible, standardized assessment systems for evaluating the impact of Roma projects in the field, with internally consistent, measurable benchmarks and indicators, should be introduced. Before starting a project, the relevant initial conditions should be thoroughly analysed, in order to develop the relevant context for assessing the project’s impact.
- Donor funding should be treated as investment capital, and project efficiency should be assessed by applying economic criteria. The opportunity cost of this capital should always be borne in mind—what activities cannot be funded as a result of a decision to finance a given project?
 - The distinction between “not-for-profit” and “NGO business” organizations should be clarified to reduce scepticism in the communities they serve. Reliance on self-declaratory claims of “we are not-for-profit” is often insufficient. Donors should invest more into investigating the background of NGOs, as well as monitoring their activities. Developing “who’s who” profiles of potential partners and exchanging information would help increase transparency and accountability, and reduce opportunities for corruption in the third sector.

Such a common code of conduct cannot be a binding set of rules. But even if it took the form of informal meetings of organizations involved in Roma issues, such a code could promote the development of sustainable approaches to the existing problems. UNDP’s Roma Web Knowledge website (<http://roma.undp.sk>) could be used for posting information about different donors’ programs, project documents, and other relevant data, in order to promote better coordination through transparency of information.

“What has changed on the ground?” should be the first question asked upon completion of a project

Annexes

Annex 1

Data collection methodology and results of the multi-country survey

This study is based on survey data collected from face-to-face interviews with 5034 Roma respondents in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, and Slovak Republic. In a number of respects this survey is unique in its scale and consistency over countries. The results from each country are comparable because they are based on a common questionnaire (translated into the respective local languages) and an identical sampling design methodology.

The sampling instrument

The questionnaire had to both grasp the reality specific to each country and provide grounds for comparison between countries. It had to provide data about Roma households and at the same time individual information about the specific respondent. All five national coordinators were involved in designing the questionnaire. Some of the questions were modified in each country, taking into account national specifics.

Of the 100 survey questions, 85 are identical and directly comparable between countries. Results of those 85 questions were used in the regional analysis. Data obtained from the 15 country-specific questions were used in the national reports for the respective countries. Half of the questions in the survey were “individually-oriented” and the others “household-oriented.” Individuals (not households) were interviewed, but some of the questions concerned the respondent’s household. These different layers in the questionnaire were carefully taken into account during the data analysis. The conclusions related to individual patterns and attitudes are based on the “individual-oriented” questions, while conclusions related to household situation are based on “household-oriented” questions.

The sampling design

The survey used random quota sampling (quotas for regions or municipalities, depending on the administrative structure of the country) for adult Roma (above 18 years of age). Sampling was based on data provided by the last formal census. Although in all countries the numbers of people identifying themselves as Roma are substantially below the actual Roma population numbers, it was assumed that the census results adequately reflect Roma population structures, in terms of rural/urban, age, and sex distributions. In each country, localities with sampling clusters were identified through consultations with experts in ethnic relations, representatives of national polling agencies, and Roma NGOs.

The numbers of respondents to be surveyed in a given area and the distribution of sampling clusters were a function of overall population; more weight was given to larger Roma population concentrations. Regarding ethnic affiliation, the research team followed the philosophy of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (developed in the Explanatory Report to the Convention, Council of Europe 1995b) which combines subjective self-identification with culturally-based objective criteria.

Based on these common guidelines, the sampling in all countries followed these common steps:

1. Neighbourhoods and villages populated mainly by Roma were selected from all types of settlements and economic environments.
2. Sampling clusters were identified according to the structure and territorial distribution of Roma population. The exact profile of the respondents to be interviewed was determined for each sampling cluster.

3. Field operators identified the individuals to be interviewed corresponding to the profile of respondents for the cluster, with the assistance of representatives from local government administrations or social assistance services.

The sample size in each country was close to 1,000, making the survey fairly representative of the Roma population in each country. It is of course impossible to claim complete statistical representativeness, as the sampling was hampered by ambiguities concerning who actually is a Roma, and the size of the Roma population in each country.

Roma NGOs in the five countries were consulted on the adequacy of the sampling procedures, to ensure that they accurately captured the distribution of Roma populations. Even a perfectly designed sample will probably over-represent the worst-off segments of the Roma population, since these are recognizably Roma and are most unlikely to be integrated into majority communities.

The fieldwork

The data were collected on the basis of standardized face-to-face interviews conducted at the respondents' dwellings. The fieldwork was conducted mainly in November 2001 in Slovak Republic and Bulgaria, in December 2001 in Czech Republic and Romania and in January 2002 in Hungary. The number of people interviewed were: 997

in Bulgaria, 1006 in Czech Republic, 1000 in Hungary, 1001 in Romania, and 1030 in Slovak Republic (total 5034 respondents).

One of the first issues addressed was self-affiliation—does the respondent identify himself/herself as being Roma? In each country, only a small share of respondents identified by field operators, local administration and Roma NGOs as being Roma did not consider themselves to be Roma (14 percent in Bulgaria, 13 percent in Czech Republic, 5 percent in Romania, and 9 percent in Slovak Republic; see the data distributions for the first question in the “Survey Results” table below). In Hungary, researchers decided to conduct full interviews only with those respondents who identified themselves as being Roma.

The profile of the sub-group of respondents who did not identify themselves as Roma conforms closely to the overall sample in each country. The table below shows that the responses this group (in the four countries) gave to two questions related to ethnicity indirectly reveal Roma ethnic identity.¹³³

Respondents who did not identify themselves as being Roma were asked to which ethnic affiliation they believed they belonged (second question in “Survey Results” table below). The share of those who identify themselves as belonging to other ethnic minorities is highest in Bulgaria (38 percent of respondents choose ‘other minority,’ most probably Turkish).

Respondent profiles and self-identification								
	BG		CZ		RO		SK	
	Overall sample	Stated non-Roma affiliation	Overall sample	Stated non-Roma affiliation	Overall sample	Stated non-Roma affiliation	Overall sample	Stated non-Roma affiliation
What is the ethnic affiliation of the majority of the children in the class in the school your children are attending? (percentage)								
Most of them are from the ethnic majority	35	40	56	57	56	44	46	51
Most of them are Roma	27	21	12	3	14	20	24	13
Most of them are from other ethnic minorities	5	9	0	0	7	4	2	7
Don't know	9	9	8	1	10	2	0	2
N/r	23	21	25	39	14	30	28	27
Table Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Do you use Roma language at home? (percentage)								
Yes	72	22	47	18	63	10	59	32
No	28	77	50	79	37	90	40	67
N/r	0	1	3	3	0	0	2	1
Table Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

¹³³ Due to the small number of respondents self-affiliated as “non-Roma,” the stochastic error could be quite high.

Survey results (distribution by major groups)

	Regional average	Country					Regional data profiles by major groups									
		BG	CZ	HUN	SK	RO	By gender of the respondent:		By age			By education				
							Male	Female	<=29	30-49	>=50	None or inc. pr.	Primary	Inc. second.	Secondary and >	
Ethnic self-affiliation of the respondent: Do you feel Roma?																
Yes	90.8	85.1	83.7	100.0	90.5	94.6	91.8	89.6	89.1	92.2	89.9	93.6	91.0	88.9	83.7	
No	8.3	13.9	13.0		9.4	5.0	7.3	9.3	9.6	7.1	9.1	5.1	8.4	10.1	15.8	
N/R	1.0	1.0	3.3		0.1	0.4	0.9	1.0	1.3	0.7	1.0	1.3	0.7	1.1	0.6	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Filter: If no	If not, what do you feel you are?															
Majority	69.5	40.3	90.8		80.4	74.0	69.3	69.7	71.0	70.9	65.7	51.3	66.9	84.4	69.6	
Other minority	17.3	38.8	3.8		12.4	2.0	15.9	18.4	13.8	15.7	24.2	30.0	17.8	5.7	23.2	
N/R	13.2	20.9	5.3		7.2	24.0	14.8	11.8	15.2	13.4	10.1	18.8	15.3	9.8	7.1	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
What ethnic affiliation did you declare during the last census?																
I have not stated ethnic affiliation	5.3	7.4	4.2		0.4	9.2	5.5	5.0	5.3	4.9	5.7	5.9	5.3	3.9	6.6	
I did not take a part	6.3	5.5	10.4		3.6	5.8	6.3	6.3	8.5	5.1	5.6	8.0	6.3	5.0	4.7	
Declared affiliation: Roma	47.9	58.0	24.9		41.0	68.0	50.6	44.9	42.0	49.8	52.6	57.5	47.5	37.3	46.5	
Declared affiliation: Majority	28.4	9.1	50.1		44.1	9.7	25.7	31.4	31.5	29.2	22.5	15.1	28.6	43.8	28.2	
Declared affiliation: Other minority	5.5	9.1	4.3		7.9	0.7	5.1	6.0	4.9	5.2	6.8	4.7	6.0	5.2	7.9	
N/R	6.6	10.8	6.2		3.1	6.6	6.7	6.4	7.7	5.7	6.8	8.8	6.3	4.8	6.0	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Were you born here? (here or near to this place - city, village)																
Yes	66.7	71.1	62.9	62.5	67.3	69.6	70.9	62.2	74.8	64.8	59.5	63.9	65.0	71.0	73.5	
No	32.1	27.3	35.1	37.5	32.2	28.4	28.1	36.4	23.9	34.1	39.2	34.7	33.6	28.0	26.2	
N/R	1.2	1.6	2.0		0.5	2.0	1.0	1.4	1.3	1.1	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.0	0.3	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Filter: If no	If no, when did you come (state year)?															
Mean	1980	1978	1978	1981	1984	1978	1979	1980	1989	1981	1969	1978	1980	1982	1982	
Are you married?																
Married or with partner	76.5	75.1	64.2	77.5	84.5	80.8	82.2	70.2	66.4	86.2	68.5	72.3	79.4	77.6	74.4	
Single	11.3	10.8	20.5	7.0	10.3	7.8	11.5	11.1	30.4	3.3	2.7	8.7	9.5	15.1	19.2	
Divorced	5.0	3.5	8.3	9.3	1.2	2.9	2.7	7.5	2.3	6.7	5.3	5.5	5.4	4.5	3.4	
Widow(er)	6.6	9.2	6.6	6.2	3.6	7.7	3.2	10.3	0.2	3.4	22.8	12.9	5.0	2.2	2.5	
N/R	0.6	1.3	0.4		0.5	0.8	0.4	0.8	0.7	0.4	0.8	0.5	0.7	0.6	0.6	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Number of children stated	How many children do you have? Stated number															
No children	10.8	10.9	20.1	9.1	8.7	5.3	13.0	8.6	30.4	2.4	2.8	7.5	8.8	15.3	21.1	
1	10.6	13.9	10.4	10.1	8.6	10.2	10.5	10.9	20.8	6.4	6.0	9.5	9.5	12.5	15.8	
2	20.0	25.3	17.9	20.1	19.9	17.1	19.3	20.9	23.5	20.7	13.7	14.5	21.5	22.2	29.9	
3	21.6	23.0	20.5	24.8	22.0	17.9	21.6	21.5	14.4	27.3	19.1	18.4	24.3	23.0	16.3	
4	14.6	11.7	13.7	14.3	16.0	17.2	13.9	15.4	4.9	18.9	18.6	18.5	14.0	12.9	7.0	
5	9.0	6.8	8.1	8.4	9.8	12.0	9.5	8.5	2.5	10.8	14.2	11.1	10.1	6.2	3.1	
6	5.8	3.5	4.2	6.3	6.4	8.6	5.8	5.8	0.7	6.3	11.5	8.6	5.6	3.5	1.7	
7	2.4	1.5	2.0	2.8	2.6	3.2	2.2	2.6	0.3	2.6	5.0	4.3	2.2	1.1		
8	1.5	0.5	0.9	1.9	1.9	2.0	1.0	1.9	0.1	1.8	2.5	2.6	1.1	0.9		
9	1.1	1.1	0.4	2.2	1.7		0.7	1.5	0.1	1.2	2.3	2.3	0.6	0.4	0.6	
10	0.3		0.5		0.6	0.3	0.3	0.3		0.3	0.6	0.3	0.4	0.2		
11	0.2		0.1		0.5	0.2	0.0	0.2		0.1	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.1		
12	0.2		0.3		0.5	0.1	0.1	0.2			0.8	0.3	0.1	0.2		
13	0.1		0.2		0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1		0.0	0.3		0.1	0.1		
14	0.0				0.1			0.0			0.1			0.1		
15	0.0				0.1			0.0	0.1				0.1			
16	0.0		0.1		0.1		0.0	0.0			0.2	0.1				
17	0.0				0.2			0.1	0.1		0.1		0.1	0.1		
18	0.0		0.1				0.0			0.0				0.1		
19	0.0		0.1				0.0				0.1	0.1				

		Regional average	Country					Regional data profiles by major groups								
								By gender of the respondent:		By age				By education		
			BG	CZ	HUN	SK	RO	Male	Female	<=29	30-49	>=50	None or inc. pr.	Primary	Inc. second.	Secondary and >
20	0.0				0.1			0.0	0.1					0.1		
N/R	1.6	1.7	0.5			5.9	1.9	1.3	2.2	1.2	1.7	1.7	1.4	1.1	4.5	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Filter: with children	How old were you when your first child was born? Stated age															
Mean	19.8	19.4	19.7	20.0	20.1	19.8	21.0	18.6	18.8	20.0	20.3	18.8	19.8	20.8	21.6	
At what age do you think your children should have their first child?- Your son																
Mean	21.3	21.1	22.4	22.1	20.7	20.8	21.4	21.3	21.2	21.5	21.1	20.5	21.4	21.9	22.7	
At what age do you think your children should have their first child?- Your daughter																
Mean	19.9	19.4	20.9	20.9	19.5	19.0	19.9	19.9	20.0	20.1	19.4	19.1	20.1	20.5	20.9	
Who is the head of your household?																
Myself	58.8	52.7	50.1	66.4		66.1	79.9	36.4	35.5	64.2	77.3	59.6	57.0	61.6	56.9	
My wife/husband	25.8	30.9	24.1	27.3		20.9	4.1	48.9	24.8	30.2	17.9	28.5	29.6	16.3	16.7	
My father	9.3	11.1	16.1	2.3		7.7	10.8	7.7	27.4	2.4	0.5	6.1	7.9	14.1	20.6	
My mother	2.4	1.9	3.0	2.1		2.6	2.3	2.5	6.2	1.1	0.3	1.9	2.3	3.7	2.5	
My grandfather	0.4	0.2	1.1	0.1		0.1	0.4	0.3	0.9	0.2		0.1	0.4	0.7	1.1	
My grandmother	0.2	0.2	0.3			0.5	0.3	0.2	0.9			0.3	0.2	0.4		
Somebody else - who?	2.2	2.5	3.4	1.8		1.2	1.2	3.3	3.0	1.3	3.1	3.0	1.7	1.8	1.8	
N/R	0.8	0.5	2.0			0.9	0.9	0.8	1.3	0.6	0.8	0.6	0.9	1.4	0.4	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Who is keeping the money in your household?																
Myself	56.4	54.9	50.6	58.1		62.0	50.5	62.6	39.9	61.7	66.4	60.8	57.0	47.7	54.4	
My wife/husband	26.9	26.7	24.1	32.9		24.1	31.9	21.7	20.1	31.6	25.9	26.0	27.4	30.2	19.6	
My father	5.6	5.7	10.5	0.8		5.3	6.3	4.9	16.8	1.2	0.5	3.9	5.0	9.3	7.5	
My mother	5.4	6.5	7.4	3.3		4.5	6.2	4.6	15.9	1.5	0.2	3.5	4.5	8.0	12.8	
My grandfather	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.1			0.2	0.3	0.6	0.1		0.1	0.3	0.4	0.4	
My grandmother	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1		0.6	0.4	0.1	0.9			0.3	0.2	0.3	0.4	
Somebody else - who?	3.6	3.8	4.0	4.7		2.0	3.1	4.2	3.7	3.0	4.9	4.1	3.6	2.8	3.9	
N/R	1.6	2.0	2.8			1.5	1.5	1.7	2.2	1.0	2.1	1.3	2.0	1.3	1.1	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
How are important decisions taken in your family (choose the option closest to your family pattern)?																
The oldest member of the household decides	6.6	7.5	9.1	9.0	2.8	4.8	6.0	7.3	6.4	5.2	10.4	9.8	5.5	5.4	3.4	
The men in the family decide	9.0	6.3	11.9	2.2	9.1	15.2	10.7	7.1	9.3	9.1	7.9	10.9	8.6	8.7	3.4	
The head of the household decides	24.8	21.3	29.4	15.6	21.6	36.4	23.4	26.4	25.4	22.5	29.2	31.3	22.9	21.4	17.7	
The head of the household together with his/her spouse decides	44.0	37.4	32.1	63.0	52.8	34.6	46.0	41.9	41.3	49.1	36.4	34.9	47.3	49.9	47.0	
The employed members of the household decide	1.4	2.3	1.6	1.8	0.6	0.8	1.3	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.6	2.5	
In the decision-making all members except the children decide	13.4	24.0	15.1	8.4	11.9	7.8	11.9	15.0	15.2	11.8	14.5	11.4	13.8	12.4	24.8	
N/R	0.7	1.2	0.7		1.2	0.5	0.7	0.7	1.0	0.7	0.4	0.6	0.7	0.7	1.1	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
You probably have some individual knowledge or skill, which you did not learn in school but rather from the community. Please select items from the following list for which this is the case																
Roma language	In the community	67.9	85.0	75.4	38.6	72.7	67.7	69.2	66.4	65.4	67.0	73.7	72.7	67.6	66.2	
	In school	27.9	0.2	22.8	60.8	26.9	28.9	26.9	29.1	29.8	29.4	21.8	23.0	27.7	26.2	
	N/R	4.2	14.8	1.8	0.6	0.4	3.4	3.9	4.5	4.8	3.6	4.4	4.4	4.7	7.6	
Roma history	In the community	29.8	49.7	32.9	17.5	20.5	28.8	31.5	28.0	26.3	28.6	37.1	32.2	29.1	43.4	
	In school	56.8	2.5	58.9	81.9	75.2	64.7	55.9	58.1	59.1	60.3	46.1	51.4	55.6	38.6	
	N/R	13.4	47.7	8.2	0.6	4.3	6.5	12.6	14.0	14.6	11.1	16.9	16.4	15.3	18.0	
Moral values	In the community	62.5	63.8	83.8	26.4	78.5	59.5	63.6	61.2	62.7	61.7	63.9	57.6	72.9	69.3	
	In school	28.8	17.7	8.9	73.0	12.5	32.4	27.9	29.9	28.4	30.5	25.8	31.2	32.4	23.7	
	N/R	8.7	18.6	7.3	0.6	8.9	8.1	8.4	8.9	8.9	7.8	10.3	11.3	9.1	7.0	
Traditional crafts	In the community	33.3	59.1	21.9	18.4	21.4	46.1	37.1	29.1	25.5	32.3	45.7	40.1	32.7	39.2	
	In school	55.8	4.5	68.8	81.0	76.4	47.3	53.1	58.8	61.7	58.1	42.9	45.9	56.1	44.2	
	N/R	11.0	36.4	9.3	0.6	2.2	6.7	9.8	12.2	12.8	9.6	11.4	14.1	11.3	16.6	
Cooking Skills	In the community	54.4	68.3	57.8	36.3	56.9	52.4	30.3	79.5	53.6	54.4	55.0	57.1	56.3	53.5	
	In school	38.0	4.0	39.4	63.1	40.9	42.3	57.4	17.7	38.0	39.8	34.0	33.5	35.7	34.6	
	N/R	7.7	27.7	2.9	0.6	2.2	5.3	12.3	2.8	8.4	5.8	11.0	9.4	8.0	11.8	
Respect for the elderly	In the community	74.5	79.5	82.1	48.5	85.5	76.2	73.1	75.9	73.4	74.3	76.0	72.5	72.3	78.3	
	In school	20.5	14.4	10.5	50.9	8.6	18.5	21.4	19.6	20.5	21.3	19.2	21.0	23.9	18.6	
	N/R	5.0	6.0	7.4	0.6	5.8	5.3	5.5	4.5	6.0	4.4	4.8	6.5	3.8	3.1	

		Regional average	Country					Regional data profiles by major groups								
								By gender of the respondent:		By age			By education			
			BG	CZ	HUN	SK	RO	Male	Female	<=29	30-49	>=50	None or inc. pr.	Primary	Inc. second.	Secondary and >
To love the country I live in	In the community	48.1	48.7	60.1	31.0	44.0	56.4	48.1	48.0	43.6	47.5	55.4	49.6	45.7	50.3	45.6
	In school	40.9	39.9	24.4	68.4	35.3	36.8	41.9	39.9	42.8	42.3	35.3	39.0	44.2	36.1	48.2
	N/R	11.0	11.3	15.5	0.6	20.7	6.8	10.0	12.1	13.6	10.2	9.3	11.4	10.1	13.6	6.2
Amateur painting	In the community	10.5	13.8	20.7	1.6	9.3	7.2	9.9	11.1	12.0	9.4	11.0	9.5	9.7	12.4	12.7
	In school	74.6	37.9	72.8	97.8	80.7	83.6	76.1	73.2	75.3	77.6	66.9	71.1	74.6	80.8	69.6
	N/R	14.9	48.2	6.6	0.6	10.0	9.2	14.0	15.7	12.7	13.0	22.1	19.4	15.7	6.8	17.7
Roma traditions	In the community	52.4	76.0	47.2	42.1	41.8	55.3	52.9	51.9	46.9	51.8	61.3	57.6	52.6	42.7	61.4
	In school	39.8	1.7	46.2	57.3	55.0	38.5	39.8	40.0	44.1	41.9	29.6	32.3	39.7	52.7	30.7
	N/R	7.7	22.3	6.6	0.6	3.2	6.2	7.4	8.1	9.0	6.3	9.1	10.1	7.7	4.6	7.9
Harvesting from nature	In the community	32.2	51.5	23.8	12.0	33.3	40.5	31.7	32.7	26.6	30.6	43.0	39.5	31.8	23.3	31.3
	In school	58.1	19.7	69.7	87.4	60.3	53.1	59.3	56.8	62.8	61.1	45.4	48.0	57.9	70.9	60.0
	N/R	9.7	28.9	6.6	0.6	6.4	6.4	9.0	10.5	10.6	8.4	11.5	12.4	10.3	5.9	8.7
Knowledge of mushrooms and herbs	In the community	34.9	40.5	39.5	19.0	33.0	42.5	33.6	36.4	29.5	34.7	42.2	40.1	34.1	31.4	27.3
	In school	51.4	10.4	54.6	80.4	60.9	50.0	53.2	49.4	56.0	53.6	40.6	43.9	50.6	62.5	50.1
	N/R	13.8	49.0	6.0	0.6	6.1	7.5	13.2	14.2	14.5	11.8	17.2	16.0	15.3	6.0	22.5
Sewing or embroidery skills	In the community	26.4	28.7	34.1	11.7	31.5	26.1	9.6	44.3	25.8	26.7	26.4	27.6	27.9	22.9	24.2
	In school	58.4	10.9	62.3	87.7	64.5	66.0	72.0	44.1	59.5	61.3	50.6	54.1	55.5	71.4	49.6
	N/R	15.2	60.4	3.6	0.6	4.1	7.9	18.4	11.6	14.7	12.0	23.0	18.3	16.5	5.7	26.2
Knowledge of various languages	In the community	15.5	22.4	14.0	3.6	13.6	23.9	16.5	14.3	13.5	15.2	18.7	18.6	14.2	13.1	15.8
	In school	68.3	18.2	78.9	95.8	81.1	66.7	68.1	68.6	70.2	71.4	58.6	60.4	68.8	80.2	60.8
	N/R	16.3	59.5	7.1	0.6	5.3	9.4	15.4	17.1	16.3	13.4	22.7	21.0	17.0	6.7	23.4
What traditional Roma activities, that are practiced in your immediate community could be a source of income today?																
Handicrafts	Yes	43.2	46.7	32.0	35.4	53.6	48.2	46.5	39.7	40.2	44.6	44.3	41.9	43.4	41.8	52.7
	No	49.2	46.9	46.3	61.7	45.0	46.4			50.7	49.4	47.4	50.0	49.1	50.3	43.4
	N/R	7.5	6.3	21.7	2.9	1.4	5.5			9.1	6.1	8.3	8.1	7.4	7.8	3.9
Handworks	Yes	36.8	72.7	29.3	21.2	38.2	22.6	35.6	38.0	35.3	35.9	41.0	37.4	37.2	30.2	52.4
	No	55.6	22.3	50.3	75.8	59.8	69.4			55.0	58.1	50.8	54.5	55.4	61.4	43.4
	N/R	7.7	5.0	20.4	3.0	2.0	8.0			9.7	6.1	8.2	8.1	7.4	8.4	4.2
Commerce	Yes	55.8	67.0	54.1	62.1	43.2	52.9	56.9	54.6	54.2	57.2	54.7	52.9	57.8	52.2	70.4
	No	37.8	28.2	28.3	35.4	53.8	42.7			38.6	37.4	37.6	40.5	35.9	40.5	26.5
	N/R	6.5	4.8	17.6	2.5	3.0	4.4			7.2	5.4	7.7	6.6	6.3	7.3	3.1
Healing	Yes	13.3	20.5	12.0	9.9	9.6	14.6	12.4	14.2	13.7	12.3	14.7	16.5	13.5	8.1	15.2
	No	77.4	72.7	63.6	87.5	85.0	78.0			75.7	79.4	75.8	74.3	77.5	81.2	78.6
	N/R	9.3	6.8	24.4	2.6	5.4	7.4			10.6	8.3	9.5	9.2	9.0	10.7	6.2
Music	Yes	59.6	48.3	63.5	68.8	67.6	49.6	61.2	58.0	60.3	61.7	54.0	50.9	61.4	64.9	70.7
	No	35.2	45.2	24.9	28.7	31.3	46.2			33.2	34.2	40.5	43.2	33.8	29.6	25.9
	N/R	5.2	6.4	11.6	2.5	1.2	4.3			6.4	4.1	5.5	5.9	4.8	5.4	3.4
Medicine man	Yes	14.1	22.8	23.1	8.0	4.0	12.9	13.8	14.4	14.3	13.3	15.7	15.1	14.5	10.2	20.6
	No	73.0	70.5	54.9	88.9	71.7	79.1			69.4	75.2	73.0	73.4	73.3	73.0	68.7
	N/R	12.9	6.7	22.1	3.1	24.4	8.0			16.3	11.5	11.3	11.4	12.2	16.7	10.7
Showman	Yes	18.7	30.4	23.3	11.3	8.1	20.7	18.8	18.6	20.1	17.5	19.4	19.6	18.5	13.9	31.0
	No	69.9	62.9	54.7	85.8	72.9	73.2			66.0	72.5	69.7	70.6	70.1	71.5	61.4
	N/R	11.4	6.7	22.1	2.9	19.0	6.1			13.9	10.1	10.9	9.8	11.4	14.6	7.6
Fortune teller	Yes	19.5	27.2	26.6	19.7	2.4	22.1	18.4	20.6	19.1	19.1	20.8	22.4	20.1	13.5	24.2
	No	65.5	66.4	50.4	77.8	61.8	71.1			62.7	66.9	66.5	66.0	64.9	66.4	62.8
	N/R	15.0	6.4	23.0	2.5	35.7	6.8			18.1	14.1	12.7	11.6	15.0	20.0	13.0
Nothing traditional	Yes	13.7	13.5	12.5	14.2	19.5	8.4	12.1	15.4	14.2	12.9	14.7	16.5	13.7	12.0	7.3
	No	65.7	36.9	39.8	83.6	78.8	89.1			63.3	69.6	60.4	61.9	65.7	70.3	66.2
	N/R	20.6	49.5	47.7	2.2	1.7	2.5			22.6	17.5	24.9	21.6	20.6	17.7	26.5
What are the major three conditions in order to succeed in life? - Indicated options																
Good luck		65.7	60.5	64.5		45.3	61.0	64.1	67.5	65.6	66.1	64.8	70.6	69.4	57.0	53.5
Good education		47.0	35.0	30.4		45.0	27.1	45.4	48.7	46.9	49.2	42.4	39.8	46.7	52.9	61.7
Reliable friends with contacts		38.6	29.7	33.8		21.4	11.3	38.6	38.8	38.3	40.3	35.6	41.9	41.7	34.0	26.2
Seriousness, steadiness, reliability		31.4	16.2	12.1		13.0	18.9	31.8	31.1	26.0	34.4	32.3	31.0	34.2	28.5	30.1
Hard work		52.6	37.0	31.5		42.7	54.4	53.7	51.4	45.3	55.1	57.0	51.9	54.2	51.8	49.3
Support from the state		45.0	44.8	25.0		25.0	33.2	43.3	46.8	40.5	46.6	47.8	55.6	47.4	32.9	26.5
Good professional skills		33.4	23.3	18.7		18.1	10.1	33.1	33.9	31.0	34.8	33.8	32.2	35.9	31.3	33.2
To be of good health		68.5	45.9	63.5		67.9	67.3	65.9	71.1	64.5	70.3	69.8	67.3	72.2	66.7	60.6
"How important do you consider the following aspects of your life - Average values on a scale of 1-4: 1- Crucial; 2- Very Important; 3- Important but not much; 4- No Significance (mean values)"																
To be rich		2.1	2.2	1.8	2.4	2.2	1.9	2.0	2.1	2.0	2.1	2.2	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.2

	Regional average	Country					Regional data profiles by major groups									
							By gender of the respondent:		By age			By education				
		BG	CZ	HUN	SK	RO	Male	Female	<=29	30-49	>=50	None or inc. pr.	Primary	Inc. second.	Second- ary and >	
To be employed	1.6	1.3	1.9	1.7	1.6	1.3	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.4	
To have a good family	1.4	1.3	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.3	
To have many friends	2.1	1.9	2.0	2.3	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.1	2.0	2.1	2.2	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.0	
To have good relations with people from other ethnic communities	2.2	1.9	2.4	2.2	2.4	2.0	2.1	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.1	
My children to be happy	1.3	1.3	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	
To be in good health	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.1	
To have fun	2.3	2.4	2.3	1.8	2.8	2.3	2.2	2.4	2.1	2.3	2.5	2.3	2.3	2.4	2.4	
To be respected by others	1.9	1.9	2.1	1.8	2.2	1.6	1.9	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	2.0	1.8	
To be free to do what I want to do	2.0	2.1	2.0	1.8	2.1	1.9	1.9	2.1	1.9	2.0	2.1	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.9	
To be a director	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.2	3.7	3.1	3.3	3.4	3.2	3.3	3.5	3.3	3.4	3.4	3.3	
To live safe and predictable life	1.7	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.4	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.6	
What could be the main three justifiable reasons for a boy from your household not to attend school? Indicated options																
He does not have decent clothes	19.4	28.9	3.8	9.8	2.8	52.2	20.4	18.2	17.1	21.0	19.0	31.4	17.4	9.2	10.4	
He has to help in raising the younger children	6.1	8.7	3.3	9.3	1.2	8.1	5.9	6.3	6.1	5.9	6.4	9.5	5.4	3.6	2.5	
He has already learned what is necessary to progress in life	3.5	6.4	4.3	0.5		6.2	3.8	3.0	3.7	3.0	4.2	5.5	3.1	1.8	2.0	
The teachers treat him badly at school	8.6	10.2	11.2	3.8	1.5	16.6	9.8	7.4	9.0	8.9	7.5	10.1	8.5	6.5	10.4	
He learns what is necessary at home	3.5	6.1	5.4	0.6	0.1	5.3	3.6	3.4	3.4	3.1	4.5	5.0	3.1	2.3	2.0	
The school is far away	2.9	3.5	2.7	1.0	1.3	6.2	3.5	2.3	3.1	3.0	2.6	4.1	2.7	1.7	2.0	
Even if he attends, he will be unemployed anyway	9.0	19.1	8.4	1.2	0.9	15.8	9.7	8.3	8.6	8.4	11.1	14.0	8.3	5.4	3.9	
He is married	7.0	14.2	2.4	12.6	0.2	6.0	6.4	7.8	5.7	6.8	9.1	11.1	6.8	2.7	5.1	
He does not want to attend school	8.6	16.3	6.1	10.1	0.2	10.6	8.6	8.6	8.4	8.7	8.8	12.7	8.4	4.3	6.2	
He does not know the official language well	3.4	4.8	5.8	0.2		6.3	3.2	3.6	3.8	3.1	3.5	4.6	3.1	2.3	2.8	
He is treated badly by the other (non-Roam) children	6.8	5.3	10.6	3.4	2.8	11.7	7.1	6.4	7.0	6.8	6.4	8.2	6.1	6.3	4.2	
His wife gave birth	4.7	8.4	6.3	4.8	0.6	3.6	4.1	5.3	4.5	4.4	5.4	7.3	4.2	2.1	5.1	
Children do not learn the really important things at school	2.5	3.5	2.8	0.8	0.1	5.2	2.6	2.3	2.4	2.1	3.1	3.0	2.8	1.7	1.4	
I would not stop my child from going to school under any conditions	44.6	24.3	55.7	39.8	71.7	30.8	45.0	44.1	47.0	45.4	39.6	25.2	46.6	62.0	60.8	
I have my own reasons	4.4	6.1	5.6	2.0	0.9	7.3	4.7	4.0	3.5	4.9	4.4	5.0	4.5	3.4	3.9	
What could be the main three justifiable reasons for a girl from your household not to attend school? Indicated options																
She does not have decent clothes	17.3	25.4	3.2	8.2	2.1	48.2	18.3	16.2	16.0	18.4	16.7	28.9	15.2	7.3	10.4	
She has to help in raising the younger children	11.1	15.2	10.2	10.9	1.9	17.6	10.7	11.6	10.9	10.8	12.3	17.4	10.3	6.4	3.4	
She has already learned what is necessary to progress in life	3.4	5.1	5.3	0.1		6.4	3.9	2.8	3.1	3.3	4.0	5.3	3.2	1.6	2.0	
The teachers treat her badly at school	6.4	6.1	9.0	2.5	1.4	13.3	6.4	6.5	6.7	6.7	5.3	6.4	6.3	6.0	8.7	
She learns what necessary at home	3.5	4.8	6.2	0.7	0.1	5.7	4.1	2.9	3.5	3.2	4.1	5.6	3.5	1.3	1.4	
The school is far away	2.3	2.4	1.7	0.3	1.3	5.9	2.8	1.8	2.0	2.4	2.4	3.7	1.9	1.2	1.4	
Even if she attends, she will be unemployed anyway	6.7	14.9	6.3	0.3	0.9	11.2	7.4	5.8	6.9	6.4	7.1	10.2	6.3	3.6	3.9	
She is married	11.8	25.3	3.9	19.0	0.2	11.0	11.6	12.0	10.4	11.5	14.3	17.0	12.0	5.3	9.6	
She does not want to attend school	6.8	11.0	6.2	7.2	0.3	9.4	6.9	6.7	6.0	6.9	7.6	10.4	5.8	3.7	6.5	
She does not know the official language well	2.5	2.9	4.2	0.3		5.3	2.7	2.4	2.9	2.3	2.5	3.7	2.0	1.6	2.8	
She is treated badly by the other (non-Roma) children	5.7	3.2	8.8	3.3	2.8	10.3	6.0	5.4	5.8	5.9	4.8	6.0	4.8	6.4	4.8	
She gave birth	12.1	17.1	4.9	28.3	3.5	6.9	11.1	13.1	10.1	12.5	13.6	16.1	12.7	7.0	7.9	
Children do not learn the really important things at school	2.6	2.9	4.9	0.5	0.2	4.6	2.5	2.7	2.5	2.5	2.9	3.5	2.4	2.0	1.7	
I would not stop my child from school under any conditions	43.1	22.4	55.2	36.3	69.7	31.3	44.0	42.2	45.6	43.9	38.2	24.3	44.5	61.1	57.7	
I have my own reasons	3.5	5.1	3.7	1.1	0.5	7.4	3.6	3.4	3.1	3.9	3.4	4.1	3.7	2.7	3.1	
Filter: with children	What is the ethnic affiliation of the majority of the children in the class in the school your children are attending?															
Most of them are from the ethnic majority	50.6	35.1	55.6	61.6	45.5	55.5	50.8	50.2	41.4	57.9	43.0	43.9	50.4	57.2	62.5	
Most of them are Roma	18.6	27.0	11.5	16.5	23.7	13.5	17.1	20.1	16.4	22.8	11.5	18.0	21.9	15.1	14.8	
Most of them are representing other ethnic minorities	3.1	5.2	0.3	0.9	2.3	6.5	3.4	2.7	2.1	3.2	3.7	3.5	3.4	2.1	1.5	
Do not know	5.8	9.4	7.6	2.0	0.4	10.2	6.6	5.0	7.3	4.5	7.3	7.9	5.5	4.0	3.8	
N/R	21.9	23.3	25.0	19.0	28.0	14.3	22.0	21.9	32.9	11.5	34.5	26.7	18.8	21.6	17.4	

	Regional average	Country					Regional data profiles by major groups								
							By gender of the respondent:		By age			By education			
		BG	CZ	HUN	SK	RO	Male	Female	<=29	30-49	>=50	None or inc. pr.	Primary	Inc. second.	Secondary and >
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Filter: with children	What would be the best way to provide your children with access to education equal to that of children from the majority?														
Indicated options															
If they attend school with majority children without special support	58.9	59.4	40.3	58.3	79.5	54.2	59.5	58.3	63.9	60.2	51.6	45.9	63.2	67.6	69.7
If they attend school with majority children but with special support	41.1	52.2	53.9	50.1	2.3	50.4	40.4	41.8	38.2	42.7	39.6	51.4	40.9	28.3	34.
For teachers to be Roma and teach in the Roma language	21.4	18.0	46.6	7.3	10.4	28.2	22.2	20.7	22.7	21.7	19.3	23.4	20.5	20.4	17.0
If Roma children receive additional majority language courses to obtain proficiency	34.4	56.3	13.5	15.7	38.7	46.2	34.9	33.8	36.1	35.5	30.3	36.9	34.0	30.0	39.0
If the children are separated in a separate class but in common school with the majority children	11.7	12.3	17.1	7.3	7.6	15.3	12.2	11.3	11.1	12.5	10.6	15.1	11.8	7.7	7.6
If the children attend specialized Roma school	10.6	10.2	14.3	2.5	5.5	21.5	11.7	9.6	9.5	11.6	9.8	15.0	9.5	7.5	5.3
Filter: with children	What are your children's life chances in comparison with the majority of children in the country?														
Average values on a scale of 1-3: 1-Higher; 2-The same; 3-Lower (mean values) "															
To find a job	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.6	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.6
To establish a happy family	2.2	2.3	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.2	2.1	2.1
To emigrate to a more developed country	2.4	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.3
To live healthy life	2.3	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.2
To provide education to their children	2.5	2.7	2.6	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.5	2.4	2.4
To have honest friends on which they can rely	2.1	2.3	2.0	2.2	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.1	2.0	2.1
Filter: For with children	What are your children's life chances in comparison with you when you were their age?														
Average values on a scale of 1-3: 1-Higher; 2-The same; 3-Lower (mean values) "															
To find a job	2.6	2.7	2.5	2.5	2.7	2.4	2.6	2.6	2.4	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.6
To establish a happy family	2.2	2.3	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2
To emigrate to a more developed country	1.8	2.1	1.7	2.0	1.5	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.7
To live healthier life	2.1	2.4	1.9	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.1	2.2	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.1
To provide education to their children	2.1	2.6	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.0	2.1
To have honest friends on which they can rely	2.1	2.2	2.0	2.0	2.1	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.0
Filter: with children	Do you have in your family a child in a special school (school for children with mental problems or lagging behind in their development)?														
Yes	13.8	2.5	27.3	16.4	19.0	4.7	12.3	15.4	9.0	18.4	8.4	15.4	14.9	12.3	4.2
No	83.1	93.9	65.2	83.1	80.0	91.9	84.2	82.0	87.5	79.6	86.8	80.0	82.8	85.4	93.2
N/R	3.1	3.6	7.5	0.6	1.0	3.4	3.5	2.6	3.5	2.0	4.8	4.6	2.3	2.3	2.7
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Filter: If yes	If yes, for what reason was the children placed in a special school? Indicated options														
The child had mental disability	29.2	37.5	21.9	38.0	27.5	39.6	32.3	26.7	24.4	27.7	44.3	32.2	25.5	29.9	35.7
The child has a physical disability	8.9	16.7	8.7	11.4	3.7	18.8	9.9	8.1	7.4	8.5	13.6	8.8	8.5	9.0	14.3
The family was too poor and could not feed the child	4.5	25.0	4.1	1.9	2.1	14.6	4.0	4.8	3.0	5.0	4.5	7.5	1.5	5.6	7.1
The child will have secure living (clothes and shelter)	5.6	20.8	9.5	1.9	1.1	8.3	6.6	4.8	3.0	6.2	5.7	9.3	5.2	1.4	
The school program there is easier and the child will cope with it	59.3	41.7	76.4	49.4	57.7	20.8	58.1	60.4	60.7	61.6	46.6	55.9	60.9	62.5	35.7
How do you assess your health status?															
Perfect	12.4	10.1	20.6	8.3	11.9	11.2	15.1	9.5	25.7	8.4	3.2	8.0	10.1	20.5	16.6
Good	41.0	48.1	41.9	28.6	53.2	32.7	42.7	39.2	52.0	42.5	22.6	29.9	44.1	46.7	53.8
Tolerable	28.5	23.8	24.8	39.1	21.7	33.5	26.6	30.5	16.6	33.3	34.2	33.1	29.0	24.0	20.8
Bad	17.2	15.4	12.3	23.9	12.3	22.3	14.7	20.0	4.8	15.4	38.6	27.6	16.2	8.2	7.9
N/R	0.8	2.5	0.4	0.1	0.8	0.4	0.9	0.8	0.9	0.5	1.4	1.4	0.5	0.6	0.8
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Filter: with children	How do you assess your children's health status?														
Perfect	18.4	11.5	29.0	18.0	18.3	16.2	20.0	16.7	25.7	18.8	10.3	11.8	17.7	27.6	23.5
Good	57.3	63.9	53.1	55.6	60.7	52.8	56.9	57.8	55.7	58.2	57.1	54.1	60.2	55.6	61.0
Tolerable	17.9	16.8	13.9	21.1	14.9	22.3	17.7	18.1	13.4	17.7	22.7	24.3	16.4	12.9	13.3
Bad	4.7	3.8	2.0	4.5	4.8	8.1	3.4	6.0	3.7	4.4	6.2	6.9	4.6	2.7	1.9
N/R	1.7	4.0	2.0	0.8	1.3	0.7	2.0	1.4	1.5	0.9	3.8	2.9	1.2	1.2	0.4
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Do you have a personal doctor?															
Yes	85.6	77.8	76.2	96.9	97.4	79.2	83.6	87.6	84.0	87.1	84.3	77.1	87.2	91.7	93.0

	Regional average	Country					Regional data profiles by major groups									
							By gender of the respondent:		By age			By education				
		BG	CZ	HUN	SK	RO	Male	Female	<=29	30-49	>=50	None or inc. pr.	Primary	Inc. second.	Secondary and >	
No	12.3	19.6	17.4	2.9	1.6	20.4	14.1	10.5	14.0	11.0	12.8	19.8	11.5	5.8	5.6	
N/R	2.1	2.6	6.4	0.2	1.1	0.4	2.4	1.9	2.1	1.9	2.9	3.1	1.2	2.6	1.4	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Do you have medical insurance?																
Yes	79.5	53.7	86.1	96.4	97.4	63.2	78.1	80.9	75.9	82.4	78.2	66.2	81.9	91.3	84.5	
No	15.7	34.8	3.6	3.5	1.2	35.8	17.6	13.6	18.2	13.8	15.9	26.0	14.4	5.2	12.4	
N/R	4.9	11.5	10.3	0.1	1.5	1.0	4.4	5.4	5.9	3.8	5.9	7.7	3.8	3.5	3.1	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Who would you share intimate medical information with?																
Woman minority Doctor	5.8	7.0	8.3	3.9	0.7	9.5	2.2	9.8	5.6	6.0	5.7	8.7	5.5	3.2	3.4	
Men minority Doctor	4.2	3.8	5.0	4.8	0.9	6.7	6.9	1.4	4.1	3.8	5.0	4.8	4.0	3.8	3.9	
Woman majority Doctor	15.3	9.9	9.4	15.2	30.2	11.4	9.0	22.0	16.9	15.8	12.1	14.1	16.2	15.8	14.6	
Men majority Doctor	15.5	5.4	6.4	19.7	36.7	8.6	18.7	12.0	14.4	16.2	15.6	11.4	16.4	20.0	13.8	
Do not have any special requirements	54.4	70.8	60.8	55.2	25.1	61.1	58.3	50.2	53.8	53.7	57.1	55.0	53.9	52.1	62.5	
N/R	4.7	3.0	10.1	1.2	6.4	2.7	4.8	4.6	5.2	4.4	4.6	6.0	3.9	5.2	1.7	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
How is your life now in comparison with the first years after the old system collapsed?																
It is better now	8.0	1.8	17.6	9.4	4.0	7.4	8.6	7.4	9.8	8.0	5.8	4.6	7.3	10.5	17.7	
It is the same	11.5	7.1	18.3	20.8	6.3	5.1	10.9	12.2	13.7	11.4	8.7	10.5	10.7	13.6	12.4	
It was better then	69.9	78.0	41.4	67.7	81.0	81.5	70.4	69.4	51.8	75.7	82.1	75.4	72.6	62.0	59.4	
N/R	10.5	13.0	22.8	2.1	8.7	6.0	10.0	11.0	24.7	4.9	3.4	9.5	9.4	13.9	10.4	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
How is your life now in comparison with 5 years ago?																
Life is better now	9.3	4.8	16.8	11.9	6.1	7.0	9.7	8.9	12.3	8.7	6.5	5.9	8.2	12.5	19.4	
Life is the same as before	28.5	28.1	40.1	30.5	29.9	13.7	28.2	28.9	30.2	27.4	28.8	25.8	27.7	32.8	29.6	
Life was better before	55.0	57.8	29.7	57.2	57.2	73.4	55.2	54.9	43.5	59.7	60.3	60.9	57.8	46.5	43.7	
N/R	7.2	9.3	13.4	0.4	6.8	5.9	6.9	7.3	14.0	4.1	4.5	7.4	6.2	8.3	7.3	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
How your life will be in 5 years from now?																
Will be worse than now	27.2	1.8	20.7	33.5	46.4	32.8	27.2	27.3	19.3	31.8	27.6	26.8	27.5	30.0	17.7	
Will be the same	18.2	9.6	24.7	32.5	16.8	7.3	18.5	17.8	19.3	18.3	16.3	16.3	19.0	20.7	13.8	
Will be better than now	15.0	9.8	14.8	18.1	12.9	19.3	16.4	13.4	19.2	14.2	11.0	10.5	14.9	19.0	20.8	
N/R	39.7	78.7	39.9	15.9	23.9	40.7	37.9	41.4	42.1	35.7	45.1	46.4	38.6	30.4	47.6	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
How well off do you consider your family to be?																
Rich	1.7	0.6	1.8	0.1	2.5	3.4	2.0	1.4	2.1	1.6	1.3	1.0	1.4	2.1	5.4	
Doing relatively well	31.6	20.1	48.1	31.8	39.0	18.6	33.0	30.1	36.7	30.7	26.5	13.9	32.1	47.2	53.8	
Poor	50.7	48.0	40.0	60.7	49.4	55.3	49.8	51.6	45.9	52.9	52.3	55.8	54.1	43.0	34.6	
Living in misery	14.0	30.1	3.0	6.8	8.6	21.9	12.8	15.3	12.4	13.1	18.5	27.8	10.6	4.4	5.1	
N/R	2.0	1.2	7.2	0.6	0.4	0.8	2.4	1.6	2.9	1.8	1.5	1.5	1.7	3.4	1.1	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Mean	"Which of the following problems seriously affect you and household? Average value on a scale of 1-3: 1-This is a major problem; 2-This is a problem but not serious; 3-It's not a problem at all (mean values)"															
Unemployment	1.4	1.1	1.6	1.5	1.4	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.5	1.7	
Economic hardship	1.4	1.1	1.8	1.4	1.5	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.4	1.6	1.6	
Discrimination in access to employment	1.8	1.4	1.6	1.7	2.5	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.6	1.7	2.0	2.1	
Crime	2.4	2.0	2.3	2.7	2.6	2.1	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.4	2.5	2.4	
Lack of educational opportunities	2.3	2.0	2.3	2.5	2.6	2.0	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.2	2.3	2.1	2.2	2.4	2.4	
Loose family ties	2.6	2.4	2.6	2.7	2.9	2.3	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.4	2.6	2.7	2.7	
Lack of respect for the old people	2.6	2.5	2.6	2.8	2.9	2.2	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.7	
Unclear housing regulation status	2.1	2.3	2.1	2.2	2.0	1.6	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.0	2.2	1.9	2.1	2.1	2.4	
Restricted possibilities for free movement	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.7	2.6	2.1	2.4	2.5	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.6	
Limited access to social services	2.2	2.0	2.3	2.2	2.4	1.7	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.0	2.1	2.4	2.4	
How many rooms do you have in your house/apartment?																
Mean	2.4	2.5	2.2	2.2	2.7	2.5	2.5	2.3	2.3	2.5	2.5	2.1	2.4	2.6	3.2	
To which of the following items do you have access to in your household? Indicated options																
Telephone	21.6	15.6	26.2	19.9	34.0	11.6	22.4	20.6	20.2	22.3	21.7	9.6	19.0	33.3	47.6	
Radio receiver	66.2	45.0	87.6	74.7	82.4	40.9	68.1	64.5	67.2	67.7	62.1	46.7	68.3	84.0	81.4	
Clock	84.3	75.9	95.0	91.9	91.0	67.3	83.4	85.2	84.0	85.8	81.5	69.6	88.5	93.6	94.4	
Refrigerator	65.1	48.2	91.0	81.1	79.5	25.0	64.2	66.1	63.9	66.5	63.9	43.2	68.7	82.8	82.0	
Oven	67.6	71.5	73.8	81.2	73.0	38.4	65.3	70.0	66.6	68.4	67.6	54.3	72.0	72.9	85.1	

	Regional average	Country					Regional data profiles by major groups									
							By gender of the respondent:		By age				By education			
		BG	CZ	HUN	SK	RO	Male	Female	<=29	30-49	>=50	None or inc. pr.	Primary	Inc. second.	Secondary and >	
TV set	81.7	75.6	92.9	95.3	91.6	52.5	82.0	81.3	82.0	83.0	78.5	66.8	85.4	91.9	92.1	
Car	16.7	11.5	26.7	16.5	18.4	10.2	19.7	13.6	17.2	17.6	13.9	6.8	15.8	24.0	39.7	
CD player	12.7	2.3	23.8	14.9	16.8	5.4	13.5	11.7	16.3	12.5	7.8	4.2	12.0	20.1	28.5	
Satellite dish	11.2	12.5	12.3	8.9	16.3	5.9	11.6	10.9	13.0	10.5	10.2	5.2	11.4	15.2	23.7	
Mobile phone	22.6	4.6	50.7	30.5	17.3	10.1	23.9	21.3	27.9	22.9	14.7	11.1	20.7	35.9	38.9	
Washing machine	55.0	25.5	84.2	83.0	68.7	13.1	54.1	56.0	55.9	57.8	47.8	34.7	56.6	73.8	71.8	
Running water in house	58.6	49.6	95.1	65.2	68.8	13.7	57.4	59.9	60.9	58.8	55.4	39.4	60.1	75.7	77.7	
Toilet in the house	45.5	19.8	85.9	53.1	55.8	12.2	44.3	46.7	46.6	47.2	40.4	28.2	44.8	65.4	56.9	
Toilet in the yard	55.4	79.1	16.4	61.3	44.5	76.4	55.7	55.1	53.1	53.8	62.0	65.0	58.0	39.5	52.7	
Sewage	48.8	46.9	90.8	37.2	53.5	15.2	47.1	50.6	52.0	47.9	46.5	32.5	48.0	65.3	69.0	
Bed for each family member	66.4	64.2	84.0	87.7	70.4	25.7	66.7	66.0	65.4	64.6	72.4	50.3	68.7	77.9	86.8	
Living room furniture	58.2	21.0	88.6	83.3	79.2	18.3	57.3	59.4	59.1	59.3	55.1	37.2	59.8	79.4	71.5	
Bathroom in the house	48.9	25.0	87.1	57.6	63.1	11.2	47.6	50.3	49.4	50.6	44.9	28.9	48.6	70.0	67.9	
Legalized electricity supply	85.9	85.0	91.0	97.3	85.3	70.7	85.2	86.6	83.6	85.9	89.2	77.3	87.8	91.2	94.6	
Books	42.2	22.1	51.6	61.3	50.7	25.0	42.4	42.1	42.3	44.0	38.2	20.8	42.7	59.7	73.8	
Who is the owner of the apartment/house in which you live?																
My family	61.9	74.5	13.1	74.5	64.6	82.9	64.6	59.1	52.8	63.0	71.7	66.0	62.6	51.9	74.6	
Other relatives	7.2	17.5	2.6	4.0	5.0	6.9	6.0	8.2	11.4	5.9	4.1	9.1	7.4	4.3	6.2	
The municipality	22.1	2.3	64.5	14.7	24.6	4.0	21.5	22.9	25.7	22.0	17.3	15.2	21.1	34.7	14.1	
The company I am working for	0.4		1.3	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.6	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.6	
It is rented	5.0	3.6	8.7	4.9	3.5	4.2	4.0	6.0	5.3	5.2	4.1	5.5	5.4	4.5	2.5	
Other (what)	1.1	1.4		1.8	1.4	0.9	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.2	0.6	1.4	1.2	0.8	0.6	
N/R	2.4	0.7	9.7		0.7	1.0	2.2	2.6	3.3	2.3	1.6	2.5	1.9	3.4	1.4	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
How much did your household spend last month? - in EURO																
mean	210.1	83.4	416.3	282.7	229.2	87.0	213.6	207.1	215.2	226.7	166.0	147.9	212.2	279.5	239.7	
How much did your household spend last month on the following items? - in ? (mean values)																
Food	89.8	50.0	123.5	136.0	49.6	88.8	91.2	81.3	104.3	71.3	71.6	95.7	113.4	90.8		
Clothes (including shoes)	14.5	4.1	25.2	19.1		9.4	15.2	13.7	15.6	16.6	8.5	8.8	14.5	22.1	22.9	
Housing (rent and energy supply)	33.1	9.1	65.4	48.4		9.3	32.5	33.9	29.4	36.5	30.8	20.2	33.8	55.4	36.7	
Alcohol	4.2	1.0	10.2	2.5		2.9	4.8	3.5	4.3	4.6	3.1	2.8	4.2	5.8	6.2	
Cigarettes	11.5	5.0	16.5	18.4		6.0	11.9	11.0	11.0	12.8	9.4	9.6	11.6	14.5	12.4	
Fuel (including petrol)	12.2	3.2	8.1	31.9		5.5	12.6	11.8	9.9	14.5	10.3	9.1	13.4	14.0	15.6	
Big items (washing machine/stereo/TV set/car etc.)	3.4	0.2	9.3	3.0		0.9	4.1	2.7	5.5	3.1	1.3	1.2	2.9	6.4	9.2	
From which of the following sources does the household usually receive money during the last 6 months? Indicated options																
Regular Wage Job with contract	26.0	18.7	48.5	28.7	21.5	12.5	25.7	26.2	28.5	29.3	15.2	12.1	25.6	39.4	43.1	
Regular Wage Job without contract	4.5	4.8	6.1	4.6	2.9	4.0	4.7	4.3	5.6	4.4	3.0	3.6	4.7	4.8	5.9	
Occasional job(s) with contract	5.5	2.6	9.6	4.7	8.4	1.9	5.9	5.0	5.8	6.4	2.9	4.0	4.8	8.7	4.5	
Occasional job(s) without contract	33.0	27.9	20.6	29.3	35.7	51.2	36.9	28.8	36.9	35.1	22.3	36.0	33.0	32.7	21.1	
Self-employment/own business	6.6	5.8	8.6	4.6	2.7	11.2	8.1	4.9	6.2	7.0	6.1	3.7	6.5	7.1	18.0	
Work for goods	5.3	4.3	6.4	1.5	0.6	13.8	5.3	5.3	6.0	5.4	4.1	8.0	4.5	3.9	2.3	
Unemployment Benefit	15.7	6.9	39.5	14.8	12.6	4.4	15.5	15.9	17.4	16.6	11.2	13.4	16.8	18.7	9.0	
Social assistance	46.8	44.4	56.3	40.1	82.5	9.6	44.1	49.7	53.0	48.5	34.9	42.4	49.3	53.7	31.0	
Child support (including paid maternity leave)	56.8	29.8	59.6	72.4	75.8	45.7	53.1	60.8	64.7	64.4	29.2	51.3	57.1	67.8	44.2	
Pensions	26.5	34.5	27.1	37.3	15.2	18.7	26.1	27.0	14.7	18.6	60.5	33.4	25.9	20.0	21.7	
Investments	0.8	0.1	2.0	0.2	0.4	1.3	0.7	0.8	1.1	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.4	1.1	2.5	
Remittances from people outside the household	4.9	1.9	8.5	4.3	3.0	6.7	4.7	5.0	6.0	4.4	4.4	4.8	5.1	4.6	5.9	
Private maintenance (e.g. from ex-spouse or father of children)	2.9	0.6	6.6	2.4	3.4	1.7	1.4	4.5	3.3	3.0	2.3	3.1	2.3	4.0	2.3	
Loans	10.1	13.5	6.3	3.6	0.5	26.8	11.0	9.1	10.3	10.1	9.5	12.2	11.2	6.7	5.9	
Which of the above sources provides the most money for the household?																
Regular Wage Job with contract	22.8	16.5	44.4	24.2	17.3	11.6	22.3	23.3	25.5	25.6	12.9	10.5	22.3	35.3	36.1	
Regular Wage Job without contract	2.3	2.9	2.6	2.1	1.6	2.4	2.6	2.0	3.3	2.2	1.2	1.8	2.7	2.1	3.4	
Occasional job(s) with contract	1.4	1.0	2.2	0.8	2.1	0.6	1.4	1.2	1.6	1.6	0.6	0.7	1.8	1.6	1.4	
Occasional job(s) without contract	12.3	13.7	4.9	10.0	3.3	30.0	14.8	9.7	12.8	13.2	9.8	17.0	12.8	7.3	6.8	
Self-employment/own business	4.5	4.4	5.6	3.9	1.7	6.8	5.5	3.4	4.3	4.7	4.1	2.8	4.1	4.3	13.8	
Work for goods	3.8	0.9	13.2		2.0	3.0	3.8	3.9	4.6	4.1	2.3	4.4	3.5	4.5	0.6	
Unemployment Benefit	5.2	2.2	0.4	2.8	18.7	1.5	4.9	5.6	4.8	6.6	2.7	3.5	6.1	6.4	3.9	
Social assistance	15.6	20.2	14.5	8.7	30.8	3.4	14.5	16.8	19.3	15.2	11.4	15.0	15.9	17.4	10.7	
Child support (including paid maternity leave)	11.2	4.5	1.3	24.1	13.3	12.6	9.7	12.7	12.5	13.2	4.8	14.6	11.1	8.5	6.5	

	Regional average	Country					Regional data profiles by major groups									
							By gender of the respondent:		By age				By education			
		BG	CZ	HUN	SK	RO	Male	Female	<=29	30-49	>=50	None or inc. pr.	Primary	Inc. second.	Secondary and >	
Pensions	14.1	23.8	8.1	21.9	7.1	10.1	13.3	15.0	4.6	7.3	42.7	21.1	12.8	8.5	9.0	
Investments	0.3	0.1	0.1		0.8	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.3		0.3	0.3	0.8	
Remittances from people outside the household	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.1	1.3	0.2	0.7	0.3	0.3	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.1		
Private maintenance (e.g. from ex-spouse or father of children)	0.2		0.1	0.1	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.3		
Loans	0.8	1.6			0.1	2.2	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.7	0.8	1.0	1.1	0.2		
Other (specify)	1.8	2.5	0.6	1.2	0.6	4.4	1.9	1.8	2.1	1.9	1.5	3.2	1.5	0.7	1.7	
N/R	3.3	5.2	2.0		0.1	9.4	3.9	2.6	3.0	3.0	4.1	3.7	3.2	2.3	5.4	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
What is your current socio-economic status?																
Employed	19.5	14.4	36.2	20.2	11.1	15.8	24.3	14.3	19.4	23.9	10.0	8.8	17.5	30.2	39.4	
Student	1.2	0.5	3.5	0.7	0.6	0.5	1.0	1.3	3.5	0.2		0.3	0.9	1.7	4.5	
Maternity leave	7.3	2.4	10.6	14.2	8.8	0.2	0.5	14.5	15.5	5.3	0.3	6.4	8.4	7.6	4.8	
Housekeeping	6.5	1.5	2.7	6.8	4.7	17.1	1.5	11.8	7.3	7.5	3.2	8.7	7.6	3.4	2.8	
Retired	15.3	19.9	13.4	24.7	9.1	9.6	15.1	15.6	1.3	7.2	52.7	23.4	14.1	9.0	7.0	
Unemployed	45.7	56.4	31.2	26.2	61.8	52.6	52.4	38.6	47.6	51.7	30.0	47.8	47.1	43.9	36.6	
Other inactive	3.3	2.6	1.1	7.2	2.7	2.7	3.8	2.7	4.2	3.0	2.5	3.6	3.4	2.8	2.8	
N/R	1.3	2.3	1.3		1.2	1.5	1.4	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.0	1.1	1.5	2.0	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
In which type of work/activity did you do earn money last 6 months? Indicated options																
Industry	4.4	5.7	2.2	9.8		4.5	5.3	3.4	3.9	5.3	3.0	2.8	4.9	4.6	7.9	
Agriculture	14.9	9.5	11.0	13.6		40.9	18.2	11.4	12.3	17.6	12.3	19.9	14.1	11.0	9.9	
Construction	8.6	8.5	15.3	7.8		11.6	14.4	2.5	8.6	10.3	4.4	7.1	8.2	11.2	7.9	
Trading, repairing cars and consumer goods	5.6	5.2	5.7	6.6		10.6	7.0	4.1	5.7	5.9	4.4	3.8	5.5	6.4	11.3	
Hotels, restaurants	1.4	0.6	5.1	1.3		0.2	1.3	1.6	2.1	1.5	0.3	0.5	0.7	3.1	3.9	
Transport, stocking, communications	1.8	1.5	4.3	1.7		1.7	2.9	0.7	1.8	2.2	1.0	0.9	1.5	2.8	4.2	
Insurances, banking	0.2		0.4			0.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3	
Real estate, rental and services for business	0.2		0.9			0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.1		0.2	0.2	2.0	
Public administration and defence	1.0	0.5	1.4	1.6		1.4	1.0	0.9	0.7	1.4	0.4	0.6	0.9	1.2	2.5	
Education, schools	0.9	1.8	1.2	0.9		0.5	0.8	1.0	0.6	1.3	0.4	0.5	0.8	0.7	3.9	
Health care and social care	1.4	0.8	3.0	1.4		1.7	0.6	2.2	1.5	1.6	0.6	1.1	1.3	1.8	1.7	
Other public and social services	3.4	3.3	5.5	4.1		4.0	2.9	3.9	2.9	4.1	2.4	3.5	3.5	3.2	1.4	
Gathering herbs	4.7	10.8	1.5	2.0	4.3	4.8	4.8	4.5	4.8	4.5	4.8	5.9	4.9	3.0	3.7	
Gathered and sold scrap and paper	8.2	16.4	5.1	5.0	8.5	5.8	10.0	6.1	8.0	8.9	6.7	10.5	8.6	5.7	4.5	
Encouraged the children to work	2.4	4.4	0.5	0.4	0.7	6.2	2.1	2.8	1.1	2.9	3.1	3.6	2.6	0.9	1.7	
Begging	2.9	1.9	3.1	0.6	1.3	7.5	2.5	3.2	2.3	3.4	2.3	4.8	2.5	1.7	0.8	
Nothing - I did not earn any money last month	29.9	39.3	35.8		54.7	19.0	24.0	36.1	35.0	24.5	35.1	28.0	31.8	30.7	25.9	
During the last year, were there periods when your family did not have enough to eat?																
No, never	47.3	23.7	68.4	62.0	65.2	16.5	47.9	46.6	48.4	47.6	45.0	26.9	48.5	65.7	68.7	
For one-two days during the year	15.8	10.2	14.4	17.1	17.9	19.1	15.9	15.6	16.0	16.6	13.5	16.0	16.6	16.1	7.6	
For one-two days every month	19.6	27.0	9.2	16.9	15.7	29.6	19.9	19.4	19.2	19.4	20.7	25.6	20.4	12.3	14.9	
We are constantly starving	15.3	37.6	1.7	4.0	0.8	33.0	14.4	16.1	13.5	14.7	19.1	28.9	12.8	3.9	7.6	
N/R	2.0	1.5	6.3		0.4	1.9	1.8	2.3	2.9	1.6	1.7	2.5	1.8	2.1	1.1	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Filter: who have starved	If it happens, what do you do? Indicated options															
Borrow money from neighbours	60.5	60.2	52.5	57.6	59.9	64.9	61.8	59.4	61.5	61.6	56.3	56.3	63.5	62.1	70.1	
Borrow food from neighbours	32.4	36.9	21.6	12.1	27.4	43.3	33.0	31.8	31.8	33.0	32.0	37.9	30.9	24.3	21.5	
Borrow money from the employer	2.3	2.1	2.7	1.3	1.1	3.3	2.4	2.2	2.6	2.8	1.0	1.5	2.1	5.1	1.9	
Search the garbage containers for food	4.3	9.1	3.5	1.3	2.3	2.3	4.1	4.5	4.1	4.4	4.3	7.4	2.1	1.5	0.9	
Send the children earn on the street	1.9	1.7	1.6		1.7	3.1	1.9	1.9	1.8	2.4	1.0	2.7	1.4	1.3		
Go begging	4.6	4.8	0.4	0.8	2.0	8.6	4.6	4.6	3.8	5.0	4.8	7.6	3.0	1.5		
Take some food from abandoned fields/plots	7.4	16.8	3.9	1.8	8.8	1.8	7.6	7.1	8.5	6.1	8.8	10.6	6.0	3.8	0.9	
Starve	37.5	57.0	16.1	14.5	7.3	50.3	38.9	36.1	31.5	36.6	47.0	47.4	34.7	18.7	30.8	
Are you producing some foodstuff in-house? Indicated options																
Meat	16.0	11.4	5.1	26.9	20.3	16.3	16.3	15.7	13.8	16.9	17.1	12.4	17.2	16.6	23.4	
Milk and dairy products	3.8	7.6	1.5	0.8	4.2	5.1	3.9	3.8	3.9	3.7	4.2	2.6	3.1	3.9	13.0	
Vegetables	24.2	20.1	14.2	36.6	28.3	22.0	24.8	23.6	21.2	25.3	25.8	19.5	26.2	24.7	32.7	
What was the type of labour relation within which you earned some money last month? Indicated options																
Wage/salary job with contract	16.1	10.5	30.8	16.5	13.6	8.8	18.5	13.4	15.1	20.0	8.6	6.2	14.7	27.1	28.7	
Wage/salary job without contract	9.1	6.4	8.5	8.6	8.6	13.5	12.5	5.6	9.8	10.8	4.6	7.4	9.0	11.9	7.0	
Wage/salary job contract status unclear	4.1	4.2	4.1	7.5	3.3	1.5	5.8	2.4	4.0	4.7	3.0	3.7	4.8	4.5	1.7	

	Regional average	Country					Regional data profiles by major groups									
							By gender of the respondent:		By age				By education			
		BG	CZ	HUN	SK	RO	Male	Female	<=29	30-49	>=50	None or inc. pr.	Primary	Inc. second.	Secondary and >	
Self-employed/own account worker/own business (registered)	3.1	2.4	5.9	2.5	1.7	2.9	4.3	1.7	2.4	3.3	3.2	1.0	2.3	4.4	11.3	
Self-employed/own account worker/own business (unregistered)	3.5	2.3	0.9	0.3	2.0	11.9	4.8	2.0	3.2	3.7	3.2	3.2	4.6	2.0	3.9	
Self-employed/own account worker/own business (registration unclear)	1.0	0.9	1.7	0.4	1.0	1.1	1.6	0.4	1.0	1.1	0.8	0.5	0.9	1.5	2.3	
Subsidised employment/public works	1.9	0.9	1.6	2.7	3.9	0.2	2.5	1.2	1.7	2.3	1.2	1.4	1.9	2.6	2.0	
Worked for an NGO	0.6	0.6	1.1	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.9	0.3	0.8	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.9	2.0	
Nothing - I did not earn any money last month	53.1	58.8	49.3	52.4	72.1	32.5	42.2	64.7	56.6	48.1	59.8	59.3	55.2	47.4	36.3	
Who is unemployed in your household? Indicated options																
I am	43.9	59.7	35.4	34.9	68.2	21.0	47.0	40.7	46.9	49.6	27.6	42.0	46.5	44.8	36.3	
Spouse	34.0	47.1	24.2	27.8	54.2	16.1	33.6	34.4	31.8	39.6	24.8	32.0	37.6	33.7	25.6	
Father	6.0	8.8	10.9	1.9	6.1	2.3	6.6	5.4	15.7	2.5	0.6	5.7	5.3	6.5	9.6	
Mother	7.8	9.9	16.5	2.4	8.4	1.8	8.4	7.2	20.3	3.3	0.8	6.3	7.6	9.2	11.5	
Brother	6.5	7.4	13.6	2.4	6.6	2.2	7.2	5.6	13.4	4.5	1.3	6.2	5.6	7.8	7.3	
Sister	5.1	6.0	11.5	1.7	4.5	1.9	5.3	4.9	10.4	3.3	1.8	5.3	4.3	6.1	4.8	
Son	15.3	24.4	14.3	14.2	14.8	8.9	14.4	16.3	0.4	18.7	28.6	19.7	15.9	9.7	11.5	
Daughter	9.6	15.5	11.4	6.8	9.5	4.9	8.7	10.7	0.2	11.8	18.1	12.5	9.9	6.4	7.3	
No unemployed in the family	25.0	12.5	1.7	38.2	11.1	61.8	25.7	24.2	21.0	24.1	31.9	30.0	23.9	19.0	28.7	
Filter: Up to 54 years	What is your current job status?															
I have never worked	21.0	22.5	20.7	17.0	17.8	27.6	14.5	27.9	42.3	10.1	9.0	32.3	19.4	14.3	12.7	
I have a job now	17.6	17.6	37.4	22.0		12.0	21.4	13.7	16.7	18.7	14.8	9.5	15.4	25.0	32.4	
N/R	61.4	59.9	41.9	61.1	82.2	60.4	64.1	58.4	41.0	71.2	76.2	58.2	65.1	60.7	54.8	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Filter: Up to 54 years and N/R in previous	When was the last time you had a job? - Year															
1990 or prior	36.7	18.8	10.7	37.9	49.9	43.5	30.9	42.7	38.9	36.1	35.3	39.8	36.4	34.8	36.5	
1991 - 1995	21.0	21.7	18.1	34.2	15.2	23.6	22.5	19.5	11.3	23.6	27.2	24.2	21.5	18.4	17.1	
1996 - 2001	42.3	59.4	71.2	27.9	34.8	32.9	46.6	37.8	49.8	40.3	37.5	36.0	42.1	46.8	46.5	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Filter: Up to 54 years	Do you have difficulties in finding employment (or if you have a job now - did you have difficulties in finding it)?															
Yes, definitely	64.4	75.2	36.1	64.5	73.5	73.9	66.7	62.0	60.5	67.0	63.5	73.7	67.4	55.5	46.7	
Rather yes	12.2	7.0	19.2	22.6	4.5	7.6	11.8	12.6	11.6	13.0	9.9	9.0	11.8	14.9	15.8	
No, do not have difficulties	13.6	6.6	30.4	10.4	10.2	9.4	14.9	12.2	14.0	13.1	15.0	6.2	11.0	21.2	27.6	
N/R	9.8	11.3	14.3	2.5	11.7	9.2	6.6	13.2	14.0	6.9	11.7	11.2	9.8	8.4	10.0	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Filter: Up to 54 years	If yes, what are the three main reasons for your difficulties in finding a job? Indicated options															
Inadequate skills	48.3	62.9	36.4	58.3	43.5	42.6	46.0	50.9	49.2	48.9	42.4	59.8	54.8	33.8	23.6	
Overall economic depression in the country	52.0	77.6	29.7	30.4	61.0	63.3	56.5	47.2	50.4	53.6	48.4	55.4	52.5	49.7	45.2	
My ethnic affiliation	57.8	62.9	44.7	59.7	65.5	56.4	59.0	56.5	55.5	60.2	52.5	62.3	60.4	53.0	42.7	
My poor health status	13.1	7.2	5.0	15.6	7.7	30.1	12.0	14.4	6.9	15.7	20.0	19.0	14.2	7.8	5.2	
My gender affiliation	7.1	7.5	4.5	7.9	4.5	11.6	3.0	11.5	6.0	8.2	4.9	10.6	7.0	4.1	5.2	
My age	14.7	15.2	10.9	18.8	9.7	19.4	14.1	15.4	5.7	16.2	36.5	17.0	15.5	11.5	13.6	
Lack of luck	27.2	37.0	21.7	24.1	17.5	37.9	28.5	26.0	29.2	27.0	22.0	30.1	29.1	21.8	25.5	
Did not have difficulties in finding a job	6.1	3.9	2.3	10.4	6.2	7.2	6.8	5.4	5.2	6.5	6.5	4.0	5.6	7.5	10.9	
Have you ever participated on an employment and/or training programme?																
Yes	11.2	5.8	9.1	8.7	25.0	6.7	14.7	7.5	10.7	14.1	5.2	4.8	10.2	18.5	19.2	
No	85.1	86.9	85.2	90.6	73.0	90.0	82.0	88.3	84.4	83.5	89.7	90.0	86.6	78.5	77.7	
N/R	3.8	7.3	5.7	0.7	1.9	3.3	3.4	4.2	4.9	2.4	5.2	5.2	3.2	3.0	3.1	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Filter: If yes	If yes, what type of programme was it? Indicated options															
Public works program	54.3	44.8	33.7	27.6	81.8	19.4	54.2	54.6	51.6	56.3	50.0	58.7	57.8	54.5	39.7	
Labour office training	24.2	27.6	42.4	33.3	15.1	19.4	22.8	27.3	27.3	23.0	23.2	22.7	19.8	28.6	23.5	
Subsidised employment with a private employer	5.2	5.2	17.4		2.3	6.0	5.3	4.9	5.6	5.8		6.7	2.6	8.0	1.5	
Training and/or financial support for starting own business	2.1		4.3	4.6	0.8	3.0	2.6	1.1	3.1	1.7	1.8	1.3	1.0	2.2	5.9	
Training organized by NGO	4.6	8.6	3.3	9.2	2.3	6.0	4.2	5.5	6.8	4.4		2.7	4.7	2.7	13.2	
Courses organized by employer	16.5	5.2	19.6	25.3	10.1	35.8	18.3	13.1	11.2	16.3	33.9	9.3	16.1	17.0	25.0	
Filter:	If yes, did they increase your chances to find a regular job?															
Substantially	15.5	6.9	22.8	24.1	7.4	32.8	15.9	14.8	15.5	14.0	25.0	5.3	13.5	15.2	33.8	
Not much	30.2	37.9	28.3	16.1	35.7	23.9	31.2	28.4	31.7	30.0	28.6	26.7	24.5	35.7	32.4	

	Regional average	Country					Regional data profiles by major groups									
		BG	CZ	HUN	SK	RO	By gender of the respondent:		By age				By education			
							Male	Female	<=29	30-49	>=50	None or inc. pr.	Primary	Inc. second.	Secondary and >	
Not at all	45.4	48.3	38.0	59.8	48.4	22.4	43.9	48.1	42.9	47.8	37.5	50.7	53.1	42.0	27.9	
N/R	8.9	6.9	10.9		8.5	20.9	9.0	8.7	9.9	8.2	8.9	17.3	8.9	7.1	5.9	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Have you ever tried to start your own business ?																
Yes and I still have it	4.6	4.1	6.7	3.5	1.8	6.9	6.8	2.2	3.5	5.2	4.7	2.2	3.6	5.9	16.1	
Yes but I sold it	2.0	1.8	0.6	2.2	4.3	0.9	2.5	1.4	1.4	2.4	1.8	1.0	1.5	3.2	4.5	
Yes but I went bankrupt	4.4	4.9	4.9	5.3	1.3	5.8	5.7	3.1	3.2	4.8	5.3	3.0	4.6	5.0	7.9	
No I have not tried	86.1	83.5	83.4	88.5	91.0	84.1	82.6	89.8	88.4	85.7	84.2	89.6	87.8	83.5	70.7	
N/R	2.9	5.7	4.5	0.5	1.7	2.3	2.4	3.5	3.6	2.0	4.0	4.2	2.5	2.5	0.8	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
What is the best way for people to solve their problems?																
Everyone should take care of his/her own problems	28.2	16.9	26.3	39.7	32.7	25.4	29.3	27.2	27.4	29.1	27.1	20.8	28.8	35.1	35.5	
If people have common problems, they should solve them together	25.2	24.1	35.8	15.8	35.0	15.0	25.2	25.2	28.6	25.1	21.0	16.7	24.5	33.7	37.2	
People should seek solutions to their problems within their own ethnic communities	5.0	5.0	6.2	3.5	5.3	4.9	5.5	4.4	6.0	4.7	4.1	6.0	4.8	4.4	3.4	
It is up to the state to solve problems, people cannot do much on their own	37.3	50.4	25.4	39.3	23.3	48.7	35.8	38.9	32.4	37.4	44.0	51.1	38.2	22.9	20.6	
Other (what)	0.8	0.1	0.6	0.5	1.3	1.3	0.9	0.6	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.5	0.7	1.0	1.1	
N/R	3.5	3.6	5.7	1.2	2.3	4.8	3.3	3.7	4.8	2.8	3.2	4.8	3.0	2.9	2.3	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Do you think your interests are represented well enough? Indicated options																
At national level	13.7	7.8	22.9	13.8	6.2	18.2	14.0	13.5	15.0	13.6	12.3	11.4	13.1	16.3	19.2	
At municipal level	20.2	12.7	26.8	21.7	22.8	16.7	20.5	19.8	20.1	20.4	20.1	14.5	18.8	26.5	31.3	
At the level of the community	24.3	14.1	28.7	17.3	27.5	33.5	26.7	21.6	25.0	24.2	23.2	20.6	21.5	30.4	32.7	
On whom can Roma in your country rely for support? Indicated options																
Roma parties	20.5	19.9	18.6	14.4	14.0	35.7	23.0	17.8	20.4	20.6	20.1	21.4	19.6	19.1	24.8	
Roma NGOs	16.5	20.4	24.8	12.8	11.9	12.7	16.9	16.1	18.8	15.6	15.5	13.1	15.9	17.6	31.3	
Informal Roma leaders	22.1	13.5	34.9	5.4	27.3	29.1	23.5	20.6	25.1	22.2	17.4	20.8	20.2	25.7	24.8	
Well-off or rich Roma individuals	12.7	18.6	18.3	5.6	9.0	12.0	14.0	11.3	15.5	11.2	11.9	11.6	13.0	12.1	17.5	
Neighbours and friends from the majority	31.4	35.3	23.3	33.4	45.9	19.0	31.8	31.0	32.0	31.8	30.0	24.4	32.8	35.6	40.3	
Roma neighbours and friends	44.5	46.7	48.2	31.0	66.5	29.4	44.6	44.5	48.8	43.6	40.9	38.1	46.2	49.3	47.0	
Non-Roma NGOs with human rights profile	16.2	11.5	22.3	18.0	11.2	18.1	17.0	15.4	16.1	17.1	14.7	12.8	15.9	18.6	24.2	
The government itself	24.3	42.7	20.0	31.6	6.6	21.3	23.5	25.1	22.5	24.0	27.5	25.7	26.2	17.6	31.3	
Foreign donors/institutions	15.6	29.6	14.2	5.9	15.0	13.3	16.6	14.5	16.8	15.2	14.9	12.1	15.3	15.9	31.3	
Could you name a Roma political party you would trust?																
Indicated	14.4	5.5	13.4	8.4	17.4	27.1	18.8	9.7	12.6	15.6	14.1	12.0	13.2	17.4	19.7	
Do not know	85.6	94.5	86.6	91.6	82.6	72.9	81.2	90.3	87.4	84.4	85.9	88.0	86.8	82.6	80.3	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Could you name some other political party you would trust?																
Indicated	23.5	18.5	13.3	21.1	35.7	28.4	28.3	18.4	19.3	24.6	26.8	19.1	22.2	28.6	32.4	
Do not know	76.5	81.5	86.7	78.9	64.3	71.6	71.7	81.6	80.7	75.4	73.2	80.9	77.8	71.4	67.6	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Did you vote in last elections?																
Yes	60.6	65.8	29.1	63.7	64.3	80.1	65.3	55.5	46.7	65.2	69.8	59.9	59.5	60.4	70.4	
No	37.3	33.7	65.8	35.4	35.2	16.3	32.8	42.1	50.6	32.8	28.7	37.6	38.6	37.8	27.0	
N/R	2.1	0.5	5.1	0.9	0.5	3.6	1.9	2.4	2.7	1.9	1.6	2.4	2.0	1.8	2.5	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Could you name an NGO you would trust?																
Indicated	9.3	5.8	18.8	7.6	9.5	4.6	10.0	8.5	10.8	9.4	7.2	5.7	8.8	12.2	17.7	
Do not know	90.7	94.2	81.2	92.4	90.5	95.4	90.0	91.5	89.2	90.6	92.8	94.3	91.2	87.8	82.3	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Who best defends your interests in your community? Indicated options																
Roma parties local branches	11.2	7.7	12.6	6.3	7.6	21.9	12.9	9.4	11.8	11.0	10.8	11.8	10.3	11.5	12.1	
Non-Roma parties local branches	4.8	4.3	6.6	3.3	3.9	6.1	5.0	4.7	4.3	5.2	4.5	4.2	4.6	5.4	6.5	
Roma NGOs	12.5	9.6	19.0	7.2	8.3	18.5	13.2	11.7	14.8	12.4	9.9	10.5	11.8	13.7	21.7	
Informal Roma leaders	19.2	9.4	29.3	5.0	23.9	28.1	20.9	17.3	20.7	19.9	15.2	17.7	17.0	23.3	22.0	
Non-Roma NGOs with human rights profile	9.1	5.0	15.2	8.7	6.1	10.5	9.2	9.0	9.3	9.8	7.1	7.2	8.5	11.3	13.2	
The local government administration	24.4	24.7	28.3	33.8	7.7	28.2	24.0	24.8	22.5	26.0	23.8	24.0	25.3	23.3	25.6	
Social assistance administration	25.5	31.7	45.3	18.0	17.7	15.0	23.3	27.9	26.0	26.7	22.5	22.8	26.7	27.1	25.9	

	Regional average	Country					Regional data profiles by major groups								
							By gender of the respondent:		By age			By education			
		BG	CZ	HUN	SK	RO	Male	Female	<=29	30-49	>=50	None or inc. pr.	Primary	Inc. second.	Secondary and >
Local employment services	12.9	13.8	28.2	10.8	6.7	4.9	12.4	13.4	13.9	13.4	10.4	8.9	13.5	16.1	15.8
What is the name of your mayor?															
Correct answer	67.6	62.3	29.9	88.0	80.0	77.6	72.1	62.8	60.9	71.9	67.2	62.3	68.6	67.4	85.9
N/R	32.4	37.7	70.1	12.0	20.0	22.4	27.9	37.2	39.1	28.1	32.8	37.7	31.4	32.6	14.1
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
What do you think is of primary importance for Roma to become equal members of the society? Indicated primary option															
To have employment for Roma	88.6	98.6	91.0	78.6	84.9	90.1	88.4	88.7	86.8	89.3	89.4	88.0	89.2	88.3	89.3
Recruiting Roma as policemen at equal level as the majority	36.7	73.2	50.6	0.6	6.3	53.7	38.7	34.4	38.9	33.7	40.4	39.9	37.6	27.6	45.9
Roma participation in the state administration at local level	49.1	82.4	69.7	3.5	25.0	65.3	51.3	46.6	51.5	45.6	53.6	50.3	49.0	43.2	61.4
To have Roma ministers	38.3	73.2	51.7	1.9	13.7	51.6	40.8	35.5	39.5	35.8	42.4	42.6	37.6	29.7	50.4
To live together with majority but not as part of the majority	39.6	74.7	65.8	2.1	19.3	36.4	39.7	39.3	41.1	36.8	43.8	40.3	40.7	33.8	47.6
To have Roma TV journalists	35.1	63.4	52.6		6.7	53.8	36.6	33.5	37.4	32.9	37.1	37.2	35.9	28.2	44.8
Roma participation in the state administration at central level	42.3	73.1	62.0	2.5	16.3	58.1	45.1	39.2	43.7	40.1	45.1	44.1	41.8	36.5	54.4
To have Roma newspapers	30.6	57.0	40.7	0.1	7.8	48.1	31.7	29.2	32.4	28.4	32.7	34.4	30.6	23.0	38.6
To have a local Roma TV channel	28.4	61.3	25.0		6.9	49.6	29.8	26.7	28.8	26.9	31.1	36.3	28.4	16.6	33.5
To have a nation-wide Roma TV channel	29.3	64.2	30.4	0.1	6.5	46.0	30.3	28.0	30.0	27.5	32.3	36.1	30.1	17.6	34.1
Roma should have a common political party capable of entering the Parliament	42.6	78.6	54.1	2.1	14.9	64.4	44.7	40.4	44.4	39.7	46.5	46.8	41.8	34.0	56.6
To be equally represented in all levels of state administration	48.2	82.9	64.3	7.6	20.6	66.4	49.6	46.6	50.9	44.7	52.3	50.9	46.5	41.5	66.2
Do you use Roma language at home?															
Yes	54.1	71.8	47.1	29.9	58.8	62.5	55.3	52.6	52.6	53.1	58.2	63.3	54.4	44.1	44.2
No	44.8	27.8	49.6	70.0	39.6	37.1	43.6	46.2	46.0	45.7	41.0	36.1	44.6	53.7	54.9
N/R	1.2	0.4	3.3	0.1	1.6	0.4	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.2	0.8	0.6	1.0	2.1	0.8
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Do you maintain some relations with representatives of the majority?															
Yes	82.5	82.0	80.0	82.0	86.7	81.5	83.6	81.2	83.4	83.2	79.7	74.9	82.8	88.0	94.9
No	15.8	16.9	16.7	15.9	12.3	17.5	14.6	17.2	15.5	15.0	18.2	23.4	16.0	9.4	3.9
N/R	1.7	1.1	3.3	2.1	1.0	1.0	1.8	1.6	1.1	1.8	2.0	1.7	1.3	2.6	1.1
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Filter: If Yes	If yes, what type of relations do you have? Indicated options														
Mixed marriages	29.3	19.3	31.2	35.2	27.9	33.2	28.5	30.3	27.4	30.3	29.9	22.9	30.8	31.7	38.3
Joint business	22.2	15.8	52.2	3.9	6.4	34.9	26.6	17.4	23.3	23.2	18.2	17.7	19.4	28.7	31.5
Just ordinary contacts from living in the same neighbourhood	89.6	92.9	96.0	87.3	92.6	78.9	88.6	90.7	89.9	88.8	91.3	89.4	89.3	90.1	90.5
Help each other in dealing with the police	18.6	29.0	9.7	8.4	11.8	34.8	21.3	15.6	16.2	19.3	20.3	21.4	18.3	14.2	25.5
Practice sport or engage in joint entertainment	39.7	44.0	45.1	23.0	38.7	47.8	43.9	35.2	45.5	39.0	32.7	28.2	36.4	47.2	70.6
Our children play together	59.7	60.3	55.7	55.5	56.0	71.2	58.2	61.3	52.4	67.1	52.5	53.4	62.9	59.5	67.1
Have a beer together	42.3	59.0	43.0	31.1	30.5	49.0	53.4	30.2	40.1	43.0	43.7	34.3	42.5	43.8	63.8
Invite each other for marriages or other family holidays	35.5	45.2	21.9	31.0	28.4	51.5	37.3	33.6	33.0	36.0	37.6	30.0	37.1	32.9	55.5
No relations	1.3	1.7	1.9		0.8	2.1	1.4	1.2	1.4	1.2	1.0	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.2
Do you maintain some relations with representatives of other Roma group?															
Yes	32.7	48.8	14.4	35.7	23.4	41.8	35.4	29.9	31.2	32.7	34.7	36.8	32.0	27.0	36.9
No	63.9	47.0	75.2	64.2	75.7	56.6	61.9	66.0	64.9	64.4	61.7	59.9	64.6	69.0	61.1
N/R	3.4	4.1	10.3	0.1	0.9	1.6	2.7	4.1	4.0	2.9	3.6	3.3	3.4	4.0	2.0
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Filter: If Yes	If yes, what type of relations do you have? Indicated options														
Mixed marriages	55.5	73.3	42.8	36.7	56.4	54.8	55.7	55.3	55.7	55.7	54.9	59.1	54.2	51.1	55.0
Joint business	29.2	47.2	18.6	5.3	10.0	43.3	33.2	24.3	31.3	28.7	26.8	34.8	27.1	19.6	37.4
Ordinary contacts from living in the same neighbourhood	80.2	93.8	71.7	72.0	79.7	74.6	79.9	80.5	81.4	79.3	80.9	81.3	79.2	78.6	84.7
Help each other in dealing with the police	34.6	56.5	25.5	9.0	14.1	46.2	37.2	31.4	36.5	32.4	36.9	39.9	33.2	26.9	36.6
Practice sport or engage in joint entertainment	53.6	76.8	41.4	25.8	48.5	57.7	56.9	49.7	56.3	53.5	50.7	53.0	52.5	53.2	61.1
Our children play together	66.8	81.1	50.3	50.4	57.7	75.1	65.9	68.0	65.5	71.3	58.9	69.8	66.6	62.1	65.6

		Regional average	Country					Regional data profiles by major groups								
								By gender of the respondent:		By age				By education		
			BG	CZ	HUN	SK	RO	Male	Female	<=29	30-49	>=50	None or inc. pr.	Primary	Inc. second.	Secondary and >
Have a beer together	52.1	82.3	41.4	37.0	19.9	52.2	58.2	44.6	48.8	52.4	55.4	51.6	54.8	41.9	65.6	
Invite each other for marriages or other family holidays	66.4	83.6	46.9	47.3	53.1	77.3	67.2	65.6	65.7	66.1	68.2	69.9	66.6	59.3	67.2	
No relations	3.7	9.9	0.7		0.8	2.4	3.3	4.3	3.8	3.3	4.2	5.9	3.7		3.1	
Which of the following groups would you not like to have as your neighbours?																
Representatives of the majority	Do not mind	94.3	94.4	92.0	98.5	94.1	92.3	94.3	94.2	93.6	94.6	94.7	92.0	94.8	96.5	94.6
	Do not want	3.7	1.9	4.8	1.4	4.5	5.7	3.7	3.6	4.4	3.4	3.1	5.1	3.2	2.5	3.9
	N/R	2.1	3.7	3.2	0.1	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.2	2.1	2.0	2.2	2.9	2.0	1.1	1.4
Representatives of another Roma group	Do not mind	77.9	88.3	63.4	79.4	79.5	79.1	78.9	76.8	77.1	77.8	79.8	81.7	77.0	74.6	78.0
	Do not want	19.0	6.7	30.2	20.1	18.9	18.7	18.1	20.0	19.7	19.3	17.0	14.5	20.1	23.0	18.6
	N/R	3.1	5.0	6.4	0.5	1.6	2.2	3.1	3.2	3.2	3.0	3.2	3.7	2.9	2.4	3.4
Representatives of another ethnic minority from your country	Do not mind	81.2	88.7	74.6	76.0	86.4	80.2	81.7	80.7	81.0	80.7	82.9	79.4	79.9	83.7	87.3
	Do not want	14.9	5.5	17.9	22.6	12.1	16.6	14.7	15.2	15.1	15.5	13.4	15.5	15.9	14.2	10.4
	N/R	3.9	5.8	7.6	1.4	1.5	3.2	3.6	4.2	3.9	3.9	3.8	5.1	4.2	2.1	2.3
Immigrants from other countries	Do not mind	69.4	77.7	59.2	63.7	72.3	73.8	70.3	68.4	70.0	68.6	70.4	70.2	67.0	69.1	79.2
	Do not want	26.0	13.7	33.2	35.3	26.1	21.7	25.7	26.3	26.0	27.3	23.1	23.9	28.2	28.0	17.5
	N/R	4.6	8.5	7.6	1.0	1.6	4.5	4.0	5.3	4.0	4.1	6.5	5.9	4.7	2.9	3.4
Persons with other religious affiliation than yours	Do not mind	84.0	83.9	78.6	85.7	89.1	82.8	85.2	82.9	84.1	83.6	85.0	81.7	83.0	87.8	87.3
	Do not want	11.8	9.5	13.3	13.3	9.0	13.9	11.0	12.6	11.2	12.7	10.7	12.6	12.8	10.0	9.9
	N/R	4.2	6.6	8.1	1.0	1.8	3.3	3.8	4.5	4.7	3.7	4.3	5.7	4.3	2.2	2.8
Ex - prisoners	Do not mind	40.1	35.3	36.5	33.5	51.7	43.1	43.4	36.6	40.8	39.6	40.2	40.2	38.9	41.9	39.4
	Do not want	56.2	57.2	56.7	66.2	46.7	54.3	53.2	59.4	55.5	56.8	55.8	55.0	57.1	55.7	58.3
	N/R	3.8	7.5	6.9	0.3	1.6	2.6	3.4	4.1	3.7	3.6	4.1	4.8	4.0	2.4	2.3
People with AIDS	Do not mind	27.5	21.4	33.0	20.5	40.1	21.9	29.1	25.7	29.0	26.0	28.4	22.3	25.5	33.9	38.6
	Do not want	68.0	68.6	59.6	78.8	57.3	75.9	66.7	69.3	67.0	69.6	65.7	71.7	70.6	62.3	58.9
	N/R	4.6	10.0	7.4	0.7	2.6	2.2	4.2	4.9	4.0	4.3	5.9	6.0	3.9	3.8	2.5
Divorced	Do not mind	87.6	82.1	90.6	93.8	92.6	78.9	87.8	87.6	88.0	88.3	85.8	83.8	87.8	92.1	89.6
	Do not want	9.7	13.0	5.2	6.0	5.9	18.6	9.5	9.9	9.0	9.4	11.2	12.9	9.5	6.1	9.0
	N/R	2.6	4.8	4.3	0.2	1.5	2.5	2.7	2.5	2.9	2.3	2.9	3.3	2.7	1.8	1.4
Homosexuals	Do not mind	34.2	25.4	52.0	26.9	49.6	16.5	33.8	34.7	37.7	33.3	31.4	25.2	31.9	45.9	45.4
	Do not want	60.9	63.7	39.3	72.4	48.6	80.8	61.7	59.9	57.7	62.1	62.5	68.8	63.4	50.2	50.7
	N/R	4.9	10.9	8.7	0.7	1.7	2.7	4.5	5.4	4.7	4.6	6.1	6.0	4.7	4.0	3.9
If you had the possibility to choose a business partner, whom would you prefer?																
Representative from the majority	20.1	12.0	18.8	32.6	20.5	16.4	20.5	19.6	18.9	20.9	19.8	17.5	21.1	22.0	19.2	
Representative from Roma community	15.6	10.8	23.5	15.8	8.7	19.2	16.0	15.1	16.3	15.9	13.6	17.9	15.9	13.6	8.7	
Representative from another minority	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.8	0.3	0.8	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.3	
Foreign	6.3	10.6	0.7	3.9	0.8	15.8	7.0	5.6	6.6	6.3	5.9	6.5	6.5	4.1	11.8	
It does not matter	49.7	54.3	53.5	41.1	57.6	41.8	50.5	48.7	51.6	49.9	46.6	45.3	49.8	53.4	57.2	
N/R	7.9	12.0	3.5	5.8	12.1	6.1	5.5	10.6	6.1	6.6	13.5	12.3	6.1	6.4	2.8	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Which of the following would you accept? Indicated options																
Working together with people from the majority	93.7	92.6	91.6	98.5	97.8	87.9	93.3	94.1	93.7	94.1	93.0	89.5	94.8	96.8	95.5	
Your children having friends from the majority	92.8	91.7	90.7	98.7	95.8	87.2	92.7	93.0	91.4	93.9	92.5	87.8	95.2	95.0	94.9	
Living side by side with people from the majority	92.5	91.0	92.1	98.3	94.8	86.2	92.7	92.3	92.4	92.8	92.2	87.1	94.6	95.1	96.3	
Your son marrying a woman from the majority	72.2	54.2	73.2	94.4	79.4	59.7	72.2	72.4	71.1	73.8	70.6	62.9	75.2	80.4	70.4	
Your daughter marrying a man from the majority	71.1	52.4	72.1	94.4	78.5	58.0	70.8	71.7	70.3	72.5	69.5	62.0	73.9	79.9	67.6	
"Could you point out which of the following pre-conditions are very important, so that your human rights are respected?"																
Options chosen as 'very important'																
To live free of hunger	77.5	95.7	64.1	96.6	35.3	97.0	76.8	78.2	73.3	77.3	83.5	88.7	79.1	60.8	75.5	
To be able to provide good education for my children	67.5	76.0	55.3	94.9	24.6	88.1	68.7	66.1	65.6	68.3	68.3	70.5	67.6	60.4	78.6	
To be respected by the state administration	66.8	80.6	66.6	88.3	14.6	85.7	68.2	65.4	64.0	66.5	71.3	72.5	69.5	54.3	69.6	
To have the same living standard as the rest of the people in the country	78.5	90.2	71.4	94.2	49.4	88.3	78.5	78.5	76.5	79.0	80.5	83.7	81.1	67.3	81.1	
Not to be arrested without prosecutor's order	59.2	81.4	43.9	89.4	1.0	82.1	60.8	57.5	55.1	60.4	62.1	69.0	61.2	41.7	65.1	
To receive social assistance on time	60.8	86.1	51.4	80.9	3.6	83.7	60.3	61.2	56.9	60.7	65.9	76.1	62.6	39.8	55.5	
To be able to find a job	78.3	87.9	68.5	94.4	48.9	92.9	79.4	77.2	77.9	80.5	73.8	80.8	80.2	72.1	79.7	
To be able to change my job for a better paid one	55.9	76.0	40.5	85.7	4.3	74.6	57.1	54.6	54.0	56.3	57.5	64.2	58.1	40.7	59.2	
Filter: male	For male respondents: would you join the police if you were offered a position?															
Yes	56.9	59.5	49.5	48.8	62.9	62.0	56.9		61.7	58.5	48.1	46.8	61.5	58.6	63.2	
No	37.8	30.4	41.7	50.3	33.0	34.5	37.8		33.0	37.0	44.8	43.6	35.2	36.7	32.7	

	Regional average	Country					Regional data profiles by major groups									
							By gender of the respondent:		By age				By education			
		BG	CZ	HUN	SK	RO	Male	Female	<=29	30-49	>=50	None or inc. pr.	Primary	Inc. second.	Secondary and >	
N/R	5.4	10.1	8.8	0.8	4.1	3.5	5.4		5.4	4.5	7.1	9.6	3.3	4.7	4.1	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Filter: male & no For male respondents: If no, why? Indicated options																
I do not have the necessary skills	53.8	76.4	67.0	17.7	49.7	69.0	53.8		55.0	51.6	55.9	61.4	54.4	47.9	40.3	
I know I would not be accepted by the rest of the officers	37.0	43.8	50.9	14.8	39.2	41.4	37.0		42.9	37.2	31.3	43.1	37.5	34.9	15.3	
My family would not like that	27.8	25.0	35.8	12.2	39.2	30.0	27.8		27.1	27.1	29.4	25.5	29.7	28.5	23.6	
I would lose the respect in the community	24.4	29.2	33.0	15.6	20.5	25.7	24.4		26.7	24.5	22.1	26.6	25.0	23.9	15.3	
We are on different sides of the barricade	27.9	38.2	40.6	9.3	28.1	29.0	27.9		31.7	28.0	24.3	33.4	27.5	25.0	16.7	
I assume that people (citizens) would not respect me	34.1	45.8	58.5	16.0	5.8	44.8	34.1		34.2	33.3	34.9	43.4	32.8	28.9	20.8	
Filtrer: female For female respondents: would you agree your husband/son to join the police if he was offered position?																
Yes	63.9	64.9	60.9	70.3	60.8	61.5		63.9	63.6	65.3	60.3	60.4	66.3	63.7	69.9	
No	25.6	19.0	23.0	28.0	28.8	30.0		25.6	25.2	26.6	23.9	28.2	25.9	21.5	20.3	
N/R	10.6	16.1	16.1	1.7	10.4	8.5		10.6	11.2	8.1	15.8	11.4	7.8	14.8	9.8	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Filtrer: female & no For female respondents If no, why? Indicated options																
He does not have the necessary skills	48.7	73.5	63.2	16.9	44.2	59.8		48.7	44.1	51.3	50.0	50.8	47.2	45.7	55.6	
He would not be accepted by the rest of the officers	44.4	57.1	65.8	19.6	46.9	41.0		44.4	48.2	42.0	44.7	45.6	45.2	36.2	55.6	
The rest of the family would not like that	41.3	38.8	57.9	29.1	39.5	45.3		41.3	46.7	37.6	43.0	46.0	36.0	42.6	48.1	
He would lose the respect in the community	30.6	37.8	43.0	14.9	25.9	38.5		30.6	34.9	29.3	27.2	33.6	29.2	24.5	37.0	
Police and Roma are on different sides of the barricade	37.2	45.9	54.4	14.9	37.4	41.0		37.2	41.0	37.3	30.7	37.2	38.4	30.9	48.1	
I assume that people (citizens) would not respect him	36.4	49.0	68.4	27.0	6.8	43.6		36.4	35.9	33.1	46.5	40.8	35.6	28.7	29.6	
Do you know of any programs targeted at supporting Roma?																
Yes	18.0	12.0	22.5	18.3	26.1	10.8	19.8	16.0	18.5	20.0	12.8	8.7	17.0	25.1	39.4	
No	78.8	83.7	71.9	80.9	72.2	85.8	77.1	80.7	78.4	77.3	83.1	87.7	79.8	72.2	58.3	
N/R	3.2	4.3	5.7	0.8	1.7	3.4	3.0	3.3	3.1	2.7	4.1	3.6	3.2	2.7	2.3	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Filter: Yes If yes, what type of programs? Indicated options																
Economic	45.6	47.5	34.5	31.7	62.1	49.1	48.8	41.4	43.9	45.6	48.9	38.2	45.8	47.4	47.9	
Educational	63.0	58.3	82.7	65.6	51.3	51.9	62.9	63.2	66.5	62.9	55.4	55.9	61.8	63.5	72.1	
Human rights	39.7	60.8	54.0	31.1	17.8	55.6	43.0	35.3	38.1	39.2	44.6	48.5	33.5	34.2	57.1	
Filter: Yes If yes, who was implementing them? Indicated options																
A governmental agency	48.8	30.8	55.3	61.2	48.7	34.3	48.8	49.1	44.6	50.5	51.8	51.5	48.6	52.3	39.3	
A local Roma NGO	38.6	41.7	50.0	28.4	33.5	41.7	39.8	37.1	39.2	38.4	38.1	28.7	37.6	37.5	52.9	
An informal Roma group	16.9	18.3	24.8	2.7	15.6	25.9	17.4	16.4	16.2	15.7	22.3	17.6	16.3	15.5	20.7	
A local non-Roma NGO	19.0	15.8	27.9	10.4	18.2	20.4	19.5	17.9	22.7	17.5	17.3	20.6	16.9	21.1	17.9	
A foreign donor directly	20.6	30.8	22.6	12.0	18.2	25.9	20.7	20.5	23.4	19.0	20.9	25.0	17.9	17.4	29.3	
Did you have in the last year occasion (need) to approach the local informal leaders for some assistance?																
Yes	18.2	7.4	8.1	19.9	21.5	34.1	20.0	16.4	15.4	20.9	16.0	21.2	17.7	16.0	13.8	
No	78.7	86.7	87.4	80.1	75.6	64.0	77.2	80.3	82.0	76.3	80.0	75.1	79.3	81.8	82.8	
N/R	3.1	5.9	4.6		2.9	1.9	2.8	3.3	2.6	2.8	4.0	3.7	3.0	2.1	3.4	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Filter: yes If yes, what was the nature of the problem? Indicated options																
Conflict with representatives of the majority	9.4	10.8	25.9	1.0	15.4	6.2	11.0	7.3	9.9	9.5	8.6	7.0	7.2	14.4	20.4	
Conflict with representatives of the Roma community	12.2	14.9	27.2	5.0	21.7	6.2	12.4	12.0	12.5	13.2	9.2	9.4	12.6	15.5	16.3	
Conflict within the family	7.3	12.2	12.3	6.5	5.9	6.5	6.4	8.5	6.9	8.1	5.7	9.4	6.3	6.2	4.1	
Conflict with the Police	10.5	17.6	25.9	2.5	15.8	6.5	10.7	10.3	14.2	10.3	6.3	8.2	9.6	14.9	14.3	
Lack of incomes (starved)	59.8	55.4	23.5	70.4	34.4	79.8	60.7	58.6	56.0	60.9	61.5	73.3	58.6	42.8	44.9	
Housing problems	43.3	27.0	37.0	30.2	63.8	42.8	41.9	45.1	49.6	40.6	42.5	45.3	42.9	46.4	24.5	
Employment problems	30.0	55.4	18.5	24.6	10.0	43.4	33.3	25.6	27.2	32.7	25.3	37.1	27.3	21.1	32.7	
What is your age?																
15-19	6.0	8.8	12.9	1.7	3.7	2.7	5.4	6.7	19.9			5.4	5.2	7.8	6.8	
20-24	10.9	9.0	13.7	7.3	13.6	10.8	10.8	11.1	36.4			9.5	9.0	14.2	17.0	
25-29	13.1	11.5	12.0	13.9	14.9	13.2	12.1	14.1	43.7			10.7	13.7	14.7	14.7	
30-34	14.3	12.9	14.5	15.1	14.7	14.2	14.0	14.6		29.5		10.2	15.2	17.8	16.4	
35-39	12.6	9.2	11.0	15.0	16.2	11.6	12.5	12.7		26.1		9.6	13.7	14.4	13.9	
40-44	11.6	8.5	9.7	14.1	11.8	13.8	11.9	11.3		24.0		10.6	13.0	11.1	9.6	

	Regional average	Country					Regional data profiles by major groups								
							By gender of the respondent:		By age				By education		
		BG	CZ	HUN	SK	RO	Male	Female	<=29	30-49	>=50	None or inc. pr.	Primary	Inc. second.	Secondary and >
45-49	9.8	7.5	9.1	11.3	9.7	11.6	9.6	10.0		20.4		10.4	11.2	7.9	6.5
50-54	8.9	11.9	6.3	8.9	7.4	10.1	10.6	7.1			41.1	9.6	10.2	6.0	8.5
55-59	4.7	7.2	3.7	4.8	4.0	3.9	4.7	4.8			21.8	7.9	3.6	3.1	2.5
60-64	3.5	5.2	3.2	3.7	1.8	3.6	3.9	3.1			16.2	6.6	2.8	1.1	2.3
65-69	2.6	4.9	2.1	2.0	1.4	2.6	2.7	2.5			12.0	5.0	1.8	1.2	1.1
Over 69	1.9	3.2	1.9	2.0	0.9	1.6	1.8	2.1			8.8	4.5	0.7	0.8	0.6
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
What is your education?															
None	9.5	18.0	8.7	5.6	0.8	14.5	7.8	11.2	7.3	6.1	20.0	30.6			
Incomplete primary	21.4	24.1	13.1	28.3	11.0	31.1	18.0	25.1	19.1	20.1	27.9	69.4			
Primary	37.3	41.1	33.0	44.5	36.8	31.4	35.2	39.5	34.7	41.0	32.9		100.0		
Incomplete apprenticeship	6.0	0.5	12.8	2.3	11.3	3.0	7.0	5.0	8.7	6.0	2.5			25.0	
Apprenticeship	15.8		25.0	14.5	31.0	7.8	20.8	10.5	17.7	17.1	10.0			65.4	
Incomplete secondary	2.3	2.7	1.7	0.7	1.6	4.9	2.2	2.4	3.1	2.4	0.9			9.6	
Secondary	5.5	12.1	1.0	2.6	6.5	5.1	6.6	4.2	7.2	5.1	3.9				77.5
College	1.3	0.1	3.9	1.2	0.6	0.9	1.6	1.1	1.5	1.4	0.9				18.9
University	0.2	0.7	0.1	0.1		0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.1				3.4
Specialisation/Dissertation	0.0				0.1		0.0			0.0					0.3
N/R	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.2	0.5	1.1	0.5	0.7	0.4	0.6	0.8				
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
What type of school did you attend?															
Ordinary	81.9	72.0	75.3	89.4	92.4	80.1	82.8	81.1	81.1	85.6	75.2	64.8	91.4	91.1	78.6
Special	7.6	9.4	18.4	5.1	4.8	0.4	7.9	7.3	11.0	6.8	4.8	7.4	6.3	6.3	20.0
None	6.1	9.1	0.8	5.5	0.6	14.6	4.7	7.5	3.6	4.3	13.5	19.7			
N/R	4.4	9.4	5.5		2.2	4.9	4.6	4.1	4.4	3.3	6.5	8.2	2.3	2.6	1.4
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
How many people live in your household?															
Mean	5.0	4.9	4.6	4.6	5.2	5.9	5.1	5.0	5.0	5.4	4.4	5.3	5.0	4.9	4.6
Type of settlement															
Capital	5.0	5.8	7.6	5.7		6.1	3.8	6.4	5.2	5.4	3.8	4.6	4.8	4.5	9.6
District center	28.1	30.1	74.0		22.6	14.6	28.5	27.7	33.6	25.4	26.3	22.0	27.2	36.2	31.9
Small town	21.8	21.2	15.8	42.2	11.2	18.6	21.7	21.8	21.0	21.6	23.1	20.5	23.9	19.0	26.0
Village	45.1	42.9	2.6	52.1	66.2	60.7	46.0	44.1	40.2	47.5	46.8	52.9	44.1	40.3	32.5
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Distribution of results by gender of the respondents															
Male	51.4	47.9	50.6	47.1	50.4	60.9			48.5	51.1	56.0	42.8	48.5	63.8	62.3
Female	48.6	52.1	49.4	52.9	49.6	39.1			51.5	48.9	44.0	57.2	51.5	36.2	37.7
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0			100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Distribution of results by age of respondents															
<=29	30.0	29.3	38.6	22.9	32.1	26.8	28.3	31.8				25.6	27.9	36.7	38.5
30-49	48.4	38.2	44.2	55.6	52.4	51.3	48.1	48.6				40.9	53.1	51.2	46.5
>=50	21.6	32.5	17.1	21.4	15.4	21.9	23.6	19.6				33.5	19.1	12.1	15.0
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0				100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Distribution of results by education of respondents															
Incomplete primary and none	31.1	42.3	22.0	34.0	11.8	46.1	25.9	36.6	26.5	26.3	48.3				
Primary	37.6	41.4	33.2	44.6	37.0	31.7	35.4	39.8	34.8	41.2	33.2				
Incomplete secondary	24.2	3.2	39.7	17.5	44.0	15.9	30.1	18.1	29.6	25.7	13.6				
Secondary and higher	7.1	13.0	5.0	3.9	7.2	6.4	8.6	5.5	9.1	6.8	4.9				
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0				
Interviewers' assessment															
Final evaluation of the dwelling															
Well kept house	34.8	38.8	27.5	42.9	40.7	24.1	36.1	33.5	32.7	34.6	38.4	22.4	37.1	40.9	57.6
Ruined house	31.0	37.2	19.5	28.9	18.6	50.8	31.3	30.5	30.4	31.1	31.4	43.2	30.8	20.1	15.1
Well kept apartment	16.9	5.1	41.5	12.7	22.5	2.9	16.0	17.9	19.0	17.5	12.9	8.1	16.5	28.2	20.6
Ruined apartment	7.9	3.7	11.3	12.5	7.9	4.0	7.4	8.5	8.8	8.0	6.7	8.8	8.1	7.4	4.1
Slums	7.8	11.6		2.0	8.7	16.6	7.8	7.8	7.5	7.6	8.5	14.4	6.4	2.9	2.0
Shack	1.5	3.5	0.1	0.9	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.6	1.5	1.2	2.0	2.9	1.1	0.5	0.6
Caravan/tent	0.1	0.1		0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.3			
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Type of the area where the respondent lives															
Principally Roma	44.3	66.4	20.7	37.2	42.3	55.3	45.0	43.5	44.7	44.3	43.9	55.9	42.9	32.6	40.3

	Regional average	Country					Regional data profiles by major groups									
							By gender of the respondent:		By age				By education			
		BG	CZ	HUN	SK	RO	Male	Female	<=29	30-49	>=50	None or inc. pr.	Primary	Inc. second.	Secondary and >	
Mixed	34.4	31.4	33.7	53.3	20.1	33.7	33.5	35.4	33.4	33.9	36.6	33.7	37.2	32.2	29.5	
Principally non-Roma	21.3	2.2	45.5	9.5	37.6	11.1	21.5	21.1	21.9	21.8	19.4	10.4	19.9	35.2	30.1	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Location of the area where the respondent lives																
Inner city	35.6	26.4	35.7	58.9	27.6	28.2	34.2	37.1	34.6	36.4	35.1	32.0	38.6	35.3	37.2	
Periphery	50.8	59.1	61.3	28.0	41.6	65.3	52.1	49.5	51.5	50.2	50.9	54.1	47.9	50.6	50.7	
Remote area	5.4	9.2	2.0	1.7	7.7	6.5	6.1	4.5	5.7	4.8	6.2	6.6	5.1	4.5	4.1	
Isolated Roma settlement	8.3	5.3	0.9	11.4	23.1		7.7	9.0	8.3	8.6	7.8	7.3	8.4	9.6	7.9	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Degree of integration of the community																
Integrated	45.1	39.6	64.4	53.8	29.7	39.0	45.3	44.9	43.6	45.1	47.4	36.7	45.4	52.2	55.9	
Concentrated	30.0	55.9	21.1	25.8	19.4	28.2	29.3	30.6	31.8	28.1	31.6	36.7	30.9	20.3	28.5	
Segregated	11.1	0.7	8.1	11.4	24.7	9.9	11.3	11.0	11.2	11.6	9.9	12.9	10.1	12.7	4.0	
Separated	13.8	3.7	6.4	9.0	26.2	22.9	14.1	13.4	13.3	15.2	11.1	13.7	13.6	14.7	11.5	
Table Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Mean	Assessment of the interview (average value on a scale of 1-5)															
Reliability of information	3.1	4.5	2.0	4.1	1.7	3.5	3.2	3.1	3.0	3.1	3.4	3.6	3.2	2.4	3.3	
Atmosphere during interview	3.1	4.6	1.9	4.2	1.5	3.6	3.1	3.1	3.0	3.1	3.4	3.6	3.3	2.3	3.4	
Interiors of dwelling - estate	2.6	2.8	2.4	3.3	2.0	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.8	2.4	3.0	
Interior of dwelling - equipment	2.6	2.6	2.5	3.1	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.8	2.5	3.0	
Exteriors and environment	2.7	2.3	2.7	2.9	2.8	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.5	2.8	2.7	2.9	

Annex 2

Phare-funded Programmes for the Roma in Central and Eastern Europe (in thousands of €*)

Year	BG	CZ	HUN	RO	SK	Total
2001	6 350	3 000	5 000	7 000	10 000	31 350
2000	3 500	4 500	2 500	1 000	3 800	15 300
1999	500	500	6 900	0	3 878	11 778
1998	0	900	334	79	784	2 097
1997	0	255	471	80	0	806
1996	802	534	313	236	504	2 389
1995	382	2	45	169	120	718
1994	381	11	570	28	448	1 439
Total	11 915	9 702	16 134	8 592	19 535	65 878

* Table based on EC. 2002. *EU Support for Roma Communities in Central and Eastern Europe. May 2002.*
Brussels: Enlargement Information Unit.
http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/docs/pdf/brochure_roma_may2002.pdf.

Annex 3

Major socioeconomic indicators and human development profiles

Annex 3 part A:

Human Development Profiles

Table A1									
Human Development Index 2001*									
Country	Life Expectancy at birth 2000	Adult literacy rate (percent age 15 and above) 2000	Combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enroll-ment ratio	GDP per capita (PPP US\$)	Live expectancy index	Education index	GDP index	HDI	HDI Rank
Bulgaria	70.8	98.4	72	5.71	0.76	0.9	0.68	0.779	62
Czech Republic	74.9	... ^a	70	13991	0.83	0.89	0.82	0.849	33
Hungary	71.3	99.3 ^d	81	12.416	0.77	0.93	0.8	0.835	35
Romania	69.8	98.1	69	6.423	0.75	0.88	0.69	0.775	63
Slovak Republic	73.3	100	76	11243	0.8	0.91	0.79	0.835	36

a For purposes of calculating the HDI a value of 99.0 percent was applied.

* Source: UNDP 2002: 149-150.

Table A2									
Human Development Index 2000*									
Bulgaria	70.8	98.3	72	5071	0.76	0.9	0.66	0.772	57
Czech Republic	74.7	... ^a	70	13018	0.83	0.89	0.81	0.844	33
Hungary	71.1	99.3 ^d	81	11430	0.77	0.93	0.79	0.829	36
Romania	69.8	98	69	6041	0.75	0.88	0.68	0.772	58
Slovak Republic	73.1	... ^a	76	10591	0.8	0.91	0.78	0.831	35

a For purposes of calculating the HDI a value of 99.0 percent was applied.

* Source: UNDP 2001: 141-142.

Table A3					
Major Social Indicators (values for 1999, unless otherwise specified)					
	BG	CZ	HUN	RO	SK
Pop ulation (1999)	8 210 650	10 282 784	10 068 000	22 472 050	5 395 115
Life expectancy at birth (male)	67,1 ^a	71,4	66,3	66,1	69,0
Life expectancy at birth (female)	74,3	78,1	75,1	73,7	77,0
Infant mortality (per 1000 live births) (1999)	14,6	4,6	8,9	18,6	8,3
Health expenditure, total (percent of GDP)	5	7	N.A.	N.A.	7
Average Household Size	2,8 ^b	2,8 ^c	2,6 ^d	3,1 ^b	2,9 ^e
Total Fertility Rate (1998)	1,1	1,2	1,3	1,3	1,4
Adolescent Fertility Rate (births per 1,000 women age 15-19)	45	23	27	41	62
Students in Tertiary education (per 1000)	33	21	20	18	21 ^a
Main telephone lines (per 1000 population) (1998)	328	363	335	167	286
Adult Illiteracy rate (percent), (age 15 +), total	2	N.A.	1	2	N.A.

a 1997 data

b 1992 data

c 1998 data

d 1996 data

e 1991 data

Sources: UNECE, UNICEF, World Bank, National Statistical Offices

Annex 3 part B:**Natality, health and life expectancy***

Table B1 Crude birth rate (Live births per thousand mid-year population)			
Country	1998	1999	2000
Bulgaria	7,9	8,8	9
Czech Republic	8,8	8,7	8,8
Hungary	9,6	9,4	9,7
Romania	10,5	10,4	10,4
Slovak Republic	10,7	10,4	10,2

Table B2 Total fertility rate (Births per woman)			
Country	1998	1999	2000
Bulgaria	1,11	1,23	1,27
Czech Republic	1,16	1,13	1,14
Hungary	1,33	1,29	1,33
Romania	1,32	1,3	1,3
Slovak Republic	1,38	1,33	1,28

Table B3 Average age of mothers at first birth (years)			
Country	1998	1999	2000
Bulgaria	22,9	23	23,5
Czech Republic	24,1	24,4	24,9
Hungary	24,3	24,7	25
Romania	23,3	23,5	23,7
Slovak Republic	23,3	23,6	23,9

Table B4 Average age at first marriage						
Country	1998		1999		2000	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Bulgaria	23,5	26,6	23,8	27,1	24,7	28,1
Czech Republic	23,6	26,3	24,1	26,7	24,6	27,1
Hungary	23,8	26,8	24,2	26,8	24,7	27,2
Romania	23,2	26,4	23,3	26,5	23,6	26,9
Slovak Republic	22,7	25,2	23,1	25,6	23,6	26,1

*Source: TransMONEE database, 2002 unless other specified

Table B5 Live births to women under age 20 (thousands)			
Country	1998	1999	2000
Bulgaria	12,7	13,6	12,8
Czech Republic	6	5,3	4,5
Hungary	9,2	8	7,8
Romania	35,6	33,9	32,3
Slovak Republic	6	5,7	5,2

Table B6 Age-specific live birth rate, under age 20 (Live births under age 20 per thousand women aged 15-19)			
Country	1998	1999	2000
Bulgaria	45,1	49,1	47,1
Czech Republic	16,4	15,3	13,2
Hungary	26,5	24,3	24,7
Romania	40,8	40,4	39,6
Slovak Republic	26,9	25,6	24

Table B7 Share of births to mothers under age 20 (Percent of total live births)			
Country	1998	1999	2000
Czech Republic	6,7	6	4,9
Bulgaria	19,5	18,8	17,4
Hungary	9,4	8,4	8
Romania	15	14,4	13,8
Slovak Republic	10,5	10,1	9,5

Table B8 Abortion rate (Abortions per 100 live births)			
Country	1998	1999	2000
Bulgaria	122,2	100,1	83,3
Czech Republic	61,5	58,2	52,1
Hungary	85,9	85,6	76
Romania	114,4	110,8	110
Slovak Republic	46,3	45,5	42,8

Table B9 Abortion rate among women under age 20 (Abortions per thousand women aged 15-19)			
Country	1998	1999	2000
Bulgaria	31,5	26,1	22,5
Czech Republic	14,2	12,6	10,8
Hungary	31,3	29,8	26,4
Romania	24,5	25	24,7
Slovak Republic	11,6	10,7	10,7

Table B10 Infant mortality rate. Deaths of children under age of 1 per thousand live births			
Country	1998	1999	2000
Bulgaria ^a	14,4	14,6	13,3
Czech Republic ^b	5,2	4,6	4,1
Hungary ^b	9,7	8,4	9,2
Romania ^b	20,5	18,6	18,6
Slovak Republic ^b	8,8	8,3	8,6

^a National concept for live birth

^b WHO concept for live birth

Table B11 Under-5 mortality rate (Deaths of children under age of 5 per thousand live births)			
Country	1998	1999	2000
Bulgaria	15,3	15,1	16
Czech Republic	6,4	5,7	5
Hungary	11,8	10,2	9
Romania	24,6	22,6	22
Slovak Republic	11,3	10,1	9

Table B12 Child dependency ratio (ratio of 0-14 population to 15-59 population, per cent)				
Country	1998	1999	2000	2001
Bulgaria	27,2	26,2	25,4	24,8
Czech Republic	27	26,2	25,5	24,8
Hungary	27,7	27,4	27	26,6
Romania	30,8	30,3	29,5	28,6
Slovak Republic	33	31,8	30,6	29,4

Table B13

Estimated numbers of Roma populations*

Country	Minimum	Maximum
Bulgaria	700 000	800 000
Czech Republic	250 000	300 000
Hungary	550 000	600 000
Romania	1 800 000	2 500 000
Slovak Republic	480 000	520 000

* Based on Liégeois, Jean-Pierre. 1994: 34.

Table B14

Demographic scenarios* for Roma in Slovak Republic

	1995		2000		2005	
	Number (thous.)	percent of population	Number (thous.)	percent of population	Number (thous.)	percent of population
Scenario 1	281,3	5,1	317,4	5,6	348,2	6
Scenario 2	84	1,5	110,7	2	134	2,3

* Table based on Courbage, Youssef 1998: 148-155. Scenario 1 is based on population figures derived from 1989 survey (considered more credible); scenario 2 is based on 1995 census data. Both scenarios assume decline of fertility rate from 3.40 in 1996-2000 to 3.09 in 2001-2005.

Table B15

Demographic scenarios* for Roma in Romania

	1992		2000		2010	
	Number (thous.)	percent of population	Number (thous.)	percent of population	Number (thous.)	percent of population
Scenario 1	402	1,8	485	2,1	612	2,7
Scenario 2	402	1,8	473	2,1	552	2,5
Scenario 3	804	3,5	971	4,3	1224	5,4
Scenario 4	804	3,5	950	4,2	1112	5,1

* Table based on Courbage, Youssef 1998: 148-155. Scenarios 1 and 2 based on 1992 census data, 3 and 4 - on data from convergent study findings. Scenarios 1 and 3 assume constant fertility and mortality, no migration; 2 and 4 assume falling and converging fertility, constant mortality, external migration.

Table B16

Demographic scenarios* for Roma in Hungary

	1990	1993	2000	2010
Scenario 1	143		178	216
Scenario 2		458	539	652

* Table based on Courbage, Youssef 1998: 148-155. Scenario 1 is based on 1990 census data; scenario 2 is based on 1993 survey data. Both scenarios assume demographic growth rate half-way between that for Roma in Slovak Republic and Romania.

Annex 3 part C:**Education profiles***

Table C1			
Pre-primary education enrolment (net rates, percent of population aged 3-6 except aged 3-5)			
Country	1998	1999	2000
Bulgaria	65.3	66.4	66.9
Czech Republic	80.5	85.4	85.9
Hungary	86.3	87.3	n. a.
Romania	65.1	66.2	66.5
Slovak Republic	68.2	69.5	68.8

Table C2			
Basic education enrolment (Gross rates, percent of relevant population)			
Country	1998	1999	2000
Bulgaria ^a	94.3	95.1	95.5
Czech Republic ^b	97.6	97.7	98.4
Hungary ^c	98	98.7	n. a.
Romania ^a	97.9	98.5	98.9
Slovak Republic ^c	101.3	107.5	107.4

^a 7-14 year-olds.^b 1989-95: 6-13 year-olds. 1996-99: 6-14 year-olds.^c 6-13 year-olds.

Table C3			
Total upper secondary education enrolment (Gross rates, percent of population aged 15-18)			
Country	1998	1999	2000
Bulgaria	75.5	75.6	76.6
Czech Republic ^a	71	75.9	86.2
Hungary ^b	98.8	-	n. a.
Romania	69.6	70.2	72.2
Slovak Republic ^b	91.5	80	82.7

^a 1989-95: 14-17 year-olds. 1996-99: 15-18 year-olds.^b 14-17 year-olds.

Table C4			
General secondary education enrolment (Gross rates, percent of population aged 15-18)			
Country	1998	1999	2000
Bulgaria	32	32.6	33.1
Czech Republic ^a	13.4	14.5	17.3
Hungary ^b	27.8	29.1	n. a.
Romania	21.4	26.3	26.1
Slovak Republic ^b	22.6	21.7	23.1

^a 1989-95: 14-17 year-olds. 1996-99: 15-18 year-olds.^b 14-17 year-olds.

*Source: TransMONEE database, 2002 unless other specified

Table C5

**Vocational/technical secondary education enrolment
(Gross rates, percent of population aged 15-18)**

Country	1998	1999	2000
Bulgaria	43.5	43	43.5
Czech Republic ^a	57.6	61.3	68.9
Hungary ^b	71	71.8	
Romania	48.2	43.9	46.1
Slovak Republic ^b	68.8	58.3	59.6

^a 1989-95: 14-17 year-olds. 1996-99: 15-18 year-olds.

^b 14-17 year-olds.

Table C6

Higher education enrolment

Country	1998	1999	2000
Bulgaria	35.2	34.7	33.3
Czech Republic ^a	23.7	26	28.2
Hungary ^b	27.9	31.7	35.9
Romania	21.3	23.4	26.8
Slovak Republic ^c	21.5	22.5	22.9

^a 1989-95: 18-22 year-olds. 1996-99: 19-23 year-olds.

^b 8-23 year-olds.

^c 18-22 year-olds. Only full-time courses.

Table C7

Student-teacher ratio in basic education (student per teacher)

Country	1998	1999	2000
Bulgaria	13.7	13.6	13.9
Czech Republic	16.6	15.8	15.4
Hungary	12.2	12.3	
Romania	14.8	15	14.8
Slovak Republic	16.7	17.1	17.1

Table C8

**Rate of children in residential care (Children placed
in institutions per hundred thousand population aged 0-17)**

Country	1998	1999	2000
Bulgaria	-	-	
Czech Republic	898.3	945.4	977.5
Hungary	649.2	618.8	
Romania	-	-	
Slovak Republic	639.7	655.7	686.5

Table C9

**Rate of infants in infant homes (Infants placed in infant
homes per hundred thousand population aged 0-3)**

Country	1998	1999	2000
Bulgaria	1,334.90	1,280.80	1,207
Czech Republic	583.8	574	478.5
Hungary	387.3	371.2	314.7
Slovak Republic	-	-	-
Romania	-	-	-

Annex 3 part D:

Economic profiles

Table D1			
General government expenditure/GDP ratio (percent)*			
Country	1997	1998	1999
Bulgaria	33.5	35.8	40.7
Czech Republic	40.9	40.8	42
Hungary	50.9	49.4	44.8
Romania	34.3	35.2	36.8
Slovak Republic	45.5	42.9	43.3

* Includes state, municipalities, extrabudgetary funds. For Hungary reported on a National Accounts basis. Source: TransMONEE database, 2002

Table D2						
Average gross monthly wages, €						
		Country				
		BG ^a	CZ	HU	SK	RO
1997	Local currency	128	10691	57270	9226	846450
	Exchange rate	2	36	211	38	8061
	€	67	299	272	243	105
1998	Local currency	183	11693	67764	10003	1357132
	Exchange rate	2	36	241	40	9988
	€	93	323	281	253	136
1999	Local currency	205	12666	77187	10728	1957731
	Exchange rate	2	37	253	44	16296
	€	105	343	305	243	120
2000	Local currency	246	13490	87645	11430	2876645
	Exchange rate	2	36	260	44	19956
	€	126	379	337	260	144
2001	Local currency	270	13969	103558	12365	4282622
	Exchange rate	2	34	257	43	26027
	€	138	410	403	286	165

Table based on: *Countries in Transition 2000. WIIW Handbook of Statistics*. WIIW: Vienna, 2000-2001; National Statistical Offices in respective countries.

^a For 2000 and 2001 - end of year. <http://www.nsi.bg/statistika/Statistics.htm>

Table D3-1									
Average monthly money income of households per capita									
Country	1999			2000			2001		
	Local currency	Exchange rate	€	Local currency	Exchange rate	€	Local currency	Exchange rate	€
Bulgaria	125	1.956	64	131	1.956	67	132	1.956	68
Czech Republic	-	-	-	8151	35.61	229	8815	34.082721	259
Hungary	77167	252.8	305	-	-	-	-	-	-
Romania	-	-	-	1247454	19,955.75	63	-	-	-
Slovak Republic	6168	44.1	140	6612	44	150	7446	43.3096	172

Table D3-2									
Average monthly money expenditure of households per capita									
Country	1999			2000			2001		
	Local currency	Exchange rate	€	Local currency	Exchange rate	€	Local currency	Exchange rate	€
Bulgaria	108	1.956	55	115	1.956	59	118	1.956	60
Czech Republic	-	-	-	7834	35.61	220	8325	34.082721	244
Hungary	69000	260.04	265	-	-	-	-	-	-
Romania	-	-	-	1232207	19,955.75	62	-	-	-
Slovak Republic	6145	44.1	139	6548	44	149	7338	43.3096	169

Sources for tables D3-1 and D3-2: National Statistical Offices in respective countries. Available on the Internet at:

Bulgaria: <http://www.nsi.bg/statistika/Statistics.htm>;

Czech Republic: <http://www.czso.cz/eng/figures/3/30/300102/data/30010211.pdf>;

Hungary: http://www.ksh.hu/pls/ksh/docs/index_efontosabb_adatok.html;

Romania - http://www.insse.ro/Indicatori/San_2001/eng/socindic_year00.htm;

Slovak Republic: <http://www.statistics.sk/webdata/english/srsic01a/iae.htm>

Table D4									
National estimations of poverty lines or subsistence minimum levels									
Country	1999			2000			2001		
	Local currency	Exchange rate	€	Local currency	Exchange rate	€	Local currency	Exchange rate	€
Bulgaria ^a	64	1.956	33	75	1.956	39	87	1.956	45
Czech Republic ^b	3430	36.882	93	3770	35.61	106	3770	34.083	111
Hungary ^c	29360	252.8	116	32851	260.04	126	39621	256.68	154
Romania ^d	-	-	-	-	-	-	1134000	26026.89	44
Slovak Republic	3230	44.1	73	3490	44	79	3790	43.3096	88

^a minimum wage, on average three times higher than the „guaranteed minimum income“

^b 3430 Krs between April 1998 and April 2000; 3770 between April 2000 and October 2001, 4100 since October 2001

^c subsistence minimum, on the basis of which the actual volume of support is calculated multiplying the minimum by a coefficient depending on the number of household members and their status (between 1 for a single person household and 4.45 for a household consisting of three adults and 4 children)

^d for comparability purposes the value of minimum guaranteed revenue for a household of two persons (introduced under Law 416/Yuly 2001 and enacted January 2002) is used here as the closest proxy of poverty line with the assumption that this is close to the income of a poor household with one earner.

Table D5			
Average annual exchange rates local currencies/€			
	1999	2000	2001
Bulgaria	1.95583	1.95583	1.95583
Czech Republic	36.882	35.61	34.083
Hungary	252.8	260.04	256.68
Romania	16,295.57	19,955.75	26026.89
Slovak Republic	44.1	44	43.3096

Sources:

Hungary: <http://www.mnb.hu/index-n.htm>

Czech Republik: <http://www.cnb.cz/en/>

Romania: http://www.bnro.ro/def_en.htm

Slovak Republic: <http://www.nbs.sk/INDEXA.HTM>

Bulgaria: <http://www.bnb.bg/bnb/home.nsf/fsWebIndex?OpenFrameset>

Table D6					
Major Macroeconomic Indicators (values for 2001, unless otherwise specified)					
	BG	CZ	HU	SK	RO
GDP per head (US\$ at market rates)	1640	5440	5100	3780	1730
GDP per head (US\$ at PPP)	5440	12180	9700	9270	4700
Current Account Balance (percent of GDP)	-6.9	-2.8	-0.9	-7.4	-5.9
Government consumption (percent of GDP at current market prices)	10,0	18,8	9,6	19,6	12,3
Budget balance (percent of GDP)	-0.9	-5.8	-2.8	-3.9	-3.8 ^a
Unemployment rate (percent) (yearly average) ^b	17.5	8.5	6.6	18.9	9.1
External Debt (percent of GDP)	76,9	44,0	42,8	38,3	29,9

a State or central government budget only, excluding local and social security budgets

b Cross-country comparisons of unemployment rates might be troublesome, because of different methods used by CSOs. The figure could nevertheless be useful to compare with Roma populations in each country.

Source: EIU

Annex 3 part E:**Other socioeconomic variables
and poverty estimation measurements**

Table E1 Registered total crime rate (Crimes per hundred thousand population)			
Country	1997	1998	1999
Bulgaria	2,896	1,993	1,855
Czech Republic	3,917	4,138	4,149
Hungary	5,066	5,939	5,023
Romania	1,601	1,773	1,618
Slovak Republic	1,716	1,741	1,742

Source: TransMONEE database, 2002

Table E2 Children in residential care (thousands)			
Country	1997	1998	1999
Bulgaria	-	-	-
Czech Republic	19.3	19.5	20
Hungary	14.9	13.9	12.9
Romania ^a	79.5	-	-
Slovak Republic	9.1	8.7	7.1

^a Includes children on weekly and semestrially based programmes in special schools for disabled.

Source: TransMONEE database, 2002

Table E3 Rate of children in residential care (Children placed in institutions per hundred thousand population aged 0-17)			
Country	1997	1998	1999
Bulgaria	-	-	-
Czech Republic	866.7	898.3	945.4
Hungary	681.5	649.2	618.8
Romania ^a	1,472.10	-	-
Slovak Republic	649.4	632.5	530.7

^a Includes children on weekly and semestrially based programmes in special schools for disabled.

Source: TransMONEE database, 2002

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Country	GDP in PPP\$ billions, 1999 ^a	GDP in PPP€, billions, 1999 ^b	GDP in €, billions, 1999 ^c	Imputed 1999 €/PPP\$ deflator (€ equivalent of one PPP\$ in 1999)	Monthly value of 1 PPP\$ per capita per month threshold expressed in €	€ equivalent of four PPP\$ in 1999	Monthly value of 4 PPP\$ per capita per month threshold expressed in €
				col3/col1	col4*31 days	col4*4	col6*31 days
Bulgaria	41.6	40.6	11.6	0.2788461538	8.6	1.1153846154	34.6
Czech Republic	133.8	127.5	49.7	0.3714499253	11.5	1.485799701	46.1
Hungary	115.1	107.7	45.1	0.3918331885	12.1	1.5673327541	48.6
Romania	135.7	127.4	33	0.243183493	7.5	0.972733972	30.2
Slovak Republic	57.1	55.4	18.5	0.3239929947	10.0	1.295971979	40.2

^a Source: UNDP 2001: 178-179.

^b Source: *Enlargement of the European Union: An Historic Opportunity*. December 2001. Brussels: Enlargement Information Unit.

^c Source: *Statistics in Focus. Economy and Finance. Theme 2 - 28/2001*.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Country	GDP in PPP\$, billions, 2000 ^a	GDP in US\$, billions, 2000 ^a	GDP in €, billions, 2000 ^b	Imputed 2000 €/PPP\$ deflator (€ equivalent of one PPP\$ in 2000)	Monthly value of 1 PPP\$ per capita per month threshold expressed in €	€ equivalent of four PPP\$ in 1999	Monthly value of 4 PPP\$ per capita per month threshold expressed in €
				col3/col1	col.4*31 days	col.4*4	col.6*31 days
Bulgaria	46.6	12	13.0356	0.2797339056	8.7	1.1189356223	34.7
Czech Republic	143.7	50.8	55.18404	0.384022547	11.9	1.5360901879	47.6
Hungary	124.4	45.6	49.53528	0.3981935691	12.3	1.5927742765	49.4
Romania	144.1	36.7	39.86721	0.2766634976	8.6	1.1066539903	34.3
Slovak Republic	60.7	19.1	20.74833	0.3418176277	10.6	1.3672705107	42.4

^a Source: UNDP 2002: 190-191.

^b Estimation based on GDP values in US\$ using annual average exchange rate US\$/€ 1.0863 for 2000. Sources: *Global Human Development Report 2002*, pp. 190/191, Bank of England, www.bankofengland.co.uk.

	Monthly value of 4 PPP\$ per capita per month threshold expressed in €		€ equivalent of the monthly social subsistence or minimum wage level		International 4PPP\$ threshold as percent of the national measurement	
Country	1999	2000	1999	2000	1999	2000
Bulgaria	34.6	34.7	32.7	38.5	105.7	90.1
Czech Republic	46.1	47.6	93	105.9	49.5	45.0
Hungary	48.6	49.4	116.1	126.3	41.9	39.1
Romania	30.2	34.3		43.6		78.7
Slovak Republic	40.2	42.4	73.2	79.3	54.9	53.5

Source: own calculations based on Tables D4, E4-1 and E4-2.

Table E6				
Commitment to health: access to services and resources				
	Population using adequate sanitation facilities (percent)		Population using improved water sources (percent)	
	1999 ^a	2000 ^b	1999 ^a	2000 ^b
Bulgaria	100	100	100	100
Czech Republic	..	..	..	..
Hungary	99	99	99	99
Romania	53	53	58	58
Slovak Republic	100	100	100	100

^a Source: UNDP 2001: 158-159.

^b Source: UNDP 2002: 166-167.

Table E7						
Ratification of International Instruments						
Instrument	Status	Bulgaria	Czech Republic	Hungary	Romania	Slovak Republic
FCNM	Signed	09.10.1997	28.04.1995	01.02.1995	01.02.1995	01.02.1995
	Ratified	07.05.1999	18.12.1997	25.09.1995	11.05.1995	14.09.1995
ECRML	Signed		09.11.2000	05.11.1992	17.07.1995	20.02.2001
	Ratified			26.04.1995		05.09.2001
ICERD		08.08.1966	22.02.1993	01.05.1967	15.09.1970	28.05.1993
ICERD Art.14 Entered into Force		12.05.1993	11.10.2000	13.09.1990		17.03.1995
ICCPR		21.09.1970	22.02.1993	17.01.1974	09.12.1974	28.05.1993
ICCPR-OP1		26.03.1992	22.02.1993	07.09.1988	20.07.1993	28.05.1993
ECHR	Signed	07.05.1992	21.02.1991	06.11.1990	07.10.1993	21.02.1993
	Ratified	07.09.1992	18.03.1992	05.11.1992	20.06.1994	18.03.1992
PROTOCOL 12 to ECHR Signed			04.11.2000	04.11.2000	04.11.2000	04.11.2000
ICESCR Ratified		21.09.1970	01.01.1993	17.01.1974	09.12.1974	28.05.1993
ILO 111 Ratified		22.07.1960	01.01.1993	20.06.1961	06.06.1973	01.01.1993

Abbreviations:

FCNM: Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities

ECRML: European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages

ICERD: International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination

ICERD art 14: Declaration under the Article 14 of ICERD on individual complaints

ICESCR: International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

ICCPR: International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICCPR - OP1: International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights - First Optional protocol

ECHR: European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

ILO 111: ILO Convention 111 on Discrimination

Annex 4:

Institutional framework for Roma participation in Central and Eastern Europe

Although different in every country, institutions promoting Roma participation in policy making in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, and Slovak Republic have some common features. Roma issues are treated as a part of these countries' overall obligations and instruments regarding national and ethnic minorities. The five CEE countries have signed and ratified most of the international instruments related to human rights and protection of minorities (see table E7 in Annex 3). Since all five countries are candidates for EU accession, they must meet the accession criteria that pertain to Roma issues. This gives governments strong incentives to take action on Roma issues.

All five CEE countries have advisory bodies at the central government level (associated with the council of ministers) that possess coordinating and advisory functions but few executive prerogatives. In some of the countries these bodies focus primarily on demographic and social aspects of Roma questions. In most of the CEE countries, advisory bodies operate at ministerial and local governance levels as well.

Central government advisory bodies

Hungary has one of the longest running institutional structures for minority rights protection. In 1990 the Office for National and Ethnic Minorities (NEKI) was established, in order to help the government protect the rights of national and ethnic minorities living in Hungary. NEKI provides legal avenues for combating discrimination, helps victims of discrimination obtain legal aid, and points out gaps in the law or its observance. The Hungarian Roma Parliament acts to protect the interests rather than the rights of Roma. It focuses primarily on supporting the legal protection of minority rights through the Office for Conflict Prevention and Rights, which was set up in 1991. This Office tends to

deal less in high-profile issues than with cases of routine hidden discrimination that result from prejudice. Its work mainly concerns state administration and social issues.

In the Czech Republic, two advisory governmental authorities are involved in promoting Roma social inclusion: the Czech Republic's Advisory Board for Romany Community Affairs,¹³⁴ and the Czech Republic Advisory Board for National Minorities. Each ministry has special authorities dealing with minority issues, which are mainly coordinated by the minister of employment and social affairs. The Council for Human Rights is also involved, focusing directly on issues of equal rights and freedoms. So is the Interministerial Commission for Roma Community Affairs, which was established in 1997 and focuses on preparing and reviewing policies on Roma issues for consideration by the government. The Advisory Board to the Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs helps support employment of disadvantaged groups. The Advisory Board for National Cultural Issues under the Ministry of Culture focuses on national minorities' cultural activities. Promoting the education of minority children and young people is the task of the Advisory Group for National Pedagogical Problems, which serves as an advisory body to the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Physical Education.

There are no special government bodies in Slovak Republic that are responsible for the protection of the rights of minorities. This task is largely handled by institutions responsible for protecting civil rights. The post of deputy prime minister for human rights, minorities, and regional development was created in 1998, reflecting the belief that minority issues are closely linked to regional development. The deputy prime minister chairs the Council on National Minorities and Ethnic Groups, an advisory body to the government on the development and implementation

¹³⁴ Until December 2001 this advisory board was known as the Interdepartmental Commission for Romany Community Affairs.

of minority issues. The Office of the Plenipotentiary for Addressing Roma Issues was established in 1998, with the mandate to coordinate the implementation of the government's Roma Strategy, in cooperation with Roma and other civil society actors.

The National Council on Ethnic and Democratic Issues, which was established in December 1997, is the key institution in Bulgaria. The Council's primary objectives include facilitating cooperation between government bodies and NGOs in ethnic, demographic, and minorities issues. A separate Human Rights Commission was established in August 2000 at the National Police Directorate.

In Romania, the advisory body dealing with minority issues, is the Department for Inter-ethnic Relations which is located within the Ministry of Public Information. The National Council for the Prevention of Discrimination has been in existence since 2001.

Ombudsman institutions exist in the Czech Republic (since 2000), Hungary (the Parliamentary Commissioner for Ethnic and National Minorities is the Minorities Ombudsman), Romania (since 1997), and in Slovak Republic (since March 2002). Such an institution has not yet been created in Bulgaria.

Local level and self-governance institutions

All 81 districts in the Czech Republic have had Roma issues advisors since January 1999; about half of these advisors are Roma community members. The establishment of boards for national minorities at county and regional levels began in 2000. Their activities are expected to become more significant as decentralization and administrative reform progresses.

In Hungary, National Roma Self-Government Legal Offices are attached to local minority self-governments, and offer mainly legal advice. Minority self-governments are regulated by a 1993 law, which is intended to guarantee cultural autonomy and represent minority interests in Hungary. The first National Roma Self-Government was elected in 1995 to a four-year term by minority electors, who consist of local government representatives elected to represent minorities, as well as local minority self-government representatives and

spokespersons. Each minority is allowed to create only one self-government, but several national and ethnic minorities can create a joint national self-government. The 1993 law permits the establishment of minority self-governments in all settlements and districts in Budapest. By law, a "minority self-government" has at least half of its members elected as representatives of a national or ethnic minority. Currently 776 Roma self-governments in Hungary exist.

In Bulgaria, 18 out of 28 districts have appointed experts on "ethnic and demographic issues." So far similar experts have been appointed in roughly half of the country's 262 municipalities.

State policies

In Hungary during 1994-1998, the government elaborated a program for Roma integration. This program was implemented by the successor government (which ruled from 1998-2002). Each annual budget sets aside a special fund for Roma-oriented projects to be carried out in that year. In 1999, the government adopted a mid-term program concerning improvements in the social position and quality of life of Roma. This program called for action in the fields of education, culture, employment, farming, regional development, social issues, health, and housing. It also called for an end to the negative discrimination against Roma, as well as improving communication regarding the Roma. The ministries responsible for executing this program were defined, deadlines were set, and an Interministerial Committee on Roma Issues was established. The Committee is chaired by the minister of justice, the vice-chair is the head of the Minorities Office, with state secretaries in the relevant ministries and the president of the National Roma Self-governments serving as permanent members. The parliamentary commissioner for national and ethnic minority rights is a permanent observer, as are the presidents of the boards of the Foundation for Hungarian Gypsies, and the Gandhi Foundation.

In Romania, the Roma Framework Convention (an association of five Roma NGOs who constitute the government's official partner in implementing the 2001 Strategy) was approved by the Prime Minister's Office in April 2001. The Strategy's plan sets forth guidelines and establishes general policies

in community development, housing, social security, health, childcare, employment, justice and public order, education, culture, and communication.

In Slovak Republic, the government adopted the Principles of Government Policy Regarding Roma in 1991. However, this document fell victim to the instability that followed independence and was not implemented. The Concept of an Approach to Citizens Requiring Special Care was approved in 1996, and led to the establishment of the Office of the Plenipotentiary for Citizens Requiring Special Care. In November 1997, the cabinet adopted a document called Conceptual Plans Regarding Solving Roma Problems. In September 1999, the cabinet approved the first stage of this program, in the form of the Strategy for Solving Problems of the Romany Ethnic Minority and the Set of Implementation Measures.

In Bulgaria, the Framework Program for Equal Integration of Roma in Bulgarian Society was adopted in April 1999. The program envisages the establishment of a governmental body with wide powers to deal with ethnic discrimination, including the imposition of fines on individuals and legal entities for discrimination on ethnic grounds. Within this framework, some municipal administrations have appointed municipal councilors on Roma issues and Roma integration. However, this initiative lost steam because Roma

have been appointed in only half of the municipal councils, and some have since been dismissed. Training and integration of Roma in the police structures started under this Framework Program. At present more than 100 Roma have been appointed to serve as policemen, and they work largely in Roma communities. The section of the current government's program dealing with "minority integration and the further development of the Bulgarian ethnic model" envisages the establishment by the end of 2002 of a State Agency for Minorities, as a special body implementing policy regarding minorities.

In sum, major institutional structures have been put in place in all five CEE countries. Governments have demonstrated varying degrees of commitment to improving the situation of Roma.

The most important constraint on these matters seems not to be a lack of institutional structures or political will. It is rather the absence of a consistent conception of what to do and how to do it. This reflects an insufficient appreciation of the concept of sustainable human development as a framework for approaching the Roma issue as well as insufficient capacities to design, implement and monitor projects with sustainable and tangible impacts. This is where efforts by governments, local NGOs, and international donors could meet.

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**United Nations Development Programme
Grösslingova 35
811 09 Bratislava
Slovak Republic**

**Tel: (421-2) 59337-111
Fax: (421-2) 59337-450
<http://www.undp.sk>**