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Directorate-General for Internal Policies of the Union

STUDY

Policy Department
Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs

**ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF
THE CONDITION OF ROMA WOMEN**

CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS

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GENDER EQUALITY

**ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE CONDITION OF
ROMA WOMEN**

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Executive Summary

1. It is difficult to talk of there being a uniform Roma population in all countries of the European Union. Rather, this consists of social groups with different histories, and respectively, each with different cultural categorisations and orientations. Their uniformity, however, is formed in a far-reaching language community and through internationally organised representatives whose interests are articulated in a cross-national Roma minority. The definition of the Roma minorities by outsiders remains particularly important, not just in terms of discrimination, persecution and social exclusion, but also relative to supportive initiatives, such as the European Minority Charter.
2. It is problematic to refer to the European Romani population as having a homogenous way of life since their living styles varied so much, already prior to the economic changes that have taken place in the last decades throughout the European regions. Their common tradition as a nomadic people is not what characterises the Romani population most, but rather their ability to find niches in both city and rural environments, assuring their survival, despite their social and cultural exclusion. In many countries, the Roma have found a place for themselves in special labour market sectors. These niches have been exposed to a great extent through the economic transition to more flexible business competition in the western industrialised societies. Many Roma worked in factories in the central and eastern European states. Most of these jobs were destroyed by the transformation processes. One could speak of a crisis situation - with regard to the economic situation of the Roma - apparent during the last two decades. This interpretation, however, conceals the different, yet comprehensive and ongoing economic and social exclusion the Roma have been facing for centuries.
3. With regard to the discrimination and exclusion of Roma, one can speak of the multidimensional processes apparent in all countries. They also seem to be dependant on visibility. Altogether, anti-tziganism and the consequences of structural social exclusion form these processes. Anti-tziganism finds its expression in schoolbooks and in political debates and it influences attitudes and behaviour patterns of employers. Stereotypical ascription and social exclusion considerably reduce economic opportunities.
4. Gender relations are determined largely by task divisions in the family arena or household, such as through segregation due to status, age or settlement type. This also applies to the separation of private and public realms. Much refers to traditional behaviour patterns and regulations. The functional segregation patterns are not just different from country to country, but are obviously different between the Roma population groups as well. In principle, the country studies show that the socialisation of Roma women are largely oriented towards segregated living conditions.
5. A uniform image can not be drawn regarding the situation of these women in their marriages or as mothers on the basis of the country studies. This applies to both marriage arrangements as well as to the free choice of the partner. Within some Roma groups, polygamous marriages are accepted as legitimate. Likewise endogamous marriages are also common. These statements, however, have to be

used - due to a lack of systematic research - with caution. Romany women obviously marry earlier than the rest of the population and also bear children at a younger age. Some country studies indicate a longer motherhood phase with working Romani women. As a rule, the number of children Roma families have seems to be greater than the number of kids other population groups bear.

6. The living situation of Roma in Europe remains an unresolved problem. While in some countries, there is a narrow scale with a higher income bracket and sufficient living space. This, however, is not the rule. More often, the problem of spatial segregation and a lack of sufficient living space is mentioned in all the country studies. Almost all of the European Roma have a permanent place of residence. The few nomadic groups, like the seasonal mobile Roma families, are dependent on staying in caravan mobile parks, which are frequently in poor condition with exclusionary conditions. Lately, labour migration, usually only temporary, has assumed an increasingly important position considering the economic opportunities of the Roma. In this regard, little is known about their living situation. Roma refugees from the European crisis regions seem to, principally, have accommodation problems. The infrastructural supply and hygienic standards are another problem for the Roma population group. In many countries, the Roma are residing in settlement regions in which jobs are highly difficult to obtain. In many countries their living situation contributes to their stigmatisation and with this, to the further discrimination and exclusion of the Roma. Discrimination and exclusion in the housing market are even mentioned with regard to Sweden, despite Sweden's extensive inclusion of the Roma in the social accommodation programmes. Not only from the point of view of their stronger involvement in the household, Roma women are also concerned about their difficult living situation as it impacts their economic opportunities as well.
7. Roma are also affected by far-reaching exclusion processes in the area of school. This particularly effects Roma women. Reaching the matriculation standard is the exception. The school situation is different from country to country. Yet, comprehensive school difficulties and concerns are evident. This applies already to the degree of truancy, and the number of dropouts and students dismissed before they end their schooling. In many school systems, a large number of Roma are selected and placed into schools for mentally handicapped, maladjusted or difficult children. Only a few Roma children are placed in "normal" school classes. Most European Roma women suffer from illiteracy. Usually, the school education of Roma women does not extend to graduation nor do they reach the level necessary for a profession. Regarding the vocational training of Romany women, there is either no information or only information of marginal importance or of unsuccessful projects related to this context.
8. The health situation of the Romany women is different from country to country, but the low social status and the spatial marginalisation of the Roma is apparent everywhere. Access to medical support is difficult to achieve due to different conditions. This is related, in particular, to the lack of mediating institutions and persons. The relation of the situation of the Roma settlements and their poor health conditions is mentioned in the country reports. Roma women show a higher infant mortality rate and a lower life expectancy than other population groups. In some countries Roma women are associated with particular illnesses, limiting them, in part, from working.

9. In many European countries few niches have survived in which traditional Roma professions are practised. The country studies from Slovenia, Spain and Poland report of this. However, such niches are also being revitalised. Included in this are seasonal work in agricultural areas or farming, participation in markets, or rural and provincial trade. These traditional economic activities are usually family-organised and therefore frequently involve Roma women. Most of the economic opportunities were, however, destroyed by the increasing transition to flexible economic competition or the general industrial transformation. In particular, the low formal education of Roma women, almost exclusively denies them an occupation in the post-industrial area of production and services. Different country reports indicate the loss of industrial jobs in the course of the economic transformation of the 1990s. This seems to also apply to highly qualified women as well. Exclusion from employment in the earlier factory and agricultural industries plays a central role, particularly in the new member states.
10. The research situation does not permit a considerable differentiation between unemployment and underemployment. The new member states, in particular, show a stronger integration of Roma women in the labour market prior to the 1990s. How these numbers, however, reflect the real living conditions is not clear. Roma, and still more, female Roma are affected by extensive unemployment. This extends to more than fifty percent in some countries. Only few Roma women are integrated into the labour markets at all. Usually, the duration of this unemployment implies either long-term or ongoing unemployment.
11. The sectoral distribution for employing Roma women is closely related to their qualifications, their search for special economic niches, as well as with labour market structures. It needs to be taken into account that employment relations are an exception. This generally involves the uncertain employment relationship with marginal job qualification requirements and includes simple services in the hotel and restaurant sector as well as work in supermarkets, etc. Higher qualified applicants find positions as social workers or positions in state and government sectors, NGOs, or in local administrations. Newly formed migration perspectives are directed toward employment in agriculture or farming and in small trade, but also in the service sector. Many Roma women seem to find a livelihood in informal economic areas. Some country reports also mention the existence of organised begging and hawking of immigrated Roma women. Roma women are also victims of trafficking and are as such exploited.
12. In most of the country reports, reference is made to the Roma being extensively dependent on welfare aid. Reasons for this are attributed to poverty, unemployment, underemployment and social exclusion. Romany women are particularly dependent due to their tasks in the household and the duties as mothers. The difficulties of the Roma women in accessing welfare state facilities are shown in some of the country reports.
13. Regarding political considerations to the difficult situation of Roma women, the legal recognition of the minority status and corresponding rights are of importance. Reports about the national action plans are being prepared in many of the countries. Special arrangements for the political participation also exist in the different central and eastern European countries. But the political infrastructure in favour of Roma women seems to still be largely insignificant. Different transnational action groups for and with Roma women have formed in the last years.

14. There are only few programmes to improve the economic situation of Roma women. Most of the existing programmes target Roma as a whole. They are different from country to country and are difficult to compare, although, some of them are related to the anti-discrimination initiatives of the European Commission. The programmes are generally specialised in different areas. These include education and teacher formation, vocational training and further education, or labour market integration programmes.
15. Further initiatives revolve around improvement efforts of political participation with impacts for economic integration of Roma women. The area of supporting economically active Roma women is hardly addressed. This applies to special start-up business measures, for the organisation of small loans or family support measures for employed women.

Introduction

The study on "Aspects of the Economic Situation of Roma Women" was initiated and financed by the European Parliament, DG of Internal Policies, Policy Department Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs. It was prepared during an eight month time span between August 2005 and February 2006. The purpose of the study was to provide an overview of the economic situation of Roma women in several of the Member States of the European Union, as well as in Turkey, Romania, and Bulgaria. Country studies from 15 states were prepared by experts in Roma affairs, some of whom worked at NGOs with Roma membership⁰.

The situation of Roma women in Europe is not understandable without (first) shedding light on the extent of their discrimination, persecution and social exclusion in the various settlement areas². These practices tend to restrict the access of Roma families and individuals into the labour market, housing, education and the health system⁰.

A second aspect is that Roma women, as members of Roma communities, are generally bound to a certain social position due to the community gender roles and expectations⁴. The women's communitarian socialisation process has to do with traditional role definitions as well as with adaptations to modern social and economic developments. The women's role in Roma communities has an impact on their access to the labour market, with employment, unemployment and underemployment.

A third issue revolves around the particular situation of women and their ability (or

1. A list of the partners and authors can be found in the appendix of this report.

2. A summary of the discrimination situation are provided in the report of the Open-Society-Institute (2005) "Current Attitudes Toward the Roma in Central Europe: A Report of research with non-Roma and Roma respondents". Tziganophobic traditions are shown by Wulf D. Hund (2000). Die discriminatory and stereotypical definition of the female Roma by outsiders is shown by Almut Hille "Identitätskonstruktionen. Die "Zigeunerin" in der deutschsprachigen Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts" (2005).

3. A first overview to the situation of Roma in Europe is provided by the Berliner Institut für Vergleichende Sozialforschung with help from the European Commission in the published brochure: "Die Roma - Eine transatlantische Bevölkerung". The Commission published a study in 2005 on the Situation of the Roma in an expanded European Union (http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/publications/2005/ke6204389_de.html). The standard reference to Roma in Europe stemmed by Jean-Pierre Liégeois (1985, revised edition in German 2002). Liégeois described the situation of the Roma population in Europe without a romanticised or distanced perspective. Unfortunately, the volume does not contain any explanations to the situation of the Roma women. A newer comprehensive and cross border reference book to Roma was released by Lev Tcherenko and Stéphane Laederich 2004 in two volumes. The book is also part of the important overview work of Ian Hancock "We are of the Romani People" (2002) with good references to further literature. Will Guy provides a summary to the situation of the Romani populations in eastern Europe in his collection of essays released 2001. The contributions depict the situation from different perspectives, particularly the political self-organisation and participation. The essays are supplemented by the collection of David M. Crowe (1995).

4. An initial acquisition to understanding the gender roles of Roma women could be gleaned from the autobiographies published in the collected volume "Uns hat es nicht geben sollen. Drei Generationen Sinti-Frauen erzählen" (2004) by Ludwig Laher, Rosa Winter as well as Gitta and Nicole Martle. Those from the Fundación Secretariado General Gitano released a collection of biographies showing the diversity of the social position of the Roma women in Spain, serving as an antipole to the stereotypical categorisation and victimisation of these women. Angela Kocze (European Roma Information Office) presented to the European Parliament Committee on Women Rights a report on the "Double Discrimination Faced by Romani Women in Europe" (MS 2003).

inability) to access education⁵ and healthcare options⁶. Roma women struggle in this regard with double discrimination, battling both with general societal patterns of discrimination attributed to their position as females in addition to certain gender roles in accordance with their position as members of the Roma community. This and the regulation of maternity and motherhood have also impacted their accessing the political and social realm in the countries in which they live.

Overall in the country studies, data and information is presented with regard to the discrimination and exclusion of Roma, especially of Roma women, including information about marriage and motherhood, their housing situation, the educational situation as well as medical and health concerns. Furthermore, the functional role and status of Roma women in Roma communities and in regard to the wider world is examined. Secondly, data have been collected with regard to the impact of changes in the economy on employment and economic activities, taking into account the deep changes of European societies throughout the last 30 years. A special question has been asked with regard to traditional economic patterns. Fourthly, the employment sector is reviewed, taking into account qualifications and skills, segmentation of labour markets, self-employment and informal work as well as other economic patterns of employment. Unemployment and underemployment, a central problem of Roma women, is also addressed. Fifthly, due to the exclusion and marginalisation of most Roma women in the economy, social benefits and their relation to the welfare state, which is of imminent importance, is also reviewed. The sixth area of investigation was on programmes and policies with the aim of improving the economic and social situation of Roma women in Europe. In most European countries, especially in countries under the enlargement review processes, policies for Roma women have been discussed and various institutional frameworks established. In some countries these are complicated, while in others they are defined rather situationally. Policies with the aim of structural improvements and more efficient presentations of Roma issues are closely related to various projects with regard to the improvement of the economic situation of Roma women. In many of the countries reviewed, a variety of projects were recognised in this area.

The purpose of the study was ambitious due the lack of data and information in this area⁷. Associated researchers were therefore trying to present the outputs of research in the respective countries' literature. They were asked to review all numerical data related to Roma women, even if it was just indicative. The researchers responsible for the country studies interviewed experts on Roma women at various political and social levels. The report therefore just presents the state of knowledge with regard to Roma women affairs. It should be seen as a further contribution to recent studies done by the European Commission (EU), the Council of Europe (CoE), the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), as well as the World Bank and other institutions dealing with general issues of importance for European Roma.

The first conclusion with regard to the knowledge obtained in this empirical research study on Roma women is that the available information is rather thin and uncertain, yet this is to be expected considering the overall lack of comprehensive wide-ranging data

5. A case study pertaining to the education problems of Roma in the secondary and university levels in Hungary and their exclusion was presented by Livia Jaroka. (1998/1999).

6. The European Monitoring Centre On Racism and Xenophobia presented a report the health and medical care ("Breaking the Barriers - Romani Women and Access to Public Health Care") 2003.

7. Thomas Acton 2000 released an excellent introduction into the current situation of "romani studies" in the commemorative publication released for Donald Kenrick "Scholarship and The Gypsy Struggle".

to this topic. Even socio-anthropological studies are missing⁸. Social, political and economic studies on women or gender issues are not available. With regard to statistics, data on Roma are presented only in exceptional cases. In most countries, ethnic statistics and other numerical data are not available. Most data are estimations and in cases where they are related to census and macro-censuses or other reviews, it is not clear what the real situation of data is. Debates on Roma statistics have taken place in the framework of the Roma statistic groups of the Council of Europe, but this programme has not been continued⁹. Non-existence or unreliability with regard to statistical data is a general problem and so the first recommendation of the project is an improvement of research and data gathering with regard to Roma. More empirical studies should be conducted that address Roma concerns, such as access of the Roma in the labour market, especially taking into account the situation of Roma women, the changes of economic opportunities in the framework of rapid social and economic transformation, advantageous opportunities Roma women are taking, for example, self-employment or temporary or seasonal migration¹⁰ as well as opportunities in the educational and occupational training sector.

The structure of the report is as follows. There are six sections: first, there is an executive summary as an introduction; secondly, the country studies are presented; thirdly, the statistics are presented; fourth, there is a chapter with recommendations for further policies dealing with the improvement of the economic situation of Roma women;¹¹ fifth, a literature list is given; and a last chapter presents information on the institutions and persons involved in the preparation of this report.

8. A classic ethnological study on "Die Zigeuner - Reisende in Europa" was produced by Reimer Gronemeyer and Georgia A. Rakelmann (1988). It contains an overview to the different living styles, however, stereotypes prevail. Despite the orientation of the life of the Roma, two sides extend to general descriptions of the situation of the women. One of the few comprehensive locally-oriented social anthropological studies was presented in 1997 by Michel Stewart.

9. For the unfortunate interruption of work of the Council of Europe Specialist Group on Roma/Gypsies on statistics, see the report by the CoE from 2000 and the explanations by Dimitrina Petrova Petrova in Roma Rights (1/2004).

10. It is a misunderstanding that Roma are still referred to today as a "nomadic group". Almost all Roma are bound to a firm location today. New migration movements should rather be assigned to the general recent flight and labour market migration patterns. Siman Evans (2004) shows information on the old migration situation in "Stopping Places" through the example of southern England. The newer "Roma Migration in Europe" was released with different case studies in 2004 by Will Guy, Zdeneck Uherek and Renata Weinerova (2004).

11. The study "Breaking the vicious circles" released (2000) in presents "good practices" and recommendations in different countries. A teaching manual on "Roma Rights" was published in 2002 by Claude Cahn.

Country Study Czech Republic

Ivan Vesely

Dzeno Association

1. THE GENERAL SITUATION OF ROMA IN THE COUNTRY

At present approximately 200,000 - 250,000 Roma people live in the Czech Republic, comprising between 2 - 2.5% of the total Czech population. They arrived from the Slovak Republic in several waves after 1945¹. Here, it must be noted that only those citizens declaring themselves Roma are identified as Roma². However, the number of people identifying themselves as Roma nationals³ is almost ten times lower⁴ in comparison to the estimated number of Roma in the Czech Republic.

Roma rights are protected by national minority⁵ rights law, while labour market discrimination is prohibited by the Labour Codex. Roma discrimination in business relations and services is prohibited in the law on consumers' protection. Equal treatment and protection laws against discrimination, which includes areas that are not considered in the aforementioned have not yet been approved in the Czech Republic-it is currently being negotiated⁶.

The Government's Council for Roma Community Affairs co-ordinates governmental aid programmes for the Roma, annually publishing the Report on the Situation of Roma Communities in the Czech Republic. It also prepared the Roma Integration Concept 2005, formulating state Roma policy in various areas including employment. From the nationalities' point of view, the Government's Council for National Minorities deals with Roma issues, which also describes the situation of the Roma minority within the framework of the Report on the Situation of National Minorities. At the same time, a Roma co-ordinator of Roma advisors was established in 2001 in each of the 14 regions.

¹ The original Roma population, the so-called Czech Roma were exterminated during World War II. Only 10% (i.e. approx. 500) Roma people returned from concentration camps. The Roma people, who live in the Czech Territory today, came from the rural areas of Slovakia after 1945 as:

- a) new inhabitants of the border areas following the displacement of the German people;
- b) workers with low qualifications or unqualified in the heavy industry branches built in the communist period on the territory of the Czech Republic (1948-1989); and
- c) the victims of a communist policy of Roma dispersion and assimilation.

² The Charter of Basic Rights and Liberties, Article 3, paragraph 2 and law No. 273/2001 on rights of members of national minorities, § 2

(<http://www.sagit.cz/pages/sbirkatxt.asp?zdroj=sb01273&cd=76&typ=r>).

For example, in the summation of people.

⁴ In the last summation of people in 2001, 11,746 persons declared Roma nationalism, in the 1991 census it was 32,903 persons.

⁵ Law No. 273/2001 Sb., on rights of members of national minorities

(<http://www.sagit.cz/pages/sbirkatxt.asp?zdroj=sb01273&cd=76&typ=r>).

⁶ 01273&cd=76&typ=r)6The situation by 31.10.2005.

The Roma minority members have no representatives in the Chamber of Deputies and this is unlikely to change in the following election period (2006-2010). Considering the number of Roma in the Czech Republic, Roma political parties and movements have no chance for success without the co-operation with powerful political consortia of the majority. However, the majority parties have no interest in co-operating with Roma subjects. Mainly the fear of losing anti-Roma oriented voters discourages them from co-operating with Roma representatives.

2. THE SITUATION OF ROMA IN THE ECONOMY

2.1 Patterns of social change and their influence on the Roma in economies

There were several effects that influenced the Roma people in the Czech Republic after November 1989, where an economic transformation was accompanied by the weakening of the patriarchal role of the state. This exacerbated the typical problems Roma faced such as: low employability, insufficient education, poverty, higher instances of illegal work, poor health conditions and the concentration of Roma people at the periphery of settlements resulting from evictions. Roma evictions resulted in the formation of ethnic ghettos, which resulted in the Czech Republic eased socio-pathological effects such as closure against other worlds, and eased resignation.⁷

The disadvantaged position of the Roma in the Czech Republic is a well-known documented fact. For example, according to research published in February 2005 by the UN Development Programme (UNDP), a quarter of the Roma people live below the poverty line, while the figures for non-Romas falls below 9%.⁸

The implementation of the Roma Integration Concept 2005⁹ could improve this situation, in addition to the Czech Republic's participation in the international initiative The Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005 - 2015, inaugurated on 2 February 2005. Its goal is to improve the position of Roma people in eight central and eastern Europe countries in the fields of employment, education, health and living conditions.¹⁰

The Czech Government has approved the Second Periodical Report on the Fulfilment of Principles, established by the Framework Agreement on the Protection of National Minorities by Governmental Decree No. 618 of 16. 6. 2004, which describes persisting discrimination against Roma people.¹¹

2.2. Information on unemployment, underemployment and self-employment

Roma unemployment has increased as a result of the labour duty being abolished, worsening the position of the Roma since November 1989. The Roma - without consideration of their accomplished qualifications - were among the first employees fired in privatised enterprises. A lack of education and professional qualifications combined with employer discrimination made their search for a new job very difficult.

The Czech Republic ignored Roma unemployment increased by discrimination practices in the middle of the 1990's.¹² Towards the end of 1990's the government

⁷ Final report of the project Human rights in Practice - Prevention from Trade with Women in Roma Communities, La Strada, 2004 (http://www.diskriminace.cz/dp-bydleni/obchod_se_zenami.phtml#odkaz3). ⁸Faces of poverty, Faces of hope, UNDP, 2005 (http://www.undp.bg/user_files/en/documents/publications/rhdr/roma_decade/roma_decade_report.pdf).

Roma Integration Concept 2005, (<http://wtd.vlada.cz/s/ste/CzechRepublics/detail.php?id=8150>). ¹⁰ More about the Decade of Roma Inclusion (2005 -2015) on www.romadecade.org, where the action plans of individual countries can be found.

¹¹ Second Periodical Report on Fulfilment of Principles, Established by the Framework Agreement on Protection of National Minorities according to article 25 paragraph 2 of this Agreement [p://wtd.vlada.cz/files/rvk/rnm/ramcovka_defin_cz.doc](http://wtd.vlada.cz/files/rvk/rnm/ramcovka_defin_cz.doc).

¹²It is stated that the situation of Roma people in their access to education is still difficult and only few steps against employers, who perform discriminating practice in the recruitment of new employees, have

created initiatives to improve this situation. In September 1998 clauses prohibiting discrimination were incorporated into Czech labour law; however, the law, dating from January 1999¹³, did not eliminate labour market discrimination; employers reacted by finding more refined ways of refusing Roma job candidates.

From approximately 2002, the number of discrimination cases against Roma in the labour market increased, which ended with a judicial decision in favour for the Roma. However, the development of a functioning system of re-qualification courses for long-term unemployed Roma has not been successful and support of the Roma enterprise sector is still non-existent. Measures in the Czech Republic for the reduction of Roma unemployment are a part of programmes for persons with difficulty in the labour market. Their impact on Roma people cannot be evaluated because it is not possible in the Czech Republic to collect data on an ethnic basis.¹⁴

Experts, media, the non-profit sector in addition to Roma and pro-Roma activists estimate Roma unemployment to be 75% - 90%. According to the Roma Integration Concept 2005 document, the unemployment rate of the Roma community is presently estimated between 45-50%.¹⁵ In 2004 the Council for Roma Community Affairs conducted a study entitled, Analysis of Needs of the Roma Integration in the Czech Labour Market.¹⁶ The material, summarised in the governmental Report on the Situation of Roma Communities in the Czech Republic 2004, shows that only 26% of the economically active Roma population has no experience with unemployment so far. A further 35% suffer from repeated unemployment and 39% are among the long-term unemployed. According to the analysis the long-term unemployment (more than one year) is a characteristic feature among the Roma people. Approximately 75% of all unemployed Roma are unemployed for the long-term; approximately 30% have not had a job for more than 4 years. According to the analysis, Roma unemployment is highest in the Most region, Northern Bohemia and in Ostrava, where ghettos exist with a high concentration of Roma inhabitants suffering from industrial recession. At the same time, the Report on the Situation of Roma Communities in the Czech Republic 2004 draws attention to the fact that the research identifies and describes a significant participation of Roma in both the formal and informal labour market. It asserts that among the Roma who declared themselves unemployed, approximately 15% worked in the "grey economy", for example, in illegal jobs - in the last month before the research was conducted, a further 5% had worked in non-profit organisations during the same period.

Some Roma people confront the lack of job opportunities by forming private enterprise. The structure of the Roma enterprise sphere has not yet been analysed; in addition, academic literature has not dealt with this theme in a more detailed way. Support programmes for Roma enterprises, such as the public procurement for the benefit of

been made." More - see ECRI's country-by-country approach: Report on the Czech Republic, European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, 1997, s. 8 (http://www.coe.int/T/e/human_rights/ethe_Czech_Republic/5-Archives/1-ETHE_CZECH_REPUBLIC/1%27s_work/1-Country_by_country/CBC1-Czech%20Republic.pdf).

¹³ Law No. . 167/199 on employment In: code of laws, year 1999, part 57, from 30.7.1999 (<http://www.sagit.cz/pages/sbirkatxt.asp?zdroj=sb99167&cd=76&typ=r>).

More - see Third report on the Czech Republic, European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, 2004, s. 16-17 (http://www.coe.int/T/E/human_rights/ethe_Czech_Republic/1-ETHE_CZECH_REPUBLIC/2-Country-by-country_approach/Czech_Republic/third_report_Czech_Republic.pdf). ¹⁵ Roma Integration Concept 2005, Government's Council for Roma Community Affairs, 2005 (http://wtd.vlada.cz/sthe_Czech_Republic/Details/detail.php?id=8150).

¹⁶ Analysis of Needs of the Roma Integration on Czech Labour Market, unpublished study for Government's Council for Roma Community Affairs 2004.

Roma companies, tax reductions for Roma companies or the support of small and medium Roma enterprises do not exist. The Roma work in enterprises, offering seasonal services (forestry) and supplementary services (construction, cleaning, demolition services, drivers, removal services). The most common legal form of Roma companies is limited to construction companies. The most frequent feature of these companies is that their holders often employ family members in addition to non-Roma employees, who are used as contacts with clients (for example in restaurants) or for the acquisition of orders.¹⁷

2.3. Dominant patterns of qualification and skills among Roma

Roma in the Czech Republic typically possess low levels of education and qualifications. The qualifications of the Roma do not correspond to the present demands of the labour market, which developed together with the shift to the market economy after November 1989.

According to estimates, from the end of the 1990's about 80% - 85% of the Roma population of any age category possess a basic education mainly attained in special schools.¹⁸ The Report on the Situation of Roma Communities in the Czech Republic 2004 states that "if Roma communities are qualified, have an education for jobs, which can be reached after finishing a special school, or after leaving the primary school or finishing with bad results. These jobs are in less demand on the labour market at the present time, employees have been substituted by mechanisation."¹⁹ The influence of various²⁰ Czech government programmes for the support of Roma education has not yet had greater effects, therefore the low educational level of Roma people persists. In 2003, research in the educational background among 51,691 adult Roma inhabitants was conducted. The research showed that 29% finished primary school, 9,3% finished job training, 1,3% finished secondary or higher school and the remaining 31,240 Roma people, i.e. 60%, finished a special school or did not finish a primary school in the last class.²¹

15 years following the transition to a market economy the value of an education in the Czech Republic was eased from the Roma point of view, nevertheless, the Roma people have dropped to the bottom of the social line. Being in this position, it is very difficult to obtain higher levels of education. During interviews with Roma parents it was evident that parents considered the interruption of school attendance by their children because the family was unable to cover school-related costs (textbooks, equipment for

¹⁷ Petr Kaplan, Roma People and Employment alias Employability of Roma in the Czech Republic, Socioklub, 1999 Prague, p. 365.

¹⁸ Petr Kaplan, Roma People and Employment alias Employability of Roma in the Czech Republic, Socioklub, 1999 Prague, s. 359.

¹⁹ Report on the Situation of Roma Communities in the Czech Republic 2004, Government's Council for Roma Community Affairs, 2005 (<http://wtd.vlada.cz/sthe-Czech-Republic/ipts/detail.php?id=7721>).

²⁰ For ex. With the support of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport the preparational classes (137 classes in 2003 and 126 in 2004) for children from socio-culturally disadvantaged (Roma) environment, from 2000 the secondary schools draw special grants for their Roma students for reimbursement of some costs related to the studying process.

²¹ Research of knowledge made by the officers in communities entitled for execution of the state administration on the situation of Roma communities in the area of their competence, internal material of the office of the Council for Roma Community Affairs, 2003. Quoted according to the Report on the Situation of Roma Communities in the Czech Republic 2004, Council for Roma Community Affairs, 2005 (<http://wtd.vlada.cz/sthe-Czech-Republic/ipts/detail.php?id=7721>).

job practice, food, accommodation in student homes or everyday transport to school). At the same time, these parents expressed their desire to provide the future generation with the best possible education.

This situation of the qualified Roma is complicated by persisting prejudices against the Roma labour force (fluctuation, absenteeism, low performance). Besides poor education and prejudices, the chances for the placement of qualified Roma are limited by worsening health and living conditions. Moreover, Roma people, in the territorial mobility motivated by job migration, face larger barriers than non-Roma people. In spite of the persisting impact of Roma people as a highly mobile minority, the Roma people in the Czech Republic have not been nomadic for at least several generations. The discrimination in the Czech Republic of Roma people in the housing market represents a serious motivation preventing Roma people from living a nomadic lifestyle.²²

Unqualified Roma people take on work in the manual labour market, cleaning and digging, in the supporting professions, in supermarkets or in manufacturing. Resulting from the Czech Republic's remarkable economic growth, Roma have been substituted by economic migrants from poorer countries (mainly from Ukraine and Slovakia).

²² The owners of the accommodation capacities refuse to accommodate Roma people and the accommodated Roma people are driven out from perspective areas by the estate owners to the areas with insufficient job opportunities. The questions of a low Roma mobility see Steiner Jakub, Hůlová Kateřina, Roma People on Labour Market (first draft version), 23rd September 2005 (home.cerge-ei.cz/steiner/laborczech.pdf).

3. SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF ROMA WOMEN

In the traditional Roma family the man secures the finances needed for survival, while the woman administers the finances while taking care of husband and children. When women contributed to the satisfaction of material needs, they mainly did so by the house-to-house sale of handicraft products made by male members of a wider family, by prophecy, beggary or small thefts, and in the countryside by working on non-Roma farms.

In the last decade of the 20th century the traditional dominance of roles in the Roma family have almost disappeared because of the fact that Roma people live in wider families²³. The Roma people have started to leave the traditional family model as a result of the modernisation of the whole society that had already begun in the pre-war period²⁴. This trend accelerated between 1948 - 1989, mainly due to Czechoslovak attempts at social engineering, the assimilation efforts concerning Roma people and by a specific explanation of the labour right, according to which the criminal act is not to work in the productive age. Roma women became more active during the 1948 - 1989 period in the socio-economic life in the country led by the state.

In the aforementioned period the state was not successful in weakening the value of family and maternity for Roma people nor strengthening the value of education. The birth rate of Roma women was higher than that of non-Roma women and education was undervalued by the communist regime. The relation of Roma men and women to education was, moreover, negatively influenced by an incorrect understanding of the cultural differences of Roma people for the successful implementation of the educational process from the point of view of educational institutions.

The transition after November 1989 from a centrally planned to market economy affected Roma women. In relation to this situation, the weakening of the paternal role of the state caused problems for poorly qualified Roma women in finding employment. They were not prepared for contemporary demands of the labour market, requiring a highly qualified labour force, which thus further led to their disadvantaged position both due to their being women as well as Roma.

²³ Roma have close relatives in their families who would be considered distant by families of non-Roma.

²⁴ In the industrial sphere Roma men were not able to compete and maintain their families mainly with their handicraft products.

4. THE SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN IN THE ECONOMY

Generally the situation of Roma women in the economy cannot be distinguished from that of Roma men. High unemployment and the poverty of Roma women are rooted in the same problems as is case of Roma men. It is mainly caused by insufficient education, low territorial mobility, bad health conditions, and discrimination against Roma people in the labour market.

4.1 Areas of employment for Roma women

With regard to the level of education, Roma women have job opportunities in nonqualified and low qualified professions. They work as room-maids, assistants, cleaning personnel in hospitals and restaurants or in factories. The Roma women - as job candidates in small restaurants or social care institutes are often rejected with the explanation that clientele would not want Roma services. Roma women have better chances at finding a job in multi-national companies because management does not draw attention to the ethnic roots of the candidates. The same fact applies to women with a secondary and university education. The authors of this report witnessed cases of Roma women employed in companies like Siemens (IT), Hornbach (domestic appliances), McDonald's (fast-food), KFC (fast-food), Tesco or Carrefour (supermarkets), insurance and advertising companies backed by foreign capital. While Roma men are considered to be sturdy diggers or construction workers, in the case of Roma women, there is no special branch where they are considered to be especially successful.

In relation to various support programmes for Roma integration, hundreds of Roma women found jobs as Roma assistants at kindergartens or nursery schools or in the bodies of state or self-administrations. A small number of Roma women work in state institutions in which ethnic origin is not a necessary qualification. For example, the Museum of Roma Culture is managed by a Roma woman (Dr. Jana Horvathova), the editor-in-chief of the Roma department of the public broadcaster Czech Radion is Roma (Jarmila Balážová). We were not able to find a Roma director of a non-Roma museum, similarly, none of the near five Roma women working in Czech media, works in non-Roma media at the highest post. The described situation strengthens the prejudice that the Roma people succeed in finding jobs that deal with Roma people in some way, which must be supported in order not to be accused of refusing the multi-cultural model of society.

At present there is no policy in the Czech Republic (for example, re-qualification courses for Roma women or motivation programmes for the bosses of state organisations and institutions), which would help to reduce unemployment of Roma women through state paid jobs. There are very few Roma working as mail carriers, conductors, inspectors, telephone operators, receptionists or officers in information bureaus of state administration and self-administration institutions. With the exception of programmes for Roma police officers, the same situation exists for Roma men.

Some Roma women, who would have difficulties finding employment due to discrimination or poor qualifications, stay on a long-term maternity leave or take care of the household. While a young non-Roma woman can choose between a career and family, most Roma women choose family because they have no other choice. There

are few opportunities for success in the job market and sufficient qualifications and class play a role preventing many from starting their own enterprise. Roma women do not prefer launching their own businesses. Although there exist individual examples of successful Roma entrepreneurs (mainly in the construction industry), no information is available on Roma women-entrepreneurs and their activities.

In relation to the economic activity of Roma women it is necessary to add that in the Czech Republic after November 1989 the easing of unemployment in combination with the break of traditional values resulted in prostitution becoming an alternative source of income.²⁵ The unemployment of Roma women became a risky aspect of trade with women.²⁶ Similarly, in the case of some Roma men, drug dealing, formerly unacceptable, became a source of livelihood.

The Roma Integration Concept 2005 states that Roma women are in accession to economic activity (in the provision of jobs, in remuneration, in further careers) besides discrimination based on the ethnic principles and traditional cases of gender discrimination. In this context the term "double discrimination" is generally quoted.

Roma discrimination was the most visible in the post-1989 Czech Republic. The term "discrimination" was adopted after 1989 and a many programmes with the aim of elimination this kind of discrimination were founded. The recognition of gender discrimination - from the point of view of the official subjects - was delayed.²⁷ If the programme for the elimination of gender discrimination in the labour market does not accelerate, it is expected that Roma women will face problems in the labour market longer than Roma men.

The greater success of Roma women in comparison to men in proving the discrimination of the labour market can be considered a speciality. During the last few years the media documented several cases of Roma women who succeeded in proving the discrimination in search for jobs in a court of justice. For example: The owner of the *Scorpio Club* shop in Prague paid a Roma woman Viera Dunková 25,000 Czech crowns and sent a written apology because she was refused a job because of her appearance. Roma Marcela Zupková was rejected when she asked for a job in a university kitchen managed by *Akyma* in Hradec Králové. The company co-owner wrote her informing her that the reason for her rejection was due to her Roma origins. The judge ruled in favour of Ms. Zupková and the company had to pay her 200,000 Czech crowns. The decision of the judge stated that the multinational chain Rossmann had to apologise to Renáta Kotlárova for discrimination and pay her 50,000 Czech crowns after their Cheb branch rejected her job application. In March 2005 the case of Mária Berková was presented in media. This Roma woman registered for work at the ISS cleaning agency. The agency provided her with a job as a cleaner in Baumax in Ústí nad Labem. After her presentation in the company she received an SMS that her services were not needed on the day she was to start work. Mária Berková is convinced she was refused because of the colour of her skin. Information on Roma men who went to court because of labour market discrimination is unknown. However, this does not mean that Roma men do not face discrimination in the labour market.

²⁵ Related source: see: Inge Bell & Aleš Pickar, Report on Trade with Children in THE CZECH REPUBLIC, ECPAT International, 2004 - (http://www.ecpat.net/eng/Ecpat_inter/projects/promoting_law/East-West_Research-2004/Czech_Republic_Orig.pdf).

²⁶ Final report on the project Human Rights in Practise - Prevention from Trade with Women in Roma Communities - (http://www.diskriminace.cz/dp-bydleni/obchod_se_zenami.phtml).

²⁷ Authors' team: Enforcement of Equality of Women and Men on the Labour Market in THE CZECH REPUBLIC, ČHV, Prague 2002 - (<http://www.helcom.cz/download/sborniky/prosazovani.zip>).

4.2 Social Welfare Policies

At present the Czech Republic has a developed system of social welfare policies, as represented by the national insurance scheme. The system does not uphold any gender differences, however, some of its aspects are primarily focused on women (especially those related to maternity leave and child care). The most important social welfare elements are:

a) State Social Support - basic social support system, which builds a social security network. In most cases it is clear who has a claim for it since it is calculated from individual/family income.

Children allowances - basic long-term allowance granted to families with children. It has three levels according to family income.

Parent's allowance - for a parent who takes care for a child/children throughout a day (1.5 times minimum salary).

Social allowance - for low-income families with children, who are not able to meet the needs of their family.

Living allowance - compensation of some living costs for low-income families. Birth

grant - single support for families in case a child is born.

Foster care allowances - for children whose parents are not able to or do not want to take care of children in foster care.

Support for children in institutes for children requiring immediate assistance.

b) Family Financial Support - further elements of family support.

Tax advantages - reductions for families with children, common taxing of a couple.

Social insurance (financial aid in maternity, support during taking care for sick family member, equalisation allowance).

c) Social care allowances - based on individual situations and families related to age, health conditions or other serious reasons. Applicants are awarded allowances depending on the decision of the city/community council.

- Allowances in case of social need - for families whose income does not meet the life minimum.

Support of alimentation of a child - for children in social need when one parent does not pay alimentation although he/she is obliged to do so.

Single extraordinary allowance for parents with children, pregnant women and neglected children.

Single financial support in case of wedding for children in foster care.

As seen from the previous paragraph, the social welfare system in the Czech Republic is very rugged, composed of many elements, and therefore for the uninitiated, a bit

complicated. It results in a certain type of discrimination against Roma women since it is difficult for them to apply through the proper channels, especially in the case of social care allowances, as awards are contingent upon the decision of the city/community council, which could be, in some cases, highly subjective. On the other hand, for many Roma families the social welfare provides the only way in which they can assure alimentation and even existence. However, in some cases, social welfare is so inflexible that it does not pressure people to accept low-paid jobs because their standard of living would be even lower.

Another means of support for Roma women are re-qualification courses, organised by labour offices for the unemployed, the aim of which is to enable them to find a job through the delivery of necessary knowledge and training. Although this scheme does not distinguish between genders, some courses, such as "Professional Housekeeper" are primarily focused on women.

5. PROGRAMMES AND POLICIES AIMING TOWARDS THE IMPROVEMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN

These programmes focused on the general improvement - therefore also economic -position of Roma people without considering gender are evident in Roma Integration Concept 2005 and the Czech Republic's Action Plan for the Decade of Roma Inclusion (2005 - 2015)²⁸. Both documents were created by the Council for Roma Community Affairs for the Czech government. The fact that the documents consider the problems of Roma women in an insufficient way is related to the gender structure of the Council members. According to the Council for Roma Community Affairs from 28th January 2004,²⁹ the Council has 28 members - the chairman, two vice-chairmen and other members - deputies from individual resorts and members of the Roma community (one from each region). The first vice-chairman is the Assignee for Human Rights. The second vice-chairman is one of 14 Roma community members. From the total 14 Roma Council members are 11 men and 3 women. The ratio of non-Roma men and women (Council members) is 13:1. The total ratio of men and women in the Council is 28:4.³⁰

In principle, the governmental initiatives for strengthening gender equality does not consider the ethnic viewpoint. Decree No. 6/98 has provided special provisions to the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs to co-ordinate domestic policies regarding men and women. Other ministries are obliged to provide it with the necessary co-operation. They have to comply with the governmental programme Priorities and Procedures of the Government by Enforcement of the Equality of Men and Women. The current version of this document does not mention the question of Roma women.³¹

The Council for Equal Opportunities of Women and Men (October 2001) deals with gender equality questions without considering ethnic perspectives.³² It was founded by the permanent advising governmental body in the area of building equal opportunities for women and men. The council mainly negotiates and recommends to the government basic conceptual guidelines of in the enforcement of equal opportunities for women and men. It also co-ordinates the basic guidelines of sectoral concepts and determines the area of priorities for sectoral projects in this area as well as those in support of the implementation of equal opportunities for women and men. At the same time it identifies topical problems in society for women and men. By 14th June 2005 out of 23 members of the Council for Equal Opportunities for Women and Men, 43% were represented by women.³³ None of the members of this Council (either men or women) is a Roma.

In 2004 the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs of the Czech Republic (the department of equality of women and men) announced the Programme of Enforcement of Equality of Women and Men had 9 separate programs, one of which focused on the

²⁸ Action Plan of the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005 - 2015 ČR, Government's Council for Roma Community Affairs, 2005 (http://wtd.vlada.cz/files/rvk/rzrk/dek_da/dek_da_IV.doc).

²⁹ Status of the Government's Council for Roma Community Affairs see http://wtd.vlada.cz/urad/urad_postaveni.htm.

³⁰ Situation by 1. 10. 2005.

³¹ See current text of Priorities and Procedures of the Government in Enforcement of the Equality of Women and Men <http://mpsv.cz/clanek.php?lg=1&id=304>.

³² More - see the Council website <http://mpsv.cz/clanek.php?lg=1&id=383>.

³³ The structure of the Government's Council for Equal Opportunities of Women and Men see <http://www.mpsv.cz/clanek.php?lg=1&id=390>.

support of activities for enforcement of equality of women and men in Roma community.³⁴ In the framework of this programme, a total of 16 out of 25 negotiated projects have been supported with the amount of 3,033,933 Czech crowns, from which at least two³⁵ focused exclusively on problems of equality and the position of Roma women in the Czech Republic. At present these projects are being implemented and in the first half of 2006 their results will be evaluated. In addition an audit on the efficiency of state budget finance will be conducted.

By 1 September 2005, while the department of equality, MoLSA, had not prepared any further grant schemes, the department of social services had announced a grant scheme concerning state budget grants for the year 2006 for citizens' associations, church bodies, common benefit companies and physical persons, who perform activities of common benefit in the area of social services. Among the programme priorities, we can find the support of special social services in socially excluded Roma communities as well, including services focused on strengthening the equality between Roma women and men in socially excluded Roma communities.

The re-qualification courses for unemployed or unqualified persons were not considered as a functioning solution of the economic situation of Roma people, which has become worse.³⁶ The enlightenment programmes focused on the improvement of health conditions and hygienic habits of Roma people are similarly problematic. The bad health conditions and violations of hygienic rules among Roma people are caused by the generally poor socio-economic situation, not from the low educational level.

³⁴ For the programme announcement and specification see <http://www.mpsv.cz/clanek.php?lg=1&id=248>.

³⁵ Gender Studies, o. p. s. implements the project Roma women in the Czech Republic and the project with the same name is implemented by the citizens' association. Společné soužití Litvínov. See the complete overview of supported projects <http://www.mpsv.cz/clanek.php?lg=1&id=296>, overview of not supported projects see <http://www.mpsv.cz/clanek.php?lg=1&id=297>.

³⁶ The scope of re-qualifying courses does not correspond with the demands of the market and Roma people because of discrimination they do not help in searching for a job.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. To achieve negotiations and pass laws on ensuring equal treatment and the prevention of discrimination coming into effect as soon as possible. This law should provide all legal guarantees for the effective fight against all forms of discrimination.
2. To unify and review all forms and kinds of support available to Roma women in order to make this support easily understandable and accessible. These programmes should be used in the most efficient way.
3. To make educational and retraining scheme programmes for Roma women more effective so that they reflect their specific needs, make the best use of their abilities and give them the opportunity to assert themselves in the labour market.
4. To incorporate issues of Roma women and discrimination into government programmes, focusing on the enforcement of equal opportunities by engaging Roma women into specific programmes and actions at least in a ratio corresponding to the proportion of Roma and non-Roma citizens in the Czech Republic.
5. To create and execute further programmes to encourage Romany women's entrepreneurial activities such as starting their own businesses (education, training, privileged loan at the start).
6. To process the programme for accommodation support which will solve the disastrous living conditions of Roma families (council flat construction, state grant, engagement of unemployed Roma at the construction work on their own flats) - using the experience from Slovakia with the construction of substitute accommodation for the families affected by floods.

Country Report Germany

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1. THE GENERAL SITUATION OF SINTI AND ROMA IN GERMANY

To understand the complex situation of Roma women in Germany and their position in the labour market in particular, it is necessary to bear in mind the prevalent diversity of the group with respect to the underlying legal status granting or limiting access to various rights. As in Germany, the Roma can be roughly subdivided into two categories of Roma with German citizenship (Sinti and Roma), and Roma with an immigrant background, i.e. refugees and labour migrants.

Roma with German citizenship are generally referred to as Sinti and Roma. In Germany, the term Sinti identifies the Roma group living in Germany for more than 600 years, and having later partially moved to other western European countries. Whereas the term Roma commonly denotes those who arrived from eastern Europe in Germany in the 19th century, it is also being used to describe other groups with southern-eastern European origin. At present, the Sinti population in Germany can be estimated at around 70,000 people, with an additional 40,000 Roma³⁷. However, since ethnic or national minority affiliation is not raised in current demographic statistics, it is impossible to provide exact figures. The total Sinti and Roma population constitutes only a very small percentage of the population of Germany of approximately 82 million³⁸ (see Table 1), representing merely 0.14% to 0.15% of the total population. This is one of the lowest percentages of Roma in all of Europe. Most live in the big cities of southern-western Germany, but there are also Roma communities in Hamburg, Bremen, Berlin and other cities.

A very important characteristic and burden on the relationship between German Sinti and Roma and German society and its institutions is the cruel persecution of Sinti and Roma during World War II. Along with Jews, they most drastically suffered from the Holocaust and its consequences. The great majority of Sinti and Roma from Germany and Austria were deported to concentration camps; of the 40,000 German and Austrian Sinti and Roma, which were included in official statistics, more than 25,000 were murdered. On a whole, between 220,000 and 500,000 Sinti and Roma lost their lives under the Nazi regime.

In the beginning of the 1990s, some studies carried out in Germany indicated in their findings that a strong anti-Roma sentiment still prevailed in Germany³⁹. Overall, such

³⁷ These figures vary in different sources.

³⁸ 40,356,000 of them are males, (48.9%), 42,175,700 females (51.1%). 91.1% are registered as 'German' and 8.9% as 'foreigners' (Ausländer). Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland www.destatis.de.

³⁹ A poll conducted in 1992 by the Allensbach Demoscopic Institute indicated that 64% of Germans had an unfavourable opinion of Roma - a higher percentage than for any other racial, ethnic or religious groups. A survey conducted in 1994 by the EMNID Institute indicated that some 68% of Germans did not wish to

anti-tsiganist attitudes remain the source of strong discrimination suffered by this community, and ultimately continues to hinder the integration of the Sinti and Roma community into the German labour market and public life⁴⁰. The Holocaust and ongoing discrimination experienced are the main reasons why the Sinti and Roma representatives do not identify themselves with German institutions, and further dissociate themselves from the greater German society.

In 1995, Sinti and Roma as well as the Danish, Friesian and Serbian minorities living in Germany were recognised as a national ethnic minority. Germany has signed major international agreements on human rights and minority rights, as in 1997 the European Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (which entered into force one year later). This theoretically implies some advantages for Sinti and Roma, for example, in regard to their accessing employment and vocational training programmes. Indeed, this is at present the most extensive law guaranteeing the rights of Sinti and Roma in the labour market. The Framework Convention, however, does not apply to non-German Roma, such as refugees or members of minorities with immigrant background not in possession of German citizenship⁴¹. In 1998, Germany ratified the Council of Europe's European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Moreover, principles of equality and non-discrimination are enshrined in the Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as in the constitutions of the federal states (*Länder*) and in various subject-specific laws.

Besides the Roma population with German citizenship, there is a huge percentage of Roma refugees from the former Yugoslavia living in Germany, who usually have a highly unsettled residence status. Here again, the exact share can only be vaguely estimated. The number of Roma having been entitled a residence permit or temporary protection status, called *Duldung* (toleration), was currently estimated at around 80,000⁴², but this number is decreasing due the deportation carried out by the authorities (see Table 2). *Duldung* does not grant a residence permit and instead has to be repeatedly renewed at frequent intervals. This status also generally restricts the freedom of movement, the access to employment and various forms of social protection, although the practices in this regard differ within the individual *Bundesländer* (federal states).

Furthermore, a considerable number of foreign Roma living in Germany, mostly from the former Yugoslavia, were enlisted as foreign workers in the 1960s and 1970s. These Roma have, as a rule, a residence permit and a job⁴³ (see Table 3).

have Sinti and Roma as neighbours. A 1995 poll conducted in German schools indicated the presence of strong anti-Romani attitudes even among the younger generation: 38% of students in Western and 60.4% in Eastern Germany expressed negative attitudes toward Sinti and Roma. *Open Society Institute. EU monitoring and Advocacy Programme The Situation of Sinti and Roma Women in Germany.*

⁴⁰ Roundtable "Roma and the Economy". November 2005, Berliner Institut für Vergleichende Sozialforschung.

⁴¹ Roma and the Labour Market. Edition Parabolis. Berlin Institute for Comparative Social Research.

⁴² Quelle: Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker, Stand: Februar 2002.

200,000 persons live in Germany as "tolerated" (*geduldet*) approximately 150,000 longer than five years, among them 50,000 children. Pro Asyl.

⁴³ Aufenthaltsstatus. Zum 31. Dezember 2003 besaßen 6,5 Mio. Ausländer in Deutschland einen Aufenthaltstitel oder ein sonstiges Aufenthaltsrecht, darunter 4,8 Mio. eine unbefristete oder befristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis, 770.000 eine Aufenthaltsberechtigung, 340.000 eine Aufenthaltsbewilligung sowie 260.000 Ausländer eine Aufenthaltsbefugnis. 130.000 Ausländer befanden sich in einem noch nicht rechtskräftig abgeschlossenen Asylverfahren. Ausreisepflichtig waren 450.000 Ausländer, darunter 230.000 mit einer Duldung. Das seit 1. Januar 2005 geltende Aufenthaltsgesetz kennt für Drittstaatsangehörige nur noch zwei Kategorien von Aufenthaltstiteln, die unbefristete Niederlassungserlaubnis und die befristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis. Die nach altem Recht erteilten Titel

2. THE SITUATION OF ROMA IN THE ECONOMY AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS

It is almost impossible to find official data in public statistics about unemployment of the Roma in Germany, since the public labour authorities do not collect data, which take ethnic minorities into account. For this reason, it is also very difficult to estimate the unemployment level of the Sinti and Roma in Germany. Roma organisations claim that this is higher than the national unemployment rate. As the national unemployment rate in 2005 was 10.5% on average, Roma representatives estimate the unemployment rate among Roma to be more than 60%, and others extending even up to 90%⁴⁴. In most cases, Sinti and Roma still work in informal employment or the self-employment sector, which implies the inherent problem of not being sufficiently included into the social security system. Furthermore, high unemployment rates create a further dependency on social protection and state benefits, which were drastically reduced in 2005. In the current economic climate in Germany, the integration of Sinti and Roma into the labour market seems to be far from priority. Representatives of Sinti and Roma organisations continuously demand a stronger flexibility in the German labour market system with regard to existing human resources. Traditional Roma occupations and skills are not needed anymore, whereas qualifications acquired during school or vocational training are becoming more and more important. For long-term unemployed persons, the labour market ultimately remains closed.

The pattern of exclusion faced by Roma in the labour market is strongly related to their disadvantaged position in the educational system. Especially for young people, education will be of major importance for a future successful labour market integration. A typical obstacle for adequate education is that Roma children are often automatically sent to so-called special schools intended for mentally-handicapped children (see Table 4). This is justified, among other factors, by the assumption that Roma children attend school irregularly⁴⁵. These and other prejudices were also observed by Roma mediators working in schools. The assignment of mediators with a Roma background is a model which has been successfully applied in some federal states. Since it has been proven as an effective link between Roma communities and the school authorities, this approach will hopefully be realised on a broader level. Nevertheless, representatives of Roma organisations claim that there are no initiatives by local, federal or governmental authorities to reduce the increasing ethnic segregation in schools, which hinders the integration of youths from such schools into the labour market (see Table 4). Besides this, around 20% of foreign youth drop out of the school system without obtaining a degree of certificate of completion, while among the Germans, this is true for only 8% of the German youth in the school system.⁴⁶

It also continuously reported that Sinti and Roma often do not know how to access the social system and the different forms of assistance offered by public administrative bodies and, in most cases, a lack of trust is prevalent. Social workers from Sinti and Roma self-organisations have pointed out the importance of measures which

gelten je nach Aufenthaltswort über den 1. Januar 2005 fort und werden sukzessive durch die neuen Aufenthaltstitel abgelöst. Das Aufenthaltsgesetz sieht auch weiterhin für bestimmte Fälle die Erteilung einer Duldung vor. Quelle: Bundesministerium des Innen.

⁴⁴ Roundtable "Roma and the Economy". November 2005, Berliner Institut für Vergleichende Sozialforschung.

⁴⁵ Only half of the Roma children attended school at all in Germany in 2003 and up to 80% of those who did were placed in "special" schools. Source: European Commission, The situation of Roma in an enlarged European Union and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Avoiding the dependency trap.

⁴⁶ Kristen, Cornelia: Hauptschule, Realschule oder Gymnasium? Ethnische Unterschiede am ersten Bildungsübergang, in: KölnerZeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie, 54 (2002) 3.

familiarise this community with the different administrations. This remains the most important work done by social advisers in NGOs working with Sinti and Roma.

Access to the labour market, not only in terms of employment, but also in regard to starting vocational training or participating in promotional measures, is nearly closed to those Roma with precarious residence status. (In general, their social and economic situation depends to a high degree on their residence status). Well-qualified refugees with limitations related to their residence status have no chance to find a place in the labour market because it is almost impossible for them to receive a work permit. This affects also children from refugee families who, after finishing school, are confronted with a situation without perspectives.

The European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) reported in 2004 of a great amount of deportations of Roma from Germany to their countries of origin. Though these families had been settled for a long time already in Germany - having up to 12 years residency in the country, the children had attended school, spoke the language perfectly, etc. - the deportation was carried out in many cases even without consideration of the personal belongings of the families, which were left unaccounted for in Germany⁴⁷. Accounts of these expulsions continue to be reported and are repeatedly criticised by NGOs and human rights organisations.

Holding the residence status of toleration (*Duldung*), also greatly influences the living situation of these Roma communities. Most Roma with the *Duldung* status live in apartments on the outskirts of the city often in poor or unacceptable conditions; the living space in the accommodations are too small for families with children. The social welfare office only pays a certain amount of the rent, which makes it impossible to rent bigger apartments with the consequence that the families must live spatially restrained. Particularly older people are insecure in dealing with the different administration procedures and offices; they do not understand and do not ask out of fear, nor do they understand the complicated ways of the social welfare system.

⁴⁷ Since the end of 2002, more than 50 children and young persons of the Kindergarten "Schaworalle" and participants of the EU-employment project Equal were deported or left the school due the expulsion of a family member (Förderverein Roma, Frankfurt).

3. THE GENERAL SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN

Information on the living and social conditions of Roma women in Germany is quite difficult to collect. This could be explained by the absence or lack of data and statistics. The collection of data is refused by many Sinti and Roma organisations as they consider this practice as already being discriminatory and reminiscent of the highly unfortunate data collection undertaken by the Nazi regime. Without statistics, formulating and implementing programmes to improve living and social conditions and labour market access of the Roma community represents many difficulties. Nevertheless, despite the lack of official statistical data, Roma can be regarded as a disadvantaged group.

Roma women have to be understood both in the context as women and as a member of the Roma community. According to traditional patterns in Roma families, the birth of the first child among Roma women occurs at an earlier age than among German women and, moreover, the Roma mother tends to have more children than the German mother. Although no statistics exist to confirm this assumption, the organisation Roma e.V. in Cologne reported of many young couples married with a lot of children. It remains a very significant concept to bear in mind when examining why and how the labour market typically remains closed to the Roma. Moreover, Roma women depend very strongly on their family networks and if these networks disintegrate, for example, through deportation, their situation will greatly worsen⁴⁸.

Since it is predominantly women and girls who engage in domestic tasks, including childrearing and elderly care, it must be assumed that they are the ones to be affected to a greater extent by the difficult housing situation. Often, due to the lack of accommodation alternatives, many live in mobile home parks or caravan sites, either in mobile or immobile living arrangements. These caravan sites represent similar or worse living conditions than the public housing barracks, in terms of infrastructure, sanitation, access to electricity and water, and waste removal. Furthermore, the legal status of the sites often remains obscure. Residents continuously live with the permanent threat of forced eviction, fearful that their homes will fail administrative recognition standards. This was, for example, the case in the Sinti settlement of Bochum (NRW)⁴⁹. Only a small percentage of Sinti and Roma travel all year round.

Findings of a 2004 report on the situation of Sinti and Roma women in Germany indicated that:

"habitable living conditions are not available to a very significant number of Sinti and Roma women and girls in Germany. In particular, a number of Sinti and Roma settlements are located in the vicinity of polluting industries, highways or heavily trafficked roads, city garbage dumps or toxic/hazardous waste sites. Women's health may be particularly affected, given that they may often stay at home for longer periods of time than men, so may be more exposed to environmental hazards"⁵⁰.

⁴⁸ Example of a young woman with 3 children whose husband was deported to Macedonia, and she lived in Germany totally dependant on her parents. Interview November 2005.

⁴⁹ European Roma Rights Centre 2004 Joint EU Monitoring and Advocacy Programme, 2004: 31.

⁵⁰ European Roma Rights Centre 2004 Joint EU Monitoring and Advocacy Programme, 2004: 30.

Regarding access to the social health system, in most cases the medical care of refugee families is not guaranteed. Because of the restricted residence status, only refugees with acute need of medical care, chronic diseases or psychological traumas receive support from health insurance to cover these expenses. This has significant consequences in particular for women and girls, since treatments like sexual clarification and specific assistance for females are not included.

The participation of Roma women in the political or public sphere in Germany seems insignificant. Roma organisations inform that the level of participation in public life reached by Roma men has improved in the last years (even if they are still discriminated against), but there are no reports of Roma women in any official structures of the state. Roma women generally seek participation in NGOs, activities in primary schools, or tasks they can combine with domestic work, but there is no known organisation oriented towards or run by Sinti and Roma women. One can also see this tendency within associations, though with some exceptions, as can be observed through the example of Petra Rosenberg, representative of the German Association Sinti and Roma Berlin-Brandenburg. Although women still merely remain in the basic levels of the organisations. The very engaged work of female mediators is noteworthy. In the last five years, there have been many efforts to create the role of school mediators, since the first experiences with this model were evaluated as very successful.

Although Roma women with German citizenship are eligible to vote, it appears that many do not exercise this right⁵¹, often due to a lack of education or information. The ERRC (European Roma Rights Centre) report signalises the need for initiatives aimed at improving the political awareness and education of Roma women and encouraging their political participation.

⁵¹ Open Society Institute. EU Monitoring and Advocacy Programme: The Situation of Sinti and Roma Women in Germany.

4. THE SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN IN THE ECONOMY

Once more, it is necessary to point out the lack of official statistics on issues of employment, unemployment, underemployment or self-employment among Roma women. However, by depicting the general development of the national economy -with the emphasis on gender divergences - the situation of Roma women in Germany might be better understood as well.

Today, 47% - almost half of the employees in Germany - are women, as compared to only about 44% in 1991 (but only approximately one quarter (29%) of all self-employed). Despite this, unemployment generally continues to affect more women than men (see table 5). Their perspectives in the labour market are only gradually improving. This was confirmed in the study on the Development of Equal Opportunity for Women and Men in the Labour Market in the years 2002 to 2004 by the Federal Agency for Employment (*Bundesagentur für Arbeit*). Already it is apparent that traditional gender roles are influencing the selection of apprenticeships: young women typically apply for jobs in the service sector (as hairdressers, sales assistants, doctor assistants, nurses, receptionists, secretaries, etc.), while hardly any women seek out apprenticeships in metal, electric or constructions jobs. Regardless of their better school grades, girls interested in typically male careers are often not hired for jobs in this area.

The participation of women covering the entire spectrum of employment areas only ranks in the middle of EU-wide statistics, though this number is rising considerably -from 58% in the year 2000 to almost 60% 2003. According to this, Germany is clearly behind the Scandinavian countries with over 70%.

Working part-time jobs is also considered a female trait. More than 80% of the part-time employees are women. Over the course of time and based on the women's work experience, part-time work can have a rather significant meaning and is predominately attributed to family reasons (see table 6). Men, on the other hand, principally only work part-time when they are about to enter the labour market or just before they intend to exit working life.

Unemployment has developed more unfavourably for women in the previous years: 7% more women as in 2003 registered as unemployed. Women also tended to end their unemployment on the average after 41 weeks, while men already ended their unemployment after 36 weeks.⁵²

Furthermore, an OECD comparison report shows how difficult it is for mothers with several children to find a work place in Germany. Compared to German mothers, non-German women living in Germany without German passports are more poorly integrated into the labour market⁵³. Another study which researched the compatibility of parenthood and education makes clear that the birth of a child tended to delay or completely stop the pursuit of education among a parent, a phenomenon that affected women more frequently than young men⁵⁴. Along with this, two thirds of the mothers

⁵² „Die Entwicklung der Chancengleichheit von Frauen und Männern am Arbeitsmarkt“ ist nur über das Internet abrufbar, unter www.arbeitsagentur.de / Service von A-Z / Beratung und Berufswahl / Chancengleichheit. /Aktuelles.

⁵³ "Kommentierter Datenreport für einen Regierungsbericht zur Gleichstellung von Frauen und Männern in Deutschland". Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend.

⁵⁴ Scientific adviser for family questions, in 2004.

are not employed and as such, their pre-school age children are not offered any out-of-house care⁵⁵.

Against this background, it is not possible to clearly say how many Roma women are affected by these circumstances. Nevertheless, it is conceivable to find corresponding patterns among Roma women in regard to the higher unemployment rate among women, the gender division in professional choice and the larger proportion of part-time jobs among women due to family reasons. Furthermore, considering that Roma women tend to have more children at an earlier stage in life than their non-Roma German counterparts, they are more likely to face difficulties in pursuing their education or in finding a work place. Also, since Roma women assume the care of elderly persons in the family, they might limit their employment or eventually completely give it up.

Despite the deficiency in representative data, the economic situation of Roma women in Germany might yet be better understood by looking at programmes aiming towards the improvement of the economic situation of Roma. Therefore, in the following, a brief description of experiences made by organisations working in the field of vocational training, will help to portray common problems encountered by Roma women in the labour market.

⁵⁵ TNS Infratest 2004).

5. PROGRAMMES AND POLICIES AIMING TOWARDS IMPROVEMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN

There are no special programmes oriented just to the integration of Roma women in Germany or programmes regarding the gender-specific needs of this minority⁵⁶. Contrary to an often-used argument that the traditional culture of Roma prevents women from seeking education or employment, research from ERRC and EUMAP reported that women found other obstacles in accessing employment, such as the lack of finding other alternatives to the traditional Roma field of work⁵⁷. But there are some programmes oriented generally to Sinti and Roma which have tried to encourage the participation of Roma women. These problems and experiences will be described in the following pages.

Some organisations working on the field of vocational training, such as the RAA Berlin (which runs an EQUAL Project) reports that the efforts to create programmes directed to Roma communities often failed with Roma women interests as the offered courses were oriented to traditional Roma fields of work. Another principal problem relates to the need to offer courses which assist in reconciling the family and work, especially for those with strong traditions still present in some families.

Throughout the duration of the course, around 25% of all participants were women. The most requested courses among the women were those of literacy, school mediators and ultimately the participation in a women group, which was the result of a literacy course where participants were just women⁵⁸.

With the aim to increase the number of participants, particularly girls, prior to the start of the project in Berlin, the participation of all family members between the ages of 16 to 55 years was legally fixed. Among others, the potential male participants were questioned during the applicant interviews as to whether their wives, sisters and/or daughters would be able to participate. Possible reasons hindering their participation were identified, for instance, as the need to care for their children and babies or due to their current pregnant state. In order to offer alternative child care solutions, the project sought to finance pre-school placements. This led to the stronger participation of mothers whose children were at the pre-school age (2 to 3 years).

Not until after assuring childcare in different kindergartens could the participation of some mothers in the courses be made possible. Here, it should be differentiated between women with children who took part in the courses of the RAA (between 35 to 50 year olds and mostly with many children) and young women with other perspectives and with a strong need for future vocational orientation. It was proven to be particularly difficult to motivate young girls (especially without a school degree) to regularly participate in the courses. There were various reasons for their lack of motivation, such as their precarious residence status, difficulties at school, as well as the inability to fathom a future perspective as employed women, since they were raised to envision

⁵⁶ The RAA co-ordinated project "Roma and Sinti: through self-organisation to employment and life security" was the only German EQUAL project, which was granted explicitly to promote the employment of Sinti and Roma, but not specified for just Roma women.

⁵⁷ (ERRC joint EUMAP:2004,27). The interviewees answered that "if there were acceptable alternatives, such as kindergartens sensitive to Sinti and Roma children, then it is likely that more minority women would pursue vocational training and seek employment opportunities (...)".

⁵⁸ Evaluation report for the EQUAL Project. January 2006.

only be young mothers. Another reason was based on their family responsibilities, for example, assuming the responsibilities for interactions with bureaucratic authorities, making doctor appointments and accompanying the parents, translating, etc., which all led to their feeling overwhelmed. Overall, it was recognised that these girls had strong needs to talk about their specific problems and concerns, and that they further sought guidance in this regard.

The RAA is actually successfully running a programme aiming directly towards the formation of Roma school mediators⁵⁹. Roma mediators show a high degree in intercultural competence and are particularly able to understand the specific perspectives of children and young persons and in sharing experiences with them. They discuss education problems both with family and school representatives and so help in the protection of their educational opportunities. There is a big interest among Sinti and Roma women to work in this area, since they could continue to remain in touch with their families and help their communities⁶⁰.

Also in the context of EQUAL, a project called "Roma und Sinti durch Selbstorganisationen zu Beschäftigung und Existenzsicherung" (Roma and Sinti: through self-organisation to employment and life security), starting in the year 2002 and finishing in May 2005, was run by the RAA together with the Roma Union Grenzland in Aachen and Förderverein Roma e.V. in Frankfurt. This is the only project concentrating specifically on the integration of Roma into the labour market in Germany out of a total of 109 projects elected in the first round of Equal. In the second round, there were no projects oriented to Roma. In Aachen, the target group were Roma refugees who had no definitive residence status. The director of the institution in Aachen said that the Ministry of Economic Affairs had agreed to the project because the aim of the course was not adequate in order to integrate Roma in the labour market⁶¹. The project had around 70 people from Macedonia, consisting of Serbs, Bosnians, and one from Romania - the majority of whom were men. Problems arose in finding a Roma female social worker in order to accompany the participants of this project (it was impossible to find someone from the employment office). Finally, it was a German social worker was hired as there were no Roma social worker candidates. Nevertheless, in the last months and after big efforts in looking for members of this minority, two Roma women have become involved.

Aachen was the only partner who created a women's group which met twice a week. In this group between ten and fourteen women participated in order to find a suitable occupation. German and computer courses were offered, as well as different internships in flower shops or with hairdressers, all in close cooperation with the regional Chamber of Trade. After a few months, some of these women obtained part-time jobs in sales and the service sector, and the success in terms of acceptance and perspective of this group was secured for a second year of activities.

Part of this project was the Förderverein Roma e.V. in Frankfurt with a programme which attempted to curb the lack of qualifications and unemployment among Roma youth and to further create an adequate alternative in the areas of school and vocational training and professional education. Principally, participants of the

⁵⁹ www.raa-berlin.de.

Due to financial constraints, however, the State Youth Welfare Office, cannot finance the occupation of mediators. At the moment, there is generally no project funding by the state possible. Interview with Antje Hofert, RAA co-ordinator of the Project. ⁶¹ Interview with Joachim Rosenberg, November 2005.

programme were Roma youth from Romania who lived in Germany, in some cases, already living in Germany between 5 to 10 years. The project started in June 2003 with 20 young participants, consisting of both women and men. In the first project year, about 50% or more participants were women, but six months later, this number decreased to 3 to 15 (16,6%). The principal reason for this massive departure of the young women from the course was mainly related to the fact that the young women are always forced to leave (due to family pressure) in the case of deportations, but not necessarily the young men, who are allowed to stay in order to finish their school or vocational training programme.

The problems reported at the end of the project were connected with the restricted residence status of this youth group in terms of deportation (two girls were deported with their families during the course), and in terms of perspectives (without work permission, there is no chance to find a job and thus the programme loses its attraction). The evaluation of the project is still in preparation. Nevertheless, the Roma Union Grenzland considered this project to be successful.

Based on these observations, it can be stated that the disappearance of traditional fields of work and the role of the woman within the family structure not only explain the complex situation of Roma women regarding their access to the labour market. There are many ways to successfully combat the entrance of woman in the labour market especially as increasing child care options and reconciling family and work in general are made possible. Some European countries have already adopted the necessary family policies, such as France, where childcare is covered from the beginning. At the present, there is a big debate in Germany in order to amplify childcare services and social programmes toward young women with family, but these will principally affect young academics.

The difficult situation of Roma women related to the entrance into the labour market has to do not only with the heterogeneity of the Roma community in the country, but more with the residence status as indicated above. Well-qualified refugees with limitations related to their residence status have no chance to find a place in the labour market because it is almost impossible for them to receive a work permit. This affects also children from refugee families who, after finishing school, are confronted with a situation without perspectives.

Nevertheless, the most important explanation for the exclusion of Roma women in the labour market is the significant lack of education; particularly for young migrants, a completed vocational training degree is becoming more and more important as it is a major precondition for obtaining qualified employment. Programmes oriented to the integration of Roma women into the labour market should take in account the special needs of young mothers and should be better initiated from Roma organisations and NGOs with proven experience in working with the Roma community. As Roma families sometimes do not have a positive perception of the education system and do not consider education as a priority, it is very important to work in close cooperation with them.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Successful care and school integration of children is only possible if the families have assured their existence and can participate in the school life of the children. Therefore, the general living, health and school situation of Roma families/children should be supported by Roma social workers and assistants and intercultural training for teachers and other pupils in schools should also be emphasised.

In order to create new jobs for Roma women in particular, and to empower the Roma community in general, the further training of Roma women to school mediators needs to be enhanced, while, at the same time, a financial basis for those working as mediators needs to be ensured.

Child care needs to be guaranteed to women who intend to take part in vocational training programmes and promotion courses in order to ensure a participation and its successful conclusion.

Country Report Spain

Sara Añino Villalva

Fundación General Gitano

1. THE SITUATION OF ROMA IN SPAIN

It is difficult to find information on Roma in official statistics because public entities tend to consider collecting data based on ethnicity to be discriminatory and disrespectful to individual rights. The data we have on the Roma population come from statistics or qualitative research conducted by social investigators, NGOs and specific surveys made by certain public entities that mostly refer to Spanish Roma.

In Spain there are Spanish Roma and Roma immigrants coming from other countries such as Romania, Bulgaria and ex-Yugoslavia. There are many differences among them in relation to their ethnic identity, social position, language and culture. The Spanish Roma population totals around 680,000 (out of an approximate total of 40 million inhabitants) and has the following demographic characteristics⁶²:

- there are slightly more men (344,000) than women (336,000);
- the median age is 34.8 years old, which is below the national average of 45.5;
- it is a very young community: 40.1% is under 16 years old. There are more women and girls in younger ages and their number decrease in the elder ages in comparison to men. This is the opposite for the rest of the Spanish population;
- they tend to marry before the mainstream population does. 2/3 of 15 years old Spanish Roma people (around 313,000) have one or more children, and the average of children is 3.18 (while the average in the whole Spanish society is 1.94⁶³);
- there is a link between age, level of studies and birth rates. Older age groups are related to lower level of studies and this is related to higher numbers of children. The average number of children among 45 year olds (or older) is 4.5 and Roma illiteracy is 4.7;
- Roma population is unequally distributed throughout Spain. Around 45% live in Andalusia, while the rest are typically situated in large urban centres such as Madrid⁶⁴;
- stereotypes and prejudices against Roma people still exist in mainstream society. Despite being the most important ethnic minority in Spain and six centuries of history in this country, they are still one of the most socially and economically excluded groups; and

FSG-EDIS(2005).

Censo de2001.

FRESNO, Jose Manuel and FERNÁNDEZ, Carolina (coord.) (2001).

- the relationship between social inequalities and health inequalities is clear. Roma's infant mortality is 1.4 times higher than the national average and their life expectancy is between 8 and 9 years below the average⁶⁵.

Heterogeneity and diversity characterise this population, due to the territorial dispersion (which determine different historical socio-cultural and economical developments of each Roma community within a region), social conditions and attitudes. There are different ways of expressing and understanding Roma culture, gender, identity among different regions, depending on this development and the relationship between Roma and non-Roma within each region. There are also different strategies to avoid being swallowed up by mainstream society while at the same time they are re-defining cultural identities and re-examining certain traditions and conventional roles based on age and gender.

A segment of the Spanish Roma population (mostly youth and women in highly urbanised areas) is leading a shift towards the re-definition of cultural and gender identity and an increasing valuation of education and employment in the formal labour market. With respect to education, 71.2% of 16 year old Roma have not finished the compulsory basic education and 1.1% has completed university⁶⁶. The 40%⁶⁷ of Roma Spanish population is under 16 years old⁶⁸ and the most of them (94%) are enrolled in school at six years old. Although this rate means that schooling among the Roma is improving, 6% of six years old children are not enrolled. Spanish Roma population is concentrated basically in public schools, especially in certain large urban neighbourhoods and in some mid-sized cities. 46% of Roma children regularly attend primary school, but 54% do not and 31% missed class for three or more months (2002). The lack of regular attendance in school is still a problem which has its roots in social factors such as a lack of models and motivation among some families, lack of hopes in the opportunities that schooling gives to the Roma people, the mobility of some families (which work temporarily in different locations), the location of the school and the scarcity of measures which take Roma people into account in schools and public policies.

The transition from primary to secondary school is an important step for students. Many of them have to go to a new educational centre, with different rules and different people. They have to say goodbye to their primary school friends and start new relationships, sometimes far away from their neighbourhood. At this stage, an important many Roma teenagers leave school, sometimes before and sometimes after starting secondary education. If their families have economic problems, if they are not motivated enough or if they don't have family support to continue, it is probable that they will give up high school or not even start it. Many teenagers are considered adults from 14 years old, so they start helping their families in paid work (mostly boys) or in domestic work (only girls), and this is one of the root causes for leaving school⁶⁹.

Housing is still a problem for many Roma people. From 1987 to 2004, the price of housing increased 130.3% (deducting inflation), meaning housing increased fourteen

Directorate-General for Public Health, Ministry Of Health and Consumer Affairs, Area of Health
Fundación Secretariado Gitano (2005).

⁶⁶ FSG-EDIS(2005).

⁶⁷ ANDRÉS MARTIN, M^a Teresa (2002).

⁶⁸ School in Spain is free and compulsory from 6 to 16 years old (Primary and Secondary School).

⁶⁹ ANDRÉS MARTIN, M^a Teresa (coord.) (still unfinished).

times more than salaries⁷⁰. 80% of the people living in shantytowns are Roma⁷¹ and around 12% of the Roma population is living in sub-standard houses. In 1991, 31% of the houses occupied by Spanish Roma were sub-standard. Now this situation hasn't changed very much despite the re-housing politics. Although the eradication of poverty and shantytown conditions is one of the objectives of integration politics, the public administration does not use enough means to achieve this goal.

Over the last three decades the situation of Spanish Roma has changed a lot and their access to housing, education, health system and politics is increasing. However, access is still low and it is necessary to set up positive actions in order to improve this situation, as there is still an important segment of these people at risk of social exclusion.

The social conditions of non-Spanish Roma use to be worse than those mentioned above. Many of them have do not posses regularised personal documentation and have been marginalised in their own countries, so they also face the risk of being expelled from the country making their situation (or risk) of social, economical and even legal exclusion is even more extreme. Because of their difficult situations, there is a high level of dependency on social security and NGOs sources among non-Spanish Roma as it seems to be the only possibility that the society offers them for survival.

FUNDACIÓN SECRETARIADO GITANO (2002).

2. THE SITUATION OF ROMA IN ECONOMY

Most Spanish Roma work in the informal economy as street vendors, domestic servants, solid waste collectors or seasonal farm hands⁷². Some reports mention 40% of Roma working in these areas and others estimate between 50%-80%. The survey Fundación Secretariado Gitano (FSG) - EDIS (2005) found that the ten major employment areas among Roma are street vendors (34.2%), cleaners (10%), harvesting workers (8.9%), building workers (4.2%), building labourer or bricklayer's mate (3.6%), shop assistant (7.1%), scrap dealer (5.4%), intercultural mediator (3%), store assistant (1.7%) and waiter (1.3%). The ten principal activities are mobile trade (39%), construction (9.6%), farming (8.8%), domestic assistance (5.5%), cleaning services (5.4%), locksmith's craft (4.5%), NGOs (4.2%), public Administration (3.2%), hotel business/catering (2.8%) and fruits and vegetable street selling (0.8%). Some of them work in traditional jobs as wicker workers, blacksmiths or horse traders⁷³.

Roma immigrants from the eastern Europe (mostly from Romania) work in construction, seasonal farming, selling newspapers in the street (journals as La Farola), busking, cleaning and providing domestic services⁷⁴. Their access to the formal labour market is handicapped by ethnic discrimination, lack of a work permit and the marginalisation processes they have already experienced in their countries of origin. Because of this fact, their principal economic sources come from the informal economy, some low-waged occupations in the formal market and, in many cases, through begging, social security and charity.

Spanish Roma's participation in the formal labour market is increasing. It is more important in services sector (64.6% of occupied Roma)⁷⁵ and in Industry (18%). In Comunidad Valenciana, one of the Spanish regions, the average annual income per family member is seven times less than the general population's. The active Roma population stands at 55%⁷⁶, of which 42% are employed and 17% unemployed and the 23% of the employed work in temporary jobs, while only 12% in steady work.

In the entire state, the temporality rate of Roma people is more than double (70.9)⁷⁷ than the national average and their part-time work rate is nearly five times (42%) the entire Spanish whole (8.5%). The percentage of self-employed is much higher among the Roma (48.5%) than the rest of Spanish society (18.3%). Half of all self-employed Roma have their own businesses and the other half just collaborate with the family's waged economic activity, so labour conditions for the majority of Roma are quite difficult. The majority of Roma people are affected by precarious conditions: many self-employed Roma work as street vendors and most employees work in insecure low-skilled jobs with low salaries, many of them without a work contract.

Ethnic discrimination is still very strong in the labour market, not only with respect to labour conditions, but also in the selection process. Many employers support damaging stereotypes claiming that Roma people are lazy, don't want to work or that they steal. Some Roma people camouflage their ethnic identity in order to be hired.

⁷² ERRC (2004).

⁷³ ERRC (2004) and FUNDACIÓN SECRETARIADO GENERAL GITANO (1999).

⁷⁴ ASOCIACIÓN PRO DERECHOS HUMANOS DE ANDALUCÍA (2005).

⁷⁵ FSG-EDIS (2005).

⁷⁶ MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS (2004), ERRC (2004).

⁷⁷ FSG-EDIS (2005).

Vocational training is increasing among Spanish Roma with the purpose of improving their employment opportunities. Fundación Secretariado Gitano offers vocational training through its ACCEDER Employment Programme. In 2004, 10,635 people were beneficiaries of this programme, comprising 52,9% men and 47,1% women. There is a correlation between training or educational levels and work opportunities. As one's educational level or training increases, so do the possibilities of being hired. Although qualifications and skills are very important in relation to job opportunities, discrimination against Roma is still an important handicap to improving their social and economical conditions.

3. SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF ROMA WOMEN

The situation of Roma women in Spain is subjected to the double discrimination of being a woman and belonging to an ethnic minority or even by the triple discrimination of being Roma, a woman and an immigrant in the case of those who come from other countries. Because of this, they have less access to social and economic sources than non-Roma/Spanish women; they have to face more obstacles than Roma men.

In relation to education, Spanish Roma girls and boys have similar education levels⁷⁸. The difference begins in the transition from primary to secondary school and in high school, where Roma girls have fewer opportunities than boys. However, the percentage of girls who stay and finish secondary school is higher than boys'.

Fundación Secretariado Gitano (FSG) has done a survey on the Spanish Roma people's access to high school (from 12 -13 to 16 year olds). In this investigation, we found obstacles, especially for the girls. The most important causes are the family-rooted de-motivation on teenagers' schooling (sometimes due in part to experiences of discrimination and to the lack of identification with the educational system), the families' bad perception of high school, the fear of loosing their cultural identity and economic problems.

A segment of the Roma population does not value secondary or university studies (especially for girls). This segment of the Roma population has a negative perception of high school or university because they think that it is not proper for girls to study, or they believe that taking the girls away from high school or university is a way of protecting them and keeping the honour of the girls and their families⁷⁹. This concept of honour is based on women's virginity until marriage, which is considered one of the main Roma values by a majority of this community. In the interviews, some of the girls had left compulsory schooling before 16 arguing that they had to prepare for marriage or do domestic work. Others wanted to continue studying but the pressure in their communities or the lack of support in high school or in their own community de-motivated them. And others continue studying with or without the support of their families and friends.

There are some changes that are improving the situation of Roma in relation to education. Women are the motor of these changes in many cases, but there is still a lot to do in order to establish equal opportunities in education. Spanish Roma women are increasingly incorporating basic education (even as adult women), high school, occupational training and the university. Non-Spanish Roma people have more handicaps than Spanish Roma. In many cases they do not have stable living conditions or their living conditions make it more difficult for children and teenagers' to receive an education.

Roma's socio-economic conditions are in many cases difficult and negatively affect their health conditions. The life expectancy of Roma is less than the average and the number of instances of child diseases is higher. It is uncommon that the Romani population access preventative and emergency health services. Health information does not arrive frequently.

^{78 79}

ANDRÉS MARTIN, M^a Teresa (2002).

Under this conception, the honour of a family depends on women's sexual behaviour.

Health among Spanish Roma women tends to be worse than women belonging to the general population, their life expectancy is lower than them and also than Romani men while child mortality rates are higher among girls than boys⁸⁰. Many Roma women worry more about their family's health than about their own. They tend not to take into account their own needs⁸¹, ignoring their own needs while concentrating on others.

ERRC (2004).
ARBEX, Carmen (2000).

4. THE SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN IN THE ECONOMY

The situation of Roma women (*Romni*) in the economy is limited by ethnic and sexual discrimination. As women, they face double unemployment in comparison to men, lower of salaries (in Spain the average female wage is 70% of male wages), more part-time jobs and less recognition for their activities. As Roma, they face ethnic discrimination, poorer economic conditions and less access to resources than the majority. The non-Spanish Roma Women also face the discrimination against immigrants and the handicaps to get a work permit. These facts affect negatively their living conditions, health and opportunities. At the same time, the Romni are promoting many changes that improve the situation of the whole community. This transformation is pointed towards higher education and training, social participation, professional development, equal opportunities and better living conditions for them and for their community.

Most of Romani women reconcile their work in the informal economy as street vendors or in the labour market with domestic work. As more women are increasing their participation in formal education and occupational training, their access to formal employment is also improving, even though it tends to be in low-qualified and low-wage activities, despite continuing discrimination.

The report Observatorio 2004 Empleo y Comunidad Gitana 2004⁸² indicates that Spanish Romani women are increasing their participation in FSG's Employment Programme ACCEDER, which attended to 10,635 Spanish Roma people in 2004. In this sample, 42.3% of the people who got a job were women 57.7% were men. Although the percentage of women earning a job through this programme is still inferior to their male counterparts, the distance is getting shorter in comparison to earlier data from 2000 (60% men and 40% women). Most of professions in which women in the ACCEDER Programme obtain employment in, in order of importance: cleaner, administrative, receptionist, telephonist, hostess, saleswoman, cook, waitress and educator/mediator.

The survey Población gitana y empleo⁸³ points out that Spanish Roma women's economic participation in the labour market is concentrated in the services sector (89.6% of women, and 66.2% of Roma men). 7.7% of them work in agriculture and fishing, 2.5% in industry and just a 0.3% in construction. They are occupied mostly as cleaners, shop assistants or saleswoman, intercultural mediators and waiters. Precarious circumstances affects Roma women even more than men, mostly if they have not studied, are between 55 and 64 years old or if they are widows. They have also more part-time jobs than men, as they are used to assuming all domestic work care relating to their dependants (the elderly, children, and disabled). Often they would prefer to participate more in paid work, but they cannot due to domestic work.

In the whole society, domestic work and caring for dependant people are very important activities, which permit the waged activities to be done. Nevertheless, it is not recognised nor considered to be work. Traditional Roma women's roles focus on domestic activities and motherhood. Sometimes they are not conscious enough of their own needs; the low recognition of the activities to which they are pointed usually produces low self-esteem.

⁸² CONEJO; Emilio et al. (2005).

⁸³ FSG-EDIS(2005).

The increasing participation in education and vocational training is enlarging the opportunities for Spanish Roma. Information technology is becoming more important and in this context, knowledge and qualifications are a clue. An important segment of Roma women have become aware of this fact and they are asking for training in Public Employment Programmes or in Roma or pro-Roma associations.

Roma women are not only developing formal and professional skills necessary to participate in labour market; they also have informal skills learnt through domestic work (cooking, discovering other's needs, responding to them, taking care of others, administration, cleaning, embellishing places and people). If they have experience as street vendors, then they know how to treat different people, how to administrate money, how to negotiate, how to deal with incertitude⁸⁴. All the relationship skills they have learnt as women are useful in the information age and its corresponding labour market. Politics should take into account not only Roma handicaps but also its potentialities.

CREA (2004): *Calli Butipen*.

5. PROGRAMMES AND POLICIES AIMING TOWARDS IMPROVEMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN (*ROMNI*)

In Spain, there are not many programmes nor large budgets for improving Roma women's socio-economic conditions. Roma are rarely mentioned as a group who need specific measures; they feature in some local, regional or national plans (such as the Granada City Council's III Municipal Plan for Gender Equality, Spain's Second National Action Plan on Social Inclusion or Lugo's Plan for Prevention of Gender Violence).

There is a contract between Fundación Secretariado Gitano (FSG) and Institute of Women's Affairs (Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs) and there are also some local, regional or national subventions for Roma or pro-Roma associations in order to develop certain activities for Roma women. Roma participation in these activities is increasing, as there are more Spanish Roma women's associations now than some years ago.

Romni social movements originated from Roma associations, sometimes creating new ones integrated by Spanish Roma women and sometimes in participation with men. The connections with women's movement are scarce, but they are starting now, as Roma and non-Roma women start to talk and create links and networks. Non-Spanish Roma women have no links with Spanish Roma and the women's movement due to their lack of social and political participation and social exclusion.

The biggest budgets for improving Roma women's issues originated from European Programmes that were not specifically allocated for Roma women, for example "The Multi-regional Operational Programme Fight Against Discrimination" (FSE), which supports Fundación Secretariado Gitano's ACCEDER Employment Programme. ACCEDER has 46 locations in Spain, complementing its actions (pointed towards occupational training and employment) with Social Action Programs (as basic education for adult people, grants for young people, support for children's education, specific actions for women.). FSG counts the support of different local, regional and national institutions aiming to improve the situation of Roma people. With regard to Spanish Roma women, the collaboration of different institutions is increasing, as there are more contracts or subventions from regional or local entities than some years ago. Despite all this support, it is necessary to enlarge the specific and mainstreaming actions towards equal opportunities for Spanish and Roma women and to take the Romni into account in national, regional or local plans, particularly as equal opportunity plans or the Roma Development Programme.

CONCLUSION

Spanish Roma Women are becoming more active in accessing education, employment in addition to increased social and political participation. They compose a heterogeneous group with many different attitudes to the reconciliation of the Roma traditions and changes in gender roles. They are skilled in many different areas related to domestic work and the care of others, they are excellent negotiators and have the desire to improve their living conditions.

Despite their achievements, Roma women still face many handicaps in employment, health, education, politics and judicial fields. There are many families that do not have a positive perception of high school in relation to their daughters and that do not trust the education system following primary school for improving their daughter's opportunities. Some families think that the traditional housebound female role is a priority and do not consider high school and employment a priority. Some appreciate the value of an education and careers but face strong social pressure from their community. Others consider secondary or even an university education a priority in their lives and receive support within their community to continue studying.

Most Roma women supplement domestic work with a waged occupation in the labour market or informal economy (mostly street vendors). Negative stereotypes against Roma are still very damaging and many employers still believe in them. This situation negatively affects Roma women's opportunities and some of them camouflage their ethnic identity in order to be hired. In the labour market, they use to have low-skilled and precarious low-waged jobs in typically female-oriented professions (as cleaners, domestic assistants, shop assistants, waiters) or they work in the social sector as intercultural mediators, educators, etc. Others work in the informal economy (mostly as street vendors) and in the case of Roma immigrants, most of them experience social exclusion, the degree of their precarious situation is higher or they are even forced to beg as their only economic source.

Because of their socio-economic situation, the life expectancy of Roma women is lower than the average than Roma and non-Roma men. Their access to housing is also a problem in many cases, as the prices have increased more than a 130% in the last 17 years (14 times more than the salaries have). 80% of the people living in shanty-towns are Roma.

It is necessary to include Spanish and non-Spanish Roma women in the Plans for Equality between Women and Men and to develop specific measures in order to improve their access to education, employment, housing, health and social services, in addition to their social and political participation.

RECOMMENDATIONS

a) Employment:

Awareness-raising activities targeted at employers and society to combat negative stereotypes against Roma;

Measures to motivate employers to hire Roma women and combat discrimination;

Vocational training for Spanish and non-Spanish Roma women focused on their potentialities and knowledge;

Information and communication technologies training for Roma women; and Measures to correct wage-discrimination.

b) Education:

Intercultural training for teachers and intercultural education in the schools;

Grants;

Increasing public care services (such as day-care centres);

Measures to prevent absenteeism from school and dropping-out, especially in the stages between primary and secondary school;

Scholastic support and monitoring, teacher training and educational compensation actions;

Intercultural mediation between the school and families to facilitate dialogue and support for the girls' continuity; and

Education in equal opportunities between women and men for children and adult people.

c) Housing:

Promoting access to housing for Roma living in sub-standard housing as well as education and accompaniment throughout the relocation process.

d) Health:

Promoting the access of Roma women to mainstream health resources by heightening awareness, training and counselling of the different actors; and

Improving Roma women's living conditions, e)

Social and political participation:

- Support for Roma women's associations and fostering of their participation in associations, political parties and public institutions and self-organisation; and

Measures targeting the party within the public institutions, such as the State Council of Roma People (Consejo Estatal del Pueblo Gitano).

RomWom Country Study Ireland

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1. THE GENERAL SITUATION OF ROMA IN THE COUNTRY

In discussing the general situation of Roma in Ireland it is important to note that official statistics on the demography of Roma⁸⁵ in Ireland are non-existent. This is because as a group, Roma do not have a single official 'Roma' nationality and census forms do not allow for the recording of ethnicity. Roma are recorded as belonging to the nationality of those countries they emigrated. Most Roma in Ireland come from Romania with some originating from Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary and other eastern European states. The researcher relied on information from the Roma Support Group in Dublin for estimates of the situation of Roma in Ireland.

Regarding location, most Roma in Ireland live in the Dublin area and therefore most of the research was carried out in this region. There are Roma communities also living in other counties such as Louth and Monaghan. Organisations working with Roma communities were contacted and interviews were conducted regarding Roma in those regions. The findings were similar to those in the Dublin area so no differentiation is made in the report as to Roma communities in the various locations researched. It can be surmised though, that Roma in smaller towns experience more racism than those in the capital city, as their distinctiveness is more evident in the more homogenous smaller Irish towns.

The National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI) stated in 2002 that the first significant arrival of Roma to Ireland was in 1998 and that many of them were given refugee status. It also stated that "Roma in Ireland tend to be even more marginalised than many other asylum seeker groups because of their lack of education, low language skills and historic and systematic discrimination"⁸⁶.

It is estimated that the Roma community in Ireland have grown from approximately 1,500 in 2002 to 3,000 today.⁸⁷ Approximately 65% of the Roma in Ireland have refugee or asylum seeker status with the right to work and 35% have right to residential status because they have children that were born in the Irish state.⁸⁸ Refugee status, however, is a better because "there are less rights for those with residency compared to those with refugee status".⁸⁹ While requiring similar assistance regarding

⁸⁵ It must be noted that in this report, Roma are treated as a separate ethnic group from Irish Travellers. While there are similarities in culture, both groups view each other as distinct and have distinct languages and origins. Parallels will be drawn if they are beneficial to the outcome of this present report.

⁸⁶ National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI) Ireland, *Traveller and Roma Community*, url website <http://www.nccri.com/cdsu-travellers.html>.

⁸⁷ Personal communication from Roma Support Group, Pavee Point Centre, Dublin.

⁸⁸ Estimates from Roma Support Group, Dublin.

⁸⁹ Murphy, P. 2001. *Roma in Ireland: An Initial Needs Analysis*, Roma Support Group in Ireland and Pavee Point: Dublin. p.14.

employment as refugees, asylum seekers with the right to work in Ireland don't have the same entitlements to support services available to refugees.⁹⁰

The Roma Support Group (RSG) was established in Dublin in 2001 by two Roma. Its goal is to assist the Roma community in Ireland. They have contact with Roma throughout the country; a group such as this has the potential to work towards improving the conditions of Roma in Ireland. Being closely linked with Pavee Point Irish Travellers' organisation in Ireland enables them to use resources and access knowledge from an already well-established Irish Traveller organisation.

1.1. Social and economic conditions for Roma regarding their access to labour, education, housing and health systems.

The language barrier affects access to all areas of social life. Most service providers, NGOs, and community development workers contacted said that Roma are often unaware of what they can avail due to poor English language skills. Often times, they resort to begging out of an ignorance of available entitlements.⁹¹

The following factors affect Roma access to labour: poor literacy skills, language barriers, cultural issues and the perception of Roma (discrimination). A 2001 report asserts, "Discrimination among some employers against groups such as Roma can be a factor preventing Roma who have the right to work from getting jobs".⁹² While Roma are very skilled, poor English or lack of official qualifications excludes them from the labour market in Ireland.

Access to adult training programmes is also impossible due to language and literacy barriers. Basic literacy courses have failed because programmes are not suitable for them.⁹³ In relation to adult education and basic English courses, the services in place for asylum seekers are inadequate for several reasons: literacy programmes tend to lump asylum seekers from all ethnic groups and backgrounds together in English classes. Adult students with very different starting points end up being in the same classroom. Roma then find themselves in situations where they feel inferior to others who already have a good education from their respective countries or where they are expected to sit in a classroom for 20 hours per week.⁹⁴ In addition, Roma will not attend courses if it poses a risk to their income from social welfare. Sometimes, in practice, government policies on continuing education hinder rather than help those on social welfare.

According to the Roma Support Group "only about 30% of all Roma children in Ireland attend school".⁹⁵ Gheorge, the co-founder of the Roma Support Group in Dublin, explained that a big problem is that there is no history of formal education in their community. It is difficult for families to focus or centre their lives around the education

⁹⁰ Fanning, Loyal and Staunton. *Asylum seekers and the right to work in Ireland*.
<http://www.irishrefugeecouncil.ie/pub00/workrights.html>.

⁹¹ Roma Support Group Ireland Website <http://www.romasupport.ie/>.

⁹² Murphy, P. 2001. *Roma in Ireland: An Initial Needs Analysis*, Roma Support Group in Ireland and Pavee Point: Dublin.p.19.

⁹³ Personal communication with Tanya Ward.

⁹⁴ Interview with Tanya Ward, author of the report on *Asylum Seekers in Adult Education: A Study of Language and Literacy Needs*. (see bibliography).

⁹⁵ <http://www.romasupport.ie/> accessed 15/09/2005.

of their children. It is the case that experiences of Roma migrants with education systems in Ireland and other countries have not always been positive. According to some statements, Roma fear losing their culture and that their children will receive only negative information on Roma culture at school. It seems that if education means losing one's own culture, the Roma opt for no education at all. Louise Lesovitch's report published in 2005 highlights the importance of the "extended, intergenerational family-group learning environment in Roma culture".⁹⁶

Communication problems between Roma parents and teachers have resulted in misunderstandings, easily making the education question more difficult.⁹⁷ Lesovitch also draws attention throughout the report to the dire need for education institutions to understand Roma culture, prior negative educational experiences, the communication gap between parents and teachers and to plan programmes accordingly.

The Roma Support Group also discussed the difficulties in accessing housing for Roma. Most landlords in Ireland don't want to rent their homes to large families, thus directly conflicting with Roma culture and its extended family structure. Many try to hide their identity when seeking housing. Also, very few Roma are aware of the housing and accommodation laws of the country exacerbating a communication with their landlords. They also mentioned that rent deposits are often higher for Roma than for other communities. Because of their economic situation, access to credit facilities and mortgages are virtually impossible.

Concerning access to health care, most Roma have medical cards but, according to the Roma Support Group, few use doctors unless it is absolutely necessary, as in the case of childbirth and pre-natal concerns. Roma explained that there are a number of reasons for this: one being that they don't necessarily believe in doctors and they have their own ways of dealing with sickness. Another reason given is that there are great language and cultural barriers between the Roma community and the medical profession in Ireland. One of the cultural barriers dissuading Roma is the visiting restriction in hospitals that do not accommodate large, extended families. Also, Roma children are required to communicate between doctors and Roma adults and this is not always appropriate. They did report, however, that it is a very positive thing that there are more doctors from other countries now practising in Ireland. Roma feel that this will improve the openness towards patients from other cultures, while increasing the chances of communication through another language, e.g. Romanian or Polish.

Lesovitch, L. City of Dublin VEC in association with Pavee Point and the Roma Support Group. 2005. *Roma Educational Needs in Ireland: Context and Challenges*, City of Dublin VEC: Dublin. p.11. ⁹⁷ Murphy, P. 2001. *Roma in Ireland: An Initial Needs Analysis*, Roma Support Group in Ireland and Pavee Point: Dublin. p.16.

2.THE SITUATION OF ROMA IN THE ECONOMY AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS

With the absence of statistics, it is difficult to officially establish the percentage of unemployed Roma in Ireland. The most reliable sources estimate that 90% - 99% of Roma in Ireland are officially unemployed.⁹⁸

Most people I spoke to said that Roma are very good at manual skills, agriculture, music, mechanics, etc. and these areas could be further developed. With the minimum wage issue and discrimination, it would be advantageous for Roma to move towards self-employment. This way, issues such as qualifications, official work experience, references from previous employers etc. could be minimised.

The Pavee Point Travellers' Organisation in Dublin has been involved in setting up training programmes for Irish travellers in areas of acquired expertise. Similar programmes could be started for Roma. While one such employment programme in Louth was unsuccessful it is probable that programmes with Roma leadership could be fruitful. Like other community development programmes, funding can be problematic. The Pavee Point website points out (in relation to Irish Travellers) that: "Government cutbacks in community employment, jobs initiatives and FAS Training Schemes have had a devastating effect on...responses. Cutbacks in the Government Community Development Support Programme are also having negative impacts on jobs in the community."⁹⁹

Roma men have expressed interest in setting up their own businesses but have a number of barriers to overcome including: language barriers, access to loans, the effects of long periods unemployment experienced during the asylum process and entering into an discriminatory economic system.

2.1 Causes and consequences for existing disadvantaged economic position

The causes of the existing economic disadvantages of Roma in Ireland have been highlighted throughout this report. Literacy issues, lack of official education, language barriers and discrimination are the most apparent barriers. Some development workers I spoke to seemed to be baffled as to why Roma did not access any local training courses. It would seem that the first step in addressing the unemployment problem and present economic situation would be to focus on ways that these gaps can be bridged in assisting Roma (in culturally appropriate ways) to access educational programmes (that are tailored towards their particular culture and values).

2.2 The impact of changes in economy during the last ten years on employment and economic activities

One community development worker interviewed described the present situation in Ireland as "the land of the working poor" in the aftermath of the Celtic tiger. With the "Celtic tiger" boom in Ireland in the 1990s, the economy took a turn for the better and

Roma Support Group, Dublin.

Pavee Point Factsheets - Travellers and Work http://www.paveepoint.ie/fs_work_a.html.

unemployment rates dropped. But there is much discussion now about the fact that Ireland has one of the largest gaps between rich and poor in Europe. The cost of living and most importantly the cost of housing put those at lower income levels in a very difficult position financially. Roma are not excluded from this.

Not unlike the majority Irish community working in the untrained labour sector of the economy, if Roma are offered work they are probably earning the minimum wage, currently set at €7.65 per hour.¹⁰⁰ A Roma man pointed out to me the difficulty of renting a house in Dublin if the rent is €1,200 per month. In many cases those at the lower end of the pay scale find themselves in worse off than those who remain on social welfare payments. This is because coming off social welfare involves losing other benefits such as rent allowance, medical cards and refuse collection waivers. This is true for Roma and many others in Ireland who are just on or below the poverty line.

¹⁰⁰ http://www.oasis.gov.ie/employment/pay_and_employment/pay_inc_min_wage.html accessed 15th October 2005-10-15.

3. THE GENERAL SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN

Lesovitch in her report says that Roma women "continue to experience what has been termed as a system of 'threefold' exclusion:

1. As women;
2. As members of the Roma community; and
3. As having little or sometimes no formal education."¹⁰¹

She goes on to say that Roma women are "becoming increasingly involved in having their voices heard" and refers to the launching of the International Roma Women's network in 2003.¹⁰² However, further research is needed to ascertain Roma women in Ireland's ongoing involvement with the programme and to what extent it helps empower them.

I have observed and heard through interviews that the Roma community in Ireland have remained a very traditional and, for the most part, exclusive group in order to preserve their culture and traditions. This has a direct affect on the social and economic conditions for Roma women. These conditions cannot be considered in isolation from the roles that Roma women play within their own community. Traditional gender roles mean that Roma women are the primary child-carers in the family. According to a report by Louise Lesovitch, in 2005 Roma women in Ireland were "responsible for the education of young children and girls until they are married".¹⁰³ This home-based education focuses on culture and tradition. Roma men are traditionally the head of the household, the main decision makers and the ones responsible for finding employment.¹⁰⁴ Roma women usually work in co-operation with whatever work the husband finds and employment is traditionally carried out with other family members. I observed this in a number of Irish towns where Roma men and women were located in the vicinity of each other while engaging in economic activities in public retail places.

According to the Roma Support Group website, 95% of Roma women in Ireland have no literacy skills in any language.¹⁰⁵ From observation and interviews, it is clear that Roma women seldom, if ever, socialise outside their own family context and need "a husband's permission to attend adult courses, to be away from the home and to socialise with different people".¹⁰⁶ If they are out and about it is usually with other Roma women. With strict marriage rules and marriage arrangements made for girls at a young age, pubescent girls are highly protected¹⁰⁷ and this partially explains why more boys than girls continue their education after puberty.

¹⁰¹ Lesovitch, L. City of Dublin VEC in association with Pavee Point and the Roma Support Group. 2005. *Roma Educational Needs in Ireland: Context and Challenges*, City of Dublin VEC: Dublin.p.27.

¹⁰² *ibid.*

¹⁰³ Lesovitch, L. City of Dublin VEC in association with Pavee Point and the Roma Support Group. 2005. *Roma Educational Needs in Ireland: Context and Challenges*, City of Dublin VEC: Dublin. p.26.

¹⁰⁵ Roma Support Group website <http://www.romasupport.ie/>.

¹⁰⁶ Roma Support Group website <http://www.romasupport.ie/>.

¹⁰⁷ Personal communication with Roma Support Group, Dublin.

Roma women provide healthcare for their families and have the most contact with health care providers even though this is highly limited due to a language barrier. On a couple of occasions I observed Roma women bringing three or four children with them to a doctor's office with an older Roma teenager taken along to translate.

4.THE SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN IN THE ECONOMY

There are no official figures providing information on the economic situation of Roma women in Ireland, therefore it is impossible to provide statistics on patterns of employment, underemployment, unemployment and self-employment among Roma women. The most accurate information available to the researcher were details from the Roma Support Group in Dublin, offered through interviews with one of the Directors and with a community development worker and through personal observation in a number of towns in Ireland. Most Roma women as well men in Ireland (90-99%), are unemployed. Like others unemployed in Irish society, this gives them the right to access social welfare benefits including unemployment assistance, medical cards, rent allowance, refuse collection waivers, back-to-school allowance etc. However because of language barriers Roma women might not be accessing all they are entitled to as unemployed persons in the Irish state. Detailed demographic research is needed to ascertain the extent to which they access their entitlements.

Due to language barriers and the sensitive nature of the topic, the researcher did not try to obtain direct information from Roma people concerning begging practices. Some service providers interviewed mentioned this practice as being problematic in their local towns, not just for the general public but also for Roma women themselves who resort to begging in order to try to alleviate difficult financial conditions and who experience pressure from within their own community to do so. Another researcher suggested though that, in the absence of employment opportunities, begging as a practice allows Roma women in Ireland to be with their own community and most importantly with their children. There seem to be strong cultural reasons for adhering to begging practices.

Roma men were not observed begging but busking on the streets. The general public views this as a more acceptable form of procuring income. Both Roma men and women were observed selling the "Big Issue" Magazine and one interviewee stated that 90% of those selling the "Big Issue" (a magazine primarily set-up for those who are homeless) are Roma. This interviewee stated that such an association doesn't help to improve the Roma community's situation in public opinion.

4.1 Information on programmes and policies aiming towards improvement of the economic and social situation of Roma women

Most people interviewed said that training is a necessity for future employment opportunities for Roma women. One factor in describing Roma women's socio-economic situation is the language barrier. Roma women have language barriers that mobile Irish women do not have. From my travels throughout Ireland in the spring of 2005 I noticed that female Irish Travellers have access to training courses in various VECs¹⁰⁸ and Traveller organisations throughout Ireland. In most cases more Traveller Irish women were accessing training than Irish men. In both the Irish Traveller and Roma communities it seems that women are more likely to attend training courses than men.¹⁰⁹ While literacy is a shared problem between both communities, most Roma women do not have English levels adequate enough to access training.

¹⁰⁸ Vocational Educational Committee.

¹⁰⁹ Murphy, P. 2001. *Roma in Ireland: An Initial Needs Analysis*, Roma Support Group in Ireland and Pavee Point: Dublin. p. 17.

5. PROGRAMMES AND POLICIES FOR ROMA WOMEN

Specific government policies and programmes do not exist for Roma women. All reports on Roma in Ireland refer to a need to develop statistics on the Roma. There are, however, possibilities for the future development in the area of statistics, policies and programmes and this would feed into addressing the needs of Roma women:

1. The Roma Support Group in Dublin mentioned the desire and forthcoming plans to develop a database of Roma in Ireland. This would be an invaluable resource in monitoring the employment status and educational needs among the Roma community and specifically, Roma women. One obstacle to the development of such a database is the struggle for funding and the overstretched situation of those working in the Roma Support Group.
2. Louise Lesovitch and the Dublin VEC's report on Educational Needs in Ireland thoroughly lists the context and the challenges to moving ahead in relation to education for Roma in Ireland. Such a report could be used to develop policy and education programmes that would work for Roma women. Programmes need to pay attention to the gender roles in the Roma community, which would take into account childcare needs when planning programmes for Roma women.
3. A number of people I spoke to who have been involved with the Roma community have said that there is a need for educationalists in Ireland to look to other countries and see what programmes have worked for Roma women. They also spoke of a general communication gap between government agencies, NGOs and service providers that hinders the establishment of programmes. There is a need for NGOs, educationalists and community development programmes to learn from others and to not continue the "attempt-failure" cycle of programmes for Roma. Perhaps a Europe-wide report on successful Roma economic ventures could be circulated.
4. A women's organisation stated that Roma women are the only ethnic group who don't access their programmes. The organisation is funded to work with women in the following areas: support for single parents, mobile women, asylum seekers; offer a drop-in centre; provide counselling, self-development courses; facilitate education with FAS and VEC; facilitate back-to-work schemes; help with advocacy, etc. Women from all other ethnic groups seek assistance from this organisation. During the interview it became apparent that the organisation was not aware of the literacy levels of Roma women and hadn't considered the problematic nature of this.
5. A programme for Roma women was established in Tallaght, Dublin to offer those with probation referrals a language and literacy project. The programme involved literacy training in the context of a sewing programme and there are plans to develop a follow-up programme in the future. Problems with preventing the adequate following up on Roma women's training stem from a number of factors such as: lack of permission from husbands to families changing location or disregarding the value in the training offered.

Programmes for Roma women in Ireland can only succeed if they are set up with close attention paid to the needs of Roma women and the cultural traditions of the community. Planners need to learn from the mistakes of others in Ireland and in Europe. As Van der Stoel rightly says: "Unfortunately... programmes for Roma have

been destined to fail because they were developed without Roma participation, and correspondingly, with scant awareness of the specific culture and needs of the intended beneficiaries".¹¹⁰

The Roma Support Group in Dublin is not aware of any programmes in Ireland that provide Roma women access to credit for self-employment. This is consistent with Roma women's exclusion or lack of participation in other areas of life in Ireland and their unawareness of all their entitlements primarily due to literacy and language barriers. It would also appear that culturally men would take such steps to procure loans and that Roma women don't wish to take on responsibilities that belong in the husband's domain.

Regarding Ireland's social welfare policy towards Roma women, things are similar to other asylum and refugee groups, the only difference are the difficulties that stem from inadequate English language skills. Issues of discrimination in social welfare offices are next to impossible to monitor or record. Perceived discrimination and actual discrimination are difficult to differentiate between especially with the existing language barriers and resulting communication difficulties. Oftentimes, the difficulties encountered in social welfare offices are a result of difficult Irish laws rather than an individual social worker's bias. For example, all immigrants in Ireland must be resident in the country for at least 2 years prior to receiving child benefits.¹¹¹

In conclusion, the situation of Roma women in Ireland is complex; their economic conditions are dictated not only by external Irish social patterns but also by Roma cultural practices and preferences. As with mobile Irish, systems do not often accommodate different cultures or people who don't wish to enter the mainstream. The fact is that if minority groups in Ireland wish to be a part of the mainstream labour force they are required to receive the necessary training and language skills required to do so. I think it would be important to research what are the desires of Roma women in Ireland and to what extent they themselves wish to integrate into Irish society. From this, it could then be possible to move ahead with providing services and training to cater towards their specific needs and desires.

¹¹⁰ Van der Stoep, M. 2000 OSCE Report on the situation of Roma and Sinti in the OSCE Area, OSCE: The Hague, pp 8.

¹¹¹ Personal communication with Tanya Ward.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Socio-economically speaking, Roma women, along with the wider Roma community in Ireland, mostly fall into the category of the unemployed. For many reasons, socio-cultural, linguistic etc., the majority do not seek employment or training that could lead to employment. They are more hesitant than other immigrants in Ireland to integrate and learn English. There are structures that maintain the status quo and I would conclude that the primary one is their desire to maintain their culture and familial roles. Their history of discrimination consolidates their drive to maintain autonomy and this makes it difficult for trust to develop with service providers, educationalists, and the wider community in general. The best way to improve the socio-economic situation of Roma women in Ireland is not to try and change their culture or the roles women play within their communities, but to provide greater financial assistance and human resource support to the Roma-initiated Roma Support Group in Dublin. They have the vision to improve their economic situation and are in a greater position to understand and meet the needs of their own community.

Country Study Italy

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1. SITUATION OF ROMA IN ITALY

There is no specific literature on Roma and Sinti women in Italy. This specific category is usually treated inside more general literature on the Romani population, and in terms of traditional Roma/Sinti communities discussing women's status and role they play inside the family.

The lack of such literature parallels a lack of experts in this field - meaning that no particularly Roma-women-focused researchers operate in Italy. Some scholars have dedicated more space to gender issues among Italian Roma, but within the framework of more general studies not exclusively focused on this target group.

Consequently, the examination of conditions that Roma and Sinti women experience in Italy is not a simple enterprise: more than a bibliographical research, it requires an immediate investigation, and contact both with the target group and the people working with this population. These methodologies could offer insider knowledge into the conditions of Roma women in Italy.

When talking about the Romani population in Italy, a distinction must be drawn between Roma and Sinti on one hand, and Roma/Sinti groups who recently immigrated to Italy in the late 1960s, on the other. Finally, if the historical groups are Christian (with some subdivisions), both Muslims (majority) and Christians can be identified among Roma immigrants. It is necessary to bear in mind these distinctions since they entail different cultural, linguistic and socio-economic traditions.

The common and generalised feature characterising these communities as a whole, comes from the outside: they are all indiscriminately mixed up by the non-Roma people - Italians in this case - into the category of Zingari (Gypsies), which implies a series of generalised prejudices and stereotypes.

The demographic presence of the Romani population in Italy represents a highly disputable issue. As in many other countries, the demographic information is based on estimates. These sources estimate the presence of 110,000¹¹² Roma - "0.17% of the whole population" (Caritas di Roma Rapporto: 1999, pp.170), which represents "the lowest percentage in the whole Europe" (R. Dragutinovic: 2000, 8). Roma and Sinti of Italian nationality still compose the majority of the Romani population - approximately 70,000 people (cf. R. Dragutinovic: 2000, 8; Caritas di Roma Rapporto: 1999, pp.170); they are Italian citizens with access to all state structures and services. Eastern European Roma arrived approximately in the last 30 to 35 years, and managed to obtain the Italian citizenship with great difficulties. In addition, there are quite a high number of irregular Roma people as well (mostly among those who arrived in the last 5

¹¹² These figures have changed in the last few years: thus, some scholars and activists estimate that the number of Roma and Sinti living in Italy is between 130,000 and 150,000.

to 10 years). Nearly 40,000 Roma possess foreign citizenship; they came to Italy from various former-Yugoslavian territories, Romania and to a much lesser degree from Poland and Albania. Consequently, these Roma are still considered to be immigrants.

On the welfare and social security level, Italian Roma still find themselves in very precarious living conditions, although substantial differences exist among groups. In the Caritas Yearly Report on Disadvantage and Poverty in Rome, the Gypsies' situation falls under the "extreme cases of poverty" (Caritas di Roma Rapporto: 1999, pp.170-180). Actually, many of them are still highly dependent on social services and assistance. On this subject, several scholars and social actors accuse the absence of global national policies for neglecting this minority.

Nevertheless, the most problematic issue - and very specific for the Italian case - is the unresolved housing situation of many Roma, especially the "new" ones, who still inhabit *campi nomadi* (nomad camps) constructed for these people. Certain pseudoscientific conclusions led to the opinion that they preferred to reside in such habitats, given that it should represent conditions and prerequisites of their way of life. Inasmuch as various Roma groups perhaps never led a nomadic way of life, this accommodation proved to be completely unsuitable to its supposed users: in fact, it deeply affected their social invisibility and inclusion (housing, employment, schooling), reinforcing old prejudices and adding new ones. It complicates individual endeavours to find - or even to buy - a flat or a house; the same occurs with their search for employment.

2. THE SITUATION OF ROMA/SINTI IN THE ECONOMY

In spite of reigning hostility, Roma and Sinti succeeded in finding a certain balance in the social life of mainstream Italian society, especially within some economic activities. These activities are chiefly located in the rural regions of the country, but even its urban counterpart, when considering the circus and other shows performed by Sinti and some southern Italian Roma. Nowadays, most of the traditional trades have been abandoned or transformed into new forms of employment.

Sinti communities have traditionally been horse trainers, merry-go-round-keepers, circus artists and performers. Some of them are still present their circus shows (e.g. Orfei and Togni families) offering these games in their amusement parks. Nowadays, various Sinti families reside permanently in the northern and in some central Italian regions with stable amusement parks, circuses and artistic casts; some of them move inside and among neighbouring regions, according to the season or economic demand. Some Sinti artists became even internationally famous owing to their circus shows (e.g. Orfei family). Many Sinti do not pursue the trade of merry-go-round-keepers or circus artists any longer. Actually, some of them "transformed into scrap-merchants, secondhand car dealers or sellers of artificial bonsai." (Dragutinovic: 2000, p. 10). Some Sinti families finished in the camps and in the complete social marginalisation too. However, Sinti are enjoying better living conditions in comparison to other Gypsy groups.

South Italian Roma used to work primarily as blacksmiths and horse-breeders and dealers; they also used to sell old iron, repair agricultural tools, produce fishing-tools or small metal utensils, keep a horse butcher's shop, pursue itinerant retail trade, practice travelling show with ponies and player-pianos, and train little parrots in palmistry (e.g. Roma from Naples and surrounding provinces) (cf. Mattioli: 1989, p. 85; Dragutinovic:

2000, pp.8-9). They experienced good socio-economic interactions with the local (especially) rural population.

Trying to adapt themselves to new economic demands, Southern Roma abandoned their traditional occupations, transforming them into various precarious activities. Some of them still produce home made articles, some pursue the trade of a second-hand cars dealers; some families specialise in the bricklaying and in seasonal agricultural works, or working on their own plots of land (Mattioli: 1989, p.74). Although there exist examples of their positive integration in southern Italy, many Roma still experience disadvantaged living conditions. The Roma from Basilicata represent "the most integrated communities in the economy of the [Italian] South", whilst the Calabrian Roma "are certainly the poorest Roma of our country, not less than 2000 still live in shantytowns; in a particular way, in the area of Reggio Calabria and in the whole area of Catanzaro, the standard of living is the most precarious [...], compared, on the contrary, to a very good housing condition in the zone of Cosenza." (Dragutinovic: 2000, p.9).

The Balkan Vlax Romani groups (like *Kalderaša*, *Lovar(j)a*, *Čurar(j)a*) arrived after World War I, and used to lead a nomadic or semi-nomadic way of life, practising the activities of door-to-door services such as: metal repair, polishing and finishing touches of metal articles, producing metal and other goods, buying and selling old iron, while their women used to work as palmists. They abandoned these activities and today they are occupied with buying and selling old iron, old clothes, and retail trade in the local fairs, etc. Still, some *Kalderaša* groups are amongst the last nomads within the old trades in Italy. (Cf. Dragutinovic: 2000, pp.9-10; Mattioli: 1989, pp.74-85).

Some communities of Croatian and Slovenian Roma residing in the north eastern Italy still work as horse-keepers. In recent times, the Slovene and Istrian Roma have also been "occupied with dealing in scrap, second-hand cars, fruit and vegetables." (Mattioli: 1989, p.85).

Yugoslavian Romani groups (in Italy since the late 1960s), especially some Bosnian, Montenegrin and Herzegovinian groups have also been linked to the black smith trade, but almost all of them abandoned this activity too. Some of them work in clothing sales today.

Some Romanian Roma (*Roma Rudari* and *Rumuni*) are still "occupied with the retail trade and the production of wooden articles, and the women and children chiefly sell flowers." (Mattioli: 1989, p.75).

The semi-sedentary Camminanti Siciliani "are chiefly travelling retailers, grinders, seasonal agricultural labourers" (Mattioli: 1989, p.75), but some of them "still pursue the old trades of knife-grinder and umbrella repairer, maker and seller (*ombrellaio*), and the maintenance of gas cookers." (Dragutinovic: 2000, p.9).

Besides, in some of the Yugoslavian, Romanian and Albanian Roma groups, and recently among poor southern Italian Roma, begging represents the principal work activity. In these groups, beggars are almost exclusively women and small children, but it is possible to meet adult men begging as well. Neediness is not the only reason for begging: very often it is a consequence of unemployment or of the impossibility of finding a job (e.g. for lack of Italian language skills, or because of old age, etc.)

It is also possible to find talented musicians in some Romani communities, but they usually are not famous; such is the case among some southern Romani groups, and even more so of Romani bands originally from Romania, Macedonia, Kosovo and Serbia.

The disappearance of old Romani trades and crafts is another problem as a result of rampant industrialisation. The daily recession of space at disposal to pursue these trades, and, above all, the decreasing demand for the - material and spiritual -products offered by Roma and Sinti has led to many difficulties.

3. SOCIAL SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN

Romani women share both positive and negative conditions experienced by their families living within the above-exposed socio-economic frame. It is possible to confirm that Roma/Sinti are - broadly speaking - organised into patriarchal extended families; this feature already indicates the social status that the women occupy within the Romani community is still traditionally oriented, even if notable differences, of both cultural and socio-economic nature, can be identified among various groups. All these circumstances make the question of Romani condition a complex issue.

3.1 Status

Women are generally subordinated to the male members. Nevertheless, this condition cannot be generalised, or to put it better: it varies from one group to another, presenting different levels in different Romani communities. On the other hand, women occupy very important socio-economic positions in some communities: they are mothers, housekeepers, economically responsible members, and so on. Finally, their social significance rises with age: older women (meaning from the age of 30 onwards) are highly respected and their status is recognised in all the communities.

Many communities prefer endogamous marriage, both within their own group and with members of kin (socially, culturally, linguistically, territorially) communities. In any case, combined arranged marriages are still the rule in many communities, and the main factors between families are honour and wealth.

3.2 Education / schooling

In various Roma communities, the education levels reached by the girls are still quite low. In many cases, they abandon school before boys, and the latter usually achieve higher education levels as a result.

No specific school programmes exist for Romani girls, also specific programmes for Romani children within the Italian school system. These programmes - where existing - are almost exclusively conceived for and implemented with immigrant Romani children, aiming at school integration, first of all in terms of language support.

At any rate, there are a small number of educated Roma and Sinti women in Italy. These young women are also actively involved into the struggle for improving the socio-economic conditions of their people (see 6. Famous / Successful Romani Women).

4. THE SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN IN THE ECONOMY

4.1 Traditional image of the Romani woman

Let us start from a largely diffused, but unrealistic, image of Romani woman in Italy in order to deconstruct this representation. Historically, the *Zingara* (a 'Romani woman' in Italian) have been fortune-tellers or (perhaps in the more recent times) flamenco dancers (through the world-diffused image of Spanish *Gitanas*). Even if these would represent (at least in a common public opinion) some of traditional professions of Romani women in some countries, those living in Italy do not pursue these activities. Nevertheless, this image of them is widely fed by mass media, particularly by some TV programmes.

4.2 Sinti

As far as traditional-life activities or those regarded like this are concerned, Sinti women from families still working as horse trainers, merry-go-round-keepers, circus artists and performers, are also involved in these activities and some of them became very famous (see 6. Famous / Successful Romani Women). On the other hand, it is habitually forgotten that Roma and Sinti have never had any position within the socio-economic life of this country.

4.3 Housekeeping and domestic economy as the main economic field

As in other Romani communities, Italian Roma and Sinti women play important an role in housekeeping and the domestic economy. They are usually responsible for various matters pertaining to the house. Romani women are - in many cases - housewives, taking care of the household and children. This pattern is still alive in many communities and transmitted from mothers to their daughters. In addition, it is possible to state that - although all the domestic matters are also under the control of their husbands, i.e. male members of the family - the women enjoy a quite high level of autonomy in both internal and external family activities. Finally, they are also organised in various social networks through kinship and family relationships, which help them to manage their tasks and the questions they are obliged to deal with.

4.4 Begging

Roma women from the poorest families resort to beggary. They go begging both alone and with small children, but when this is really necessary (both for economic and security reasons), their husbands accompany them or go for begging on their own. Romani families, pursuing this activity are usually native to some ex-Yugoslav regions (especially Bosnia, and to a much lesser extent, Kosovo), and Romania; some of them came from the southern Italy. Poverty is the main factor for begging, and many families involved in this activity are ashamed for doing it. Still, some of them accept beggary as a real job, equal to any other, believing that it is better to go begging than to get involved in some illegal activities. One of the greatest problems, accompanying this activity is the generalised image of begging Romani women in the public opinion, which entails additional prejudices both on them and the whole Romani community.

5. PROGRAMMES AND POLICIES ADDRESSING SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF ROMANI WOMEN

This topic could be almost skipped, since specific programmes and policies aiming at the improvement of economic and social conditions of Roma/Sinti women are very scarce in Italy. First of all, no specific national policies exist. Secondly, there are many ideas, principally conceived by representatives of NGOs, but which almost always remain unrealised for various reasons, among which, financial aspects stand out as the most substantial. If such ideas are concluded successfully, it is a question of cultural mediation or group works, often in secondary economic sectors.

As for intercultural mediation, this activity is primarily organised and promoted for immigrant groups and some southern Italian Roma communities. Inter-cultural mediation is usually facilitated by male community representatives. Nevertheless, in some cases, women have been selected as potential (inter) cultural mediators. This engagement invites them to mediate between Roma (individual families or the whole community) and institutions of the mainstream society (often the school for school support activity). The Opera Nomadi Organisation from Milan, which established training courses for 16 women to become cultural go-betweens one recent example of women's mediation activity. Similar cases of female intercultural mediation have been done in Rome, Turin, and Florence.

5.1 Involvement in secondary economic sectors

Employed Romani women tend to work in secondary economic sectors. This means that the jobs they manage to find, either alone or through NGOs, social co-operatives and other organisations, range from street-cleaning (e.g. in Rome) the maintenance of *nomad camps* (i.e. Roma/Sinti settlements - activity implemented in various realities), to employment in factories, hotels, hospitals, restaurants, public kitchens, or handicrafts.

One of the most successful examples of Roma women's employment is in the case of Kimeta, sewing co-operative in Florence. This experience is the result of several years' activity and collaboration between Romani and Italian women from the 4th District of the city of Florence. In addition to the employment opportunity, this workshop offered the three remaining involved Romani women the chance to socialise with the surrounding society and escape from the monotony of the camps.

5.2 Self-employment

Finally, we do not know cases of self-employment among Roma and/or Sinti women, or specific projects addressing and encouraging this issue. In this sense, we do not consider cases of individual Roma or Sinti women who managed their own working life as an example to be generalised; for this very reason, this topic was postponed and dealt with in a separate chapter (cf. 6. Famous / successful Romani women).

5.3 Problem of racism and discrimination

At any rate, Romani women share the same problems as the whole community when looking for work and at the work place itself; they are frequently subjected to a lot of racism and discrimination. *Zingari* (It. for Roma and Sinti all together) are considered to be lazy, negligent, dirty, and criminal. This kind of prejudice largely affects their possibilities to find a job. The mass media plays a very important role in this field and they are often responsible for the negative image of Roma/Sinti in Italian public opinion. On the other hand, various NGOs, scholars and activists are involved in the struggle for combating this attitude: promoting and organising public conferences, seminars, sensitisation programmes, socio-economic and other projects, antiracist campaigns, demonstrations, and feasts; they try to support all the advantageous groups, among which the Romani population is always calculated, and the Romani women occupy a very material position. In the last years, some young female activists of Romani background have appeared in the public sphere (cf. 6. Famous / successful Romani women), which actually means further support to this struggle for emancipation.

5.4 Employment Barriers

In conclusion, Roma/Sinti women face the following major problems and difficulties when entering the labour market in Italy:

- distrust towards foreigners and racist attitudes to some ethnic/national groups, among whom Roma occupy the first place, in Italy as in many European countries;
- housing, materialised in the form of so-called *campi nomadi* (camps for nomads), representing the habitat that Roma/Sinti have been assigned in Italy to dwell in;
- educational and employment background and qualifications not recognised in Italy (as for immigrant Roma);
- various difficulties in attending and concluding training courses;
- difficulties in accessing information;
- problems with the Italian language (as for some immigrant Roma);
- involvement in more general programmes; and
- obstacles in developing autonomous economic activities.

6. FAMOUS / SUCCESSFUL ROMA WOMEN

More than specific projects geared towards Romani women, it is rather a question of some successful cases of Romani women who managed to achieve a better socio-economic status in this country, either on a local or national level. These successes are regarded as positive and beneficial for the whole community, and - since they present singular cases - these are often taken as examples of positive integration on the part of Romani women. Nevertheless, these examples are unknown outside the concerned or interested community or group of people dealing with this specific topic.

On the local level, there are some cases of Roma/Sinti women who have managed to improve their socio-economic conditions, who consequently have tried to help their community as well. There is a datum on a Romani woman working in the Mayor's secretariat in Melfi (Basilicata Region, southern Italy). This is one of the individual and very local examples of positive integration, often quoted in books and even newspapers as such.

Another field, where we find a famous Sinti woman, is in the circus business: we are talking about Moira Orfei, who likes defining herself "a successful Gypsy woman". As mentioned above, Orfei (along with Togni) are the most prominent circus artists, still performing their shows both in Italy and abroad. The Orfei family - under Moira's guide - is still travelling with their large circus tent, under which they exhibit their skills, arts, acrobatics, and animals. Moira and members of her artistic cast regularly appear in TV programmes on invitation of various channels and TV producers. Finally, Moira's figure is permanently present both on advertising posters and in the show, which makes her known to the people throughout the country and beyond its borders.

We find two women in the field of socio-political activism: Eva Rizzin (Sinti) and Alessandra Genovesi (Camminanti). Their involvement is aimed at improving the socio-economic status of the Romani population in the country, by denouncing cases of racism towards Roma/Sinti, reporting about inadequate social and life conditions, struggling for their rights and trying to make them involved in this struggle. They collaborate with local, national and international bodies (e.g. ERRC - European Roma Rights Centre), take part in working groups and projects, and try to promote "another" image of their people, proposing its less-known aspects to the mainstream society.

Eva Rizzin was born in Udine from a Sinti mother and Italian father. She completed her studies at the Faculty of Political Science (University of Trieste) having produced a thesis on her mother's community titled: "The Sinti Gačkane Eftawagaria. Manifold expressions of the Sinti community and culture". Among other experiences, Eva collaborated as a tutor in the Specialised Education Programme at MIB - School of Management. Currently, Eva is doing her PhD in Geo-politics and Geo-economics at the Department of Political Science (University of Trieste). A few weeks ago, Eva concluded her last experience: a stage at the European Parliament Offices of Livia Jaroka in Brussels. Eva is active in defending Roma and Sinti rights, by attending seminars, giving information through public interviews (radio, TV), trying to sensitise the citizens on real problems of the Romani population. Finally, Eva organised *La settimana di cultura romaní* (The week of the Romani culture) in Udine between 24 September to 1 October 2005. This was another important occasion where Roma/Sinti representatives and researchers operating in this field met to discuss various issues like: Romani culture, history, persecutions, labour integration, discrimination in the working place, school models, and housing questions.

Alessandra Genovesi, of Camminanti origin, was born in Siracusa. She is a linguist and researcher of Balkan history and traditions. Aside from Italian, Alessandra speaks English, Romani, and Serbian. In the last years, she has been living in Pisa and working with the local immigrant Roma native to some ex-Yugoslav regions, especially with those who came from Macedonia. During her staying in Pisa, Alessandra became a member of the Pisa-based *Associazione Comunità Europea Rom* (ACER - European Community Association of Roma), and of "*Teatro Roma*" (Roma Theatre) of Skopje. Since the last few years, she has been actively involved in peace studies and promotion of Roma and Sinti rights in Italy, through conferences, seminars, projects, sensitisation programmes, public demonstrations, and alike. Currently, Alessandra lives and operates in Serbia.

The engagement of these young women is extremely precious and should be further encouraged in order to foster both internal and external community changes which could lead the Romani population to better living conditions, and especially with regard to the patterns of their inclusion into the labour market. The fact that they are women will help the whole image of Roma/Sinti, and particularly the perception of their women and the interpretation of their status within the community.

SOME PRELIMINARY REMARKS:

Roma and Sinti are definitely the most discriminated minority and the most vulnerable group in Italy according to various EU and local reports on the Romani population in Italy. They experience daily various levels of discrimination, especially in the field of employment, housing and school.

Roma and Sinti are a historical linguistic and cultural minority in Italy, but they are not recognised as such by the pertaining national legislation (Law n. 482, 1999). This non-recognition of their minority status constitutes an aggravating circumstance for their further positive integration.

As far as the welfare and social security are concerned, numerous Italian Roma and Sinti still find themselves in very precarious life conditions, dwelling in so-called *campi nomadi* (camps for nomads), expressly constructed for these people. This (dwelling) condition affects their employment inclusion, school success and integration, as well as social and health status. In the Caritas annual Report on Disadvantage and Poverty in Rome, the Gypsies' situation is usually included under the "extreme cases of poverty" (Caritas di Roma Rapporto 1999, pp. 170-180).

Given their welfare and social conditions, many of them are still highly dependent on social services and assistance. On this subject, several scholars and social actors blame the absence of global national policies and usual approaches towards this minority.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

Concerning the previous points, there is a need for empowerment of the Romani community in Italy, which should be implemented through the following processes:

sensitisation information, including programmes and initiatives on problems and difficulties oppressing the Romani minority, and specifically Romani women, in Italy and abroad;

more intensive anti-discrimination programmes and anti-discrimination laws and regulations;

a better monitoring of discrimination actions against Roma and Sinti is absolutely needed in Italy (recently, there is a National Office for Racial Anti-discriminations in Rome);

a more realistic and precise national demographic survey of the Romani population and its specific conditions on all levels: social, cultural, linguistic, economic, housing, health, education, etc.;

specific research and reports on gender issues among Roma must be conducted in Italy; these should cover specific women's needs in all interested areas: socio-cultural, linguistic, economic, housing, health, education, and other aspects and conditions;

promotion of sensitisation programmes/information on gender issue and women's needs among Roma and Sinti - this a very sensitive issue which inevitably requires involvement of Romani workers;

given their vulnerability, Roma and Sinti should be involved in specific training and economic-inclusion programmes with particular attention to the needs of youth and women;

development of income-generating activities in order to facilitate the access of Roma, especially Roma women, to the labour market; and

encouragement of graduated Roma men and women to take an active part in this emancipation process of their people.

In the frame of all the suggested recommendations, Romani women should be given a specific priority in order to free them of their frequent social (and other) invisibility, in particular towards the external world. The Romani women should be involved in specific in-community and wider out-of-community initiatives:

Romani women from historical Italian Roma and Sinti communities should be further encouraged to participate in activities regarding linguistic and cultural minorities (despite the non-recognition of their minority status in Italy);

Romani women coming from immigrant Roma communities should be encouraged to take part in activities regarding:

- specific and general immigration issues,
- specific issues concerning Roma immigrants native to the Balkans (former Yugoslavia, Rumania, Albania), in order to help them better in their integration process.

LIST OF INTERVIEWS AND OPEN TALKS:

1. Baffé Giuseppina - Social worker, 4th District, Florence
2. Bejzak Adem (Kosovo Rom) - "Amalipé Romanó" Association, Olmatello Camp for nomads, Florence
3. Bellini Grazia - "Giufà" Literacy Centre, c/o Barsanti School, Florence
4. Berini Carlo - *SucarDrom* Association, Mantua
5. Chini Michele - "Giufà" Literacy Centre, c/o Barsanti School, Florence
6. Dibrani Vedat (Kosovo Rom) - "Amalipé Romanó" Association, cultural and linguistic mediator
7. Di Martino Laura - *ARCI*, Arcore / Trezzo sull'Adda
8. Ermanni Roberto - Regional Rom Project, *ARCI*, Florence
9. Etem Dževat (Macedonian Rom) - *A.C.E.R. (Associazione Comunità Europea di Rom, European Community Association of Roma)*, *Le città sottili* Programme, Pisa
10. Fantoni Sonia - Roma Theatre / Roma Project promoted by the "Teatro del Legame", Florence
11. Gabrieli Denis (Sinto) - "Sucar Drom" Association, Mantua
12. Genovesi Alessandra (Camminanti background) - linguist and researcher of Balkan history and traditions, member of *A.C.E.R. (Associazione Comunità Europea di Rom, European Community Association of Roma)*, Pisa
13. Giovagnoli Sergio - President of *ARCI-Solidarietà* Lazio Onlus, Rome
14. Grenga-Kuck Giovanna - Ministry, person in charge for Equal projects, the European Structural Form, and the Life Long Education, Rome

15. Guarnieri Nazzareno (Abruzzi Rom) - Cultural mediator, *Opera Nomadi* Abruzzo, Pescara
16. Mariotti Gina - Regional Rom Project, ARCI, Arezzo
17. Mustafa Demir (Macedonian Rom) - Regional Rom Project, ARCI and "Amalipé Romanó" Association, Florence
18. Omodeo Maria - *COSPE*, Florence
19. Pagani Maurizio - Vice-presidente of the *Opera Nomadi*, Milan
20. Pierini Daniela - Prefecture of Florence
21. Rizzin Eva (Sinti background) - PhD student at the University of Trieste
22. Rossi Ernesto - *Aven Amentza* Association, Milan
23. Virgili Aleramo - person in charge of the employment guidance counter for Roma, Sinti and Camminanti (Anagnina zone, Rome), initiative of *Opera Nomadi* Org. and *Phralipé* Co-operative, Rome

Group talks were done with workers of "Giufà" and "Gandhi" Literacy Centres (Centri d'Alfabetizzazione), Florence.

RomWom Country Study Hungary¹¹³

European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC)

1. THE GENERAL SITUATION OF ROMA IN THE COUNTRY

According to the 2001 census, 190,046 people identified themselves as Romani, or approximately 1.8% of the total population.¹¹⁴ Estimates put the number of Roma in the range of 550,000 to 600,000 or between 5.3% to 5.8% of the population.¹¹⁵

A major obstacle to measuring the socio-economic situation of Roma in Hungary and formulating adequate policies on social inclusion is attributed to the Hungarian government's failure to date to comprehensible generate data to the general public on the situation of Roma and other underprivileged groups; particularly, the fields such as education, healthcare, housing, social services and the criminal justice system.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ This document has been prepared by the European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) for the Berliner Institut für Vergleichende Sozialforschung Wissenschaftlicher, gemeinnütziger Verein Mitglied im Europäischen Migrationszentrum as part of the RomWom project on the basis of materials available to the ERRC concerning the situation of Romani women in Hungary. The document is intended solely as a summary overview of existing research for use by policy-makers and related practitioners and does not constitute a comprehensive policy statement on issues facing Romani women in Hungary. The ERRC is not responsible for the content of non-ERRC surveys cited.

¹¹⁴ Népszámlálás 2001, Központi statisztikai hivatal, 2002, pp. 9 -10.

¹¹⁵ The Roma ("Gypsies") of Hungary are comprised of a number of different sub-groups, many of which are so significantly different from each other that it is in many ways difficult to see what they have in common, other than the stigma of being regarded as "Gypsies". The most noticeable groupings are:

- (1) "Magyar Ciganyok" ("Hungarian Gypsies") comprising approximately 80% of the Roma/Gypsies in Hungary. Persons belonging to this group are also sometimes referred to as "Rumungro", although the Hungarian Gypsies frequently regard this as a pejorative term. The Hungarian Gypsies have historical ties to Hungary stretching back many centuries, and many aspects of 19th century Hungarian Romantic culture are directly linked to the Hungarian Gypsies (the "Csardas", the "Magyar Nota", the Gypsy band with cimbalom, violin, double-bass, etc.). Very few of the Hungarian Gypsies today speak a home language different from Hungarian, and it appears that at sometime probably during the 20th century there was a consensus that speaking Romani hindered integration (the "Rumungro" Carpathian dialect of Romani is however still spoken outside Hungary's borders, in Slovakia, Transcarpathian Ukraine, Transylvania, and elsewhere).
- (2) The "Vlach Roma", comprising a number of subgroups, the most prominent/dominant of which in Hungary is the Lovara ("Horse-selling Roma"). These are the most prominent Romani speakers in Hungary. Many/most probably immigrated to Hungary in the late 19th century or early 20th century from Romania ("Vlach Roma" being a linguistic categorisation for persons whose dialects link them to historic Romania). These families also include other "Vlach Roma" groups, such as Churari, Mashari and others, but in Hungary the Lovara identity tends to assimilate these persons into the Lovara group.
- (3) The "Beash Gypsies" or "Beash Roma" or just "Beash": These persons live in a number of distinct rural and urban communities. They tend to speak archaic Romanian as a home-language. Theory has it that they were assimilated in Romania, undertaking a number of traditional crafts in Romania (mainly woodcraft and possibly gold-washing), and that they then dispersed throughout the Balkans (groups presumed related to the Beash elsewhere in the Balkans include the Karavlach (Bosnia and elsewhere), Rudara (Bulgaria), Kashtela (Macedonia, Romania) and others).

Other groups found in smaller numbers in Hungary include Kalderash Roma, Sinti Roma, and there are a number of speakers of the "Hungarian Vend" Romani dialect as well.

¹¹⁶ The Hungarian Joint Memorandum of Social Inclusion (JIM) explains at length problems related to the ethnic data collection concerning the Roma population. Joint Memorandum of Social Inclusion on Hungary,

1.1 Unemployment and poverty

According to a 2003 representative study, 28.1% of Roma men and 15.1% of Roma women were categorised as employed. Of those between the ages of 15 and 74, the figure is 21.3% in comparison to the national average of 56.3%.¹¹⁷ Data on poverty rates by ethnicity was provided by the Hungarian government in their Joint Memorandum of Social Inclusion as follows¹¹⁸:

	2000/2001			1999/2000		
	50% of median	50% of median	Upper limit of bottom quintile	50% of median	50% of median	Upper limit of bottom quintile
Roma	61.3	68.0	75.3	53.9	64.5	85.2
Non-Roma	6.1	9.9	17.8	5.2	9.5	17.0

According to a 2000 World Bank Report, 53% of all Roma households live in long-term poverty, whereas the figures for the general population rest at 7.5%.¹¹⁹ In 2001, 83% of the poor Roma families lived in long-term poverty, whereas this proportion is 39% among the non-Roma.¹²⁰ Among children taken out of their families and placed under child-protection care, the children coming from Roma families are over-represented, and in the northern and eastern counties of the country their proportion is as high as 80% to 90%.¹²¹

1.2 Access to education

Education of Roma is characterised by widespread segregation on racial grounds.

As elsewhere in central and eastern Europe, Hungary's system of remedial special schools for children with developmental disabilities has been used as a repository for Romani children whom the regular primary schools could not or did not want to educate. Official statistics from 1993 - the last year in which the state collected ethnically based data¹²² - reveal that almost half of all children following the remedial special school programme were Roma. Follow-up research indicates that the overrepresentation of Roma children over the following years remained stable.¹²³

Brussels, 18 December 2003, p. 11, available at:

http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/social_inclusion/docs/hu_jim_en.pdf.

¹¹⁷ Kemény István-Janky Béla: Representative Research on Hungarian Roma, (2003). Report of the Roma Affairs Interdepartmental Standing Committee, National and Ethnic Minority Office, (2003).

¹¹⁸ Joint Memorandum of Social Inclusion on Hungary, p. 71.

¹²⁰ Poverty Assessment Report of the World Bank, 2000.

¹²⁰ Szalai Júlia: *A rászorultság-elvű szociálpolitika és a szegények*, Budapest, ATA, 2001 ¹²¹ Joint Memorandum of Social Inclusion on Hungary, p. 11.

¹²² Official data on the education of Roma students existed until 1993. The data protection law that came into effect at that time, in 1993, banned the collection of such data.

¹²³ See Babusik, Ferenc. *Survey of Elementary Schools Educating Romani Children*. Delphoi Consulting,

Furthermore, the Hungarian JIM specifies that, "On the basis of sociological surveys, there are approximately 700 schools in which Roma children are segregated in education (studying in separate classes)."¹²⁴ ERRC has documented various types of school segregation of Roma, described in detail in the report "Stigmata: Segregated Schooling of Roma in Central and Eastern Europe".¹²⁵

Existing data also indicates high discrepancies between Roma and non-Roma in terms of levels education. Whereas 83.6% of the Roma population between 18 to 74 years old has obtained at most, a primary school education, the percentage for the total population is 27.9%; 94% of Roma children finish primary school, 85% of whom continue their studies at the secondary level. The proportion of people with a university education is only 1% among the Roma, whereas it is 13.5% among the total population.¹²⁶

1.3 Access to health

According to a recent research by Delphoi Consulting¹²⁷, nearly 17% of the total Roma population lives in settlements where there is no general doctor. According to the findings of this research, structural poverty plays the main role depriving most Roma from the chance to live a healthy life. Certain types of sicknesses are more characteristic for poorer families, but because of poverty they cannot afford to spend money on the necessary drugs. Also the research found that 20% of Roma reported the refusal of an ambulance coming on call. The denial of visitations by an ambulance during night duty affects children and adults at the same ratio. 40% of the Roma who live in crowded, segregated settlements experienced the denial of an ambulance visit. When asked about discrimination experienced in hospitals and other health care institutions, 25% reported having faced discrimination; the percent by general practitioners went up to 44.5%.

There are key medical services not covered by state-provided health insurance, such as dental treatment. The disadvantaged situation of the Roma is most evident in this field. Where poor Roma cannot pay for treatment, they often take painkillers to stop short-term pain and then require large-scale dental interventions when dental issues become aggravated.¹²⁸

1.4 Access to housing

Forced evictions, racial segregation and refusal to allocate social housing for Roma are practices that dramatically worsen the housing situation of Roma, besides their generally poor financial situation. According to the World Bank, 54.9% of Romani households in Hungary do not have access to hot running water, 34.7 % do not have

2000, at: <http://www.delphoi.hu/aktual.htm>.

¹²⁴ Joint Memorandum of Social Inclusion on Hungary, p. 11.

¹²⁵ Available at: <http://www.errc.org/db/00/04/m00000004.pdf>.

¹²⁶ Joint Memorandum of Social Inclusion on Hungary, p. 11.

¹²⁷ Delphoi Consulting. *Differences in Access to Basic Health Services. Structure, Equal Chances, Prejudices*. Budapest, 2004.¹²⁸

¹²⁸ Ibid.

access to cold running water. More than half of the houses do not have indoor toilets and 13.2% have one or more members sleeping on earthen floors in their homes.¹²⁹ A study in 2000 found that 20% of the Roma population (100,000 people) lived in segregated settlements, while for 1993 to 1994 that percentage was 13.9%.¹³⁰

Roma are particularly affected by forced evictions for a number of reasons, including raw racial discrimination. According to one study monitoring the Hungarian media during the period January 1, 2003 and November 1, 2003, in 55% of all eviction or threatened eviction cases reported, the victims were identified as Romani, although Roma account for probably around 6% of the total population of Hungary.¹³¹

In recent years, Roma in Hungary have often been blocked from accessing social housing, despite manifest need. Often, local governments place arbitrary conditions on eligibility for housing assistance, with the effect that Roma do not qualify to receive public housing, including social housing.

¹²⁹ See Revenga, A., Ringold, D., and Tracy W.M., "Poverty and Ethnicity: A Cross-Country Study of Roma Poverty in Central Europe". In Ringold, D., Orenstein, Mitchell A., and Wilkens, Erika. *Roma in an Expanding Europe: Breaking the Poverty Cycle*. The World Bank: Washington, D.C. 2003, p. 34.

¹³⁰ Joint Memorandum of Social Inclusion on Hungary, p. 14.

^B Data from the European Parliament's Country Profile on Hungary. Available at: http://www.europarl.eu.int/enlargement_new/applicants/pdf/hungary_profile_en.pdf.

2. THE SITUATION OF ROMA IN THE ECONOMY AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS

A 2004 study by Gabor Kertesi, analyses the development of the employment prospects of the Hungarian Roma population between 1984 and 1994. It concludes that the employment of working age Roma:¹³²

- fell from 75% to 30% in ten years;
- was characterised by high inflow and outflow rates, and the emergence of an employment pattern with unstable employment and short employment spells;
- became less stable since Romani persons who held on had to give up the hopes of a long-term employment relationship; and
- caused social disintegration of those with a job due to instability.

The available data on the types of work of employed Roma includes the following details:

- 71% of those who are employed have regular, year-long employment;
- for a further 19%, employment ensures several weeks or months of work per year, while 10% work only on occasion;
- based on the responses, 77.5% of work legally, and the rest work illegally;
- 6% of men between the ages of 15 and 74 have regular, full-time (40 hours per week) jobs. Among women this number is 10%;
- 17% of employed Roma work as assistants or apprentices;
- 22% of Roma work as skilled workers, or skilled blue-collar workers; and
- only 8% have white collar jobs or work as members of a uniformed corporation.

Major reasons for the overrepresentation of Roma among the unemployed population include:

- direct racial discrimination burdens the labour market. Extreme under-documentation in this area is currently being remedied via a project supported by the European Union's Community Action Programme to Combat Discrimination, with results expected in early 2006;
- lower levels of education than the average population;

¹³² Kertesi (2004) *The Employment of the Roma - Evidence from Hungary*: Institute of Economics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (IE/HAS): Budapest, available at: <http://www.eldis.org/static/DOC17174.htm>.

- unfavourable geographic distribution in terms of job market: Regional differences are considerable - the percentage of difference between the strongest job market of central Hungary and the weakest of northern Hungary went from 4.2 percentage points in 2001 to 4.9 percentage points in 2002. The three least favourable regions in terms of job market are northern Hungary, southern Transdanubia and the northern lowlands, which are the regions where most Roma live; and
- prior to the transition, Roma worked in trades that became superfluous during the 1990s: mining, metalwork, and machine manufacturing. The other two typical employment sectors for Roma prior to the transition include agriculture, which is plagued by a recession to this day, and construction, an industry that was in a serious crisis until the middle of the decade.

An ERRC pilot research project in May-June 2005, among 80 Roma from Budapest, Eger and Miskolc, identified the following:

- 33% of all respondents reported no discrimination during job seeking;
- 7.5% were personally told that they could not be employed due to their ethnic roots;
- 10% found that despite their similar or better qualifications, not them but non-Roma people were chosen by the employers after the interview;
- 35% observed that in spite of the preliminary promise (they were often encouraged with the hope of immediate employment during the phone call); during the interview itself it turned out to be that there was "no way" to employ them; and
- 14.5% reported that other methods were used (by the employers with the implicit consent from a Labour Centre) to prevent them from finding a job.

Sociological surveys indicate that the income situation of the Roma has declined in the years of transition to a market economy.¹³³ According to the Hungarian research institute TÁRKI data the income disadvantage of the Roma population in the early 1990s was threefold: per capita income was HUF 32,000 (approximately Euro 131.6) for the whole population and HUF 10,500 (approximately Euro 42.8) for the Roma population.

According to the 2002 UNDP report *The Roma in Central and Eastern Europe: Avoiding the Dependency Trap. A Regional Human Development Report*, "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% (compared to 13% for the non-Roma population). The 57,000 Roma who were registered as unemployed constituted 9% of the total registered unemployed. According to a survey conducted by NEO-Autonómia 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% to 17% of the total number of unemployed, only 8% of those receiving unemployment benefits were Roma. This imbalance probably reflects the long-term

¹³³ TARKI Tarsadalmi Monitor, 1998.

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%, while Roma comprised 14% of 'unassisted registered unemployed' group. The survey also indicated that Roma were over-represented in the group participating in various public works programmes: 14% of those involved in large public works projects, and 19% 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 to 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."¹³⁴

¹³⁴ Information 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)". Source: UNDP. *The Roma in Central and Eastern Europe: Avoiding the Dependency Trap. A Regional Human Development Report*, 2002, available at: <http://roma.undp.sk/>.

3. THE GENERAL SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN

Various aspects of the situation of Romani women in Hungary are presented below based on recent research: a representative survey by Delphoi Consulting conducted in 1998 and 1999 containing predictions up to the year 2005 reveals the following¹³⁵:

3.1 Education

While 42% of those Roma women who do not have children finished secondary school, 25.8% of those with children did not finish elementary school (women between the age of 19 and 34). Lack of children strongly influences the chance to continue studying after elementary school.

3.2 Economic activity

2.4% of Roma women only study, 18.4% work actively, 33.9% are unemployed, 26% live on social aid (maternity leave mainly), 5% are retired and 14.3% are retired for health reasons. The differences in economic activity according to sex are big until the age when the researched people's children reach adulthood: the higher inactivity among women under 49 is due to their childrearing responsibilities, especially between 19 and 34.

3.3 Economic activity according to education

The degree of completed schools is in accordance with the degree of employment among Roma women and men as well, however, the employment of women (36.9% with secondary education) compared to that of men (47.7% with secondary education) is lower. The difference in activity between the sexes, thus, basically results from child rearing and household duties among women, however, the effects of education are significant as well. Women with a higher level of education are less likely to be "employed" in the household. Unemployment, nevertheless, is much higher among women who completed secondary school (35%) than men (16%).

3.4 Economic activity and families

61.7% of the Roma population is married or lives in cohabitation. The rate of unemployment among married men (45.7%) is higher and among married women (29.1%) is lower than the representative average according to sex (38.1% and 33.9% respectively). The highest is the percentage of those families, in which husbands are

¹³⁵ Babusik, Ferenc. 2005. Az esélyegyenlőség Korlátai Magyarországon - Státusz, Etnicitás, Kirekesztődés az Egészségügyben és a Szociális Szférában (The Limits of Equal opportunities in Hungary - Status, Ethnicity, Exclusion in Healthcare and the Social Sphere). L'Harmattan: Budapest.

unemployed and wives work in the household (19.8%). The second most common situation is where both husband and wife are unemployed (16%).

3.5 Access to health care

The research states that the access is defined by two important factors: poverty and "otherness". Most Roma find that they cannot discuss the problem of costs with their GP as the process of providing prescriptions from the GP's side is a "socially insensitive" one. There is no use of contraceptives among 15.5% of Roma women due to a lack of money. Access to healthcare is problematic: poor Roma have fewer opportunities - the roots of the unequal opportunities are financial. The author states that there is a need for social aid in abortion and access to contraceptives.

A 1997 empirical research study focused on the relationship between pregnant Romani women and the authorities set up to provide health care services.¹³⁶ The research questioned why Hungarian health care services fail to act more efficiently in such cases that result in the poor state of health among the Romani population. Furthermore, what hinders the success of this service? The hypothesis is that there is some disturbance in the relationship between Roma women and the relevant service providers. Instead of equality, which stresses integration, segregation and marginalisation is enhanced in the client-authority relationship. The research was conducted through interviews with Romani women from four groups of Roma ("oláh", "beás", "romungro", and urban Romani women from Budapest) - 20 women from each group. Health workers who provide service for Romani women (midwives, GPs, etc.) were also interviewed. The interviewees were asked about their opinion on their own group and on the other groups as well. The findings show (as suggested by the title of the research) that although the respondents provided answers to the same questions, their responses differed depending on the group to which the respondent belonged to - the group of Romani women or the health workers. Health workers tended to depict Roma women as savage or women of "nature" and lacking "appropriate" knowledge (about sexuality, childcare etc.). The author argues that the lack of knowledge is only partially true: first of all, it is not less than any other group of non-Romani women with a similar education. Secondly, the difference in knowledge is due to living Romani traditions. The word "prejudice" was articulated very often throughout the interviews by both sides. Despite the fact that the Romani women interviewees belonged to four different Romani groups, the findings show that they were treated similarly, as the "Other".

A study based on the data provided by the Hungarian Central Office of Statistics (KSH) and a national representative study on Roma conducted by István Kemény in 2003 focused on how childbirth customs among Romani women has adapted itself to the improved possibilities in the field of education and the labour market.¹³⁷ The author argued that Roma reacted considerably slower to the changed expectations of the labour market since the end of state socialism than non-Roma people. This is due to the old traditions of difference in fertility patterns between Roma and non-Roma people (with much higher number of children in Romani

¹³⁶ Neményi, Mária. "'Two Different Worlds'. Gypsy Mothers and the Hungarian Public Health". In *Beszélő* 1998(2): 53-64.

¹³⁷ Janky, Béla. The Timing of Childbirth among Gypsy Women (A gyermekvállalás időzítése a cigány nők körében). At <http://beszelo.c3.hu/05/01/11janky.htm> Accessed on 25th 09 2005.

families) and the exclusion of Roma from the labour market. Thus, while the birth of the first child among non-Roma women has been "put off" by four to five years (for reasons of education and employment) there has been no considerable change among Romani women. However, this result could be due to the fact that within some Roma groups the birth of the first child has come to an earlier age (16-18) and some groups have started to follow the patterns of the majority, that is, have started to give birth later.

Throughout 2003, the European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) conducted field research aimed at documenting practices of discrimination against Romani women within the health care sector in Hungary. The research focused on Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, Hajdú-Bihar and Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén counties. Based on the interviews with 131 women, the ERRC documented the following:

- 44 cases of so called "Gypsy rooms", i.e. segregated maternity wards;
- 30 cases raising concerns about negligent treatment of Romani women by medical professionals;
- 22 cases of verbal abuse;
- 16 cases in which Romani women were provided with health care services by medical professionals whose level of qualification was apparently lower than required by the condition of the patient, (i.e. nurses were involved in providing health care services expected from doctors); and
- 31 cases involving the practice of "paid doctors" - informal supplementary fees required by doctors in order to expedite care, or for the provision of service above the minimum standard.¹³⁸

3.6 Participation in Public Affairs

Although Roma and Romani women in particular are generally underrepresented in public life in Hungary in comparison to other CEE countries, the Hungarian political elite has demonstrated political will to integrate Roma in policy- and decision-making processes by placing Romani individuals, including women, in decision-making positions in government as well as in the EU Parliament. For example, the only two MEPs who identify themselves as Romani are currently two Romani women from Hungary - Lívía Járóka and Victória Mohácsi. In addition, Romani women in Hungary are active in a number of non-governmental organisations, some of them focusing especially on women's rights issues such as the Budapest-based Roma Women in Public Life, the Pec-based Aranjs and others.

¹³⁸ See Rita Izsak, "Gypsy Rooms" and Other Discriminatory Treatment Against Romani Women in Hungarian Hospitals". In European Roma Rights Centre. *Roma Rights Quarterly Journal* 3-4, 2004, at: <http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=2063&archiv=1>.

4. THE SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN IN THE ECONOMY

The following tables were provided by the Hungarian government in their Joint Memorandum of Social Inclusion and are based on the National Roma survey from 1993 to 1994, led by István Kemény, Gábor Havas and Gábor Kertesi, published by the Hungarian Academy of Science, Institute of Sociology and Institute of Economics. Presumably, the figures do not reflect various informal income-generating activities. The ERRC is unaware of research assessing the involvement of Romani men and women in informal economic activities.

Rate of Employment Among Roma Men

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Age	Total Population	Roma
15-19	12.9	17.7
20-29	68	35
30-54	76.9	33.8
55-59	43.1	15.4
Total:	63.4	30.8

Rate of Employment Among Roma Women¹⁴⁰

Age	Total Population	Roma
15-19	12.1	12.8
20-29	70.1	15.6
30-54	73.1	20.2
Total:	63.1	17.5

Another survey details on Roma employment patterns based on the responses to the question - Do you have regularly paid work? - including reference to regional variation(s), urban/rural contrasts, identifiable trends and gender:

¹³⁹ Joint Memorandum of Social Inclusion on Hungary, pp. 70-71. Ibid.

Responses by percent according to gender and settlement type:

Men	Village	City	Budapest	Total
No	69.9	60.0	20.7	60.5
Yes	20.4	28.4	66.2	28.6
Student	9.7	11.6	13.1	11.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Women				
No	78.1	74.0	53.6	73.4
Yes	10.0	16.6	35.9	16.1
Student	11.9	9.4	10.5	10.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: Kemény István-Janky Béla: Representative Research on Hungarian Roma, (2003); Report of the Roma Affairs Interdepartmental Standing Committee, National and Ethnic Minority Office, (2003).

5. INFORMATION ON PROGRAMMES AND POLICIES AIMING TOWARDS IMPROVEMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION OF ROMANI WOMEN

The following is a review of some labour market programmes for the Roma.¹⁴¹

NGO initiatives:

The labour market programmes back up NGOs outside Budapest, the adapted "Western" techniques are charity and creating endowments for development. Help is not only provided through money but by adapting to the local needs, programmes are started with the involvement of the local community. The aims were empowerment and poverty alleviation.

Governmental initiatives:

Endowments: Magyarországi Cigányokért Közalapítvány (National Endowment for Gypsies in Hungary); Országos Foglalkoztatási Közalapítvány (focuses on employment).

Government-supported programmes for the reintegration of Roma in the labour market include public work and re-training programmes. Labour market programmes aimed at Roma cover mainly two fields: agriculture and public work. Most of these programmes are not specifically aimed at Roma but Roma are their primary beneficiaries. According to various assessments, these programmes lack sustainability and are ineffective insofar as the majority of people participating in them are unable to reintegrate in the labour market.

The majority of training schemes offer skills that are of no market value is a major concern. Another major flaw of the employment training system is that it does not support the acquisition of elementary school qualifications.

¹⁴¹ Lukács, György Róbert. 2005. "Roma Labor Market Programs and their Environments (Roma munkaerő-piaci programok és környezetük)". In Mária Neményi and Júlia Szalai (eds.) *Kisebbségek kisebbsége - A magyarországi cigányok emberi és politikai jogai*. Budapest: Új Mandátum. 94-127.

Roma Employment and Training Programmes on County Level in 2002:

Programme	Number of Roma participants	Expenditure (thousands HUF)
Community work	12,472	1,740,625
Communal work	4158	n/a
Training	2566	255,305
Wage support	608	169,630
<i>Járulékok átvállalása</i>	1295	92,957
Mobility support	159	9,341
Skill diversification support	155	36,375
Work experience	331	95,585
Complex programmes targeting Roma	3335	460,584
Mentors	1371	47,200
Assistant teacher programmes	132	27,586
Support for independent entrepreneurs	16	n/a

Source: Report of County Employment Centres to the Roma Affairs Interdepartmental Standing Committee Directorship of the FMM Equal Opportunity on 2002 Programmes (January 2003).

Several programmes have been organised in the recent past that addressed "traditional Roma trades". These programmes (such as broom-making) offer little possibility for further employment, and are founded on a degrading and stereotypical images of the Roma.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- In close cooperation with Romani non-governmental organisations and other stakeholders, taking as a basis existing relevant data, systematically collect and make available in a readily-comprehensible form to the public data disaggregated by sex and ethnicity in relevant areas to the social inclusion of Romani women;
- Undertake comprehensive research on the multiple forms of discrimination faced by vulnerable groups of women, especially Romani women, in order to improve their socio-economic status and to ensure their access to education and health as preconditions for employment;
- Ensure that all existing laws and policies - as well as future laws and policies - for gender equality include provisions for preventing and addressing the multiple barriers female members of minority groups face in exercising their fundamental human rights;
- Developing and implementing policies aimed at addressing the inferior status and discrimination faced by Romani women should be accompanied by direct dialogue and cooperation with Romani women and organisations that have the relevant knowledge and expertise to the policies under consideration;
- Adopt and implement measures, including but not necessarily limited to codes of conduct and job performance reviews for the prevention of discriminatory and degrading treatment of Romani women by public officials, including teachers, doctors, medical personnel and police officers and other law enforcement officials;
- Undertake legal and other measures as appropriate to ensure enforcement of government school desegregation policies at local level; monitor and assess the effectiveness of the measures adopted to end school segregation of Roma and prioritise such measures in future policymaking;
- Introduce legislation obliging employers - public and private - to undertake a review of the ethnic composition of their workforce and thereafter record, monitor and annually report the information as well as to undertake measures to ensure an ethnically diverse workforce and a workplace free of discrimination;
- Ensure that employers adopt plans for equal chances as a tool for the integration of disadvantaged groups pursuant to Article 70/A of the Hungarian Labour Code and Article 22 of the Hungarian Act on Equal Treatment and the Promotion of Equal Opportunities;
- Implement active labour market programmes targeting specifically the Romani minority in place of currently implemented public work programmes, which have failed to achieve the goal of integrating Roma in the labour market;
- Implement vocational education programmes in marketable professions for Romani women, including women who have not finished primary school, in order to improve work opportunities for these vulnerable groups. Such programmes should be free of charge;

- Proactively seek Romani teachers, and particularly Romani women, for employment both in mainstream schools and in schools with significant number of Romani children;
- Take all necessary steps, policy and financial, to improve the housing conditions of Romani families which have a detrimental impact on the health of Romani women and children;
- Immediately end all policies and practices of the forced eviction of Roma and provide remedy to victims, in accordance with Hungary's international legal obligations. There is an urgent need for Hungary to provide protection against arbitrary evictions in particular by (a) bringing domestic law into conformity with the international housing rights acquisition and (b) providing policy measures to address the current crisis brought on by high numbers of arbitrary forced evictions in recent years; and
- Ensure regular monitoring of health care facilities, in particular hospitals and maternity wards, to prevent segregation and other discrimination of Roma and Romani women and impose sanctions where such illegal practices have occurred.

Country Study Austria*

1. General Overview

The situation of Roma currently living in Austria is far from homogenous. There is a distinction between Roma as an autochthonous Austrian ethnic minority and those who have settled in Austria in more recent times and represent an allochthonous minority. The former are survivors and descendants of the victims of the Holocaust. The Burgenland-Roma, the Sinti and the Lovara that came to Austria between the 18th and 19th century constitute this autochthonous minority. After 1945 they settled mainly in Burgenland (where most of them came from), but also in other regions and in the urban areas of Vienna, Salzburg and Linz. After having been institutionally neglected for decades, they became an officially recognised ethnic minority (*Volksgruppe*) in 1993. This recognition is based on a law from 1976, the *Volksgruppengesetz* (VGG), which establishes a clear link between an ethnic minority and its prolonged presence on (a particular part of) Austrian soil. The VGG does not quantify the time-span that entitles a minority to be recognized as member of a *Volksgruppe*. However, in practice the law has always been interpreted in a restrictive sense, requiring residence for at least three generations. At present, these "Austrian Roma" represent approximately 5,000 out of the total number of Roma living in Austria, currently estimated to be at least 25,000.¹⁴²

The remaining groups of Roma have come to Austria for different reasons over the past decades, and have settled in the metropolitan area of Vienna as well as in other regions. In 1956, following the uprising in Budapest, a small number of Lovara fled Hungary, and settled almost exclusively in and around Vienna. Larger groups of Roma came to Austria to work as migrant workers (*Gastarbeiter*) in the 1960s: the Kalderas and Gurbet came from Serbia, while the Arlije moved from Macedonia. A final wave of Roma migrated to Austria towards the end of the 1980s, after the fall of communism. These people came from the central and eastern European countries, as well as from the former Yugoslavia. This last group of Roma is arguably even less well known than the others, and only speculations can be made as to its demographic makeup. Some experts estimate that these persons represent the largest among the Roma groups, raising the total number of Roma to at least 40,000.¹⁴³ Most of the Roma who immigrated since 1945 settled chiefly in the metropolitan area of Vienna. Those that arrived last, as well as many Sinti, can also be found in other urban areas of the Republic, but mainly to the East. At present, only the Burgenland-Roma are thought to be living in rural and less densely populated areas. Within this group, a strong migratory trend has led many to move to Vienna and other Austrian cities. These individuals, however, assimilated into the majority population, and often do not regard themselves as Roma.

In addition to country of origin and date of arrival, social and cultural characteristics also distinguish different groups of Roma. For instance, the single Roma groups have usually adopted the religion of their respective majority populations. As a consequence, the autochthonous Burgenland-Roma and Lovara are Roman Catholic, while immigrants from the Balkan region have maintained the faith from their countries of

* This report has been written by Thomas Leoni in collaboration with Gudrun Biffl and Julia Bock-Schappelwein. It is based on the following previously published articles: *Biffl et al.* (2005); *Leoni* (2004A and 2004B). The material has been augmented by new information based on the Population Census of 2001.

¹⁴² *Halwachs et al.* (2001).

¹⁴³ *Halwachs et al.* (2001).

origin: the Gurbets and Kalderas are orthodox, while the Arlijes are Muslim. Among the Sinti, there are both Catholics and Protestants - which probably due to the fact that some of them came to Austria from Germany.¹⁴⁴ In linguistic terms, the Roma population presents a high degree of diversity. Romanés comprises a bundle of dialects, which in some cases significantly differ from each other. This linguistic diversity and the lack of a unitary standard reflect the fact that the Roma were never able to build the cultural and institutional centres that are necessary to achieve the standardisation of a language. According to the present state of research, it is possible to distinguish between four Romanés variants. The Lovara, Kalderas and Gurbet all speak so-called Vlach-dialects that have been heavily influenced by Slavic languages. The Burgenland-Roma and the Sinti speak a Romanés that is more influenced by German, while the Arlijes speak dialects that can be connected to the Balkan area.

In spite of these differences, Roma in Austria are also characterised by common features. In general terms, the whole Roma population is very young when compared with the rest of the Austrian population.¹⁴⁵ A high percentage of Roma is below 45 years old, on the other hand the share of individuals aged over 50 is far below the Austrian average (see Annex, Graph 1). Whereas there is a considerable difference between the Roma and the remaining Austrian population, a comparison with the group of foreigners coming from former Yugoslavia presents strong similarities. These similarities result from the fact that numerous Roma came to Austria as migrant workers during the 1960s and 1970s. Most of these people were in their twenties when they migrated, and it is therefore not surprising that they lack cohorts of persons aged over 50.

The different groups of Roma in Austria are also united by common problems and challenges confronting them. One aspect is related to their social and cultural exclusion, highlighted by the reluctance of individuals to be identified as Roma. In the 1991 Austrian census less than 150 persons stated that they speak Romanés. In 2001, the number of people willing to identify themselves as Romanés speakers increased to 6,273 (4,348 of them with Austrian citizenship). This increase is the result of a composite effect: on the one hand, it is connected to the recognition of the Austrian Roma as an ethnic group; on the other hand it is the result of an influx of Roma into Austria during the 1990s as a consequence of the civil war in the former Yugoslavia.¹⁴⁶ This multi-dimensional explanation reflects the complexity and heterogeneity of the situation of Roma in Austria. This said, the number of Romanés speakers constitutes an under-representation of Roma in the official statistics and is a clear indication of a persistent identity issue.

¹⁴⁴ Halwachs et al. (2001).

¹⁴⁵ This statement is based on calculations made with data from the official census (*Volkszählung*) of 2001. The dataset contains information for the 6,273 persons who have declared to speak Romanés. In spite of the under-representation of Roma in this official statistic, the data constitute the only comprehensive source of information reflecting the situation of Roma living on the whole Austrian territory. Hence, data from the 2001 census will be used throughout this report to analyse the overall situation of Roma in Austria.

¹⁴⁶ Anecdotal evidence indicates that a number of Roma have been forced to leave their country of origin as a consequence of ethnic cleansing.

2. Roma and their role in the economy

The economic situation of Roma can best be described in light of their position on the Austrian labour market. During past centuries, Roma have been able to find socio-economic niches and to define their contribution to society through trades and handcrafts that constituted their traditional occupations (e.g. working as blacksmiths, horse traders, musicians). Even during the initial phases of the industrial revolution, when thriving cities existed along rural areas, they were able to secure their economic autonomy, especially in the countryside. However, by the onset of the Second World War the importance of the traditional occupations pursued by Roma had already declined. This development continued during the 1950s and 1960s. In addition, as a result of the demise of whole generations, a large share of these techniques and skills had died with them in the concentration camps.¹⁴⁷

This historical background is particularly relevant for the autochthonous Roma minority, and goes a long way to explain their present day situation. Data collected through the applications for support from the "Victim Assistance Act" (*Opferfürsorgegesetz*, OFG) show that in the decades after the war Roma found employment almost exclusively as manual labourers: between 1945 and 1955 83.4 percent of these people were employed as unskilled labourers (*Hilfskräfte*)¹⁴⁸. An additional problem was the short duration and therefore high fluctuation of employment opportunities of Roma. According to the study, only 5.7 percent of Roma applying to the OFG kept a job for longer than 6 years, while 82.1 percent of the jobs lasted no more than 36 months, and 60.9 percent no more than 12 months. Data for younger cohorts of people reflect an unchanged employment structure.¹⁴⁹ In other words, the residual Roma minority was not able to find a replacement for the economic niche it had previously occupied and that had become obsolete. The results of this long-term alienation from the primary labour market are highlighted by the occupational situation of Roma living in Oberwart, the Burgenland district with the highest concentration of autochthonous Roma.

According to an analysis of the Roma population in Oberwart from the year 1995¹⁵⁰, only 15 percent of the Roma in Oberwart had a stable occupation. Over the last decade the overall economic situation in the district has improved, with a reduction in long-term unemployment, and an upswing in tourism and services. However, the local Roma were not able to improve their situation. A survey carried out in 2004 by the WIFO¹⁵¹ showed that particularly the Roma who had been living in settlements and thus segregated from the rest of society faced a very precarious economic situation. The interviewed Roma population had an employment rate (share of employed on the population between 15 and 65) of only 20.8 percent (against 65.0 percent for the region as a whole) and an unemployment rate of 67.4 percent of the labour force. Young persons were more likely to have a regular job than members of older age cohorts. Not surprisingly, the Roma surveyed had to rely heavily on social benefits and transfers for

¹⁴⁷ Quite conversely, the Roma who came to Austria as migrant workers in the 1960s brought new skills with them. However, it has to be stressed that there was - and still is - a certain degree of separation between the different Roma groups.

¹⁴⁸ 38.8 percent were working in the agricultural sector and 44.6 percent were unskilled workers in other sectors.

¹⁴⁹ It has to be borne in mind, however, that the data sample available for younger generations of Roma is much smaller and has a limited statistical significance. See *Leoni* (2004A).

¹⁵⁰ The survey was carried out by the city council. See *Samer* (2001).

¹⁵¹ The survey was carried out as part of a project funded by ESF/Equal and the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Labour. See *Biffel et al.* (2005) and *Leoni* (2004B).

their subsistence (see annex, graphs 7 and 8). Moreover, a large number of the interviewees (78.8%) were indebted.

Much of what has been said so far on the employment situation of Roma can be explained by their educational achievements. During the early post-war decades, Roma communities consisted of mainly illiterate or semi-illiterate persons. The children of this generation lacked a supportive cultural background, and were confronted with prejudice and indifference from the majority population. As a consequence, between a third and half of the Roma children in schooling age was placed in "special need schools" for the mentally retarded (*Sonderschule*). Also those children who were not automatically pushed off into the *Sonderschule* often did not complete compulsory education, not to speak of higher degrees. The poor educational situation of the adult autochthonous Roma population is a reflection of this development (see annex, graph 9). Over the last 15 years appreciable changes have taken place. For younger Roma the completion of compulsory education has become almost self-evident, upper secondary education is not unusual and university degrees have come within reach. This represents a clear improvement with respect to the past. However, in light of the decline in demand for low-skilled labour and the need for higher qualifications to succeed in the labour market, this progress might prove to be too little, too late.

Over and above long-standing occupational problems, the Roma population has been hit more than proportionally by the structural economic changes that have taken place in Austria during the last decade.¹⁵² These changes are connected to rapid technological change coupled with fast market liberalisation. Sectors like manufacturing and constructing, where most Roma used to find employment as low-skilled labour, have been greatly affected by these changes. According to the results from the survey, almost 70 percent of unemployed Roma in Oberwart lost their jobs since the mid-1990s. This development has also hit the allochthonous Roma minorities, in particular those living in eastern Austria (mainly Vienna). The re-location of labour-intensive processes and competition from new groups of migrant workers can be seen at the root of the problem: the position of Roma has been undermined by over-supply of unskilled labour given a sharp decline of labour-intensive low-tech production. In this sense, the Roma minority faces difficulties that are common to all former *Gastarbeiter* as well as to the second generation cohorts of these migrant workers. However, Roma are also confronted with prejudices and discrimination: the oversupply of unskilled labour has contributed to the re-emergence of a screening device based on ethnic components. This has resulted in high unemployment and precarious occupational perspectives for many Roma living in Austria. According to the information from the census, in 2001 the unemployment rate of Roma aged 15-64 was close to 15%.

¹⁵² See Biffi et al. (2005).

3. Social conditions of Roma women

The lack of data with respect to the Roma in Austria is particularly acute when it comes to analyzing specific sub-groups. Here information from the national census (2001) and from the Roma survey in Oberwart (2004) can be integrated to analyse both the small autochthonous and the larger allochthonous groups.

In general terms, the fertility indicators for foreign women living in Austria are significantly higher than for native Austrian women.¹⁵³ Roma groups that recently arrived in Austria are a part of this pattern. At the same time, information referring to autochthonous Roma groups demonstrates a convergence with the remaining Austrian population. On average, every Roma household in Oberwart has 3.49 members, a figure that is clearly above the Austrian average (2.41). However, within Austria there are considerable differences in household size depending on socio-economic status. When the head of the household is a blue-collar worker, the average size of the household is 2.96, whereas the corresponding figure for households led by white-collar employees is 2.53. An approximate measure for fertility is given by the number of children of Roma women aged between 15 and 49 (the reproductive age), divided by the number of women in that age group. This calculation for the Roma in Oberwart results in an average of 1.18 children per woman, a number that suggests that the fertility of Roma women might be close to that of the Austrian women.¹⁵⁴ The marital status of the Roma population recorded by the census indicates a rather traditional familial structure (see annex, table 10). Almost 80% of the Roma aged 18 and above are married, widowed or divorced. The share of unmarried women (20.4%) is lower than that of unmarried man (25.4%). At the same time, there is a higher percentage of divorced Roma women than Roma men (11.4% and 6.9% respectively).

With respect to education, a generational effect tends to overshadow differences between genders. This is particularly true in the case of the autochthonous Roma in Oberwart. 75.8 percent of the respondents has not gone beyond primary education, and less than 10 percent have completed an apprenticeship. Gender differences are minor, as an almost equal share of men and women can be found in the lower educational categories. The share of women with a secondary education is higher than that of men, but on the other side more men than women have completed an apprenticeship. At the same time, there are substantial differences in the educational attainments of different age cohorts. Among older generations of Roma, schooling beyond primary education is almost completely absent. On the contrary, the educational situation improves significantly if we look at younger cohorts, and particularly at the Roma who are younger than 26. The share of drop outs and special school attendants is highest among individuals aged 55 and above (37.5 percent), and it is lowest among youngsters (6.3 percent). The latter are much more likely than any other group to hold a secondary degree (37.5 percent against 16.7 percent for persons aged between 26 and 40, and 3.1 percent for persons older than 40).

In the case of the general Austrian Roma population, considerable differences in terms of educational attainment can be found along the age structure. However, in this case not only the older cohorts, but also the younger cohorts show a poor level of formal education. According to the census, both for Roma women and men the share of individuals with only compulsory education is highest in the age groups above 50 and

¹⁵³ According to data from *Statistics Austria*, in 2004 the total fertility rate of Austrian women aged between 15 and 45 was 41.56, the corresponding figure for foreign women living in Austria was 74.16.

¹⁵⁴ See *Biffel et al.* (2005).

in those aged between 20 and 30. For instance, a very similar percentage of women that have not gone beyond compulsory school both in the 55-59 age group (52.2%) and in the 20-24 group (52.7%). For Roma men the corresponding values are 42.1% and 45.1% (for further details see annex, graphs 2 and 3). The higher incidence of compulsory education among women is partially compensated by their better performance in terms of higher education (upper secondary schooling and above). At the same time, young men are characterised by a higher share of vocational degrees (apprenticeship, vocational school). This indicates that in spite of a lower average educational level, Roma men have often qualifications that provide them with a more direct contact to the labour market. This said, it is important to stress that the main educational issue seems to lie with the common problems faced by both female and male youngsters. The numerous presence of young Roma with a low educational level represents a great hurdle with respect to their integration in the labour market and in society. In this context, further educational opportunities are of paramount importance. As the survey in Oberwart has shown, continuing education can provide youngsters with a second chance to gain a relevant formal degree.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵ See Biffl *et al.* (2005).

4. Roma women and their position in the economy

The structural change of the past decade has impacted Roma women no less than men. Whereas men have been affected more heavily by the influx of new cohorts of "cheap" labour, especially in sectors like constructing, female unemployment is more connected to the shrinking of labour-intensive sectors of manufacturing. In Burgenland, for instance, Roma women have lost their jobs in the textile and electrical equipment industry while the expansion in tourism has not been sufficient to compensate for these losses. In addition, and not unlike women within the majority society, Roma women have a less autonomous economic position than their male counterparts. According to the Oberwart survey, almost 60% of men, but only slightly less than 30% of women receive unemployment benefits. This aspect is connected to the higher participation rate of male Roma. By reason of their weak labour market integration, Roma women are more rarely in a position to claim unemployment benefits. This is why in Oberwart the typology of persons with no income shows a clear gender pattern: whereas only 5.9 percent of male Roma declared to have no source of income, the corresponding share among women was 22.6 percent. In total, 13.8 percent of the interviewees said to have no income. Young males and mid-aged women who have never been in regular employment, for instance, often have no source of income at all.

No information on the income situation of the overall Roma population in Austria is available. However, data from the census show that the participation rate of Roma women is almost 20 percentage points below that of man (66.9% versus 84.7%, referring to the population 15-64). The employment rate lies at 57.3% (men: 72.5%), the unemployment rate is close to 15%. In light of the data on the educational situation of young Roma discussed in the previous section, there seem to be reasons to be pessimistic about the future job perspectives of Roma.

In addition, there are clear indications that Roma women have a more limited mobility than men, and are thus more strictly confined to the local labour market. Whereas less than 5% of employed Roma men do not commute to their job, the corresponding share among women lies above 10%. There is a clear link between commuting distance and gender: Roma women have their work place more often than men within their municipality; conversely, men travel more often to a workplace outside their political district or even *Bundesland*. The limited mobility of women is also highlighted by the fact that the share of Roma men who drive their car to the workplace is double as high as the corresponding figure for women. Limits in mobility play a role for the economic situation of women because they imply that women have less access to (better) jobs that might be situated outside their local area.

5. Programmes and policies towards the improvement of the economic and social situation of Roma

After decades during which the Roma were surrounded by silence and oblivion, the last fifteen years have seen some significant changes, and the issue of Roma has gained some resonance in Austria's public opinion. In 1989, and as a follow-up to a common project of Roma and non-Roma that had been initiated in concomitance with the Commemorative Year 1988, the first Roma association (*Roma-Verein Oberwart*) was founded in Oberwart. Shortly afterwards, other organisations (*Kulturverein Österreichischer Roma*, *Romano Centro*, the *Ketani* association of Roma and Sinti) followed suit. This raised the level of awareness surrounding the Roma to a new level. A common characteristic of the Roma associations is their strong social and political orientation: they have made it their task to claim basic political and social rights. At the same time, from the very onset, they catered directly to the needs of the Roma community and provided services which were not offered by the public institutions. For instance, in 1990 the *Roma-Verein* started to offer extra-curricular learning support to Roma children, a service that provided the basic infrastructure to improve the educational attainment of these pupils.

A major breakthrough was represented by the official recognition of the Roma as an ethnic minority, which was granted in 1993. Following the tragic event of 1995, when four Roma were killed by an assassin, donations to the *Roma-Verein* and to the *Kulturverein Österreichischer Roma* made it possible to set up a Roma-fund. Besides supporting the relatives of the victims of the assassination, this fund has mainly the goal to finance initiatives geared at improving the educational situation of Roma, as well as their qualifications in view of the labour market. The developments of the last fifteen years have also led to a rediscovery of Roma culture and identity, both in Burgenland and in remaining Austria. Particular efforts in this direction have been made to encourage the use of Romanés, a language that the younger generations of Roma hardly speak. Language courses were organised first at the Roma helpdesk (in 1997), then at the primary school in Oberwart (1999) and eventually at the adult education centre for Roma (*Volkshochschule der Burgenländischen Roma*) in 2000. Meanwhile, an important contribution to the preservation and enrichment of the Roma languages has been given by the publication of (bilingual) periodicals. The *Romano Centro* runs also a program that sends high school and university students to Roma families in order to provide pupils with free extra tuition.

The labour-market situation of the autochthonous Roma community has improved through the occupational project "Mri Buti" (i.e. my work) in Oberwart. This project gives Roma women and men the opportunity to work on an hourly basis and to earn a wage up to the marginal earnings threshold (*Geringfügigkeitsgrenze*).¹⁵⁶ The main aim of the activity is to bring Roma closer to the formal labour market. However the project has a broad, holistic approach: Besides providing an opportunity for work and additional income, Mri Buti offers modules that focus on aspects of social integration as well as health issues.

The project, initially funded through EQUAL, has become part of the mainstream procedure in the Oberwart district. The success of its multi-dimensional design has shown that the problems affecting Roma have to be tackled simultaneously from

¹⁵⁶ Whereas women have set up a laundry service and a second hand shop, men carry out work in the woods.

different angles and that institutional support is of vital importance. Self-empowerment, while a necessary condition for the improvement of social and economic conditions of Roma, is unlikely to be sufficient. This insight applies also to the large groups of allochthonous Roma, who share the problems of other migrant worker groups, but are additionally affected by issues of cultural identity and discrimination.

Country Study Poland

Marek Isztok, Joanna Talewicz - Kwiatkowska

1. THE SITUATION OF ROMA IN THE COUNTRY

According to the estimated data provided by local territorial authorities, there are 20,750 Roma in Poland, 0,03% of the entire population in Poland (see table 9). The Roma in Poland can be divided into four basic groups: "Polska Roma", "Lowarowie", "Kelderasze", "Romowie Karpaccy" and "Bergitka Roma". Between these groups there are considerable social and economic differences. The most numerous group is "Polska Roma" divided into several tribal subgroups. "Polska Roma", "Kelderasze" and "Lowarowie" formed their culture and traditions on the basis of Mageripen (an unwritten code of rules and tabooed prohibitions), the main feature of which is the nomadic life style. On the other hand, "Romowie Karpaccy", who live mainly in Southern Poland, have been settled for centuries.

Apart from caste-like divisions between these groups, there are very important territorial divisions connected with the activity of official Roma organisations (most of which are local). In addition, there are also internal divisions between rich and poor within towns and villages. Due to the hermetic privacy of the local societies, many of the divisions or internal problems are unnoticeable to outside observers.

At present, the low level of education resulting in high unemployment rates poses the biggest problem to local Roma communities (see tables 2 and 8). Based on the report "The Roma - Unemployment. Elements Describing the Social Situation of the Roma Communities in Poland"¹⁵⁷, prepared in 1998 by The Roma Association in Poland (Krajowy Urząd Pracy), we can state that:

hardly 43% of the examined Roma regarded work as the main source of income.

although 32% of the examined Roma declared a will to work, 56% gave no answer to questions regarding interest in finding work. Moreover, there appeared a specific explanation for a lack of interest in finding work stated as "there is nothing like that among the Roma".

only 30% of the Roma examined had any contacts with employment agencies (see table 2 for detailed data).

only 25% of the examined Roma expressed the will to participate in training courses, despite low educational levels.

only 40% of the examined Roma expressed the will to undertake a vocational education (see table 6).

¹⁵⁷ Translation: BIVS

On the basis of research carried out by the National Labour Department it is possible to examine the education and professional structures of the Polish Roma (see table 7 and 8). This research was limited to the Bergitka - Roma group, which at the time, was in a much better social situation than at present. It has to be stressed that among other groups, there are areas where 90% of the Roma population are unemployed. The town Nysa is an example of such a situation, where 204 Roma are registered (almost all of them belong to "Kalderasze" group with a nomadic professional tradition). Here, with the exception of trade, the traditional professions have gradually disappeared; the most detailed statistic data comes from this region. It has been estimated that about 10% of all working-age Roma are employed or self-employed, while others support their families from welfare. The Local Labour Department (Powiatowy Urząd Pracy) records show 114 registered unemployed Roma. In addition, this local community of Roma is poorly educated. In light of this data, the Roma community can be regarded as excluded from the labour market. Among all Roma groups "Romowie Karpaccy" were affected by this problem at the highest level. Almost the entire Roma population is unemployed and lives off welfare.

Apart from the aforementioned reasons other factors account for the high numbers of unemployed. Negative stereotypes depicting the Roma as lazy, irresponsible and poor workers are still very strong. Therefore the majority of employers are reluctant to employ the Roma. In addition, one should note the passivity of the Roma in seeking work and their general reluctance in undertaking poorly paid manual labour jobs.

Information on education situation of the Roma was taken from a report for the Polish National Ministry of Education in 1997¹⁵⁸. 73,6% of Roma children regularly go to school. Only 0,8% of the Roma have obtained a higher (university) education. Simultaneously, according to this report, 87,7% of the examined Roma acknowledge the illiteracy, or partial inability to read or write among Roma children, graduates of primary schools. Moreover, among the examined Roma, only 34,9% pointed out the positive benefits of education. The reasons for this very low educational level are manifold. On one hand, they derive from historical events (nomadic lifestyles do not favour education), different traditions and values and experiences dating from the times of the Polish People's Republic. For example, the state decided on the socialisation and education of children, using school as a tool of indoctrination and assimilation.

According to the investigation carried out by the Centre of Research of Public Opinion, one third of the students pointed out a Roma as a person who they would not like to sit with at school. More reluctance was expressed only towards the mentally ill and homosexuals. The poor material and social conditions of the Roma are other important problems, especially the "Romowie Karpaccy" group (see table 4, 5). Because of low incomes (see table 1, 3) the Roma cannot afford books and other school supplies. In overpopulated households it is difficult to provide proper learning conditions. All these factors result in the low social and economic status of a large part of the Polish Roma. The Roma (with a few exceptions) do not take active part in public life as a result of unsatisfactory levels of civil education as well as the general restrictions by traditional authorities to display Roma activities in the public sphere.

High unemployment levels combined with exclusion result in their exclusion from free medical services. The health problems of the Roma are a result of their catastrophic

¹⁵⁸ "The Roma on their Children's Education" (based on the "Romowie Karpaccy" group) conducted by Marian Gerlich for the National Ministry of Education in 1997.

social situation: lack of running water and sewage systems, lack of insulation and the dangerous technical conditions of their houses, lack of funds for heating fuels, poor diet, and limited access to health services, a lack of preventive treatment, and no tradition of monitoring pregnancy. On the grounds of information provided by the Roma communities, we can conclude that the Roma are especially endangered by diabetes and heart disease, respiratory disorders (asthma, bronchitis, pneumonia), and hepatitis B. These diseases combined with economic problems increase the death rate -reducing the life expectancy of the Roma lower than the Polish average.

The housing situation of the Roma society is diverse. Next to imposing villas and residences belonging to the few rich Roma (mainly "Polska Roma" and "Kelderasze" groups), there are entire communities living in households under catastrophic sanitary and technical conditions (see table 4, 5). Many of these households require immediate repair, some do not meet any construction rules, and many were built illegally. Many of these buildings should be pulled down. Due to the large number of children, and presence of an extended family network, Roma households are overcrowded (frequently a family of 10 live in one room). The unclear ownership of land lots prevents the construction of new flats. The existing ones are frequently deprived of basic amenities such as bathrooms, several Roma settlements in Małopolska Voivodeship have no running water. The housing situation of the Roma living in towns is slightly better, but frequently they cannot receive housing subsidies due to overdue rent payments.

2. THE SITUATION OF ROMA IN THE ECONOMY

The current economic situation of the Roma is diverse. Between particular groups, or even within groups, there are great disproportions of possessions and property. At present, trade is the most important Roma occupation. Due to family connections, the Roma earn money by importing used cars, trading in textiles, wool, carpets and antiques. Some of them invest in property like real estate, shops, or gasoline stations. Usually the "Polska Roma", "Keterdasz" or "Lowarowie" groups, who were used to self-sufficiency, and adjusted better to the new economic reality in Poland after 1989. Compared with the entire Roma population of Poland, the most enterprising Roma are not the dominant group.

On the other hand, the "Romowie Karpaccy", the most dominant Roma group, unable to adapt to the new social and economic reality have become clients of the welfare system. In some local communities (gmina) of Southern Poland, more than 95% of the Roma families receive different types of aid such as: relief funds, free meals for schoolchildren, material aid, and heating fuel subsidies.

Smithery, horse trade, salesmanship (mobile trade), fortune telling, music or coppersmithing are the traditional Roma professions. Most of these professions disappeared mainly for economic reasons. Due to the technological progress, mass production suppressed craftsmanship.

In 1964 the government decided to settle the Roma. This process lasted up until the first half of the 1970s of the 20th century. Roma settlement led to the decline of the traditional Roma professions (see above), which were attached to a nomadic life style. The settlement caused a cultural shock, and these people were pushed into the peripheries of a settled lifestyle. Regarding the traditionally settled group, their situation has changed due to planned industrialisation. During the communist regime, large numbers of the "Romowie Karpaccy" group found employment on various construction sites and in state-owned companies. After 1989, during the restructuring process unqualified Roma were the first to lose their jobs. It seems, however, that the recent changes stimulated the nomadic group into activity. A limited knowledge of economic laws, and a reluctance to operate in the official economic system are the barriers against self-employment. Apart from the post-1989 economic changes, low educational levels, cultural barriers impeding integration to the labour market, an important factor sustaining the high unemployment rate is the lack of a compact model of activities aimed at improving of the Roma work situation undertaken by institutions operating in the labour market.

There are no agencies specialising in the integration and reintegration of the Roma into the labour market. No research regarding the professional qualifications of the Roma, their cultural conditions and the relations on the labour market between the Roma and Polish majority exists. Low educational levels, and high unemployment, results in the exclusion of the Roma from social, political, scientific and cultural life. These factors strengthen the ill-disposed attitude towards the Roma, and magnify negative stereotypes of the Roma, sentencing the Roma to isolation and life outside of society.

However, the socio-economic changes of the past fifteen years have brought about many positive changes. The Roma started to organise themselves into various associations and institutions aimed at protecting Roma interests from state institutions, popularising positive models of life that spread the value of education and a work ethic

among their own communities. At present there are over 20 Roma associations, institutions and foundations. In addition, the attitude of the government towards the Roma minority has changed. In 2003 the government programme for the Roma society was accepted. It was preceded by a superficial analysis of the Roma situation in Poland. This programme will allocate considerable funds, 1 million zloty, every year for Roma needs. Accession of Poland into European Union structures in 2004 made it possible for different Roma organisations to acquire structural funds from particular union programs. All these aspects exert a positive influence on the social and economic situation of the Roma in Poland. These problems must be scientifically researched. Only in this way we can create favourable conditions aimed at improving the situation of the Roma in Poland.

3. SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF ROMA WOMEN

Roma women share with men all the consequences of exclusion and a marginal life. As a consequence, they face additional challenges not only as Roma but as women within the Roma community. The situation of women within the Roma community is specific. Despite the differences between Roma groups, certain common features can be found. These features are bound, as mentioned above, to traditional gender roles and expectations. The Roma women, disregarding the generation they represent, pay great attention to family. The family is the institution that guarantees transfer of tradition, customs, culture and language.

The Roma family is based upon monogamic marriage, it is regional, patriarchal, and it functions within a tribal structure. These features result in the subordination of women to men, sustained by a system of norms, behaviours, orders and sanctions.

In the case of the "Roma Polska" group, the most numerous in Poland, the lower position of a woman is sanctioned by Mageripen - a tradition, developed over centuries, defining norms of behaviour, orders and the rules of community life, the basic code of rights and duties of Roma men and women within a group. Disobedience to this (unwritten) code results in the temporary or permanent exclusion from the group.

Mageripen assumes that a woman by nature is unclean, which explains her inferior position to men. Observance of the rules of Mageripen places many moral restrictions upon women. One of the basic social institutions is the extended family - women, in this context, become a mother, a wife, a daughter, etc. Therefore, the position of a woman is defined by her relation to men. The question of independence, and the possibility of self-determination against the opinion of the community are highly controversial, and frequently threaten the existing structure and traditional lifestyle. These fears, which may seem unsound to an outside observer, are justified by the fact, that the Roma minority live in a reluctant or frequently hostile environment, so the unity and integrity of the group is essential, to maintain their individual culture (especially facing the assimilation policy in Poland). Avoiding or limiting contact with the dominating environment allowed traditional models of life to survive, which in a transforming society may be a barrier to integration.

The right to medical care for Roma women demonstrates the application of inconsistent standards for the Roma minority in Poland, and within this subgroup different rights for men and women. It is very important to notice the discrimination of Roma women in this field, since they are responsible for the development of their families, being simultaneously the providers for their households.

The living conditions of the Roma hinder (or sometimes makes impossible) access to the right for medical care. Roma households are considerably different from the living standards of other citizens of Poland. Many Roma settlements are far from regular settlements, and are deprived of access to drinking water, lack sewage systems, or proper roads making them inaccessible to ambulance services. These problems are reflected by the physical and psychic health of Roma women. Medical protection of Roma women in the fields of maternity and reproduction are the most problematic areas. Among some Roma groups, certain periods in a woman's life, especially pregnancy, peuperium, menstruation or maintaining virginity, are regulated by strict customary laws, and in these periods a woman is considered unclean, and is isolated from the community.

We must mention the lack of prenatal medical care during pregnancy among many Roma communities, caused by the fact that all sexual topics are taboo, and partially from a lack of any sanitary means, preventing women from preparing for a doctor's examination. People living in extreme poverty have no funds for medicine, or even to pay for transportation to medical centres. Another factor limiting the contact of Roma women to doctors is their inability to speak Polish.

4. THE SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN IN THE ECONOMY

The traditional professions of the Roma women were fortune-telling and door to door trade. However, in the epoch of technical development, many of the traditional Roma professions were pushed aside by mass production and new consumption models. The necessities of contemporary life prevent Roma women from entering traditional professions. Roma women undertake the burden of running a household and frequently have to provide the necessary means for its functioning.

Due to the division of reality into "clean" and "unclean" many activities, jobs and professions are not taken into account. Ideal professions are connected with trade and music. Professions involving corporal contact and physical impurities are prohibited for the Roma women. The situation of the Roma women is complex, since on the one hand there is an increasing number of working women, and on the other hand, we see the tendency for seclusion within their own groups. Definitely, these problems call for further research. At the moment we can point out a research plan starting in 2006 within the Equal programme.

5. PROGRAMMES AND POLICIES AIMING TOWARDS IMPROVEMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN

No programmes dealing directly with the situation of the Roma women were carried out in Poland. Since 2004 the Equal programme was implemented, and within this programme there are projects aiming at the improvement of the situation of the Roma women in Poland. The activation of professional Roma women is limited by traditional Roma norms, customs, culture, and morality binding Roma communities. This is the largest barrier preventing the activation of professional Roma women in Poland. Nevertheless, in recent years, Roma women within the confines of an organisation began teaming up and asserting their rights to participation in the social, cultural, professional life of Polish society. One example of such an organisation is The Association of the Roma Women founded in 2000, in Krakow. The main task of this association is the protection of family interests, the rights of their children, fighting discrimination and exclusion. In the last years it has been possible to observe certain initiatives from organisations, non-governmental and individual ministries. Nevertheless all these operations are insufficient to improve the situation of Roma women in Poland. In the future in order to improve the situation of Roma women it is essential that programmes on a governmental level work in close cooperation with local administration and Roma women's organisations in the course of its realisation. Earlier it carried out statistical research concerning number of Roma women, condition of education, employment, and health conditions among Roma women. At the government and local level, programmes taking into consideration the specific cultural and moral issues of Roma women should be promoted.

Country Study Portugal

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1. THE SITUATION OF ROMA IN THE PORTUGAL

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The Roma communities have been part of the Portuguese socio-geographical space since the 15th century (Costa, 1995)¹⁶⁰. In spite of their Roma, or Calé adherence, as they are known in Portugal, (either by social scientists, politicians and the general population), under the designation "ciganos" - "Gypsies"; they themselves also call themselves "ciganos".

In Portugal, as in other countries in which Roma communities are present, the exact number of Roma is unknown. One supposes that the number ranges between 40,000 to 50,000, but according to some Roma leaders, the number of Roma ranges between 50,000 to 70,000. The fact of including any reference to ethnicity is legally prohibited in the census makes obtaining national data on this (and other minorities) difficult; the existence of official statistics, either on the level of the census of the population or on the level of profession and of schooling, is impossible.

The last known data on the number of Roma in Portugal result from a study carried out by SOS Racism (2001) obtained through a survey through a questionnaire sent to 307 city halls of Continental Portugal. Of these city halls, only 186 answered and the verified number was 21,831 Roma. Also according to SOS Racism (2001, p.22), "the Roma population is especially concentrated in the more densely populated coastal regions and in fringe zones"; the bigger communities are found living in the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Porto.

At the present time, a research project is being approved, promoted by the ACIME -Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Minorias Étnicas (*High Commissariat for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities*, a ministerial organ¹⁶¹), to be developed on a national level, with the objective of characterising these communities demographically and economically.

¹⁵⁹ The present report is specifically related with Portuguese Roma communities living in Portugal by centuries. In spite of the fact that, at the present time, there Roma from eastern Europe are living in Portugal. Because of the lack of data, they are not described in the report.

¹⁶⁰ In accordance with this author, the first documented reference is dated 1510, being part of the *Cancioneiro Geral* by Garcia de Resende. In 1521, the second reference emerges in the *Farsa das Ciganas* by Gil Vicente.

¹⁶¹ This ministerial organ was first created in 1996 under the domination *Statute of High Commissioner* (D.L.3-A/96 of the 16th of January, directly dependent on the Prime Minister) and altered, in 2001, to *High Commissariat for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities*. D.L.nr.251/2002 of the 22nd of November, dependent on the Presidency of the Council of Ministers. See the attributions of ACIME and the work they are doing in www.acime.gov.pt.

Concerning social representations, the Roma are viewed negatively by the majority of the Portuguese population as is attested by several academic studies that explore the perceptions and attitudes of the ethnic majority towards Roma (cf. Mendes, 1998; Duarte et al, 2005; Fonseca et al, 2005). Some of these studies demonstrate that the Roma are not only rejected on a large scale by the non-Roma Portuguese, but also on a greater scale than other minorities living in Portugal, namely, those from African countries that appear in second place. As stated in a former paper,

"the social and cultural status of the Roma was gradually constituted by an unfavourable status, subordinated (a specific kind of subordination)¹⁶² with a closure in a certain socially-constructed image: they are problematic, noisy, dirty, aggressive, bad-mannered, with no respect for others... In short, everyone seems to know what they are like, but very few have actually had relations with them" (Casa-Nova, 2004a).

The majority of Portuguese Roma communities live from social security, articulated with temporary jobs (such as night watchman in building construction or temporary agricultural work). However, the Portuguese Roma communities have constructed, throughout time, a multiplicity of survival strategies that have lead towards conquering citizenship rights, a citizenship of state responsibility (social rights), but in practice, this has been denied them, most evident in their inability to access to adequate housing. Mostly living in degraded social housing quarters under the responsibility of city halls, various Roma communities - using as a basis the fear they engender in others (and constituting a form of symbolic power), have as a result, refused to pay rent, electricity and water so long as the city hall is not willing to repair or conserve the housing. Also as a strategy to obtain bigger houses or housing for their children, they frequently declare in housing programmes - foreseeing the future situation of there being a lack of housing once their son or daughter marries - that they already have a married son or daughter living with them.

From the point of view of cultural rights, these communities have also demanded the right of cultural difference, namely, in regard to hospitalised family members: the massive dislocation towards hospitals in solidarity and reciprocity demonstrations are evidence of this. Some hospitals are making an effort in the sense of contracting technicians to mediate between hospital services and these communities in an attempt to respect cultural differences.

¹⁶² "The subordination of this ethnic group presents specifics when compared, for example, to the kind of subordination presented by immigrants from the PALOP. The first generation of these immigrants, mainly, the individuals belonging to disfavoured or middle social classes, present a relationship of subordination in relation to the greater society, which implies the acceptance of work that places them on the lowest levels of the social hierarchy, constructing, at the same time, a subordinate social relationship. In relation to Roma, they present themselves as "proud", "haughty" — "if someone closes a door in my face, he won't do it again" — refusing, generally, the development of salaried work that implies subordination to a boss entity; a subordination to "other" belonging to the greater society. But, at the same time, they are kept socially and culturally apart from that same greater society, which does not develop, in the majority of cases, relationships of sociability with this minority; *here lies its subordination*: "we keep them in their place". On the other hand, on the part of the Roma ethnic minority, there exists a feeling of ambiguity in relation to the greater ethnic group: at the same time that they present themselves as superior to the others — "our culture is better than yours" — and as an unsubordinated people (and as a people that can not be subordinated) they refer to the others belonging to the greater ethnic group as "*sirs*" (Casa-Nova, 2004a).

2. THE SITUATION OF ROMA IN THE ECONOMY

From a professional point of view, the Portuguese Roma communities are characterised by the development of non-salaried work, although, throughout the years, the type of developed activities are diverse. The occupations of Portuguese Roma (ranging from fortune-telling to circus actors, sellers of mules, handicrafts basket-weaving, junk sellers, peddlers and, nowadays, jobs in temporary agricultural work areas as well as fair hawkers) share a common characteristic, allowing them to be 'their own owners and bosses' (Casa-Nova, 2002). In this regard, they simultaneously demonstrate great occupation adaptability in accordance with socio-cultural constraints of the encompassing society. According to David Harvey,

"However, and in a relatively informal market segment, Roma have maintained, in the last decades before the mid-1980s, a certain professional stability, a characteristic of Fordist regime and the paradigm of modernity, reconfigured by the transition to a regime of flexible accumulation of capital. Indeed, in spite of not having developed, or not developing, in the great majority, salaried work,¹⁶³ not presenting, therefore, a subordinated relationship towards a patronal entity, the transition from Fordism to flexible accumulation" (Harvey, 1989).

He referred to diverse problems for Roma communities, related to what seems to be an impossibility of maintaining relative stability and security in certain informal market segment (fairs), a fact that was possible to more or less the middle of the 1980s, since they managed to commercialise certain types of clothing and shoes at non-competitive prices.

Starting in the 1990s, and according to the perceptions of a specific community¹⁶⁴, this situation transferred to a more unstable and insecure regime with less profit margins and a greater uncertainty in relation to the maintenance of that 'niche' of the market. This was made vulnerable by the competitiveness of the Asian countries, whose populations have immigrated into Portugal and partially competed with the Roma for the same segment of the market. In the words of some members of the Roma community interviewed in this study:

"Before, business, ten, fifteen years ago, was more profitable, now, there is more competition on the part of the Asian people that manufacture with cheaper workers, lowering profit because one must sell cheaper."¹⁶⁵

"(...) The factories where Gypsies and other fair hawkers get supplies, they can't compete with the Chinese, with their prices. They are all going bankrupt! There's only unemployment! I don't know how they can manufacture so cheaply! I don't know! They must work for free and their government also helps them. And here, our government, it doesn't help us, but theirs does. Did you know that, for five years, they don't pay taxes? (...)"¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ In spite of the existence, in Portugal, of Roma having salaried occupations, as, for example, mediators between school and the Roma community, drivers, security guards in Commercial Centres, they are still a very reduced number and they have, underlying, a boss that is not present very often.

¹⁶⁴ Data collected during two years of fieldwork (through participant observation and semi-structured interviews) in the largest community residing in the North of Portugal.

¹⁶⁵ Roma man, 56 years of age. Fieldwork notes.

¹⁶⁶ Roma man, 42. Fieldwork notes.

These extracts mean, on the one hand, that, at the present time, there is no certainty in relation to the maintenance of the type of work they do, which makes this particular community and other Portuguese Roma communities vulnerable in terms of possibilities of economic survival. Based on their own assessment, the Roma believe they can only be competitive if they reduce their profit margins and they consider it a necessity to be competitive. Similar to the dialogues referred to above, the Roma consciousness has thus acknowledged the need to become and remain competitive for their survival.

On the one hand, they also mean that the perception of the Calé in relation to the role of this type of immigration from the Asian regions and its impact on the Portuguese economy contributes towards "the weakening of the economy through the precariousness of the labour market (...)" (Casa-Nova, 2003, 2005b). On the other hand, the economic crisis confronting Portugal, with the consequent increase of unemployment among the greater population and diminishing their buying power, affects the Roma communities, making their way of life more precarious.

The number of unemployed Roma is unknown, not only because they are not registered in the Employment and Professional Training Centre, but also because, from the legal point of view, this registration does not allow for ethnic identification.

From the point of view of professional insertion, the Portuguese Roma communities are situated in a type of market that is characterised by precarious jobs, low social status and low wages. These positions are normally occupied by individuals belonging to disadvantaged socio-cultural strata.

Where school attendance is concerned, according to a study carried out by the Gypsy Pastoral¹⁶⁷ in 1995 in the Lisbon area (cf. SOS Racismo, 2001), 45% of the Roma children between 6 and 15 years of age did not attend school and, of the rest, 68% regularly attended school. The Roma population presents high rates of illiteracy, their school attendance is low and the absenteeism rate is very high.

In a research developed in a specific community in Northern Portugal (see Cortesão *et al*, 2005)¹⁶⁸, in a total of 433 individuals of school age/adults, 126 revealed that they did not know how to read and write (29%). In analysing of the rate of illiteracy according to the age group, this percentage increases significantly regarding the group of adults concerned (persons of more than 25 years of age). In fact, the illiteracy rate in this age group is ranked at 88% (103 of 117), clearly showing an adult population that is overwhelmingly illiterate. Concerning the group of young people who do not attend school (ages between 15 and 24), the rate of illiteracy is still situated at 24.5%.¹⁶⁹ In

¹⁶⁷Gypsy Pastoral is an IPSS - Instituição Particular de Solidariedade Social (Particular Institution of Social Solidarity), who works with Roma population since 1972.

¹⁶⁸ This research was developed by the author of the present report and more three colleagues from University of Oporto during one year.

¹⁶⁹ At the national level, it needs to be pointed out that, in the school year of 1997/98, for the 1 st cycle of basic schooling, of 5420 Calé children enrolled in the four years of schooling, 764 students were assessed in the 4th year and 55% of them passed; for the 2nd cycle, of 374 students enrolled in the two years of schooling, 85 students were assessed at the end of the cycle (6th year) and 75% of them passed; for the 3rd cycle, of the 102 students enrolled in the three years of schooling, 11 students were assessed at the end of the cycle (9th year) and 64% of them passed. In what Secondary Education (from the 10th to the 12th year) is concerned, in the school year of 1997/98, only 16 students were enrolled, 4 of which were

spite of the presented results related to a localised study, other studies carried out in other zones of the country (*cf.* Teresa Fernandes, 1999), present the same results.

Roma students attend the first four school years and tend to abandon school soon after. As stated in earlier papers (*cf.* Casa-Nova, 1999, 2002), this has to do with the mutual relation that exists between the Roma community and the official school. For some Roma, school seems to have value through its usefulness to the daily life of the community, which in turn connotes various degrees of meaning: the importance of learning how to read and write in order to be able to decode the written language symbols or the possibility of getting a driver's licence. For some, it seems to be valued from the point of view of its contribution to exercise an appropriate social interaction. While for others, it seems like a way of elevating social status. The valorisation of education by Roma families has suffered alterations in recent years, though no linear progression in the way they view schooling has occurred. However, a consciousness of the role that schooling can have in the future of their children exists, though this consciousness has not been translated into an immediate increase in school attendance on the part of Roma children. The drastic decrease in the number of these children from the first cycle (the first four years of schooling) to the second cycle (see charts 1 and 2) derives from the fact that these communities do not partake in the concept of success in school. For this, success means permanency and progress at school. For the Roma communities, success exists when their children reach the knowledge they consider necessary for their social and professional daily life. Primary socialisation of Roma children takes place mainly within the family sphere rather than in articulation with other educational agents, such as pre-school educational establishments. Therefore almost no synchronicities of differentiated processes of primary socialisation exist, that is, family socialisation simultaneous with primary socialisation in other educational institutions (*cf.* Casa-Nova, 2004b, 2005).

Since the rate of illiteracy is very high, adult literacy courses have been developed: Recurrent Education, that has taught a significant number of persons (see charts 7 and 8). Besides this aspect, the PETI (Programme for the Prevention and Elimination of Child Labour Exploitation), under government responsibility and implementing measures to combat child/juvenile work and school-abandonment through an educational measure called PIEF (Integrated Plans of Education and Training), is developing specific training for Roma child/adolescents that abandon school before the end of the obligatory age of attendance (15 years of age). This programme attempts to encourage adolescents to obtain the 1st and 2nd cycles of basic education (see chart 6 for the functioning courses in the northern zone).

assessed in the 12th year, having all of them concluded the year in question. See annexed charts 1, 2, 3 and 4, where comparative data among nationalities/minorities present in Portuguese schools are presented. No data after the school year 1997/98 are presented, since these data are not reliable, since they were constructed from an extrapolation based on the analysis of statistical tendencies of the more recent years.

3. SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF ROMA WOMEN

Roma women find themselves confronted with additional problems in school attendance due to the gender roles in the Roma communities. The rule is for girls to abandon school when they reach puberty, normally, when they are attending the 2nd cycle. This is a result of family prohibition of continuing studies based on the fear of pregnancy, of being "spoken of" in their community, for having been seen in the company of boys that attend school or due to the fear that they will fall in love with a non-Roma boy (cf. Casa-Nova, 1999, 2002). But some cases of success in regard to girls obtaining a higher level of more advanced schooling exist (3rd cycle: 7th, 8th and 9th years), and in secondary education (10th, 11th and 12th years). Some Roma men stated they would allow their daughters to attend school until a later age if they attended a school for girls only.¹⁷⁰ And what is more important is that the girls demonstrate more inclination towards continuing their studies. Regarding the educational relationship of Roma girls to school, we would like to translate some female speeches, collected during the fieldwork:

"I wanted to be a teacher, you know. A mathematics teacher. I wasn't able to. My sister was born, my mother needed me at home and she also didn't want me to study. She has those ideas. She was afraid I would be talked about."¹⁷¹

For reasons related to constraints derived from the system of values of the *Gypsy Law*¹⁷², concerning females, her mother did not let her remain in school:

"It wouldn't do. She would be talked about by the Gypsies. I would have liked it, but it wouldn't do. I considered it when it came time to [change schools, leave the Quarter]. Someone has to break with this, but no one [in the community] wants to be the first."¹⁷³

"I liked school, I wanted to continue, but I knew that my father wouldn't let me. He would only let me do the 4th grade. I didn't pass the 4th grade for three years to be able to continue in school. The teacher perceived that I was failing on purpose. I knew things, but, when I did the exam, I made mistakes on purpose in order not to pass. She [the teacher] told me: 'I already know that you know and you're making mistakes on purpose. But, if next year you do the same, I will pass you anyway.' So, I passed and my father took me out of school. When I passed to the 5th year, he took me out. [...] If I were able to study, what I would like to be would be a lawyer."¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁰ Data collected during the fieldwork.

¹⁷¹ Young Roma girl, 14 years old, single. She attended school up to the 6th year and was considered a good student by her teachers.

¹⁷² This *Gypsy Law* constitutes a kind of *conduct code* that is orally transmitted from generation to generation, structuring the socialisation of children and young people of the Roma ethnic group.

¹⁷³ Roma woman, 33 years old, married, with two daughters and one son. She attended the 4th year of schooling.

¹⁷⁴ Young Roma girl, 15 years old, recently married. In schooling, she has the complete 4th grade (1st cycle of basic education). We were present at her first failure and, even then, we knew, like the teacher did, that the failure was intentional.

The adopted strategy by this young girl (like many others) "to skirt (without confronting) parental authority" (Casa-Nova, 2002) is the expression of a desire for change. This signifies the impossibility of her situation (since her way of acting constituted at the time, a resistance without a positive result), however, It may lead to a small change for her children in the future.

4. THE SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN IN THE ECONOMY

Where work is concerned, it is the Roma women that guarantee, as a rule, that goods will be sold at the fairs, hereby, performing a double role inside the communities: an affectionate role of taking care of their house and family and an instrumental role of guaranteeing the sustenance of their families. With some exceptions, the men perform more of a role of vigilance and control at the fairs. The latter also normally go to the factories and warehouses in order to buy the products to conduct business (though some women also do this and even obtain a driver's license for this reason). But this instrumental role of the women is viewed as an extension of their role within the Roma communities; when it comes to developing work that involves a permanent contact with non-Roma elements and takes place out of range of the normal masculine vigilance, this option for the Roma women is typically severed by both parents and husbands (cf. Casa-Nova, 1999, 2002). In this way, in addition to Roma women (like the rest of their population) being victims of what Wieviorka (1992) designated as "differentialist racism" on the part of the greater society, they are also, in the greater majority, thwarted by the male gender in exercising a profession that withdraws them from the private sphere or from what is considered an extension of that sphere: working at fairs.

Concerning the wider society and its efforts to insert these communities in the labour market, some Portuguese NGOs and some institutions connected with the church (see chart 9) have carried out training courses. Several of these offered a schooling equivalency for Roma and non-Roma communities, who receive the Social Insertion Income, a subsidy attributed by the state to families of scarce survival resources. However, the number of courses realised strictly for Roma participants is still very low as we can see through the data collected specifically for this project (see charts 10 to 15)¹⁷⁵.

Between 1993 and 2005, 15 training courses were offered for Roma women; 8 for both Roma women and men; 9 for Roma men and 5 for both Roma and non-Roma women. The courses consisted of cutting and sewing, gardening, handicraft sewing, basketry and ceramics, cultural mediation, confectionery, cooking, domestic economy and family management, domestic tasks, arts and crafts, selling techniques, services of support of children and young people, personal image, etc. around 250 Roma women between 15 and 46 years of age participated in these courses offered to the entire national territory. Their level of schooling varied: some were without any schooling, less than the 1st cycle (first four years of schooling), 1st cycle and, some had obtained the 2nd cycle (see charts 10, 11 and 12). Most of them were unemployed while attending the courses and those that were exercising a profession were typically fair hawkers. The lack of

¹⁷⁵ For the development of this project and because no available statistics exist in relation to the type and quantity of training offered to these communities, we contacted, in the whole national territory, via e-mail, fax, telephone, post and personal contact, 26 institutions that offer training courses to economically-disadvantaged populations, among which are the Roma. Of those 26 institutions, it was possible to get data from 16 and it is on those data collected from those 16 institutions that we annex statistical information. Of the contacted institutions, two offer training courses only to Roma populations: the Santa Casa da Misericórdia and the Obra Nacional da Pastoral dos Ciganos (*National Undertaking of the Gypsy Pastoral*), fundamentally through their Secretariados Diocesanos (*Diocesan Secretariats*, namely, the one in Lisbon). These are the institutions that, in Portugal, have traditionally developed more work with the Roma communities, having had an important role in promoting professional training courses. The Obra Nacional da Pastoral dos Ciganos, through Mr. Francisco Monteiro, has had, in the last years, a fundamental role in the revealing, to the ACIME, of situations of ethnic discrimination that Roma communities in Portugal are the target of.

existence of statistics on a national level in relation to the level of schooling and to the professional insertion of Roma women (and the general Roma population) in the labour market, and the little data that could be collected, implies the existing insight: that there is a low level of schooling and a practically null professional insertion outside the traditional field of work (at fairs) of the Roma community.

From the collected data, relative to the professional insertion of male and female Roma that completed professional training courses, it can be affirmed that this insertion has practically been nil. Of the women that finished the courses, 7 cases of women being professionally inserted into the labour market are known; 2 became cultural mediators for schools and families (who are also association leaders, one of whom represents the only association of Portuguese Gypsy Women existing in the country, the AMUCIP); 4 became cleaning workers (two of whom are team leaders of cleaning companies); and 1 became an educational assistant in a kindergarten.

Some technicians of the contacted institutions referred to the enormous difficulty in arranging professional training for the Roma women due to the refusal of companies in offering such training. Some technicians also said that the institutions and companies that accept Roma workers complain about the difficulty of the latter in fulfilling the stipulated work schedules. Besides the stereotypes that the greater population has about the Roma (that are the origin for the existence of a mutual relationship of suspicion), impeding their professional integration, a significant part of the Roma population attending these courses has not shown any interest in working with non-Roma; they attend the courses as a way of simultaneously increasing their monthly income and in order not to lose the Social Income Insertion that they receive.

Nevertheless, it is the conviction of the Roma families that even with specific professional training, the Portuguese society will not employ elements of a Roma culture because it is a "racist society", it "doesn't like Gypsies".¹⁷⁶

Concerning the incentive towards the creation of self-employment through access to micro-credit, no specific measure whatsoever exists in Portugal applied to Roma populations or to Roma women; it is applied to the general population, though very few use this measure.

¹⁷⁶ Data from the fieldwork.

5. PROGRAMMES AND POLICIES AIMING TOWARDS IMPROVEMENT OF ECONOMICAL AND SOCIAL SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN

Beginning in the middle of the 1990s, a preoccupation in relation to political power and the political decision-makers with these communities emerged, leading to the creation, in 1996, of a Work Group for the Equality and Insertion of Gypsies and the Comissão para a Igualdade e contra a Discriminação Racial, as part of the ACIME (Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination). In fact, in the governmental view, no measures of specific social and educational policies exist for the Roma communities. The existing measures are directed toward economically disadvantaged populations, in which minority cultural groups are included, namely, Roma, thereby, constituting hybrid measures from the point of view of the implemented practices.

In legal terms, Roma are not recognised with the status of an ethnic minority, just like all other communities (migrant or not) living in Portugal. Like all other Portuguese citizens, they are granted equality before the law by the 1976 Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, according to which

"All citizens have the same social dignity and all are equal before the law. No one can be privileged, benefited, prejudiced against, deprived of any right or exempt of any duty due to his/her ascendancy, gender, race, language, country of origin, religion, political and ideological beliefs, education, and/or economic and social condition" (Article 13).

Positive discrimination based on ethnicity is not permitted in Portugal, although measures for economically disadvantaged populations exist. The Roma are included in the latter.

At the present time, the ACIME gives particular attention to these communities, having constituted a work group into which researchers, superior technicians, working in the field with these communities, and presidents of Roma associations were invited. The objective was to reflect together in the sense of defining courses of action of intervention that will enable a reduction in the difficulties of integrating these communities, principally at the level of school and the labour market. This preoccupation is not separate from the European Union's directives, relating to the need to define public social and educational policies and decreasing the degree of social exclusion of these communities. ACIME is also part of the Roma EDEM¹⁷⁷ International Project, a project that intends to promote integration and equal treatment in education and in employment.

Also in 1996, the Guaranteed Minimum Income¹⁷⁸ was instituted with the fundamental objective of contributing to the struggle against poverty and social exclusion, including, beyond the attribution of a pecuniary subsidy, programmes of professional insertion, in which the aforementioned professional training is partly included.

The insertion programmes included in that measure also proceed through initiatives in the sphere of health (namely, vaccination and family planning) and school education. Since it is a measure that fundamentally aims at fighting poverty and social exclusion

¹⁷⁷ For this Project, see www.gitanos.org/romaedem.

¹⁷⁸ Law 19-A/96. This Law was revoked in 2003; it became the *Social Insertion Income*. Law 13/2003 of the 21st of May, with Rectification Declaration nr.7/2003 of the 29th of May.

(not only benefiting from it, national disfavoured social classes, but also immigrants and ethnic minorities, mainly those from the PALOP¹⁷⁹ and Roma), wanting to promote greater social justice, it has also developed some activities for specific ethnic groups. However, as we said in the former paper (Casa-Nova, 2004c), the public policies, that from the point of view of practices (and not in their legal context), attempt to give an answer to cultural specifics (namely, the Social Income Insertion) are part of a strategy of prevention and/or resolution of existing problems, rather than a generic stance involving an awareness of cultural differences.

In 1999, the Law of Defence Against Racial Discrimination¹⁸⁰ was created, aiming, namely, to combat discrimination at work and in job recruitment practices, in accessing housing (whether buying or renting houses), in accessing public places or using public services, in accessing economic activity or in the construction of school classes. Although this law does not reveal a particular concern with cultural specifications, it is nevertheless a big step forward with regard to the legal provision of equal rights.

¹⁷⁹ Portuguese-Speaking African Countries.

¹⁸⁰ Law nr. 134/99 of the 28th of August.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Considering the situation of the Portuguese Roma communities on the whole and particularly the situation of the Roma woman, as detailed throughout this study, the following recommendations were formulated and are considered most important:

1. to increase and diversify professional training courses with a school certificate at the level of the three cycles of basic education (first nine years of schooling);
2. to increase the offer of school training for the adult Roma population in order to diminish the high rates of illiteracy existing among the adult Roma population, namely, the women;
3. to carry out sensitisation activities with Roma families in order to improve their understanding the importance of school attendance and certification as a means to exercise active citizenship and professional activity outside the traditional Roma occupations;
4. to create a television programme that will discuss and reflect the problems that affect these communities and will attempt to deconstruct the existing stereotypes, making possible a greater opening/acceptance of the greater society in relation to these communities;
5. to create a monitoring centre to accompany the graduate Roma trainees in entering the labour market of the greater society, and also attempting to understand the reasons for the low rate of professional insertion of these graduates;
6. to create an incentive system (fiscal and others) for companies that employ Roma women; and¹⁸¹
7. to create specific credit possibilities for Roma women that demonstrate interest in creating their own companies.

Country Study Slovenia

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Slovenia

1. THE SITUATION OF ROMA IN SLOVENIA

Roma population lives in about 82 small Roma communities throughout Slovenia. The highest numbers of Roma live in Prekmurje, in north-east Slovenia, bordering Austria and Hungary and in the Dolenjska, the south-eastern region, bordering Croatia. They are also concentrated in the towns such as Ljubljana, Maribor and Velenje. Similar to the situation all over Europe, there are no certain statistics about real number of Roma population in Slovenia, but according to some Roma organisations such as the Romani Union of Slovenia, it is estimated that there are between 7,000 - 10,000 Roma in Slovenia. The Statistic information No. 93/2003, from the Statistic Office of Republic Slovenia, recorded the number of Roma population in Slovenia from 1953 until 2002 (the statistic review in addition). According to last census in 2002, 3,246 citizens were declared as Roma and 3,834 as native speakers of the Romani language. According to the data of social work centres and local communities (the Official Gazette of RS, No. 51/2002) the approximate number of Roma living in Slovenia are 6,264. Most Roma live in settlements that are isolated from other populations or in peripheries of inhabited areas, with minimal living standards. According to data, 39% of Roma live in a house made of brick or stone, half of those houses were built without necessary permissions, and 12% live in flats, while all the others live in provisional housing such as: sheds, barracks, containers, trailers and similar. Only a small number of Roma live together with the majority population, mostly in Prekmurje, where the social level of Roma participation in community is highest.

It appears that Roma came from three directions in Slovenia: from Hungary (the Roma population living in the Prekmurje region - the largest group named "Romi" in Slovene, but it is still very much alive their own denomination: "Ciganje"), from Croatia (Roma in Dolenjska, mostly dispersed and settled in a wide region between Ljubljana, Bela krajina, and Lower Posavje and who are generally called "Dolenjski Romi"), and from today's Austria (Sinti - living in the Gorenjska region). The term "German Gypsies" ("nemški Cigani" in Slovene) was often used for this group because they came to Gorenjska from Austria. A number of Roma moved to Slovenia in relatively recent times from the former Yugoslavia.

According to some linguists (Miklošič, Uhlik, etc.), the Roma population in Slovenia can be divided by language into the Turkish and Vlah/Vlak groups, and according to several authors, also into the Carpathian group (such as Štrukelj). The Roma population from Dolenjska belongs to the Turkish group and the Roma in Prekmurje to the Vlah/Vlak and Carpathian groups. Depending on the region they originated from secondarily, the Turkish group has become recognisable as "Croatian", and the Vlah/Vlak as "Hungarian". Due to the migration and marriages of the Roma from various Roma settlements, we can no longer speak about a clear territorial division between particular

Roma groups. There are only more or less traditional areas of settlement of Roma families.

Slovenian authorities, especially legislative bodies, introduced two terms related to Roma population that roughly indicated their position. The first term "autochthonous" is commonly regarded to refer to those Roma whose families have lived in Slovenia for more than a century, while the term "non-autochthonous" is used for those Roma people who arrived from other Yugoslav Republics, mostly from Bosnia, Serbia, Macedonia and Kosovo, from the 1970s and onwards. Although this term is used in the most legislation related to Roma people, it is impossible to determine on what basis officials designate a person "autochthonous" or "non-autochthonous". Accordingly, there are no written regulations referring to the possible change from "non-autochthonous" to "autochthonous" status.

The problem of most of the "non-autochthonous" Roma should be regarded within the problem of an erased people, who were deprived of their citizenship when Slovenia declared independence and was recognised as a sovereign state. Slovenia introduced the law according to which only persons previously registered as citizens of both the former Republic of Slovenia and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) could become citizens of the new state.

Questions concerning the legal status of the Roma emerged in 1989. The Roma community does not have the status of a national minority in Slovenia, but is considered an ethnic community or minority marked by particular ethnic distinctiveness such as: language, culture, and other characteristics. Apart from the general rights defined by the Constitution, particular rights were statutorily defined for the Roma community in 1995 - known as 'positive discrimination'. In 2003, the Guardian of Human rights called for particular laws for Roma that should arrange social standing and particular rights for their community.

2. THE SITUATION OF THE ROMA IN THE ECONOMY

Social research into Roma living conditions point out that low social and economic status is directly connected to the deprived situation of the Roma minority. They are ranked as the lowest social ethnic minority among the majority population and among other ethnic minorities in Slovenia. Beside the difficult economic situation, Roma in Slovenia also face problems in education, professional training and employment. Thus, the Roma population lives on the margins of society, dependent on financial state support. They are out of social negotiations; they are denied the power to self-determination and to initiate new projects that concern their current problems and needs. The government, other legislative bodies and NGOs perceive them as a problem, a matter that should be addressed. Due to this, they rarely participate actively in programme planning that would be recognisable on the level of public or media representation, mostly only to demonstrate the 'political correctness' prevalent in society.

There are numerous Roma organisations, mostly in Prekmurje, where the largest numbers of Roma live, and that are making some effort to change mainstream discourse and policies among Roma in Slovenia. The appropriation and manipulation of political discourse surrounding Roma issues proved that efforts are more opportunistic than real. Prekmurje is the region where many projects and strategies are directed towards solving Roma problems, while in Dolenjska there are still many problems that need to be solved. For the first time, during the local elections in November 2002, Roma people elected 15 Roma councillors, offering the opportunity to directly influence social, political, cultural and other decisions. In 2003, 18 more councillors were elected in the region. In a way, this is a step towards the inclusion of the Roma population in society.

In the process of the European integration, there was a project initiated towards the improvement of Roma education and employment. Concerning unemployment among Roma population, it is considered that 90% of the whole Roma population in Slovenia lives from state financial support. The main reasons for high unemployment among Roma are directly connected with the educational problems. Such a situation causes hostility between those who are working and those who receive it, which deepens the tension between non-Roma and Roma. The Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs of Slovenia is working on the employment integration of the Roma population. This Ministry has become a part of the Programme of the European Commission, whose aim is to prevent cases of social exclusion. Despite these initiatives, Roma people have not been included enough in the work programmes of the Employment Agency of the Republic of Slovenia.

Despite all of these efforts of the government and other organisations, xenophobia, intolerance and hate of the Roma population have been increasing year by year, especially in Dolenjska (south-east Slovenia). Non-Roma inhabitants have organised community groups to guard their villages and weekend cottages because they claim they are afraid of the Roma. Recently, one Roma was attacked because people believed that they had the right to "protect themselves". The main arguments against Roma are their abuse of social assistance (they do not want to work, because the state supports them for nothing), criminal activity (driving cars without the driving license and without respecting safety regulations; stealing, robbing and threatening; carrying weapons and shooting), laziness and dirtiness (they ruin the clean environment, they burn things and they do not wash themselves), and many others. The representatives

of various Roma associations make an effort to enlighten the consequences of such images and stereotypes of the Roma.

3. SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF ROMA WOMEN

Mapping gender and recording changes between gender and ethnic minority identity in Slovenia offered three ways of reflection: imaginary Roma in the predominant society and culture, which often presents xenophobic concepts through images and narratives; internal Roma society rules concerning women and corresponding domestic violence; and exterior violence, xenophobia and injustice imposed on Roma minority by the majority society.

Underprivileged social status, discrimination, poor living conditions, and lack of education among Roma women require urgent solutions. The European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) reported that Roma population frequently lived in settlements apart from other communities characterised by lack of basic utilities such as electricity, running water, sanitation, and access to transportation. There is also indication that local authorities developed segregated substandard housing facilities where Roma communities were forcibly relocated. The report funded by the EC action programme to combat discrimination noted that the enrolment of Roma children in primary schools for children with special needs was ten times higher than the average for the country, reportedly because of their inadequate knowledge of the Slovenian language. Particularly, it is necessary to point the poor health and living conditions of Roma women and insufficient access to healthcare. Roma women are often overlooked in policies devised on behalf of Roma. The physical, economic and information-based barriers to healthcare and other public and social services that many Roma women confront, result from the complex and inter-related effects of poverty, discrimination, and unfamiliarity with government institutions generally, and healthcare services in particular. In turn, certain traditions associated with religious beliefs, purity practices, and maintaining family honour through vigilance over a daughter's virginity may be a source of pressure on women to conceal their interest in and efforts to obtain reproductive healthcare.

Traditional Roma society rules can be also exemplified on many other levels. The first general information emerging from the material concerns education. Almost unanimously, most 11 to 12 year old Roma girls were removed from school, coinciding with their marital age. Early marriage, a lot of children, patriarchal hierarchy and traditional duties are some of the causes resulting in the poor living condition of Roma women.

When it comes to the imaginary Roma society, there are common trends that are possible to trace: a traditional imaginary Roma culture, in which women appear as dangerous seductresses, professionals from the social edge (prophecies, dance, music, black market, petty theft). This stereotypical representation of Roma women is spread throughout society, abused in popular culture, the media and determinant in a large number of social situations. The prevailing prejudices hinder the participation of Roma women in society. Although the data seems to corroborate the thesis that traditional values among Roma women is alive and well, the reality of everyday life should take priority in constructing the gender identity of Roma women. Research in this area would be beneficial.

And last, but not least, the social background of the Roma women in Slovenia is connected to the recent Yugoslav wars in the region. A significant number of Roma women refugees from the former Yugoslavia are stateless; and thus they lack registration and other forms of appropriate documentation. Although there is a huge

lack of research on gender questions in this context, many interviewees often refer to the status of refugees as the crucial element in the deteriorating position of Roma women. In response to those concerns, a number of inter-governmental organisations have co-operated in a research initiative with the aim of contributing analysis and policy options to states in the last few years. Until now these have only considered the wider context (problems surrounding the 'erased', asylum seekers, refugees and others), but not particularly regarding Roma women.

4. SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN IN THE ECONOMY

Monitoring problems among Roma women in Slovenia and focusing especially on

Roma women in the economy, the most problematic issues are certainly connected with the job-search. Generally, most Roma women, due to many restrictions, work under appalling work conditions, are poorly paid, and exposed to different types of harassment on a regular basis. Other possibilities of earning an income are located in the informal 'grey' economy. Roma women mostly sell in the markets, clean houses, collect paper and other recyclable materials; they are housewives and some of them also work as fortune-tellers. There are also a number of Roma women from border regions, who often migrate for seasonal work in Austria, Italy or Hungary. This is recorded as a short-term migration due to work opportunities - based on the black market.

The high rate of unemployment among Roma women has many reasons, common for all Roma populations such as:

according to official policy, incompatibility between job offers and corresponding skills (the 'traditional occupations' of the Roma does not fit labour market needs);

according to Roma statements, prejudices among employers (the data proves that unemployed persons who completed employment programmes find a job faster if they are not the Roma);

low levels of education and vocational training among the Roma, particularly among Roma women;

short-term employment, seasonal work and unorganised types of employment;

lack of language skills, particularly among Roma women who settled in Slovenia from the late 1970s; and

citizenship problems - problem of 'erased', mention in the first part of the study and others.

According to some official statistics 13% of the Roma in Slovenia are estimated to be regularly employed, some 25% engage in casual or seasonal work and some 41% are involved in non-organised employment (like collecting raw materials and herbs). The number of employed Roma women in those statistics is unknown (if they are taken into consideration at all). Problems considering employment and economy among the Roma women have not been studied, exposed and solved until now. They are often a part of the common Roma programmes, or a part of programmes for endangered or unprivileged groups.

During the transitional period three processes had a major influence on social stratification and increased social inequalities: denationalisation, privatisation and intolerance. Many of those research studies requisitioning and analysing transitional reversals missed the impact of repatriarchalisation during the transition process.

Gender discrimination is present in an indirect manner, e.g. within the traditional division of labour according to traditional gender roles within family and society. Thus, women still perform most household tasks and the role of men in the decision-making processes still prevails at all levels of political life. In the field of gender quality there are some important developments, particularly the current projects on institutional level mostly initiated by The Office for Equal Opportunities that functions as an umbrella for legal and an institutional mechanisms for monitoring the effectiveness of state policy and strategies. According to their statistics, in terms of full-time employment, women in Slovenia participate in equal measures to men (in 2003, 7,5% of women and 5,1% of men were employed part-time, while 10,5% of women and 10,1% men were engaged in fixed-term employment). According to an assessment of the 2004 National Action Plan for Employment, women's equal access to full-time employment is supported by well-developed public childcare provisions and liberal family planning based on public representation. Nevertheless, recent statistics on the increase of unemployment among women, as well as the slower growth of female employment, indicate a deterioration of women's position in the labour market, especially for younger women (Kanjuro Mrčela and Černigoj Sadar, 2004). Despite a legislative framework that provides a good basis for the prohibition of all forms of discrimination and sexual harassment at work, additional measures and activities are needed in work practices. The difference between written programmes and their implementation must be overcome, especially for Roma women, because they are excluded from above statistics, analyses and welfare programmes. In some aspects they are included in these figures, occasionally appearing as an example of discriminatory practices in the labour market.

A gender-neutral approach to increasing the Roma participation could not define obstacles for the Roma women, as well as resolving the socio-economic problems, such as employment of Roma women, without gender-specific programmes/measures. This is a pretty new field of research that should result with good policies and practices for Roma women in the economy and society.

5. PROGRAMMES AND POLICIES AIMING TOWARDS IMPROVEMENT OF ECONOMICAL AND SOCIAL SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN

Several strategies and actions have been taken by the Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs in order to improve economic status and policy of employment of Roma, such as the Programme for Employment of the Roma in 2000. There are also some local and national programmes supported and incited by the Ministry of Education and Sport, the Labour Market of Slovenia, the Institute for Ethnic Studies, and Roma organisations as well (the Romani Union of Slovenia). The international project supported by Pact of Stability for SEE: The Roma in the Process of Euro-Atlantic Integration (2003-2006) should develop and implement some strategies, such as: an adapted programme of public employment, Roma participation in planning processes, the suppression and prevention of all kind of discrimination, better educational and training programmes, and so on. In the aforementioned framework for gender equality, in June 2003 the project Roma Women Can Do It (*Romske ženske to zmoremo*) tried to emphasise the need for the participation of Roma women in the negotiations for the improvement of their social and economic status. Gender equal opportunity programmes for Roma women was organised in several destinations: Novo Mesto, Črnomlj, Murska Sobota in Rogašovce. The purpose of the programme was the starting point for the inclusion of Roma women in the society, economy and welfare programmes. Seminars drew attention to the presentation of Roma women, to experience exchanges and to networking possibilities among Roma women in Slovenia.

Before that there were some attempts of networking among the Roma women, such as: the women forum established as a part of largest Roma organisation in Slovenia, the Romani Union. The Faculty of Social Work at the University of Ljubljana, also conducted some research into these issues. There are rare examples of Roma students participating in this research and in implementation of the results. All these programmes are pioneer efforts without highly structured and organised strategies and actions.

RECOMMENDATIONS

It is necessary to develop several lines of research on Roma women, to conceptualise, position, and present the results of these endeavours in studies in projects that concern Slovenia, in comparative settings within EU projects. They should be linked to more isolated research conducted in different Balkan academic and research centres in recent years, with the large participation of Roma women in the process of research and programme planning. It is essential to advocate for the participatory, empowering programme planning that will enable negotiations between needs and policy, and to democratise the research encounters that will facilitate the transfer of knowledge and results in both directions. The proposed research topics are as follows:

Roma women in transition: changing ideologies, changing realities; Balkan

state politics, nationalism, human rights: the actual situation;

family, economy, power (multilevel discrimination that also includes domestic violence and traditional rules among Roma women in the Roma community, social and political invisibility, unemployment and relatively low levels of education);

mobility and migration - gender aspects (economic, daily or seasonal migration to border countries, particularly to Austria, as well as several waves of economic and social migrations from other republics of the former Yugoslavia in the 1970s, 1980s and in the beginning of the 1990s following the start of the Yugoslavian wars);

gender-specific language features among Roma women (migrant Roma women who live in Slovenia hardly speak any languages other than Romani and without recourse to Serbo-Croatian, a language formerly used as the *lingua franca* for the Roma population in the former Yugoslavia); and

gender presentation inside and outside of the Roma group (the cultural imagination of Roma women and its representations in the media), as well as Roma women's self-presentation in oral histories, texts, performances, images and beliefs.

The goal is to map the social and political situation of Roma women in Slovenia (status, participation, mobility, presentation) within the EU context, and to study the ideological patterns used to exclude them inside and outside their community, while pinpointing the main producers and lines of narratives that serve to form various discourses of exclusion.

Country Study Slovakia

Kristína Magdolenová

Roma Press Agency

1. THE SITUATION OF ROMA IN THE COUNTRY

A common indication for evaluating the situation of the Roma in Slovakia before 1989 is the question of ethnicity and the lack of acceptance of Roma as an ethnic minority. The entire post-war period in the former Czechoslovakia can, in relation to the Roma, perhaps be considered a period of disintegration of cultural and ethical values. The process of solving the so-called "gypsy question" for socialism was one-dimensional -it ran only on the level of improving the material side of life without the engagement of the Roma themselves. Although discrimination of the Roma in the aforementioned period was not evident, the state did not perceive them as citizens with equal rights. Their poverty before 1989 was assessed as a demographic poverty and was extrapolated from the number of children.

After 1989, the Roma entered the process of social transformation wholly unprepared, especially those, from the statistical perspective, with the lowest qualifications on the labour market¹⁸². The liquidation of some branches of industry (mining, metallurgy, building, sectors within the machinery and textile industries) and agriculture reduced the demand for an unskilled labour force. The high concentration of the Roma community in economically undeveloped regions (the Košice and Prešov regions) was also an important factor of this social assault. The Roma became a component of vertical poverty¹⁸³.

After 1989, the housing problem presented the most striking projection of the increased segregation of the Roma community. At the end of the 1980s, 278 Roma settlements were identified in Slovakia¹⁸⁴. A large portion of the Roma lived in flats or houses with unresolved ownership relations and of poor quality in comparison to the majority. In terms of quality, up to 59% of the flats housing Roma in 1980 belonged to the fourth category¹⁸⁵. After 1989 housing costs grew several fold. This reality provoked a migration of dual character. On one hand, there was a return to the settlements, where housing costs are minimal. This move was reflected in the increased number of

¹⁸²The share of Roma in the educational structure in relation to all residents of the SR in the year 1991

Level of education achieved	Share in %
Basic school	76.67
Trade school with no graduation	8.07
Technical education	0.60
Complete secondary school	0.84
University education	0.13

Statistical Office of the SR, results shown do not include children up to 15 years old

Developed from a lack of education as a reason for long-term unemployment. Vertical poverty is the result of structural changes in the labour market and its presence is not dependent on the activities of individuals.

¹⁸⁴Jurov, A: Development of the Roma Problem in Slovakia After 1945, Bratislava 1993. ¹⁸⁵Jurov, A:

Development of the Roma Problem in Slovakia After 1945, Bratislava 1993.

overcrowded, segregated Roma settlements. On the other hand, there was a collective exodus abroad in a number of waves.

In the year 2003¹⁸⁶ there were 1,575 different types of Roma populations. In 776 towns these communities lived integrated and spread among the majority. On the basis of mapping, it is possible to consider 149 communities as segregated. This means that these populations are found on the edge or outside of the town, have no access to plumbing with more than 20% occupying illegal housing. Nearly one-third of Roma housing is illegal. Shacks or shanties, make up almost 16% of all illegal housing and is inhabited by 14% of the Roma population¹⁸⁷.

Most information regarding the health status of the Roma population originates in the era prior to 1989¹⁸⁸. For other decades, only local and partial information are available, on the basis of which, however, it is possible to observe a decrease in the health status of the Roma population. The most recent estimates of the life expectancy among Roma averaged 62.4 years for men and 72.1 years for women¹⁸⁹. The life expectancy for the entire population of the Slovak Republic is 69.3 years for men and 77.6 for women.

The most common chronic illnesses among the Roma are cardiovascular diseases, tuberculosis and intestinal diseases. Infections and rare parasitic illnesses are also widespread among the Roma: poliomyelitis, meningitis and hepatitis A and B. Children are a special risk group (the measure of infant mortality among the Roma is roughly twice that of the entire state average) and women, due to other social aspects and as a result of cultural models (low marriage age, high fertility rate)¹⁹⁰. In some years sexual diseases such as syphilis and gonorrhoea posed other health risks. It is predicted that prostitution¹⁹¹ among the Roma will increase the threat of HIV/AIDS. Distinctive historical developments as well as demographic factors have influenced the educational development of the Roma population. In the 1950 census, 42,000 people claimed illiteracy, of which up to 75% were Roma. A survey in 1955 put the number at 80%¹⁹².

Absolving a pre-school education is considered the most important moment for achieving school success among the Roma population. Before 1991, 85%-90% of Roma children in Slovakia attended kindergarten, but in the 1990s the number of Roma children attending such schools fell by 0.7%¹⁹³.

In the 2000/2001 school year, out of a total number of 154,232 children in kindergartens, 4,391 were Roma, 3.41% of the total population of students attending such schools¹⁹⁴, while in the first year of basic school 8.28% of the students were Roma¹⁹⁵. The year-on-year growth of Roma students who fulfil mandatory school

¹⁸⁶ Sociographic Mapping of Roma Populations in Slovakia, Bratislava 2003.

¹⁸⁷ Characteristics of the social conditions of the Roma by region, see supplement no. 1.1.

¹⁸⁸ Law no. 428/2002 Z.z. about protection of personal information.

¹⁸⁹ Office of Preventive and Clinical Medicine, Bratislava 2000.

¹⁹⁰ Šaško, P: The Health Situation of the Roma Population. In: Čačipen pal o Roma, Bratislava 2002.

¹⁹¹ There is little available information about the extent and in what form children and women take part in the sex trade. See: The Roma in Central and Eastern Europe, UNDP, Bratislava 2003.

¹⁹² Survey realised in six districts of eastern Slovakia by the Department of Culture, Jurova, A: Development of the Roma Problem in Slovakia after 1945, Bratislava 1993.

¹⁹³ Vašečka, M: The Roma, 2001.

¹⁹⁴ As a consequence of special support in the framework of projects from EU sources (for example, the Mother and Child project, Phare), Report of the Ministry of Education about the present state in raising and educating of Roma children and students, Bva 2003.

¹⁹⁵ Report of the Ministry of Education about the present state in raising and educating of Roma children

attendance is averages 6%¹⁹⁶. Although the right to be educated in one's mother tongue is included in both the Slovak Republic's Constitution (Article 34, paragraph 2, letter a/) and in the anti-discrimination law, in practice neither law is followed. The problem also persists in the unauthorised placing of Roma children in special schools¹⁹⁷. Since 1999 there have been no statistics compiled in Slovakia on the basis of ethnicity. Other official statistics¹⁹⁸, introduced by state organs, originated from 1989.

The Sociographic Mapping of Roma Populations in Slovakia is the starting point for the latest statistical data initiated in 2003. The survey gathered data on local residents' perceptions of Roma communities on the basis of anthropological indicators, cultural membership and lifestyle. According to this survey, 320,000 Roma live in Slovakia. Approximately 280,000 people live in communities that the majority designate as Roma communities. Approximately 60% of them live integrated spread among the majority population. The remaining 40% live in town settlements located on the edges of towns and communities¹⁹⁹.

and students, Bva 2003.

¹⁹⁶ The present degree of the number of segregated Roma schools. According to information from the Slovak Ministry of Education, 31 kindergartens from a total number of 1,631 were attended solely by Roma children and in 82 kindergartens Roma representation was from 50 to 100 percent, Report of Ministry of Education about the present state in raising and educating of Roma children and students, Bva 2003. ¹⁹⁷ Tomatová, J: On the neighbouring track. SGI, Bratislava 2004.

¹⁹⁸ The statistics which are available are four-part in character:

a) estimates of citizen activists, which are overestimated. These estimates for Slovakia from the year 1989 fluctuate in the range of 400 thousand to one million Roma in Slovakia, b) estimates of demographers which were compiled on the basis of statistics from the year 1989 using estimates of birth rate, death rate and the like. These statistics fluctuate between 350 to 400 thousand Roma in Slovakia after the year 1989. (Vaňo, Jurová, Mann), c) the most recent statistics were compiled for the needs of the government of the SR in the year 2003. Known under the title Mapping of the Roma Community, it offers the figure of 320,000 Roma in Slovakia, d) Official statistics compiled on the basis of a census suggests 89,920 residents of Roma nationality in 2001 versus 75,802 in 1991.

¹⁹⁹ Report on the status of solving the question of the Roma community in individual regions of Slovakia, published on the web site of the government of the SR, from discussions of the government released on 21.12.2005.

2. THE SITUATION OF ROMA IN THE ECONOMY

The legislative problem of discrimination against the Roma in the labour market has been well-documented²⁰⁰. In practice, however, the situation is much more complicated. According to data from the World Bank²⁰¹, unemployment among the Roma minority²⁰² in the year 2004 reached 79.8%²⁰³ while long-term unemployment reached 62.8%²⁰⁴. The risk of unemployment for Roma is 4.2- times higher than the national average while long-term unemployment is 5.2- times higher²⁰⁵. This is a result of the low level of education of the Roma community. In 1999, when the National Work Office introduced unemployment statistics based on ethnic membership, Roma made up approximately 20% of all unemployed persons²⁰⁶. As of 30 June 1999, the Roma represented 83.1% of all registered unemployed (EN) lacking an education, 41.1% of EN with a basic education, 6.6% of EN with a trade school education, and only 0.7% of EN with a secondary school and university education²⁰⁷.

Roma women, who after 1991 collectively entered the official labour market, make up a high share of these figures. During socialism this section of the Roma community was passive in relation to the labour market (women in households with a minimal education). Part of the community, nevertheless, after 1991, left work voluntarily because the state offered social benefits that were more advantageous for large families²⁰⁸. The consequence was that this factor, together with others, pushed the Roma towards the category of the long-term unemployed, to the loss of work habits among some parts of the community and to the creation of a culture of dependence.

Social system reforms²⁰⁹ which began in 2003, attempted to remove the aforementioned de-motivating elements of the social system, which preserved the dependence of low-wage groups in the social network. As a consequence of social

²⁰⁰ The Constitution of the Slovak Republic, in Article 35, guarantees all citizens the right to work. According to Article 12, every citizen has the right to work without consideration of their sex, race, skin color, faith or religion, political or other opinions, national or social origins, membership to a nationality or ethnic group, fortune, family or other considerations. From the viewpoint of the incorporation of European antidiscrimination directives into the Slovak legal system, the key moment was the acceptance of Law no. 365/2004 Z. z. about equal treatment in certain areas and about protection from discrimination and about changes and fulfilling of certain laws (the antidiscrimination law). Also Law no. 428/2002 Z.z. about the protection of personal information protects members of ethnic minorities in the sense that it makes it impossible for potential employers to request during interviews information about an applicant's ethnic membership. In the year 2004, Law no. 5/2004 Z. z. about services of employment also went into effect.

²⁰¹ Report of the World Bank, *The Road to Equitable Growth in the Slovak Republic*, October 2005, which supports the regular quarterly *Selected determinations of the work force*, Statistical Office of the SR. According to this report, 76.6 percent of the members of the Roma national minority are reliant on help for material poverty. For evaluating the impact of reforms to the social system, the report states that among households which through reforms could lose money are homes with three or more children, in which all adult members are unemployed and who had, before reform, claim for larger benefits. According to the results of a microcensus in the years 1997 and 2003 such a model of family is typical for a Roma family, in which the average number of children in a family statistically is 4.2.

²⁰² ethnic information on the basis of the self-identification of respondents to the survey of the Statistical Office of the SR.

²⁰³ for the purpose of comparison, the average in the subsequent period was 18.1 percent.

²⁰⁴ for the purpose of comparison, the share for the whole state is 11.4 percent.

²⁰⁵ Report about the status of solving the question of the Roma community in individual regions in Slovakia, published on the web site of the government of the SR, from discussions of the government released on 21.12.2005.

²⁰⁶ NÚP, 1999.

²⁰⁷ Slovak Ministry of Work, Social Affairs and Family, 1999.

²⁰⁸ Loran, T: Social policies and employment of the Roma, In: Čačipen pal o Roma, Bva 2002.

²⁰⁹ For more detailed information about social policies, see supplement no. 1.2.

unrest at the beginning of 2004, the Slovak Republic government accepted a series of *measures for deepening the positive actions in a change of the benefits system for those in material need for some groups of residents*. Launching grants for meals and school needs as well as prospective stipends for secondary school students from families in material need have been shown to be successful measures.

The marginalisation of the Roma in the labour market is perceived as a primary source of poverty and at the same time the result of marginalisation in the regions of housing, education and healthcare. The fact that the Roma are discriminated against on the labour market is undeniable even though there is not enough information on the reality of the situation²¹⁰. Unemployment among the Roma is a specific phenomenon insofar as it's predominately long-term rather than permanent unemployment typically lasting longer than one year. Not only are the high share of long-term unemployment characteristic among Roma (Roma comprised 52.26% in the year 1999, and 55.7% in the year 2001 of those unemployed longer than 48 months), but also the high average period of registered unemployment of the Roma (about 2.5 years)²¹¹.

The long-term unemployment of young Roma leads gradually towards the formation of a subculture of unemployment. At the end of 1999 young Roma represented nearly 25% (62,532) of registered applicants for employment and more than 60% of young unemployed Roma on average spend more than three years looking for work²¹². The highest measure of long-term unemployment occurs in districts with a high concentration of Roma residents (Rimavská Sobota, Revúca, Veľký Krtíš, Rožňava, Trebišov, Sobrance, Michalovce)²¹³. At the same time, these districts also display a high percentage of segregated Roma populations.

Even if Roma do participate in the labour market, they are often employed on the secondary labour market. This means an unstable job with worse working conditions and lower wages. Between the primary and the secondary labour markets there exist a variety of barriers that considerably limit the movement of workers between these two labour markets. We can include among them, for example, differences in required qualifications connected to differences in the cultural and social capital of workers in addition to discrimination based on racial prejudices or social stereotypes²¹⁴. The number of Roma in the private sector is impossible to estimate. Statistics are not available and no detailed survey has been conducted. Experience from the field shows that while there are Roma entrepreneurs, the majority of them are in the areas of small building firms, trade involving the procuring of work for the Roma abroad and traditional crafts (such as metal workers in Dunajská Lužna).

²¹⁰ See supplement no. 1.3.

²¹¹ NÚP, 1999, Report of the committee for legal questions and human rights PZ RE, 2002.

²¹² NÚP, 1999.

²¹³ Statistical Office of the SR, Supplement no. 1.4.

²¹⁴ Kriglerova, E: Discrimination of the Roma on the Labour Market, Bva 2004.

3. THE SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF ROMA WOMEN

At present, 403,000 Roma live in Slovakia, 202,000 (50.1%) of whom are men and 201,000 (49.9%) of whom are women²¹⁵. The Roma population is not markedly differentiated from the non-Roma population in terms of sexual structure. According to results from a 1980 census, the last real data on Roma residents in Slovakia, men predominate in the Roma population (50.8% versus 49.2% women). At the time of this census, the proportion of the sexes was reversed (men 49.1%, women 50.9%). The proportion of the sexes is gradually moving towards the average values for the entire Slovak Republic (in the year 2004 - 48.5% men, 51.5% women)²¹⁶. The position of Roma women in society is dependent upon a number of factors. First, on the degree of segregation depending on the type of population (village, town), and depending on traditional ethnic-cultural models (on age, place in the social structure and the like).

In a Roma family an archaic division of labour still persists. A woman's role in Roma society is connected with her reproductive activity and her role as a care-provider. Young girls are prepared for this role from an early age. In segregated communities a woman is the driving force in the family and the informal leader. She decides the finances, the choice of partners for children and on their education²¹⁷. Botošová points out a connection between the standing of Roma women in the community and education level. Upon completing mandatory school attendance, Roma women often don't prepare to enter a profession, instead quickly entering into a partnership relation and soon, at an adolescent age, becoming mothers. In short, they belong to a large group of the unemployed with few qualifications for entering the labour market. Often they aren't even interested in being employed because they are not educated and they consider family care their primary occupation. In many cases traditions play a large role, such as a husband not allowing his wife to work²¹⁸. These women are therefore reliant on income from the social network, and as a result, the opportunity to solve their employment situation is not stimulated. The present state influences, according to Botošová, the reality that parents still make decisions for older or adult children. This way of life, together with a high degree of segregation (the impossibility of perceiving different models of behaviour) is decisive for maintaining archaic cultural models in the community, thus preserving its reclusiveness. The Roma family today designates norms and rules of behaviour, controls their observance and punishes those who violate these norms. This communal way of life erases the borders between private and public life.

Although during socialism great emphasis was placed on the education of the Roma, in comparison with the majority, enormous differences in education levels persisted existed. Resolution no. 141 of the government of the Slovak Socialist Republic from 1980 set out to improve the schooling of the Roma, to increase the share of employed Roma to 77%-80% and to increase the employment rate of Roma women to 58%-63%²¹⁹. The gradual increase of sterilisation was one means of achieving the goal of "lowering the high share of unhealthy population", with marked financial advantages²²⁰.

²¹⁵ Boris Vaňo, Head of the Demographic Research Centre INFOSTAT, for the needs of the RPA.

²¹⁶ Boris Vaňo, Head of the Demographic Research Centre INFOSTAT, for the needs of the RPA.

²¹⁷ Magdolenová, K: The traditional way of life of the Roma erases the border between private and public life, <http://www.rpa.sk/rpa.php?lang=EN&m=AKT&id=&show=3935&target=blank>.

²¹⁸ Magdolenová, K: The traditional way of life of the Roma erases the border between private and public life, <http://www.rpa.sk/rpa.php?lang=EN&m=AKT&id=&show=3935&target=blank>.

²¹⁹ Government Resolution of the SSR no. 141 from 28 May 1989.

²²⁰ Jurová, A: Development of the Roma Problem in Slovakia after 1945, Bratislava 1993.

All measures that stressed the placing of Roma into the work force gradually led to the fact that participation of the Roma in the labour market stopped being perceived as a problem. In 1980 the number of economically active Roma men per 100 residents represented 84.5 persons (for the total population, the figure was 85.2). Indicators were worse for Roma women, even though here growth was evident. In 1970 the economic activity of Roma women represented 26.9 persons per 100 persons of a productive age (compared to 62.7 for the total population), but in 1980 it was 45.4 persons versus 76.6 economically active women per 100 in total. The lower percentage of economically active Roma women was due to the persisting particularities of the Roma family. The different age structure of Roma distorts the objectivity of the data²²¹. Yet, despite all measures, the education level of Roma citizens still remained low and prior to 1989 the education level of Roma women evidently rose.

In 1970, 61.5% of Roma women (24,933) received a basic school education, while 1.7% (687) had professional training, 141 (0.3%) had a secondary school professional education and 13 (0.0%) had acquired a university education. The number of Roma women lacking any education totalled 14,647, representing 36.2% of all Roma women.

According to a 1980 census of Roma citizens, 45,970 (83%) women had a basic education, 1768 (3.4%) had a professional education, 190 had a general secondary education, 429 had a professional secondary education and 79 (0.2%) had a university education. A total of 1,832 women (3.3%) lacked any schooling²²². Roma women before 1989 worked in low-skilled professions, the majority as tailors, seamstresses in the textile industry, in agriculture and in the service industry (cleaners, sales assistants, etc.).

A survey by the World Bank from 1990, however, already discussed the fact that 59% of Roma women had not completed basic education. Regarding women from segregated communities up to 25 years old, education levels fall and unemployment reaches 100%. This group of women are involved exclusively in seasonal work (picking fruits and berries, drying medicinal plants) or to public activation work (street cleaning, unskilled work for a community). The situation is different in integrated or partially-integrated communities where surveys ascertained the participation of women in the framework of a variety of support programmes (field workers, public administration, third sector, education)²²³.

A report from the World Bank on the basis of more indicators, however, unequivocally states that the situation of the Roma after the year 1989 has radically worsened. After 1989, work offices unofficially kept unemployment statistics with regard to ethnicity, but this process was subjective and disadvantaged the Roma in the labour market. This practice was abolished in 1999. The result is the complete absence of unemployment data on the Roma, which complicates the effectiveness of projects aimed at this target group, especially for women.

²²¹ Jurová, A: Development of the Roma Problem in Slovakia after 1945, Bratislava 1993.

²²² Jurová, A: Development of the Roma Problem in Slovakia after 1945, Bratislava 1993.

²²³ Report of the World Bank no. 22 351-SK, 2001.

4. THE SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN IN THE ECONOMY

In 2005 Slovakia drew some 1.5 billion Slovak crowns within the framework of the European Social Fund (ESF). The finances were used in the scope of the Sector Operation Programme for Human Resources (SOP LZ), for a programme documentary and also within the scope of the EQUAL programme. A large portion of the supported projects was targeted at improving the participation of disadvantaged groups in the labour market, including gender equality issues. In Slovakia, however, no public monitoring system exists that could judge the effectiveness of these projects. Equally, these realised projects refused to offer information to the media on the support of projects. This is probably the main reason why billion-crown long-term investments are not very effective.

Roma experts point out the reality that many organisations enter into the problems unprepared and with unreal expectations. Partial monitoring showed a high degree of exclusion of Roma women and their non-acceptance as partners (respecting a part of society) also on the level of the third sector. Nearly one-third of the organisations that obtained support from European funds for solving the problems of women in the labour market, *a priori* rejected the participation of Roma women in the project if Roma women were not the directly targeted group (for example, they did not consider employing them in projects aimed at all women on maternity leave, or for mothers with children, for long-term unemployment and the like. On the question of how many Roma women are connected to projects, they answer: the project is not designated for Roma women, and this from organisations from localities with a high degree of integration of the Roma community).

What is the effectiveness of the invested financing from the viewpoint of the project goals? Often, Projects don't set the creation of real work places as a target; merely the re-qualification of women. In many localities Roma women have completed re-qualification courses but are unable to find employment. This increases deprivation in the community and strengthens the feeling of failure, although the problem really lies in the ineffectiveness and inappropriateness of the prescribed project. Financial resources are not used on behalf of the community but on behalf of the organisations that realise the projects. In practice, this means that Roma women refuse to complete the constantly new re-qualification courses, which is interpreted by the donors and by the public as a lack of interest in work. For example, the citizens association ROMAR, a project worth 4,217,800 SK (114,000 EUR) to employ Roma women schooled in the project for at least half-time work in activist work (they serve to maintain and renew work habits in the framework of community services, not participation in the classic labour market)²²⁴. We monitored a similar situation in Švedlár, where only 5 out of 15 women educated as weavers got the opportunity to work in the scope of the activities of community centre for activation work²²⁵. Other organisations that managed to create real work places, had problems with securing grants and also with marketing (for example, protecting the tailor's workshop in Ladomirova)²²⁶.

²²⁴ Romano Nevo Ľil, 712-715, 15t Annual, 29.8-25.9.2005

²²⁵ <http://www.rpa.sk/rpa.php?lang=SK&m=VYH&id=SEARCH&show=4017&search=Švedlár&ako1=autor&ako2=titulok&ako3=text&target=blank>

²²⁶ <http://www.rpa.sk/rpa.php?lang=SK&m=VYH&id=SEARCH&show=4017&search=Švedlár&ako1=autor&ako2=titulok&ako3=text&target=blank>

The problem was probably compounded by the limited work experience of Roma women (tailors, seamstresses, weavers). New work places for Roma women originated in 2003 in the scope of the Assistant Roma Teachers project, where women with a secondary school education were trained to work in schools on the condition that they complete a full secondary school education by the year 2010. Some dozens of Roma women, however, as a consequence of the non-conceptual process of the project creators, lost their jobs after one year of work. Some of them went through new training and now work in positions of community social workers, assistants to community workers, or field social workers in areas with a representation of the Roma community. A condition of creating such work places is the willingness of the local community government and cooperation with the Fund for Social Development. At present, work experience for Roma women originate within the scope of the Ministry of Health project improving the Access of the Roma to Healthcare, where, from the year 2006, they will work as field assistants to doctors. All of these work experiences are created from EU resources with co-financing from the state.

Work experience for Roma women is also originates from the third sector, where they display high activity in the area aimed at improving living conditions and in projects aimed at educating Roma children. These work experiences are, however, limited by the length of the projects, which is usually last a few months.

In addition to discrimination, lack of education is another reason for the exclusion of Roma women from the labour market. This was confirmed in a non-representative survey in 25 communities in the Kosice and Presov regions. The criteria for the selection of communities were that the number of Roma residents reached a minimum of 10% of the population. These are communities in which the average standard of living of the Roma community approximates the level of the majority and where the number of residents enables leaders of the community to know residents so well that they are capable of offering us the desired information. (Thus no official statistics for the mentioned data exist.)

The 25 communities mentioned consist of 22,041 residents, 9,227 (41,9%) of whom are Roma. From these, 2,423 women are over 18 (11% of all the residents) and up to 4,278 (19.4% of all residents) are below 18 years old. In terms of the residents identified as Roma, the share of women over 18 (the 2,423 women) is 26.3% and the share of women under 18 (4,278 women) is 58%.

The total number of evidently unemployed in the communities is 3,544, representing 16.1% unemployment. The share of Roma evidently unemployed is 67.7% (2,398 persons), from which 1,207 (or 35% of all evident unemployed) are women, while another 461 Roma women are on maternal leave. Women comprise 50.3% of the total of all evidently unemployed Roma. More than 55% of all unemployed Roma women are taking part in community work. In the sample introduced, of the 1,311 evidently unemployed women over the age of 18, only 104 (2.9%) are non-Roma women.

Among the total group of 2,423 Roma women over the age of 18, only 18 are engaged as small entrepreneurs and 44 (1.8%) employed women (including community and field social workers, assistant teachers, etc.). In the sample only one community didn't maintain the numbers of unemployed according to ethnicity and gender. The sampling of the education level of the Roma women is not exact, but covers some 95% of Roma women. It confirms, however, the hypothesis about the low (falling) education level of Roma women: 20% of the women have not completed a basic education, another

64.7% only have a basic education, 8.6% have completed a trade school, 1.2 % graduated from a secondary school, 0.8% have a secondary school education but did not graduate and 0.04% earned a university education (that is 1 person in the entire sample)²²⁷.

5. PROGRAMMES AND POLICIES AIMED AT IMPROVING THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN

In the year 2005, a number of Agencies for Supporting Employment (APZ) aimed at creating work places for Roma and Roma women, began working in the regions in Slovakia. They tried to combat educational insufficiencies in these target groups by founding "second-chance schools". These groups promote the increasing of the age from which young people can enter into performing activation work. That is, the situation repeatedly occurs where talented young girls leave school at age 16 under pressure from their parents to start activation work so that they can secure an income for the family (about 30 - 40 Euro per month). This is partially an expression of poverty and partly of advocacy of the patterns of behaviour of the older generation that do not perceive education as an investment²²⁸.

The new trend is an attempt to connect Roma women to social services²²⁹. There are already an abundance of cases of Roma families who become substitute parents and take foster care of Roma children from children's homes while at the same time becoming employees of children's homes or organisations with facilities for this purpose (non-governmental organisations such as virtual children's homes). Legislation, meanwhile, protects the most widespread of these opportunities (substitute parents must have fully completed secondary school education). In town communities, or in localities where Roma secondary schools function, it's possible to witness the increased attendance of young girls. Statistics on the success of graduates are not available.

In 2005 Slovakia signed the Access to the Decade of Inclusion of the Roma Programme and for the goals of Decade also developed a National Action Plan. The government accepted the programme on 12 January 2005. The programme, however, doesn't contain a single specific reference to Roma women and doesn't lay out any specific goals for improving their living conditions or their standing in the labour market. They are merely included in employment programmes and for improving education and healthcare. In the problem of employment, the Slovak Action Plan is tied to the acceptance of employment policies of the Slovak Ministry of Work, Social Affairs and Family and is at the same time compatible with the Programme of Social Inclusion and the Strategy of Employment in the European Union. The intention of Decade is to bring this conception closer. Specific aims in the area of employment are connected to programmes which the ministry developed with the aim of increasing employment among disadvantaged groups as well as ensuring equal treatment for all citizens on the labour market²³⁰.

²²⁷ Magdolenová, M: The Matrix in Slovak or Discrimination on the Labour Market: Facts and Myths. At: <http://www.rpa.sk/rpa.php?lang=SK&m=PUB&id=ROLI&show=4009>.

²²⁸ Magdolenová, K: The Road from the Ghetto. At: <http://www.rpa.sk/rpa.php?lang=SK&m=PUB&id=ROLI&show=3812>

²²⁹ Activity of APZ Somotor.

²³⁰ National Action Plan of the Slovak Government towards the Decade of Inclusion of the Roma Population 2005-2015, session of the government of the SR 12.1.2005.

Since 2004, programmes targeted at removing discrimination from the labour market and creating conditions for equal opportunities have drawn resources from the European Social Fund (ESF). The largest of these programmes is the EQUAL programme, which was allocated 1,205,054,903 SK. Millions have been allocated to the SOP-Human Resources programme with the aim of solving the inequality of the labour market with an emphasis on disadvantaged groups. Many of the projects attempt to define the determinants and limits of Roma women in the labour market. According to available information, no mutual co-ordination or exchange of information exists between them. In addition, no public supervision of the effectiveness of these programs exists and there is no direct connection of Roma women to the process. Organisations which realise projects refuse to offer information under the pretext of "protecting the know-how" of the projects. Roma women in these projects are merely perceived as "objects of transformation". This process, reminiscent of the times of socialism, does not activate the Roma community nor does it reflect the communities' needs.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The third sector in the past has shown that there is a space for the activation of Roma women just as there is for the creation of work opportunities. Its system of functioning, however, does not support this process. A change in state support in relation to the third sector would help the stimulation of employment among Roma women in these areas (social services, education) and would support the creation of work places and systematic support for projects that have the capacity to become self-financing.
2. In the scope of projects from EU resources, only projects that have direct responsibility to create jobs, lasting for a minimum of 2-3 years should be supported upon completion of the project (with sanctions for non-fulfilment). This would protect against useless investments into ineffective educational activities and would support the direct creation of jobs.
3. To create specialised programmes for the marginalised Roma community with the aim of education of Roma women in the field of human rights. These programmes should offer long-term support to mothers with school-aged children and should change the attitudes towards education. Psychologists should be used in these programmes.
4. To conduct a survey of the educational level of Roma women depending on specific conditions of the labour market in individual regions and to subsidise programmes which connect the needs of the market with the disposition of the Roma community, especially for women.

Country Study Sweden

Janette Grönfors, Tiina Kiveliö, Rosita Grönfors

1. THE SITUATION OF ROMA IN SWEDEN

On 2 December 1999, the Swedish Parliament voted to confer that Sweden would ratify the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. As a result, the following groups are considered national minorities in Sweden: Sami, Swedish Finns, Tornedalers, Jews and Roma. Furthermore, Sami, Meänkieli (Tornedal Finnish), Yiddish and Romani Chib (all forms) are considered official minority languages.

However, the Swedish law prohibits registration of people according to their ethnic origin. The numbers in this report are estimates from different Roma organisations and authorities.

It is estimated that approximately 50,000 Roma presently live in Sweden. They can be divided into the following groups: the Swedish Roma that arrived there after the 1800s, The Roma that moved into Sweden from Finland after the 1950s, the eastern European Roma refugees (mainly Lovara) that moved in during the 1970s, and the refugees from former Yugoslavia, who came in during the 1990s.

Since 1999, when Sweden ratified the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, the Travellers, a nomadic ethnic social group, who have lived in Sweden for about a century, have been included in Roma groups.

The number of Travellers is difficult to determine. They have not been counted since 1944 when almost 8,000 were registered as 'tattare'. According Swedish Justice Department the Travellers number about 25,000 today.

1.1 Housing

The housing of the Roma is not officially regulated by the state or other authorities. The different groups of Roma have dispersed themselves into different developments in bigger cities. The Roma primarily live in municipal housing, where the housing conditions are generally good. Housing is made difficult, however, by considerable discrimination both by landlords and by neighbours. Some segregation of foreign inhabitants into certain areas can also be seen even in Sweden (e.g. Anderson and Molina, 2003)

The Roma culture (e.g. among the Finish Roma) includes features that affect housing. To avoid conflicts with landlords and neighbours, both parties should engage in open discussions about the demands of both tenement housing and the Roma culture.

1.2 Education

Even though the right to education is a central human right and free education is protected by legislation, there are many shortcomings in the school attendance of the Roma. The level of education among the Roma is lower than the average in Sweden. The tradition and history of education is very short among the Roma, which can partly be explained by the former Swedish policy that in the early 1900s denied the Roma of the right to settle. Up until the 1960s, Roma families were expected to apply for a temporary permission to stay, either from the landowner or the local authorities. These permits usually expired in a few weeks. Under these conditions sending the children to school was practically impossible. Without the basic skills taught in school, taking control of one's life is very difficult. For example, the right to take part in politics may be granted but without literacy it cannot happen.

The Roma have the same right to receive a free, basic, occupational and further education as the rest of the Swedish population. However, the lack of basic education makes it difficult to participate in conventional adult or occupational education. For this reason, classes have been specifically tailored to the Roma population during the past ten years. These classes have not, however, guaranteed employment or further education placement for all. While they are planning these classes, the municipalities and employment officials do not always have the necessary knowledge of the situation among the Roma to be able to anticipate all the problems that will arise during adult education and the special arrangements needed.

1.3 Access to health services

Public health care is available to everyone living in Sweden and every citizen has the right to health care. The health affairs of Roma have not received the same attention as education and culture in Swedish society. Traditionally, many Roma find hospital environments frightening and agree to be treated in hospitals only in emergency situations. Even today, many Roma do not use health services as much as the rest of the population or use them too late, partly due to a lack of information and partly because of their economic and social situation.

The effects of the difficult housing and health situation of the Roma in the 1960s and 1970s can still be seen today in the condition of elderly and middle-aged Roma. Common ailments include (no specific data) cardiovascular diseases, rheumatism and pulmonary problems. The poor health of children is also a cause for concern (asthma, allergies and obesity due to unhealthy eating habits).

Many Roma families have little or weak contacts to the majority population and lack close relationships with neighbours and surrounding society. Interviews with social workers decried the isolation of Roma families, which in turn makes it difficult for society to help families in a positive manner.

2. THE SITUATION OF ROMA IN THE ECONOMY

The standard of living has become enviable under the social democratic system. It features a modern distribution system, excellent internal and external communications, and a skilled labour force. Timber, hydropower, and iron ore constitute the resource base of an economy heavily oriented toward foreign trade. The social welfare in Sweden has the same structure as the social welfare of other Scandinavian countries.

The government provides for childcare, maternity leave, a ceiling for health care costs, free education (all levels), retirement pensions, free dental care up to 20 years of age and sick leave (partly paid by the employer). The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita is \$29,554 (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sweden>).

According to the 2005 EUMC report (Racism and Xenophobia in the EU Member States), no official notes could be found of there being discrimination against the Roma or inequality on the job market in Sweden. Official statistics on the employment, employer status, company ownership or the general economic or social condition of the Roma in Sweden do not exist, since the law prohibits registering people according to their ethnic background.

Many Roma are entrepreneurs in their own field and statistics on the entrepreneurship can only be obtained from Roma associations. The information used in this study has been collected from social workers, through interviews and from Roma associations and individuals through questionnaires and interviews.

The traditional sources of livelihood among the Roma still lay in merchandising. Selling cars has replaced horse trade but racing and other horse-related industries are still popular among the Roma. Different kinds of merchandising are common, many find their livelihood in the music and entertainment industry. An important factor in choosing one's trade is the ability to control one's everyday life.

No Roma can be found in permanent governmental positions in Sweden. They have been employed by municipalities and associations. Often their jobs are project-related, which means that the employment is temporary.

During the past decades both the government and the municipalities have started short employment oriented classes and projects that have had the common problem after the class ended of not taking the true prospects of employment into consideration. One problem has been that the Roma themselves have not been involved in the planning of the content or the actual implementation of the classes.

In many Roma families, the only source of livelihood for generations has been different social service aids. The dependence of social services and the short-term projects encourage passivity among the Roma when it comes to controlling their own life and, at worst, promote marginalisation from the society. Changing the attitudes on both sides will be a time consuming task.

The economic situation of the Roma as a group has not changed much in Sweden during the past ten years. On the other hand, the group has changed a lot with the influx of refugees from the Balkans (8,000-10,000). The petitions for asylum take a long time to process and that makes life very uncertain and planning for the future very difficult. The things that the refugees have gone through and the after effects have left

their mark on their physical and mental health, which often prevents them from taking part in training or getting a job. The officials are concerned but rather helpless in this kind of situation.

3. SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF ROMA WOMEN

Social services guarantee basic level of living standard which means benefits for living and livelihood. The Roma have the same rights to social benefits as other citizens. Benefits and support for families with dependants are extensive. During the past ten years, the level of social services has changed. The government has reduced their support while the needs within the municipalities have changed and increased, for example with the influx of refugees. With lesser resources, the time and space where the social workers can develop their skills and to be able to see the whole picture for each client, have been radically reduced. The ability of the municipality to support the Roma families at all levels (livelihood, housing, education, health) has diminished.

The status of Roma women in Nordic countries is not good enough even if it is better than in many eastern and central European countries. However, Roma women do face daily discrimination even in the Nordic countries, e.g. in shops and public places. The traditional dress of Roma women (especially Finnish Roma women's dress) sometimes raises prejudices, which lead to double discrimination, both on the grounds of gender and ethnic origin. In the Nordic countries the Roma population has the same rights and responsibilities as the rest of the citizens. In Sweden, there are also Roma refugees to whom the country's refugee policies apply.

Traditionally the Roma have stood apart from the majority population and perhaps for that reason they have retained their language and culture over centuries. The role of the Roma women has traditionally been to take care of the home and the children; changing that role and creating a new viewpoint will be difficult and time consuming.

Working from home has widened the possibilities for Roma women to have their own source of income. Interviews with the authorities place emphasis on the poor education of the women and also highlight concern regarding their poor health. Several communities have contributed to different projects concentrating on the health of women. These projects that are usually limited to a short period of time, have not significantly improved the situation. The health of the women also reflects the socio-economic situation of the family. Many young women are totally dependent on different health-related or other social benefits.

Equality in everyday life is protected by law and statutes, and these are actively upheld in several layers of the society. Especially in the past few years, more attention has been paid to the physical and mental violence towards women and more measures have been taken, the legislation has been modified and municipalities have actively added more safety services to women. Sweden's first legislation on promoting equal rights for women and men in working life was adopted in 1979. The present Equal Opportunities Act dates from 1991.

4. THE SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN IN THE ECONOMY

Many Roma women and children are totally dependent on social services and benefits. There are big housing and health problems. There are many families who are not able to break the poverty cycle. Social services and social workers also have problems in fulfilling families' needs and wishes adequately.

In Sweden the Roma women have proven to be active association participants. Social awakening has happily started and brought forth jobs in Roma associations, among other things. Relatively few Roma women have, however, entered the job market, so statistics in the Nordic countries are not yet available.

New opportunities for women to earn an income at their home have been created as a result of elderly care in Sweden shifting from institute oriented to home and family-oriented care. Roma families do not wish to leave their elders in institutes, and with these advances traditional care of family members has turned out to be a source of income for many women. Apart from eldercare, childcare and food preparation are popular training and job areas for women.

5. PROGRAMS AND POLICIES AIMING TOWARDS IMPROVEMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN

Sweden has an impressive history of promoting social democratic values and policies and indeed, combating racism and xenophobia is currently an actual issue for some Swedish politicians and educators.

Roma affairs have gained more attention during the past years and Roma associations and projects have received more funding. The Roma are also playing a more visible role in Swedish society.

In October 2002 the Swedish government appointed a Board of Romany Council (Rådet för romska frågor) to act as an advisory committee for the Justice Department. The Board is well represented by Roma; it has representatives from all major Romany groups, both men and women. The Board of Romany Council has already started to add the affairs of Roma women on their agenda and during the season 2005-2006, some cooperation seminars for Roma women will be arranged.

To promote the status of Roma women and to encourage their participation, a special unofficial team was founded with members from the Governmental office and Roma women. The team has, for example, suggested several seminars that have been arranged. Many municipalities have projects on the health and life phases of Roma women. No compiled documentation of these projects and their results is available.

Roma are the ethnic group that in many countries, including Sweden, faces the most discrimination. Therefore, a governmental discrimination officer was appointed in November 2001, to launch an investigation on how to decrease discrimination and offensive behaviour towards Roma. The report, *Diskriminering av romer i Sverige*, was submitted on March 2004, and included several suggestions, (<http://www.do.se/upload/do/filer/roma/rapporteng05.pdf>). In the report, the officer emphasises that when it comes to discrimination against Roma, an individual and structural viewpoint, as well as a minority perspective are needed.

During the past five years, about 20 municipalities have, together with citizens associations, have opened anti-discriminatory offices. The governmental integration office and the municipality support their operation. The offices work independently and their goal is to work against all kinds of discrimination. The Roma, who have a great need for such a service, are actively involved in the workings of these offices and also as field workers in many municipalities.

Sweden has 11 national Roma associations, among which there is also one national association for Roma and Travellers women, Internationella Romska och Resande Kvinnocenter. Apart from these there is a Roma Cultural Centre in Stockholm. Sweden has one national Roma magazine (*É Romani Glinda*) and the national broadcasting company started a weekly radio programme (*Radio Romanos*) in the Roma language a few years ago and led by Roma woman.

Sweden has several Ombudsmen who are accountable to the government and whose duties are related to human rights. Four of these - the Equal Opportunities Ombudsman (JämO), the Ombudsman Against Ethnic Discrimination (DO), the Disability Ombudsman (HO) and the Ombudsman Against Discrimination Because of Sexual Orientation (HomO) - are tasked with counteracting discrimination based on

various grounds. The fifth Ombudsman, the Office of the Children's Ombudsman (BO), has the task of monitoring issues relating to the rights and interests of children and young persons. Children's Ombudsman has published several reports on the living conditions of Roma children and young people - the latest report was published in the beginning of 2006.

The Ombudsmen have different mandates and different tasks to perform. All of them, however, have operational spheres with a vital bearing on the protection of human rights and an important part to play in the promotion of such rights in a national perspective. (A National Human Rights Action Plan - Sweden)

In Sweden, some political parties have expressed interest in Roma affairs by actively participating in public discussions and by funding seminars and educational events. Most recently, the Swedish leftist party published their action plan for Roma affairs in May 2005.

The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms has had the status of Swedish law since 1995; see Act (1994:1219) concerning the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. In addition to the constitutional provisions already mentioned, provisions at other levels also have a practical bearing on the rights and liberties of the individual. This is the case for the number and variety of laws and regulations governing, for example, health care, social services, criminal welfare, protection against different forms of discrimination, education and civil and criminal proceedings. Several issues falling within the ambit of the European Union (EU) are supremely relevant to human rights. Asylum policy and equal opportunities (gender equality) policy are two such examples. (A National Human Rights Action Plan - Sweden)

RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1) A national survey on the socio-economic situation of Roma women should be conducted.
- 2) A national survey on the health of Roma women should be conducted.
- 3) A national survey on the educational needs of Roma women should be conducted.
- 4) Subsidised employment programs for Roma women should be initiated.
- 5) Hiring educated and qualified Roma women in permanent posts in both governmental and municipal level.
- 6) Employing more Roma women as experts in their own affairs in both governmental and municipal level.

Country Study Bulgaria

Elena Marushiakova, Veselin Popov

1. THE SITUATION OF ROMA IN THE COUNTRY

The numbers of Roma in Bulgaria are to a great extent based on different sources. The last census from March 2001 counted 370,908 people who declared themselves as "Tsigani/Roma" (see table 1). Many Roma, however, due to different reasons do not declare their Roma identity, and thus this census does not reflect the actual size of the population. This problem is related to the hierarchical structure of the Roma ethnic identity, to the very popular phenomenon of "preferred ethnic identity" and is also due to the irrelevance of statistic and sociological methods in the study of Gypsies (see table 2). According to different estimates, the number of people of Roma origin in Bulgaria is about 700,000-800,000. Compared to the entire population (7,928,901 people) about 10% from the general population are Roma. Roma in Bulgaria are divided into numerous internal divisions, classified on the basis of various criteria such as language or dialect, lifestyle, occupations, borders of endogamy (see table 3). The division of Roma in the borders of the country is comparatively even, as seen from the data for administrative areas (despite reasonable doubts about the data precision) (see table 4). However, the table does not give information about distribution according the groups. The *Jerlii* and *Rudari* live in most cases compactly, in separated districts of cities and villages, while the *Kardaraši* and *Kalajdžii* are dispersed among the surrounding population and are in most cases invisible in the statistics.

The living conditions of Roma vary from owning their own houses, through living in flats to living in separated Roma quarters. One of the specific problems for a significant part of Roma in Bulgaria is connected to unregulated segregated Roma neighbourhoods and its missing infrastructure. The share of illegal construction in some big urban ghettos such as Stolipinovo in Plovdiv reaches 80%. This percentage is increasing with the migration of Roma from the rural areas. The illegal construction in many cases results in illegal connections to electricity, water supply and sewage networks in areas where such technical infrastructure exists and poses threats to the lives and health of people residing there. There are significant differences between the size of the living space of the surrounding population and of Roma (see tables 5-6).

The health status of Roma population has seriously deteriorated as compared with the average indicators for the country. Data from the representative survey of the Fact Marketing Sociological Agency from December 2001 reveals that most problems are connected to the health situation: 17% of Roma households do not have a general practitioner (GPs), which places them outside of the health care system.

It is a well-known fact that Roma communities in general have a lower educational background in comparison to the majority Bulgarian population. According to official data from the most recent census, the level of education is the lowest among the Roma (see table 7). Roma children drop out from school on the earlier levels of the

educational system (see table 8), and illiteracy among the Roma is larger than among the average population (see table 9). According to World Bank data for 1999, 25% of the poor in Bulgaria belong to ethnic minorities, of which two thirds come from the Roma group.

2. THE SITUATION OF ROMA IN THE ECONOMY

Concerning the position of Roma in the labour market, a significant proportion of the Roma, registered by the labour offices, are long-term unemployed for more than one year. According to the World Bank data, unemployment among the Roma population reached 70% in 2001. According to other data it reached levels of above 80%. Other data suggest a more differentiated picture of unemployment (about 50%) and more sources of living for the Roma. Compared to Bulgarians, the employed Roma are two times less, and the unemployed are three times more. The Roma also have the most unfavourable characteristics in the labour market. Out of the working Roma surveyed (legally), 70% are employed full-time, 7% half time and 23% seasonally. As many as 58% work in the public sector, 35% in the private, and only 7% have their own businesses. Hardly 1,9% of the surveyed Roma are involved in management - 5 times less than the Bulgarians occupying the same types of positions. As a whole, every fifth Roma of working age is unemployed and relies on non-labour income. Even among the Roma with secondary education, 15,6% also have never had a paid job. Many receive social assistance benefits. A comparatively small segment of the Roma population live on legally "earned" money. The differences in the amount of the various income sources depend on their residence (big city, little city, village) (see table 10-12).

This data, however, does not reflect in full the employment situation of the various Roma communities, because statistical and sociological surveys do not present traditional employment and employment as result of migration. The percentage of unemployed and never employed Roma (if we also included undeclared and unregistered traditional occupations and half-legal activities) would be much lower than official surveys results.

The qualifications and skills of many Roma are often connected with traditional occupations, inherited from their forefathers, sometimes in connection to their historical mobility (nomadic or semi-nomadic way of life). Some Roma have managed to apply their skills successfully in the new conditions - mobile small trade, crafts and the selling of wooden and metal articles, music, stockbreeding, etc. The main problem for them appears to not be a lack of professional qualifications, but the lack of a larger market, where they could offer their merchandise and services. Accordingly, two main categories can be distinguished among Roma directly connected with their ethno-social structure and ethno-cultural characteristics:

1. Roma who preserved traditional or modified specific labour abilities and qualifications;
 - a.) Roma with traditional occupations - (such as Blacksmiths, Coppersmiths, Musicians, Spoon-makers, Basket-makers, Tinsmiths, etc.) not more than 1/3 of the total Roma population in the country;
 - b.) Roma with modified specific labour abilities - a majority of Roma population in the country; and
2. Roma, who had lost their traditional labour abilities and qualifications, marginalised and socially degraded, with no or almost no education and labour qualifications - not more than 2-5% of total Bulgarian Roma population.

3. SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF ROMA WOMEN

The common situation of Roma in Bulgaria is determined by two types of factors, constituted by the dual situation of the Roma themselves, who are on one hand a separate ethnic community with their internal subdivisions, and on the other, are an inseparable part of the macro-community in which they live. From one side, there are the traditional ethno-cultural models of the community, and on the other side, there are the models of the society of which the Roma are an integral part.

According to the traditional norms in the Roma community a woman's position is directly dependent on her age and social status. Her position changes with time, and the Roma women gradually, passing through different stages starting from childhood, are educated and controlled by her family, through a subordinate position toward her mother-in-law as young bride, and finally as wife and head of a large family. Often the elderly woman (i.e. with married sons or grandsons) can directly or indirectly adopt the functions as head of the family. Usually in all Roma groups the mother of the family is responsible for the finances of the family, household, and childcare. Otherwise there are large differences in the woman's position, status, educational opportunities, etc. among the different subdivisions of the Roma community. In general, this is reflected in marriage patterns. Among conservative, closed groups, such as *Kardaraši*, *Burgudžii*, *Thracean Kalajdžii*, some small groups like *Košničari*, arranged marriages with a dowry is common. In these groups the women are under-educated, dropping out from school as teenagers, and after marriage are economically active in the field of traditional occupations. However, in recent years it could be observed among wealthy *Kardaraši* and *Burgudžii* families an aspiration in families to provide a university education to girls. Among *Jerlii* in city quarters the predominant marriage patterns is through elopement, which results in early drop-out from schools, under-education, leading to employment opportunities either as cleaning women, in small trade, unqualified labour abroad, and in some small marginal regions becoming victims of human trafficking. In the Rudara community, who in the past practised arranged marriages but now practice self-selected marriage, the educational level of woman is also low. Girls start from an early age to take part in family occupations and after 1989, the members of this group are also working abroad (mostly in agriculture and childcare for small children, the infirm and elderly persons).

There are traditional significant differences between Roma groups in regards to the possibilities of leaving community borders for women. For instance, among some groups of Roma Muslims, the woman has to stay at home and take care of the family, her contacts with the "outside world" are restricted, while the husband earns the family's living; among others, however, for example, the former Christian nomads (*Kardaraši*, *Burgudžii*, *Thracean Kalajdžii*, etc.) the woman was the one who mainly carried out contacts with the surrounding population (selling objects crafted by their husbands, merchandise, begging, and working as fortune tellers, etc.).

In any case, the primitive stereotypes on the discrimination of women in society are far from the real situation, which is much more complicated and contains many dimensions. In most groups, men have an important role in earning money, but in times of crisis, often women take sole responsibility for securing the livelihood.

In some Roma groups, a traditional mechanism of women self-support groups also exists, the most famous example being the "londža" organisation of Sofia Roma women, through which money is saved for rainy days to be spent, for example, in cases of death, illness, economic difficulties or in happy situations for common entertainment, visits to tourist places or restaurants.

During the socialist era, with state support, many Roma women received additional possibilities to leave the borders of the community and to achieve social status. Compulsory school education, additional possibilities for afternoon education for women after early marriage, special training for the so-called Fatherland Front Women Activist, special schooling for working women with the possibility after a preparation period to complete a higher education and to enter university was utilised mainly by women from the *Dasikane Roma* communities in cities. This resulted in hundreds of women with a relatively good education and work qualification, to find a place in Bulgarian society. At the time, one of the main principles of the state was to engage all of its citizens in labour, even those with low qualifications, which is why women who did not work were an exception, i.e. a large number of Roma women were included in the public economic life.

After the social system of the country collapsed in 1989, the mechanism of obligatory primary education ceased to function, which resulted in an unknown number of children who never entered school; the free kindergarten available to all working mothers became privatised so women then had to stay at home and care for their children; the health reform left many people without adequate health care. State support for the education of working women ceased to exist, thus women were left without the possibility of completing or continuing their education. Education and health became connected to the income of a family.

4. THE SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN IN THE ECONOMY

After the changes of 1989, Bulgaria entered a long period of social and economical transition, accompanied by the destruction of its economy. The mass closure of enterprises left many Roma without a job in the cities. The women who worked in the past in textile factories (e.g. the majority of Roma women in town of Sliven), and in the food industry (in most cities in the country) became jobless. Because of the general decline in employment opportunities Roma women in many places also lost their positions in cleaning jobs, where they are competing today with members of the surrounding population and other ethnic groups. After land restitution and the liquidation of the co-operative farms, rural Roma women, the majority of whom worked there in the past, remained without a means to sustain a living. Only a few economical niches remained open for Roma women such as petty trade, music and dancing. The majority of Roma women thus are forced to search for new and different work strategies. Some of the traditional occupations among different Roma groups acquired a "second" renaissance in the new economic conditions, including some connected to the nomadic way of life (basket-making, broom and garment-making, spoon and spindle making, coppersmithing, fortune-telling, pickpocketing, etc.) Some Roma communities, who have been settled for centuries, also returned to seasonal mobility, for instance, entire Roma quarters and villages seasonally moved into mountains and fields to gather mushrooms and herbs. Most Roma women villagers started to work permanently or seasonally as hired workers in agriculture, and in the last years these labour activities moved across the borders.

During the last several years the problems with the labour activity among Roma women acquired new dimensions, which are not accounted for in the official statistics. After the cancellation of the visa regime and the inclusion of Bulgaria into the Schengen area, the process of illegal labour activity in western Europe acquired mass dimensions. In contrast to Roma women from other eastern European countries who seek political refugee status or beg in large cities, Bulgarian Roma women are much less visible because their work strategies are oriented toward small cities and agricultural regions. In recent years this type of migration increased rapidly and is leading to the creation of Bulgarian colonies in some countries such as Spain, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Holland, Belgium, Germany, Poland, the Czech Republic, etc. In some labour areas in these countries Roma women have a leading role, e.g. most of the migrant agricultural workers from Bulgaria in Greece, Spain, Italy, Portugal are Roma women. In addition, Roma women have a near monopoly in taking care of ill and elderly persons in Greece. Many Roma women work in Holland in local greenhouses and a significant number of Bulgarian Roma women migrants in Poland deal in small trade. According ethnological observations, without giving exact numbers of the number Roma from Bulgaria working abroad, it is nearly impossible to find a single Roma family in Bulgaria without one relative working abroad.

Under the conditions of the transition many new challenges arose. Significant parts of the younger generation lack the opportunity to receive similar qualifications to previous generations and in many cases they have little chance of receiving any qualifications. There has also been a sharp increase in openly expressed negative attitudes and discrimination towards the Roma in Bulgarian society, which also results in the self-segregation of some Roma communities. As a result of negative economic developments and discrimination, many Roma women are left without labour opportunities. Community integration has remained low until now, including cases of deviant social behaviour (for example, the percentage of divorces or prostitution

among the Roma women are almost entirely identical to the ones of the surrounding population).

The situation of Roma women in the economic sphere is subjected to the same problems that the entire Roma community is confronted with. According to available statistics (ASA Roma 2003), the percentage of those who have never worked is comparatively the largest for the Roma - almost every third Roma does not work. These are mainly young people, with low educational levels, living in villages. Three-fourths of Roma between 16 and 25 years (74.4%) and every fourth aged between 26-39 (25%) have never worked. 40.9% of the unemployed, 31.6% of the women and 24.6% of the men are in a similar position. This can be seen also from slightly different sociological research data conducted by the UNDP in 2005. The unemployment of Roma aged 15 and 24 years is between 57% for men and 56% for women. The unemployment of Roma between 23 and 54 years old is 31% for men and 34% for women. A significant difference is observed among those over 55 years old, where unemployment among men is 25% and among women 41% (see table 13). The reasons for this disproportion among elder Roma women are connected to the low retirement age in Bulgaria as well as with the ethno-cultural traditions of the community itself. At this age, the position of the Roma woman within the family has been settled. According to the norms of the community, the material concerns fall within the male domain (but if there is an economic necessity, this responsibility also falls to the daughter-in-law). Generally, the house work is taken care of by the daughter(s)-in-law, also taking partial care of the grandchildren.

In spite of the negative data on the educational situation of Roma in Bulgaria, the level of community integration is visible, for example, by the children educated in the past and the working Roma women among them who are striving for a good education. There are no statistics on the number of Roma girls studying in high schools in the country, but we could receive one idea about the relation between genders based on the data on fellowship bearers from the Roma community. In the 2000/2001 Programme "Roma" of the Open Society, Bulgaria 71 fellowships for Roma students in Bulgarian were offered to attend universities and colleges, of which 39 were given to women (which demonstrates that more than half of the Roma studying in universities are women). This ratio remains constant. In 2004, when the fellowships for Roma students were offered by the Roma Memorial University Scholarship Programme of the OSI, there were 136 Bulgarian applicants, 72 from women and in 2005, 150 persons applied, of which 87 were women.

Educated Roma women also have an integrated place in contemporary social life. Apart from professions as teachers, midwives, social workers, musicians, etc., Roma women are also successful at the level of local government. Of the 5 Roma deputy mayors of counties, one is a woman. Of the over 200 Roma county councillors, one third are Roma women. Recently, in most county councils Roma experts were appointed, mostly in the field of ethnic and demographic issues. To date, 200 Roma work in regional administrations in 263 counties, more than half are Roma women. However, there has been a lack of women in the highest positions in the government; in the current Bulgarian parliament, for instance, there are two Roma men, but no women, two Roma male deputy ministers, but no women.

Roma women are very active in the non-governmental sector. In Bulgaria there are an estimated 600 Roma NGOs, one third of whom are led by women. Most Roma women who lead NGOs are not exclusively women-oriented organisations, but have more general goals, such as the improvement of education and health, for example.

Some Roma women have succeeded at achieving a high social status and become famous at the national level. The following fall under this category: singer Sofi Marinova and Bonka Ilieva (Boni), poet Sali Ibrahim, writer and publicist Liliyana Kovacheva, TV journalist Violeta Draganova and Kremena Budinova.

5. PROGRAMMES AND POLICIES AIMING TOWARDS THE IMPROVEMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN

The notion for the formation of specific programmes targeted at Bulgarian Roma women appeared for the first time in Bulgaria within the Framework Programme for the Equal Integration of Roma in Bulgarian Society (approved and signed by the Bulgarian government in 1999). The draft, prepared by several Roma organisations and independent experts and widely discussed and accepted by the majority of Roma organisations in the country, did not specifically discuss the theme of "Roma women". It was added in the final version of the Framework Programme following the advice of experts from the Council of Europe, i.e. the Roma themselves did not see any specific problems in which the state should take measures. In the Framework Programme for the Equal Rights Integration of Roma in Bulgarian Society, a special section devoted to Roma women was finally included:

"VIII. The Roma Woman

It is necessary to promote the culture of equality among Roma women and the individual, social and economic participation in public life. For this purpose:

- it is necessary to increase the direct participation of Roma women in educational projects in order to gradually overcome discrimination;
- it is necessary to stimulate the access of Roma women to higher education through the special activities of social workers and pedagogic teams;
- it is necessary to implement programmes for information dissemination and the professional orientation of Roma women in order to increase their work opportunities;
- there should be a preferential regime in employment contracts for the Roma women or there should be additional benefits for them; and
- it is necessary to implement consultancy programmes for Roma women who are entrepreneurs" (Framework Programme for the Equal Integration of Roma in Bulgarian Society).

Up to now the Bulgarian state has not undertaken any specific measures in this respect, and in the accepted 10 Year National Action Plan on "the Decade of Roma Inclusion: 2005-2015" there are a lack of programmes that fall under the "women-oriented" part from the Framework Programme. Women from the National Programme "From Social Assistance to Provision of Employment" received indirect benefits as a number of unemployed Roma women re-established their position in the cleaning service sphere. It is expected that through the Project on Phare Programme BG 2004/006-070.05.01 "Ethnic minorities labour market integration" Roma women will receive additional employment opportunities in the development of traditional occupations, as well as in the field of entrepreneurship.

The theme of the Roma women, however, quickly became a priority of the NGO sector towards the end of the 20th century, especially at the beginning of the 21st century. The problems of Roma women were included in a number of healthcare projects (for instance, the education of health mediators, many kinds of health prophylactics, education on sexual literacy and family planning, prophylactics and the treatment of drug addicts and HIV carriers), or in labour activity and income generating projects (training courses for tailors, hairdressers, etc.), the fight against prostitution, illegal trafficking of women abroad, and so on, even specialised projects for the education of Roma women as political leaders. Several specialised Roma women-oriented NGOs were created that carried out different projects, more or less oriented towards the problems of Roma women.

During the last few years a new definition of the problems of Roma woman was constituted mainly by human rights and gender organisations. A newly created stereotype of the "doubly discriminated Roma woman" appeared, according to which Roma woman endure double discrimination - being both women and belonging to the Roma community. This formula mainly is used by non-Roma NGOs, (mainly gender organisations), but lately it has also been used by some Roma NGOs as well, who prefer to talk about the problems confronting women from "other" Roma communities, (with whom they have little contact and do not really know), rather than carry out projects within their own community. In general, however, most Romani women consider the problems of Roma women as an inseparable part of general Roma problems, thus they should be addressed together with the general problems of the Bulgarian Roma population within the context of improving the economic situation in the entire country.

Country Study Romania

Florin Moisa

Resource Centre for Roma Communities

1. THE SITUATION OF THE ROMA IN ROMANIA

The Roma represent one of the largest minority groups in Romania. Different social and historical contexts created asymmetrical power positions between Roma and non Roma: when slavery was abolished at the end of the nineteenth century. Measures taken to make it effective were incomplete and followed by exclusion and assimilation policies during the rule of fascist and communist totalitarian regimes.

According to the findings of the Census of the Population and Households conducted in 2002 through the National Statistics Institute (*Institutul Național de Statistică*), 535,250 (2.5%) identified themselves of Roma nationality, and a positive trend of self-identification in the census is in place. Sociological findings, however, assert a much larger figure- 4-6% of the country's population, whereas over 1 million international institutions, on the other hand, estimate the number of Roma in Romania between 1 and 1.5 million persons, while Roma leaders agree on a figure of 2.5 to 3 million. Still, negative stereotypes and discrimination prevent a large number of Roma from openly declaring their ethnicity.

The 2002 Census offers relevant data regarding the situation of the Roma population in Romania. For example, the Roma population is young; one third of the population consists of children (0-14 years old), while the average age of the Roma is approximately 24 years old. An analysis of available statistics shows that the Roma population is growing, while other representative ethnic groups such as the Hungarians or Germans are decreasing. Over the centuries, the number of ethnically mixed families (Roma - non-Roma) grew, so many people may not exclusively identify themselves as Roma, adding more difficulties in estimating the proportion of Roma within the total population.

From a historical point of view, the first mention of the Roma presence dates from 1385, most probably as part of a great migration from India; for several centuries, the Roma were slaves, for a variety of economic, military, social and possibly racial reasons - altogether with the Romanian peasant population. The Roma were skilful as craftsmen and they began to be categorised according to both, by who owned them and the type of work they did. Thus, there were distinctions made between those who worked in houses (*țigani de casă*) and agricultural workers (*țigani de ogor*). Similarly, slaves owned by the state were categorised according to whether their owners were nobles (*sclavi domnești*), belonging to the Court (*sclavi de curte*), or rural landowners (*sclavi gospodărești*).

The Romanian Orthodox Church owned monastery slaves (*sclavi mănăstirești*) who, in turn, were categorised as household (*vatrași*), or artisans (*lăieși*). Those slaves belonging to the Crown were classified according to their particular trade. For instance, bear trainers were known as *ursari* and spoon carvers as *lingurari*. This latter categorisation exists today, with the forty Roma tribes represented in Romania retaining these titles, between them *căldărari* (calderash, metal workers), *rudari*

(originally gold seekers), *zlătari* (gold jewelers), *cocalari* (making objects from bones), *vătrași* (settled Roma), *gabori* (Hungarian origin calderash, metal workers), *lăutari* (singers), *ciubotari* (shoe makers), *florari* (flower sellers), *argintari* (silver jewelers), *geambași* (horse trainers), *cărămidari* (brick makers), *lingurari* (wooden objects makers), *ursari* (bear trainers), *ciurari* (small household object makers), *mătăsari* (textile materials sellers), *spoitori* (metal workers), etc..

Before 1989, the Roma minority, as opposed to other minority groups, was not officially recognised as such. Strong assimilatory tendencies of the communist regime were followed together with strict control over the organisation of the community.

In the aftermath of 1989, the Roma movement in Romania became active and visible. The official recognition of the Roma as an ethnic group, political representation based on Election Law, as well as the appearance of new Roma leaders committed to assume representation of the Roma all resulted in the representation of Roma at the political, cultural and educational levels.

Today the Roma minority is mixed: the majority is sedentary, very few are still nomadic; only 45% speak Romani language according to the last 2002 census, living all over Romania. Considering the self-identification of Roma as a heterogeneous group²³¹, some authors have identified several ethnic levels:

- a) Roma who show all traditional ethnic characteristics and who self-identified as Roma under all circumstances (officially - administratively and informally);
- b) Roma who show all traditional ethnic characteristics, that are also identified as Roma by others who see their lifestyle, but who do not self-identify as Roma in official-administrative circumstances;
- c) "modernised" Roma who change their lifestyle, being more modern now, and who don't show any visible marks of their traditional lifestyle, but who self-identify as Roma in both circumstances (ethnic militants, businessmen);
- d) "modernised" Roma who tend not to identify as Roma anymore or to do it only from time to time, and whom others can or cannot identify as Roma; and
- e) "former Roma" who have integrated into the majority population and don't have any traditional features left, who have given up identifying themselves as Roma.

The Roma community continues to be confronted with more pressing problems as Romanian society attempts to put behind the transition phases and to fulfil the international standards required for integration in the European Union. The problems of the Roma can no longer be considered an internal problem of the Roma community; rather, it is a problem that systemically impacts the Romanian society as a whole.

²³¹ C.Zamfir, e. Zamfir, Gypsies between ignorance and concern (*Tiganiii între ignorare și îngrijorare*), Bucharest, 1993, page 57.

The accelerating process of European integration has focused attention on the Roma issue through the adoption and monitoring of the Copenhagen criteria for EU accession. During the last years regular reports issued by the European Commission express the fact that Romania is fulfilling the political criteria for accession to EU, but it is also stresses the fact that discrimination against the Roma minority continues to be widespread in Romanian society, and that social remain considerable. Living conditions are poor, access to social services remain limited and human rights organisations have received credible reports of police harassment. The recent 2005 Comprehensive Monitoring Report stresses the fact that

"Positive developments have been made in improving access to education and health sectors for Roma. The number of reported cases of police violence against Roma has begun to decrease. [...] The National Council for Combating Discrimination has imposed sanctions on cases of discrimination but de facto discrimination, especially at the local level, continues to be widespread, in particular regarding housing and access to social services and the labour market. [...] The Romanian authorities should demonstrate, at all levels, that the country applies a zero-tolerance policy on racism against Roma or against any other minority or group and that this policy is effectively implemented."²³²

While there has been progress in establishing the institutional framework to improve the conditions of the Roma, progress on the ground is very slow. The Government and the Roma community succeeded in the elaboration of the "Strategy for Improvement of the Situation of Roma"²³³, a programmatic document that combines both the poverty perspective and the social exclusion/discrimination perspective. The elaboration and implementation of this strategy has received support from the European Commission as part of the *Phare Programme*. The strategy is based on principles of consensus, social utility, sectoral division, decentralisation in the implementation, compatibility of legislation, identity differentiation and equality. According to the Romanian government, the decentralisation of strategy implementation implies that both, the federal government and local administration authorities - in collaboration with NGOs - should also take responsibility.

²³² Romania 2005 Comprehensive Monitoring Report, European Commission, October 2005, page 19.

²³³ Government Decision no. 430/2001, Strategy for Improvement of the situation of Roma.

2. THE SITUATION OF ROMA IN THE ECONOMY

The Roma population faces numerous problems, rooted both in the discrimination and social exclusion of the Roma and in the traditional lifestyle and value system of the Roma communities themselves. The consequences of this situation are:

- low educational levels;
- an increasing state of poverty;
- a lack of employment opportunities, unemployment;
- difficulties in accessing social services;
- poor living conditions;
- undervaluing traditional Roma professions;
- above-average crime rates;
- prejudices from other ethnic groups, marginalisation and self-marginalisation;
- lack of sufficient cohesion between various Roma groups; and
- lack of a strong Roma elite capable of properly representing the interests of the community at the societal level.

Economically, the Roma population is the most disadvantaged minority group, despite the existence of a small number of rich and middle-class Roma. Before the events of 1989, a large majority of the Roma were employed in agriculture, forestry, industry, construction and food processing, but now their presence in the formal employment sector is widespread, having a negative impact on their capacity to receive social benefits, social and health insurance, etc. - in addition, some cultural factors also limit access to social service providers.

Compounded by discrimination, Roma have had more difficulties re-entering the job market than other groups, and have consequently become caught in a cycle of poverty. According to statistics²³⁴, the percentage of active Roma (22.9%) is nearly 2 times less than the Romanians (41.59%) and Hungarians (37.95%). Official statistics present a high percentage of employed Roma (71.5% of the active Roma population); unfortunately, the explanations are simple, directly related to lower levels of education, no previous regular jobs to permit them to be officially registered as employees, and non-registration with the unemployment agencies, among other factors.

We can add to this the devaluation of traditional Roma trades, which results in the decreasing income level of Roma families, with all the aforementioned negative consequences. According to extensive research conducted by the Institute of Research for Quality of Life, 33.5% of the Roma have no profession, 14.3% are farmers, 4.5%

²³⁴ Data compiled from National Statistics Institute (*Institutul Național de Statistică*), Census of the Population and Households 2002, Chapter IV.

have day jobs, 37.3% are modern professionals, and 10.3% are having a traditional profession.

Poverty among the Roma is widespread; the statistics present significant differences that should be of concern for all. Two thirds of all Roma live in poverty, while one half lives in a severe state of poverty according to a recent study conducted by the APSIC -Anti-Poverty and Social Inclusion Commission (2003), based on data from the National Statistics Institute for 2001.

A complex vicious circle keeps the Roma within the confines of a socially exclusive cycle. The main elements maintaining this cycle are the legal/democratic system, the labour market, the welfare state system, the family and community system.²³⁵ Therefore, one can speak about four types of social exclusion:

exclusion from the democratic and legal system - a large number of Roma do not have identity documents, from birth certificates to ID cards; consequently they are excluded from activities like local and general elections, social benefits, property, etc;

exclusion from the labour market - directly related to a lack of identity documents, but also to the low level of education and professional qualifications, the practice of traditional trades that are formally unrecognised by the state and the incapacity of the Romanian economy to offer jobs and other opportunities, etc;

exclusion from welfare state benefits - access to quality education, child allowances, minimum guaranteed income, other social support and unemployment support are scarce due to the rigid public administration structures and the complex disadvantages witnessed by Roma; and

exclusion from family and community system - systemic poverty cycle, lack of perspectives, undermines the solidarity of the local community.

²³⁵ Catalin Zamfir and Marian Preda, *Roma in Romania (Romii in Romania)*, pages 283-301, Expert Publishing House, Bucharest, 2002.

3. THE GENERAL SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN IN ROMANIA

Several interviews with Roma women activists led to the conclusion that the main problems faced by Roma women lay in the fields of education, employment, and healthcare due to a mixture of traditional/non-traditional ways of life²³⁶.

The status of Roma women within the Roma community is undervalued; the roles they perform are connected to housekeeping, raising children, etc. The majority of women interviewed would like to be more independent and more access to education and jobs in order to make a stronger contribution to the family²³⁷. They do not entertain high expectations for education, as most of the interviewed women thought that girls should go to school up to the eighth grade.

Many Roma women would like the traditional age of marriage to change, even if there are some concerns regarding a lack of marriage opportunities due to late marriages as well as the issue of maintaining virginity, a value recognised within all the Roma communities. Nonetheless, Roma women cited direct and indirect discrimination as a detrimental factor preventing them from accessing jobs, and social and medical services. The Roma live a mixture of traditional and modern lifestyles. Elements of traditionalism are evident from the number families living in the same household, number of children born, informal marriages, to education and the distribution of responsibilities within the family.

The statistics presented by the Institute of Research for Quality of Life (ICCV, 1998) present high percentage of couples living in informal marriages ("married without papers"), approximately 39.4% of all Roma couples. The same study is presents another interesting statistic, namely the average age of marriage for Roma women: 35% under 16 years old, 31% between 17 to 18 years old, 22% between 19 to 22 and 8% over 22 years old. That means that 66% of the Roma women are married by the time they become 18 years old, the average age for high school graduation and the time when many others begin a professional career.

There are two dominant family models in Roma communities: 56% of the households are mono-nuclear families, while 44% of the Roma households include other people in addition to the nuclear family. 91.3% of Roma 60 years and over share the household with someone else, and only 8.7% live alone (in comparison, 26.3% of the population 60 years and older live on their own).

Roma women give birth to a higher number of children compared to other ethnic groups in Romania. Approximately 70% of all Romanian or Hungarian women give birth to two children, while approximately 70% of Roma women give birth to three to ten children. For Roma women of fertile age (over 15 years old), the average number of children they give birth to, as recorded for the 2002 census, is 2,454 children per woman, while the average Romanian woman gives birth to 1,633 children, while Hungarian woman give birth to 1,610 children.

²³⁶ Interview with Ioana Francisca Neaga, President of Roma women Emancipation Association in Cluj Napoca, December 20, Cluj Napoca.

²³⁷ Group interviews with Roma women that took place in 14 localities in Romania between August - September 2005 (Braila - Lacul Dulce, Faurei; Cluj - Coastei, Bontida; Constanta - Palas, Dolj - Maglavit, Lipovu; Hunedoara - Orastie; Iasi - Targu Frumos, Podu Iloaiei; Olt - Caracal; Sibiu - Valea Viilor; Salaj - Agrij). The interviews were organized by a group of Roma students.

These differences are explained through the lack of contraceptives, low education levels and rampant poverty within Roma families (Roma family values should also be mentioned). The ICCV study found a dramatic difference in the use of contraceptives: only 13.7% of Roma women of fertile age (15 to 44 years) use contraceptives, while the percentage of the women in the total population that use contraceptives is four times higher, 57.3%.

Regarding the poverty situation, the statistics present significant differences that should become a matter of concern for all. Two thirds of all Roma live in poverty, and one half in a severe state of poverty, according to a recent study conducted by APSIC - Anti-Poverty and Social Inclusion Commission (2003), based on data from National Statistics Institute for the year 2001. The vicious poverty circle prevents the majority of Roma communities to improve their living conditions.

Breaking the poverty cycle is highly difficult for the members of the Roma communities, and especially for women, for reasons mentioned above. The economic situation of the family limits the educational possibilities and, keeping in mind the traditional role of the mother in the socialisation of children, the perspective of children becoming educated when the mother is uneducated is limited. And this is, unfortunately, the case for Roma women.

The issue of education of the Roma in general and Roma women is an essential one. When we try to compare the education level of the Roma women with other relevant ethnic groups such as Romanians or Hungarians, the differences are astonishing. According to available data²³⁸, the Roma population in Romania has the highest illiteracy rate in comparison to other ethnic groups - approximately 10 times more than Romanians or Hungarians. Only 1.92% of the Romanians and 1.23% of the Hungarians are illiterate, while 19.57% of the Roma are illiterate. Even within the Roma group, significant differences appear between Roma men (15.64%) and women (23.61%), signs of the traditional tendency to maintain Roma girls at a lower level of education.

Other statistics regarding the level of graduation²³⁹ of Roma women over 10 years old argue that 39.61% of Roma women do not graduate from any class; the percentages for Romanians (6.32%) and Hungarians (3.9%) are much lower. This is another matter of concern regarding the future of Roma and regarding their capacity to face the challenges of a modern society.

Higher education is non-existent among Roma women - approximately 50 times less than Romanians or Hungarians. In spite of affirmative action measures implemented into the state education system in the early years after 1990, the differences are extremely high, showing the strictly limited capacity of the whole Roma community to be more present in the public life and in the economic, social and cultural realms of society.

The differences are the same for high school and vocational education. Roma women are 12 times less likely to graduate from high schools when compared to Romanian women, and 5 times less likely to complete a vocational education. The percentages of

²³⁸ Data compiled from National Statistics Institute (*Institutul Național de Statistică*), Census of the Population and Households 2002, Chapter IV.

²³⁹ Data compiled from National Statistics Institute (*Institutul Național de Statistică*), Census of the Population and Households 2002, Chapter IV.

primary (1st to 4th classes) and secondary (5th to 8th classes) education are comparable to Romanians/Hungarians, with more Roma women only completing primary education.

According to the fragmented data on the health status of Roma, there are significant gaps in health status between Roma and non-Roma populations. The Roma population in Romania tends to be more susceptible to communicable diseases, including hepatitis and tuberculosis, direct effects of poor living conditions - overcrowding, poor sanitation facilities, and difficult access to health services. Lack of available information and insufficient education prevent Roma from living a healthy life.

The housing situation of the Roma population in Romania is directly related to these problems; even if the following data is general, we consider it relevant for the extremely limited opportunities of Roma women. The available data on the housing situation²⁴⁰ of the Roma shows that there are almost two times more Roma living in the same household in comparison to the average of Romanians and Hungarians. This is a sign of the mentioned traditional way of life and of the enlarged family support system (4.66% Roma per household, 2.92% average, 2.9% Romanians, 2.74% Hungarians).

The quality of living conditions for the Roma families is generally low. Poverty, overcrowding, and lack of infrastructure dominate Roma neighbourhoods. In Romania, the average number of people per room is 1.29, while the average number of Roma in one room is 3.03, and cases in which more than 10 persons share the same room are not unusual²⁴¹.

The housing situation of the Roma population in Romania is quite diverse, 61% of the families own a flat or a house, the rest living in an illegal situation (21%) or renting (16.5%). The issue of illegal housing, connected to the issue of missing identity documents offers a negative perspective on the future of Roma housing.

Renting a house or a flat in Romania is, generally speaking, a disadvantage, due to high rent costs and the uncertainty of housing contracts; 16.5 % of the Roma population rent their home, which means that they are at risk of losing their housing at any time after the termination of a lease. 21% of Roma do not have legal ownership documents, or live in houses that were built or occupied illegally. The issue of housing documents is directly connected to identity documents, in essence, another vicious circle. In 2006-2007 the European Union and the Romanian Government will implement a Phare Programme in order to solve the identity documents problem.

Some research²⁴² shows that the quality of living of the Roma population in Romania is much lower in comparison to the average population. In this respect, twice as few Roma use central/gas heating systems, two times fewer Roma have access to sewage systems, three times fewer Roma have access to hot running water, lack roofs, etc.:

²⁴⁰ Data compiled from National Statistics Institute (*Institutul Național de Statistică*), Census of the Population and Households 2002, Chapter IV.

²⁴¹ Ina Zoon, *On the Margins. Roma and Public Services in Romania, Bulgaria and Macedonia*, Open Society Institute, New York, 2001, page 120.

²⁴² Sources: Yale Dataset; Revenga et al. 2002

Households with:	Non-Roma	Roma
Electricity	-99.1%	94.5%
Central or gas heating	- 51.2%	25.6%
Cold running water	- 67.4%	41.4%
Hot running water	- 35.3%	10.7%
Sewer or cesspool	- 53.6%	30.0%
Telephone (fixed)	- 58.2%	26.4%
Bathroom/shower	- 54.3%	18.9%
Indoor toilet	- 52.6%	18.3%
Wet walls	-21.0%	44.9%
Leaky roofs	- 14.8%	40.2%
Earthen floor for sleeping -19.3%	39.0%	

4. THE SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN IN THE ECONOMY

When analysing the presence of the Roma in different sectors of activity²⁴³, we can see the direct consequences of the lower levels of education and traditional values. Differences can be seen between Roma men and women:

Central public administration	1.71% male, 1.03% female;
Specialists, intellectual and scientific	0.30% male, 0.39% female;
Technical specialists	1.12% male, 1.15% female;
- Civil servants	0.43% male, 0.65% female;
Commercial occupations	2.78% male, 6.77% female;
- Agriculture female;	38.88% male, 46.17% female;
Hand-made and traditional occupations	18.34% male, 8.05% female;
Machine operators	4.56% male, 3.95% female;
- Not qualified occupations female;	31.41% male, 31.82% female;
- Military and	0.46% male, 0.00% female;
Undeclared occupation	0.01% male, 0.01% female.

It seems that most Roma women tend to be active in agriculture and unqualified activities, and almost non-existent in highly skilled labour. Also, the duration of long-term unemployment of Roma women tends to be much higher than other relevant ethnic groups, confirming the low capacity of re-entering the job market. A high percentage (45.2%) of Roma women are employed over 27 months, in comparison to only 27% of Romanians and 22.6% Hungarians.

The same type of differences appear within the Roma community, between Roma men and women - twice as few women are active (13.56% Roma women, 31.99% Roma men) and 1.5 times fewer women are employed (23.52% Roma women, 30.54% Roma men)²⁴⁴. Even if the data regarding successful Roma women in economy is scarce, there are still some relevant examples of successful Roma women in different societal areas:

²⁴³ Data compiled from National Statistics Institute (*Institutul Național de Statistică*), Census of the Population and Households 2002, Chapter IV.

²⁴⁴ Data compiled from National Statistics Institute (*Institutul Național de Statistică*), Census of the Population and Households 2002, Chapter IV.

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Delia Grigore is junior lecturer at Bucharest University, completing her PhD in Romani Language and Anthropology; she is also a very important Roma NGO activist, running an NGO, Amare Romentza, together with some other young Roma.

Letitia Mark, currently Roma expert within Timisoara Mayoralty, used to work as a Greek and Latin teacher at Timisoara University; she is one of the first generation of post-1989 Roma women activists; she runs an NGO, Association of Roma Women „For Our Children" / active in the education of Roma children as well as the promotion of a community centre for Roma women in Timisoara.

Violeta Dumitru (Roma Women Association in Romania, Bucharest), Ioana Francisca Neaga (Association for Emancipation of Roma Women, Cluj Napoca), are two other examples of Roma women running Roma women associations in Romania based in Bucharest.

5. PROGRAMMES AND POLICIES

Past and present programmes aiming at the improvement of the Roma population in Romania are too general; we could not identify a special focus on Roma women. Some referrals to the participation of Roma women can be found in the "Access to Education for Disadvantaged Groups with Focus on Roma" Phare Project²⁴⁵, or the "Support to the Strategy for Improving the Roma Condition"²⁴⁶, where the participation of Roma women was encouraged within a grant scheme organised in the fields of health, vocational training, income generating activities, small infrastructure and social housing. Some referrals to the situation of Roma women can also be found in the Joint Inclusion Memorandum and National Development Plan 2007/2013. The Decade of Roma Inclusion also focuses on participation of Roma women as a crosscutting topic, together with anti-discrimination.

²⁴⁵ The 2001 PHARE Programme, RO0104.02, financed by the EU (7 MEURO) and the Romanian Government with (a contribution of 1.3 MEURO co-finance support) Access to education for Disadvantaged Groups with focus on Roma" was already implemented in 10 counties by the Ministry of Education and Research and now it is developing its set of activities in other 15 counties by the intermediate of the 2003 PHARE programme, RO03005 551.01.02, "Access to Education for disadvantaged groups" (its total amount covers 11.33 MEURO).

²⁴⁶ PHARE Programme 2002/000-586.01.02, "Support to the Strategy for improving the Roma condition", totalling 7.6 MEURO (including the 1.6 MEURO Romanian Government contribution). The programme has two major components: the first one, totalling 1.2 MEURO, aims at strengthening the institutional capacity of the structures implementing the "Strategy for Improving the Condition of the Roma" and to build active partnerships between Roma representatives and public institutions in order to be able to jointly design and implement projects in the following fields: housing and small infrastructure, vocational training, income generating activities and access to health services; the second component, totalling 4.8 MEURO, was set to offer financial support for the projects proposed by the previously trained local authorities and Roma organisations and other stakeholders in order to sustain their calls for proposals in the fields of action above-mentioned.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Ensuring equal access for Roma girls to education and support throughout the school stages; material support for families with large numbers of children where difficulties are mounting and the chances of abandoning school are growing.
2. Ensuring access to general education for Roma women who did not complete primary and secondary school and promoting vocational training in occupations that are relevant to the job market.
3. Development of income generating activities at the community level in order to facilitate the access of jobs for Roma women; bringing the traditional trades of the Roma into modernity.
4. Ensuring active measures for preventing workplace discrimination against Roma women.
5. Promoting an internal community debate on the issue of early marriage, especially in traditional communities; raising awareness campaigns targeting the informal leaders of the Roma communities.
6. Promoting health education, nutrition and hygiene together with contraceptive education in Roma communities, targeting men and women, children and the elderly.
7. Development of integrated community development programmes in Roma communities, targeting all aspects of their life - education, health, employment, housing and anti-discrimination.

Country Study Turkey

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1. Situation of the Roma in Turkey 1.1

Population

Estimates of the total numbers of Roma²⁴⁷ living in Turkey vary greatly according to different sources, ranging anywhere from between 700,000 to 2 million (out of a total population of 68 million). Census conducted every five years by the State Institute of Statistics (DIE) in Turkey has stopped receiving information on mother-tongue languages since 1965, the only figures related to ethnicity that were available earlier. No questions directly concerning ethnicity, or minority status were asked since the founding of the Republic of Turkey in 1923.

According to Marushiakova and Popov (M&P) in the second half of the 19th century, from between 50,000 to 620,000 Roma lived in the European part of the Ottoman Empire while no comparable figures are available for Asia Minor.²⁴⁸ Regular census taking started four years after the foundation of the Republic in 1927 and in 1935. Between 1927 through 1965, individuals were asked to identify their mother tongue and second language. In this context, data from Kipti-native language speakers (the language of Roma) from 1935 and 1945 appear in the census data. After this, numbers for speakers of languages other than Turkish do not appear in census data. It is interesting to note in this context that these two years correspond to the pre and post World War II years. In 1935, there were a total of as 7,855 Kipti speaking individuals counted. Out of this, the majority were women (4,008), 3,847 were men. The total population of the Republic of Turkey at this time was 13.6 million. While in 1945, out of the total 16.1 million individuals counted, only 4,463 Kept speakers were found. The fall in numbers is interesting due to the fact that there were no camps where minorities were taken to during the war years in Turkey.

In 1935, out of the total 7,847 Roma, only 25 women and 141 men said they knew how to read and write. Most of the Roma lived in rural areas, and about 80% lived in western Turkey, in the cities of Istanbul, Edirne and Çanakkale.²⁴⁹

1.2 Variety of Roma in Turkey

All three branches of the divided Roma Rom, Lom, and Dom, as well as various so-called Roma-like groups (Abdali, Tahtaci, etc.) are represented in Turkey and they can

²⁴⁷ In this report Roma is used as synonym for all Gypsies, in spite of the fact that for Turkey it is not the exact term, because not all Gypsies in Turkey belong to the Roma mainstream (see also below).

²⁴⁸ Elena Marushiakova and Veselin Popov, *Gypsies in the Ottoman Empire*, Hatfield, UK, Univ of r

²⁴⁹ Information concerning 1935 and 1945 censuses was taken from Fuat Dündar, *Minorities in the*

²⁴⁸ Elena Marushiakova and V
Hertfordshire Press, 2001, p.56.

²⁴⁹ Information concerning 1935 and
Censuses of Turkey (Türkiye Nüfus Sayımlarında Azınlıklar), İstanbul, Doz Yayınları, 1999, p. 99-100.

be found in the outlying areas of cities in south-eastern Turkey, in the regions populated mainly by the Kurds, as well as in the interior and western regions of the country. They are mainly settled in the following cities: Kırklareli, Edirne, Ankara, İstanbul, Düzce, İzmit, İzmir, Afyon, Tokat, Sivas, Denizli, Mardin, Gaziantep, Kahramanmaraş, Adana, and Samsun.

In İstanbul they proliferate in certain districts such as *Tarlabaşı*, *Kasımpaşa*, *Tophane*, *Kuştepe*, *Gültepe* and *Gaziosmanpaşa*. There used to be a special "Gypsy Quarter" just outside the historical city walls of İstanbul, in Edirnekapı, a place infamously known as *Sulukule*, where in the evenings they would entertain middle class businessmen and occasional intellectuals through performances involving music and dance. Entertainment in this historical quarter was banned after each military coup in Turkey. Currently, there are 571 Roma houses left in this vicinity, where the inhabitants live a hand-to-mouth existence. However, just recently, the government and municipality of İstanbul have decided that this would be the site of the future Olympic games and the millennium old neighbourhood cleansed of its traditional inhabitants who would be resettled in the Gaziosmanpaşa district of İstanbul, even the idea of which is enough to upset the Roma.

1.3 Nomadic versus settled groups

In Turkey, the Roma are now almost totally settled, this having been dictated upon them since Ottoman times by the state, though having done little to abide by such dictates until recently. Currently, 95% of the Roma are settled.²⁵⁰ According to Peter Alford Andrews, between 1960 and 1970, 10,633 nomads were registered²⁵¹. Andrews argues that it is possible to claim that, in general, nomadic Roma groups tend to leave their urban winter quarters to follow predictable itineraries from spring to autumn. For example, those who winter in Adana, for instance, still regularly visit Nigde and Konya.²⁵² Basket-weaving Roma workers from İzmir come to İstanbul, while Thismits from İstanbul roam the Anatolian regions.

1.4 Housing

The housing situation of many Roma is far from standard. There are many cases of Roma living on the same level as their Turkish neighbours, and even some are considered wealthy Roma. Even in the relatively wealthy city of İstanbul, there are areas where Roma live in one room, with a tiny open kitchen, a toilet, using mostly wood stoves for heating. Baths are not present. Though there is running water in İstanbul, elsewhere in the country, particularly in the south eastern region, indoor plumbing is not available. The municipality claims that they will house the Roma in standard houses once they move out of *Sulukule*. A small number of the Roma rent their homes rather than own them, and when their present accommodation is torn down, they do not receive reimbursement.²⁵³

²⁵⁰ www.uyd.org.tr

²⁵¹ Peter Alford Andrews, *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1989, p. 139.

²⁵² Peter Alford Andrews, *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1989, p. 139.

²⁵³ Information received from a conversation with the local headman Hamit Başaran. Referring to

1.5 Ethnocentrism and discrimination against the Roma

If a research project were to be conducted asking the general public to rank ethnic groups in terms of the "social distance perceived to their own group", the Roma, no doubt, would come out to be the furthest removed from the various ethnicities and certainly from the hegemonic Turkish group. Of the 48 ethnic groups that are said to coexist in Turkey²⁵⁴, the Roma, are the group most often discriminated against, if not totally disregarded: bureaucratic officials would not worry about keeping them waiting for hours without explanation for identity cards or retirement papers, for social security, or for a job; the police would not wink an eye before beating them if taken to the police headquarters for any odd reason, and the public would prefer to have as little to do with them as possible, except maybe, using the services they provide such as buying relatively cheap flowers from the flower stands they set up in city centres. According to Mustafa Aksu, a rare middle class 72-year-old Romani former bureaucrat, and author of *Being A Gypsy in Turkey*, who disguised his Roma²⁵⁵ background until he retired, the Roma face discrimination in employment, in their depiction in schoolbooks, and even in governmental decrees.²⁵⁶

Unlike the Kurds, which the middle classes consider a "collective political threat", the Roma, are seen as threats on an individual basis, with the stereotype, that anyone of them could snatch your purse and get away with it. Ethnographic researcher, Ingvar Svanberg's assessment on the Roma is that they represent "low-status groups that belong to the lowest socio-economic substratum in Turkey."²⁵⁷

1.6 Education and politico-economics

Not only are the majority of Roma marginal to the main economic sectors in the country, they are also among the poorest of all ethnic groups in the cities, representing an underclass in the country. Politically speaking, they have little voice in the public arena to bring to the fore the problems they encounter and issues peculiar to their marginal existence. The fact that until the late 1990s ethnic groups were not allowed to have their own civil associations, NGOs, etc. in which to undertake initiatives, made it none the easier for them to access public resources. Their average official educational level is low, probably no more than 8 compulsory years of primary school.²⁵⁸ While middle aged and older Roma men have basic educational skills, even if they did not go through the educational ladder, due to the compulsory military service in Turkey. Many older women may not have had any schooling, particularly more likely in the more rural regions and poverty stricken areas outlying the cities. The younger generation of Roma women, on the one hand, almost all have had basic schooling and hence, at least a

reimbursement, he further stated how much could those tiny worn down houses be worth anyway compared to the "standard" housing to be built by TOKI (Housing Administration).

²⁵⁴ Peter Alford Andrews with the assistance of Rüdiger Benninghaus, *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1989, and *Supplement and Index*, 2002.

²⁵⁵ Mr. Aksu supports use of the term "Gypsies" (cengene) as a uniting term for all of this ethnic group, and strongly opposes the use of the term "Roma".

²⁵⁶ www.uyd.org.tr

²⁵⁷ Ingvar Svanberg, "Marginal Groups and Itinerants", in Peter Alford Andrews with the assistance of Rüdiger Benninghaus, *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1989, p. 602.

²⁵⁸ In the past this was five years, now since four years, 8 years has become compulsory.

junior high school level diploma due to the universal education campaigns held by successive governments.

1.7 Health and social security

With no universal health insurance in Turkey, only those Roma that have regular jobs within the private or public sectors are insured. The proportion of Roma included in such support systems, however, is no more than 10% of the total. In Turkey there are three kinds of social security available to individuals: 1) retirement benefits for those working in the public sector (Emekli Sandığı); 2) social security for individuals holding regular jobs within the private sector (SSK); and 3) Bag-Kur for individuals who are either not working or have small businesses of their own. The majority of Turks, conferring the least amount of health and retirement benefits, fall under this last category, including the Roma. The few Roma individuals living more assimilated lives in the public or private sector are covered either by the Emekli Sandığı or by SSK. Private insurance and retirement benefits are, of course, available to the lucky few, to upper class individuals (though not accessible to the middle-classes). This system also shows how and where Roma are represented politically in Turkey. Less than 10% of Roma who have achieved middle or upper-class living situation are totally removed from the Roma community and integrated into the dominant majority, making great effort to hide their Roma identity.

2. THE SITUATION OF ROMA IN THE ECONOMY

The Roma in Turkey represent, by and large, a population working in the informal-marginal and service sectors of the economy, including men, women and children. In the informal sector they work without sickness or retirement benefits, and depending on the particular job, they may work overtime in heavy-duty and life-threatening jobs, or in relaxed fashion doing business that might include any of the following:

Flower sellers (mostly women with few men now entering the scene);

Street sellers of a variety of food items, and other odds and ends unrelated to food (men);

Housecleaning jobs with daily pay and no insurance (approximately 30-40 dollars per day);

Informal entertainment sector (generally speaking, men performing music while the women simultaneously dance- though there are exceptions);

Blacksmiths;

Itinerant knife sharpeners;

Basket-makers;

Palm readers, fortune-tellers and charm-makers (women);

Factory workers in large factories with social security insurance (a very small percent of men; likely less than 5% of all Romani males);

Workers in small business and small factories (without insurance or any other benefits, mostly men);

Vegetable street vendors in carts pulled by men ;

Seamstresses who sew odds and ends in their homes (women);

Full-time beggars (adult men or women);

Part-time beggars (children);

Children who try to clean car windows at red lights or on crowded highways;

Construction workers; and

Seasonal agricultural workers.

In the interior and rural parts of Anatolia, on the other hand, and in the east they can be found engaged in any of the following:

Sieve-makers;
 Ring-makers;
 Tinnern;
 Incense peddlers;
 Roving garment sellers;
 Polishing shoes on the streets (men);
 Basket-makers (women and men);
 Horse-traders;
 Construction;
 Brush-makers;
 Cotton pickers for big farmers (both men and women);
 Collecting wild plants for sale (women);
 Gravediggers (men); and
 Collecting and recycling garbage (men and women).

Needless to say, none of these jobs enable them to receive any kind of retirement or other social security benefits. Most can barely meet the daily subsistence needs of the family, and do not have enough to pay for the school expenses of children, at least not past junior high school. This is the minimum basic schooling required by law in Turkey and it is free. However, parents still have to buy books and stationary. The Roma children often times do not, however, even complete the minimum required education, quitting school midway to start earning money.

Being less educated than the general urban population, it is not surprising to find that the Roma constitute a significant proportion of the unemployed in Turkey, particularly in the larger cities where their basic skills are no longer needed. However, such unemployment is not recorded in official unemployment figures (which run around 9%), since most Roma do not seek employment through official circles and state-run unemployment offices. Most of them would prefer not to face authorities in any case, even when looking for jobs, perceiving them to be persecutors rather than a source of help. In any case, most gainfully employed Roma are self-employed in one of the categories listed above; about 15% to 20% of them have a minimal assurance of health and retirement by paying into the Bag-Kur system.

3. SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF ROMA WOMEN

According to Peter Alford Andrews "The Çingene, unlike the Turkish, Kurdish or Arab nomads, are...matrilineal, rather than patrilineal in their organisation".²⁵⁹ However, many scholars do not agree with this point of view. It is well known that there is no equality with men even in the domestic arena, or high status for women in the public sphere.²⁶⁰ Thus although the Roma women in Turkey, in general, are pretty strong-headed, assertive and individualistic, some of them still face domestic violence, usually in the form of beating from their husbands. The police too would not wink an eye before beating them if ever brought to a station for some petty crime. Nor, of course are men saved from police beatings²⁶¹.

Even for working women, domestic duties are never-ending, involving cleaning, cooking, looking after the children, washing almost on a daily basis. Unlike middle class families in Turkey, the majority of Roma do not possess washing machines or dish washers; all chores have to be done by hand. In Istanbul, where they in some cases live peripheral lives in the city centre (for instance, in the 19th century homes left over from Greeks in the *Tarlabaşı* areas), one can witness such washing-drying techniques by the clothes hanging on ropes tied between apartments situated across one another. Also every spring and fall women will be seen washing huge rugs in the back streets of cities with the help of their neighbours or relatives. Another job women also do in the back streets of cities is the preparation of mattresses for the next season.

Romani homes usually include the nuclear family, but when the need arises women may have to take care of the elderly: their own or their husbands parents. If the house is large enough, the elderly generation may even live with the new couple. Also, in cases of dire poverty, a new couple may simply move in with either the husband's or the wife's parents.

In a sense, the chores of domestic life never end for women, while for men, who seem absolved of any such duties, life seems freer. The men can always go out with other male friends to cheap bars or to the local teahouses after work. The women, however, have devised a means of enjoying their hard work through communal labour, singing, smoking in between, and chatting on the streets, something that is not permitted for middle class Moslem women. In fact, the men are rarely at home except for the evening meal. In certain densely-populated Roma areas, in good weather unemployed young men can even be found simply standing on street corners in groups of 4 or 5 together, looking at passers-by, talking and maybe even looking for potential marriage partners, though marriage is not something that is of high importance to the Romani in Turkey.

Roma families have on the average two to three children. Most women in the urban areas make use of birth control techniques offered by small "Health Houses" composed of a doctor and a nurse set up in neighbourhoods by the government, either for a very cheap price or for free. The women do not bother to go to these places for check-ups,

²⁵⁹ Peter Alford Andrews with the assistance of Rüdiger Benninghaus, *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1989, p.606.

²⁶⁰ Alice Schlegel, *Matrilineality in Cross Cultural Perspective*, 1972.

²⁶¹ The behaviour of the police in this context is indiscriminating; they will beat and or torture if and when they get a chance, in spite of recent official decrees to the contrary. However, the degree of such behaviour would vary between a potentially 'white middle class' criminal versus a Kurd or Gypsy; the latter two, usually getting the worst treatment in general.

instead, going only for emergencies. For instance, one woman may be using dated birth control pills, another, spirals kept inside the uterus year after year without being checked or renewed. These are currently the two most commonly used birth control methods among Roma women. They never go to the gynaecologist for regular checkups, consulting them only in times of trouble. For other health matters, too, they are reluctant to go to doctors or hospitals until some emergency absolutely calls for it, by which time it may already be too late. In many cases they do not visit dentists, even for emergencies. They use pain killers or pour some alcoholic beverages over the aching tooth, pull the tooth out once it is completely eroded, and then once a sufficient number of teeth are gone, they go to the dentist and have artificial teeth placed in their mouths. In this process, the remaining healthy teeth are pulled out.

There are no welfare institutions that look after people living in absolute or relative poverty in Turkey. Whatever minimal health security that was offered by the government in the past was almost totally dismantled following the IMF-World Bank intervention in the Turkish economy in the 1990s. Of those living under relative poverty standards, at least a portion of them including the Roma, had received a 'Green Card', which allowed them free food and free health services during the 1980s. This system, however, never operated well and has now been eradicated. There is a child care agency (*Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu*) which takes over children from families that cannot support them, but the Roma have never utilised this service. In any case, they reported that they would never make use of a system that entails the government, which they see as a totally 'foreign element' to them. Other than this, there are no governmental agencies providing aid to those who live under relative or absolute poverty. This kind of welfare protection is dependent on the conscience of the rich who may be willing to give some money to the poor during times of religious feasts, which the Islamic religion calls for, or to offer the meat of sheep and cattle cut during the Sacrificial Feast. Furthermore, there are some NGOs that work with so-called street children, which means providing quite a few Roma with food, and teaching them some basic skills.

4. THE SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN IN THE ECONOMY

Of those Roma women working "regularly" in the economic activities mentioned above, less than 2% work in factories with social security benefits. The rest are either self-employed, often-times applying their basic skills, or doing odds and ends in the informal and service sectors of the economy such as house cleaning.

The following is a list of some of their basic income-producing activities women undertake in the urban centres:

Collecting wild, nice smelling plants and selling them on the main streets in the city centres in tiny plastic bags (lavender);

Flower sellers on the streets (mostly women with a few men now entering the scene. This involves simply laying out their flowers on the main streets and city squares, i.e. no shops are included);

House cleaning jobs at daily rates and no insurance (anywhere from 25 to 40\$ per day);

Informal entertainment sector (men perform music while the women simultaneously dance);

Palm readers, fortune tellers and charm-makers;

Controlling groups of child beggars on the streets;

Young girls try to clean car windows at red lights or on crowded highways;

Labourers in small manufacturing workshops; and

Seamstresses in small garment sewing factories.

In the rural areas, they can be seen trying to make a living in any of the following activities:

Collecting the cotton crop in the Adana region (mostly women, with some men);

Palm readers, fortune tellers and charm-makers;

Seamstresses who sew odds and ends in their homes;

Sieve-makers (women and men);

Incense peddlers;

Basket-makers (women and men); and

Brush-makers (women and men).

Regular employment in factories, amounting to no more 1% to 2% of all Roma women, is the primary sector of regular employment. The intermediaries used are not employment offices or any other official channels or NGOs, but rather, circles of friends: the employed, may find similar jobs for those unemployed. This seems to be most often the case, especially in weekly house cleaning jobs, but also in small garment manufacturing workshops.

Women can be mostly seen sitting at the doorsteps of their own shanty apartments, chatting and watching out for their children, while men spend a lot of time standing around in groups and chatting in more central locations. Since neither the women nor the men officially apply for jobs, they are not entered into the statistics as unemployed.

I have spoken with lawyers and other legal experts, and they point to the fact that there can be no laws discriminating against any segment of the population in Turkey, including the Roma. Any such instances, occurring in job interviews, where the interviewers can understand from the way applicants look, talk, or the circumstances of their birth, where they live and where they received an education and so forth. So officially speaking, one cannot confirm any discriminating practices, which, though they occur frequently, are rather subtle and subdued.

There is no occupational training for Roma women in the urban areas, though, in south-eastern Turkey, for example, there are some NGOs or municipality initiatives which bring together Kurdish and Roma women to teach them sewing, weaving rugs, or basic Turkish language skills. There was a great deal of enthusiasm about these initiatives in the late 1980s and early 1990s, particularly in the Diyarbakır area, but now most of these have either disappeared or are not as functional as they used to be.

What is important to understand, as far as the Roma groups are concerned in Turkey, is that there is a total lack of interest on the part of the government, local municipalities and the public at large to do "something for the Roma". The government and the hegemonic groups prefer to ignore them altogether. Middle-class people never go out to discover what Roma neighbourhoods are like, are warned against doing so by threats of petty theft, etc. The Roma are preferably "the forgotten population of Turkey" and, as far as the dominant hegemonic majority is concerned "that is where they should stay, in the deep recesses of the Turkish collective unconscious, never to come out to speak for their rights, or bring to life the injustices they have suffered, or articulate the history of their lives". This attitude, in a sense, is much worse, it seems to me, than what is happening and or has happened to the Kurds, as the latter had to be recognised and dealt with, whereas the existence of the Roma can easily be denied.

5. PROGRAMMES AND POLICIES AIMING TOWARDS IMPROVEMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN

Until recently there were absolutely no programs, networks, or any other kind of activities initiated by the state or the civil society or the Roma themselves to improve the situation of the Roma women in the local, regional (with the exception of the Diyarbakir area, and that, more than six years ago) and national economies. Recently, two Roma NGOs²⁶² were established, both in the city of Edirne, to improve the cultural visibility of Roma in general, while some others were also founded very recently, though they are not very active and experienced. See Appendix separate document.

²⁶² ROMANI NGOs in TURKEY are the UYD- Ulaşılabilir Yaşam Derneği, Edirne (www.uyd.ord.tr) (Accessible Life Organisation) and The Association for the Study of Gypsy Culture (Edirne Çingene Kültürünü Araştırma Derneği, abbreviation: EDÇİNKAY).

RECOMMENDATIONS

Dealing with the circumstances surrounding the Roma cannot be done on a piecemeal basis. They constitute part of the systemic socio-economic problems in Turkey: huge gaps in income accompanied by extreme poverty, unemployment and discrimination resulting from wild, rampant, pervasive capitalism.

1. IMF-World Bank policies that favour the rich at the expense of poor must end. The taxation system in Turkey has become totally regressive, the poor are poorer than ever, while the rich are still able to evade taxes, certainly taxed far below their means. Indirect taxation implies the use of the VAT (even on basic food items), which used to be non-existent in Turkey and has increased over the years especially since the 1980s. The government today is more interested in pleasing these two institutions and the USA, than the people of Turkey.
2. Dismantling the social welfare system must stop simultaneously with an attempt to recover, rebuild and enlarge the welfare state. So far IMF-World Bank recommendations have proceeded to cut this down, eventually destroying the welfare state altogether.
3. Universal health and retirement benefits must be instituted.
4. The Settlement Law of 1934 must be totally annulled along with all other discriminating governmental decrees and regulations.
5. Directly incentives at the national level:
 - a) The government must own up to the fact that its current policies are discriminating against the Roma as well as other minority groups and then try to turn these around. I do not believe things can change unless the government accepts this publicly.
 - b) Affirmative action policies must be established, quotas delineated for the disadvantaged minority groups such as the Roma in employment, in entrance to the university and in distributing scholarships. The Ombuds(wo)men institution, so far non-existent in Turkey, can be formed to deal with problems of discrimination and prejudice. To this, can be added local employment offices to find regular jobs for the Roma. Health centres in neighbourhoods can be made more functional, additional doctors and nurses brought in and basic health facilities improved and renewed.
 - c) Instead of compulsory military service currently present in Turkey, individuals graduating from the university with various skills can be used in the Health centres and elsewhere at the local level. Medical school graduates could be required to work here for one to two years.
 - d) Schoolbooks already scrutinised and renewed must be checked and renewed again to cut out all prejudicial, stereotyping judgements in texts in reference to women, Roma, and other ethnic groups. Multiculturalism and interculturalism must be a subtle and underlying theme throughout the textbooks.

- e) State level programmes for the education of Roma women and men must be instituted; somewhat like continuing education programs in the US, families must be encouraged to encourage their children to graduate from at least high school level schooling, maybe assisting by offering financial incentives.
- f) NGOs can insist that politicians up for election can be educated and tested in their knowledge of multicultural politics and the creation of a multicultural society.

2. Direct incentives the local level:

- a) The current practice of demolishing certain neighbourhoods and shantytowns under the names of 'renovation and restoration' must end. Historical sites must be protected and individuals and families living there must be given final say in their destiny; thus, they could be given money for the restoration of their homes or the chance to move into new homes.
- b) State level educational programmes must be accompanied with skill-building programs at the local level in everything, from electronics in general to computer hard and software to the use of computers in work.
- c) Women could be given lump sums of money to start small businesses, but I am afraid that this would perpetuate the extant system of inequality rather than removing it.
- d) Childcare and nurseries could be brought to Roma neighbourhoods; Roma women could take turns in taking care of the children in the kindergarten.
- e) Roma women could be enticed to establish NGOs for the welfare of other Roma women and for raising the voice of Roma women in the public sphere.
- f) Roma women should be encouraged and given resources to enter elections at the local, municipality level, and at the state level. There is already and NGO called KADER that helps raise female candidates and support them in local elections. Roma women could be enticed to join these or create their own.
- g) Radio and TV networks could be given education in multicultural politics as witnessed in Canada, one of the most multicultural states in the world.

Statistics Czech Republic

Distribution of Roma in the Czech Republic (2001)

<i>Region</i>	<i>Population total</i>	<i>Czech</i>	<i>Romany</i>	
Hl. m. Praha	1.169.106	1.088.814	653	79.639
St-edo-esky	1.122.473	1.074.360	1.416	46.697
Jiho*esky	625.267	594.992	613	29.662
Plze*ský	550.688	524.396	599	25.693
Karlovarský	304.343	266.054	753	37.536
Ústecký	820.219	755.603	1.905	62.711
Liberecký	428.184	399.917	615	27.652
Královéhradecký	550.724	523.783	722	26.219
Pardubický	508.281	489.142	477	18.662
Vyso*ína	519.211	475.954	258	42.999
Jihomoravský	1.127.718	881.046	631	246.041
Olomoucký	639.369	561.063	868	77.438
Zlínský	595.010	508.037	439	86.534
Moravskoslezský	1.269.467	1.106.616	1.797	161.054
i otal in me Czech Republic	10.230.060	9.249.777	11.746	968.537

Source: Census 2001

Estimate of Roma Educational Structure (1999)

Education	ft	%	i	%
Primary Education	21 319	82,6	21 429	85,1
Apprenticeship	2251	8,7	776	3,1
Vocational training	125	0,5	168	0,7
Secondary education	299	1,2	286	1,1
University education	105	0,4	49	0,2
No education	962	3,7	1593	6,3
No data	755	2,9	876	3,5
Total	25816	100	25176	100

Source: Petr Kaplan, Romové a zaměstnanost neboli zaměstnatelnost Romů v České republice. In: Romové v České republice, Socioklub, 1999 Praha, s.360

Educational structure of Czech population according censuses 1950 - 2001

The highest completed education		Year of census	Males		Females		Total	
			abs. value	%	abs. value	%	abs. value	%
elementary education		1950	2.583.731	79,8	3.022.288	85,9	5.606.019	83,0
		1961	2.652.461	78,0	3.091.227	82,6	5.743.688	80,4
		1970	1.439.426	39,2	2.647.323	65,7	4.086.749	53,0
		1980	1.269.447	33,8	2.242.287	54,3	3.511.734	44,6
		1991	961.720	24,7	1.734.345	40,9	2.696.065	33,1
		2001	683.077	16,5	1.292.032	29,1	1.975.109	23,0
secondary education		1950	335.931	10,4	325.018	9,2	660.949	9,8
		1961	248.972	7,3	297.880	7,9	546.852	7,7
		1970	1.466.502	40,0	758.511	18,8	2.225.013	28,9
		1980	1.543.138	41,1	1.013.206	24,6	2.556.344	32,4
		1991	11.679.506	43,1	1.199.139	28,2	2.878.645	35,4
		2001	1.873.383	45,3	1.382.017	31,1	3.255.400	38,0
complete secondary education		1950	233.666	7,2	110.961	3,2	344.627	5,1
		1961	352.181	10,4	290.644	7,8	642.825	13,6
		1970	541.983	14,8	501.953	12,5	1.043.936	17,1
		1980	650.308	17,4	698.145	16,9	1.348.453	22,9
		1991	832.286	21,4	1.034.697	24,3	1.866.983	28,4
		2001	1.053.452	25,5	1.377.719	31,0	2.431.171	
"S"	universal secondary education	1950	93.014	2,9	48.514	1,4	141.528	2,1
		1961	113.109	3,4	92.243	2,5	205.352	2,9
		1970	118.510	3,2	141.601	3,5	260.111	3,4
		1980	117.813	3,2	160.490	3,9	278.303	3,5
		1991	129.213	3,3	213.293	5,0	342.506	4,2
		2001	153.399	3,7	277.583	6,2	430.982	5,0
	vocational secondary education	1950	140.652	4,3	62.447	1,8	203.099	3,0
		1961	239.072	7,0	198.401	5,3	437.473	10,2
		1970	423.473	11,6	360.352	9,0	783.825	13,6
		1980	532.495	14,2	537.655	13,0	1.070.150	18,7
		1991	703.073	18,1	821.404	19,3	1.524.477	23,4
		2001	900.053	21,8	1.100.136	24,8	2.000.189	
university education		1950	51.508	1,6	10.179	0,3	61.687	0,9
		1961	123.655	3,6	32.757	0,9	156.412	2,2
		1970	186.610	5,1	60.517	1,9	263.127	3,4
		1980	260.336	6,9	133.188	3,2	393.524	5,0
		1991	365.162	9,4	217.687	5,1	582.849	7,2
		2001	445.380	10,8	317.079	7,1	762.459	8,9
without education		1950	8.593	0,3	13.080	0,4	21.673	0,3
		1961	9.457	0,3	15.021	0,4	24.478	0,3
		1970	8.745	0,2	13.481	0,3	22.226	0,3
		1980	8.140	0,2	11.921	0,3	20.061	0,3
		1991	12.039	0,3	15.739	0,4	27.778	0,3
		2001	16.483	0,4	21.449	0,5	37.932	0,4
not identified		1950	25.531	0,7	37.271	1,0	62.802	0,9
		1961	12.207	0,4	16.500	0,4	28.707	0,4
		1970	26.034	0,7	33.908	0,8	59.942	0,8
		1980	22.193	0,6	27.601	0,7	49.794	0,6
		1991	41.173	1,1	44.286	1,1	85.459	1,1
		2001	61.292	1,5	51.835	1,2	113.127	1,3
Population 15y/o and older in total		1950	3.238.960	100,0	3.518.797	100,0	6.757.757	100,0
		1961	3.398.933	100,0	3.744.029	100,0	7.142.962	100,0
		1970	3.669.300	100,0	4.031.693	100,0	7.700.993	100,0
		1980	3.753.562	100,0	4.126.348	100,0	7.879.910	100,0
		1991	3.891.886	100,0	4.245.893	100,0	8.137.779	100,0
		2001	4.133.067	100,0	4.442.131	100,0	8.575.198	100,0

Source: Censuses 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1991, 2001

Structure of 15 y/o and older population according the highest completed education, nationality and gender (2001)

Nationality	The Highest Completed Education							Population 15 y/o and older in total
	elementary	secondary	Completed secondary with examination for school-leaving certificate	Higher vocational and extensional	university	without education	not identified	
Males (abs. value)								
Czech	603.925	1.698.122	847.535	101.097	3 510 1	13.930	30.747	3.687.057
Moravian	23.904	81.296	42.631	5.451	20.744	288	549	174.863
Silesian	636	2.455	1.635	247	854	11	26	5.864
Slovak	23.879	37.428	15.717	1.774	10.246	1.11	1.112	91.187
Polish	2.971	8.493	4.687	550	2.759	65	211	19.736
German	3.823	8.700	2 114	542	1.425	90	200	17.504
Romany	2.708	904	185	28	86	299	100	4.310
Hungarian	2.341	3.074	983	134	741	92	74	7.439
Ukrainian	1.481	2.779	2.537	441	1.122	37	470	8.867
Russian	491	314	836	329	1.641	7	151	3.769
Vietnamese	2.628	2.049	2.680	306	654	51	646	9.014
Other	3.579	6.618	7.616	1.500	7.893	104	802	28.112
Not identified	10.711	21.151	10.027	1.260	5.514	478	26.204	75.345
Total	683.077	1.873.383	939.793	113.659	445.380	16.483	61.292	4.133.067
Females (abs. value)								
Czech	1.147.815	1.273.714	1.103.478	167.903	285.891	24.785	28.909	4.024.785
Moravian	46.182	47.888	39.905	6.058	60589	296	496	149.894
Silesian	1.212	1.100	907	138	275	19	14	3.665
Slovak	42.898	21.097	17.967	2.688	7.225	2.231	948	95.054
Polish	11.054	8.297	6.261	933	1.744	191	140	28.620
German	10.246	5.593	2.508	469	695	191	196	19.898
Romany	2.635	506	166	26	43	375	106	3.857
Hungarian	3.564	1.343	1.011	165	379	162	66	6.690
Ukrainian	2.522	2.655	3.478	635	1.367	90	393	11.140
Russian	890	622	1.853	561	2.690	35	208	6.859
Vietnamese	1.825	1.022	1.408	167	269	48	405	5.144
Other	4.380	3.520	4.934	1.147	3.922	167	461	18.531
Not identified	16.809	14.660	11.248	1.705	3.510	569	19.493	67.994
Total	1.292.032	1.382.017	1.195.124	182.595	317.079	21.449	51.835	4.442.131

Nationality	The Highest Completed Education							Population
	elementary	secondary	Completed secondary with examination for school-leaving certificate	Higher vocational and extensional	university	without education	not identified	15y/o and older in total
Total (abs. value)								
Czech	1.751.740	2.971.836	1.951.013	269.00	677.592	31.005	59.656	7.711.842
Moravian	70.086	129.184	82.536	11.509	29.813	584	1.045	324.757
Silesian	1.848	3.555	2.542	385	1.129	30	40	9.529
Slovak	66.777	58.525	33.684	4.462	17.471	3.262	2.060	186.241
Polish	14.025	16.790	10.948	1.483	4.503	256	351	48.356
German	14.069	14.293	5.232	1.011	2.120	281	396	37.402
Romany	5.343	1.410	351	54	129	674	206	8.167
Hungarian	5.905	4.417	1.994	299	1.120	254	140	14.129
Ukrainian	4.003	5.434	6.015	1.076	2.489	127	863	20.007
Russian	1.381	936	2.689	890	4.331	42	359	10.628
Vietnamese	4.453	3.071	4.088	473	923	99	1.051	14.158
Other	7.959	10.138	12.550	2.647	11.815	271	1.263	46.643
Not identified	27.520	35.811	21.275	2.965	9.024	1.047	45.697	143.339
Total	1.975.109	3.255.400	2.134.917	296.254	762.459	37.932	113.127	8.575.198
Total (%)								
Czech	88,69	91,29	91,39	90,80	88,87	81,74	52,73	89,93
Moravian	3,55	3,97	3,87	3,89	3,91	1,54	0,93	3,79
Silesian	0,09	0,11	0,12	0,13	0,15	0,08	0,04	0,11
Slovak	3,38	1,79	1,58	1,51	2,29	8,60	1,82	2,17
Polish	0,71	0,52	0,51	0,50	0,59	0,68	0,31	0,56
German	0,71	0,44	0,24	0,34	0,28	0,74	0,35	0,44
Romany	0,27	0,04	0,02	0,02	0,02	1,78	0,18	0,10
Hungarian	0,30	0,14	0,09	0,150	0,15	0,67	0,12	0,17
Ukrainian	0,20	0,17	0,28	0,36	0,32	0,33	0,76	0,23
Russian	0,07	0,03	0,13	0,320	0,57	0,11	0,32	0,12
Vietnamese	0,23	0,09	0,19	0,16	0,12	0,26	0,93	0,17
Other	0,41	0,31	0,59	0,89	1,55	0,71	1,12	0,54
Not identified	1,39	1,10	0,99	1,00	1,18	2,76	40,39	1,67
Total	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00

Source: Census 2001

Structure of population according gender and kind of economic activity
Source: Census 2001

Source: Census 2001

Nationality, gender		Economically active						Economically inactive					Persons with not identified economic activity	Total population
		total	employees	among them			unemployed-ees	total	among them					
				of which					not working pensioners	other persons with their own livelihood	pupils, students, apprentices, trainees	other economically inactive persons		
				employees, employers, private entrepreneurs	working pensioners	maternity leave								
Czech	males	2580716	2357973	2262482	7964	x	222743	1873559	737206	12802	832933	293368	21542	4475817
	females	2175249	1965889	1793228	84034	75181	209360	2583378	1268393	147772	812689	356544	15333	4773960
	total	4755965	4323862	4055710	163678	75181	432103	4456937	200559	3687924	1640852	649912	36875	9249777
Moravian	males	123500	113254	109187	3400	x	10246	79842	3348	573	34866	9925	282	203624
	females	79453	71875	66685	2398	2376	7578	97209	48272	5316	31590	12031	188	176850
	total	202953	185129	175872	5798	2376	17824	177051	82750	5889	66456	21956	470	380474
Silesian	males	4032	3618	3475	112	x	414	2538	1337	20	949	232	8	6578
	females	1846	1633	1526	52	44	213	2446	1285	136	765	260	8	4300
	total	5878	5251	5001	164	44	627	4984	2622	156	1714	492	16	10878
Slovak	males	58819	50514	47443	2900	x	8305	35146	28398	316	5603	829	779	94744
	females	45895	39368	35670	2263	1265	6527	52059	40680	2477	6026	2876	492	98446
	total	104714	89882	83113	5163	1265	16312	87205	69078	2793	119	3705	1271	193190
Polish	males	12910	148215	11427	338	x	1095	8575	5503	57	2401	614	86	21571
	females	14738	13076	12354	423	261	1662	15606	11432	630	2389	1155	53	30397
	total	27648	24891	23781	761	261	2757	23781	16935	687	4790	1769	139	51968
German	males	10537	9512	8929	555	x	1025	7733	6199	158	1046	330	121	18391
	females	5942	5469	4701	656	95	473	14721	12940	261	936	584	52	20715
	total	16479	14981	13630	141	95	1498	22454	17339	419	1982	914	173	39106

Tab. 7 Obyvatelstvo podle ekonomické aktivity a podle národnosti a pohlaví k 1. 3. 2001

pokračování

Nationality, gender	Economically active						Economically inactive					Persons with not identified economic activity	Total population
	total	among them					total	among them					
		employees	of which			unemployed		not working pensioners	other persons with their own livelihood	pupils, students, apprentices, trainees	other economically inactive persons		
			employees, employers, private entrepreneurs	working pensioners	maternity leave								
Romany													
males	3220	1310	1254	48	x	1910	2831	588	73	1346	824	98	6149
females	2145	983	724	33	216	1162	3379	682	412	1290	995	73	5597
total	5365	2293	1978	81	216	3072	6210	1270	485	2636	1819	171	11746
Hungarian													
males	4815	4008	3749	247	x	807	2828	2301	40	397	90	68	7711
females	3070	2462	2159	202	87	608	3852	3066	152	390	244	39	6961
total	7885	6470	5908	449	87	1415	6680	5367	192	787	334	107	14672
Ukrainian													
males	7383	6935	6855	56	x	448	2302	824	54	1068	356	258	9943
females	7423	6760	6305	90	345	663	4502	2078	461	1048	915	244	12169
total	14806	13695	13160	146	345	1271	6804	2902	515	2116	1271	502	22112
Russian													
males	2911	2701	2630	53	x	210	1609	256	52	1057	244	114	4634
females	3978	3479	3210	153	89	499	3623	1629	176	1062	756	134	7735
total	6889	6180	5840	206	89	709	522	1885	228	2119	1000	248	12369
Vietnamese													
males	8425	8264	3295	155	x	161	5395	35	95	832	1093	295	10775
females	3965	3890	3574	64	239	75	2540	87	283	710	1460	182	6687
total	12390	12154	11669	219	239	236	4595	122	378	1542	2553	477	17462
Other													
males	20988	18937	18277	451	x	7451	10203	4062	428	4112	1601	499	31690
females	10015	8861	8108	297	369	1154	11516	4789	625	3457	2645	258	21789
total	31003	27798	26385	748	369	375	21719	8851	1053	7569	4246	757	53479

Tab. 7 Obyvatelstvo podle ekonomické aktivity a podle národnosti a pohlaví k 1. 3. 2001

Nationality, gender	Economically active						Economically inactive					Persons with not identified economic activity	Total population
	total	among them				total	among them						
		employees	of which				not working pensioners	other persons with their own livelihood	pupils, students, apprentices, trainees	other economically inactive persons			
			employees, employers, private entrepreneurs	working pensioners	maternity leave								
		total				ees							
Not identified													
males	35266	31044	30086	749	x	4222	30442	10213	393	13268	6568	24736	90444
females	26159	22833	20813	773	1099	3326	39971	17749	2176	12602	7444	16253	82383
total	61425	53877	50899	1522	40989	7548	70413	27962	2569	25870	14012	40989	172827
In total													
males	2873522	2619885	2513889	88708	x	253637	2059663	831400	15061	897128	316074	48886	4982071
females	2379878	2146578	1959057	91438	81666	233300	2834802	1413082	160877	872934	247989	33309	5247989
total	5253400	4766463	4472946	180146	81666	486937	4894465	2244482	175938	1770062	703983	82195	17700620
In % Czech	51,4	46,7	43,8	1,8	0,8	6,7	48,2	21,7	1,7	17,7	7,0	0,4	100,0
Moravian	53,3	48,7	46,2	1,5	0,6	4,7	21,5	21,7	1,5	17,5	5,8	0,1	100,0
Silesian	54,0	48,3	46,0	1,5	834	5,8	45,8	24,1	1,4	15,8	4,5	0,1	100,0
Slovak	54,2	46,5	43,0	2,7	0,7	7,7	45,1	35,8	1,4	3,0	1,9	0,7	100,0
Polish	53,2	47,9	45,8	1,5	0,5	5,3	46,5	32,6	1,3	9,2	3,4	0,3	100,0
German	42,1	38,3	34,9	3,1	0,2	3,8	57,4	48,9	1,1	5,1	2,3	0,4	100,0
Romanian	45,7	19,5	16,8	0,7	1,8	26,2	52,9	10,8	4,1	22,4	15,5	1,5	100,0
Hungarian	53,7	44,1	40,3	3,1	0,6	9,6	45,5	36,6	1,3	5,4	2,3	0,7	100,0
Ukrainian	67,0	61,9	59,5	0,7	1,6	50	30,8	13,1	2,3	9,6	5,7	2,3	100,0
Russian	55,7	50,0	47,2	1,7	0,7	5,7	42,3	15,2	1,8	17,1	8,1	2,0	100,0
Vietnamese	71,0	69,6	66,8	1,3	1,4	1,4	26,3	0,7	2,2	8,8	14,6	2,7	100,0
Other	58,0	52,0	49,3	1,4	0,7	6,0	40,6	16,6	2,0	14,2	7,9	1,4	100,0
Not identified	35,5	31,2	29,5	0,9	0,6	4,4	40,7	16,2	1,5	15,0	8,1	23,7	100,0
Total	51,4	46,6	43,7	1,8	0,8	4,8	47,8	21,9	1,7	17,3	6,9	0,8	100,0

Economically active population according the highest completed education and sector of economy

Source: Census 2001

Sector of Economy	The highest completed education						Economically active population total
	elementary	secondary	completed secondary	university	without education	not identified	
Males (abs. values)							
1. Agriculture, forestry, fishing	17.694	90.492	33.367	13.699	294	305	155.851
2. Industry	64.114	534.125	245.450	75.961	855	1.572	922.077
3. Building industry	29.359	262.352	77.796	34.133	492	820	404.952
4. Trade, vehicles reparations, and consumer goods	10.419	116.137	95.047	26.967	114	671	249.355
5. Pubs, restaurants and accommodation	4.795	49.854	24.730	2.310	38	194	81.921
6. Transportation, postal service and telecommunication	18.064	140.891	69.515	15.424	157	424	244.345
7. Finance and insurance	411	4.158	17.319	14.896	11	43	36.838
8. Real estates, trade with realities, and services for firms	5.441	33.836	48.902	44.508	52	160	132.899
9. Research and development	57	962	2.609	8.197	4	9	11.838
10. Public administration, defence, social security	4.983	40.294	93.962	43.759	67	282	183.347
11. Education system	694	8.788	15.909	37.743	11	72	63.217
12. Health service, veterinary and social services	2.190	15.506	11.762	25.710	36	68	55.272
13. Other public and personal services	11.781	55.018	39.377	18.716	303	249	125.444
14. Not identified sectors of economy	54.066	97.824	37.984	9.861	2.360	4.071	206.166
Total	224.068	1.450.237	813.729	371.754	4.794	8.940	2.873.522

Sector of Economy	The highest completed education						Economically active population total
	elementary	secondary	completed secondary	university	without education	not identified	

Females (abs. values)							
1. Agriculture, forestry, fishing	18.458	29.062	23.138	3.663	189	114	74.624
2. Industry	113.724	293.766	173.342	21.066	870	992	603.760
3. Building industry	3.577	8.360	29.572	8.281	40	53	49.883
4. Trade, vehicles repairs, and consumer goods	24.769	160.437	109.904	10.741	102	605	306.558
5. Pubs, restaurants and accommodation	18.530	62.975	32.439	1.398	146	242	115.730
6. Transportation, postal service and telecommunication	11.158	34.810	54.781	5.620	72	130	106.571
7. Finance and insurance	1.398	7.421	52.069	11.122	8	67	72.085
8. Real estates, trade with realities, and services for firms	6.628	19.850	74.684	21.654	56	145	123.017
9. Research and development	207	668	2.927	2.731	1	6	6.540
10. Public administration, defence, social security	5.696	16.325	93.571	22.886	36	147	138.661
11. Education system	12.904	30.620	83.725	87.857	79	216	215.401
12. Health service, veterinary and social services	16.394	36.016	148.902	3 6 . 5	138	275	236.560
13. Other public and personal services	18.434	55.687	51.964	12.175	291	268	138.819
14. Not identified sectors of economy	57.106	72.170	49.938	7.827	1.901	2.727	191.669
Total	308.983	828.167	980.956	251.856	3.929	5.987	2.379.878

Sector of Economy	The highest completed education						Economically active population total
	elementary	secondary	completed secondary	university	without education	not identified	
Total (Abs. values)							
1. Agriculture, forestry, fishing	36.152	119.554	56.505	17.362	483	419	230.475
2. Industry	177.838	827.891	418.792	97.027	1.725	2.564	1.525.837
3. Building industry	32.936	270.712	107.368	42.414	532	873	454.835
4. Trade, vehicles repairs, and consumer goods	35.188	276.574	204.951	37.708	216	1.276	555.913
5. Pubs, restaurants and accommodation	23.325	112.829	57.169	3.708	184	436	197.651
6. Transportation, postal service and telecommunication	29.222	175.701	124.296	20.914	229	554	350.916
7. Finance and insurance	1.809	11.579	69.388	26.018	19	110	108.923
8. Real estates, trade with realities, and services for firms	12.069	53.686	123.586	66.162	108	305	255.916
9. Research and development	264	1.630	5.536	10.928	5	15	18.378
10. Public administration, defence, social security	10.679	56.619	187.533	66.645	103	429	322.008
11. Education system	13.598	39.408	99.634	125.600	90	288	278.618
12. Health service, veterinary and social services	18.584	51.522	160.664	60.545	174	343	291.832
13. Other public and personal services	30.215	110.705	91.341	30.891	594	517	264.263
14. Not identified sectors of economy	111.172	169.994	87.922	17.688	4.261	6.798	397.835
Total	533.051	2.278.404	1.794.685	623.610	8.723	14.927	5.253.400

Sector of Economy	The highest completed education						Economically active population total
	elementary	secondary	Completed secondary	university	without education	not identified	
Total (%)							
1. Agriculture, forestry, fishing	6,78	5,25	3,15	2,78	5,54	2,81	4,39
2. Industry	33,36	36,34	23,34	15,56	19,78	17,18	29,04
3. Building industry	6,18	11,88	5,98	6,80	6,09	5,85	8,66
4. Trade, vehicles reparations, and consumer goods	6,60	12,14	11,42	6,05	2,48	8,55	10,58
5. Pubs, restaurants and accommodation	4,38	4,95	3,19	0,60	2,11	2,92	3,76
6. Transportation, postal service and telecommunication	5,48	7,71	6,92	3,35	2,63	3,71	6,68
7. Finance and insurance	0,34	0,51	3,87	4,17	0,22	0,74	2,07
8. Real estates, trade with realities, and services for firms	2,26	2,36	6,89	10,61	1,24	2,04	4,87
9. Research and development	0,05	0,07	0,31	1,75	0,06	0,10	0,35
10. Public administration, defence, social security	2,00	2,48	10,45	10,69	1,18	2,87	6,13
11. Education system	2,55	1,73	5,55	20,14	1,03	1,93	5,31
12. Health service, veterinary and social services	3,49	2,26	8,95	9,71	1,99	2,30	5,56
13. Other public and personal services	5,67	4,86	5,09	4,95	6,81	3,46	5,03
14. Not identified sectors of economy	20,86	7,46	4,89	7,4	48,84	45,54	7,57
Total	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00

Educational structure of Czech population according censuses 1950 - 2001

The highest completed education		Year of census	Males		Females		Total	
			abs. value	%	abs. value	%	abs. value	%
elementary education		1950	2.583.731	79,8	3.022.288	85,9	5.606.019	83,0
		1961	2.652.461	78,0	3.091.227	82,6	5.743.688	80,4
		1970	1.439.426	39,2	2.647.323	65,7	4.086.749	53,0
		1980	1.269.447	33,8	2.242.287	54,3	3.511.734	44,6
		1991	961.720	24,7	1.734.345	40,9	2.696.065	33,1
		2001	683.077	16,5	1.292.032	29,1	1.975.109	23,0
secondary education		1950	335.931	10,4	325.018	9,2	660.949	9,8
		1961	248.972	7,3	297.880	7,9	546.852	7,7
		1970	1.466.502	40,0	758.511	18,8	2.225.013	28,9
		1980	1.543.138	41,1	1.013.206	24,6	2.556.344	32,4
		1991	11.679.506	43,1	1.199.139	28,2	2.878.645	35,4
		2001	1.873.383	45,3	1.382.017	31,1	3.255.400	38,0
complete secondary education		1950	233.666	7,2	110.961	3,2	344.627	5,1
		1961	352.181	10,4	290.644	7,8	642.825	13,6
		1970	541.983	14,8	501.953	12,5	1.043.936	17,1
		1980	650.308	17,4	698.145	16,9	1.348.453	22,9
		1991	832.286	21,4	1.034.697	24,3	1.866.983	28,4
		2001	1.053.452	25,5	1.377.719	31,0	2.431.171	
"S"	universal secondary education	1950	93.014	2,9	48.514	1,4	141.528	2,1
		1961	113.109	3,4	92.243	2,5	205.352	2,9
		1970	118.510	3,2	141.601	3,5	260.111	3,4
		1980	117.813	3,2	160.490	3,9	278.303	3,5
		1991	129.213	3,3	213.293	5,0	342.506	4,2
		2001	153.399	3,7	277.583	6,2	430.982	5,0
	vocational secondary education	1950	140.652	4,3	62.447	1,8	203.099	3,0
		1961	239.072	7,0	198.401	5,3	437.473	10,2
		1970	423.473	11,6	360.352	9,0	783.825	13,6
		1980	532.495	14,2	537.655	13,0	1.070.150	18,7
		1991	703.073	18,1	821.404	19,3	1.524.477	23,4
		2001	900.053	21,8	1.100.136	24,8	2.000.189	
university education		1950	51.508	1,6	10.179	0,3	61.687	0,9
		1961	123.655	3,6	32.757	0,9	156.412	2,2
		1970	186.610	5,1	60.517	1,9	263.127	3,4
		1980	260.336	6,9	133.188	3,2	393.524	5,0
		1991	365.162	9,4	217.687	5,1	582.849	7,2
		2001	445.380	10,8	317.079	7,1	762.459	8,9
without education		1950	8.593	0,3	13.080	0,4	21.673	0,3
		1961	9.457	0,3	15.021	0,4	24.478	0,3
		1970	8.745	0,2	13.481	0,3	22.226	0,3
		1980	8.140	0,2	11.921	0,3	20.061	0,3
		1991	12.039	0,3	15.739	0,4	27.778	0,3
		2001	16.483	0,4	21.449	0,5	37.932	0,4
not identified		1950	25.531	0,7	37.271	1,0	62.802	0,9
		1961	12.207	0,4	16.500	0,4	28.707	0,4
		1970	26.034	0,7	33.908	0,8	59.942	0,8
		1980	22.193	0,6	27.601	0,7	49.794	0,6
		1991	41.173	1,1	44.286	1,1	85.459	1,1
		2001	61.292	1,5	51.835	1,2	113.127	1,3
Population 15y/o and older in total		1950	3.238.960	100,0	3.518.797	100,0	6.757.757	100,0
		1961	3.398.933	100,0	3.744.029	100,0	7.142.962	100,0
		1970	3.669.300	100,0	4.031.693	100,0	7.700.993	100,0
		1980	3.753.562	100,0	4.126.348	100,0	7.879.910	100,0
		1991	3.891.886	100,0	4.245.893	100,0	8.137.779	100,0
		2001	4.133.067	100,0	4.442.131	100,0	8.575.198	100,0

Source: Censuses 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1991, 2001

Structure of 15 y/o and older population according the highest completed education, nationality and gender (2001)

Nationality	The Highest Completed Education							Population 15 y/o and older in total
	elementary	secondary	Completed secondary with examination for school-leaving certificate	Higher vocational and extensional	university	without education	not identified	
Males (abs. value)								
Czech	603.925	1.698.122	847.535	101.097	3 510 1	13.930	30.747	3.687.057
Moravian	23.904	81.296	42.631	5.451	20.744	288	549	174.863
Silesian	636	2.455	1.635	247	854	11	26	5.864
Slovak	23.879	37.428	15.717	1.774	10.246	1.11	1.112	91.187
Polish	2.971	8.493	4.687	550	2.759	65	211	19.736
German	3.823	8.700	2 114	542	1.425	90	200	17.504
Romany	2.708	904	185	28	86	299	100	4.310
Hungarian	2.341	3.074	983	134	741	92	74	7.439
Ukrainian	1.481	2.779	2.537	441	1.122	37	470	8.867
Russian	491	314	836	329	1.641	7	151	3.769
Vietnamese	2.628	2.049	2.680	306	654	51	646	9.014
Other	3.579	6.618	7.616	1.500	7.893	104	802	28.112
Not identified	10.711	21.151	10.027	1.260	5.514	478	26.204	75.345
Total	683.077	1.873.383	939.793	113.659	445.380	16.483	61.292	4.133.067
Females (abs. value)								
Czech	1.147.815	1.273.714	1.103.478	167.903	285.891	24.785	28.909	4.024.785
Moravian	46.182	47.888	39.905	6.058	60589	296	496	149.894
Silesian	1.212	1.100	907	138	275	19	14	3.665
Slovak	42.898	21.097	17.967	2.688	7.225	2.231	948	95.054
Polish	11.054	8.297	6.261	933	1.744	191	140	28.620
German	10.246	5.593	2.508	469	695	191	196	19.898
Romany	2.635	506	166	26	43	375	106	3.857
Hungarian	3.564	1.343	1.011	165	379	162	66	6.690
Ukrainian	2.522	2.655	3.478	635	1.367	90	393	11.140
Russian	890	622	1.853	561	2.690	35	208	6.859
Vietnamese	1.825	1.022	1.408	167	269	48	405	5.144
Other	4.380	3.520	4.934	1.147	3.922	167	461	18.531
Not identified	16.809	14.660	11.248	1.705	3.510	569	19.493	67.994
Total	1.292.032	1.382.017	1.195.124	182.595	317.079	21.449	51.835	4.442.131

Nationality	The Highest Completed Education							Population
	elementary	secondary	Completed secondary with examination for school-leaving certificate	Higher vocational and extensional	university	without education	not identified	15y/o and older in total
Total (abs. value)								
Czech	1.751.740	2.971.836	1.951.013	269.00	677.592	31.005	59.656	7.711.842
Moravian	70.086	129.184	82.536	11.509	29.813	584	1.045	324.757
Silesian	1.848	3.555	2.542	385	1.129	30	40	9.529
Slovak	66.777	58.525	33.684	4.462	17.471	3.262	2.060	186.241
Polish	14.025	16.790	10.948	1.483	4.503	256	351	48.356
German	14.069	14.293	5.232	1.011	2.120	281	396	37.402
Romany	5.343	1.410	351	54	129	674	206	8.167
Hungarian	5.905	4.417	1.994	299	1.120	254	140	14.129
Ukrainian	4.003	5.434	6.015	1.076	2.489	127	863	20.007
Russian	1.381	936	2.689	890	4.331	42	359	10.628
Vietnamese	4.453	3.071	4.088	473	923	99	1.051	14.158
Other	7.959	10.138	12.550	2.647	11.815	271	1.263	46.643
Not identified	27.520	35.811	21.275	2.965	9.024	1.047	45.697	143.339
Total	1.975.109	3.255.400	2.134.917	296.254	762.459	37.932	113.127	8.575.198
Total (%)								
Czech	88,69	91,29	91,39	90,80	88,87	81,74	52,73	89,93
Moravian	3,55	3,97	3,87	3,89	3,91	1,54	0,93	3,79
Silesian	0,09	0,11	0,12	0,13	0,15	0,08	0,04	0,11
Slovak	3,38	1,79	1,58	1,51	2,29	8,60	1,82	2,17
Polish	0,71	0,52	0,51	0,50	0,59	0,68	0,31	0,56
German	0,71	0,44	0,24	0,34	0,28	0,74	0,35	0,44
Romany	0,27	0,04	0,02	0,02	0,02	1,78	0,18	0,10
Hungarian	0,30	0,14	0,09	0,150	0,15	0,67	0,12	0,17
Ukrainian	0,20	0,17	0,28	0,36	0,32	0,33	0,76	0,23
Russian	0,07	0,03	0,13	0,320	0,57	0,11	0,32	0,12
Vietnamese	0,23	0,09	0,19	0,16	0,12	0,26	0,93	0,17
Other	0,41	0,31	0,59	0,89	1,55	0,71	1,12	0,54
Not identified	1,39	1,10	0,99	1,00	1,18	2,76	40,39	1,67
Total	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00

Source: Census 2001

Structure of population according gender and kind of economic activity
Source: Census 2001

Source: Census 2001

Nationality, gender		Economically active						Economically inactive					Persons with not identified economic activity	Total population
		total	among them					total	among them					
			employees	of which			unemploy-ees		not working pensioners	other persons with their own livelihood	pupils, students, apprentices, trainees	other economically inactive persons		
				employees, employers, private entrepreneurs	working pensioners	maternity leave								
Czech	males	2580716	2357973	2262482	7964	x	222743	1873559	737206	12802	832933	293368	21542	4475817
	females	2175249	1965889	1793228	84034	75181	209360	2583378	1268393	147772	812689	356544	15333	4773960
	total	4755965	4323862	4055710	163678	75181	432103	4456937	200559	3687924	1640852	649912	36875	9249777
Moravian	males	123500	113254	109187	3400	x	10246	79842	3348	573	34866	9925	282	203624
	females	79453	71875	66685	2398	2376	7578	97209	48272	5316	31590	12031	188	176850
	total	202953	185129	175872	5798	2376	17824	177051	82750	5889	66456	21956	470	380474
Silesian	males	4032	3618	3475	112	x	414	2538	1337	20	949	232	8	6578
	females	1846	1633	1526	52	44	213	2446	1285	136	765	260	8	4300
	total	5878	5251	5001	164	44	627	4984	2622	156	1714	492	16	10878
Slovak	males	58819	50514	47443	2900	x	8305	35146	28398	316	5603	829	779	94744
	females	45895	39368	35670	2263	1265	6527	52059	40680	2477	6026	2876	492	98446
	total	104714	89882	83113	5163	1265	16312	87205	69078	2793	119	3705	1271	193190
Polish	males	12910	148215	11427	338	x	1095	8575	5503	57	2401	614	86	21571
	females	14738	13076	12354	423	261	1662	15606	11432	630	2389	1155	53	30397
	total	27648	24891	23781	761	261	2757	23781	16935	687	4790	1769	139	51968
German	males	10537	9512	8929	555	x	1025	7733	6199	158	1046	330	121	18391
	females	5942	5469	4701	656	95	473	14721	12940	261	936	584	52	20715
	total	16479	14981	13630	141	95	1498	22454	17339	419	1982	914	173	39106

Tab. 7 Obyvatelstvo podle ekonomické aktivity a podle národnosti a pohlaví k 1. 3. 2001

pokračování

Nationality, gender		Economically active						Economically inactive					Persons with not identified economic activity	Total population
		total	among them					total	among them					
			employees	of which			unemployed		not working pensioners	other persons with their own livelihood	pupils, students, apprentices, trainees	other economically inactive persons		
				employees, employers, private entrepreneurs	working pensioners	maternity leave								
Romany	males	3220	1310	1254	48	x	1910	2831	588	73	1346	824	98	6149
	females	2145	983	724	33	216	1162	3379	682	412	1290	995	73	5597
	total	5365	2293	1978	81	216	3072	6210	1270	485	2636	1819	171	11746
Hungarian	males	4815	4008	3749	247	x	807	2828	2301	40	397	90	68	7711
	females	3070	2462	2159	202	87	608	3852	3066	152	390	244	39	6961
	total	7885	6470	5908	449	87	1415	6680	5367	192	787	334	107	14672
Ukrainian	males	7383	6935	6855	56	x	448	2302	824	54	1068	356	258	9943
	females	7423	6760	6305	90	345	663	4502	2078	461	1048	915	244	12169
	total	14806	13695	13160	146	345	1271	6804	2902	515	2116	1271	502	22112
Russian	males	2911	2701	2630	53	x	210	1609	256	52	1057	244	114	4634
	females	3978	3479	3210	153	89	499	3623	1629	176	1062	756	134	7735
	total	6889	6180	5840	206	89	709	522	1885	228	2119	1000	248	12369
Vietnamese	males	8425	8264	3295	155	x	161	5395	35	95	832	1093	295	10775
	females	3965	3890	3574	64	239	75	2540	87	283	710	1460	182	6687
	total	12390	12154	11669	219	239	236	4595	122	378	1542	2553	477	17462
Other	males	20988	18937	18277	451	x	7451	10203	4062	428	4112	1601	499	31690
	females	10015	8861	8108	297	369	1154	11516	4789	625	3457	2645	258	21789
	total	31003	27798	26385	748	369	375	21719	8851	1053	7569	4246	757	53479

Tab. 7 Obyvatelstvo podle ekonomické aktivity a podle národnosti a pohlaví k 1. 3. 2001

Nationality, gender	Economically active						Economically inactive					Persons with not identified economic activity	Total population
	total	among them					total	among them					
		employees	of which			unemploy- ees		not working pensioners	other persons with their own livelihood	pupils, students, apprentices, trainees	other economically inactive persons		
			employees, employers, private entrepreneurs	working pensioners	maternity leave								
Not identified													
males	35266	31044	30086	749	x	4222	30442	10213	393	13268	6568	24736	90444
females	26159	22833	20813	773	1099	3326	39971	17749	2176	12602	7444	16253	82383
total	61425	53877	50899	1522	40989	7548	70413	27962	2569	25870	14012	40989	172827
In total													
males	2873522	2619885	2513889	88708	x	253637	2059663	831400	15061	897128	316074	48886	4982071
females	2379878	2146578	1959057	91438	81666	233300	2834802	1413082	160877	872934	247989	33309	5247989
total	5253400	4766463	4472946	180146	81666	486937	4894465	2244482	175938	1770062	703983	82195	17700620
In % Czech	51,4	46,7	43,8	1,8	0,8	6,7	48,2	21,7	1,7	17,7	7,0	0,4	100,0
Moravian	53,3	48,7	46,2	1,5	0,6	4,7	21,5	21,7	1,5	17,5	5,8	0,1	100,0
Silesian	54,0	48,3	46,0	1,5	834	5,8	45,8	24,1	1,4	15,8	4,5	0,1	100,0
Slovak	54,2	46,5	43,0	2,7	0,7	7,7	45,1	35,8	1,4	3,0	1,9	0,7	100,0
Polish	53,2	47,9	45,8	1,5	0,5	5,3	46,5	32,6	1,3	9,2	3,4	0,3	100,0
2? German	42,1	38,3	34,9	3,1	0,2	3,8	57,4	48,9	1,1	5,1	2,3	0,4	100,0
£ Romany	45,7	19,5	16,8	0,7	1,8	26,2	52,9	10,8	4,1	22,4	15,5	1,5	100,0
B Hungarian	53,7	44,1	40,3	3,1	0,6	9,6	45,5	36,6	1,3	5,4	2,3	0,7	100,0
^ Ukrainian	67,0	61,9	59,5	0,7	1,6	50	30,8	13,1	2,3	9,6	5,7	2,3	100,0
Russian	55,7	50,0	47,2	1,7	0,7	5,7	42,3	15,2	1,8	17,1	8,1	2,0	100,0
Vietnamese	71,0	69,6	66,8	1,3	1,4	1,4	26,3	0,7	2,2	8,8	14,6	2,7	100,0
Other	58,0	52,0	49,3	1,4	0,7	6,0	40,6	16,6	2,0	14,2	7,9	1,4	100,0
Not identifie	35,5	31,2	29,5	0,9	0,6	4,4	40,7	16,2	1,5	15,0	8,1	23,7	100,0
Total	51,4	46,6	43,7	1,8	0,8	4,8	47,8	21,9	1,7	17,3	6,9	0,8	100,0

Economically active population according the highest completed education and sector of economy

Source: Census 2001

Sector of Economy	The highest completed education						Economically active population total
	elementary	secondary	completed secondary	university	without education	not identified	
Males (abs. values)							
1. Agriculture, forestry, fishing	17.694	90.492	33.367	13.699	294	305	155.851
2. Industry	64.114	534.125	245.450	75.961	855	1.572	922.077
3. Building industry	29.359	262.352	77.796	34.133	492	820	404.952
4. Trade, vehicles reparations, and consumer goods	10.419	116.137	95.047	26.967	114	671	249.355
5. Pubs, restaurants and accommodation	4.795	49.854	24.730	2.310	38	194	81.921
6. Transportation, postal service and telecommunication	18.064	140.891	69.515	15.424	157	424	244.345
7. Finance and insurance	411	4.158	17.319	14.896	11	43	36.838
8. Real estates, trade with realities, and services for firms	5.441	33.836	48.902	44.508	52	160	132.899
9. Research and development	57	962	2.609	8.197	4	9	11.838
10. Public administration, defence, social security	4.983	40.294	93.962	43.759	67	282	183.347
11. Education system	694	8.788	15.909	37.743	11	72	63.217
12. Health service, veterinary and social services	2.190	15.506	11.762	25.710	36	68	55.272
13. Other public and personal services	11.781	55.018	39.377	18.716	303	249	125.444
14. Not identified sectors of economy	54.066	97.824	37.984	9.861	2.360	4.071	206.166
Total	224.068	1.450.237	813.729	371.754	4.794	8.940	2.873.522

Sector of Economy	The highest completed education						Economically active population total
	elementary	secondary	completed secondary	university	without education	not identified	

Females (abs. values)							
1. Agriculture, forestry, fishing	18.458	29.062	23.138	3.663	189	114	74.624
2. Industry	113.724	293.766	173.342	21.066	870	992	603.760
3. Building industry	3.577	8.360	29.572	8.281	40	53	49.883
4. Trade, vehicles repairs, and consumer goods	24.769	160.437	109.904	10.741	102	605	306.558
5. Pubs, restaurants and accommodation	18.530	62.975	32.439	1.398	146	242	115.730
6. Transportation, postal service and telecommunication	11.158	34.810	54.781	5.620	72	130	106.571
7. Finance and insurance	1.398	7.421	52.069	11.122	8	67	72.085
8. Real estates, trade with realities, and services for firms	6.628	19.850	74.684	21.654	56	145	123.017
9. Research and development	207	668	2.927	2.731	1	6	6.540
10. Public administration, defence, social security	5.696	16.325	93.571	22.886	36	147	138.661
11. Education system	12.904	30.620	83.725	87.857	79	216	215.401
12. Health service, veterinary and social services	16.394	36.016	148.902	3 6 . 5	138	275	236.560
13. Other public and personal services	18.434	55.687	51.964	12.175	291	268	138.819
14. Not identified sectors of economy	57.106	72.170	49.938	7.827	1.901	2.727	191.669
Total	308.983	828.167	980.956	251.856	3.929	5.987	2.379.878

Sector of Economy	The highest completed education						Economically active population total
	elementary	secondary	completed secondary	university	without education	not identified	
Total (Abs. values)							
1. Agriculture, forestry, fishing	36.152	119.554	56.505	17.362	483	419	230.475
2. Industry	177.838	827.891	418.792	97.027	1.725	2.564	1.525.837
3. Building industry	32.936	270.712	107.368	42.414	532	873	454.835
4. Trade, vehicles reparations, and consumer goods	35.188	276.574	204.951	37.708	216	1.276	555.913
5. Pubs, restaurants and accommodation	23.325	112.829	57.169	3.708	184	436	197.651
6. Transportation, postal service and telecommunication	29.222	175.701	124.296	20.914	229	554	350.916
7. Finance and insurance	1.809	11.579	69.388	26.018	19	110	108.923
8. Real estates, trade with realities, and services for firms	12.069	53.686	123.586	66.162	108	305	255.916
9. Research and development	264	1.630	5.536	10.928	5	15	18.378
10. Public administration, defence, social security	10.679	56.619	187.533	66.645	103	429	322.008
11. Education system	13.598	39.408	99.634	125.600	90	288	278.618
12. Health service, veterinary and social services	18.584	51.522	160.664	60.545	174	343	291.832
13. Other public and personal services	30.215	110.705	91.341	30.891	594	517	264.263
14. Not identified sectors of economy	111.172	169.994	87.922	17.688	4.261	6.798	397.835
Total	533.051	2.278.404	1.794.685	623.610	8.723	14.927	5.253.400

Sector of Economy	The highest completed education						Economically active population total
	elementary	secondary	Completed secondary	university	without education	not identified	
Total (%)							
1. Agriculture, forestry, fishing	6,78	5,25	3,15	2,78	5,54	2,81	4,39
2. Industry	33,36	36,34	23,34	15,56	19,78	17,18	29,04
3. Building industry	6,18	11,88	5,98	6,80	6,09	5,85	8,66
4. Trade, vehicles reparations, and consumer goods	6,60	12,14	11,42	6,05	2,48	8,55	10,58
5. Pubs, restaurants and accommodation	4,38	4,95	3,19	0,60	2,11	2,92	3,76
6. Transportation, postal service and telecommunication	5,48	7,71	6,92	3,35	2,63	3,71	6,68
7. Finance and insurance	0,34	0,51	3,87	4,17	0,22	0,74	2,07
8. Real estates, trade with realities, and services for firms	2,26	2,36	6,89	10,61	1,24	2,04	4,87
9. Research and development	0,05	0,07	0,31	1,75	0,06	0,10	0,35
10. Public administration, defence, social security	2,00	2,48	10,45	10,69	1,18	2,87	6,13
11. Education system	2,55	1,73	5,55	20,14	1,03	1,93	5,31
12. Health service, veterinary and social services	3,49	2,26	8,95	9,71	1,99	2,30	5,56
13. Other public and personal services	5,67	4,86	5,09	4,95	6,81	3,46	5,03
14. Not identified sectors of economy	20,86	7,46	4,89	7,4	48,84	45,54	7,57
Total	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00

Development of population following economic activities and nationality in 1991 - 2001 *Source:*
Census 1991 and Census 2001

Nationality, gender		Economicall y active	among them					Economical ly inactive	among them				Persons with not identified economic activity	Total population	
			employees total	of whom			unemployed		not working pensioners	other persons with their own livelihood	pupils, students, apprentices, trainees	other economically inactive persons			
				employees, employers, private entrepreneurs	working pensioners	maternity leave									
Growth +/ decrease -/ in 1991 - 2001 (abs. va ues)															
Total		-167702	-531825	-208670	-117488	-237372	3 113	138612	258878	173492	-1031138	612120	X	-72155	
	Czech	387532	48976	286759	-82197	-184879	0580567	461602	417135	158500	-694600	580567	X	886009	
	Moravian	-511381	-514559	-451198	-25749	-38695	48788	-470928	-171487	5830	53178470	13709	X	-981839	
	Silesian	-16780	-16895	-14988	-731	-1218	115	-16804	-6464	151	-10217	-274	X	-33568	
	Slovak	-94895	-101392	-84284	-8001	-9448	6497	-28063	-6264	2698	-21570	-2927	X	-121687	
	Polish	-4903	-7109	-5269	-401	-1527	2206	-2651	709	679	-3413	-626	X	-7415	
	German	-7885	-78858	-7368	-965	-570	973	-1738	-1027	408	-1449	330	X	-9450	
	Romany	-9549	-9574	-8048	-182	-1362	25	-11779	-1141	430	-11148	80	X	-21157	
	Hungarian	-5191	-5983	-5175	-339	-495	792	-176	1113	186	-1229	-246	X	-5260	
	Ukrainian	10831	9847	10078	-304	29	984	2559	-706	513	1637	1115	X	13892	
	Russian	4325	3759	3829	-6	-109	566	2734	12	224	1673	825	X	7307	
	Vietnamese	11993	11765	11301	218	219	228	4571	116	378	1528	2549	X	17041	
Growth +/ decrease -/ in 199 - 2001(%)															
Total		-3,1	-10,0	-4,5	-39,5	-74,4	296,5	0,3	13,0	7092,9	-36,8	666,3	X	-0,7	
	Czech	8,9	1,1	7,6	-33,4	-71,1	361,9	11,6	26,3	7837,2	-29,7	837,2	X	10,6	
	Moravian	-71,6	-73,5	-72,0	-81,6	-94,2	21,7	-72,7	-67,5	9881,4	-82,8	166,2	X	-72,1	
	Silesian	-74,1	-76,3	-75,0	-81,7	-96,5	22,5	-77,1	-71,1	3020,0	-85,6	-35,8	X	-75,5	
	Slovak	-47,5	-53,0	-50,3	-60,8	-88,2	77,9	-24,3	-8,3	2840,0	-65,0	-44,1	X	-38,6	
	Polish	-15,1	-22,2	-18,1	-34,5	-85,4	400,4	-9,9	4,4	8487,5	-41,6	-26,1	X	-12,5	
	German	-32,4	-37,2	-35,1	-44,3	-85,7	185,3	-7,2	-5,1	3709,1	-42,2	56,5	X	-19,5	
	Romany	-64,0	-80,7	-80,3	-69,2	-86,3	0,8	-65,5	-47,3	781,8	-80,9	4,6	X	-64,3	
	Hungarian	-39,7	-48,0	-46,7	-43,0	-85,1	127,1	-2,6	26,2	3100,0	-61,0	-42,4	X	-26,4	
	Ukrainian	272,5	255,9	327,0	-67,6	9,2	774,8	60,3	-19,6	25650,0	341,8	714,7	X	169,0	
	Russian	168,7	155,3	190,4	-2,8	-55,1	395,8	109,4	0,6	5600,0	375,1	471,4	X	144,4	
	Vietnamese	3020,9	3024,4	3070,9	28500190	1095,0	2850,0	19045,8	1933,3	X	10914,3	63725,0	X	4047,7	

Statistics Germany

Table 1: Population in Germany according to gender and citizenship

Year	2003	2004
Total	82 531 700	82 500 800
Men	40 356 000	40 353 600
Women	42 175 600	42 147 200
Germans	75 189 900	75 212 900
Men	36 515 900	36 567 100
Women	38 673 800	38 645 700
Foreigners	7 341 800	7 288 000
Men	3 840 100	3 786 500
Women	3 501 800	3 501 500

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland. Aktualisiert Oktober 2005

Table 2: Tolerated applicants in Germany according to country of origin. Stand 01.01.2005

Total	202 929
Jugoslavia	50 103
Serbia and Montenegro	23 285
Turkey	13 945
Croatia	883
Romania	567

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt

Table 3: Duration of stay of foreigners in Germany until 31.12.2003

30 years and longer	19%
under 20 to 30 years	27%
under 10 to 20 years	6.9 %
under 6 to 8 years	7.2 %
under 4 to 6 years	7.9 %
less than 4 years	1.3 %

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt

Table 4: Number of pupils and quota of foreigners according to schools in Germany, (School year 2004/2005)

Type of school	Pupils total	Quota of foreigners	in%
Preschool	18 600	4 300	23.1
Kindergarten	29 400	7 000	23.8
Primary school	3 149 500	361 400	11.5
Secondary modern school	1 084 300	203 100	18.7
High-school/secondary school	2 404 000	98 400	4.1 (1)
Special schools	423 800	67 400	15.9

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt

(1) The number of foreign children in school reduced drastically at the Gymnasium level, where they only represented 4.1% of foreign students.

Table 5: Unemployment quota according to gender in percent (2000-2005)

Year	Women	Men
2000	10.9	10.5
2001	10.2	10.4
2002	10.3	11.3
2003	10.8	12.4
2004	10.8	12.5
2005	12.7	13.4

Source: Bundesagentur für Arbeit

Table 6: Evaluation results of EQUAL Project**Participants according to gender in Berlin** (50 places, app. 100 participants during complete period)

Training Course	Men	Women	Total	Women quota (%)
Training course for school mediators	3	3	6	50%
Media Group MediaRoma	7	1	8	12,5%
Literacy course	2	19	21	90,5%
German language course	3	2	5	40,0%
Course for Secondary Education Certification	6	4	10	40,0%
Existenzgründerkurs	5	1	6	16,7%
PC course	5	5	6-10?	?
Folklore group Amaro Ternipe	14	18	32	56,25%

Table 6: Evaluation results of EQUAL Project**Participants according to gender in Aachen** (25 places ,app. 70 participants during complete period)

Training Course	Men	Women	Total	Women quota (%)
Internship/job	9	1	10	10
Women group	-	39,003	-	100
Career orientation	10	10	20	50
Social counselling	1	0	1	0
"Hauptschule" school degree completion course	2	0	2	0
PC-courses	-	-	39,003	100
Art projects	3	0	3	0
Music group	6	0	6	0

Table 1 Distribution of Spanish Roma population older than 15 years (by regions)

Region		percentage
Andalucía	169,553	38.2
Aragón	14,444	3.3
Asturias	3,664	0.8
Baleares	9,073	2.0
Cantabria	3,112	0.7
Castilla La	26,643	6.0
Mancha	22,297	5.0
Castilla y León	41,998	9.5
Cataluña	41,334	9.3
Com. Valenciana	8,781	2.0
Extremadura	9,637	2.2
Galicia	46,777	10.6
Com. de Madrid	26,225	5.9
Murcia	4,719	1.1
Navarra	9,260	2.1
País Vasco	5,848	1.3
La Rioja		
Total	443,365	100.0

Source: FSG - EDIS (2005): Población gitana y Empleo. Un estudio comparado, Fundación Secretariado Gitano (FSG), Madrid

Table 2 Employment, self-employment and temporality of Spanish and Spanish Roma population

	Spanish population	Roma population	Difference
Employees. Steady Employees.	56.46	15.77	-40.69
Temporary Self-employed	25.21	35.73	+10.56
"Collaboration in family activities"	16.91	24.36	+7.45
	1.42	24.14	+22.72
Total	100.0	100.0	

Source: EPA. 4° trim. 2004 and FSG-EDIS survey on Spanish Roma population

Table 3 Distribution of occupied people by labour sectors and sex of Spanish and Spanish Roma population (%)

Sectors	I		Spanish population		Occupied		Rom population		Differences (Total)
	I	Total	Men	Women	I	Total	Men	Women	
Agriculture and Fishing	I	5.2	6.4	3.7	I	8.8	9.7	7.7	3.6

Industry
Construction
Services

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Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
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Source: EPA. 4º trim. 2004 and FSG-EDIS survey on Spanish Roma population

Table 4 Occupation in industry and service sectors, temporality and part-time work of the Spanish Roma population (men/women)

	Spanish Roma population	
	Men	Women
Pop. of 16 or more years old (x1.000)	233.7	
241.3		
% Occupied in industry	6.2	2.5
% Occupied in service sector	66.2	89.6
Temporality rate	65.8	77.9
Part-time work rate	32.21	55.87

Source: FSG - EDIS (2005): Población gitana y Empleo. Un estudio comparado, Fundación Secretariado Gitano (FSG), Madrid

Table 5 Perception of ethnic discrimination: Have you ever felt discriminated as a Roma in some of the following circumstances? (%)

	N	percentage	
		Answers	Cases
No. never	819	45.0	54.6
Yes, while looking for a job	535	29.4	35.6
Yes, work	287	15.7	19.1
Yes, at school	180	9.9	12.0

45.4

Total answers 1.821 100.0 121.3

Source: FSG - EDIS (2005): Población gitana y Empleo. Un estudio comparado, Fundación Secretariado Gitano (FSG), Madrid

Statistics from Acceder (FSG Employment Program) 2004 available in <http://www.fsgg.org/acceder/observatorio2004/cuadros.pdf>

Women's National Statistics:

<http://www.mtas.es/mujer/mujeres/cifras/index.htm> National Statistics:

www.ine.es

EPA (Encuesta de Población Activa) - EAPS (Economic Active Population Survey) -

http://www.ine.es/inebase/cgi/um?M=%2Ft22%2Fe308_mnu&O=inebase&N=&L=1

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Statistics Ireland

THE GENERAL ECONOMIC SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY AND CHANGES IN ECONOMY DURING THE LAST TEN YEARS

As mentioned elsewhere in the report, Ireland is in the post "Celtic tiger" era. In the 1990s the positive turnaround in Ireland's economic climate was referred to as the "Celtic tiger". However, anti-poverty campaigns in Ireland today claim that wealth has not been spread equally throughout Ireland and therefore is not a "successful society". The Combat Poverty Agency claims, "one of the key social deficits in our society that must be tackled is child poverty"¹. Female poverty is connected to this. If early childhood care were improved, they say, it would lead to women having more access to the labour market with a resulting "reduction in the level of both child poverty and poverty among women"².

With the improved economic climate and the increased investment in property came an ongoing increase in the cost of housing. Fewer people per capita in Ireland today can afford to buy their own homes; it has become a landlord's market. With housing price increases also came the difficulty in procuring loans and mortgages for low-income earners. Both, husband and wife need to work in order to afford to buy their own home.

AVAILABLE DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION (NUMBER OF ROMA / FEMALE ROMA)

Due to the method of census information gathering and the fact that Roma do not have their own nationality, there are no available demographic statistics available on Roma women.

ALL AVAILABLE DATA ON ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN

The most reliable data comes from the Roma Support Group in Dublin and has been included in the main body of the report. There are no official government statistics concerning Roma women or men in Ireland. The Roma community in Ireland has not been here relatively long and the Roma Support Group has been in existence only a few years. Their goals to establish a Roma database should improve the data availability in years to come.

What can be ascertained is that approximately 98% of Roma women in Ireland are unemployed. This contrasts starkly with the national statistics where 50% of married women in Ireland are employed.

Roma women also contrast with their Irish counterparts in relation to access to education and levels of education achieved with the majority of Roma women lacking basic literacy skills in any language.

SITUATION OF WOMEN REGARDING THEIR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION BOTH AT LOCAL AND NATIONAL LEVEL

The Irish Government's Central Statistics Office says that employment rates for both men and women are on the increase in Ireland and are presently above the average European Union rate.³ Between the years 1997 and 2005 there was a 10% increase in the number of employed married women. The figures presented by the Central Statistics Office suggest that 50% of married women in Ireland are employed (March 2005) compared to 40% in 1997. A report from the Central Statistics Office shows though that women are not equally represented at the higher ranks of employment and their wages on average are 15% lower than men's.⁴

Central Statistics Office figures also show that women in Ireland access tertiary education as much as men with differences being the subjects and topics chosen.

The discrepancies in earnings between the sexes in Ireland relate to childcare issues and the lower number of woman in high-ranking jobs. The National Women's Council of Ireland (NWCi) proposed in

¹ Action on Poverty Today—Autumn 2005 No. 10 p.3. Helen Johnston, Combat Poverty Agency.

² *ibid.*

³ Central Statistics Office. http://www.cso.ie/newsevents/pr_womenandmen2005.htm

⁴ *ibid.*

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2005 that there should be a publicly funded accessible childcare system in place in Ireland and that the lack of a system at present results in the fact that women and children continue to be more at risk of poverty than men, at greater risk of being single parents.¹ The NWCI also claims that due to a lack of affordable childcare, women are limited more than men in relation to their careers and general participation in society and the work force.

¹ Orla O'Connor, National Women's Council of Ireland. Action on Poverty Today—Autumn 2005 No.10. p.11.

Statistics Italy

The Romani population is largely an invisible community in the social, political and cultural life of the Italian State. The only visibility assigned to these people is that of negative prejudices, or of circus artists, usually coming from Sinti family, whose real roots, though, are habitually unknown and consequently ignored.

For these reasons in addition to diffused disinterest in this minority, the question of statistics represents a problem concerning the study on this minority: the relevant statistics are almost non-existent, beginning already with the question of demographic presence of the Roma and Sinti in Italy.

As stated in the RomWom report, the demographic presence of the Italian Romani population is a disputable issue. Similar to many other countries, the demographic data is a question of estimations proposed by NGOs and scholars. During the entire 1990s, there were an estimated 110,000 Roma - "0.17% of the whole population" (Caritas di Roma -Rapporto: 1999, pp.170), which represented "the lowest percentage in the whole Europe" (Dragutinovic: 2000, 8). According to the same estimates, the majority - some 70,000 people - was composed of Roma and Sinti of Italian nationality (cf. Dragutinovic: 2000, 8; Rapporto: 1999, pp.170); they are Italian citizens with access to all state structures and services, even if the reality is quite different.

There are nearly 40,000 immigrant Roma (those with foreign citizenship) in Italy; they arrived from eastern Europe, mainly from certain Balkan countries (various former-Yugoslav territories, Romania, Albania, Moldavia, and even Poland), in the last 30 to 35 years. Only a few of them managed to obtain Italian citizenship, whilst many of them remain irregular (mostly those who have arrived in the last 5 to 10 years). Finally, it must be said that many immigrant groups, especially if irregular, are usually omitted from various reports on the Romani population in Italy.

According to the latest estimates produced by NGO workers, activists and researchers, the aforementioned figures have changed in recent years: thus, some of them estimate that between 130,000 and 150,000 Roma and Sinti are living in Italy, a significant rise in numbers.

The most frequent publications on the topic of Roma and Sinti in Italy are still reports issued by organisations operating in this area (e.g. various NGOs, Romani and pro-Romani associations, research reports and articles, Caritas reports, and alike), as well as their journals and web pages. In these sources, it is possible to find information on how members of the Roma and Sinti minorities are treated in Italy, on their position in society, on interventions implemented for their promotion, their language and culture, life conditions, and so on. But, in absence of general national surveys and statistical documents, it is impossible to obtain reliable, complete and satisfactory statistical reports on Roma and Sinti, and especially on specific inner groups (women, the old, youth, working people, unemployed, etc.) Such reports could be found on a local level, mostly in single districts, towns, municipalities, provinces (much less at regional level), or specific Roma or Sinti community, or statistical reports emerging from - again highly local - projects focusing this people. But again, these are usually lacking specific statistics, or appear to be very occasional according to the given project on their employment inclusion, school integration, health, and similar issues.

Accordingly, the attempt to construct a statistical overview on any issue, for at least one year, would constitute a demanding enterprise since it would require a meticulous investigation throughout existing materials, from town to town, community to community, project to project, initiative to initiative, from one local observatory to another. More than a bibliographical research (cf. below), it would require an immediate investigation and contact

with both, the target group and the people working with this population in order to produce an overview, reports, and statistical documents based on this research.

In addition, immigrant Roma, are registered and treated within the official documents and reports compiled by institutions on the basis of their national origin. In this sense, these documents do not indicate, for example, that many refugees or at least asylum seekers from Kosovo (and other former-Yugoslav territories), Albania and Romania are members of the local Romani communities who, owing to persecution in the last decade, began to flee towards the EU member states, including Italy.

Talking in more general terms, Roma and Sinti are barred from minority rights because they remain unrecognised as national minority: this means that there doesn't exist a pan-Romani organisation (there have been some attempts by non-Roma of creating an umbrella organisation on a national level), as well as initiatives and reports compiled (including statistics) regarding this minority.

Concerning the literature and information on specific question of Romani women, as mentioned in the first chapter of the RomWom Italian report (1. Methodological hints: Literature and experts) that these types of sources is missing in Italy. The specific needs of Roma and Sinti women in Italy are usually treated inside more general literature on the Romani population: they are described in terms of their status and roles inside the family in traditional Roma/Sinti communities. As a result, very few paragraphs/chapters are dedicated to Romani women, and their actual conditions. The question of labour and school inclusion of Roma and Sinti women is also dealt with inside the wider literature on their community, and rarely on the current and actual conditions and needs of Romani women.

It is clear that these descriptions are more qualitative than quantitative: consequently, no statistical data exists, what little data we have is meagre at best, again, produced at the local level (cf. above).

Another conclusion is that experts in this field are also missing, meaning that no Roma-women-focused researchers/scholars operate in Italy. As stated in the RomWom Italian report, some of them have perhaps dedicated some space to the gender issue among Roma and Sinti in Italy; but still, this space turns out to be limited to paragraphs incorporated into more general studies on Roma and Sinti in Italy.

Statistics Hungary

Table 1 Poverty rates by ethnicity

	2000/2001			1999/2000		
	50% of median	50% of median	Upper limit of bottom	50% of median	50% of median	Upper limit of bottom
Roma	61.3	68.0	75.3	53.9	64.5	85.2
Non-Roma	6.1	9.9	17.8	5.2	9.5	17.0

Source: Joint Memorandum of Social Inclusion on Hungary, p. 71.

Table 2 Rate of Employment Among Roma Men, by %

Age	Total Population	Roma
15-19	12.9	17.7
20-29	68	35
30-54	76.9	33.8
55-59	43.1	15.4
Total:	63.4	30.8

Source: Joint Memorandum of Social Inclusion on Hungary, pp. 70-71.

Table 3 Rate of Employment Among Roma Women, by %

Age	Total Population	Roma
15-19	12.1	12.8
20-29	70.1	15.6
30-54	73.1	20.2
Total:	63.1	17.5

Source: Joint Memorandum of Social Inclusion on Hungary, pp. 70-71.

Table 4 Do you have regularly paid work? - Responses by percent according to gender and settlement

<i>Men</i>	Village	Citv	Budapest	Total
No	69.9	60.0	20.7	60.5
Yes	20.4	28.4	66.2	28.6
Student	9.7	11.6	13.1	11.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Women</i>				
No	78.1	74.0	53.6	73.4
Yes	10.0	16.6	35.9	16.1
Student	11.9	9.4	10.5	10.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: Kemény István-Janky Béla: Representative Research on Hungarian Roma, (2003); Report of the Roma Affairs Interdepartmental Standing Committee, National and Ethnic Minority Office, (2003).

Table 5 Roma employment and training programmes on country level in 2002

Programme	Number of Roma participants	Expenditure (thousands HUF)
Community work	12.472	1.740.625
Communal work	4.158	n/a
Training	2.566	255.305
Wage support	608	169.630
<i>Járulékok átvállalása</i>	1.295	92.957
Mobility support	159	9.341
Skill diversification support	155	36.375
Work experience	331	95.585
Complex programs targeting Roma	3,335	460,584
Mentors	1.371	47.200
Assistant teacher programs	132	27.586
Support for independent entrepreneurs	16	n/a

Source: Report of County Employment Centres to the Roma Affairs Interdepartmental Standing Committee Directorship of the FMM Equal Opportunity on 2002 Programs (January 2003).

Table 6 Economic Activity of Roma Women

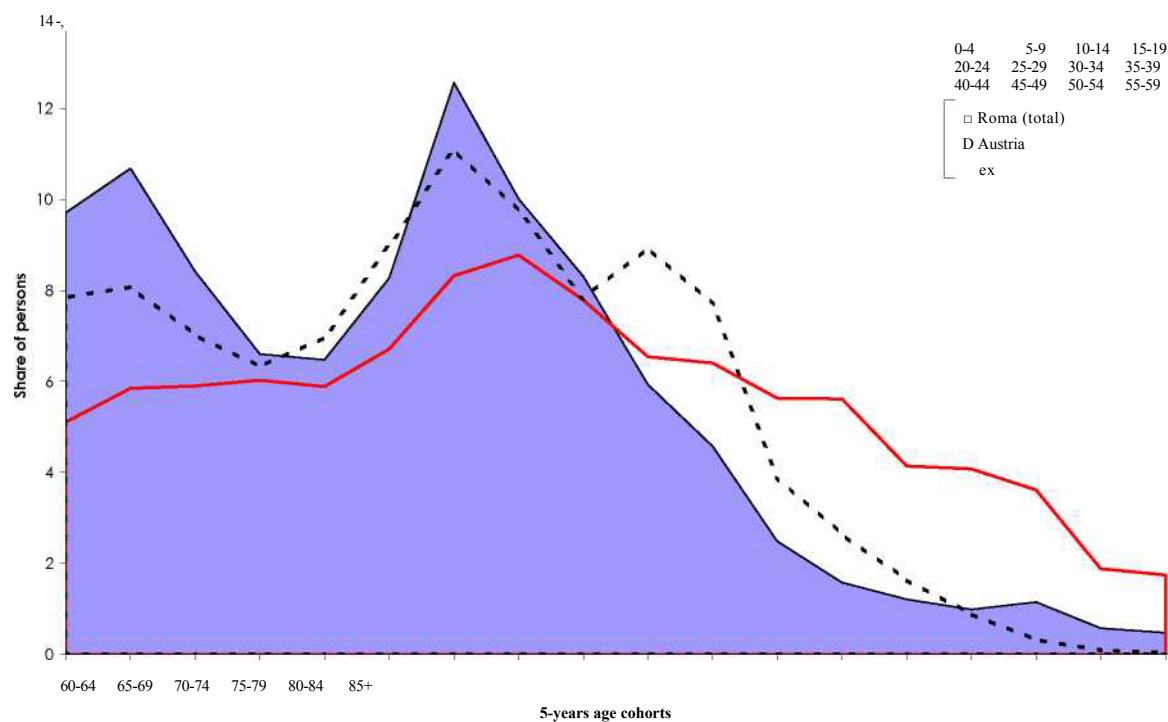
Economic Activity	%
Unemployed	33.9
Live on social aid (maternity leave mainly)	26.0
Work actively	18.4
Retired for health reasons	14.3
Retired	5.0
Study only	2.4

Source: Babusik, Ferenc. 2005. Az esélyegyenlőség Korlátai Magyarországon - Státusz, Etnicitás, Kirekesztődés az Egészségügyben és a Szociális Szférában (The Limits of Equal opportunities in Hungary- Status, Ethnicity, Exclusion in Healthcare and the Social Sphere). L'Harmattan: Budapest.

Statistics Austria

1. Statistical Information on the Romanés speaking population in Austria

Graph 1: Age structure of Romanés speaking population in Austria, compared to the Austrian population as a whole and to the citizens of ex-Yugoslavia living in Austria, 2001



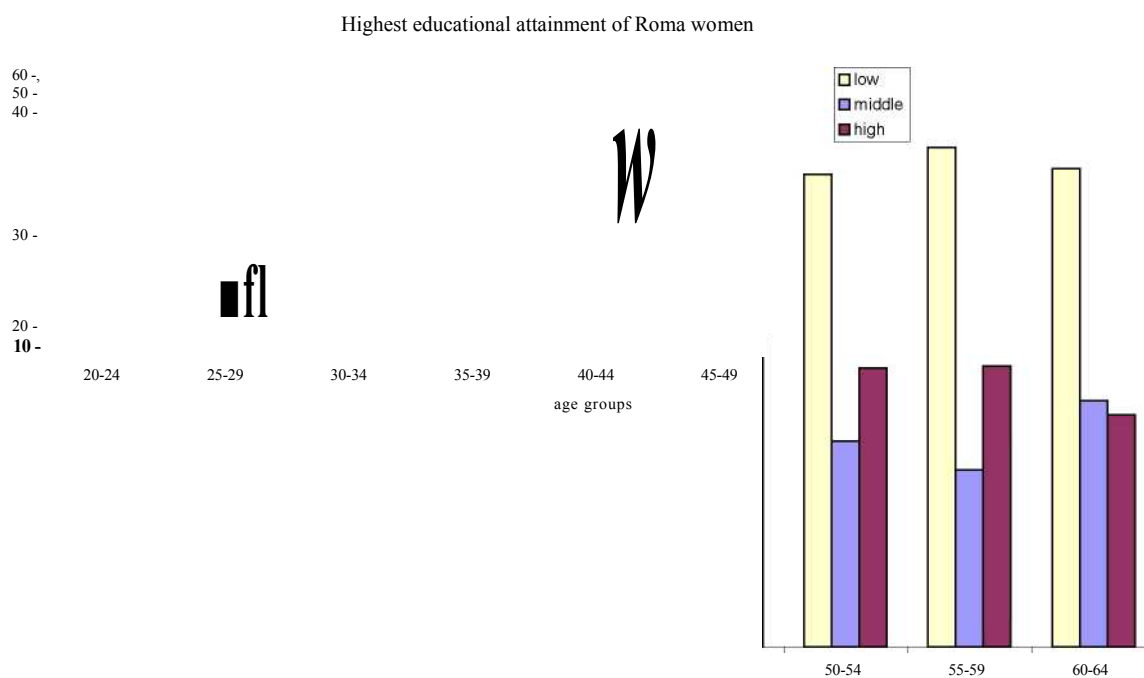
Source: Statistics Austria, WIFO calculations.

Table 10: Family status of Romanés speaking population in Austria (age 18+), 2001

		Men	Women	Total
Single		511	463	974
	In %	25,4	20,4	22,8
Married		1333	1406	2739
	In%	66,3	61,9	64,0
Widowed		28	143	171
	In%	1,4	6,3	4,0
Divorced		139	258	397
	In%	6,9	11,4	9,3
Total		2011	2270	4281
	In%	100	100	100

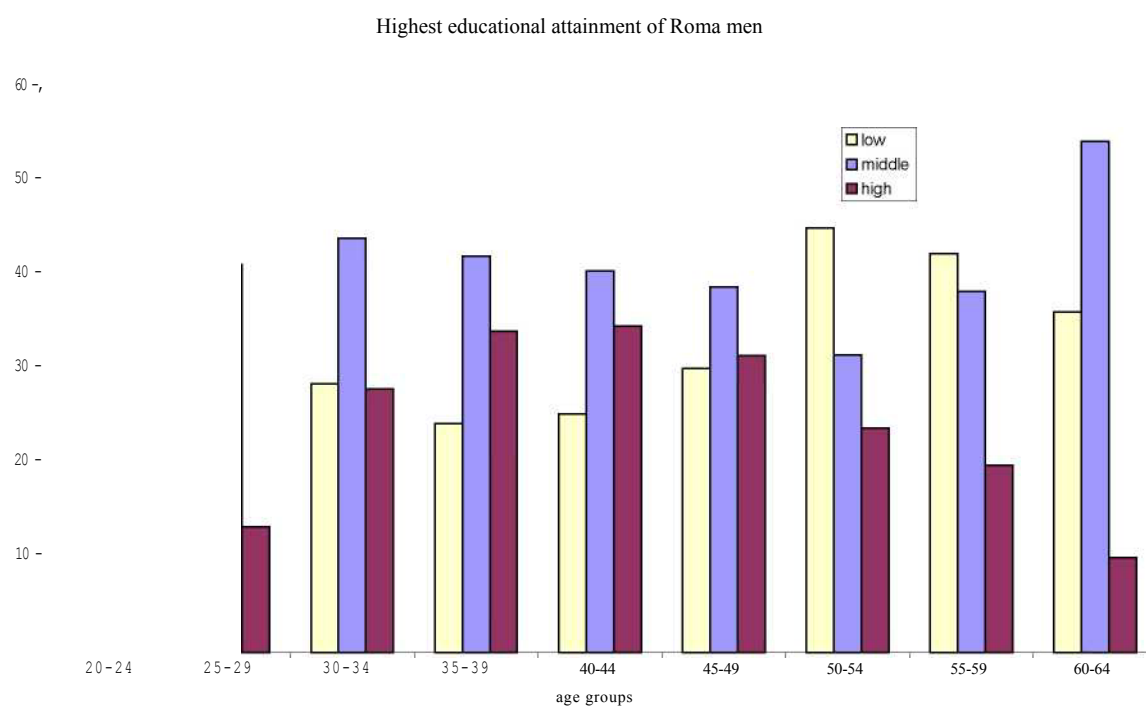
Source: Statistics Austria, WIFO calculations.

Graph 2: Educational attainment of Romanés speaking women in Austria according to age groups, 2001



Source: Statistics Austria, WIFO calculations.

Graph 3: Educational attainment of Romanés speaking men in Austria according to age groups, 2001



Source: Statistics Austria, WIFO calculations.

Table 11: Romanés speaking population (15-64), occupational indicators, 2001

	men	women	total
Employment rate	72,5%	57,3%	64,6%
Unemployment rate	14,3%	14,4%	14,4%
Activity rate	84,7%	66,9%	75,4%

Source: Statistics Austria, WIFO calculations.

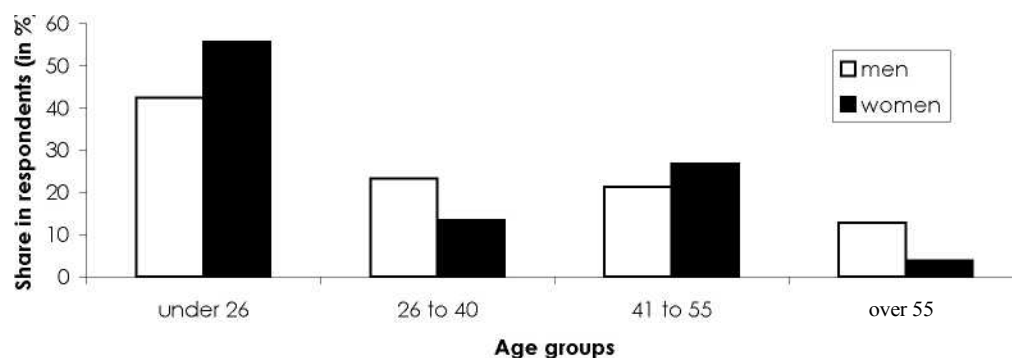
Table 12: Romanés speaking population, social status, 2001

	Men	Women	Total
	in%		
Employed	71,6	54,4	62,6
Unemployed	12,2	10,1	11,1
Pensioner	3,0	3,8	3,4
Housewife, houseman	1,0	17,6	9,7
Child, student under 15	2,5	2,2	2,3
Student above 15	7,0	9,1	8,1
Maintained person (15+)	0,0	0,1	0,1
Other status	2,7	2,6	2,7
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: Statistics Austria, WIFO calculations.

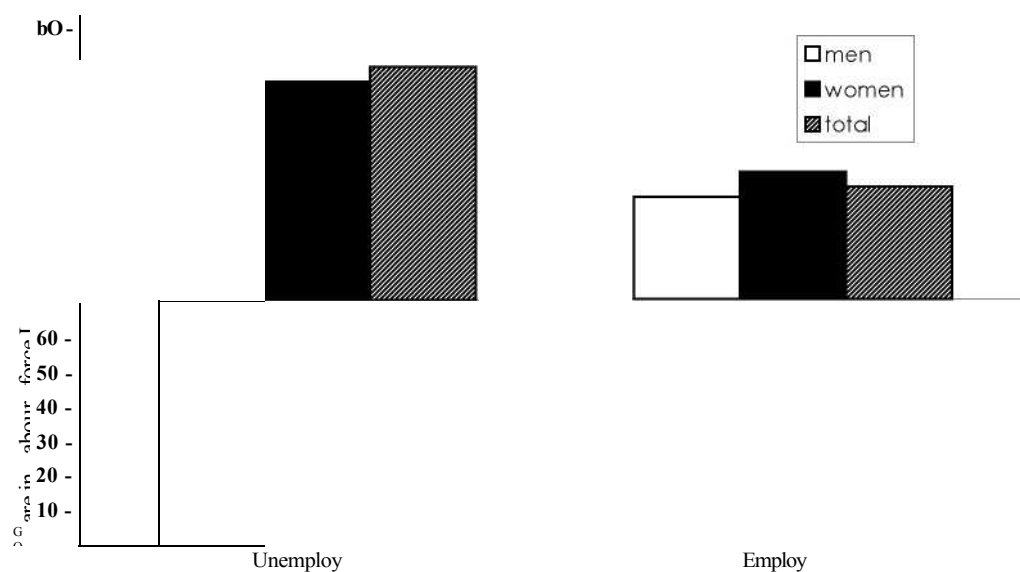
2. Statistical Information on the Roma minority in Burgenland

Graph 4: Age structure of the Roma population in Oberwart according to gender, 2004



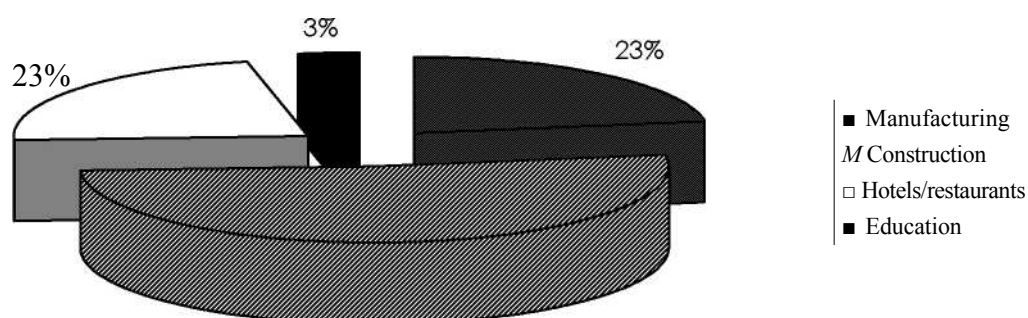
Source: Roma Survey 2004, WIFO calculations.

Graph 5: Employment situation of the Roma population in Oberwart according to gender, 2004



Source: Roma Survey 2004, WIFO calculations.

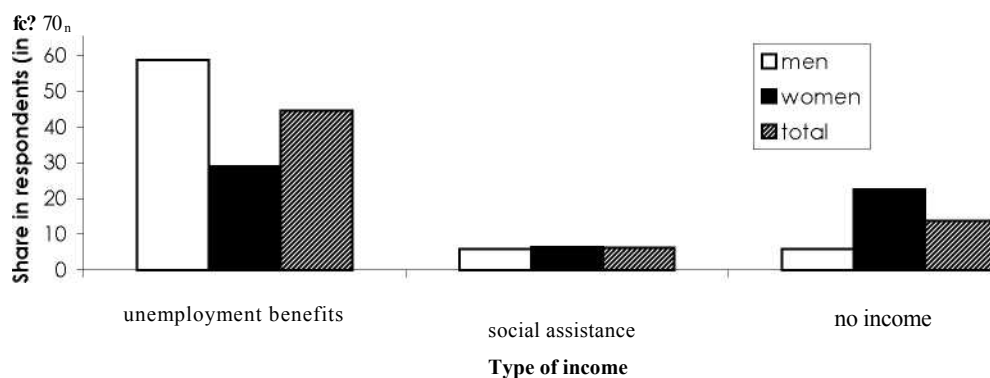
Graph 6: Previous sector of employment for unemployed Roma in Oberwart, 2004



51%

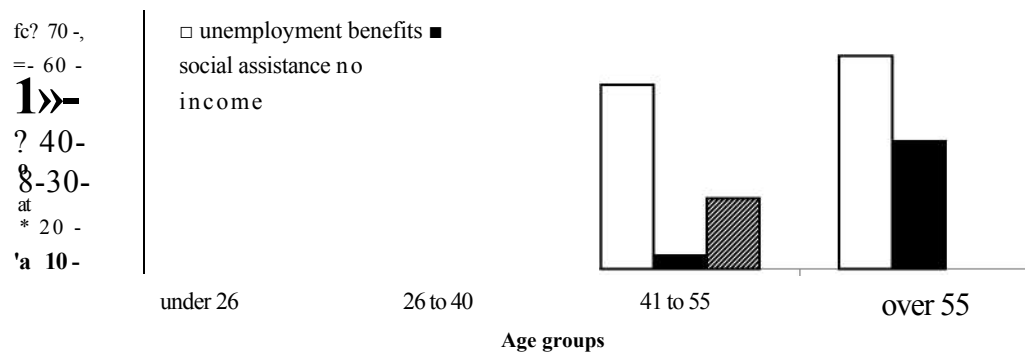
Source: Roma Survey 2004, WIFO calculations.

Graph 7: Shares of Roma with income from social benefits or no income at all, 2004



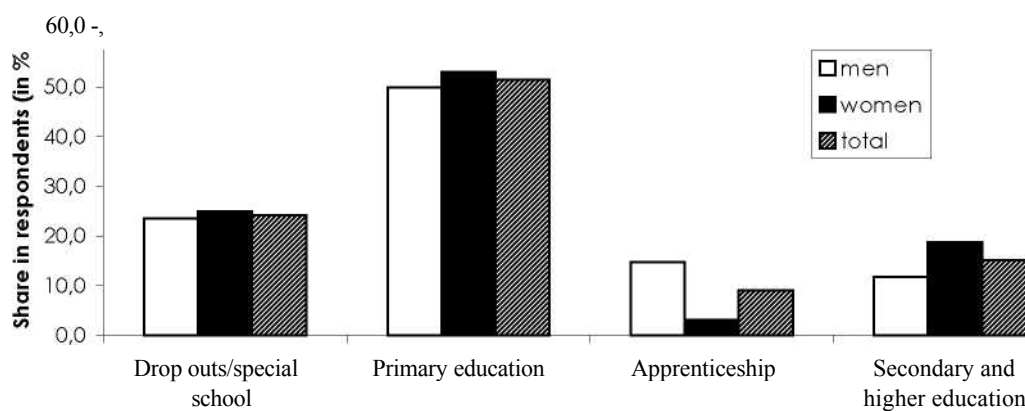
Source: Roma Survey 2004, WIFO calculations.

Graph 8: Age structure of Roma who perceive social payments or have no source of income



Source: Roma Survey 2004, WIFO calculations.

Graph 9: Educational attainment of the Roma in Oberwart according to gender, 2004



Source: Roma Survey 2004, WIFO calculations.

Table 13: Responses to questions on perceived health and physical fitness according to gender

- Question I: How do you assess your health condition?
- Question II: How do you assess your physical fitness?

Question	Men		Women	
	I	II	I	II
Very good	14,7	20,6	15,6	18,8
Good	29,4	23,5	31,3	50,0
Mediocre	23,5	17,6	37,5	21,9
Poor	23,5	29,4	9,4	9,4
Very poor	8,8	8,8	6,3	-
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: Roma Survey 2004, WIFO calculations.

Statistiken Polen

Tabelle 1 Pro Kopf Einkommen von Roma Familien (%)

Bis 100 PLN	101-200 PLN	201-300 PLN	301-400 PLN	401-500 PLN	501-600 PLN	601-700 PLN	Über 700 PLN	Keine Angaben
16.4	26.2	15.1	7.8	4.3	4.2	3.1	5.5	17.4

Quelle: Kwiatkowski R., Gruszczyński L., Pawela H., Pasternak J - *Description of social site of Roma in Poland- Project "The Roma in the labour market" - Report "The Roma-unemployment" - Auschwitz 1999*

Tabelle 2 Kontakt der Roma mit dem Arbeitsamt (%)

Sehroft	Oft	Selten	Sehr selten	Überhaupt nicht	Keine Angaben
7.7	16.8	4.2	2	13.1	56.2

Quelle: Kwiatkowski R., Gruszczyński L., Pawela H., Pasternak J - *Description of social site of Roma in Poland- Project "The Roma in the labour market" - Report "The Roma-unemployment" - Auschwitz 1999*

Tabelle 3 Gesamtes von Roma Familien

Bi 25 PL s n N	251-500 PLN	501-750 PI N	751-1000 PLN	Übe 100 PL r n N	Kein Angaben
12 3	26.9	26.5	13.6	3.3	17.4

Quelle: Kwiatkowski R., Gruszczyński L., Pawela H., Pasternak J - *Description of social site of Roma in Poland- Project "The Roma in the labour market" - Report "The Roma-unemployment" - Auschwitz 1999*

Tabelle 4 Beurteilung des hygienischen Zustands der Roma (%)

Sehr gut	Gut	Schlecht	Sehr schlecht	Keine Ahnung
0	27.3	23.7	3.2	4.6

Quelle: Kwiatkowski R., Gruszczyński L., Pawela H., Pasternak J - *Description of social site of Roma in Poland- Project "The Roma in the labour market" - Report "The Roma-unemployment" - Auschwitz 1999*

Tabelle 5 Beurteilung der sozialen Situation der Roma (%)

Sehr gut	Gut	Soziales Minimu	Schlecht	Sehr schlecht	Keine Antwort
9	13.3	22.1	49.8	12.9	1.9

Quelle: Kwiatkowski R., Gruszczyński L., Pawela H., Pasternak J - *Description of social site of Roma in Poland- Project "The Roma in the labour market" - Report "The Roma-unemployment" - Auschwitz 1999*

Tabelle 6 Bereitschaft an Lehrgängen zur beruflichen Ausbildung teilzunehmen

Ja	Nein	Keine Meinung	Keine Angaben
40	24	21	30

Quelle: Kwiatkowski R., Gruszczyński L., Pawela H., Pasternak J - *Description of social site of Roma in Poland- Project "The Roma in the labour market" - Report "The Roma-unemployment" - Auschwitz 1999*

Tabelle 7 Beruf der von polnischen Roma erlernt und ausgeführt wird (%)

Beruf	Erlernt	Ausgeführt
Kein Beruf	57,3	28,7
Empfängervon finanzieller		6,1
Arbeitslos		7,7
Rentner/Pensionär		17,5
Schüler		1,2
Versicherungsvertreter	0,1	0,1
Handelsvertreter		0,3
Bibliothekar	0,1	0,2
Blechschmied	0,9	0,3
Plattenleger	0,1	0,2
Keramiker	0,2	0,1
Tischler	0,3	
Konditor	1,2	0,5
Zimmermann	0,1	0,1
Journalist	0,1	0,1
Volkswirt	1,3	0,5
Elektroniker	0,2	0,2
Elektriker	1,3	1,1
Frisör/Kosmetiker	1,7	1,2
Bergarbeiter	0,5	0,3
Totengräber		0,1
Handelsmann	0,4	0,3
Hotelbesitzer	0,1	0,1
Klempner	0,6	0,5
Steinmetz	0,2	0,2
Kassierer	0,1	0,1
Kellner/Barkeener	0,6	0,3
Fahrer	1,3	1,7
Geschäftsführer		0,3
Eisenbahnmann	0,4	0,4
Kesselflicker	0,4	0,4
Schmied	0,1	
Schneider	4,2	2,2
Zeichner		0,1
Koch	1,8	0,8
Pelzhändler	0,5	0,3

Laborassistent	0.3	0.3
Lackierer	0.6	0.5
Züchter	0	0.1
Maler	1.0	0.4
Fleischer	0.2	0.2
Masseur	0.1	0.1
Automechaniker	1.7	0.9
Monteur	0.5	0.2
Maurer	1.7	1.0
Musiker	1.1	0.8
Lehrer	0.4	0.5
Metallurg	0.3	0.1
Gärtner	1.3	0.5
Maschinenarbeiter	0.3	0.1
Optiker	0.2	0.2
Heizer	0.4	0.8
Bäcker	0.6	0.6
Krankennfleger	1.8	1.5
Haushaltshilfe		0.9
Müllerassistent		0.1
Empfangsmitarbeiter		0.2
Angestellte in der		0,1
Arbeiter	0.1	1.9
Kindergärtner	0.1	
Bauarbeiter	0.4	0.4
Straßenarbeiter		0.2
Landwirt	0.3	0.4
Fischer		0.1
Snediteur		0.9
Reinemachefrau		2.9
Verkäufer	0.9	1.6
Tischler	1.4	0.9
Wachmann		0.1
Dekorateur	0.2	0.2
Jongleur	0.1	
Schlosser	1.4	1.1
Tanzierer	0.3	0.2
Tanzierer	0.3	0.2
Bautechniker	0.2	0.1
Mechaniktechniker	0.1	
Kleidungstechniker	0.1	
Umwelttechniker	0.2	
Telephonistin	0.2	0.1
Weber	1.8	1.2
Drechsler		0.1
Beamter		0.9
Ofenmacher	0.1	0.1

*Description of
social ■ Report*

Goldschmied	0.1	0.1
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Quelle: Kwiatkowski R., Gruszczyński L., Pawela H.,
Pasternak J -site of Roma in Poland- Project "The Roma in
the labour market" ■ unemployment" - Auschwitz 1999

Tabelle 8 Bildungsstruktur der Roma in Polen (%)

Ohne Bildung	18.6
Unvollständige Bildung	11.0
Elementarbildung	27.9
Technische Ausbildung	29.9
Durchschnittliche Bildung	8.2
Höhere Bildung	0.8
Grundschüler	1.5
Student	0.1
Keine Angaben	2.0

Quelle: Kwiatkowski R., Gruszczyński L., Pawela H., Pasternak J - *Description of social site of Roma in Poland- Project "The Roma in the labour market" - Report "The Roma-unemployment" - Auschwitz 1999*

Tabelle 9 Anzahl der nationalen und ethnischen Minderheiten in Polen

Bezeichnung	Anzahl auf Grundlage des allgemeinen Nationalen Zensus in Polen	
	In Tausend	Anteil in % an der Gesamtbevölkerung Polens
Gesamthebevölkerung Polens	38 230.1	100.00
Alle Minderheiten	268.85	0.7
Deutsch	152.9	0.40
Weißrussisch	48.7	0.13
Ukrainisch	31	0.08
Roma	12.9	0.03
Russisch	6.1	0.02
Lemkos	5.9	0.02
Litauisch	5.8	0.02
Slowakisch	2	0.01
Jüdisch	1.1	0.00
Armenisch	1.1	0.00
Tschechisch	0.8	0.00
Tartaren	0.5	0.00

Quelle: Report from results of the National Census General 2002, the Main Statistic Office, Warsaw 2003

Statistik Portugal

1. Angaben zur Schulbildung der Roma

Tabelle 1

Festland Portugal - 1. Zyklus der Elementarbildung (erste 4 Jahre) - Absolventenquote am Ende der 4.

Klasse

Schuljahr	1993/94			1994/95			1995/96			1996/97			1997/98		
Herkunft Nationalität/ Ethnizität der Schüler	1. bis 4. Klasse	4. Klasse	(1)	1. bis 4. Klasse	4. Klasse	(1)	1. bis 4. Klasse	4. Klasse	(1)	1. bis 4. Klasse	4. Klasse	(1)	1. bis 4. Klasse	4. Klasse	(1)
Luso- portugiesisch	470.35 1	134.40 0	88	444.23 2	131.55 9	86	422.56 4	117.07 4	86	414.95 6	111.40 9	86	411.51 4	108.52 2	88
Kapverden	6.680	2004	78	6.613	2116	79	6.349	1953	75	6001	1721	74	6170	1754	79
Angola	4.383	1164	86	4.972	1400	85	5.080	1400	85	5377	1481	84	5649	1503	88
Roma/ Zigeuner	4.294	614	59	4.671	860	51	4.753	859	53	5026	831	48	5420	764	55
Guiné	1.128	301	83	1.211	337	87	1.235	325	79	1340	338	83	1057	348	85
Mosambik	1.041	1.041	92	1.041	344	91	192	334	91	1037	302	89	1099	274	91
S. Tomé e Príncipe	728	220	86	728	235	83	768	206	83	804	214	84	897	222	81
Indien- Pakistan	378	105	92	558	150	88	560	129	92	569	164	93	541	130	95
Macau	46	8	10 0	62	18	88	60	17	10 0	92	23	96	90	26	91
Timor	127	35	84	110	29	77	100	42	90	119	32	77	136	38	94
Brasilien	1.127	354	95	1.059	328	92	990	306	94	920	277	91	841	254	91
Europäisch e Union	2.003	550	90	2.196	666	88	2428	671	89	2132	523	87	2250	594	87
Ehem. Emigranten	11.016	3278	91	11.843	1.843	90	9.991	3035	91	7598	2322	90	7029	2107	91
Anderer Herkunft	4.876	1401	89	3.088	9157	87	2.606	773	87	2720	724	88	2915	782	90

(1) Absolventenquoten am Ende des 4. Jahres

Tabelle 2

Festland Portugal - 2. Zyklus der Elementarbildung (2 Jahre) - Absolventenquote am Ende der 6. Klasse

Schuljahr	1993/94			1994/95			1995/96			1996/97			1997/98		
Herkunft Nationalität/ Ethnizität der Schüler	5. bis 6. Klasse	6. Klasse	% (1)	5. bis 6. Klasse	6. Klasse	% (1)	5. bis 6. Klasse	6. Klasse	% (1)	5. bis 6. Klasse	6. Klasse	% (1)	5. bis 6. Klasse	6. Klasse	% (1)
Luso- portugiesisch	240.45 9	124.93 2	97	226.52 6	113.22 2	91	218.39 6	107.20 6	90	208.73 3	104.85 6	93	200.14 0	101.25 5	89
Kapverde	2.102	1.084	95	2.499	1.106	79	29391	1.318	78	2.939	1.385	77	2.663	1.224	72
Angola	1.733	906	94	2.346	1.139	86	2.385	1.191	88	2.518	1.2	84	2.565	1.223	85
Roma/ Zigeuner	167	55	93	210	72	75	259	61	66	327	83	71	374	85	75
Guiné	259	127	54	454	198	82	478	208	84	513	225	83	612	264	84
Mosambik	585	339	98	807	397	92	776	407	86	670	323	87	763	399	86
S. Tomé and Príncipe	237	118	93	329	138	86	420	188	88	460	205	84	416	191	83
Indien- Pakistan	87	37	100	162	86	94	191	85	89	195	95	86	258	100	89
Macau	16	8	100	26	17	100	34	18	94	43	18	100	50	23	100
Timor	46	27	100	58	30	94	52	33	87	54	25	81	52	29	89
Brasilien	469	236	97	647	323	93	651	325	91	636	308	93	595	292	89
Europäische Union	1.367	768	98	1.434	704	92	1.508	765	88	1.669	854	90	1.911	887	86
Ehem. Emigranten	6.011	3.034	98	6.682	3.326	92	5.773	2.771	92	4.104	2.113	91	4.199	2.140	92
Anderer Herkunft	2.490	1.267	97	1.730	838	88	2.102	994	87	1.498	707	88	1.849	929	90

(1) Absolventenquoten am Ende des 6. Jahres

Tabelle 3

Festland Portugal - 3. Zyklus der Elementarbildung (3 Jahre) - Absolventenquote am Ende der 9.

Klasse

Schuljahr	1993/94			1994/95			1995/96			1996/97			1997/98		
Herkunft Nationalität/ Ethnizität der Schüler	7. bis 9. Klasse	9. Klasse	% (1)	7. bis 9. Klasse	9. Klasse	% (1)	7. bis 9. Klasse	9. Klasse	% (1)	7. bis 9. Klasse	9. Klasse	% (1)	7. bis 9. Klasse	9. Klasse	% (1)
Luso- portugiesisch	363.25 1	111.24 1	95	367.65 7	120.61 2	91	322.93 5	97.81 3	90	323.30 5	97.03 9	86	320.76 9	100.32 9	87
Kapverden	1.582	351	86	2.138	460	82	2.228	551	78	2.544	602	78	2637	708	79
Angola	2.516	763	86	3.199	993	87	3.128	970	87	3.264	969	83	3.327	1.036	79
Roma/Zigeuner	27	4	67	66	12	92	68	10	75	79	10	89	102	11	64
Guiné	305	85	88	422	114	89	487	125	79	555	131	76	643	189	79
Mosambik	1.031	362	85	1.462	551	87	1.317	438	86	1.259	434	83	1.169	393	82
S. Tomé and Príncipe	208	52	89	349	95	21	408	118	86	524	159	84	521	151	80
Indien-Pakistan	145	38	84	192	60	87	229	57	92	258	80	86	244	69	84
Macau	21	9	10 0	39	12	94	30	8	80	54	12	93	64	18	100
Timor	22	3	67	92	30	78	90	33	91	88	27	65	75	26	83
Brasilien	678	187	91	1.007	319	89	975	335	90	1.039	328	85	1.056	344	90
Europäische Union	2.352	751	91	2.434	805	90	2.951	983	86	2.656	794	85	2.931	956	86
Ehem. Emigranten	9.036	2.563	94	10.572	3.403	91	9.526	2.903	87	8.037	2.429	86	7.816	2.495	89
Anderer Herkunft	2.807	810	90	2.177	744	89	2.827	827	90	2.438	808	85	2.647	822	86

(1) Absolventenquoten am Ende des 9. Jahres

Tabelle 4
Festland Portugal - Sekundarbildung (3 Jahre) -Absolventenquote am Ende der 12. Klasse

Schuljahr	1993/94			1994/95			1995/96			1996/97			1997/98		
Herkunft Nationalität/ Ethnizität der Schüler	10.bis 12. Klasse	12. Klasse	% (1)	10.bis 12. Klasse	12. Klasse	% (1)	10.bis 12. Klasse	12. Klasse	% (1)	10.bis 12. Klasse	12. Klasse	% (1)	10.bis 12. Klasse	12. Klasse	% (1)
Luso- portugiesisch				271.85 3	93.84 6	86	272.01 5	92.23 8	72	281.23 5	93.86 8	69	264.41 3	87.99 5	66
Kapverde	-	-	-	395	134	83	908	245	76	788	206	60	921	108	62
Angola	-	-	-	1.978	934	67	3.062	1.373	63	2.981	1.324	52	2.582	652	55
Roma/Zigeuner				4	0	0	12	2	50	25	7	100	16	4	100
Guiné	-	-	-	202	92	67	365	174	65	397	177	58	388	83	52
Mosambik	-	-	-	1.106	572	68	1.620	731	67	1.512	643	57	1.339	376	65
S. Tomé and Príncipe				90	39	64	233	102	65	267	124	54	299	60	69
Indien-Pakistan	-	-	-	71	23	96	133	38	66	148	42	80	122	39	65
Macau	-	-	-	26	10	70	45	19	69	50	26	85	41	10	67
Timor				58	23	86	81	32	46	62	22	58	66	5	100
Brasilien	-	-	-	612	223	72	931	303	77	988	356	65	1.043	320	61
Europäische Union				1.796	579	72	2.950	964	75	2.907	1.041	63	2.892	911	66
Ehem. Emigranten				5.634	1.869	78	7.619	2.374	71	6.081	1.842	64	5.850	1.831	61
Anderer Herkunft				1.088	315	77	1.428	457	72	1.828	565	64	2.139	673	57

(1) Absolventenquoten am Ende der 12.Klasse

Tabelle 5
Roma Kinder und junge Menschen in der Elementar- und Sekundärbildung an
portugiesischen Schulen - Daten

Bildungszykle	1. Zyklus t. n. zig %		2. Zyklus t. n. zig %		3. yklus zig %		Sekundärstufe
1992/93	534388	4072	259256	156	370262	47	218153
	0,76		0,060		0,013		
1993/94	508178	4294	256028	167	383981	27	279894
	0,84		0,065		0,007		
1994/95	482446	4671	243910	210	391806	66	284913 4
	0,97		0,086		0,017		0,0014
1995/96	458576	4753	235894	259	344202	68	287192 12
	1,03		0,11		0,020		0,0041
1996/97	448691	5026	222297	327	342444	79	293884 25
	1,12		0,15		0,023		0,0085
1997/98	446058	5420	210447	374	344001	102	282111 16
	1,21		0,18		0,029		0,0056

Alle angeführten Tabellen wurden aus Daten von Entreculturas erstellt.

Es werden keine Daten nach dem Schuljahr 1997/98 dargestellt, da diese Daten nicht verlässlich sind, weil diese aus einer Hochrechnung resultieren, die auf der Analyse von statistischen Tendenzen der letzten Jahre basiert.

Chart 6

Specific programme in which persons of Roma ethnicity participate: PETI - Programme for the Prevention and Elimination of Exploitation of Child Labour

1	1 Courses designation	Year of the start of the course	Length of time (months)	Number of participants	Age	Gender	Scholarly status before PETI	Marital status	Occupation	Number of participants that finished the course
1 PETI - Programa para a Prevenção e Eliminação da Exploração do Trabalho Infantil (Programme for the Prevention and Elimination of Exploitation of Child Labour) - Braga	PIEF-Integrated programme of education/training 1 ° e 2° cycle	2005	10	20	11-17	F-10 M-10	>1° cycle-7 1 ° cycle-12 Undefined-1	All single	Without information	In progress
	PIEF-Integrated programme of I education/training 1 ° e 2° cycle	2005	10	16	12-17	F-3 M-13	<1° cycle-5 1 ° cycle-10 2° cycle-1	Single-14 Married by the gypsy law-2	Without information	In progress
PETI - Programa para a Prevenção e Eliminação da Exploração do Trabalho Infantil (Programme for the Prevention and Elimination of Exploitation of Child Labour) - Viana do Castelo	PIEF-Integrated programme of I education/training 2° cycle	2001	10	13 (4 Roma)	13-16	F-4 M-9	<1° cycle-1 1 ° cycle-12	All single	Civil construction-2 Mechanic-1 Housewife-1 Fair hawker-1 Traffic-1	5 (non gypsies)
	PIEF-Integrated programme of I education/training 1° cycle	2005	12/24*	12	9-15	F-3 M-9	All <1° cycle	All single	Work with the parents	In progress

It depends on the registered evolution (those that were unable to finish the 1° cycle in 12 months continue in the following year).

CHART 7 - Scholar certification only (FOR ADULTS)

	Courses designation	Year of the start of the course	Length of time (months)	Number of participants	Age	Gender	Scholarly status before the course	Marital status	Occupation	Number of participants that finished the course
Fundação Filos (Filos Foundation) - Porto	Cursos de Alfabetização (Ensino Recorrente, DREN)	2002	5	13 (4 Roma)*	15-19*	F	<1°cycle-4*	All single*	All unemployed*	Without information
	Cursos de Alfabetização (Ensino Recorrente, DREN)	2003	6	16 (8 Roma)*	16-67*	F	<1°cycle-5* 1° cycle-3*	Single-6* Married by the gypsy law-2*	All unemployed*	Without information
Centro Social da Areosa (Areosa Social Centre) -Porto 1	1° cycle	2001	8	13(11 Roma)	15-46	F-8 M-5	All <1° cycle	All single*	Peddlers	2
	1° cycle	2002	8	11 (9 Roma)	15-43	F-6 M-5	<1°cycle-10 2° cycle-1	All single*	Peddlers	2 (1 non gypsy)

• *Information only on Roma women that attend/attended the course.*

Chart 8

County Co-ordination of Recurrent Education and Extracurricular Education of Vila Verde (for adults) - number of students certificate with the

1° and 2° Cycle (by school year)

School year	Number of Roma students enrolled in the 1° Cycle	Number of Roma students certificate with the 1° Cycle	Number of Roma students enrolled in the 2° Cycle	Number of Roma students certificate with the 2° Cycle
99/00	33	11	1	1
00/01	28	2	11	1
01/02	13	0		
02/03	9	0		
03/04	7	1	1	0
04/05	12	0		
05/06	24	In progress	9	In progress

231
PE 365.970

264

EN

Data about Training Courses

Chart 9

Institutions that promote/promoted training in which persons of Roma ethnicity participate/participated

<i>District</i>	<i>Institution</i>
<i>Braga (North)</i>	Cruz Vermelha Portuguesa (Portuguese Red Cross)
	Associação Olho Vivo (The Smart Eye Association)
	PETI - Programa para a Prevenção e Eliminação da Exploração do Trabalho Infantil (Programme for the Prevention and Elimination of Exploitation of Child Labour)
	Coordenação Concelhia do Ensino Recorrente e Educação Extra-Escolar de Vila Verde
<i>Porto (North)</i>	REAPN - Rede Europeia Anti-Pobreza (Portuguese Anti-Poverty European Network)
	Centro Claretiano de Apoio à Infância, Juventude e Família (Claretian Centre of Support of Childhood, Youth and Family)
	Fundação Filos (Filos Foundation)
	Centro Social da Areosa (Areosa Social Centre)
	Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Santo Tirso
	Centro de Formação Profissional do Porto - Sector Terciário (Professional Training Centre)
<i>Viana do Castelo (North)</i>	PETI - Programa para a Prevenção e Eliminação da Exploração do Trabalho Infantil (Programme for the Prevention and Elimination of Exploitation of Child Labour)
<i>Lisboa (South)</i>	Secretariado Diocesano de Lisboa da ONPC (Diocesan Secretariat of Lisbon)
	ONPC - Obra Nacional da Pastoral dos Ciganos (National Undertaking of the Gypsy Pastoral)
	Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa
	Gabinete de Estudos da PROACT - ISCTE (Studies Office)
	Inde - Intercooperação e Desenvolvimento (Inde - Intercooperation and Development)
<i>Aveiro (Centre)</i>	Cáritas Diocesana de Aveiro (Diocesan Charities of Aveiro)
<i>Coimbra (Centre)</i>	Centro Comunitário de S. José (S. José Communitarian Centre)
<i>Bragança (North)</i>	Centro de Formação Profissional (Professional Training Centre)
	Obra Nacional da Pastoral dos Ciganos (National Undertaking of the Gypsy Pastoral)
<i>Loulé (South)</i>	Associação Existir (Existir Association)
<i>Olhão (South)</i>	Projecto Acampamento Azul (The Blue Camp Project)
<i>Nacional (National)</i>	Coordenações do PETI a nível nacional (National Coordinations of PETI - Programm for the Prevention and Elimination of Exploitation of Child Labour)
<i>Vila Real (North)</i>	Centro de Formação Profissional (Professional Training Centre)
	PETI - Programa para a Prevenção e Eliminação da Exploração do Trabalho Infantil (Programma for the Prevention and Elimination of Exploitation of Child Labour)
<i>Évora (South)</i>	Centro de Formação de Ponte Sôr (Training Centre)

Chart 10

Professional training courses, courses with scholar certification and access to education in which only Roma women participate

• They do not	have informati	n on the levels of	schooling c	f all the partic	ipants.	Age	Gender	Scholarly status	Marital status	Occupation	Number of
	Type of training	Courses designation	Year of the start of the course	Length of time (months)	Number of participants			before the course			participants that finished the course
Obra Nacional da Pastoral dos Ciganos Lisboa (National Undertaking of the Gypsy Pastoral)	Professional training	<i>Carpet of Arraiolos</i>	1993	7	20	15-30	F	<1°cycle-19 2° cycle-1	Without information	Unemployed Fair hawker House-wife	19
		<i>Carpet of Arraiolos</i>	1994	7	12	15-23	F	<1°cycle-9 1° cycle-3	Without information	Unemployed Fair hawker House-wife	11
Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Santo Tirso	Professional training	<i>Handicraft Sewing</i>	2001	11	11	18-28	F	Without scholarship-3 <1°cycle-5 1° cycle-3	All married by the Roma law	All unemployed	11
	Educating Processes	<i>Housing Organisation and management</i>	2000	2	21	19-46	F	Without scholarship-16 <1°cycle-2 1° cycle-3	All married by the Roma law	Unemployed-18 Fair hawker-2 Seller of junk-1	3
Ensino Recorrente e Educação Extra-Escolar de Vila Verde	Educating Processes	<i>Aesthetics Corporal Hygiene</i>	2000	1	9	16-24	F	<1° cycle-3 1° cycle-1 *	Married by the Roma law-3 Single-6	All unemployed	4
Associação Olho Vivo (Smart Eye Association) -Braga	Professional training with scholar certification	<i>Sew (2°cycle)</i>	2005	12	14	18-37	F	Without scholarship-3 <1°cycle-6 1° cycle-5	Single-3 Married by the Roma law-10 Separated-1	Fair hawkers	In progress
Centro de Formação Profissional do Sector Terciário (Professional Training Centre) -Porto	Professional training with scholar certification	<i>Sew (1° cycle)</i>	2000	11	11	15-30	F	All without scholarly status	Without information	Without information	8

Chart 11

Professional training courses, courses with scholar certification and acções educativas in wich Roma women and man participate

	Type of training	Courses designation	Year of the start of the course	Length of time (months)	Number of participants	Age	Gender	Scholarity before the course	Marital status	Occupation	Number of participants that finished the course
Cáritas Diocesana de Aveiro (Diocesan Charities of Aveiro)	I Professional training	<i>Sensibilization to New Information and Communication Technologies</i>	2005	2	10 (6 Roma)	25-40	F-6 M-4	<1°cycle-r 1° cycle-2*	All married by the Roma law*	All unemployed*	In progress
Cruz Vermelha Portuguesa (Portuguese Red Cross) - Braga	I Professional training	<i>Basketry and Ceramics</i>	2000	7	6	16-22	F-1M-5	<1°cycle-5 2° cycle-1	Single-2 Married by the Roma law-4	Peddlers-1 Unemployed-4 House-wife-1	6
Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Santo Tirso	I Professional I training wih scholar certification	<i>Modelation, Cut and Sew (1"cycle)</i>	2003	8	10	20-30	F-6 M-7	All <1° cycle	All married by the Roma law	All unemployed*	5 (women)
Secretariado Diocesano de Bragança da ONPC (Diocesan Secretariat of Bragança of ONCP)	I Professional I training wih scholar certification	<i>Gardening (1"cycle)</i>	2005	12	13	18-43	F-6 M-7	All <1° cycle	Single-5 Living as Husband and Wife-8	All unemployed*	In progress
Secretariado Diocesano de Lisboa da ONPC (Diocesan Secretariat of Lisbon of ONCP)	Professional training wih scholar certification	<i>Services of support of children and young people (3"cycle)</i>	2005	18	12	19-31	F-6 M-6	1° cycle-7 2° cycle-5	Single-8 Married by the Roma law-4	All unemployed*	In progress

• Information only on Roma women that attend/attended the course.

Chart 12

Professional training courses, courses with scholar certification and ducating processes for Roma and non Roma Women

	Type of training	Courses designation	Year of the start of the course	Length of time (months)	Number of participants	Age	Gender	Scholarity before the course	Marital status	Occupation	Number of participants that finished the course
Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Santo Tirso	Professional training	<i>Arts and crafts</i>	2004	9	12 (6 Roma)	17-28*	F	Without scholarity-4* <1 ^o cycle-1* rcycle-1*	All married by the Roma law*	All unemployed*	4
Fundação Filos (Filos Foundation) - Porto	Professional training	<i>Sales techniques</i>	2004	12	10 (2 Roma)	19-24*	F	Tcycle-2*	All single*	All unemployed*	9
Secretariado Diocesano de Bragança da ONPC (Diocesan Secretariat of Bragança of ONCP)	Educating Processes**	<i>Domestic tasks</i>	2003	4	27 (20 Roma)	18-51	F	<1 ^o cycle-13 1 ^o cycle-5 2 ^o cycle-2	Widow-1 Living as Husband and Wife	Unemployed Temporary agricultural work	20
Cáritas Diocesana de Aveiro (Diocesan Charities of Aveiro)	Educating Processes	<i>Personal Image</i>	2005	2	12(11 Roma)	16-40	F	<1 ^o cycle-7* 1 ^o cycle-4*	Single-1* Married by the Roma law-10*	All unemployed*	12
Cruz Vermelha Portuguesa (Portuguese Red Cross) - Braga	Educating Processes	<i>Domestic Economy and Family Management</i>	1999	7	15 (2 Roma)	Without information	F	Without information	Without information	Without information	Without information

• Information only on Roma women that attend/attended the course.

** According to the Diocesan Charities of Aveiro, "the educating processes do not assume the character of professional training; they are still in a former phase, of sensitization and preparation for the development of competencies and internalization of work habits" (Projecto 'Novas Sendas' - New Paths Project).

Through the content of these processes, a certain paternalism on the part of the promoting entities is visible; they intend to teach (those that are presumed not to know) how to manage a home(house), domestic economy, rules of hygiene, attempting to impose, in a subtle way, the rules of the greater society, neglecting the fact that these persons have their own living rules.

Chart 13
Professional training courses and courses with scholar certification for Gypsy Man

	Type of training	Courses designation	Year of the start of the course	Length of time (months)	Number of participants	Age	Gender	Scholarity before the course	Marital status	Occupation	Number of participants that finished the course
Associação Olho Vivo (Smart Eye Association) -Braga	Professional I training with scholar certification	<i>Roma Cultural Mediators (2° cycle)</i>	1998	9	8	18-25	M	<1°cycle-4 1° cycle-3 3° cycle-1	All single	Fair hawkers	3
Obra Nacional da Pastoral dos Ciganos Lisboa (National Undertaking of the Gypsy Pastoral)	I Professional training	<i>Metal casting</i>	1993	6	5	15-18	M	<1°cycle-4 1° cycle-3 3° cycle-1	Without information	Fair hawkers Unemployed	5
		<i>Car painting and decoration</i>	1993	12	15	15-24	M	<1° cycle 1° cycle 2° cycle-1	Without information	Fair hawkers Unemployed	5

Chart 14
Professional training courses with scholar certification (Roma only)

	Type of training	Courses designation	Year of the start of the course	Length of time (months)	Number of participants	Gender	Scholarity after the course
Secretariado Diocesano de Lisboa da ONPC (Diocesan Secretariat of Lisbon of ONCP)	Professional training with scholar certification	Ready-made clothes	1993	24	19	F	2° cycle
		Ready-made clothes	1996	24	10	F	1°and 2° cycle
		Confectionery	1996	24	9	Fand M	2° cycle
		Roma Cultural Mediators	1996	24	4	M	3° cycle
		Aperf. Ready-made clothes	1997	12	12	F	2° cycle
		Ready-made clothes	1998	12	11	F	1°and 2° cycle
		Confectionery	1998	12	7	Fand M	1°and 2° cycle
		Roma Cultural Mediators	1998	12	3	M	3° cycle
		Roma Cultural Mediators	1999	12	5	M	3° cycle
		Aperf. Confectionery	2000	12	3	F	3° cycle
		Roma Cultural Mediators	2000	12	4	F	3° cycle
		Roma Cultural Mediators	2001	24	6	M	3° cycle
		Roma Cultural Mediators	2001	24	3	F	3° cycle

Chart 15 - Professional training courses with scholar certification (Roma only)

	Type of training	Courses designation	Year of the start of the course	Length of time (months)	Number of participants	Gender	Scholarity after the course
Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa	Professional training with scholar certification	Carpentry	2005	9	25	M	2° and 3° cycle
		Kitchen	2005	9	17	F and M	2° and 3° cycle
		Ready-made clothes	2005	9	9	F	2° and 3° cycle
		Carpentry	2005	9	10	M	2° and 3° cycle
		Kitchen	2005	9	9	F and M	2° and 3° cycle

Table 1 **Count of the Roma population from 1953-2002**

Year	Number of Roma
1953	1.663
1961	158
1971	951
1981	1.393
1991	2.259
2002	3.246

Source: Statistic data, no.93/2003, Statistic office RS

Table 2 **Population according to mother tongue - Romani language**

Year	Romani language
1991	2.752
2002	2.824

Source: Statistic data, no.93/2003, Statistic office RS

Table 3 Roma population according to community statistic data (2002)

name of community	population count in 2002	community data (unofficial)	difference of	percent of undeclared
NOVO MESTO	562	739	177	24%
MURSKA SOBOTA	439	1100	661	60%
PUCONCI	137	430	293	68.1%
ŠENTJERNEJ	98	95(135)	+3	
METLIKA	90	260	170	65.4%
LENDAVA	86	171	85	49.7%
TIŠINA	86	365	279	76.4%
ČRNOMELJ	85	575	490	85.2%
ČRENŠOVCI	63	141	78	55.3%
CANKOVA	56	211	155	73.4%
ROGAŠOVCI	51	215(419)	164	76.3%
SEMIČ	47	87	40	51.3%
KRŠKO	37	270	233	86.3%
TURNIŠČE	29	46	17	36.9%
BELTINCI	23	102	79	77.4%
TREBNJE	16	245(300)	229	93.4%
KUZMA	10	110	100	90.1%
DOBROVNIK	44	44		100%
GROSUPLJE	169	169		100%
ŠKOCJAN	150	150		100%

Table 4 **Communities with a small number of the Roma population**

Community	Number of Roma population
LJUBLJANA	218
MARIBOR	613
RIBNICA	49
BREŽICE	42
VELENJE	34
IVANČNA GORICA	27
Miklavž na Dravskem polju	25
JESENICE	21
HOČE-SLIVNICA	19
LENART	16
STARŠE	14
KRANJ	12
SLOVENSKA BISTRICA	10
LENART	16
In other communities	104
Total official number in all communities	3 246
Total unofficial number in all communities	6 009
Differential Number of the undeclared	3 970
Percent of undeclared	66.1%

Source: Count of the population in 2002 and approx. Community estimation in 2003

According to social work data centres and local communities (official gazette of RS, No. 51/2002), approximately 6,264 Roma live in Slovenia.

The Slovenian National Action Plan for 2004 provides very little gender desegregated statistics/indicators and data. The only gender desegregated data is on employment, unemployment and retirement age. There is no gender desegregated data on e.g. employment/unemployment of different groups of men and women (people with disabilities, Roma people, homeless, immigrants), on education, training and lifelong learning; on Internet use; on pay; on entrepreneurs and the self-employed; employees in different types of contracts and working arrangements. There are not many numerical targets in the whole NAPempl. Considering gender, the targets are few and only qualitative.

The employment rate of women in Slovenia decreased - from 58.6% in 2002 to 57.6% in 2003.

The employment rate of men in Slovenia also dropped - from 68.2% in 2002 to 67.4% in 2003.

The gender gap in employment rates (9.8%) rose slightly in 2003 and thus the trend of its increase continued (it was 8.8% in 1999) in contrast with the EU targets and trends.

While unemployment rates in 2003 rose over 2002 for men (5.8 % to 6.1%) and women (from 6.5% to 7.1%), the unemployment gender gap (1%) also rose over 2002. There is also a difference between trends in the long-term employment rates of men and women. While for men the long-term unemployment rate slightly decreased between 2002 and 2003, the long-term unemployment rate of

women slightly increased. While the youth unemployment of men fell from 5.5% in 2002 to 5.3% in 2003, the youth unemployment of women stayed the same at 5.6% in 2003.

Data on the educational attainment of 22-year-olds show that the gender gap was -6.8% in 2003 (having risen from -2.6% in 1999).

Both gender horizontal segregation (occupational segregation was 27.2% in 2003, above the EU-25 level of 25.2%; sector segregation was 17.8% in 2003, slightly above the EU-25 level of 17.6%) while vertical segregation and the gender pay gap are still persistent in Slovenia. It must also be noted that gender occupational segregation in the last few years rose from 26.3% in 1999, and sector segregation rose slightly from 17.7% in 1999.

Source: Report on the Slovenian National Action Plan for Employment 2004 from a Gender Perspective

Table 1 **Education of Roma women (1979/1980)**

	1970	1980
Basic school education	24,933	45,970
Professional training	687	1,768
Professional secondary education	141	429
University education	0	79
Lacking any education	14,647	1,832

Source: Jurová, A: Development of the Roma Problem in Slovakia after 1945, Bratislava 1993

Statistics Sweden

In Sweden, it is forbidden by law to register what ethnic or religious group to which a person belongs. Because of this, finding reliable statistics about Roma participation in the workforce or information regarding sickness benefits or pensions is not possible. The data for this report has been collected through interviews with civil servants and Roma. The scant statistics that exist are estimates conducted mainly in consultation with Roma organisations.

After 2000, when Sweden acknowledged five indigenous minorities, the Minister of Integration discussed the possibility of changing the law to enable registering ethnicity. This has been met with fierce protests especially from Roma and Jewish groups.

Statistics Bulgaria

Table 1 Population according to ethnic group (01.03.2001)

Ethnic group	Population number
Bulgarian	6,655,210
Turkish	746,664
Roma (Gypsies)	370,908
Russian	15,595
Armenian	10,832
Valch	10,566
Macedonian	5,071
Greek	3,408
Ukrainian	2,489
Jewish	1,363
Romanian	1,008
Others	18,792
Non-self-identified	62,108
No response	24,807
TOTAL	7,928,901

Source: National Statistical Institute, 2001 Population Census

Table 2 **Number of Roma in Bulgaria**

Regional Direction of MI (Ministry of Interior)	1989 MI)	1992 MI)	1992 Census)	2001 Census)
Sofia - the city	38,000	na	13,902	17,885
Sofia - district	14,136	17,077	11,684	16,748
Blagoevgrad	16,100	18,000	8,216	12,405
Burgas	37,894	38,453	16,120	19,439
Varna	20,682	35,000	17,077	15,462
Veliko Târnovo	20,880	na	7,236	6,064
Vidin	15,115	12,000	7,965	9,786
Vratsa	22,160	23,715	11,927	14,899
Gabrovo	5,920	114	1,585	1,611
Dobrich (Tolbuhin)	23,665	18,000	18,449	18,649
Kârdzhali	9,024	9,843	1,899	1,264
Kyustendil	8,463	12,762	6,057	8,294
Lovetch	17,746	12,490	6,384	6,316
Montana (Mihailovgrad)	28,813	29,480	19,079	22,784
Pazardzhik	47,705	50,000	21,810	23,970
Pernik	38	6,600	2,142	3,035
Pliven	24,870	27,747	7,111	9,777
Plovdiv	45,333	61,585	21,139	30,196
Razgrad	15,213	16,468	7,464	8,733
Russe	16,306	16,306	11,934	9,703
Silistra	12,826	12,826	6,519	6,478
Sliven	46,491	40,590	18,183	26,777
Smolyan	548	1,225	514	686
Stara Zagora	28,289	38,000	24,143	26,804
Târgovishte	17,035	na	9,474	9,686
Haskovo	13,488	26,100	14,014	17,089
Shumen	20,128	15,823	14,727	16,457
Yambol	11,240	12,762	6,669	9,729

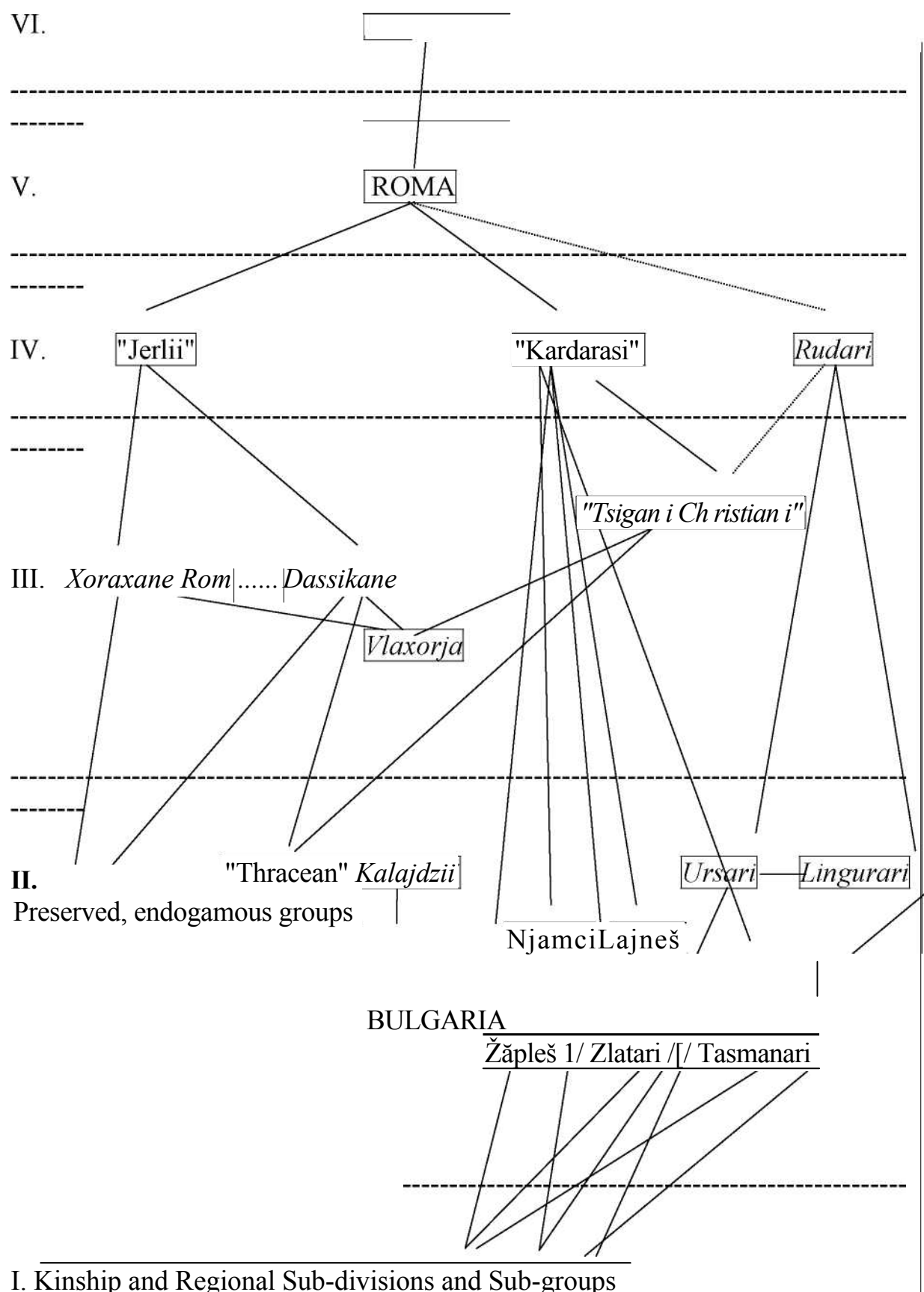
Authors:

Total	576,927	553,466	313,396	370,908
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Elena Marushiakova and Veselin Popov

Table 3

The Internal Division of Bulgarian Roma



I. Kinship and Regional Sub-divisions and Sub-groups

Source: Marushiakova, E. & Popov, V. Gypsies (Roma) in Bulgaria. Frankfurt am Main - Berlin - Bern - New York - Paris - Wien: Peter Lang Verlag, 1997

The most numerous and varied Gypsy community is the meta-group community of the *Jerlii*. They have been settled for centuries, speak different dialects of the *Romanes*. Some Gypsies from this meta-group community speak Turkish or both languages - Turkish and *Romanes*. The *Jerlii* community is divided into two main subdivisions - *Dasikane Roma* (Bulgarian Gypsies, i.e. Christians) and *Xoraxane Roma* (Turkish Gypsies, i.e. Muslims). Within the framework of these main subdivisions there are more or less preserved endogamous groups whose members are aware of their group belonging and some of them still practice traditional occupations. There are also large Gypsy communities, where the group divisions have been mostly obliterated and there is a shift within the borders of the larger communities (*Dasikane* or *Xoraxane Roma*). In general, *Dasikane Roma* live mostly in western Bulgaria, while *Xoraxane Roma* live mostly in eastern Bulgaria, but sometimes parts of these communities may merge into one another. These processes are typical of the big city *mahalas*. Also another large subdivision of Gypsy communities is now a part of the *Yerlia* community. It includes the *Vlaxorja*, *Vlaxicki*, or *Laxo* communities. They used to be nomads, but in the 1920s, 1930s they gradually adopted a settled lifestyle (mainly in the urban *mahalas*). Some changed their religion (from Orthodox Christianity to Islam) and merged with the major group communities (*Dasikane* and *Xoraxane Roma*). Some members of these two main communities gradually separated themselves from the others on the basis of their preferred ethnic identities (towards Turks or Bulgarians).

The second main meta-group of the Roma community in Bulgaria is clearly distinct from the rest. This is the *Kardarasi* group. They were nomads until 1958, living mostly in villages and smaller towns and occasionally in large cities. *Kardarasi* are strictly endogamous within their meta-group community and often prefer to differentiate themselves from the other Roma. They have preserved some conservative traditional cultural elements such as arranged marriages and the Roma court. The endogamically closed, semi-nomadic Thracian *Kalajdzii* group is near to them.

The *Rudar* are the third main meta-group Roma community in Bulgaria. They speak a Romanian dialect, and were nomads in the past. The community has two main subdivisions: *Lingurari*, who are wood carvers, and *Ursari* (bear- and monkey trainers). They live mostly in villages and small towns.

Table 4 **Population according to regions and ethnic groups (01.03.2001)**

Region	Total	Bulgarians	Turks	Roma (Gypsies)
Blagoevgrad	341 173	286 491	31 857	12 405
Burgas	423 547	338 625	58 636	19 439
Varna	462 013	393 884	37 502	15 462
Veliko Trnovo	293 172	259 099	22 562	6 064
Vidin	130 074	118 543	13 9	9 786
Vraca	243 036	223 692	2 000	14 899
Gabrovo	144 125	131 494	9 109	1 611
Dobrich	215217	164 204	28 231	18 649
Kardjali	164 019	55 939	101 116	1 264
Kyustendil	162 534	152 644	14 6	8 294
Lovech	169 951	152 194	8 476	6 316
Montana	182 258	157 507	23 5	22 784
Pazardjik	310 723	261 260	20 448	23 970
Pernik	149 832	145 642	10 8	3 035
Pleven	311 985	280 475	16 931	9 777
Plovdiv	715 816	621 338	52 499	30 196
Razgrad	152 417	67 069	71 963	8 733
Ruse	266 157	213 408	37 050	9 703
Silistra	142 000	84 178	48 761	6 478
Sliven	218 474	163 188	22 971	26 777
Smoljan	140 066	122 806	6212	68 6
Sofia (capital)	1 170 842	1 124 240	6 036	17 885
Sofia (region)	273 240	253 536	654	16 748
Stara Zagora	370 615	319 379	18 529	26 804
Targovishte	137 689	76 294	49 495	9 868
Haskovo	277 478	224 757	31 266	17 089
Shumen	204 378	123 084	59 551	16 457
Yambol	156 070	140 240	4 181	9 729
Total	7 928 901	6 655 210	746 664	370 908

Source: National Statistical Institute, 2001 Population Census

Table 5 Rooms per household

	Rooms per household
Roma	0,76
Majority	1,58

Source: UNDP 2005

Table 6 Square meters per household

	Square meters per household
Roma	15
Majority	34

Source: UNDP 2005

Table 7 Educational structure of Roma by gender and age (age 10+)

AGE GROUPS												
	10-19		10-29				30-49			50+		
	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T
Total (thousand)	42533	40442	82975	35605	34391	69996	47874	46523	94397	20338	24859	45197
Total	100.00	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Higher				0.08	0.12	0.0	0.17	0.09	0.13	0.0	0.02	0.06
College				0.04	0.18	0.1	0.15	0.16	0.15	0.20	0.10	0.15
Secondary special	1.06	0.67	0.87	6.75	3.25	5.03	9.22	3.78	6.54	2.39	0.66	1.44
Secondary	0.35	0.350	0.42	2.09	2.14	2.12	1.84	1.35	1.60	0.76	0.31	0.51
Primary	85.14	83.84	84.50	81.61	81.95	81.78	81.06	82.77	81.91	75.42	58.07	65.88
Illiterate	13.45	14.99	14.20	9.43	12.36	10.87	7.56	11.85	9.67	21.13	40.83	31.97

Source: National Statistical Institute, 2001 Population Census (March)

Table 8 Share of pupils starting Grade 1 who reach Grade 5

	Share of people aged 12 or above with at least incomplete secondary education	Share of people aged 12 and above who spent more than 4 years in school
Roma	10	63
Majority	72	96

Source: UNDP 2005

Table 9 Literacy rate by age groups (%)

	15-24	25-34	35-44	>45
Roma	82	87	88	71
Majority	100	100	100	99

Source: UNDP 2005

Table 10 Employment by ethnic groups in 2003 (%)

Labor status	Ethnicity		
	Bulgarian	Turkish	Roma
They work and earn money presently	42,8	29,5	19,5
They do not work, but want to find a job	12,2	38,6	46,3
They do not work and do not want to	5,1	9,8	12,9
Pensioners	39,5	21,2	19,1
Student	0,1		0,5
Disabled	0,1		0,9
No response	0,2	0,8	0,7
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: ASA Roma'2003

Table 11 Main income source of Roma in 2003 according to place of living (%)

Income source of Roma	Place of living			
	Village	Small town	Large town	Sofia
Salaries	27,1	40,3	29,2	86,7
Pensions	39,7	35,1	39,0	33,3
Support from relatives	6,5	4,0	6,7	23,3
Family allowances for children	42,9	41,9	43,1	16,7
Unemployment benefits	19,0	21,0	11,3	3,3
Other social benefits	46,2	31,9	29,2	10,0
Household plot	16,6	4,4	0,5	0,0
Other sources	20,6	23,4	27,2	3,3

Source: ASA Roma'2003**Table 12 The social assistance in 2003 by ethnic groups (%)**

	Bulgarians	Turks	Roma
Social assistance status			
Beneficiaries of social assistance	7,8	19,7	48,3
Former beneficiaries	11,4	25,0	24,8
They have never received benefits, but are in need	41,5	34,8	20,2
They have never received benefits and do not need	37,0	14,4	5,4
To what extent do they rely on social benefits			
Almost fully	18,6	35,6	32,7
Very much	18,6	13,3	24,0
So some extent	21,6	13,3	20,8
Almost not	12,9	15,6	9,8
Not at all	23,2	11,1	11,4
Cannot say	5,2	11,1	1,2

Source: ASA Roma'2003

Table 13 Unemployment rate by major age groups: men (%)

	15-24	25-54	55>
Roma	57	31	26
Majority	35	11	14

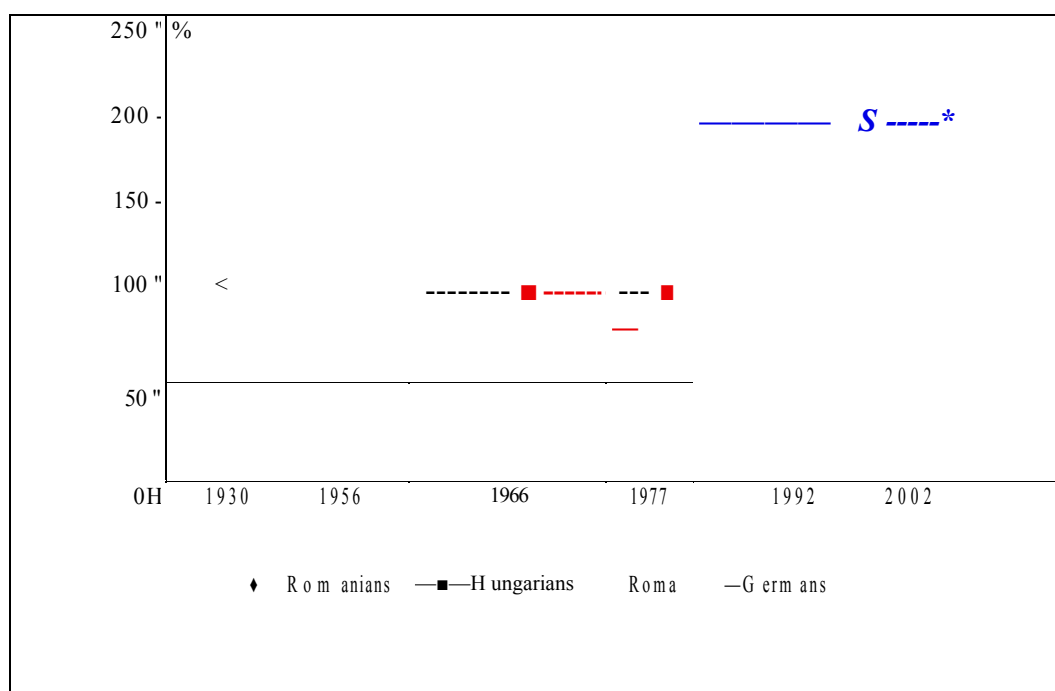
Source: UNDP 2005

Unemployment rate by major age groups: women (%)

	15-24	25-54	55>
Roma	56	34	41
Majority	32	12	19

Source: UNDP 2005

Table 1 Comparative evolution of the main ethnic populations



Source: National Statistics Institute (*Institutul Național de Statistică*), Census of the Population and Households 2002, Chapter IV, <http://www.insse.ro/RPL2002INS/vol4/titluriv4.htm>

Table 2 Marriage behaviour of Roma women (%)

Age	Married women in percentage
under 16 years old	35
between 17 and 18 years old	31
between 19 and 22 years old	26
over 22 years old	8

Source: National Statistics Institute (*Institutul Național de Statistică*), Census of the Population and Households 2002, Chapter IV, <http://www.insse.ro/RPL2002INS/vol4/titluriv4.htm>

Table 3 Women that gave birth to 1 ...10+ children by ethnicity (%) Vo)

Number of children	Roma	Hungarian	RomaHungarian
10+	1.95	0.27	0.44
9	1.21	0.15	0.28
8	2.08	0.28	0.47
7	3.37	0.50	0.80
6	5.95	1.00	1.51
5	11.72	2.66	3.57
4	15.22	7.23	8.11
3	16.64	15.25	14.39
2	21.98	42.39	38.40
1	19.87	30.27	32.03

Source: National Statistics Institute (*Institutul Național de Statistică*), Census of the Population and Households 2002, Chapter IV, <http://www.insse.ro/RPL2002INS/vol4/titluriv4.htm>

Table 4 Number of children born by 1000 women over 15 years old, by ethnicity

Roma	Hungarian	RomaHungarian
245,400	161,020	163,380

Source: National Statistics Institute (*Institutul Național de Statistică*), Census of the Population and Households 2002, Chapter IV, <http://www.insse.ro/RPL2002INS/vol4/titluriv4.htm>

Table 5 Poverty rates by ethnicity (%)

Poverty rate	Roma	Hungarian	RomaHungarian	German	Others
Poverty	75.10	19.90	24.40	7.40	31.70
Severe poverty	52.20	6.40	9.30	1.80	11.30

Source: National Statistics Institute (*Institutul Național de Statistică*), Census of the Population and Households 2002, Chapter IV, <http://www.insse.ro/RPL2002INS/vol4/titluriv4.htm>

Table 6 Illiterate population over 10 years old by ethnicity (%)

Gender	Roma	Hungarian	RomaHungarian
Female	32.61	1.38	2.77
Male	15.64	1.07	1.03
Both sexes	19.57	1.23	1.92

Source: National Statistics Institute (*Institutul Național de Statistică*), Census of the Population and Households 2002, Chapter IV, <http://www.insse.ro/RPL2002INS/vol4/titluriv4.htm>

Table 7 **Lack of school graduation for women over 10 years old by ethnicity (%)**

Roma	Hungarian	RomaHungarian
39.61	3.90	6.32

Source: National Statistics Institute (*Institutul Național de Statistică*), Census of the Population and Households 2002, Chapter IV, <http://www.insse.ro/RPL2002INS/vol4/titluriv4.htm>

Table 8 **High School/Post High School/vocational education and university education for women over 10 years old by ethnicity (%)**

Education	Roma	Hungarian	RomaHungarian
High School education	1.89	24.14	23.62
Post High School education	0.08	2.70	2.70
Vocational education	1.67	9.70	9.31
University	0.13	4.22	6.66

Source:

Table 9 **Primary and secondary education for women over 10 years old by ethnicity (%)**

Education	Roma	Hungarian	RomaHungarian
Primary education	34.90	19.48	21.87
Secondary education	21.16	35.80	29.44

Source: National Statistics Institute (*Institutul Național de Statistică*), Census of the Population and Households 2002, Chapter IV, <http://www.insse.ro/RPL2002INS/vol4/titluriv4.htm>

Table 10 Sector of activity for Roma, Romanian and Hungarian by gender

Sector of activity	Romanian			Hungarian			Roma		
	Tota I	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Central public administration	4.31 %	5.08 %	3.34%	3.83 %	4.74 %	2.68%	1.50 %	1.71 %	1.03%
Specialists, intellectual and scientific occupations	9.32 %	8.27 %	10.63%	6.65 %	5.97 %	7.51%	0.33 %	0.30 %	0.39%
Technical specialists	10.6 2%	6.83 %	15.35%	10.6 1%	5.94 %	16.51%	1.13 %	1.12 %	1.15%
Civil servants	5.11 %	3.11 %	7.61%	4.96 %	2.59 %	7.94%	0.50 %	0.43 %	0.65%
Commercial occupations	8.78 %	5.78 %	12.52%	10.3 2%	5.14 %	16.87%	4.02 %	2.78 %	6.77%
Agriculture	25.5 1%	25.7 0%	25.29%	14.8 6%	17.3 0%	11.78%	41.1 6%	38.8 8%	46.17%
Hand-made and traditional occupations	19.1 2%	25.0 4%	11.72%	27.0 9%	35.3 2%	16.70%	15.1 3%	18.3 4%	8.05%
Machinery operators	9.80 %	12.3 7%	6.58%	12.7 9%	13.6 7%	11.67%	4.37 %	4.56 %	3.95%
Not qualified occupations	6.90 %	6.87 %	6.94%	8.25 %	8.20 %	8.33%	31.5 4%	31.4 1%	31.82%
Military	0.52 %	0.94 %	0.00%	0.63 %	1.12 %	0.01%	0.32 %	0.46 %	0.00%
Undeclared occupation	0.02 %	0.02 %	0.01%	0.01 %	0.01 %	0.00%	0.01 %	0.01 %	0.01%

Source: National Statistics Institute (*Institutul Național de Statistică*), Census of the Population and Households 2002, Chapter IV,
<http://www.insse.ro/RPL2002INS/vol4/titluriv4.htm>

Table 11 Active/employed/unemployed population by ethnicity (%)

Employment situation	Roma	Hungarian	RomaHungarian
Active	22.90	37.95	41.59
Employed	71.51	88.70	88.47
Unemployed	28.49	11.30	11.53

Source: National Statistics Institute (*Institutul Național de Statistică*), Census of the Population and Households 2002, Chapter IV,
<http://www.insse.ro/RPL2002INS/vol4/titluriv4.htm>

Table 12 Unemployment duration for women by ethnicity (%)

Unemployment duration	Roma	Hungarian	RomaHungarian
under 6 months	24.3	26.7	21.3
6 to 9 months	13.3	23.9	23.6
9 to 27 months	17.1	26.9	27.7
over 27 months	45.2	22.6	27.5

Source: National Statistics Institute (*Institutul Național de Statistică*), Census of the Population and Households 2002, Chapter IV,
<http://www.insse.ro/RPL2002INS/vol4/titluriv4.htm>

Table 13 Active/employed/unemployed Roma by gender (%)

Employment situation	Female	Male
Active	13.56	31.99
Employed	76.48	69.46
Unemployed	23.52	30.54

Source: National Statistics Institute (*Institutul Național de Statistică*), Census of the Population and Households 2002, Chapter IV,
<http://www.insse.ro/RPL2002INS/vol4/titluriv4.htm>

Table 14 Average number of persons per household by ethnicity

Roma	Hungarian	RomaHungarian	Average
2.92	2.74	2.90	4.66

Source: National Statistics Institute (*Institutul Național de Statistică*), Census of the Population and Households 2002, Chapter IV,
<http://www.insse.ro/RPL2002INS/vol4/titluriv4.htm>

Table 15 The housing situation of the Roma population (%)

Housing situation	percentage	percentage	percentage
Rent a house with a yard	6.5		Total with rent 16.5
Rent a flat	10	Total in flat 21	
Own a flat	11		Total in house 77.5
Own a house (the family) and hold ownership papers for the land	50	Total illegal ownership 21	
Illegally built house (without holding ownership papers for the land)	21		
Have not answered the question	1.5		

Source: Institute of Research for Quality of Life, Roma study Database, 1998)

Table 16 **Living conditions of Roma population comparing to average population**
(%)

Households with:	Non-Roma	Roma
Electricity	99.1%	94.5%
Central or gas heating	51.2%	25.6%
Cold running water	67.4%	41.4%
Hot running water	35.3%	10.7%
Sewer or cesspool	53.6%	30.0%
Telephone (fixed)	58.2%	26.4%
Bathroom/shower	54.3%	18.9%
Indoor toilet	52.6%	18.3%
Wet walls	21.0%	44.9%
Leaky roofs	14.8%	40.2%
Earthen floor for sleeping	19.3%	39.0%

Source: Revenga A., Ringold D., Tracy W.M., *Poverty and Ethnicity. A Cross-Country Study on Roma Poverty in Central Europe*, The World Bank, Washington DC, 2002, page 22.

Statistics Turkey

Lack of Data

Unfortunately, it is not possible to give any current statistical data on Roma women, other than the results of the survey study conducted on 800 Roma by the main Istanbul municipality. The state simply refuses to collect information on the variety and situation of the diverse ethnic groups that exist in Turkey, 48 of them altogether, considering this to be separatist information and divisive of the unity of the Republic of Turkey.

The survey study conducted on 800 Roma by the main Istanbul municipality

In a study conducted on the Romans living in Istanbul by the main municipality (Anakent Belediyesi) of Istanbul between 2003 and 2005, 800 Romani were interviewed. I cannot say anything about how rigorous this study was or whether it is representative of the Roma population. But in any case it is better than nothing. Therefore, the results obtained from these 800 interviews shall be presented (Radical newspaper, 26 Eylül 2002.)

On discrimination

Of the Romani interviewed:

27.9% believe that the society has a derogatory attitude towards the Roma;

17.7% believe that the individuals in society, by and large, exclude them;

10.8% believe that people see them as useless, lazy, and unskilled;

30% believe that they are viewed no differently from the rest of people in Turkish society; and

15% think that the Turkish society approaches them with tolerance.

Children

According to the study male and female children are of equal importance to the Roma.

Education

Of the 800 interviewed Roma:

57% of female children attend 8 years of school; and

52.7% male children attend 8 years of school.

9% of female children attend school beyond the 8 primary years;

and 12% male children attend school beyond the 8 primary years.

Of all female children 3% high school graduates, while 5% of all male children were high school graduates.

Those who say that they would send their girls to the university if they had the means amount to 23%; while those who say they would send their boys to the university amount to 24.5%.

Smoking, alcohol and drugs

Of the Roman interviewed:

85.5% smoke cigarettes;

37.7% drink alcoholic drinks;

6.6% use marijuana; and

2.2% take other drugs which may alter perception.

Age of starting smoking 12-15

years. Age of starting drinking

15-20 years

Civic life

Of the 800 Roma interviewed:

7% said they were members of either an association or a foundation;

81.7% gave birth to their children in hospitals;

54% of decisions to marry were made by the oldest males in the family;

87% say they would have their children married to another Romani;

65.7% say they have a separate and distinct language; and

25.3% have been to the police headquarters for one of the following reasons: fight, petty theft, use of

intoxicating drug such as marijuana or thinner.

The most important problems in their lives are listed as:

unemployment; poverty; and finding it difficult to feed their family.

General statistical data on the society and economic in

Turkey

Table 1 **Population (1000 persons)**

	2000	Rank	2004	Rank
Almanya-Germany	82.164	1	82.532	1
Türkiye-Turkey	67.420	2	71.152	2
Fransa-France	58.749	4	59.901	3
İngiltere-United Kingdom	59.623	3	59.673	4
İtalya-Italy	56.930	5	57.888	5
İspanya-Spain	39.961	6	42.345	6
Hollanda-Netherlands	15.864	7	16.258	7
Yunanistan-Greece	10.904	8	11.041	8
Portekiz-Portugal	10.195	10	10.475	9
Belçika-Belgium	10.239	9	10.396	10
İsveç-Sweden	8.861	11	8.976	11
Avusturya-Austria	8.002	12	8.140	12
Danimarka-Denmark	5.330	13	5.398	13
Finlandiya-Finland	5.171	14	5.220	14
İrlanda-Ireland	3.778	15	4.028	15
Lüksemburg-Luxembourg	434	16	452	16

Source: State Institute of www.die.gov

Table 2 Nationales pro Kopf Einkommen

Indicators	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02
03													
2. <u>pro Kopf</u>													
1 <u>Bruttosozialpro</u>													
<u>dukt (\$)</u>	268	262	270	300	218	275	292						
	2	18	4	4	9	8	3079	3255	2879	2965	2123	2598	
3383 2. Arbeitslosigkeit													
2 in %													
gesamt	8.0	8.2	8.5	9.0	8.6	7.6	6.6	6.8	6.9	7.7	6.5	8.4	10.5
10.3													
Männer												8.7	10.7
	7.8	8.7	8.8	8.8	8.8	7.8	6.9	6.5	6.9	7.7	6.6	8.5	10.7
Frauen												7.5	9.4
	7.1	7.7	9.3	8.1	7.3	6.0	7.8	6.8	7.6	6.3			10.1
2. <u>Teilnahme</u>													
auf 4 dem													
Arbeitsmarkt gesamt					56.6	57.0	56.0	52.2	54.6	54.1	53.7	52.6	52.8
					52.7	49.9	49.8	49.6					
Männer	79.7	80.3	79.7	78.1	78.5	77.8	77.3	76.8	76.7	75.8		73.7	72.9
	48.												
	71.6												3
Frauen	34.2	34.1	32.7	26.8	31.3	30.9	30.6	28.8	29.3	30.0		26.6	27.1
	70.												
	27.9												

Quelle: Staatliches Institut für Statistik (www.die.gov.tr)

Main features of the Turkish economy (Source: www.deltur.cec.eu.int)

Turkey is considered to be a lower middle-income economy. Its per capita income is relatively low compared to the EU. The GDP per capita in terms of Purchasing Power (PPS) was in 2003 at 28.5% of the EU-25 average, comparable to the level of Bulgaria and Romania. Measured in current prices in 2003, the Turkish GDP was equivalent to about 2% of the GDP of EU-25 or just half of the ten new member states.

With its population of about 70 million, Turkey is broadly equivalent to the ten new member states taken together and accounts for 15.5% of the EU-25 population. The demographic trend differs significantly from the present member states, with an annual average population growth of 1.8%, compared to 0.2% of the EU-25. However, the declining trend in population growth rates will in the longer term turn the current demographic structure into that of an ageing society similar to what most member states currently face.

Two thirds of the total Turkish population live in Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and other large cities. In these cities, over 80% of total value added is generated. Istanbul and other large cities have experienced high immigration from rural areas. Turkey is characterised by large regional disparities which broadly follow a west-east pattern. The richest regions are located in the western part of the country while the poorest ones are at the eastern border. The richest region Kocaeli, an important manufacturing location, has a GDP per capita of more than 90% above the national average (46% of the EU-25 average). At the other end of the scale, the poorest regions Agri and Van have only about one third of the national GDP per capita (8% of the EU-25 average).

These income disparities are reflected in the sectoral structure of the regions. The richer regions have important shares of production and employment in manufacturing and services whereas in most of the other regions agriculture is the most important source of income and employment.

Turkey experienced significant outward migration after the early 1960s, when active recruiting by some European countries took place. Since the 1980s, the flow of net

migration from Turkey to abroad amounts to some 40,000-60,000 persons per year, which is about 0.2% of the current labour force. In 2002, about 3,000,000 Turkish nationals were officially registered in the EU-15.

In the past decades several macroeconomic and financial crises occurred in the country, more recently in 1994, end-1999 and early-2001. These have led to high volatility in aggregate economic activity and hampered the overall pace of growth. Since 2001, much progress has been made in stabilising the economy and addressing the root causes of these crises in past decades. This is particularly visible in the resumed growth path and the sharply declined inflation. However, this stabilisation process is not yet complete and some imbalances, such as the widening external deficit, remain to be corrected. Further implementation of structural reforms would not only contribute to avoiding stabilisation crises, but also allow Turkey to achieve or even raise its growth potential.

Table 3 **Gross national income per capita**
3 **(\\$)**

Country	Gross national income per capita (\$)
Turkey	2.790
Latvia	4.040
Estonia	4.960
Poland	5.270
Czech Republic	6.740
Slovenia	11.830
Greece	13.720
France	24.770
Germany	25.250
UK	28.530

Source: World Bank, 2004

Table 4 **Purchasing power**
4 **parties**

GDP per capita in Purchasing Power Standards (PPS), (EU-25 = 100)

	200		200	
	0	Rank	4	Rank
Lüksemburg-Luxembourg	217	1	222	1
İrlanda-Ireland	127	2	141	2
Hollanda-Netherlands	121	5	125	3
Avusturya-Austria	127	3	122	4
Danimarka-Denmark	126	4	122	5
İngiltere-United Kingdom	114	9	119	6
Belçika-Belgium	116	7	119	7
İsveç-Sweden	119	6	116	8
Finlandiya-Finland	114	10	115	9
Fransa-France	115	8	110	10
Almanya-Germany	113	11	109	11
İtalya-Italy	110	12	105	12
İspanya-Spain	93	13	98	13
Yunanistan-Greece	72	15	82	14
Portekiz-Portugal	80	14	73	15
Türkiye-Turkey	30	16	29	16

Source: State Institute of Statistics (www.die.gov.tr)

Table 5 **Inflation**

	2000	Rank	2004	^a Rank
Türkiye-Turkey	39.0	1	9.4	1
Lüksemburg-Luxembourg	3.8	3	3.2	2
İspanya-Spain	3.5	4	3.1	3
Yunanistan-Greece	2.9	6	3.0	4
Portekiz-Portugal	2.8	7	2.5	5
İrlanda-Ireland	5.3	2	2.3	6
İtalya-Italy	2.6	10	2.3	7
Fransa-France	1.8	13	2.3	8
Avusturya-Austria	2.0	12	2.0	9
Belçika-Belgium	2.7	8	1.9	10
Almanya-Germany	1.4	14	1.8	11
Hollanda-Netherlands	2.3	11	1.4	12
İngiltere-United Kingdom	0.8	16	1.3	13
İsveç-Sweden	1.3	15	1.0	14
Danimarka-Denmark	2.7	9	0.9	15
Finlandiya-Finland	3.0	5	0.1	16

Source: State Institute of www.die.gov.tr

Table 6 **Unemployment rate**

	2000	Rank	2004	Rank
İspanya-Spain	11.4	1	11.0	1
Yunanistan-Greece	11.3	2	10.5	2
Türkiye-Turkey	6.5	8	10.3	3
Fransa-France	9.1	5	9.7	4
Almanya-Germany	7.2	6	9.5	5
Finlandiya-Finland	9.8	4	8.8	6
İtalya-Italy	10.1	3	8.0	7
Belçika-Belgium	6.9	7	7.8	8
Portekiz-Portugal	4.1	13	6.7	9
İsveç-Sweden	5.6	9	6.3	10
Danimarka-Denmark	4.4	11	5.4	11
Avusturya-Austria	3.7	14	4.8	12
Lüksemburg-Luxembourg	2.3	16	4.8	13
İngiltere-United Kingdom	5.4	10	4.7	14
Hollanda-Netherlands	2.8	15	4.6	15
İrlanda-Ireland	4.3	12	4.5	16

Source: State Institute of www.die.gov.tr

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Table 7 **GNP by type of economic activity**

GNP by Main Kind of Economic Activity (At 1987 Prices. Billion TL/Thousand YTL)

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Agriculture	15.064	15.642	14.711	15.809	15.422	15.863
Industry	31.248	33.171	30.721	33.503	36.100	40.234
Construction	5.618	5.892	5.550	5.201	4.720	5.092
Services	53.596	57.527	57.97	57.974	61.734	66.031

Source: Institute of (www.d gov.tr)

Table 8 **Budget balance**

Balance of budget (Trillion TL/Million YTL)

	I. Quarter	II. Quarter	I. Quarter	IV. Quarter
2003	-	-24.759	-29.825	-39.816
2004	10.88	-14.585	-21.080	-30.313
2005	9 -	-3.868	-8.193	
2006	6.985			
2007	-			
2008	2.996			

Source: State Institute of Statistics
(www.die.gov.tr)

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Problem-Oriented Summary of the RomWom Country Studies

The country reports have been pre-structured by a set of topics and questions. First, the general and the economic situation of the Roma populations in the various countries under review were questioned. The second set of questions addressed the situation of Roma women in general. These two problem areas were then used as a basis for structuring the first chapters of each country report with the aim to promote understanding of the peculiar contextual economic situation of Roma women in the countries under review. This was followed by the third set of questions, which related to the central issue of the country reports, namely, Roma women in employment, self-employment and underemployment. This last focus area is dedicated to programmes, projects and policies oriented towards improvements in the economic situation of Roma women in the European countries examined. Due to the insufficient data and information on the situation of Roma women in each country, these country reports intend to shed light on this information gap by presenting local and national differences. Scattered information of more or less varying interpretations confined to the present data available is provided.

The following table is meant to present this information more systematically. The table at large demonstrates that Roma women in the European Union are economically widely discriminated and excluded.

Problem-Oriented Summary of the RomWom Country Studies 1. The

General Situation of Roma Women

	(a) marriage and motherhood	(b) housing situation	(c) educational situation	(d) health situation	(e) discrimination	(f) gender segregation
Austria	Average number of children per Roma woman close to that of non-Roma women.	Number of household members above the Austrian average.	Often in lower educational categories; Share of women with secondary education higher than that of men but less than the number of women who completed an apprenticeship; Educational situation improved among younger age groups; Higher number of women who have gone beyond compulsory education but lower share of vocational training than men.	- No clear information.	Reluctance of individuals to be identified as Roma due to social and cultural exclusion.	Mobility of women more limited than that of men.
Bulgaria	Arranged marriage and bride price among some groups; Free choice of marriage partners among other groups.	Rooms and square meters per household are fewer than for the Bulgarian average.	Among some groups, school dropouts among teenagers after marriage; Importance of university education for girls among wealthy families; Half of Roma who study are women; Around 80% have obtained a primary education.	After 1989, health status connected to income.	Increase of negative attitudes and discrimination towards Roma in Bulgarian society. Stereotypes about the discrimination of Roma women in her own society.	For some groups, women's contact to outside world is restricted; Women's position dependent on age and social status; Elderly women can adopt function as head of family; Responsible for finances of family, household, upbringing of children, and elderly care.
Czech Republic	During 1948-1989, higher birth rate of Roma women than of non-Roma women; Roma women with low qualification or under high discrimination pressure remain in long-term maternity leave.	Discrimination of Roma in the housing market.	Generally, insufficient education among Roma women; No correspondence between present demands of the labour market and qualification of Roma.	Deficiencies in health conditions among Roma women.	Discrimination of Roma people in all social areas; Roma most visibly suffered from discrimination in post-1989 CR.	Administration of finances; Taking care of children and husband.
Germany	Roma women often bear first child at younger age than average	Almost all sedentary, only a very small number travel all year	Disadvantaged position and prejudices in the educational system; Roma children are often sent to special schools intended for mentally	Often bad health conditions due to inadequate living situation (many	Strong discrimination based on a remaining anti-	Women and girls are predominantly engaged in domestic tasks, including child rearing and elderly

	non-Roma women; Often higher birth rate among Roma women; Many young couples married.	round; Often settled on caravan sites due to lack of accommodation alternatives, with bad infrastructure, sanitation, access to electricity, water and waste removal, and a difficult legal status; Often threatened by forced eviction.	handicapped children.	settlements are located in polluted areas); Lack of medical care and specific assistance for females of refugee families.	tsiganist attitude, which hinders the integration of the community into the labour market and public life.	care.
Hungary	Majority of the Roma population is married or lives in cohabitation.	Forced evictions; Racial segregation and refusal to allocate social housing; High number of households do not have access to running water; More than half of the houses do not have indoor toilets; In many cases, family members sleep on earthen floors.	Almost half of all children in school programmes for children with developmental disabilities are Roma; A very high percentage of Roma has at most primary school education, only one percent has an university education.	Unequal access to health care due to poor financial situation; Roma often receive negligent treatment, verbal abuse, professionals of lower qualification, practice of 'paid doctors'.	Discrimination experienced in hospitals and health care institutions; Racial discrimination in the labour market.	No clear information.
Ireland	Marriage arrangements for girls at young age.	Difficult access to housing; Landlords scarcely accept large families; Rent deposits often higher than for other communities.	Only approximately 30% of Roma children attend school; Home-based education; Nearly all Roma women lack literacy skills in all languages; Less girls continue with education after puberty; Women seem to be more keen to attend training courses than men.	Contact with health care providers difficult because of language barriers.	Racism against Roma stronger in smaller towns.	Women are responsible for the education of young children and girls; Among some groups women need husband's permission to leave family vicinities.
Italy	Many communities prefer endogamous marriages within their akin groups;	Housing situation of many Roma is a very problematic issue; Many dwelling in <i>campi nomadi</i>	School levels reached by girls remain low; In many cases girls abandon schooling earlier; Few Roma and Sinti women graduate.	No clear information.	Strong discrimination in the labour market; Negative stereotypes affect possibilities to find	Women are generally subordinated to men, varying between different groups and communities; Cover important socio-economic positions as

	Arranged marriages are the rule in many communities.	("nomad camps") constructed for the people; Affects social (in)visibility and exclusion.			jobs.	mothers/ housekeepers and economically responsible for family members; Social significance of Roma women increases with age.
Poland	Family-based upon monogamous marriage.	Household standards considerably worse than average; Many Roma settlements remote from other settlements; Often no access to drinking water, no sewage systems and proper roads.	High percent of Roman women only with basic education; Very low percentage with average and high education.	Language barriers and remoteness to regular settlements limit access to doctors; Lack of prenatal care and female medical care due to sexual taboos; No funding for medicine or transportation.	Ethnic discrimination still very strong in labour market.	Low position; Question of independence problematic.
Portugal	Early marriage	Lack of adequate housing; Live mostly in social housing projects.	Low level of schooling; High rate of illiteracy; Commonly abandon school with puberty as a result of parental authority due to fear of pregnancy, domestic demands, marriage; Some cases of higher education; Girls demonstrate inclination towards continuing studies.	Some hospitals contract mediators between hospital services and Roma groups.	Mutual relationship of suspicion and stereotypes.	Responsible for guaranteeing sustenance of family, childcare.
Rumania	Traditional marriage at early ages.	Poverty, overcrowding, and lack of infrastructure dominate Roma neighbourhood.	Very high rate of illiteracy; Roma women graduate from high schools 12 times less and from vocational trainings 5 times less than Roma men; Higher education is almost not present for Roma women.	Significant gaps in health status between Roma and non-Roma population due to poor living conditions.	Negative stereotypes and widespread discrimination prevent a large number of Roma from openly declaring their ethnicity; social exclusion, discrimination in labour market.	Roles are mainly connected to housekeeping, raising children, etc.
Slovakia	Motherhood often in adolescent age.	Majority lives in houses with conditions worse than average; Overcrowding due to increase in rent; Nearly one-third of	Rise of education and employment of Roma women between 1970 and 1980 due to government initiatives; In 1990, majority with incomplete basic education; Unauthorised placing of Roma children in special schools.	Life expectancy lower than average; Worsening of health status; Occurrence of diseases otherwise	Before 1989, discrimination of Roma not evident, but no recognition as citizens with equal rights by the state;	Degree of segregation dependent on type of settlement; Traditional gender role; Responsible for finances and childcare.

		housing illegal (shacks, shanties).		rare among majority population.	After 1989, discrimination in labour market included.	
Slovenia	Early marriage; High number of children.	Remoteness of Roma settlements; Lack of basic utilities as electricity, running water, sanitation, and access to transportation.	Rate of Roma children in special schools several times higher than average; Roma girls removed from schools at age 11-12; Low level of vocational training.	Insufficient access to healthcare due to physical, economic and information-based barriers.	Stereotypical presentation of Roma women.	Certain traditions associated with religious beliefs, purity practices and family honour may be source of pressure on women to conceal interest in and efforts to obtain reproductive or sexual healthcare; Patriarchal hierarchy.
Spain	Two-thirds of 15 year old Roma have one or more children; Average number of children higher than for dominant society.	Huge increase in housing prices in the last 15 years; Large majority of population in shantytowns are Roma; Many Roma live in sub-standard housing, outside cities.	Most of the 6 years old attend school; Lack of regular attendance; Majority of Roma have not finished the compulsory basic education; Roma girls enter high school less than boys; Concept of honour hinders girls to proceed with education.	Child mortality higher among girls; Lower life expectancy as compared to non-Roma women.	Still negative stereotypes and prejudices; Ethnic discrimination still very strong in labour market regarding working conditions and selection.	Higher school and university education by a part of Roma population considered not to be good for girls, depending on conception of honour, based on women's virginity before marriage.
Sweden	■ No clear information.	Mostly in municipal housing with good conditions; Housing difficulties possible because of discrimination by landlords and neighbours.	Educational level among Roma lower than Swedish average; Due to lack of basic education, difficulties to participate in conventional adult or occupational education; Increased participation in formal and vocational training.	Many do not use health services out of fear of hospitals, lack of information, economic and social situation; Effects from difficult housing and health situation of the Roma in the 1960s and 1970s can still be seen today.	Roma women face discrimination almost daily, e.g. in shops and public places; Traditional dress of Roma sometimes raises prejudices. Roma are the ethnic group facing the highest discrimination.	Traditional role of taking care of home and children remains.
Turkey	Average number of two to three children.	Some historical 'Gypsy Quarters' in Istanbul; Nearly all settled; Housing situation far from standard; Running water in all Istanbul houses; this is not	Low educational level, probably not above 8 years of schooling on average; Many older women may not have had any formal education particularly in rural regions and poor areas on the outskirts; Younger generation of women have almost all basic schooling, i.e. at least junior high school diploma due to a	Only some Roma, employed in private or public sector, have health insurance, i.e. not more than 10% in total; Women in urban areas use 'Health	Roma are most discriminated of all minority groups; Discrimination encountered in all realms of public life; Discrimination faced in	Responsible for most household duties, child-rearing and elderly-care; Most of the day, house is realm of female family members.

		the case in other parts of the country such as in the south eastern region.	universal education campaign.	House' by the government; Women visit doctors and hospitals mainly in cases of emergency.	employment, in school books, in governmental decrees, etc.	
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2. Roma Women in the Economy

	(a) traditional economic patterns	(b) employment sectors (qualified occupation/non-qualified occupation; first labour market/second labour market; self-employment; informal sector; other economic activities; part-time/full-time jobs)	(c) unemployment	(d) social benefits/welfare	(e) impact of changes in the economy on employment and economic activities
Austria	No clear information.	Weak labour-market integration; Participation rate of Roma women lower than that of men; Female unemployment due to general economic changes; More limited mobility than men bounds women to local labour market.	Employment rate above 50%.	30% of Roma women in Oberwart receive unemployment benefits; Less than 10% of Roma women in Oberwart receive social assistance.	Female unemployment connected to shrinking of labour-intensive sectors of manufacturing (e.g. textile and electrical equipment industry).
Bulgaria	Some existence of women self-support organisations (e.g. money saving clubs); Increase in traditional jobs with seasonal mobility after 1989.	Employment in textile and food industry during socialist period; Teachers, midwives, social workers, musicians; Unqualified labour abroad, cleaners; Village women began working in agriculture; Migrants in Spain, Greece, Italy, Portugal Holland, Belgium, Germany, Poland, Czech Republic as agricultural workers, caretakers and in small trade; Nearly monopoly in care taking in Greece; Successful Roma women at local government and NGO level; Women trafficking.	Between the age of 15 to 24, more than half of Roma women unemployed; Between the age of 25 to 54, unemployed rates lower approximately one-third.	Collapse of the social system in the period of transition; This resulted in an unknown number of children who never entered school, women had to stay home taking care of little children, and the health reform left many people without adequate health care;	High rate of working and educated Roma women during epoch of socialism; Rate decreased after 1989; Lost leading position as cleaners due to increased competition; Higher seasonal mobility; Growth in illegal labour activities in western Europe.

Czech Republic	No clear information.	Mainly non-qualified and low qualified professions; No specific branch where Roma women are especially successful; Employed for example as room-maids, assistants, cleaning personnel in hospitals and restaurants or in the factories in belt production; Often employed in multinational companies such as Siemens (IT), Hornbach (domestic appliances), McDonalds (fastfood), Tesco (supermarket), Carrefour (supermarket), insurance and advertising companies; Roma are assistants in kindergarten or nursery schools or in the bodies of state administration or self-administration; In state institutions, related to Roma issues (Museum, Radio); Prostitution.	Estimations unemployment vary from 45% to 90%, depending on the source of information.	Difficulties for Roma women to deal with complex welfare system; Dependence on decision of city/community; For many Roma families it is the only means to assure alimentation and existence.	Increasing unemployment of Roma women after November 1989.
Germany	Traditional Roma occupations and skills are not needed anymore.	No specific policies and programmes for Roma women.	c« No data available; c« Probability of high unemployment due to aspects of gender, child and elderly care and refugee status.	Social protection and state benefits were generally drastically reduced in 2005.	Traditional Roma occupations and skills are no longer required by the labour market.
Hungary	Prior to the transition, Roma worked in trades that became superfluous during the nineties: mining, metalwork, and machine manufacturing; Two other typical employment sectors were agriculture, which is today plagued by a recession, and construction that has been in a serious crisis until the middle of the decade.	No specific information about women, but 17% of all employed Roma work as assistants or apprentices, 22% of Roma work as skilled workers, or skilled blue-collar workers and only 8% have white collar jobs or work as members of a uniformed corporation.	Majority of Roma women are unemployed.	Almost one-third of Roma women live on social welfare, mostly on maternity leave.	Increasing unemployment due to the changes in labour marked during the 1990s.
Ireland	Employment usually in the same sector in which their husbands work; Employment traditionally carried out with other family members.	Some tend to beg together with their children; Selling of the "Big Issue Magazine" (magazine set-up for homeless).	No exact data available; App. 90-99% of Roma women and men are unemployed.	Sometimes government policies on continuing education hinder ability to receive social welfare; Due to language barriers Roma women do not profit from social benefits.	After strong economic growth in the 1990s, large gap between poor and rich, high costs of living and housing.

Italy	Most traditional trades abandoned or transformed into new forms of employment; Housekeeping and domestic economy main economic field for women.	Usually employed in the secondary economic sector; Commonly working as cleaners, factory workers, chambermaids, dish-washers, cook-helpers, old-people assistants, tailors, hairdressers, etc.; In the last years some young female activists have appeared; Some Roma women from the poorest families are forced to beg to survive.	Absence of general national surveys and statistical documents about Roma and Sinti.	Highly dependent on social services and assistance.	Disappearance of old Romani trades and crafts as a result of rampant industrialisation, more restricted space to keep pursuing these trades as well as the decreasing need of products offered by Roma and Sinti
Poland	Fortune-telling, door-to-door trade.	Overall majority without vocational or professional education.	High unemployment rates; Around 43% of the examined Roma regarded work as the main source of income.	More than 95% of the Roma families receive different types of aid.	Loosing traditional niche due to mass production and new consumption patterns.
Portugal	Selling goods at fairs.	No professional insertion outside traditional field of work; Training courses in the fields of sewing, gardening, basketry and ceramics, cultural mediation, confectionery, kitchen, domestic economy and family management, arts and crafts, sales techniques, etc.	No data on unemployment available since there is no registration by ethnic identification.	Families with scarce survival resources receive Social Insertion Income from the state.	Since 1990s, maintenance of traditional niche of the market threatened; Competition with newly immigrated population groups and cheap goods from Asiatic countries.
Romania	Devaluation of traditional Roma trades.	Most tend to be active in agriculture and in non-qualified activities, almost no higher skilled activities; There are some successful Roma women in different societal areas.	The duration of long-term unemployment of Roma women tends to be much higher than other relevant ethnic groups, confirming the low capacity of re-entering the job market.	Almost half of Roma women experiencing unemployment lasting over 27 months; Duration of long term unemployment much higher than among other ethnic groups.	No clear information.

Slovakia	No clear information.	Lowest qualification in the labour market; Before 1989, low-qualification professions with the majority working as tailors, seamstresses in textile industry, in agriculture and in services like cleaners or sales assistants; Exclusively seasonal work (picking fruits and berries, medical plants) or public so-called activation work (street cleaning, unskilled work for community) for women from segregated groups under 26; Women from integrated or partially-integrated groups work also in public administration, in education, as field workers and in the third sector in the area of local organisations.	Estimates are higher than average; Long-term unemployment typical.	After 1991 part of the community left work voluntarily because the state offered social benefits that were more advantageous for large families.	Situation radically worsened after 1989 due to decreased demand for low-qualified labour force after liquidation of some branches of industry and agriculture.
Slovenia	Collect paper and other recyclable materials or work as fortune-tellers.	Mainly in low-salaried jobs; Short-term employment Often in informal (grey) economic sector such as small trade at fairs, cleaners, collect papers and recyclable materials, few fortune-tellers; Seasonal work and short-term migration in border areas of Austria, Hungary, Italy.	High rate of unemployment.	Great majority dependent on financial state support.	Greater increase of unemployment of women compared to men.
Spain	Few work in traditional jobs as wicker workers, blacksmith, horse traders.	Often low-waged and low-qualified jobs; Most Spanish Roma (40-80%) work in the informal sector; Access to formal employment improving; More part-time jobs than men due to motherhood/ domestic work; Overall majority in service sector, mostly as cleaner, shop assistant, saleswoman, intercultural mediator and educator, waitress, cooker, domestic worker.	Double unemployment in comparison to men, lower of salaries; More part-time jobs and less recognition for their activities.	Unemployment rate double compared to men.	No clear information.
Sweden	No clear information.	Working from home is a new possibility to have an own income.	no exact data available; in total few women have entered the job market	Many women and children are totally dependent on social benefits; Social workers/ services have problems in fulfilling families' needs adequately;	The economic situation of Roma has not changed much in the last 10 years.

Turkey	Predominantly traditional economic patterns.	Marginal to the main economic sector; Only one to two percent work in factories and receive social security benefits; Most women are self-employed or work in the informal and service sector; Typical income-producing activities in urban centres: selling flowers and herbs, house cleaning, informal entertainment sector, fortune-tellers, seamstresses, labour in small manufacturing workshops, etc.; Typical activities in rural areas: collecting cotton-crop, fortune-tellers, seamstresses, sieve makers, incense peddlers, basket-makers, etc.	Hardly any women apply officially for jobs and thus do not appear in (un)-employment statistics; No data available.	'Green Card' for free food and free health service for the poverty stricken in the 1980s only; No governmental welfare institutions or agencies for the poor.	Lower-middle income economy; High number of migration from rural areas to urban centres; Great disparities in sector structure of the different regions; Several financial crises' occurred in the past decade.
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3. Programmes and Policies Aiming Towards Improving the Economic and Social Situation of Roma Women

	(a) policies	(b) programmes
Austria	Roma recognised as an ethnic community in 1993.	Roma-found initiative to improve educational situation and qualifications for the labour market of Roma; Programmes of free extra tuition for Roma children; Occupational project "Mri Buti" to bring Roma closer to formal labour market; EQUAL-project in Oberwart.
Bulgaria	National Action Plan "The Decade of the Roma Inclusion: 2005-2015"; Roma without any special legal status.	Framework Programme for the Equal Integration of Roma in Bulgarian Society (1999) including special part devoted to women ("VIII: The Roma Women"); National Programme "From Social Assistance to Provision of Employment" allows indirect benefit for women; Fellowships for Roma university students in the framework of the 2000/2001 Programme 'Roma' of the Open Society Institute; Lack of governmental programmes; Activities for women in the NGO sector.
Czech Republic	Two documents created by the Government's Council for Roma Community Affairs for the CR: Roma Integration Concept (2005) and Action Plan of CR for the Decade of Roma Inclusion (2005-2015); Roma recognised as a 'national minority'.	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs announced Programme of Enforcement of Equality of Women and Men including one aimed at Equality of Women and Men in Roma Community; in 2005 the Department of Social Services announced plan for social services in socially excluded Roma communities, including services focused on strengthening the equality of Roma women and men.
Germany	Roma recognised as a 'national minority' in 1999.	03 EQUAL-Project run by the RAA Berlin, working on the field of vocational training (including Roma women) «5 EQUAL-Project for Roma and Sinti, aiming towards employment and life security through self-organisation (run by RAA Berlin, Roma Union Grenzland Aachen, Förderverein Roma e.V. Frankfurt/M)

Hungary	Roma regarded as an 'ethnic minority'.	Various programmes initiated by NGOs and governmental initiatives, aiming towards reintegration into the labour market, including agricultural and public work as well as retraining programmes; Several programmes addressed to "traditional Roma trades".
Ireland	No specific governmental policies and programmes for Roma women; Roma without any special legal status.	Language and literacy programmes for Roma women in Tallaght, Dublin.
Italy	Roma have no special legal status; No specific governmental policies.	No specific school programmes for Romani girls, also rare specific programmes for Romani children within the Italian school system; (Inter)cultural mediation is primarily organised and promoted for immigrant groups and some southern Italian Roma communities.
Poland	Roma recognised as a 'national minority'.	EQUAL Programme including programmes for Roma women since 2004; Project for Roma children within the programme "Equalisation of educational chances of the national and ethnic Minority" of the Ministry of National Education.
Portugal	No status for ethnic minorities in Portugal; Nearly any measures aimed towards Roma exclusively; Law of Defence Against Racial Discrimination in 1999.	Creation of a Work Group for "Equality and Insertion of Gypsy and the Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination" in 1996 on the part of ACIME; ACIME also part of Roma "EDEM International Project" to promote integration and equal treatment in education and employment; Programmes aimed towards economically-disadvantaged groups in general; Training courses offered by NGOs and the church; Between 1993 and 2005, 15 training courses offered for Roma women.
Rumania	Roma regarded as a 'national minority'; Some referrals to the situation of Roma women are to be found in the Joint Inclusion Memorandum and the National Development Plan 2007/2013; Decade of Roma Inclusion also focuses on Roma women as a cross-cutting topic.	Phare project "Access to education for Disadvantaged Groups with focus on Roma" and "Support to the Strategy for improving the Roma condition" the participation of Roma women was encouraged within the field of health, vocational training, income generating activities, small infrastructure and social housing.
Slovakia	Roma regarded as a 'national minority'; National Action Plan developed in the framework of the Decade of Inclusion of the Roma in 2005.	Several Agencies for Supporting Employment aimed towards Roma in 2005; "Assistant Roma Teachers Project" in 2003; Ministry of Health project "Improving the Access of the Roma to Healthcare", Roma women as field assistants to doctors by 2006; Equal and SOP Programmes; ROMAR Association project to employ Roma women in community work.
Slovenia	Legal status of Roma is unclear; Several strategies and actions undertaken to improve economic status and employment of Roma.	Project 'Roma women can do it' for participation in the social and public sphere in 2003; Employment programme for Roma of the Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs in 2000.
Spain	Scarcely mentioned as target group in some local, regional or national plans.	ACCEDER Employment Programme.
Sweden	Roma regarded as 'national minority' since 1999; Board of Romany Council as advisory committee for the Justice Department, appointed by the government in 2002; Governmental discrimination officer appointed in 2001 to investigate how to decrease discrimination towards Roma; The Swedish leftist party published an action plan for Roma affairs in May 2005.	Anti-discriminatory offices have been opened in about 20 municipalities in the last 5 years.
Turkey	No specific governmental policies for Roma.	No training programmes for Roma women, but in southern eastern Turkey, some NGOs or municipalities have initiatives for Kurdish and Roma women.

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Recommendations

These recommendations are based on an assessment of the country studies specific to suggests carried out. Furthermore, results from previous working groups and studies have been incorporated. Conversations with Roma women and expert interviews served as a further basis of information. These recommendations are not representative of a political platform; rather, engaging a group of experts in which Roma women from European, regional and local action groups could act as decisive participants, would be beneficial.

- I. The basic recommendation is related to the state of knowledge pertaining to the economic situation of Roma women. We know too little to plan and establish lasting politics with Roma and Romani women. It is absolutely necessary to collect local and national information. Well-founded comparative and European studies should be empirically carried out for European anti-discrimination politics and the promotion of Romany minorities with special consideration of Romani women.
- II. The debate around ethnic indicators in European statistics and around the collection and presentation of numerical data on the European Roma population should be continued. The interests of Romani organisations, the need for quantitative grounds of politics and programmes, the exclusion of data misuse, etc. should be discussed and taken into account.
- III. Information and initiatives for the improvement of the political, social and economic situation should be clustered on the European level in order to dismantle the complexity of this topic and further justify a new European perspective. Such an initiative could be connected with training and educational programmes of mediators.
- IV. The promotion of Europe-wide representatives of Romani women seems important.
- V. The topic of Roma minorities in Europe should assume a major emphasis in the European politics to combat discrimination and social exclusion.
- VI. All forms of violence targeting the Romanies should be curtailed.
- VII. In view of the far-reaching exclusion of Roma women from entering the business world, it is necessary to initiate special cross border, but also locally-organised, projects to foster their economic integration.
- VIII. Such projects require a comprehensive (mainstreaming) approach in all administrations and institutions that address the problems of the Roma minority. This can be achieved:

1. by reducing anti-tziganismus in teaching materials and announcements;
2. by initiating through special promotion policies in nursery schools, primary and secondary schools and continuing education facilities;
3. by freeing and supporting the liberation of Romani women from compulsory rules in the household, family and community;
4. by providing grants and implementing positive discrimination measures to be financed in the entire field of education and vocational training;
5. by linking professional training programmes with referrals to employment agencies;
6. by fostering special mediators to ease their daily and working life, and who serve the prerequisite for bridging the mounting exclusion targeting the Roma;
7. by supporting independent business start-ups and enterprises. This pertains to advice, extension of credit, and advocacy or lobbying.

IX. Projects for improving the physical situation of the Roma women are a prerequisite for their economic integration. These could also be carried out in the context of integrated community programmes.

In the area of the media, information campaigns in favour of the Roma should contribute to a stronger position of this population group in Europe as far as their education and communication is concerned.

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