



UNIUNEA EUROPEANĂ



GUVERNUL ROMÂNIEI
MINISTERUL MUNCII, FAMILIEI
ȘI PROTECȚIEI SOCIALE
AMPOSDRU



Fondul Social European
POSDRU 2007-2013



Instrumente Structurale
2007-2013

Roma from Romania, Bulgaria, Italy and Spain between Social Inclusion and Migration

Comparative study

EU
Inclusive

EU INCLUSIVE
Data transfer and exchange of good practices
regarding the inclusion of
Roma population between
Romania, Bulgaria, Italy and Spain

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between Social Inclusion and Migration

- Comparative study -

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Bucharest, 2012

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Descrierea CIP a Bibliotecii Naționale a României

**Roma from Romania, Bulgaria, Italy and Spain between
Social Inclusion and Migration: comparative study / Ana Maria**

Preoteasa, Ionela Vlase, Alexey Pamporov, ... ; editor: Daniela
Tarnovschi. - Constanța : Editura Dobrogea, 2012

Bibliogr.

ISBN 978-606-565-047-3

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IV. Tarnovschi, Daniela (editor)

323.1(- 214.58)(498)

ISBN 978-606-565-047-3

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FOREWORD

The inclusion of Roma has become an intensely debated issue at European level, especially after 2007, period of time in which more and more Roma people, citizens of the new Member States of the European Union, migrated in those countries with a higher living standard. The measures taken by the Italian Government in 2007, criticized by human rights organizations and agents of the European institutions, represent an example for what could happen if some actual and comprehensive data are lacking. Although a European initiative for the facilitation of Roma inclusion has been discussed, the fact that statistical data are lacking was often pointed out, at European institutions level, for every country populated with Roma ethnics, these data being collected in a manner so that they can be comparable. It was also visible that there are no transfers of good practices from one country to another, resulting in a lack of coordination of the efforts intended for insuring better living conditions for these people, full-fledged citizens of European Union.

At the beginning of 2009, Soros Foundation – Romania and three other organizations, Open Society Institute Sofia – Bulgaria, Fundación Secretariado Gitano – Spain, Fondazione Casa della Carità Angelo Abriani – Italy, combined all their efforts to a common end – designing a project on the social inclusion of Roma people. The answer to this action is the project ‘EU INCLUSIVE – Data transfer and exchange of good practices regarding the inclusion of Roma population between Romania, Bulgaria, Italy and Spain’. This project was initiated in September 2010, financed by the European Social Fund – ‘Invest in people!’, Sectoral Operational Programme Human Development Resources (SOP HDR) 2007-2013¹.

With this project, the partners suggested the design of a solid comparable database and the transfer of relevant experiences in Roma employment, as well as the analysis of some relevant aspects on the Roma migrants’ situation. The partners also wanted, by means of a coordinated approach between the four organizations, to promote, within the main involved factors, examples of good practices for the Roma inclusion and of the development of the occupational/employment degree of the Roma ethnics not only in the partner countries, but also in other European countries.

The four partner organizations come from countries with very different experiences regarding the social inclusion and employment integration of Roma people, whether they are citizens of that country or migrants. Contrary to superficialities, Romania and Bulgaria face a shortage in data referring to the Roma inclusion in Italy and Spain. Furthermore, information about positive working practices with Roma people is available only locally, sporadically and in a non-systemic manner, a transnational background for sharing and disseminates these experiences not being available. If collecting data about Roma migrants in Spain started in 2007, in Italy it started only in 2011. The lacking of information leads to

¹ (Contract no. POSDRU/98/6.4/S/63841. The total value of the project is 9 337 116,25 lei.)

difficulties in determining the dimension of the problem and, consequently, it is impossible to develop applicable public policies. Generally, legislation and measures for social inclusion are also very different in the old Member States. It is often discussed the lack of transfer of good practices between these two countries, whose results on social inclusion differ a lot. The project proposes to bring important clarifications on the inclusion level of Roma people, and the way the partnership members may approach Roma migrants' questionability.

The achievement of these generous objectives has been accomplished by means of combining more research and analysis instruments:

- Data collection based on questionnaire in each of the four countries using representative samples for the Roma population, citizens of that country.
- Data collection based on questionnaire in Italy and Spain using samples of migrant Roma ethnics (the migrant Roma samples were only exploratory).
- Conducting at least five case studies by means of Roma ethnics in each of the four countries.
- Conducting, in each of the four countries, a research study on successful public policies and practices towards the social inclusion of Roma people, citizens of that country or migrants.
- Conducting four exchange experience visits in which there were involved both agents of these four partner organizations and other interesting factors in the Roma integration issue.
- Organizing roundtables intended for the social inclusion and the development of the occupational/employment degree of the Roma ethnics.

The results of this project materialize in:

- Four national databases containing statistical data on Roma ethnics, citizens of these four countries (Bulgaria, Italy, Romania and Spain), and also on Roma migrants in Italy and Spain.
- A common database with statistical data for all four countries resulted by unifying those four national databases on Roma ethnics, citizens of the four countries, and also on Roma migrants in Italy and Spain.
- Four national reports resulting from analysis of the national databases, in which it is described the situation of social inclusion of Roma ethnics (citizens or migrants, as the case may be) in that country, employment integration oriented, plans of migration (for Romanian and Bulgarian citizens) and the migrants situation (in Italy and Spain).
- Case studies with Roma people who are successful or unsuccessful in the process of social inclusion in that country.
- Four national reports on successful public policies and practices for the social inclusion of the Roma ethnics, citizens of that country or migrants.
- A comparative study resulted from analysis of the common database, accomplished by means of unifying those four national databases on Roma ethnics, citizens of the four countries, and also Roma migrants in Italy and Spain.

This report is the last one accomplished as results from the list above. It is made as a result of the comparative database analysis and of the collaboration between the teams of social scientist in the four partner organizations. The present report intended to accomplish the interpretation of data on: social inclusion and discrimination, employment, living conditions and migration of Roma people.



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DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT

Project's Identification Data:

Project Title: EU INCLUSIVE – data transfer and exchange of good experiences regarding the inclusion of Roma population between Romania, Bulgaria, Italy and Spain

Identification Project Number: POSDRU/98/6.4/S/63841

Priority Axis 6: Promoting Social Inclusion

Major Field of Intervention 6.4: Transnational initiatives for an inclusive labor market

The project is implemented during the period between September 2010 and September 2012.

Total Project value is lei 9,337,116.25.

“**EU INCLUSIVE** – data transfer and exchange of good experiences regarding the inclusion of Roma population between Romania, Bulgaria, Italy and Spain”, is a joint transnational project, implemented in Romania by the Soros Foundation in partnership with the Open Society Institute – Sofia of Bulgaria, Fundación Secretariado Gitano of Spain and Fondazione Casa della Carità Angelo Abriani from Italy.

The aim of the project is to develop cooperation practices in the field of Roma inclusion in order to promote their inclusion in the European labor market and employment increased capacity among organizations dealing with Roma integration from Romania, Spain, Italy and Bulgaria by means of mutual transfer of comparative data and local experiences.

The project aims to carry out a diagnosis of the situation of the Roma integration on the labor market in all 4 European countries and to transform the sociological information thus obtained in order to elaborate public policies with national and transnational application.

We plan to:

- develop a transnational long-term partnership between countries and organizations that work in Roma social inclusion field;
- create an accurate comparative baseline database on Roma inclusion and employment in each of the 4 partner states with relevant information concerning Roma migrants;
- analyze and use the recent European history of the Roma inclusion initiatives and to raise their presence on the labor market, with reference also to Roma migrants;
- identify and promote successful practices identified in each of the partner countries and to increase the relevance of the public policies in the field of Roma inclusion by valorization of such experiences.





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PARTNERS

Soros Foundation, Romania (www.soros.ro) – our mission is to promote models for the development of a society based on freedom, responsibility and respect for diversity. Starting with 2003, we have implemented frame programmes intended to social inclusion, among which the “Decade of Roma Inclusion” Programme and the Integrated Community Development Programme, and we also carried out many sociological researches on the situation of Roma population in Romania, an important one being “Roma Inclusion Barometer”, as well as community development projects such as “My Roma Neighbor” Project and “The Nearly Center (Centrul de Aproape) - Rural Area and Social Economy in Romania (RURES)” Project.

Open Society Institute-Sofia, Bulgaria (www.osi.bg) – is a nonprofit nongovernmental organization founded in 1990, which has the mission: to promote, develop and support the values, attitudes and practices of an open society in Bulgaria; it is proposing public policies and debates on crucial issues for Bulgaria.

Fundación Secretariado Gitano, Spain (www.gitanos.org) – is a cross-cultural social non-profit organization that provides Roma community development services throughout Spain and at the European level. It started its activity in the '60 and was set up as foundation in 2001. The mission of the Fundación Secretariado Gitano is the integral promotion of the Roma community based on respect and support of their cultural identity. FSG also is active in other EU countries: directs the EURoma Technical Secretariat together with more than 12 Member States and participates in projects in Romania.

Fondazione Casa della Carità Angelo Abriani, Italy (www.casadellacarita.org) - is a non-profit foundation, with social and cultural purposes. It was created in 2002 with the mission to create opportunities for the inclusion of all people living in conditions of social and cultural marginalization: homeless, migrants, asylum, Roma people, supporting their access to rights, services, opportunities and resources.



METHODOLOGY

This study is using data collected following a representative survey for Roma population in 4 countries (Bulgaria, Italy, Romania, and Spain). The subjects of our research were self-identify Roma, over 16 years old, citizens of previous mentioned countries, but also Roma migrants in Spain and Italy.

The sampling method used was probabilistic, multi-stage and stratified, with stratification during its first stage.

Characteristics of the research in all 4 countries:

| Country | Size of the sample | Statistic error margin | Questionnaire | Data collecting period |
|----------|---|------------------------|--|---|
| Romania | 1,109 self-identified Roma, 16 years old and over, Romanian citizens | ± 2.7% | multi-themes, average duration between 30 and 40 minutes | March 28 - April 7, 2011 |
| Bulgaria | 1,100 self-defined Roma living in segregated neighbourhoods, 16 years old and over, Bulgarian citizenship | ±2.95% | multi-themes, average duration between 30 and 40 minutes | Pretesting - May, 2011; Data Collection - June, 2011 |
| Spain | 1,494 self-identified Roma, 16 years old and over, Spanish Citizens 361 self-identified Roma, 16 years old and over, migrants - 101 Roma, Bulgarian citizenship - 260 Roma, Romanian citizenship | +2.53% ±5.15% | multi-themes, average duration between 49 and 60 minutes | June – September 2011 |
| Italy | 801 self-identified Roma, 16 years old and over, Italian citizens 857 self-identified Roma, 16 years old and over, migrants - 104 Roma, Bulgarian citizenship - 388 Roma, Romanian citizenship - 365 Roma, from the former Yugoslavia | ± 3.42% ± 3.31% | multi-themes, average duration between 45 and 55 minutes | September – November 2011 |

Design of methodological tools:

| Country | Sample | Questionnaire |
|----------|---|---|
| Romania | Metro Media Transilvania, using the model developed by professor dr. Dumitru Sandu for Roma Inclusion Barometer | team of sociologists from Fundación Secretariado Gitano, Soros Foundation Romania, Open Society Institute – Sofia, and Fondazione Casa della Carità Angelo Abriani. Fundación Secretariado Gitano designed the methodology in the year 2005 when it developed its first research. In 2011 this research has been replicated following this methodology. It has been shared and transferred to the other 3 partners participating in this project. New indicators have been added as a result of the transnational cooperation between the partners. |
| Bulgaria | OSI-Sofia model developed by Dragomira Belcheva | |
| Spain | Fundación Secretariado Gitano | |
| Italy | Fondazione Casa della Carità Angelo Abriani, model developed by Pietro Palvarini and Anita Bacigalupo | |

Data collecting and entering:

| Country | Responsible | Method |
|----------|---|--|
| Romania | Metro Media Transilvania | The interviews were conducted at the home of the respondents |
| Bulgaria | OSI-Sofia, Research Unite | |
| Spain | Fundación Secretariado Gitano and EDIS S.A. | |
| Italy | Consorzio A.A.STER | |

Data analysis and interpretation:

| Country | Authors: |
|----------|--|
| Romania | Ana Maria Preoteasa, PhD., Ionela Vlase PhD. |
| Bulgaria | Alexey Pamporov, PhD., Petya Kabakchieva, PhD. |
| Spain | Fundación Secretariado Gitano (Employment and International Departments) |
| Italy | Pietro Palvarini, PhD. |

SYNTHESIS

The topic of social inclusion of Roma is getting more attention from different actors at national and international level. Social inclusion is a new and broad concept, which covers the provision of opportunities and resources necessary to fully secure participation in economic, social and cultural life. This approach is relevant for Roma minority, the largest ethnic minority in Europe, which is often found in unacceptable situations of marginalization, discrimination and socially exclusion. It is not only an issue of human rights, but also one of disrespect for the fundamental values on which European Union is built upon.

The comparative report *Roma from Romania, Bulgaria, Italy and Spain between social inclusion and migration*, published within the “EU-INCLUSIVE– Data transfer and exchange of good practices regarding the inclusion of Roma population between Romania, Bulgaria, Italy and Spain”, is analysing the current situation of the Roma minority in four countries, all members of the European Union. The report includes the analysis and interpretation of the data collected in the framework of the project.

Four sociological researches were conducted in Romania, Bulgaria, Italy and Spain aiming to create a unified database. The dataset will allow researchers to capture the complex situation of Roma population on several dimensions: employment, housing, social inclusion, discrimination and international migration. This comparative database was created to be a reliable instrument for European public policies concerning Roma minority in European Union.

The subjects of the research were self-identified Roma, 16+ year old, citizens of previous mentioned countries, but also Roma migrants in Spain and Italy. In each of the four countries (Romania, Italy, Bulgaria, and Spain) a statistically representative sample of indigenous Roma (defined as Roma with the respective citizenship) was realized. In addition, in Spain and Italy were realized exploratory samples of Roma migrants (defined as Roma with different citizenship, but living in the respective country).

In all four countries, data was collected using questionnaires applied by professional pollsters, face-to-face, at the domicile of the respondents. The questionnaire was based on the one used by Fundación Secretariado Gitano from Spain within the study of the employment level of the Roma population in Spain in 2005. This methodology was shared and transferred to the other 3 partners participating in this project. New indicators were added as a result of the transnational cooperation between the partners. The questionnaire was multi-thematic, with an estimated duration of 30 to 60 minutes, having maximum 15% open questions. The questionnaire comprised the following themes: general data; activity; occupation; unemployment; discrimination; social inclusion; housing; migration; income; household roster.

The comparative report follows, in thematic chapters, the major coordinates of social inclusion: employment, housing, education, access to healthcare and other social services, and discrimination. The novelty of the research is the detailed analysis of the subject of international migration of Roma communities in Italy and Spain. Certain themes

(employment and housing) are addressed by comparing the data about Roma situations in the four countries with those found throughout the whole research sample, i.e. the statistical aggregate of the four countries, which will be referred to as “Roma Europe”.

The first chapter of this report presents some major elements of social inclusion of Roma. When the level of education of Roma is discussed all researchers acknowledge that it is a very low one. Only a very small proportion of Roma in the four countries complete upper secondary and tertiary education, showing extremely high school dropout rate. From our research results that economic difficulties of the household are the main reason for this phenomenon in the two Eastern European countries analysed. It has to be pointed out that limited access to social services could lead to social exclusion and discrimination, problems that are still present in the lives of Roma, more in Bulgaria and Italy and less in Romania and especially in Spain.

In the second chapter, dedicated to Roma employment, the main labour market indicators calculated as statistical aggregations for the four countries, from the comparative database, are compared with average figures for the 27 countries that comprise the European Union (EU-27). It can be seen that in the case of Roma, in the four countries, we are dealing with a much younger population than the EU average, that enters the labour market as soon as they have the legal age to work, provides a higher number of active persons to the economy, but has an employment rate of 37.4% which is 20 points lower than the EU-27 average (57.3%). Because Roma are entering labour market at a much early age than average EU-27 it means that they get a lower level of education. If at the EU-27 level 67.2% from the population of working age has attained secondary or higher education, in the case of Roma the similar rate is only 5.9%. The low level of education and training are the main reasons for which Roma are eligible mostly for unqualified positions, located in the weakest and most fragile segment of the labour market, a segment much more prone to be affected by economic crisis. While 83.3% of occupation in the European Union is salaried employment, for the Roma community this figure drops to 40.6%. Within the Roma population, 38.4% of the labouring individuals work as self-employed persons without employees, 11.7% as collaborators in the economic activity of the family unit, and 8% is in “other situations”. The last three categories stand for work situations that offer very little or no labour rights. Another two characteristics of Roma employment are part-time and temporary employment; both are dimensions that define employment instability. Also, the Roma unemployment rate (47.1%) is 5.7 times higher than the one found in EU-27 countries (8.3%).

The third chapter is dedicated to housing conditions of Roma population in the four countries surveyed by EU-INCLUSIVE. It presents the comparison between data from each of the four countries with the statistical aggregation, similarly with the second chapter. Access to adequate housing conditions represents a fundamental dimension of social inclusion, and it is one of the priorities promoted by the EU policies, unfortunately mostly at statement level. As the data shows, Roma are living in both rural and urban area, but in cities they tend to settle in peripheral areas, a situation which leads to problems of physical and relational isolation and to difficulties in accessing various services. There are different housing models in the four countries: in Bulgaria isolated settlements in the far suburbs are prevailing; in Romania the majority of Roma families live in small country villages; in Italy, Roma with Italian citizenship live mostly in the urban peripheries, in houses or in collective settlements

exclusively dedicated and often managed by municipalities (the so-called “Roma camps”); Spain is the only of the four countries where a more balanced model was registered. Roma with Spanish citizenship are divided between rural areas and small towns, living in non-peripheral positions. In Spain, the housing conditions of native Roma could be considered to some degree a model of successful integration. Compared with all the other 3 countries Spanish housing policy intervention for the last 10 years had good results that positively affected the other area of social life: better education, better integration on the labour market, reduced discrimination, and better access to social services.

The migration of Roma population in Spain and Italy, subject on the public European agenda extremely discussed in the last years, is analysed in the last chapter. From the beginning, the authors accentuate the fact that the data presented here have rather an exploratory value, very useful for future researches. Even if the statements have no conclusion value because of technical constraints, they can point out the fact that Roma migrants in Spain enjoy better access to public services, live in better housing conditions, have less defined projects of return and their legal status in the host country is mostly regular. A second statement refers to the differences that exist across national groups of Roma in each host country. If in Italy the differences between Romanian and Bulgarian Roma are striking in many respects (i.e. type of dwellings, chronological stage of arrival in the host country, projects of return, children’s school attendance, job counselling services), usually at the disadvantage of Romanian Roma, in Spain these differences are lower. A third major statement refers to the fact that migrants’ employment seems to closely replicate the origin countries pattern: high unemployment rate, non-standard and unsecure jobs and elementary occupations. However, differences do exist: in Spain more Roma are employed in qualified and secure jobs and in Italy a large proportion of Roma are unemployed and the large majority have elementary occupations.

The present comparative study pertinently presents the general elements of social inclusion of Roma in four European countries, full members of European Union with an emphasis on Roma presence on the labour market and migration experience of Bulgarian and Romanian Roma in Italy and Spain. Its aim is to bring into public attention the problems of a marginalized minority comprised of citizens of the European Union. The circle of poverty, social exclusion and marginalization needs to be broken because, as it was pointed out in the European Commission Communication from April 2011 (“An EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020”), “Many of the estimated 10-12 million Roma in Europe face prejudice, intolerance, discrimination and social exclusion in their daily lives. They are marginalized and live in very poor socio-economic conditions. This is not acceptable in the European Union (EU) at the beginning of the 21st century.”

The study, as the project itself, has looked at the Roma in Europe as a whole, regardless of country of origin and current country of living. In the same time, the study has underlined differences between each of the four countries. Country specific data is detailed in subsequent country reports realized by each of the partner organizations, and country specific policies are reviewed in four policy reports. Together, the set of nine reports – four country research reports, four country policy reports, and one comparative study – make a strong advocacy argument for adopting a better EU policy for Roma integration, based on evidence and learning from examples good practices found in all four member states.

REZÛMATO

Synthesis in Romani language

O romenqo sociàlo andripen si jekh buti kaj si but rodini butenθar aktore anθ-o them nivelò thaj vi k-o maškarthemutno nivelò. O sociàlo andripen si jekh but komplèto thaj nevo konceptò kaj sikavel o barbar le marginalizomenqe manuša k-e oportunitete thaj bută, kaj mukhel len te participisaren anθ-o tràjo ekonomikano, sociàlo thaj kulturàlo la societaqo. Sar kerel pes kadaja buti si but relevanto de anθ- i minoritèta romani, sos maj bari etnikani minoritèta katar i Evropa, kaj si li butvares anθ-i situàcia te avel sociàlo marginalizimi, te avel diskriminime thaj inkaladi katar i societeta ando jekh čhand kaj ne daštil te avel akceptisardo. Ni si nùmaj i problèma le manușesqe xakaja thaj vi jekh kaj trebul te del respèkto le butănqe bazutne p-ăl kaste si li kerdi i Evroputni Ûnia.

O studiu komparàtivo „Le roma katar i Rumùnia, o Bulgarikano them, o Italikano them thaj o Spanikano them, maškar sociàlo andripen thaj migracija, dino avri anθ-o projèkto EU-INCLUSIVE – o transferò e dàtenqo thaj eksperieniàcia maškar i Rumùnia, o Bulgarikano them, o Italikano them thaj o Spanikano them, kerel jekh analiza anθ-i situàcia e romenqe katar le štar thema la Evroputni Ûniaqe. O rapòrto astarel i anglutni analiza thaj i interpretàcia e dàtenqe kidine anθ-o projèkto.

E rodipnasqi grùpură keridine štar stùdiură sociologikane, kabor jekh p-al svaki štar thema (i Rumùnia, o Bulgarikano them, o Italikano them thaj o Spanikano them), le reseça te kerel pes jekh jekhutni bāza dàtenqe. Kadaja mukhel le manușenqe kaj keren rodimata te prinšānen i situàcia komplèto la populaciaqi romani anθ-e maj but riga: okupacia, thanāripen, sociàlo andripen, diskriminàcia thaj migracija. I bāza dàtenqe komparàtivo sasas kerdini te avel jekh pakiavimasqo instrumentò de anθar o thanāripen le evropnikanenqo politike kerde vaš i minoritèta romania katar i Evroputni Ûnia.

I azbajlipnasqi populacia katar le panš thema si li reprezentisardi vaš etnikane romenθar korkore-phende, kaj si len dešušov thaj maj but berša, themutne le štar themenqe, vi manuša kaj keren migracija, kaj si li anθ-o Spanikano thaj Italikano them. Anθ-e svake thema (i Rumùnia, o Bulgarikano them, o Italikano them thaj o Spanikano) sasas kerdine ešantioni kaj si len reprezentativitèta statistiko anθ-e le roma thanesqe (roma kaj si themutne anθ-o kodova them). Po but, anθ-o Spanikano thaj Italikano them, sasas kerdine stùdiură anθ-e le roma kaj keren migacija (le roma themutne aver themenqe, no kaj živden anθ-o godova them).

Anθ-e svake thema, e date sasas kidine pala o pučhipen sèto šùto katar manuša but profesioniste, p-a thaneste, le khereste le manușenqe pučhle. O pučhipen sèto sasas kerdino pala o mòdelo lino katar i Fundaciòn Secretariado Gitano, kana kerdās jekh ankèta anθ-i buti diz katar o Spanikano them, anθ-o berš 2005. E rodipnasqi metodologia de anθ-o berš 2005 sasas bišardi le kolaverenqe partenère de anθ-o projèkto. Sasas andine neve bută, sikavne, sar rezultàto le partenerenqe vakæripen. O pučhipen sas buttemàtik, durăl 30-40 minitură, thaj sas les sos but 15 procentură pučhimata putarde. O pučhipen sas les le kategòrie: generali date, okupacia, migracija, venitură, thaj thanāripen.

O rapòrto komparàtivo sikavel anθ-e lesqe temàtike kategorie, le maj bare bută le sociàlosqo andripen: okupacia, thanāripen, edukacià, bararparipen sociàlo thaj k-o sastipen

thaj diskriminàcia. O nevipen e rodipnasqo si i analiza anθ-o xurdipen e subièktosqo la migracijaqo maškarthemutni la komunitètaqi romani katar i Distuni Evropa anθ-o Spanikano thaj Italikano them. I okupacia thaj o thanäripen si le analizome thaj vi kerindoi kompàrcia e dàtença katar o svako them le maškaresça e dàtenqe katar le štar thema, sikavno kaj bušöl „Roma-Evropa”.

O jekhto kapitolo e rapòrtosqo prezentisarel le šerutne butä anθ-o sociàlo andripen e romenqo. Kana das дума le nivelòstar la edukaciàqo, savore daštin pe phenen k-e si lu but tikno. Nùmaj jekh tikni rig de anθ-i populacia romani katar le štar thema agorel i škola sekundaro superiòro vaj terciaro, sikavdindoj k-e jekh but bari rig mukhen pes školatar. O ropdipen sikavel k-e le pharimata ekonomikane la familiakqe si le došale anθ-o kadava fenomèno katar kadale duj thema analizome, de anθ-i Evropa Distuni. Si importànto te dikhas k-e o barabar tikneardo le servicürenthe sociàle ingerel k-e sociàlo marginalizacija thaj diskriminàcia, problèmurä arakhade anθ-o savorro them, maj but anθ-o Bulgarikano them thaj anθ-o Italikano them thaj maj xancì anθ-i Rumùnia thaj sos maj xancì anθ-o Spanikano them.

Anθ-o dujvar kapitolo, kaj sikavel e okupacie e romenge, le šerutne sikavne la butäqi diz katar i bàza e dàtenqe le projèktosqe si von kompàrime le maškaresça katar le 27 thema la Evroputnäqi Ùnia (EU-27). Dikhel pes k-e anθ-o suro e romenqo katar le štar thema das дума jekhatar populacia but maj terni sar o evropnikano maškar, kaj del anθ-i buti diz sigutno sar kerel le thamikane berša, katar aven but manuša aktive anθ-ai ekonomia, no kaj si la jekh tikno procento okupaciaqo, nùmaj 37,4 % procenturä, ma xancì bišença procenturä sar o evropnikano maškar EU-27 (57,3%). Vaš e roma den andre k-e butäqi diz maj tikne beršende, len si len jekh nivelò edukaciàqo tiknärdo. O evropnikano maškar, kidel 67,2 procenturä populaciaqe anθ-i sekundaro edukacià orj maj bari, thaj sa kodova procento, le romenqe arasel nùmaj 5,9 procenturä. O tikno nivelò edukaciàqo thaj kalifikàciaqo si le šerutne butä kaj ingeren le romen te arakhen butä kaj na mangel kalifikàcia anθ-e sos maj nasul thaj maj vulnérable riga la dizaqi, kaj si li sos maj zurales maladi la crizatar ekonomikani. Vaš k-o EU-27 nivelò, 83,3 procenturä de anθ-e manuša kaj si len okupacia, si le jekh kontràkto butiaqo, le romenqe o precento aresel k-e 40,6. Andre la popolaciaqi romani kaj si la okupacia, 38,4 procenturä keren buti korkore, 11,7 procenturä si len aktivitéte anθ-i familia that 8 procenturä aver situàcie bi kontràktosqo. Kadala trin kategorie si anθ-e situàcie butiaqe, kaj na den len barabar kaj lenge butiaqe xakaja thaj te aven arakhade te na aven exploatime. Aver duj karakteristike la okupaciaqe e romenqe si i rigærdi norma thaj i buti temporaro, vi le duj sikavdindoj i instabiliteta la okupaciaqi. Sa anθ-o godova timpo, i rata e romenqe bibutiaqe (47,1%) si li de 5,67 vares maj mari sar o maškar la EU-27 (8,3%).

O trinvar kapitolo analizol le romenqe kondicie kheripnasqe de anθar le štar thema katar o projèkto EU-INCLUSIVE. Sa kade sar o dujvar kapitolo, si prezentisarde e diferènçe maškar le thema thaj o maškar „Roma-Evropa”. O barabar lače kondicienthe thanäripnaste si jekh but importànto rig le sociàlosqe adripen haj si jekh šerutni rig anθ-e le evropnikane politike, no vaš aresel nùmai jekheste deklarativo nivelò. E rapòrtosqe dàte sikaven k-e le roma živden vi anθ-ël fòruræ, vi anθ-äl gava, vaš anθ-ël fòruræ arasen te bešen kaj perifèria, buti kaj ingerel problèmurenthe kaj arasen te na maj aven len relatie aver manušença thaj pharimata te keren barabar e pùblico servicürä. Anθ-o svako them arakhas ververæ mòduræ kheripnasqe. Anθ-o Bulgarikano them si but komunitète romenqe kaj arakhen pes anθ-ai jekh bari perifèria. Anθ-i Rumùnia barederipen e romenqe familie živden anθ-e tikne komunitète gavenhe. Anθ-o

Italikano them, le roma italikane themutne but 3ivden anθ-i perifèria e fòurenqe , anθ-e khera vaš anθ-e thana kaj bešen maj but manuša, kaj si li administrome le fòrostar (kade buče „romane taboruræ”. O Spanikano them si o korkoro them kaj si la jekh maj lačo thanäripen: le spanikane rom 3ivnen vi anθ-äl tikne fòruræ, vi anθ-äl gava bi te 3ivden anθ-i perifèria e fòurenqe. Anθ-o Spanikano them, i situacia e romenqe spanikane anθ-o thanäripen daštil te avel dikhlini anθ-o jekh baxtagor mòdo anθ-o andripen. Kerindoj komparàcia okolaverença thema, e thanäripen politike e themesqo spanikano kerde akana deš berša adine lače rezultaturä vi anθ-e aver riga: jekh edükacia barärdi, jekh maj lačo adripen k-e butäqi diz, diskriminàcia tiknärdi thaj maj lačo barabar k-e sociàlo servicürä.

E romenqe migracjia de anθ-i distuni rig e kòntinentosqo k-o Spanikano thaj Italikano them, si jekh buti arakhadi vi p-ai lista evropnikani, thaj but dini duma anθe amare gesa, si khate analizome anθ-o ùltimo kapitolo. Širdindoj, le autòruræ sikaven k-e e dàte kidine si len jekh rodimasqo karaktèro, putardindoj jekh nevi rodimasqi rig kaj daštil te avel kerdi anθ-e aver stùdiurä. Vi k-e, anθa kodä ki le texnikane pharimata, le rezultaturä ni si le definitive, sikavel pes k-e le rom si len maj lačo barabar k-e sociàlo servicüræde, maj lače thanäripnasqe kondicie, maj xanci plànuræ irimasqe anθ-o them kaj kerdäs pes, thaj jekh thamikano statuto maj mišto kerdo anθ-o Spanikano them sar anθ-o Italikano them. O dujvar rezultato si k-e anθ-äl svake thema si diferènçe anθar e grupe e romenqe, pala o katar them aven von. Vi anθ-o Italikano them, vi anθ-o Spanikano them arakhen pes diferènçe maškar le rom kaj aven katar o Bulgarikano them thaj kodola kaj aven katar i Rumùnia, sar si o thanäripen, kana aviline, kana kamen te irin pes, o gin e çhavorenqo kaj škola, o barabaripen le servicürenθe kaj roden manuš te kern buti. Kadala diferènçe si maj bare anθ-o Italikano them sar anθ-o Spanikano them. O trinvar rezultato but importànto si ke le mòdurä kaj kerel pes thanäripen e romenqe kaj keren migracjia aresel te aven kerde pala kodola katar le thema kaj von aven: but manuš kaj naj len than butäqo, butä biprin3ärde thaj kaj naj len kalifikàcia. No, arakhen pes vi diferènçe: anθ-o Spanikano them, maj but roma si len butä kalifikàciaça thaj stabile, no anθ-o Italikano them jekh bari rig romenqe naj len buti orj si le buti thaj naj len kalifikàcia.

O kompàrativo stùdiu sikavel, but lačença argumenturä, le šerutne butä e sociàlosqo andripen e romenqo anθ-e štar thema katar i Evroputni Ùnia, but sikavdindoj o romenqo andripen k-e butäqi diz, thaj p-ai eksperència la migracjiaqe katar i Rumùnia, thaj o Bulgarikano them k-o Spanikano thaj Italikano them. O res kadale stùdiosqe si te anel te dikhel o pùbliko le problèmurä kaj malaven jekh minoritèta marginalizome, kerdi de anθ –äl evropnikane themutne. Von si marginalizome thaj 3iven anθ –äl but nasul kondicie ekonomikane thaj sociàle. Kadaja buti ni daštil te avel akceptisardi anθ-i Evroputni Ùnia anθ-o šir e sèkolosqe 21.

O stùdiu, sar sea o projèkto EU-INCLUSIVE, kerdäs i analiza e romenqe situacia katar i Evropa anθ-e jekh than, bi te maj dikhel pes o them kaj von 3ivden akana. Sa anθ-o godova timpo, o stùdiu sikavdäv e diferènçe maškar e štar thema. Analize anθ-o xurdipen e dàtenqo spècifikiko svako themesqo arakhen pes anθ-äl themenqe rapòrturä kerdine le štar partenerienθar, thaj le themenqe politike si nakhavde anθ-äl štar rapòrturæ politikenqe. Sea le eña rapòrturæ – štar rodimasqe rapòrturæ p-o them, štar rapòrturæ politikenqe thaj kadava kompàraivo stùdiu – keren jekh zuralo instrumentò de anθ-o advocacy te kerel pes jekh maj lači evropnikani politika anθ-o andripen e romenqo, bazutni p-al konkreturä butä thaj sikavdindoj e lače butä arkhle anθ-ël štar thema.

SOCIAL INCLUSION AND DISCRIMINATION OF ROMA IN FOUR EU COUNTRIES

Alexey Pamporov, Petia Kabakchieva

“...our governments will work towards eliminating discrimination and closing the unacceptable gaps between Roma and the rest of society”

2005, Declaration of the Decade of Roma Inclusion

From the quote used as a motto of the current chapter, it seems that the need of social inclusion of Roma population is already a common understanding among the European policymakers. However, the social inclusion is a rather broad concept, which covers the provision of opportunities and resources necessary to secure fully participation in economic, social and cultural life. Social inclusion is reflected in a number of fundamental rights, such as access to education, healthcare, and other social services, non-discrimination (all discussed in this chapter) as well as employment opportunities and decent housing conditions (analysed in the other chapters of the report). The previous surveys on Roma in Europe (Ringold 2000, Ringold 2000, Ivanov 2003, Ivanov 2006, Pamporov 2010), showed that education is the main factor of the social inclusion and all standards of living indicators, as well as value orientations, significantly depend on it.

The data of the “EU INCLUSIVE – data transfer and exchange of good experiences regarding the inclusion of Roma population between Romania, Bulgaria, Italy and Spain” survey indicates that a large proportion of native² Roma population belong to the lowest educational groups in each of the project’s countries. The very thin proportion of people with completed upper secondary or tertiary education is a consequence of the extremely high school dropout rate in a long run among the Roma.

Table 1. Roma populations by level of education³

| | Lower | Middle | Higher |
|-----------------|-------|--------|--------|
| Bulgaria | 88.2% | 11.2% | 0.6% |
| Romania | 83.6% | 15.9% | 0.5% |
| Italy | 94.3% | 5.2% | 0.5% |
| Spain | 90.1% | 8.8% | 1.1% |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

² In this chapter, we define as “native” the interviewees who have the citizenship of the country in which they live at the moment of the research, to distinguish them from Roma “migrants”, who are citizens of other countries.

³ For the sake of the report, as a “lower” education are classified the educational levels 0 to 2 according to ISCED-2011 (International Standard Classification of Education); as a “middle” are classified 3 to 4 ISCED-2011 levels; and as “higher” are classified 5 to 8 ISCED-2011 levels.

Figures are not surprising for Spain, as far as it is one of the countries with the highest early school dropout rate in Europe (Periata & Pastor 2000; Quintini & Martin. 2006; Enguita et al. 2010). It is neither surprising for Bulgaria, where about 75% of the school dropouts use to identify themselves as Roma people (Nonèev & al. 2007). Despite that, the average annual dropout rate in Bulgaria is about 2.5%-3% and it increased significantly after the education reform in 2007, following the closure of the small rural schools (Patrinos 2010). The general trend in Romania has a similar pattern with that of Bulgaria – sharp increase of the early school leavers in the beginning of the transition period (1989-1991), fluctuation around 2% in 1992-2005 and a new increase after 2006 (Andreia & al. 2012). The EU INCLUSIVE survey data does not allow us to estimate the current drop out rates, but it is a good illustration of the difference between the four countries, concerning the school enrolment.

Table 2. Roma illiteracy rate

| | Illiteracy |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| Bulgaria | 12.0% |
| Romania | 25.0% |
| Italy | 15.7% |
| Spain | 8.7% |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

An important aspect that needs to be addressed is the illiteracy rate, the immediate result of school dropout and low level of school enrolment. From the EU-INCLUSIVE data it can be noticed that the highest percentage of Roma (16 year and above) who declared that they do not know to read and write is in Romania, twice than in Bulgaria (also a new EU country) and almost three times higher than in Spain.

Table 3. Proportion of Roma households with at least one child age between 6 and 16 years old who do not attend school

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------|
| Bulgaria | 11.0% |
| Romania | 13.8% |
| Italy | 8.8% |
| Spain | 2.9% |
| Roma migrants in Italy | 11.6% |
| Roma migrants in Spain | 6.6% |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

During the several past years, Spanish policymakers took some obstinate measures to overcome the school failures (Arango & Pastarna 2011), and it was efficient, comparing to the other three countries (see the illiteracy rate in all four countries). The previous surveys in Spain show that family socio-economic status

variables are significant factors in determining the probability of dropping out, and the youth labour market conditions also have an impact on primary school dropout behaviour. The early enrolment in labour activities was the main factor about the higher school dropout for the rural areas (Periata & Pastor 2000). In Italy, for example, the extremely higher dropout rate (about 40%) is observed among the male students of the vocational schools (O'Higgins et al 2008). On the other side, a comparative survey done in the developed countries shows that the cultural specifics and the social context, i.e. high fertility rates and a high degree of social tension in a society, also deter the attending of school (Levy 1971). In fact, while rates of school dropouts vary across the European countries, one thing that does not vary much is the finding that, for individuals, not completing school and failing to gain equivalent education and training qualifications is associated with poorer labour market outcomes. The early school leavers "experience the most difficulty in making the transition from school to productive activities in adulthood"; they also "experience much longer periods where they are neither employed nor in post-school education or training" (Rumberger & Lamb 1998). The main determinant in this case is the cultural capacity of the family of origin: socioeconomic status, family structure and parental education (O'Higgins & al 2008; Lamb & Markussen 2011). However, there is a clear problem with the unfairness of the educational systems in Europe. For example, in most Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries children from poorer homes are between three and four times more likely to be in the lowest scoring group in mathematics at age 15 (Field & al. 2007). Thus a vicious circle exists: the children from poorer families of orientation get lower scoring; the teachers and other students start treating them differently; they get frustrated and afraid of the school and therefore do not want to attend it; they drop out, which decreases their chances on the labour market and they are unemployed for a long period. Establishing their own families, they have lower cultural and economic capital and their children are the new children from poorer families on its turn.

Table 4. Proportion of Roma households with children not attending a school by reason for dropout⁴

| | Bulgaria | Romania | Italy | Spain | Roma migrants in Italy | Roma migrants in Spain |
|--|----------|---------|-------|-------|------------------------|------------------------|
| Lack of money | 61.6% | 58.2% | 0.0% | n.a. | 7.2% | 9.1% |
| They are not interested in school | 20.5% | 0.0% | 27.5% | 43.5% | 17.6% | n.a. |
| Help in housekeeping | 17.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 13.0% | 3.1% | 13.5% |
| They have to work, to make money | 12.5% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 13.0% | 1.0% | 13.0% |
| They do not speak well the official language | 9.8% | 4.1% | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |
| Illness | 8.9% | 0.0% | 2.9% | n.a. | 2.1% | n.a. |
| The teachers treat them badly | 8.0% | 8.2% | n.a. | 4.3% | n.a. | 3.3% |
| Got married/ pregnant | 7.1% | 0.0% | 0.0% | n.a. | 4.1% | n.a. |
| There is no profit in school | 7.1% | 0.0% | n.a. | 4.3% | n.a. | n.a. |
| The school is far away and it is difficult to go there | 6.3% | 2.1% | 1.4% | n.a. | 16.5% | n.a. |
| I am afraid that they will face violence | 3.6% | 2.1% | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |
| They are afraid of their schoolmates | 0.0% | 4.1% | 4.3% | n.a. | 2.1% | n.a. |
| For constant displacement | n.a. | n.a. | 8.7% | n.a. | 5.2% | n.a. |
| Because of tensions with other Roma | n.a. | n.a. | 2.9% | n.a. | 3.1% | n.a. |
| Parents don't want to | n.a. | n.a. | 2.9% | n.a. | 1.0% | n.a. |
| Other | 8.9% | 39.0% | 49.4% | 17.4% | 37.0% | 61.1% |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

The survey data of EU INCLUSIVE shows that the economic difficulties of the household are the main factor for the school dropouts in Bulgaria and Romania. The need of the household to have one more working hand at home or on the labour market ostensibly pops up only in Bulgaria. However, it should be mentioned that there are too many unspecified “other reasons” in the Romanian, Italian and Spanish datasets and it could be expected to have some distributions here, as far as child labour is one of the usual coping strategies of the poorest families (Ravallion & Wodon 2000; Baland & Robinson 2000). Bulgaria is the European country with highest adolescent fertility rates in Europe (Pamporov 2010b). This, combined with the Roma understanding of purity (Gay-Y-Blasco 1997), leads to the fact that at age of 16 about 20% of the Bulgarian Roma live in cohabitation with a partner and at age of 18 the proportion of cohabiting Roma is 50% (Pamporov 2011). Therefore, it is not surprising that about 7% of the Bulgarian Roma households in Bulgaria and about 4% of the Roma migrant households in Italy are dropouts due to an early marriage or a pregnancy. In comparison with the settled and segregated Roma in Bulgaria and Romania, a part of the Roma in Italy are still traveling or are being displaced by the local officials (Sigona 2005, Colacicchi 2008). Therefore in Italy appears that constant displacement is amongst the most significant factors. The limited spatial access to schooling is another

⁴ In Bulgaria and Romania an open-ended question with “any true answer” option was used. In Italy and Spain a free open question was used

source of school dropouts. From the native population perspective, about 6% of the Bulgarian Roma and 16.5% Roma migrants in Italy answer, “The school is far away and it is difficult to go there”. Considering the current educational reforms, it is very suggestive that about 10% of the rural Roma in Bulgaria drop out because it is difficult to reach the school; the rate is two times higher in comparison with the proportion of the urban Roma (5.4%). Unlike Bulgaria, in Romania an inverse relation was observed. About 5.2% of the urban Roma there define the spatial access to the school as too difficult and therefore a reason for dropout. None of the interviewed rural Roma households gave such an answer. It should be noted that Italy offers an interesting case. Concerning the traditional Italian Roma communities, the difficulty to reach the school is a dropout reason for 1.9% of the urban Roma and no reason for the rural Roma⁵. At the same time, it is the main reason for leaving the school for the Roma migrants, living in the rural areas (38.5%), and quite a significant reason for the migrant urban settlers (8,5%). As it was emphasised in the chapters dedicated to housing conditions and migration, the fact that Roma migrants are almost always located in camps situated on the outskirts of the city leads to their segregation and isolation, thus making it very difficult for them to have access to social services, including education.

In fact, the limited access to social services could be a systemic source of social exclusion and discrimination. The human rights monitoring show that the provision of social services to Roma throughout Europe is limited by discrimination (Dobrushi 2007). In the EU-INCLUSIVE survey, there are two indicators of the access to such services: the use of listed number of services and satisfaction of the public service quality. The healthcare is the public service used almost universally by the Roma households. The proportion of healthcare users is highest in Spain and lowest in Bulgaria and this difference is statistically significant. A possible explanation of this difference is the fact that only 46% of Roma in Bulgaria have healthcare insurance, while in Spain all native Roma have a sanitary card and 94.4% of the Roma migrants are insured as well. In Bulgaria the healthcare services are used by 86.3% of the insured and by 77.6% of non-insured. The trend in Italy is very similar – 84.4% of the insured and 75% of non-insured Italian Roma and 89% of the insured and 74.4% of the non-insured Roma migrants. The Roma population with health insurance in Romania is also quite a low proportion (50.7%) but, unlike Bulgaria and Italy, there is no statistically significant difference in use of healthcare services between insured (89%) and non-insured (85%). The other important factor about the use of healthcare services is the place of residence. In that respect Romania differs from Bulgaria, Italy and the migrants to Spain because the proportion of rural Roma using healthcare (89%) is higher in comparison with the proportion of urban Roma (83%). In Bulgaria and Italy, as well as among the migrants in Spain, the proportion of urban Roma households using healthcare services is higher. There is no significant difference in healthcare use by place of residence about the Spanish Roma and migrants to Italy.

⁵ It may be a due to the very narrow sample of rural population (15 respondent), which does not allows statistically significant analysis

Table 5. Proportion of Roma households, which used some of the listed public services in the past 6 months

| | Bulgaria | Romania | Italy | Spain | Roma migrants in Italy | Roma migrants in Spain |
|--|----------|---------|-------|-------|------------------------|------------------------|
| Health services | 81.7% | 87.0% | 86.1% | 97.5% | 82.6% | 83.0% |
| Kindergarten | 14.0% | 3.2% | 27.5% | 6.0% | 19.8% | 12.9% |
| Schools | 46.8% | 51.7% | 52.7% | 55.5% | 55.6% | 59.1% |
| Nursery schools | 2.0% | 1.1% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| Day-care service | 1.8% | 18.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| Care services for people with disabilities | 5.7% | 4.9% | 7.1% | 2.8% | 3.2% | 7.2% |
| Care services for elderly people | 3.5% | 1.3% | 3.0% | 1.9% | 1.2% | 4.4% |
| Job counselling services | 10.1% | 8.3% | 27.6% | 54.3% | 16.3% | 62.3% |
| Reception service | 0.0% | 0.0% | 30.7% | 0.0% | 45.9% | 0.0% |
| Social service | 0.0% | 0.0% | 46.2% | 0.0% | 25.0% | 0.0% |
| Other | 0.0% | 0.0% | 4.3% | 0.0% | 2.5% | 0.0% |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

Note: in each country, according to its specificities, we have added few more answers to the list (eg. Reception service in Italy)

The schools are the second most used public service. Similarly to the healthcare, the proportion of users is lowest in Bulgaria and highest in Spain, and especially among the migrants in Spain. Having the proportion of Roma households with at least one child who does not attend school already discussed above, this difference should be expected. However, both healthcare and schooling services are widely used in all countries, while the use of other services is very indicative about the existing state policies towards Roma. For example, there are job-counselling services in the four project countries, but the proportion of labour mediation users in Spain and especially among the migrants in Spain is significantly higher. Italy offers reception services and special social services aimed both at native and migrant Roma population. Bulgaria and Italy stress the need of kindergartens for Roma children, while Romanian authorities rely on day-care services. The use of kindergarten services is two times higher among migrant Roma in comparison with the native Roma population in Spain.

The subjective evaluation of the quality of services also shows a contrasting situation between Bulgaria and Spain. All types of social services in Spain are evaluated positively both by the native Roma and by the migrants. All types of social services got the lowest score when Bulgaria is concerned. It is well known that Bulgarians are the most grumbling nation and tend to always complain and to notice mainly the negative sides of things (Helliwell et al. 2011). This could be a kind of an explanation or the very low proportion of the positive assessments in Bulgaria. However, it is not a reliable hypothesis as far as about one third of the Roma migrants in the Spanish survey (part of the EU-INCLUSIVE research) are of Bulgarian origin. In fact, the migrants are the best evaluators in such type of surveys because they are able to compare the

social services at the country of origin with those in the host country. In both reception countries, Italy and Spain, the migrants gave significantly higher scores to the social services in comparison with the native Roma, which is an evidence for better services offered to the Roma population in those countries. We have to mention here, that the background regression analysis on the dependence between the quality evaluation and reported discrimination showed negative results ($R^2=0.020$), i.e. the negative evaluation of the services is not due to faced cases of discrimination in the given social systems (discussed further down).

Table 6. Cumulative proportion of Roma households who evaluates positively the listed services

| | Bulgaria | Romania | Italy | Spain | Roma migrants in Italy | Roma migrants in Spain |
|--|----------|---------|-------|-------|------------------------|------------------------|
| Health services | 36.7% | 65.2% | 54.8% | 84.6% | 77.5% | 87.3% |
| Education system | 49.3% | 78.4% | 59.1% | 85.5% | 80.9% | 93.5% |
| Child care services | 20.4% | 65.8% | 28.8% | 85.2% | 59.5% | 95.1% |
| Care services for elderly | 14.8% | 51.5% | 15.3% | 79.7% | 41.7% | 98.6% |
| Care services for people with disabilities | 13.6% | 53.2% | 31.7% | 80.5% | 39.2% | 94.9% |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

Discrimination, if we use the definition of the British sociologist Anthony Giddens, includes: “Activities that deny to the members of a particular group resources or rewards which can be obtained by others. Discrimination has to be distinguished from prejudice, although the two are usually quite closely associated. It can be the case that individuals who are prejudiced against others do not engage in discriminatory practices against them; conversely, people may act in a discriminatory fashion even though they are not prejudiced against those subject to such discrimination.” (Giddens 2003: 590) The discrimination is being related to actions, behaviour, while prejudices are the expression of negative attitudes. This distinction between discrimination and prejudices is controversial, because there are hardly discriminatory practices without prejudices. Legal regulation relates to discrimination - to guaranteeing of equal rights and participation, involving the lack of a discriminating behaviour and, respectively, to sanctioning the discriminating practices. Still, the serious challenge is to overcome existing prejudices which, most times, lead to concealed, un-displayed discriminating practices. This issue is fully applicable in relation to Roma because surveys are showing that wide spread negative attitudes exist against them. But prohibiting discriminatory practices against them is the first step for overcoming prejudices.

The legal anti-discrimination regulations include two main components – on one part, there is the guarantee of rights for all citizens and groups – equality before the law, possibility to participate in all aspects of public

life; on the other part, there is the existence of sanctions in case of non-compliance with these key requirements, as well as prohibiting any discriminatory practices.

The Conclusion of the European Union Council of 24 May 2011 on the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020 starts with the following firm preamble, which clearly shows EU policy for the purpose of guaranteeing rights to all its citizens and anti-discrimination regulations:

“2. ...combating social exclusion, discrimination and inequality is an explicit commitment of the European Union as set out, among others, in Article 3 of the Treaty on European Union, as well as in Articles 9 and 10 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union;

3. Article 19 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union specifically empowers the Council to take appropriate action to combat discrimination based on gender, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, physical or mental disability, age or sexual orientation; the Council has exercised these powers when adopting Directive 2000/43/EC implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin”.

At the same time, European Commission (EC) Communication of 5 April 2011, titled „*An EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020*”⁶, explicitly mentions that “Firstly, Member States must guarantee that Roma are not subjected to discrimination and that their treatment is equal to the treatment of other EU citizens – with equal access to all fundamental rights established by the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union.”

The European Commission Directorate General “Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities” commissioned two surveys about perceptions, experiences and attitudes towards discrimination, carried out by TNC Opinion & Social Network in 2006 and 2008 in the frame of Eurobarometer surveys⁷. The surveys show that discrimination, based on the ethnic origin, is seen as the most widespread form of discrimination in the EU – this is the opinion of 62% of respondents. Something more, this form of discrimination is the only one, which is evaluated as not diminishing from 2006 to 2008. As a whole the average European is comfortable with diversity, with one exception – having Roma neighbours.

In 2008, 15% of the Europeans have felt discriminated against in the previous 12 months. 23% of those Europeans who say that they belong to an ethnic minority share that they had felt discriminated. Comparing the countries included in our survey, the Eurobarometer data from 2008 show that ethnic

⁶ The Commission Communiqué to the European Parliament, Council, European Social and Economic Committee and Committee of the Regions – “EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020” (Report 8727/11).

⁷ Discrimination in the EU: Perceptions, experiences and Attitudes. Report, 2008, www.ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_296_en.pdf

discrimination is considered as widespread by the highest number of respondents in Italy – 76%, followed by Spain – 66 %, then in Romania – 40% and in Bulgaria those who think so are 34%. As these data could be a result of larger sensitiveness towards discrimination because the percentage of positive answers to the questions about actual witnessing of discrimination and experiencing such is quite lower. When asked whether they will feel comfortable having Roma as neighbours, Italians, alongside with Czechs, are those with highest percentage of answers that they will feel uncomfortable – 47 %. Next come Bulgarians with 36% such answers. These results lead us to the hypothesis that we should expect highest level of discrimination against Roma in Italy and in Bulgaria. The 2011 data from “EU-INCLUSIVE” survey confirm this hypothesis.

The “EU-INCLUSIVE” survey was administrated only to self-identified Roma so we can present data only about self-perception of discrimination. Four indicators measured this, three of them similar (but not the same) to those used in the Eurobarometer surveys. Those are: felt discrimination in the last year; the evolution of discrimination (felt discrimination) of Roma community as opposed to ten years ago; the ethnic belonging of one’s close friends; and places where Roma felt discriminated against.

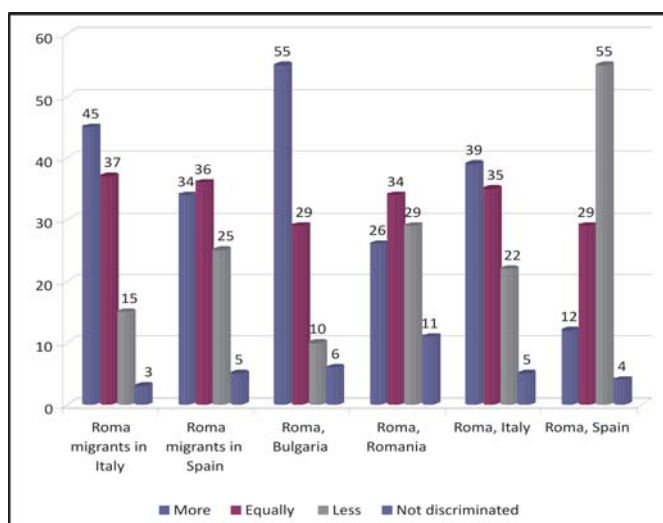
Table 7. Felt discrimination in the last year

| | Roma migrants in Italy | Roma migrants in Spain | Roma, Bulgaria | Roma, Romania | Roma, Italy | Roma, Spain |
|-----------|------------------------|------------------------|----------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|
| No, never | 50.1% | 71.3% | 54.8% | 64.2% | 49.0% | 69.6% |
| Yes | 49.9% | 28.7% | 45.2% | 35.8% | 51,0% | 30.4% |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

From the above table it seems that the most ethnic tolerant (towards Roma) country, according to self-perception of discrimination, turns to be Spain and less tolerant towards Roma is Italy. Nearly half of migrant and native Roma answered that they consider that their community had been discriminated in the last ten years. The data show no difference in the self-perception of discrimination in the group of Roma (migrants and citizens of Italy and Spain), but that could be due to the low number of migrants in our samples. Romanians look more tolerant in comparison to Bulgarians, as it evident from the table. Only 34.4% of Romanian Roma has felt discriminated in the last year; the similar percentage for Bulgarian Roma is 10.6% higher. The answers to this question worry, especially when it comes to see the results for Italy and Bulgaria. But, more alarming are the responses to the next question about the dynamics of discrimination, as perceived by the respondents.

Graph 1. The evolution of discrimination (felt discrimination) of Roma community as opposed to ten years ago (%)



Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

When it comes to respond to this question, more than half of Bulgarian Roma (55%) declared that their communities are more discriminated in the present day than ten years ago. Adding data for “more” with the ones for “equally” it seems that Bulgaria is leading the hierarchy (84%) when it comes to felt discrimination followed by Italy (83% migrant and 74% native Roma). In Spain 70% of migrant Roma feel discrimination, a high percentage compared with native Roma (41%) that consider that their community is more or equally discriminated as opposed to ten years ago. Here, the public policies in combating discrimination seem to pay off for native Roma because more than half (55%) of the sample (representative for Roma, citizens of Spain) declared that they are less discriminated then in 2001. As our data shows Bulgaria and Italy are the counties where discrimination is felt more powerful than in Romania and Spain.

Analysing the percentages responses for the two questions discussed above result that **discrimination is a very serious problem in all these countries, especially in Italy and Bulgaria. Spain is an exception, but this is not the case for migrant Roma: for them discrimination is still present and strongly perceived.** Despite of all the measures taken till present day in all four countries (all full members of EU), Roma still face discrimination, according to the EU-INCLUSIVE data.

Answers to both questions show that **there are small gender differences in self-perception of discrimination. Roma women – both migrant and native,**

feel more discriminated than men in Italy, and this is the case with Roma women in Romania, too. There are no statistically relevant gender differences in Spain, although Roma male migrants there feel more discriminated than the female ones; the situation is similar in Bulgaria. This situation could be explained by the fact that men are more active on the labour market and have more contacts with different categories of people, which raise the probability of being discriminated. In Italy, those whose mother tongue is Romanian, feel more discriminated than those whose mother tongue is Bulgarian. The opposite is the situation in Spain – migrant Bulgarian Roma feel more discriminated than Romanian Roma.

Let us look to the data of the third question, asking about the circle of close friends. A similar question to this one is considered as “an important analytical distinction” for understanding discrimination in the European survey⁸.

Table 8. Your close friends are:

| | Roma migrants in Italy | Roma migrants in Spain | Roma, Bulgaria | Roma, Romania | Roma, Italy | Roma, Spain |
|--|------------------------|------------------------|----------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|
| From my ethnic group only | 21,0% | 15,0% | 37.1% | 23.4% | 9.3% | 7.8% |
| Predominantly from my ethnic group, but also I have friends from ... group | 34.1% | 15.9 % | 17.7% | 36.4% | 31.6% | 31.5% |
| The ethnic group of my friends doesn't matter for me | 43.8% | 64.9% | 41.7% | 36.5% | 58.5% | 59.9% |
| I do not have close friends | 1.1% | 4.2% | 2.7% | 3.7% | 0.6% | 0.7% |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

The most closed group, i.e. those who have only Romani friends, is that of Roma living in Bulgaria, followed by those living in Romania, and migrant Roma in Italy. But when combining the first two options, and taking in mind the third answer, it turns out that there are no substantial differences in the “isolation” of Romanian and Bulgarian Roma (in their home-country, but also in Italy) in their ethnic group. The friends of 57.8% of Romanian Roma are only or predominantly from their ethnic group, while the similar percentage for Bulgarian Roma is 54.8%. **The most “open” group is that of native Roma in Spain (7.8%), which is an indicator for their better integration and probably it is related to the fact that discrimination in Spain may be the lowest, compared to the two other countries.**

⁸ Discrimination in the EU: Perceptions, experiences and Attitudes. Report, 2008², www.ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_296_en.pdf, p.4

Table 9. In which of these situations or places have you felt discriminated against?

| | Roma migrants in Italy | Roma migrants in Spain | Roma, Bulgaria | Roma, Romania | Roma, Italy | Roma, Spain |
|---|------------------------|------------------------|----------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|
| Job interviews | 23.0% | 33.7% | 32.3% | 42.1% | 31.0% | 41.5% |
| Public Employment Service | 5.3% | 14.3% | 22.0% | 23.0% | 10.2% | 27.2% |
| Companies, providing temporary employment | 4.1% | 20.4% | 10.9% | 34.3% | 3.0% | 22.6% |
| Co-workers | 11.9% | 17.3% | 12.5% | 13.6% | 9.9% | 13.8% |
| Bosses or managers | 12.9% | 17.3% | 21.1% | 17.3% | 12.2% | 11.8% |
| Customers or suppliers | 5.3% | 10.2% | 3.5% | 11.0% | 14.0% | 14.5% |
| Fellow students | 9.4% | 6.1% | 2.3% | 10.2% | 14.0% | 15.0% |
| Teachers | 8.6% | 9.2% | 3.9% | 17.0% | 10.7% | 14.1% |
| Staff at health centers, hospitals | 32.9% | 32.7% | 43.1% | 54.2% | 33.8% | 52.1% |
| Staff at social service | 24.1% | 23.5% | 34.7% | 48.7% | 36.8% | 35.5% |
| Police | 56.2% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 62.4% | 0 |
| People from my neighborhood | 56.5% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 51.0% | 0 |
| Other | 1.0% | 35.7% | 12.7% | 14.9% | 2.8% | 37.8% |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

Note: were computed only the answers from subjects whom declared that they felt discriminated in the last year.

In Italy, the two different (response) options included in the list were the most chosen ones both by native and migrant Roma (more than half). The respondents signalled a very important problem (police discrimination) that needs to be addressed with public policies. Putting aside the commented discriminatory practices in Italy, from the table above it is evident that **Roma people are discriminated predominantly in three types of situations: when looking for jobs, at health centres and hospitals, and at social service offices.**

The hierarchy of situations where Romanian and Bulgarian Roma feel discriminated is: health centres and hospitals, social services, and job interviews. In Spain and Italy it is different compared with the two Eastern European countries, but also compared with how things are perceived/felt by native and migrant Roma. Native Roma in Spain feel that they are discriminated in relation with the way staff members of health centres and hospitals behave toward them, during job interviews and when they are dealing with employees of social services. For migrant Roma in Spain the hierarchy is a little bit different: they feel more discriminated during job interviews. Roma in Italy (no matter if they are native or migrant) apart from the two situations mentioned above (in the neighbourhood, and during the encounters with the law enforcement officers) they declared that discrimination happened also in the three situations already discussed for the other countries. Overall, it turns out that **exactly the professionals, called to help others - doctors, social workers, people working at the labour offices, are bearers of discriminatory practices - this finding deserves special attention and focus in integration policies.** Discrimination in school does not look as a serious problem, but in Romania 17% say that they had been discriminated by teachers.

Discrimination in the above described three situations has a clear gender profile. Women feel more discriminated in health centres and hospitals, the highest differences in men's and women's perceptions of discrimination are among migrant Roma in Italy – 22.1% of men complain about discrimination in health care centres, while this percentage among women is 42.1%; next come Roma migrants in Spain – 25.9 % of men and 40.9% of women felt discriminated in that situation; this gender difference, although smaller, is valid for other groups in the four countries. Men feel more discriminated in comparison to women when looking for job, the largest gender difference in that situation is in Romania – 51.8% of men feel discriminated at job interviews, while this percentage among women is 34.9. When asked about social services there is no such large difference in the perception of men and women, anyway the percentage of women who claim that they are discriminated there is a bit larger.

While Romanian and Bulgarian sociological teams used questions only about discrimination in specific situations by specific actors, Italian and Spanish sociologists asked about places, too. Here are the results:

Table 10. Because of your ethnical belonging, during the last 12 months have you experienced felt discriminated?

| | Roma migrants in Italy | Roma migrants to Spain | Roma in Italy | Roma in Spain |
|---|------------------------|------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| while looking for work | 30.1% | 55.1% | 36.3% | 47.9% |
| at the work place | 17.7% | 29.6% | 23.4% | 23.5% |
| at school/ the place of study | 6.6% | 8.2% | 12.4% | 17.1% |
| in public spaces | 61.8% | 57.1% | 69.0% | 49.8% |
| at public services (health centres, unemployment office, social services, etc.) | 44.6% | 40.8% | 46.7% | 58.3% |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

These data reconfirm that there are widespread discriminatory practices. The percentage of Roma people who felt discrimination in public spaces is high especially in Italy – up to 69%. But even in the most ethnic tolerant country, according to the results up to now – Spain, the native Roma who complain from this type of discrimination are nearly 50%, as for migrant Roma this percentage reaches 57. Discrimination in use of public services is perceived by 58.3% native Roma in “tolerant” Spain and 46.7% in Italy. This is in line with the high percentage of Roma people, who felt discrimination in health centres and social services.

Conclusions

The analysis presented in this section shows that, with the exception of native Roma in Spain, the three other native Roma populations indicate a high percentage of children that do not attend school⁹. The non-enrolment of migrant Roma in Spain is two times higher in comparison with native Roma, but twice lower compared with the non-enrolment in their countries of origin – Bulgaria and Romania. For the two Eastern European countries the main reason for not attending school is the lack of money (economic difficulties), which means that poverty is easily replicated for these families.

The healthcare and education are the public services most used by Roma in all four countries, both extremely important in the process of social inclusion. In Spain, another important service mentioned both by native and migrant Roma is the one that provides job counselling, another excellent instrument for integration on labour market with important effects on social inclusion. Also in Spain, the quality of all public services is evaluated positively, by both native and migrant Roma, a situation opposite to the one in Bulgaria where the evaluations were mostly negative.

When it comes to discrimination the conclusions are very simple to make. Roma are still facing discrimination in many areas of their social life, areas very important for their social inclusion (health centres, social services and job interviews). Spain seems the most ethnically tolerant country, but this is valid mostly for native Roma and not for migrant ones. Italy followed by Bulgaria are the countries where native and migrant Roma feel more discriminated compared with the other two countries from our project.

In sum, all these conclusions could be regarded as a serious challenge in front of policy makers, who should elaborate more practically oriented anti-discriminatory policies, defending general principles and at the same time focusing on the specific problems and profiles in the four countries.

⁹ The survey tool does not allow to be made a distinction between children who have been enrolled once but drop out and children that have never attended school.

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THE ROMA POPULATION AND THE LABOUR MARKET

*Fundación Secretariado Gitano
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Roma Employment: Entering the labour market

This chapter presents the main labour market indicators and compares the results obtained from the Roma population surveys in each of the four countries that participated in this study and its aggregate statistics with the corresponding figures for the 27 countries that comprise the European Union (EU-27). As can be seen in the tables and graphs included in this chapter, the results from the surveys of each of the countries (Bulgaria, Romania, Italy and Spain) have been presented, as well as the aggregate results of the four countries which appear in the category titled “Roma Europe”¹⁰.

Similarly, this comparative analysis only includes the survey results of the native¹¹ Roma population, thus the survey results of migrant Roma population interviewed in Spain and Italy have been excluded. The reason why these results have not been included lies in the particular idiosyncrasy of this migrant population as, from a sociological standpoint, they share common characteristics detailed in the corresponding chapter. This analysis therefore, only takes native Roma into consideration in order to allow for a better understanding of the data as it compares to the set of EU-27 countries. The figures¹² that are herein displayed have been prepared for the entire set of EU-27 countries and have been taken from the “*Labour Force Survey*” (Eurostat) of the second quarter of 2011. In this regard it is noteworthy to mention that while Eurostat considers that anyone 15 years of age or older is a part of the working age population, the survey conducted with the Roma has focused on people 16 years of age and older. We consider that this methodological difference ought to be mentioned, although practically speaking, it has null influence on the analysis.

After highlighting these methodological observations, below we show the demographic structure of the population who is of legal age to work according to the economic activity that is carried out. As can be seen in the

¹⁰ “Roma Europe” is the term used by the author of this chapter in order to present the statistical aggregation of the data from all four database that resulted after using the same questionnaire to four representative sample for Roma, citizens of the four countries, but not including migrants (see the Methodology).

¹¹ In this chapter, we define as “native” the interviewees who have the citizenship of the country in which they live at the moment of the research, to distinguish them from “migrants” Roma, who are citizens of other countries.

¹² For the description of the technical concepts used in this chapter, please see the Glossary at the end.

following table, the weight of the economically dependent population, that is to say those who are unemployed and inactive is much higher among the Roma than in European population as a whole (that is to say, EU-27). Therefore, while 62.6% of Roma people in Europe ages 16 years of age and older do not work, that figure is 42.7% in the whole of EU-27 countries, thus the difference between the two is nearly 20 percentage points. In other words, the accumulated employment rate of Roma population in the four countries analysed is 37.4% and for EU-27 countries the indicator is 57.3%. However this varies from country to country. Two trends stand out among the Roma population: the first trend presents high employment rates in Spain (43.8%) and Italy (37.8%), and the other trend presents lower employment rates in Bulgaria (30.9%) and Romania (36.3%). In sum, the weight of the employed population in the Roma demographic structure is relatively low and it is far behind the corresponding figure for the whole of EU-27 countries. The European Roma population, therefore, need compensation and social protection mechanisms in order to avoid burdening a small proportion of their population with the economic sustenance of them all.

But if there is one thing that sets the Roma population of Europe apart it is the weight of its economic activity, that is to say, the proportion of those employed and unemployed compared to the entire population of working age. The rate of economic activity among the Roma is 8.2 points higher than the corresponding figure for EU-27 countries, that is 70.7% compared to 62.5%. This distinction is capital and it reflects a population that, proportionally speaking, provides a higher number of active persons to the economy. This rate of economic activity is reflected in the four countries analysed, where Bulgaria with a 74.8% stands out as the highest, and Italy, with 60.2% has the lowest rate. Except for the Italian indicator, all of these indicators surpass the 62.5% rate of the whole of EU-27 countries.

Table 1. Percentage distribution by labour status and main labour market indicators

| | Roma, Bulgaria | Roma, Romania | Roma, Italy | Roma, Spain | Roma, Europe | EU-27 |
|-----------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------|-------------|-----------------|------------|
| Labour status. | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Employed | 30.9 | 36.3 | 37.8 | 43.8 | 37.4 | 57.3 |
| Unemployed | 43.9 | 34.3 | 22.5 | 25.1 | 33.3 | 5.2 |
| Inactive | 25.2 | 29.4 | 39.8 | 31.1 | 29.3 | 37.5 |
| Indicators | | | | | | |
| Activity rate | 74.8 | 70.6 | 60.2 | 68.9 | 70.7 | 62.5 |
| Employment rate | 30.9 | 36.3 | 37.8 | 43.8 | 37.4 | 57.3 |
| Unemployment rate | 58.7 | 48.6 | 37.3 | 36.4 | 47.1 | 8.3 |

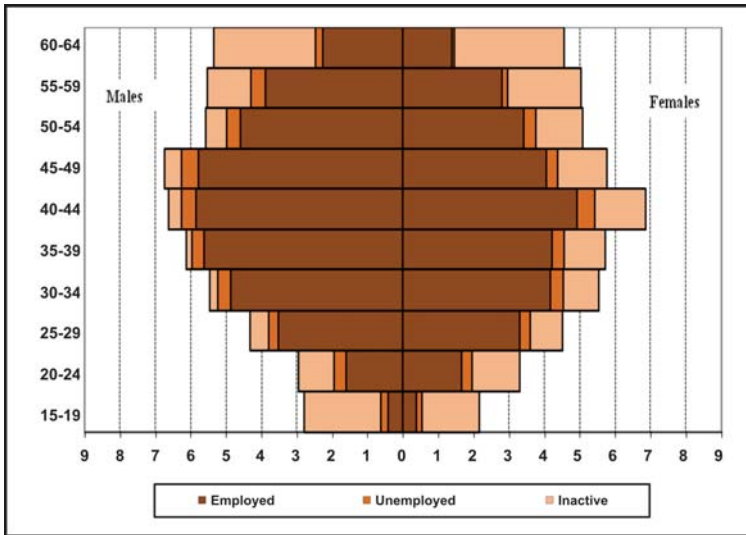
Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

Another noteworthy aspect to highlight is the exceedingly high rate of unemployment among the European Roma population, with an unemployment rate of 47.1% compared to the 8.3% rate of unemployment for the whole of EU-27 countries that is nearly 40 points different. In fact, the unemployment rates of the four countries are especially high (for Roma, citizens of these four countries), most notably so Bulgaria with a 58.7% rate followed by Romania with a 48.6% rate. Italy's 37.3% rate and Spain's 36.4% rate are far behind but still quite high. Thus, the low level of employment in the Roma demographic structure is not due to a high proportion of inactive population, but rather a high rate of unemployment. In fact, as we will see below, this phenomenon is especially critical as we are dealing with a population that is much younger than the whole of EU-27 countries.

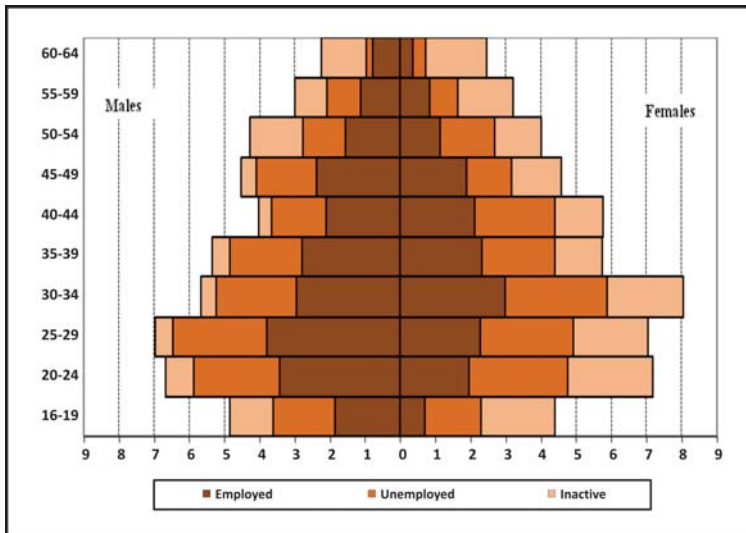
The graphs below display pyramids of working age population, for both Roma as well as EU-27 countries. As can be observed, there are significant differences in the age groups. The EU-27 pyramid has a narrow base (the group of 15 to 19 years of age) where a noteworthy number of them are inactive as regards work. There are three notable peaks in activity (employment and unemployment): one in the 20 to 24 age group, another in the 25 to 29 age group, and another in the 30 to 34 age group. This indicates that in the whole of EU-27 countries, people gradually enter the labour market between 20 and 34 years of age. This step is preceded by a period of education and training which will allow them to have greater opportunities both of entering the labour market as well as having qualified jobs. The greatest volume of active persons is concentrated between 30 to 59 years of age. Employment prevails over unemployment and inactivity in all of the age groups included in this interval, as it is precisely this interval where people carry out their professional life. Economic inactivity prevails once again starting at 60 years of age due to the end of the professional career and the beginning of retirement. If we look at sex, there is a similar description both for men as well as women. We must highlight, however, that work inactivity is higher among women.

In contrast, the Roma population does not follow the patterns described above. The graph reveals that a high volume of persons enters the labour market at a very young age, therefore the base of the pyramid is wide (the 16 to 19 age group), especially among men, and this is maintained in age groups older than the ones observed for the whole of the European Union. It can be attested, therefore, that the working life of the Roma population is wider as it begins at 16 years of age and ends approximately at 60-64 years of age. As regards gender, the Roma display a trend similar to the whole of EU-27 countries as the activity rates are also lower among women.

Graph 1. Population pyramids by labour status
A) EU- 27 Countries



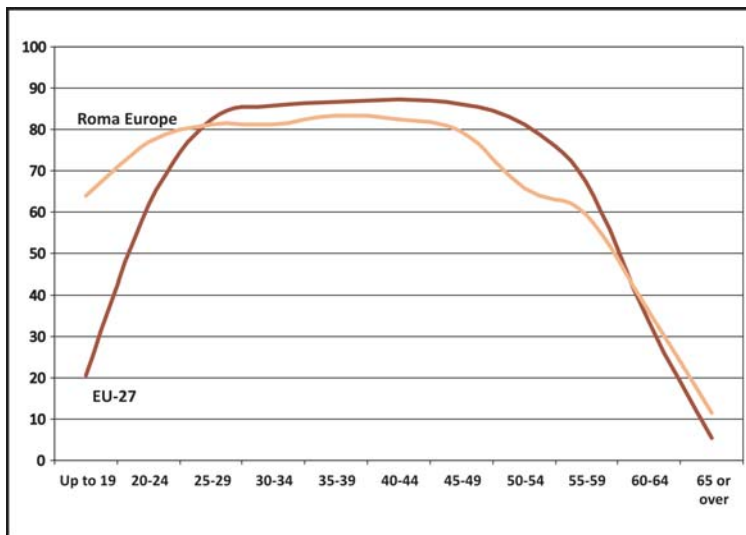
B) Roma Population



What was described above is clearly seen in the rates of activity, which display the rates of activity by age groups. For the whole of EU-27 countries this indicator sharply increases between 16 and 25 years of age, and the highest rates are found in the 25 - 29 age group (82.5%) and the 45-49 age group (86.2%). They gradually descend in the age groups that follow. The activity rates of the European Roma

population, however, display a very different employment curve. In 19 and under age group the activity rate is 64% and it grows gradually until reaching 81% for the 25 to 29 age group. Thus, for the Roma the activity rate between 19 and 24 years of age is higher than for the rest of the EU, whereas this indicator is higher in EU-27 countries between 25 and 59 years of age. The EU-27 indicator once again drops below the Roma activity indicator in the last segment of a person’s career, that is, as of 60 years of age. The Roma activity rate is lower precisely in the part of life that is most geared toward employment and work activity.

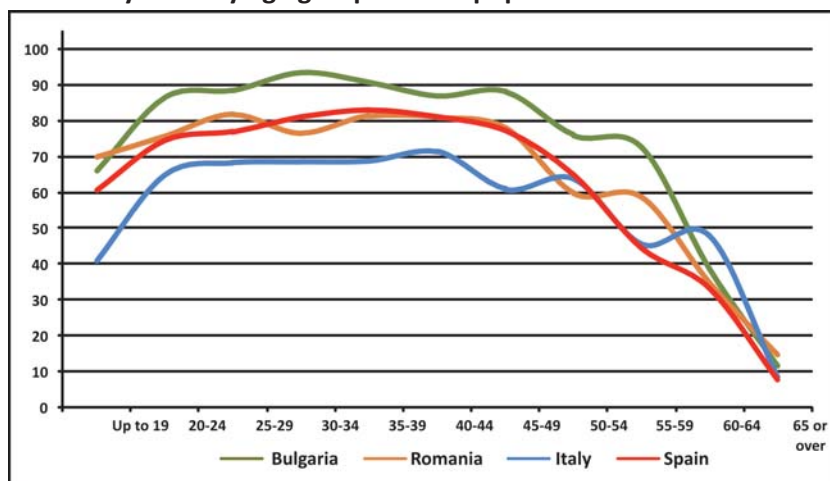
Graph 2. Activity rates by age groups. Roma population and EU- 27 Countries



Therefore the employment span of the Roma population is longer than the one observed in EU-27 countries, approximately 10 years longer, because they enter the labour market sooner. That is to say, while the Roma tend to enter the labour market at 16 years of age, the whole of the European Union does so at approximately 25 years of age, and both conclude their work activities at approximately 60 years of age. This prolonged employment span among the Roma is heightened if we consider that we are talking about a much younger population than the whole of EU-27 countries, therefore they spend a greater part of their lifetime working. This is a recurring phenomenon in the four countries where the survey was carried out. Their activity rates are very high starting at 16 years of age, around 60-70%. Similarly, and as can be seen in the graph, there are differences as regards work activity. Bulgaria has high activity rates in the central age groups of the employment span, surpassing 90% and are therefore higher than the rate for the whole of EU-27 countries. Italy has the lowest activity rate. The Italian indicator grows between 16 and 24 years of age (from 40% to 65%) and stays stable until 50 years of age and

then descends as age increases. The employment span of both Spain and Romania are similar in the central age groups and are characterised by being lower the EU-27 average. In effect, in EU-27 countries the activity rate for those 25 to 54 years of age is 85% and is surpassed by Bulgaria's rate of 87.6%. The Spanish activity rate for that same age group is 78.1%; the Romanian is 77.2% and the Italian, 67.6%.

Graph 3. Activity rates by age groups. Roma population



The gender perspective clarifies the analysis of employment in the Roma population. The activity rate of women is lower than the rate of men in each of the countries. The lower rate of female employment follows the gender dynamic observed in the whole of the European Union. The difference between EU-27 countries and the Roma population lies in the gender gap found in both. Whereas the male activity rate in the whole of the European Union is 10.6 points higher than the female rate, in the Roma population this gap is 16.7 points. Not all countries present the same rates however. Bulgaria behaves similarly as regards the gender difference as the male rate is 8.7 points higher than the female one. On the contrary, the greatest differences are found in the other three countries. In Romania the gender difference is 16.6 points, in Spain it is 22.1 points and in Italy it is 33 points.

Another distinctive gender element of the Roma population is that there is a greater difference in the activity rate of the youngest age group. Whereas in the whole of the EU-27 countries the gender gap in the 16 to 24 age group is 5.9 points (45.2% of men as opposed to 39.3% of women), in the Roma population this difference reaches 21.5 points. Therefore, while the gender gap in employment is reduced in the youth of EU-27 countries (falling from 10.6 for all groups to 5.9 for the youngest age group), this dynamic is not

true of the Roma population, where the gender gap is maintained. That is to say, in the youngest age group there is a low employment rate because there is a higher degree of investment in educational preparation and training to subsequently enter the labour market. Among the Roma population, however, there is an evident gender separation. Men enter the labour market at a young age therefore they are unable to pursue higher studies and therefore greater preparation and professional qualification. Young Roma women that do not pursue work (inactive) do not pursue a greater preparation either as they mostly direct their efforts to activities in the home and in the domestic sphere.

Table 2. Activity rates by sex and age groups. Roma population and EU- 27 Countries

| | Roma, Bulgaria | Roma, Romania | Roma, Italy | Roma, Spain | Roma, Europe | EU-27 |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------|
| Both sexes | 74.9 | 70.6 | 60.2 | 68.9 | 70.7 | 62.5 |
| 24 and under | 80.2 | 73.5 | 54.9 | 68.1 | 71.8 | 42.3 |
| 25-54 | 87.6 | 77.2 | 67.6 | 78.1 | 79.5 | 85.0 |
| 55 and over | 39.5 | 37.4 | 37.2 | 26.9 | 35.5 | 29.3 |
| Males | 79.9 | 79.2 | 75.8 | 80.0 | 79.5 | 67.6 |
| 24 and under | 92.9 | 82.4 | 69.0 | 81.1 | 82.5 | 45.2 |
| 25-54 | 90.6 | 85.5 | 84.8 | 89.6 | 87.8 | 91.6 |
| 55 and over | 45.6 | 46.1 | 49.0 | 34.7 | 42.9 | 33.7 |
| Females | 71.2 | 62.6 | 42.8 | 57.9 | 62.8 | 57.0 |
| 24 and under | 72.1 | 64.0 | 38.7 | 53.6 | 61.0 | 39.3 |
| 25-54 | 85.3 | 69.8 | 48.6 | 67.4 | 72.2 | 78.4 |
| 55 and over | 34.7 | 29.9 | 23.3 | 19.6 | 29.0 | 24.3 |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

In order to account for the foregoing we will analyse the situations of inactivity among Roma youth. Out of the population of inactive male youth there is a significant percentage involved in domestic activities (22.2%) and there's a high rate of students (51.4%). On the other hand there is a higher rate of inactive female youth in Roma communities that work inside the home (72,2%) and a smaller rate that study (19.1%). This phenomenon that is specific to the Roma population can be observed in all four countries. Bulgaria is one of the countries with the largest gender gap as regards activity rate, passing from a difference of 8.7 points in the global comparison to a difference of 20.8 points among the youth. The same situation that is true generally is true here: 60% of male Roma youth study while 74.2% of women work in the home. We find an identical situation in Romania where 60% of inactive male youth are students and 74.4% of inactive female youth work in the home. In Italy 60.9% of men under 24 years of age are students whereas 80.4% of inactive female youth are occupied in domestic activities. In Spain

the rates are 42.1% and 69.6% respectively, although it is true that in this country the weight that students have among inactive female youth is also significant as it reaches 30.4%.

Table 3. Inactive population. Reasons for inactivity. Roma population.

| | Up to 24 | | 25 – 54 | | 55 and over | | Total (T) | | |
|--|----------|------|---------|------|-------------|------|-----------|------|------|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | T |
| Student (formal studies) | 51.4 | 19.1 | 3.3 | 1.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 10.7 | 4.9 | 6.8 |
| Received pension or early retirement income | 1.3 | 0.0 | 15.0 | 4.1 | 60.5 | 48.0 | 33.4 | 17.2 | 22.5 |
| Taking care of the home | 22.2 | 72.2 | 25.1 | 82.7 | 13.9 | 36.7 | 19.4 | 65.7 | 50.5 |
| Permanently disabled | 2.3 | 2.5 | 23.8 | 6.5 | 23.3 | 21.0 | 19.5 | 10.3 | 13.3 |
| Recipient of minimum income or similar scheme | 3.5 | 8.0 | 20.5 | 13.2 | 5.7 | 8.7 | 10.5 | 10.6 | 10.6 |
| Recipient of a pension other than retirement, early retirement or minimum income | 0.0 | 3.4 | 11.7 | 3.6 | 11.7 | 6.6 | 9.5 | 4.5 | 6.2 |
| Non-remunerated social work or other non-profit activity | 0.0 | 1.0 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 0.7 | 0.2 | 0.4 |
| Other | 27.6 | 9.8 | 12.8 | 7.0 | 4.9 | 5.0 | 11.9 | 7.0 | 8.6 |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

Thus far we have highlighted the employment span of the Roma population as it enters the labour market and specified the most important differences as compared to the trends of the whole of EU-27 countries, as well as the causes for inactivity. To finish this section active population profile is included below. As can be observed below, men have a bigger weight, both for the whole of the Roma population, as well as for the EU-27 population. In effect, 53.3% of the Roma activity is masculine, a similar rate to the 55.9% for the whole of the EU-27 population. Spain also displays a smaller proportion of active women (46.9%), as do Romania (46%), and Italy (33.5%). Bulgaria has the highest rate where 54.7% of activity is female. But if there is one differentiating factor among the Roma community it is precisely the structure of ages, as the active population is significantly younger than the EU-27 population. The weight of persons under 24 years of age is 22% for the Roma population, 15.4 points more than the 6.6% for the whole of the Union. This is a recurring situation in the four countries that have been surveyed, especially in Italy (27.1%) and Spain (25.8%), where youth have a greater weight, while in Romania and Bulgaria they are not that far apart (21.6% and 17.8% respectively).

Table 4. Distribution of active population by sex and age groups

| | Roma, Bulgaria | Roma, Romania | Roma, Italy | Roma, Spain | Roma, Europe | EU-27 |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|------------|
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Males | 45.3 | 54.0 | 66.5 | 57.8 | 53.3 | 55.9 |
| Females | 54.7 | 46.0 | 33.5 | 42.2 | 46.7 | 44.1 |
| Both sexes | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 24 and under | 17.8 | 21.6 | 27.1 | 25.8 | 22.0 | 6.6 |
| 25-54 | 69.6 | 70.6 | 65.6 | 69.2 | 69.8 | 77.1 |
| 55 or over | 12.6 | 7.8 | 7.3 | 5.0 | 8.1 | 16.2 |
| Males | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 24 and under | 17.6 | 23.2 | 27.3 | 28.0 | 23.7 | 5.4 |
| 25-54 | 68.3 | 68.5 | 64.9 | 66.3 | 67.7 | 28.0 |
| 55 or over | 14.1 | 8.3 | 7.8 | 5.7 | 8.6 | 66.7 |
| Females | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 24 and under | 17.8 | 19.7 | 26.7 | 22.7 | 20.1 | 7.4 |
| 25-54 | 70.8 | 73.1 | 67.1 | 73.0 | 72.3 | 78.2 |
| 55 or over | 11.4 | 7.2 | 6.2 | 4.3 | 7.6 | 14.4 |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

In summary, two distinctive features characterise Roma employment. Firstly, it is a population that enters the labour market as soon as it is of legal age to work (in some cases even before having the legally established age). This early entry into the labour market implies a lower level of education, as will be demonstrated below. Secondly, there is a significant gender gap among Roma youth. It may lead us to think that inactive Roma youth may be dedicating their time and effort to increasing their level of education but that is not the case. On the contrary, we observe a clear gender role distinction in families having young members that are in working age and they are however, inactive. While male youth typically dedicate their time to studying and therefore improving their future position in the labour market, inactive female youth direct their daily efforts to domestic affairs.

A Determining Factor: Preparation to Access Employment Opportunities

As previously mentioned, one of the determining and distinctive attributes of Roma population is its youth, which helps to explain some patterns as regards employment. Another determining factor is the low level of education. As can be observed in the following table, 94.1% of Roma people 16 years of age and older have attained a maximum level of primary education. This figure stands in stark contrast to the 32.8% for EU-27 countries. In other words, while 5.9% of the Roma population in working age has attained secondary or higher education, for the whole of EU-27 countries that figure reaches 67.2%. This situation is replicated in active persons, employed persons, and inactive persons. Among the active

population, 6.1% of the Roma community has attained secondary or higher education, a rate very inferior to the 77% of the EU-27 community. As regards employed population the figures are 7.9% and 78.6% respectively, and for inactive population it is 5.6% and 49.6%. This scarce preparation in the whole of the Roma population is characteristically repeated in the four countries analysed. As can be observed in the table below, in each of the countries the percentage of people whose maximum level of education is primary exceeds 90%, both in the entire population aged 16 years and older as well as in active, employed, and inactive persons.

Table 5. Distribution by highest level of education¹³

| | Roma, Bulgaria | Roma, Romania | Roma, Italy | Roma, Spain | Roma, Europe | EU- 27 |
|---|-------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|------------|
| 16 years and over | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Pre-primary, primary and lower secondary education | 96.2 | 95.9 | 94.2 | 90.0 | 94.1 | 32.8 |
| Upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education | 3.2 | 3.4 | 5.3 | 7.4 | 4.7 | 44.9 |
| First and second stage of tertiary education | 0.6 | 0.7 | 0.5 | 2.6 | 1.2 | 22.3 |
| Active | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Pre-primary, primary and lower secondary education | 95.5 | 95.5 | 92.3 | 90.7 | 93.9 | 23.1 |
| Upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education | 3.8 | 3.9 | 6.9 | 6.8 | 4.8 | 48.5 |
| First and second stage of tertiary education | 0.7 | 0.6 | 0.8 | 2.5 | 1.3 | 28.4 |
| Employed | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Pre-primary, primary and lower secondary education | 92.5 | 93.8 | 91.0 | 90.0 | 92.1 | 21.4 |
| Upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education | 6.0 | 5.2 | 7.7 | 7.0 | 6.1 | 48.9 |
| First and second stage of tertiary education | 1.5 | 1.0 | 1.3 | 3.0 | 1.8 | 29.7 |
| Inactive | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Pre-primary, primary and lower secondary education | 98.5 | 96.6 | 97.2 | 88.4 | 94.4 | 50.4 |
| Upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education | 1.5 | 2.5 | 2.8 | 9.0 | 4.4 | 38.4 |
| First and second stage of tertiary education | 0.0 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 2.6 | 1.2 | 11.2 |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

The scarce level of education is another distinctive factor of the Roma population and the most determining factor as regards employment. By fully entering the labour market at a young age, the Roma population no doubt is prevented from improving its education and training, which would later lead to a qualified position. On the contrary, the Roma population is constituted as an unqualified work force and is located in the weakest and most fragile segment of the labour market, a segment that more intensely suffers the effects of the crisis and therefore obtains the more unstable positions.

¹³ Pre-primary, primary and lower secondary education (levels 0-2): Bulgaria is none, initial, primary and secondary. Romania is: none, incomplete primary school, complete primary school and incomplete high school. Italy is: none, elementary degree, middle school degree and high school degree. Spain is: none, incomplete primary school, complete primary school, and incomplete high school.

Upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education (levels 3 and 4): Bulgaria is: secondary vocational technical and secondary specialized. Romania is complete high school/secondary school. Italy is professional degree and high school degree. Spain is complete secondary school.

First and second stage of tertiary education (levels 5 and 6): Bulgaria is: higher professional college and higher bachelor. Romania is: additional vocational school or apprenticeship. Italy is: graduation (bachelor degree, master or PhD). Spain is: higher level training cycle, university diploma, and university degree and university doctorate.

Roma Employment: Labour Instability and Fragility

As in EU-27 countries, the internal composition of Roma employment is characterized by a greater weight among men. This has been observed in the four countries analysed, although there are differences among them. Thus, while 56.1% of employment in EU-27 countries is masculine, for the whole of the Roma population the figure is 57.9%. Italy is the country where employment is most masculinised (78.7%), followed by Romania (60.4%), Spain (56%) and Bulgaria (52.4%). If we look at age we find that the employed Roma population is much younger than the one for the whole of the European Union, as has already been mentioned in the analysis of employment activities. While 5.2% of the employment in EU-27 countries is occupied by youth less than 24 years of age, in the Roma community the rate is 19.9%.

Table 6. Distribution of employed population by sex and age groups.

| | Roma, Bulgaria | Roma, Romania | Roma, Italy | Roma, Spain | Roma, Europe | EU-27 |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|------------|
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Males | 52.4 | 60.4 | 78.7 | 56.0 | 57.9 | 56.1 |
| Females | 47.6 | 39.6 | 21.3 | 44.0 | 42.1 | 43.9 |
| Both sexes | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 24 and under | 16.5 | 17.7 | 23.3 | 24.1 | 19.9 | 5.8 |
| 25-54 | 72.1 | 72.1 | 69.4 | 69.2 | 71.0 | 77.7 |
| 55 or over | 11.4 | 10.2 | 7.3 | 6.7 | 9.1 | 16.5 |
| Males | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 24 and under | 18.5 | 21.0 | 23.2 | 27.5 | 22.9 | 5.2 |
| 25-54 | 68.6 | 68.7 | 69.2 | 65.2 | 67.6 | 77.2 |
| 55 or over | 12.9 | 10.3 | 7.6 | 7.3 | 9.5 | 17.6 |
| Females | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 24 and under | 14.2 | 12.5 | 23.4 | 19.7 | 15.8 | 6.7 |
| 25-54 | 75.9 | 77.4 | 70.3 | 74.0 | 75.7 | 78.3 |
| 55 and over | 9.9 | 10.1 | 6.3 | 6.3 | 8.5 | 15.0 |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

As regards employment rates, that is to say, the proportion of persons who have an occupation compared to the total population that is of working age, we have detected inequalities between the Roma population and the whole of the EU-27 countries, where the employment rate for the Roma population is 19.9 points below. Once again, we discover differences between the countries analysed. The highest employment rate is found in Spain with 43.8%, followed by Italy with 37.8%, and further behind we find 36.3% for Romania and 31.1% for Bulgaria.

But the differentiating factor between the Roma population and the whole of the EU-27 countries is the difference in the gender comparative

analysis. The nearly 20-point difference in the global rate of employment is reduced to 16.4 points for men and grows to 22.2 in the case of women. Similarly, there are further gender differences in the four countries. The greatest difference in employment between men and women is found in Italy, with a difference of 39.3 percentage points. The figures are more or less similar in the rest of the countries: 17.9 points in Romania, 12.9 points in Bulgaria, leaving Spain with the smallest difference: 10.9 points.

Table 7. Employment rates by sex and age

| | Roma, Bulgaria | Roma, Romania | Roma, Italy | Roma, Spain | Roma, Europe | EU-27 |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------|
| Both sexes | 31.1 | 36.3 | 37.8 | 43.8 | 37.4 | 57.3 |
| 24 and under | 30.9 | 30.9 | 29.5 | 40.6 | 34.4 | 33.6 |
| 25-54 | 37.6 | 40.6 | 44.8 | 49.6 | 42.8 | 77.9 |
| 55 and over | 14.9 | 25.2 | 23.4 | 22.8 | 21.0 | 27.2 |
| Males | 38.5 | 45.6 | 56.3 | 49.3 | 45.8 | 62.2 |
| 24 and under | 47.1 | 42.9 | 43.7 | 49.0 | 45.9 | 35.6 |
| 25-54 | 43.9 | 49.4 | 67.2 | 54.3 | 50.5 | 84.1 |
| 55 and over | 20.2 | 32.9 | 35.3 | 27.6 | 27.3 | 30.8 |
| Females | 25.7 | 27.7 | 17.0 | 38.4 | 29.9 | 52.1 |
| 24 and under | 20.7 | 18.0 | 13.5 | 31.1 | 22.9 | 31.4 |
| 25-54 | 33.0 | 32.6 | 20.3 | 45.2 | 36.0 | 71.7 |
| 55 and over | 10.9 | 18.4 | 9.3 | 18.6 | 15.4 | 23.0 |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

After describing the demographic structure of Roma occupation and its employment rates, we proceed to display in the following tables the employment characteristics as regards the work situation, type of workday, temporary nature, and economic activity that most employed Roma persons engage in. With this information we hope to demonstrate that the Roma population works in the labour market's weakest and most fragile segment.

Beginning with the work situation, the first thing that stands out is the overwhelming difference that exists with EU-27 countries as regards the proportion of salaried employees (rate of salaried employment). This indicator is much lower for the Roma population, and consequently there is an impact in the degree of social protection and the quality of employment it enjoys. While 83.3% of occupation in the European Union is salaried employment, for the Roma community this figure drops to 40.6%, 42.7 percentage points less. This phenomenon occurs in both men (with a difference of 43.3 points) and women (with a difference of 41.3 points). There are further differences in each of the four countries analysed. The highest rate of salaried employment is found in Bulgaria with a 77.2%, followed far by Italy with a 41.3%, Spain with a 38.4% and Bulgaria with a 24.1%.

Table 8. Percentage distribution of employed population by sex and professional status

| | Roma, Bulgaria | Roma, Romania | Rom, Italy | Roma, Spain | Roma, Europe | EU-27 |
|---|-------------------|------------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|------------|
| Both sexes | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Employees | 77.2 | 24.1 | 41.3 | 38.4 | 40.6 | 83.3 |
| Self-employed persons with employees | 2.4 | 1.3 | 5.5 | 0.3 | 1.3 | 4.4 |
| Self-employed persons without employees | 14.4 | 55.3 | 17.3 | 35.2 | 38.4 | 10.7 |
| Collaborators in the economic activity of the family unit | 4.2 | 2.4 | 6.3 | 26.0 | 11.7 | 1.6 |
| Other | 1.8 | 16.7 | 29.7 | 0.1 | 8.0 | -- |
| Males | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Employees rate | 73.1 | 23.3 | 37.0 | 33.5 | 36.5 | 79.7 |
| Self-employed persons with employees | 3.4 | 1.2 | 6.0 | 0.3 | 1.6 | 6.1 |
| Self-employed persons without employees | 18.3 | 58.2 | 20.4 | 43.1 | 43.8 | 13.2 |
| Collaborators in the economic activity of the family unit rates | 3.4 | 2.2 | 6.0 | 22.9 | 10.0 | 1.0 |
| Other | 1.8 | 15.1 | 30.6 | 0.2 | 8.1 | -- |
| Females | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Employees rate | 81.8 | 25.5 | 58.2 | 44.5 | 46.3 | 87.6 |
| Self-employed persons with employees | 1.3 | 1.4 | 3.6 | 0.3 | 1.0 | 2.4 |
| Self-employed persons without employees | 10.1 | 51.0 | 5.5 | 25.2 | 30.7 | 7.8 |
| Collaborators in the economic activity of the family unit rates | 5.0 | 2.8 | 7.3 | 30.0 | 14.1 | 2.2 |
| Other | 1.8 | 19.3 | 25.4 | 0.0 | 7.9 | -- |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

In this sense, another matter that defines Roma employment is their professional situation as self-employed workers¹⁴ (that have no salaried employees), observing that 38.4% of the employment works in this professional

¹⁴ The concept of self-employment is different in the four countries (in Spain self-employed workers work without a contract but under a regular situation - they pay different types of taxes). In the case of Romania and Bulgaria those people declared as self-employed can actually work without a legal contract. Due to this variety in definitions, the analysis of this data should be conducted with special attention to the specificities of each country.

situation (27.7 points more than the 10.7% of EU-27 countries). Romania has the greatest number of self-employed workers, with a 55.4%, followed by Spain with a 35.2%, leaving Italy, with 17.3%, and Bulgaria with 14.4%, behind. Similarly, it is striking to observe the overwhelming weight that collaborators in the economic activity of the family unit have in Spain, with a 26% of employment, thus becoming a distinctive attribute to this country as the rest of the countries have lower figures (6% in Italy, 4.2% in Bulgaria and 2.4% in Romania). And we must not forget the high percentage of Roma persons who work in “other situations”, especially the 16.7% in Romania and especially the 29.5% in Italy, a category in which situations of extreme labour irregularity could be concealed. As regards the gender, the analysis described for the whole set of countries repeats itself; that is to say, a smaller rate of salaried workers than the one identified for EU-27 countries, and an important weight of persons that work as self-employed workers and have no salaried employees. In addition, self-employment among the European Roma population is higher among men (43.8%) than women (30.7%). This distinction can be observed in each of the countries analysed especially in Italy, where 20.4% of male employment is self-employment as opposed to 5.5% for women (a difference of 14.9 points), and in Spain the figures are 43.1% and 25.2% respectively (a difference of 1.9 points). These differences persist in Bulgaria and Romania although they are not as sharp as the former has a difference of 8.2 points and the latter, 7.2 points.

Roma employment is therefore inserted in one of the labour market's most fragile segments that have a smaller allotment of labour rights, that is to say self-employed workers that have no salaried employees. In Bulgaria, however, this phenomenon is less evident thanks to the enormous weight of salaried employees, which is therefore positive as regards labour rights. It is also true that self-employment is less visible in Spain and however in this country the Roma community is in an even more fragile situation due to the weight that collaborators in the economic activity of the family unit have in Roma economies, where labour is closely linked to the family, and therefore there is an evident loss of labour rights.

Another element that defines the fragility of Roma employment that is also characteristic of the European Roma population is the part-time workday. The following table shows the rate of part-time employment, that is to say the percentage of workers that engage in this kind of workday. The first aspect that draws out attention is that for the whole of the four countries, 47.9% of the Roma employment is part-time, an indicator that is 28.3 points higher than the 19.6% of the EU-27 countries. The gender difference in EU-27 countries, with 9.1% for men and 32.1% for women, does not occur among the employed Roma population, where these figures are 46.5% and 49.8% respectively.

Out of the four Bulgaria with 24.7%, boasts the smallest part-time employment rate, a figure that is somewhat higher for men (27.4%) than for women (21.7%). In contrast, the country that has the highest rate of part-time employment is Romania with 65.4%, where there is barely a gender difference. Italy, with 47.7% and Spain, with 42.3%, are in an intermediate situation. In these countries there is precisely a greater gender difference in the part-time employment rate. In Italy the weight of this kind of workday is 28.5 points higher for women and in Spain there is a difference of 14.1 points.

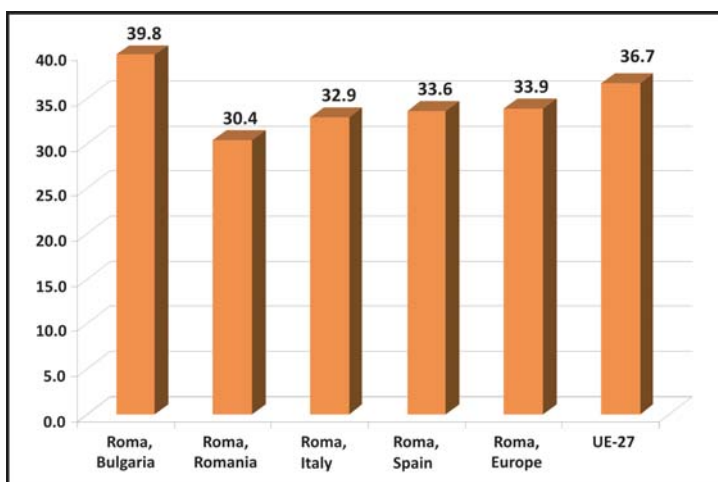
Table 9. Part-time rate by sex and age

| | Roma, Bulgaria | Roma, Romania | Roma, Italy | Roma, Spain | Roma, Europe | EU-27 |
|---------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------|
| Total | 24.7 | 65.4 | 47.7 | 42.3 | 47.9 | 19.6 |
| 24 and under | 37.5 | 82.8 | 55.0 | 52.9 | 60.5 | 30.3 |
| 25 and over | 22.4 | 62.0 | 45.5 | 39.0 | 44.8 | 18.5 |
| Male | 27.4 | 64.8 | 42.1 | 36.1 | 46.5 | 9.1 |
| 24 and under | 40.7 | 86.7 | 51.1 | 50.0 | 62.6 | 22.8 |
| 25 and over | 24.8 | 59.1 | 39.5 | 30.8 | 41.8 | 7.8 |
| Female | 21.7 | 66.4 | 70.6 | 50.2 | 49.8 | 32.1 |
| 24 and under | 33.3 | 69.2 | 69.2 | 57.9 | 56.1 | 39.0 |
| 25 and over | 19.8 | 66.1 | 71.1 | 48.3 | 48.6 | 31.4 |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

Along with this characteristic of part-time employment among women identified in the whole of EU-27 countries and in the European Roma population, more clearly observed in Italian and Spanish employment, there is also a greater incidence of this kind of employment among youth. 30.3% of employed youth in the European Union are part-time workers, that is 10.7 points higher than the average for all age groups. This circumstance is also visible in the European Roma population, with a rate of 60.5%, that is to say, 12.6 points higher than the global rate of 47.9%. This phenomenon appears in all countries both among men as well as women, except for female employment in Italy, where there is a similar indicator between youth and the rest of the population.

Therefore, due to the weight of part-time employment among Roma population, the average number of hours worked per week is, on average, 2.8 less than the number of mean hours for EU-27 countries. In effect, while the average number of weekly work hours for Roma population is 33.9 hours, the figure rises to 36.7 for EU-27 countries. And the country that has the smallest rate of part-time employment is precisely the country that has the highest average, that is to say, Bulgaria with 39.8 hours. Romania, with the highest rate of part-time employment, has the smallest weekly average, 30.4 hours, followed by Italy with 32.9 and Spain with 33.6.

Graph 4. Average number of actual weekly hours of work in main job

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

Temporary employment is another relevant aspect in determining the employment characteristics of the Roma community and its differences with EU-27. In this case the indicator used is the rate of temporary employment. This is defined as the weight of salaried employees that have a temporary contract or labour relationship as compared to the total number of salaried employees. Once again the Roma population is located in the most fragile and unstable segment of employment. While the temporary employment rate of EU-27 countries is 14.2%, for the Roma population this figure is 21.2 points higher, thus reaching 35.4%. Once again we discover differences among the four countries analysed. With 18.7% Romania has the smallest rate of temporary employment, followed by Bulgaria with 21.7%. Eastern countries evidence radically different behaviour in temporary employment as compared to Mediterranean Europe. In Italy, 59.8% of salaried Roma employees work in a temporary labour relationship, and in Spain it is 53.4%.

If part-time work was a characteristic of female employment, temporary employment is a defining feature of youth. In effect, the rate of temporary employment among the working population under 24 years of age is 42.2% for EU-27 countries, 28 points higher than the average for all groups. On another hand, temporary employment affects 53.2% of salaried Roma youth, 17.7 points higher than the rate for all Roma age groups. Once again we discover noteworthy differences among the four countries analysed. Bulgaria once again manifests that its position is less unstable and less fragile than the rest, with the lowest rate of temporary employment among youth (18.8%) as it is similar to its global mean. Italy has the highest figure with 79.3% and a difference of 19.5 points, followed by Spain where 65.2% of

employed youth have temporary contracts, that is 11.8 points higher than its global mean. The greatest difference, along with Italy, is found in Romania where the temporary employment rate among youth is 44.4%, that is 25.8 points higher than the country's average.

Table 10. Temporary employment rates by sex and age groups

| | Roma, Bulgaria | Roma, Romania | Roma, Italy | Roma, Spain | Roma, Europe | EU-27 |
|--------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------|
| Total | 21.7 | 18.7 | 59.8 | 53.4 | 35.5 | 14.2 |
| 24 and under | 18.8 | 44.4 | 79.3 | 65.2 | 53.2 | 42.2 |
| 25 and over | 22.0 | 15.9 | 53.0 | 50.7 | 32.7 | 11.1 |
| Male | 21.8 | 18.5 | 60.0 | 53.3 | 34.9 | 13.7 |
| Female | 21.6 | 18.9 | 59.4 | 55.0 | 36.0 | 14.8 |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

The work situation, part-time employment and temporary employment are dimensions that define employment instability. These characteristics have to be added to the productive sector where the occupation is being carried out in order to be able to define whether Roma persons really are within the most fragile and weakest segment, and are therefore more prone to suffer the consequences of the current crisis. In general, the percentage of employment in the services sector is smaller in Eastern European countries: 56.2% in Bulgaria and 61.3% in Romania. These figures are lower than the 69.8% average for EU-27 countries. Italy, with 81.5% and Spain with 76.3% are the two countries that have a higher incidence of the service sector in Roma employment.

The productive sector that has the most weight among Roma population is commerce, which employs 38% of its workers, 23.9 points more than the 14.1% average of EU-27 countries. The employment of Roma persons in commerce is fundamentally observed in Spain (61.3%) and Italy (43.3%), and not so much in Romania (12.6%) and Bulgaria (9.8%). Agriculture is the sector that employs the most workers in Bulgaria, precisely 19.5% of its employment, followed by public administrations with 18.9%, industry with 13% and construction with 11.2%, accumulating in these sectors 62.6% of the employment of Roma persons in the country. Romania's productive structure is similar, 68.1% of Roma workers work in the sector of industry (20.2%), health and social services (14.3%), commerce (12.6%), public administration (10.9%) and construction (10.1%).

Table 11. Distribution of employed population by economic activity (NACE-08)

| | Roma, Bulgaria | Roma, Romania | Roma, Italy | Roma, Spain | Roma, Europe | EU-27 |
|---|-------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|------------|
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Agriculture, forestry and fishing | 19.5 | 8.4 | 6.3 | 1.9 | 8.1 | 5.0 |
| Industry | 13.0 | 20.2 | 5.2 | 2.0 | 8.3 | 17.7 |
| Construction | 11.2 | 10.1 | 7.0 | 4.6 | 7.5 | 7.5 |
| Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles | 9.8 | 12.6 | 43.3 | 61.3 | 38.0 | 14.1 |
| Transportation and storage | 3.3 | 2.5 | 7.0 | 1.1 | 2.2 | 5.1 |
| Accommodation and food service activities | 2.4 | 0.0 | 5.2 | 4.4 | 3.1 | 4.6 |
| Information and communication | 1.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.5 | 2.9 |
| Financial and insurance activities | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 3.0 |
| Real estate activities | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.8 |
| Professional, scientific and technical activities | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 5.0 |
| Administrative and support service activities | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 8.4 | 4.2 | 4.0 |
| Public administration and defence; compulsory social security | 18.9 | 10.9 | 0.0 | 1.2 | 7.7 | 7.1 |
| Education | 1.8 | 3.4 | 2.2 | 3.6 | 3.0 | 7.4 |
| Human health and social work activities | 6.8 | 14.3 | 1.1 | 2.7 | 5.7 | 10.4 |
| Arts, entertainment and recreation | 6.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 3.6 | 3.7 | 1.6 |
| Other service activities | 4.7 | 17.6 | 19.3 | 2.2 | 6.4 | 2.4 |
| Activities of households as employers | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.5 | 3.0 | 1.6 | 1.2 |
| Activities of extraterritorial organisations and bodies | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

From the perspective of the productive sector of Roma employment we discover differences among the four countries analysed. On the one hand, in Mediterranean countries, Roma employment is defined in a specific productive model, mainly commerce, thus pigeonholing this population in positions that are less qualified. On the other hand, in the Eastern European countries the Roma employed population is more diversified in different productive sectors, where, perhaps due to the heritage of the Communist period, there is an important productive presence in industry and above all in public administration, health, and social services.

Roma Unemployment: Living with the Intense Effects of the Crisis

Thus far we have highlighted that Roma population is characterised by its youth and by its clear orientation towards work since an early age, thus youth are prevented from dedicating their time and effort to pursuing education and training that would help them enter a more qualified labour segment. Youth and limited preparedness is a binomial that places workers in a very

fragile type of employment that is very sensitive to periods of economic recession. Such is the case for the European Roma population, which is living with intensity the effects of the employment crisis and has been pushed from labour instability to unemployment. The Roma unemployment rate is 5.7 times higher than the one found in EU-27 countries, 47.1% as opposed to 8.3%. This exceedingly high rate of unemployment is reflected in all countries, all ages, and for men as well as for women. The Roma unemployment rate is lowest in Spain, with 36.4%, followed by Italy with 37.3%, Romania with 48.6%, and Bulgaria with 58.7%. These drastic figures lead us to consider that the situation is truly alarming for the European Roma community.

Table 12. Unemployment rates by sex and age

| | Roma, Bulgaria | Roma, Romania | Roma, Italy | Roma, Spain | Roma, Europe | EU-27 |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|------------|
| Both sexes | 58.7 | 48.6 | 37.3 | 36.4 | 47.1 | 8.3 |
| 24 and under | 61.4 | 58.0 | 46.2 | 40.4 | 52.8 | 20.8 |
| 25-54 | 57.0 | 47.5 | 33.7 | 36.5 | 46.5 | 8.4 |
| 55 and over | 62.1 | 32.8 | 37.1 | 15.4 | 41.9 | 7.2 |
| Males | 51.8 | 42.4 | 25.7 | 38.4 | 42.7 | 8.1 |
| 24 and under | 49.2 | 48.0 | 36.8 | 39.5 | 45.0 | 21.3 |
| 25-54 | 51.6 | 42.2 | 20.8 | 39.4 | 42.6 | 8.2 |
| 55 and over | 55.8 | 28.6 | 28.0 | 20.6 | 36.9 | 8.5 |
| Females | 63.9 | 55.8 | 60.2 | 33.7 | 53.0 | 8.5 |
| 24 and under | 71.3 | 71.8 | 65.1 | 41.8 | 63.2 | 20.2 |
| 25-54 | 61.3 | 53.2 | 58.3 | 32.9 | 50.6 | 8.6 |
| 55 and over | 68.6 | 38.5 | 60.0 | 5.3 | 48.3 | 5.1 |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

In addition, the unemployment rate is higher among women in Bulgaria, Romania and Italy. In Spain it is different as the unemployment rate is higher among men. The productive sector of each country explains this phenomenon as in the Spanish case the destruction of employment in the construction sector, a very masculinised activity, has also affected Roma employment. In addition, it can be stated that unemployment especially affects Roma youth. The rate of youth unemployment is 52.8% therefore the indicator is 32 points higher than the one for the European Union. In Romania, Italy and Spain, the rate of youth unemployment is the highest of all age groups. In Bulgaria, the rate of youth unemployment is similar to the rate for those 55 and older. The fact that unemployment has a greater effect on youth is not distinctive of the Roma population as it is line with one of the current labour market dynamics present in the European Union. The difference is the dimension; unemployment affects the Roma population much more.

Along with the foregoing, it is noteworthy to mention that there is an unemployment rate of 62.1% among people 55 years of age and older in Bulgaria, this figure is far from the 37.1% rate in Italy, 32% in Romania and 15.4% in Spain. Similarly, the unemployment rate for different age groups is singular in Spain as this indicator decreases, as age increases while in the other three countries the situation differs. In Romania the unemployment rate also decreases as age increases, although with less intensity than in Spain. In Italy and in Bulgaria the unemployment rate increases for people aged 55 and over.

To conclude we display the profile of the unemployed Roma person in a comparative analysis of the countries surveyed and the whole of the European Union. As can be observed, 57.9% of unemployment is masculine, a datum that is very similar to the 54.5% of EU-27 countries. There are, however, differences among the countries. Spain is the only country where men have more weight, as 60.9% of unemployed persons are male. In the rest of the countries it is reversed: 47.1% in Romania, 40.2% in Bulgaria and 45.8% in Italy. By age, the most affected group by unemployment is from 25 to 54 years of age, and this age group has a big demographic weight in the activity.

Table 13. Distribution of unemployed population by sex and aAge

| | Roma, Bulgaria | Roma, Romania | Roma, Italy | Roma, Spain | Roma, Europe | EU-27 |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|------------|
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Males | 40.2 | 47.1 | 45.8 | 60.9 | 57.9 | 54.5 |
| Females | 59.8 | 52.9 | 54.2 | 39.1 | 42.1 | 45.5 |
| Both sexes | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 24 and under | 18.6 | 25.8 | 33.5 | 28.6 | 19.9 | 15.6 |
| 25-54 | 68.0 | 68.9 | 59.2 | 69.2 | 71.0 | 70.3 |
| 55and over | 13.4 | 5.3 | 7.3 | 2.2 | 9.1 | 14.1 |
| Males | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 24 and under | 16.8 | 26.3 | 39.0 | 28.9 | 22.9 | 15.5 |
| 25-54 | 68.1 | 68.2 | 52.4 | 68.1 | 67.6 | 65.9 |
| 55 and over | 15.1 | 5.5 | 8.6 | 3.0 | 9.5 | 18.6 |
| Females | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 24 and under | 19.9 | 25.4 | 28.9 | 28.4 | 15.8 | 15.7 |
| 25-54 | 67.9 | 69.6 | 64.9 | 70.9 | 75.7 | 75.7 |
| 55 and over | 12.2 | 5.0 | 6.2 | 0.7 | 8.5 | 8.6 |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

In sum, the Roma population is suffering with great intensity the consequences of the current crisis: poorly qualified positions and activities that are very labour intensive. The challenge for administrations and entities dedicated to working with this population is to be prepared and know how to adapt to the changes that will occur in the European productive model and in so doing, the education factor, understood both as labour qualification as well as an attitude toward employment, is absolutely critical.

Glossary of terms

Economically active population: All people aged 16 years of age or older that during the week of reference (the week prior to the one where the interview was conducted) provide manpower to the production of economic goods and services or that are available and are trying to do so. This population can be classified into employed and unemployed.

Economically inactive population: Economically inactive population includes all people aged 16 years old and older that are not classified as either employed or unemployed. Examples: those that work in the home, retired persons, students, those who are incapacitated to work, etc.

Employed population: It comprises all people aged 16 years of age and older that during the week of reference (the week prior to the one where the interview was conducted) have had a salaried job or have performed an activity through their own self-employment. In either of the cases a person is considered to be employed if he or she has worked at least one hour during the week of reference, even if it is sporadic or occasional, in exchange of remuneration be it, in cash or in kind (salary, benefit, or family gain). Along with these, those who are employed but are not working are also included (salaried employees), as well as those who have work but are not working (self-employed). That is to say, people who are absent from their job or employment during the week of reference and still keep close ties to it, for reasons such as illness, accident, labour conflict, disciplinary suspension of employment and salary, vacation, studying license, maternity leave, or other analogous reasons.

Unemployed population: Persons aged 16 years of age and older are considered unemployed if they simultaneously meet the following conditions: out of work, that is they have not had a job either as a salaried employee or as a self-employed worker during the week of reference. They are looking for work, that is to say, they have taken concrete measures to find work as a salaried employee or they have initiated some actions to work self-employed during the preceding month. They are available to work, that is to say they are able to start work in a two-week time frame as of the Sunday of the week of reference.

Activity rate: It is defined as the proportion of active population as compared to the total population aged 16 years of age and older. In percentage points it is expressed as the number of active persons out of every 100 people aged 16 and older. The activity rate can be global or specific for a group. Therefore the specific activity rate of a social group (men, women, youth, etc.) is interpreted as the number of active persons in that collective out of every 100 persons aged 16 years and older in that same group.

Unemployment rate: Proportion of the population that is unemployed as compared to the active population. In percentage points, it is the number of unemployed persons out of every 100 active persons.

Employment rate: Proportion of employed population as compared to the total population aged 16 years of age and older. In percentage points it is the number of persons employed out of every 100 persons aged 16 years of age and older.

Temporary employment rate: Proportion of workers that perform their activity as salaried employees in a temporary contract, as compared to the total volume of employed persons. In percentage points the number of salaried employees that have a temporary contract out of every 100 salaried employees.

Salaried employment rate: Proportion of employed persons that are salaried employees as compared to the total volume of employed persons. In percentage points, the number of salaried employees out of every 100 employed persons.

Part-time employment rate: Proportion of employed persons that work part-time (that is to say, they do not work full time), as compared to the total number of employees. In percentage points, the number of employees that work part-time out of every 100 employees.

ROMA POPULATION AND HOUSING CONDITIONS

Pietro Palvarini

Introduction

This chapter will address the theme of housing conditions of Roma population in the four countries surveyed by the “EU-INCLUSIVE - data transfer and exchange of good experiences regarding the inclusion of Roma population between Romania, Bulgaria, Italy and Spain” research programme, comparing them with those found throughout the whole research sample, i.e. the statistical aggregate of the four countries, that will be referred to thereafter as “Roma Europe”. As in the chapter on the labour market, the analysis will be limited to the native¹⁵ Roma population in the four countries, thus excluding the portion of the sample made up of Roma migrants. Both in terms of socio-demographic characteristics (age, education level, occupation), and in terms of social rights, the migrant Roma population has some peculiarity that makes it different (and more vulnerable) than native Roma. In addition, Roma migrants are only present in the Italian and Spanish sample. To improve the international comparability it has been therefore preferred to focus the analysis on native Roma, leaving to a special chapter the study of living (and housing) conditions of Roma migrants.

Access to adequate housing conditions, both in terms of housing structure, is well as in terms of his endowment of services is a fundamental dimension of social inclusion, seen as a priority even in the EU policy¹⁶. However, the housing condition is one of the most critical aspects of the situation of Roma in Europe. Poor housing conditions not only represent significant barriers to any path of social inclusion, but often constitute a denial of fundamental rights of citizenship. A report on housing conditions of Roma, done by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) in 2009¹⁷, expressed serious concerns about the issue of Roma housing in Europe:

There are several international instruments setting out the framework and content of the right to adequate housing. It is clear from this report that large numbers of Roma and Travellers in the EU do not enjoy equal treatment in this respect, living in substandard conditions which fall far below even the minimum criteria of adequate housing. Sometimes Roma live in squalid shantytowns and temporary camps, often in segregated and environmentally hazardous areas. Very

¹⁵ In this chapter, we define as “native” the interviewees who have the citizenship of the country in which they live at the moment of the research, to distinguish them from Roma “migrants”, who are citizens of other countries.

¹⁶ “An EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020”, Communication of the European Commission, 5 April 2011.

¹⁷ FRA (2009), Housing conditions of Roma and Travellers in the European Union - Comparative report.

often Roma housing areas have poor access to public services, employment and schools, and are without adequate access to public utilities such as water, electricity or gas. Many Roma and Travellers live in overcrowded conditions, with considerably less space per person than national averages, where many dwellings are in a state of considerable disrepair (FRA 2009, p.5).

The chapter will firstly deal with the territorial distribution of the surveyed Roma households, in order to verify whether they are located mainly in rural or urban areas, in the centre or the outskirts of cities. Next the data on the prevailing housing types and tenures will be presented, which will identify different housing models in the countries under investigation. Finally we will focus on the quality of housing, through the analysis of rates of ownership of some goods and services and the construction of primary or secondary indexes of housing quality.

Spatial distribution

As far as the geographical distribution is concerned, the Roma are located in a quite balanced way between urban and rural areas. Indeed, looking at the column “Roma Europe” which corresponds to the statistic aggregate of the four countries participating in the survey, the percentage of Roma who live in urban areas amounts to 57.8%, while those living in rural areas are equal to 42.2%. However, this balanced distribution hides very different situations in different national contexts. On the one hand there are countries where the Roma live predominantly in cities; it is the case of Bulgaria, Italy and Spain, where the proportion of Roma inhabitants in urban areas is respectively 73%, 84.6% and 70.2%. On the other hand there is Romania, where Roma have settled mainly in rural contexts: nearly two thirds of respondents live in rural areas (Table 1).

The picture just outlined can be further refined if we consider the spatial location of respondents in towns. The central or peripheral location of the dwelling is an important factor that can influence the chances of social inclusion and the construction of relational networks by the Roma population. In addition, the peripheral or isolated location of the dwelling can complicate the everyday movements for work or study, or to reach the public services. On the contrary, the housing placed in the urban fabric or within villages make it easier to fulfil the various daily needs, even in the presence of a reduced mobility (for example due to age or to the lack of a private means of transport).

As it can be seen from Table 1, about one third of the Roma of the four participating countries live in small country villages, while around 58% live in cities, especially in peripheral (26.1%) or very peripheral areas (15.9%). Only 9.7% of families interviewed live outside of residential areas. However, there are strong differences between countries. In Bulgaria the most common situation sees the Roma living in the far suburbs (57.4%), while among those who live in rural areas, most live outside the villages (20.7%). These data suggest a situation of spatial segregation in Bulgaria, where Roma tend to live

in contexts that are physically isolated from the rest of the population. As regards the Romanian Roma, the situation is very different: most of them live in small rural villages (53.2%), while a minority is living in cities, generally in positions of periphery. In Italy the situation is different: in fact, the Roma are concentrated in cities, both in suburban areas (41.4%), and in extreme periphery (24.3%). The Spanish Roma, then, show a more balanced spatial distribution: about one quarter live in small rural villages, while most of them live in cities, but in a more integrated environment, with respect to other countries (37.5% of Spanish Roma live in the city centre).

Table 1. Location of the house

| Where is your house located? | Roma, Bulgaria | Roma, Romania | Roma, Italy | Roma, Spain | Roma, Europe |
|--|----------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| In the country, in a small village | 6,3% | 53,2% | 6,5% | 26,7% | 32,5% |
| In the country, in the neighbours of a small village | 20,7% | 8,7% | 8,9% | 3,0% | 9,7% |
| In a city, right in the centre | 7,5% | 4,1% | 18,9% | 37,5% | 15,8% |
| In a city, in the suburbs | 8,1 % | 30,6% | 41,4% | 31,4% | 26,1% |
| In a city, in the extreme periphery | 57,4% | 3,4% | 24,3% | 1,4% | 15,9% |
| Total | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

The location of the dwelling also influences the type of social relations that families are able to establish. Table 2 shows the percentage of respondents who said they have only or mostly friends of their own ethnic group. At the aggregate level it can be observed that with increasing distance from the town, social relationships tend to be more homogeneous in terms of ethnicity. In fact, among those who live in the country, the percentage of friendships within the Roma community rises from 48.1% to 63.8% moving from a town to its surroundings. The same dynamic can be seen in the city: passing from the centre to the extreme periphery, the share of ethnic relations goes from 44% to 56.4%. This relation is true in all countries except Spain, where the relational differences due to geographical location are much less pronounced. Particularly strong is the relational isolation of rural communities of Romanian Roma, which in 84.8% of cases claim to have only or mostly friends of their own ethnic group.

The settlements where Roma live have often two characteristics: they are physically isolated from the residential areas and are ethnically homogeneous, i.e. Roma people only inhabited them. The distance from the

urban fabric and the poor connections by public transport make it difficult for Roma families to reach urban centres. For this reason, especially for people with reduced moving capacity, social networks tend to develop within their own settlement. Thus, to live in peripheral zones limits the possibility of getting in touch with different social groups. Conversely, when Roma live in ethnically mixed environments (it is the case of Spain, as we shall see later), remoteness does not influence so strongly the type of social relations, because even in the vicinity of the place of residence there is a chance to get in touch with people from other ethnic groups.

Table 2. Share of interviewees having only or mostly Roma friends, by location of the house

| Interviewees (%) having only or mostly Roma friends Where is your house located? | Roma, Bulgaria | Roma, Romania | Roma, Italy | Roma, Spain | Roma, Europe |
|---|-------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| in the country, in a small village | 27,7% | 56,0% | 54,5% | 30,4% | 48,1% |
| in the country, in the neighbours of a small village | 54,3% | 84,8% | 62,5% | 29,3% | 63,8% |
| in a city, right in the middle | 47,3% | 62,3% | 28,1% | 41,8% | 44,0% |
| in a city, in the suburbs | 63,0% | 58,7% | 39,4% | 45,3% | 52,7% |
| in a city, in the extreme periphery | 57,4% | 63,1% | 41,5% | 35,0% | 56,4% |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

Housing type and tenure

Going more in depth in the analysis of housing conditions of Roma in Europe, it is interesting to consider data on the type of housing where the Roma population of the four countries lives (Table 3). Globally, the most widespread solution is the single-family house, inhabited entirely (64.1%) or shared with other households (6.4%). Then follow the apartments in condominiums, which are home to about one quarter of households in the sample (8.6% in buildings with fewer than ten dwellings, 16% with more than ten dwellings). The other housing solutions, such as barracks, mobile homes or other, are quite residual, as summed they involve only 5% of the Roma population. However, as we shall see later, some of these modes are particularly significant in one of the four countries.

Indeed, the housing model of the Roma living in the four countries is strongly differentiated. On the one hand there are Bulgaria and Romania, where the type is almost exclusively that of the single house (around 90%). In Spain, the residential model is mixed: about one third of the sample live in single houses, while 63% live in multifamily apartment buildings (22.5% with less than ten dwellings, 40.1% with more than ten dwellings). Italy represents a separate model. In fact only a quarter of Italian Roma families live in single-family houses, 20% live in condominiums, while nearly half of respondents (48.5%) live in unstable conditions, i.e. is housed in temporary barracks (21.3%), mobile homes (20.7%), caravan (4.1%) or other unstructured solutions.

Table 3. Type of housing

| Type of housing | Roma, Bulgaria | Roma, Romania | Roma, Italy | Roma, Spain | Roma, Europe |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| House | 74,8% | 86,4% | 23,1% | 30,4% | 64,1% |
| Part of a house | 15,2% | 2,7% | 1,8% | 5,1% | 6,4% |
| Apartment in a building <10 dwellings | 1,1% | 2,7% | 8,3% | 22,5% | 8,6% |
| Apartment in a building ≥10 dwellings | 3,8% | 5,0% | 18,3% | 40,1% | 16,0% |
| Temporary barracks | 2,4% | 0,3% | 21,3% | 0,3% | 1,6% |
| Mobile homes / trailers | 0,8% | 0,0% | 20,7% | 0,4% | 1,1% |
| Caravans | 0,0% | 0,1% | 4,1% | 0,2% | 0,3% |
| Shanty towns, caves and similar | 1,5% | 2,2% | 1,8% | 0,7% | 1,6% |
| Other | 0,4% | 0,6% | 0,6% | 0,2% | 0,4% |
| Total | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

The data just presented bring out very clearly the result of the different strategies implemented in various countries with respect to the housing issue of Roma population. Specifically, Spain and Italy represent two antithetic models. In the first case the focus has been put on the integration of Roma into the urban fabric and in the mainstream society, favouring the settlement of the Roma in block of apartments, both in the private and in the public housing market. In Italy, on the contrary, the main strategy of the public actor to cope with the housing needs of these groups has been the creation of the so-called “Roma camps”. These are areas intended only for the Roma population, granted by municipalities for the installation of mobile dwellings (caravans, trailers), but in most cases they become permanent. Roma camps are designed for a nomadic population, although the vast majority of Italian Roma are not nomadic, but sedentary. These camps are almost always located on the outskirts of the city, in a position of social and spatial segregation that isolates its inhabitants from the rest of the population. The policy of Roma camps tends to produce social marginalization, insecurity and stigmatization and creates real problems for the social inclusion of Roma population. Moreover, as we shall see later, the camps are often characterized by a lower housing quality compared with that guaranteed by other accommodations, such as houses or condominiums.

Different housing models emerge also from the data concerning housing tenure (Table 4). At a first sight, it can be argued that access to homeownership is greatly popular among the European Roma. In fact 72.4% of households in the sample said to own its home, for the most part without any mortgage or loan (64.7%), while 7.7% do have a mortgage. The high level of homeownership, however, has to be taken with caution, because the

questionnaire was referring only to the housing tenure, while not investigating the ownership of the land on which the house is built. For this reason it is possible that homeownership rate is overestimated, including a part of households, which built their house illegally. Renting is much less common than owning, and those who are in the rental sector are mainly public housing tenants, paying fees below the market. This case concerns 11.6% of households, while the rent in the private sector is chosen by 6% of households. A rare but not negligible situation is that of families living in houses which are available free of charge, usually granted in use by relatives (5.4%).

As in the case of the type of dwelling, even in the case of the housing tenure different countries show quite different profiles. Romania and Bulgaria are quite similar, with a very high proportion of Roma who own their home¹⁸ and a low percentage of renters, both in the public and in the private sector (i.e. public rent in Bulgaria gets only 3%). In Romania it has to be noted also an above average proportion of families living in isolated squatter settlements (4.1%). Italy and Spain also in this case represent different models. In Italy the sample is split fairly even between different groups of similar size: the owners of homes with no mortgage (31.5%), the inhabitants of municipal Roma camps (27.3%) and the tenants of social housing (20%). The Spanish case presents a peculiarity that is not present elsewhere, namely the high percentage of families who have contracted a mortgage or a loan to buy their own homes (24.9%). This is mainly due to the fact that in Spain a greater proportion of Roma (if compared with the other countries) do have a regular job and a steady income, which are necessary conditions to obtain credit from banks. Also, in Spain there is a higher percentage of social housing tenants (24.5%), which is a good indicator of integration of Roma families within the mechanisms of welfare provisions¹⁹. Finally, the private rental sector in Spain is more developed than in Italy, Bulgaria and Romania. The reason for this difference is that in Spain there is a larger share of Roma who can afford a monthly rent, providing the required guarantees to their landlord. However it has to be noted that in Spain, as in other countries, the discrimination against Roma on the housing market is still a common phenomenon.

¹⁸ Again, it has to be stressed that the questionnaire did not investigate the ownership of the land on which the house is built. In most cases, it would be better to say that Roma are owners of the walls of their houses or barracks. However, as the houses are built illegally, most families could be evicted at any time.

¹⁹ It is useful to notice that in Spain, social housing allocation is done on the basis of objective economic criteria. So the high proportion of Roma who can access social housing is not due to ethnic reasons, but to their economic vulnerability.

Table 4. Housing tenure

| Housing tenure | Roma, Bulgaria | Roma, Romania | Roma, Italy | Roma, Spain | Roma, Europe |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Outright owner (no mortgage or loan) | 85,9% | 81,5% | 31,5% | 29,1% | 64,7% |
| Owner with mortgage | 0,2% | 0,1% | 0,6% | 24,9% | 7,7% |
| Rented from the state or municipality | 3,0% | 6,2% | 20,0% | 24,5% | 11,6% |
| Rented from private market | 1,9% | 1,8% | 4,8% | 15,1% | 6,0% |
| Rent free (no camp) | 7,1% | 4,5% | 10,3% | 4,7% | 5,4% |
| Regular Roma camp | 0,1% | 0,0% | 27,3% | 0,9% | 1,3% |
| Irregular Roma settlement – rent free | 1,8% | 1,4% | 3,6% | 0,7% | 1,4% |
| Isolated squatter settlement | 0,0% | 4,1% | 1,2% | 0,0% | 1,8% |
| Other | 0,0% | 0,4% | 0,7% | 0,1% | 0,1% |
| Total | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

Housing facilities

The description of the variables up to this point does not exhaust the issue of housing conditions of Roma in the four countries under investigation. Not only is it the type of accommodation or its tenure to make a housing solution more or less adequate. In fact, a house must also be assessed according to the concrete living conditions, which can provide to its inhabitants. As Colin Ward argued in the 70s: “The important thing about housing is not what it IS, but what it DOES in people’s lives” (Ward 1976)²⁰. Such thinking leads to deeper analysis to capture aspects of quality of housing, i.e. the availability of certain housing services or goods inside the dwelling.

Table 5 shows the rates of ownership of certain housing goods and services between Roma families in the “EU-INCLUSIVE - data transfer and exchange of good experiences regarding the inclusion of Roma population between Romania, Bulgaria, Italy and Spain” sample. The items are sorted according to the diffusion throughout the European sample, from the most common to the rarest. There are some services owned by almost all respondents: for example, electricity and TV have values around 90% in all countries except Romania, where the values are slightly lower, although also in this country they are the most popular services. Furthermore, the majority of Roma families do have access to primary services such as

²⁰ Ward, C. (1976), Preface to J.F.C. Turner, *Housing by people. Towards autonomy in building environments*. London, Marion Boyars.

running water and sewage system. As for other services such as mobile phone, refrigerator, running water, sewage system, stove and washing machine, they are also possessed by the majority of the interviewees. Percentages between a third and half of the sample then possess a toilet inside or outside the dwelling (the second type is more common), a bathroom, the availability of hot water, a DVD player, a cable TV, a microwave, a car, a freezer. Finally, there is a category of services that are very uncommon, being possessed by a quarter or less of the households surveyed, i.e. a satellite dish, a computer, a gas installation, a connection to the Internet, a dishwasher and centralized heating. The reason for the low level of possession of these goods is that they require not only a good housing quality, but also a good level of economic resources for purchase and maintenance. The level of availability of goods varies from country to country, even if the internal order of different commodities remains more or less the same. Spain is the country where there is the highest diffusion of all services (mean 67.7%), followed by Italy (57.3%), Bulgaria (40.6%), and Romania (27.6%).

This finding provides preliminary results on the quality of living in different countries, which can be further deepened by showing some particularly critical elements. In Bulgaria for example, only a Roma family out of five has a toilet inside the house, while 78.3% have toilets outside, almost non-existent in this country are dwellings with central heating and gas installation, and finally the diffusion of technological goods such as computers, DVD players and microwaves is lower than the European average. On the other side, the access to publicly provided services (such as electricity, water supply and sewerage), is better in Bulgaria than in Romania.

Romania shows a critical situation in several respects. The diffusion of all services is below the European average. A toilet inside the accommodation is available only by 15.2% of Roma families; the water reaches only 35.6% of the sample and the hot water only 11.2%. Heating is very problematic: 3.4% have a centralized system, and 39.7% an electric or gas stove. Finally, less than a family out of ten own a car, a microwave, a computer, and an Internet connection.

In Italy, although the level of housing quality is relatively high, some problematic aspects emerge: about 10% of Roma do not have access to running water and sewer plant, 30% did not have a bathroom in their accommodation, 18% have no hot water, and only 36.5% of households own a computer.

Finally, as regards Spain, the picture looks better. Almost all respondents have essential goods and services like electricity, water, indoor toilets, sewage system, and refrigerator. Even with respect to less common goods, Spanish families show higher possession rates than other countries, reflecting a better housing integration for Roma in this country.

Table 5. Housing facilities

| Housing facilities | Roma Bulgaria | Roma Romania | Roma Italy | Roma Spain | Roma Europe |
|-----------------------|---------------|--------------|------------|------------|-------------|
| Electricity | 92,4% | 89,7% | 93,5% | 99,3% | 93,4% |
| TV | 92,5% | 76,3% | 95,3% | 97,8% | 87,5% |
| Mobile Phone | 70,8% | 52,2% | 90,6% | 90,0% | 69,7% |
| Refrigerator | 64,0% | 47,8% | 92,9% | 97,3% | 68,6% |
| Water Supply System | 68,1% | 35,6% | 90,6% | 99,4% | 65,2% |
| Sewerage System | 77,7% | 24,3% | 89,8% | 99,9% | 62,7% |
| Electric Or Gas Stove | 59,3% | 39,7% | 51,2% | 71,0% | 54,4% |
| Washing Machine | 50,2% | 23,6% | 82,4% | 95,7% | 54,3% |
| Toilet Outside | 78,3% | 67,0% | 28,4% | 6,1% | 49,5% |
| Bathroom | 39,9% | 17,0% | 70,0% | 97,8% | 49,2% |
| Hot Running Water | 25,0% | 11,2% | 82,4% | 98,7% | 44,1% |
| Flush Toilet | 21,2% | 15,2% | 61,8% | 97,0% | 43,5% |
| Video Player, Dvd | 23,5% | 8,4% | 50,0% | 86,4% | 37,5% |
| Cable TV Connection | 45,9% | 43,6% | 22,9% | 19,0% | 35,8% |
| Microwave Oven | 20,7% | 7,1% | 19,4% | 87,7% | 35,6% |
| Car, Minibus, Jeep | 20,9% | 8,4% | 71,2% | 73,1% | 33,6% |
| Freezer | 19,0% | 13,1% | 59,4% | 68,7% | 33,4% |
| Satellite Antenna | 32,8% | 22,2% | 31,2% | 22,9% | 25,3% |
| Computer | 16,8% | 8,6% | 36,5% | 43,4% | 22,3% |
| Gas (Piped In) | 0,5% | 12,1% | 38,8% | 38,5% | 18,5% |
| Internet Connection | 13,4% | 6,8% | 25,9% | 30,8% | 16,5% |
| Dishwasher | 1,1% | 1,0% | 14,1% | 20,2% | 7,5% |
| Central Heating | 0,4% | 3,4% | 19,4% | 16,6% | 7,4% |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

The analysis of housing types made in the previous section and that on the quality of domestic services covered by this paragraph may be combined to determine whether a particular housing solution is associated with better quality. To do this, all the items in Table 5 have been divided into two groups, corresponding respectively to primary and secondary services. The first group includes running water, hot water, refrigerator, gas, electric or gas stove, heating, indoor or outdoor toilet, bathroom, electricity; the latter group includes internet, pay TV, car, DVD, satellite dish, microwave, freezer, washing machine, dishwasher, computer and mobile phone. Based on the presence or absence of different services, for each of the two groups a housing quality index was then constructed with values between zero and ten. Through these two indices is possible to get an overview of the housing conditions of Roma groups in the sample. The mean scores of the two indices are

presented in Table 6. The differences between countries that have emerged previously are confirmed: Spain shows the best results, followed by Italy, Bulgaria and Romania. The most interesting result is the association between housing type and housing quality. In general we can say that living in an apartment within a block of flats can ensure better housing quality than detached houses, and both these types of accommodation are better than all the other solutions. However, the differences between countries partially change the picture just described. In fact, the quality of houses and apartments in Romania and Bulgaria are comparable to those of the most precarious housing solutions in other countries. So, if we consider for example the primary services, the score recorded by single-family houses in Bulgaria (4.87) is lower than that of mobile homes in Italy (5.83), and likewise the score of an apartment in Romania (6.28) is similar to that of a barrack in Spain (6.57).

Table 6. Housing quality indexes (0-10), by housing type

| Housing type | Bulgaria | | Romania | | Italy | | Spain | |
|-------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| | Primary facilities (0-10) | Second. facilities (0-10) | Primary facilities (0-10) | Second. facilities (0-10) | Primary facilities (0-10) | Second. facilities (0-10) | Primary facilities (0-10) | Second. facilities (0-10) |
| House | 4,87 | 3,46 | 3,08 | 2,24 | 6,98 | 5,64 | 7,38 | 6,07 |
| Apartment | 6,42 | 4,72 | 6,28 | 2,84 | 7,40 | 5,55 | 7,54 | 6,21 |
| Temporary barrack | 1,68 | 1,11 | 0,91 | 0,83 | 6,40 | 4,34 | 6,57 | 5,17 |
| Mobile home | 1,82 | 1,04 | 0,00 | 0,00 | 5,83 | 4,73 | 7,24 | 6,23 |
| Other | 2,08 | 1,31 | 2,26 | 1,51 | 1,32 | 1,36 | 6,08 | 3,40 |
| Total | 4,79 | 3,40 | 3,29 | 2,26 | 6,53 | 5,00 | 7,47 | 6,13 |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

Conclusion

The analysis presented in this section on housing conditions of Roma in the four countries, covered by the “EU-INCLUSIVE - data transfer and exchange of good experiences regarding the inclusion of Roma population between Romania, Bulgaria, Italy and Spain” research, highlights a critical situation. Concerning spatial location, Roma are distributed in both rural and urban areas; in cities, however, Roma tend to settle in peripheral areas, with problems of physical and relational isolation and difficult access to services. Different settlement models emerge in the four countries: in Bulgaria isolated settlements in the far suburbs are prevailing; in Romania the majority of Roma families live instead in small country villages; in Italy Roma (with Italian citizenship) live mostly in the urban peripheries, in houses or in collective settlements exclusively dedicated and often managed by municipalities (the so-called “Roma camps”); in Spain, finally, a more balanced model appears, where Roma (Spanish citizens) are divided between rural areas and small towns, living in non-peripheral positions.

The Spanish model is also interesting with regard to the housing type and tenure. In fact most of the Spanish Roma live in apartments in residential buildings, or in single-family houses, while temporary solutions such as Roma camps are almost absent. As for the tenure, Spanish Roma are divided between those who own their house (in many cases having obtained a mortgage) and those who rent it. The Spanish housing model could be considered to some degree a case of successful integration, as it has contributed to improve the housing situation of the Roma in the last years, which has made their situation come closer to that of the non-Roma population, even if the situation still differs²¹. This situation is the result of the changes, which have taken place in Spanish housing policies during the last ten years. In a first phase the aim of housing policies addressed to Roma was to take people out of shantytowns and to get them into houses. This was done concentrating the Roma population in the same buildings, leading to problems related to residential segregation. In order to avoid these problems, in the last years the focus of the policies shifted towards residential mix; for this reason now Spanish Roma live in more diverse environments, and have better housing conditions than Roma living in other countries. However, the improvement of housing conditions involved mainly people with Spanish nationality, while the housing situation of migrants Roma is still critical.

Romanian and Bulgarian housing models are based on single-family homes, while other types of houses are very rare. The type of housing affects the housing quality, but its influence varies across countries. Living in a house or apartment will typically provide better housing services, but the context has a decisive role. Thus, although in the two Eastern European countries there is a predominance of single-family homes, the possession of goods and services is much lower than is the case in Italy and Spain. So the living quality of a house in Bulgaria or Romania tends to be comparable to that of a precarious solution (i.e. barracks or caravans) in the other two states.

In conclusion, the results of this study shed light on the fact that housing conditions of Roma in Europe are still largely unsatisfactory. Two recommendations can be done to improve the situation. On the one hand it is crucial to establish policies for the integration of Roma into the labour market; in fact, the main obstacle to housing integration is the absence of a regular job and a stable income, the essential conditions for obtaining bank credit to purchase a house and for accessing the private rental sector. On the other hand, housing policies have to be implemented, in order to overcome all the temporary and precarious housing solutions, such as shantytowns, Roma camps, illegal settlements etc. These solutions are not only characterised by very poor housing quality, but are also enormous barriers to social integration, as they are segregating and separating Roma from the rest of the population. On the contrary, access to stable and affordable housing has to be encouraged, paying attention to avoid residential concentration, mixing together Roma and non-Roma population.

²¹ Fundación Secretariado Gitano (2007), Mapa sobre Vivienda y Comunidad Gitana en España.

ROMA MIGRANTS FROM BULGARIA AND ROMANIA. MIGRATION PATTERNS AND INTEGRATION IN ITALY AND SPAIN 2011

Ionela Vlase and Ana Maria Preoteasa

Migration trends in Italy and Spain – an overview

Italy and Spain, traditionally known as countries of emigration, became by the end of the 1970s countries of migration (Bonifazi 2000). During the recent decades, these countries have received growing migrant flows, mostly originating from other European countries, especially from Central and Eastern European countries after the fall of communism. According to ISTAT (2011), Romanians constitute the largest migrant community in Italy, with an estimated one million of persons. Romanians, followed by Albanians, make up one third of total migrants in Italy. In Spain also Romanians are the most numerous migrant population, counting almost 800,000 persons (INE.es). Bulgarians also emigrate towards those two Southern Europe countries, but a larger share of Bulgarian citizens chooses Spain instead of Italy. By the end of the year 2010, 51.134 Bulgarians of both sexes were known to live in Italy (ISTAT), while they were at least three times more numerous in Spain by the end of 2008. Spain is by far the main receiving country of Bulgarians seeking work opportunities abroad (Eurostat, 2011). According to Holland et al. (2011), the main motivation of migration from Romania and Bulgaria is of economic nature (i.e. higher income potential and better working conditions). Indeed, large gaps persist in nominal and real income between Bulgaria and Romania, on the one hand, and EU15 countries and this would represent “important pull factors for both temporary migrants (in terms of sending remittances) and long term movers (in terms of better living and working conditions)” (Holland et al. 2011:17). Migrant flows from Romania and Bulgaria underwent significant changes over the past years in what concern the age, gender and ethnic composition. For instance, significant shares of women and Roma belonging to Romania and Bulgaria increasingly affected the structure of migrant population in Italy and Spain. In what follows, a central focus would be placed on Roma migration and on the receiving countries’ attitudes towards this migrant ethnic group.

Roma migration toward Italy and Spain

There are few studies on Roma migration, in general, and there is a dearth of knowledge about Roma migrants in Italy and Spain, in particular. Little evidences are found in some conference papers by Butler and Cashman (2010), Rostaş (2010),

Benedik (2010) and Slavkova (2010). These authors are dealing with Romani mobility within Europe and are emphasizing the main difficulties in establishing estimates of Roma migrants in each of these countries, as well as main drivers of discrimination or prejudices against Roma migrants. Rough estimates by researchers and policy makers on Roma EU citizens are indicating that this group may comprise about 10 million persons, while other sources (Directorate-General Employment and Social Affairs of European Commission 2004, Cahn and Guild, 2008) indicate a lower number between 4.5 and 7.5 million. Beyond this controversial issue regarding the number of Roma living in Europe, it is usually acknowledged that the situation of Roma migrants is particularly affected by discrimination in the destination country aggravated by the lack of skills as a result of the legacy of structural discrimination and inequality in their home countries (EU-FRA, 2009).

Roma emigration from Romania, Bulgaria or other European country needs to be addressed in a twofold perspective. First, Romani migrants are a specific component of larger Eastern European migration flows and one has to take into account the Romanian or Bulgarian migrant flows when dealing with Romanian Roma migrants in Italy or with Bulgarian Roma in Spain (Reyniers, 2008). Marushiakova and Popov (2010) also pointed out that Eastern European Roma migrants in Western Europe are mainly a constitutive part of the overall migration waves of citizens from these countries, and Roma migrants repeat to a great extent the same basic strategies of labour mobility. Second, attention should be paid also to specific policy measures relative to housing, education, and employment targeting Roma in the countries of origin (Rostaş, 2010). Furthermore, Matras (2007) warns against the interchangeable use of terms “migrants” and “travellers” when dealing with Romani mobility.

In the context of East-West migrations, however, linking Roma/Gypsies with Travellers implies that migration is motivated by traditional nomadism rather than by external social and political circumstances and internal community structures and attitudes. While it is argued here that Romani migration westwards, compared with that of other groups, does indeed show distinctive features, one must not confuse ‘migration’ with ‘nomadism’. (Matras, 2007: 32)

Bearing this in mind, it is shown here that an important share of Roma from Eastern Europe is migrating toward countries like Spain and Italy in order to find jobs and to enhance the quality of life of their family. With concern to the specific patterns of migration by Roma from Eastern Europe, Matras (2007) shows that the migration is rather familial (networks of extended families), than individual. He also identified three main chronological phases during which migration took different forms: first, prior to the mid 1970s Roma migrants seeking job opportunities abroad succeeded in taking on jobs and acquiring legal residence; second, between late 1970s and early 1990s, migration by Roma from Eastern countries was possible by either applying for political asylum, or by entering and staying irregularly; third, since 1992-1993 Romani migrants, mostly from Romania, Bulgaria, or other Eastern European no longer meet the criteria of asylum seekers since their origin countries were considered ‘safe countries’, and therefore Romani

migrants employed two strategies common to other migrant groups from Eastern Europe, that is, entering irregularly Western Europe or entering with a tourist visa and becoming visa over-stayers. While, as a general rule, Western European countries treat them all as irregular migrants, some differences are found to characterize Spain and Italy policies toward this migrant ethnic group. In this respect, Marushiakova and Popov (2010) pointed out that while in Spain most Roma from Romania live in “normal” city conditions, in Italy, especially in some regions like Lazio (region surrounding Rome), after 2001, local authorities established camps for Roma. Clough Marinaro (2010) shows that, starting with February 18, 2009 a new set of rules was introduced for authorised camps in Lazio (i.e. twenty-four hour police guards on the perimeter and inside the camps; permission to enter only for authorised residents; a log recording all movements in and out; no guests after 10 p.m.; the introduction of video surveillance) seriously limiting the agency of Roma migrants over their environment. Rome is the city of Italy known to count the highest number of Roma inhabitants (estimates range between 7,200 and 15,000, according to Clough Marinaro) and it is the main destination of Roma from Romania, as well of Romanian migrants in general. Roma migrants in Europe are usually overestimated in policy makers’ and media’s discourses, due, in part, to their visibility in streets as musicians or beggars. Nonetheless, according to some scholars (cf. Olivera, 2010), for instance, since the 1990s, the share of Romanian Roma emigrants is comparable to the national rates of emigration of 10%, and Roma migrants display common labour migration pattern.

In what concerns the migration of Bulgarian Roma to Spain, Slavkova (2010), based on the official statistics of INE (2009) and other sources (i.e., declarations by Bulgarian ambassador to Madrid Mr. Ivan Hristov, Spanish ambassador in Bulgaria Mr. Jorge Fuentes) show that out of an estimated number of 164,353 to 350,000 Bulgarians residing in Spain both regularly and irregularly, between one-third and one-fourth of the Bulgarians in Spain are Roma. Slavkova also highlights that Spain’s migration policy treats migrants equally, irrespective of their ethnic origin, and Roma migrants enjoy equal rights and freedoms like the rest of the migrants. Roma migrants from Bulgaria identify themselves as Bulgarian citizens and the Spaniards recognize them as such, ignoring the number of Roma living in Spain. Unlike Romanian Roma in Italy, Bulgarian Roma in Spain are mostly depicted as an ordinary labour migrant group, seeking employment, paying taxes and directing their savings towards the purchase of a home:

“The savings earned in Spain were invested in the purchase of a flat or a house in Bulgaria. After several years leaving in Spain part of the families changed their migrant strategy. Gradually a number of families bought flats in Spain on credit, the majority of them working on contracts. In time the money they earned was used for paying off the housing credit, the education of the children, the coverage of the monthly expenses and the holidays in Bulgaria. A female interlocutor from the group of the Rudari described very precisely the changes in the migrants’ lives, ‘We have already forgotten why we came to Spain in the first place, but the bad thing is we started to live a life, and we no longer save any money’”. (Slavkova, 2010: 213)

Home country perspective: Roma migrants from Romania and Bulgaria

Since the flows and the patterns of Roma migration are still subjects of debates and controversies, we need to triangulate further different perspectives, of host and home societies, in order to have a more accurate picture of this migrant group. Much of the literature synthesized above is based on researches undertaken in the host countries. This section focuses therefore on intentions to migrate and migration experiences by Bulgarian and Romanian Roma in their countries of origin and aims to emphasize similarities and differences between these ethnic groups from both countries.

As shown in the Soros Foundation country report (Roma situation in Romania, 2011. Between social inclusion and migration), in the chapter "Third wave of Roma migration: mobility and international migration of Roma population from Romania after 1989" (Şerban, 2012), Romanian Roma migration after 1990 was triggered by worsening living conditions in the origin country, as well as by the progressive changes in political barriers against mobility (i.e. lift of visa requirements for Romanian citizens travelling to Schengen area, after January 2002, Romania's adhesion to European Union in 2007). These changes didn't result however in a massive Roma migration, in spite of Roma migrants' growing visibility in countries like Italy or Spain²². Based on several sources, Cahn and Guild (2008) provide the following estimates of Roma migrants: in Italy the Romani migrants may count between 60,000 and 80,000 persons, but the representation of Roma in the Italian population is miniscule (0,23%). The authors mention also that in other countries, like Spain or France, percentages of Roma are marginal in the country's population:

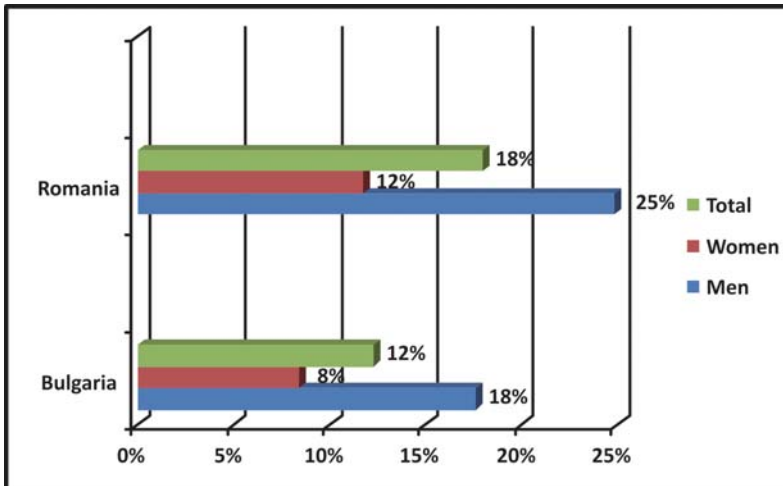
In recent years Romanian Roma have migrated especially, although not only, to those countries with Latinate national languages similar to Romanian: namely Italy, Spain and France. In Spain and France they join Romani communities of several hundreds of thousands – over half a million in the case of Spain [...]. Roma make up around 0.64 per cent of the general population of France and 1.60 per cent of the population of Spain. (Cahn and Guild, 2008: 38)

The experience of migration - Some differences seem to characterize Roma samples from Bulgaria and Romania with respect to the time spent abroad during their last migration. Although Roma migrant returnees from both countries have spent, overall, less than one year abroad during their last migration, a majority of Romanian Roma returnees (62%), compared to a lower share (48.7%) of Bulgarian Roma returnees have spent less than 3 months abroad when they last migrated. Bulgarian Roma are therefore more likely to migrate for longer periods of time, compared with Romanian Roma.

²² This report is based on the analyses of the comparative databases without weighting. The authors decided not to use weighting values in order to have a common approach since not all country databases are weighted.

In what concerns the working experience during migration, noticeable differences are found between men and women.

Figure 1. Gender differences between Roma migrant workers from Romania and Bulgaria

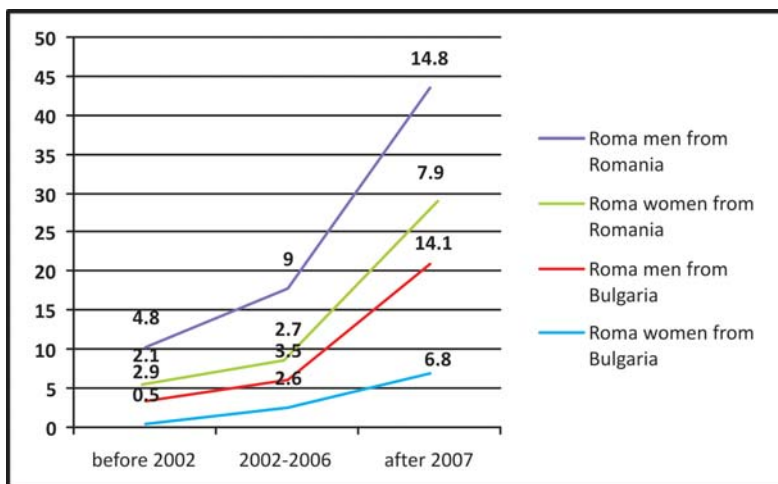


Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

The data from the figure above show significant gender differences. Larger shares of men (more than twice) compared with women in the samples from both countries have work migration experience. The data confirm the Roma traditional labour model with men being more active than women (Cace et al. 2010, Preoteasa 2011). However, in Italy Romanian and Bulgarian migrant women, for instance, outnumber men.

Roma migrants within Romanian and Bulgarian migrants flows - The share of male migrants from Romania decreased from 48.2% to 46.1% between 2006 and 2010, and from 42.9% to 38.7% for Bulgaria during the same period (Holland et al. 2011 based on ISTAT data). Sandu (2010), based on LTS (“Living abroad on a temporary basis”) survey carried out in 2006, pointed to the growing feminization of Romanian labour migration from 1990 onwards. The share of migrant women increased from 12% of Romanian labour migrants during 1990-1996 to 44% during 2002-2006. The data on Roma migration experience show also an ascendant trend, even if Roma migration is still lagging behind the tremendous feminization of labour migration from Central and Eastern European countries (Morokvasic 2004). If the proportion of women with labour migration experience was relatively low (2.7% in Romania and 2.6 in Bulgaria), after Bulgaria and Romania’s accession to EU the percentages are more than double.

Figure 2. Evolution of share of Roma returnees with labour migration experience by gender (returnees average)



Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

Roma migrants from Romania are lagging behind in what concerns this feminization trend of overall labour migration. As shown in the country report on Roma migration for Romania, only 16% of Roma women in the Romanian sample have intentions to migrate for work within the next 12 months (Şerban, 2012). A similar percentage of Roma women from Bulgarian sample stated that they intend to go abroad for work within the next 12 months.

Linking migration experience and intention to migrate - It is noticeable also that an important share of people (40% of Roma in Bulgaria and 44% Roma in Romania, see the next table) who intend to migrate within the next 12 months is situated among the category of migrant returnees, that is, those who already have a migration experience and were in their home countries by the time when the current survey was carried out. We could argue therefore that the intentions to migrate are intertwined with prior migration experiences at individual or household level in both countries.

Table 1. Intentions to go abroad for work by groups with(out) prior migration experience

| Prior migration experience | | <i>During the next 12 months, do you intend to go abroad?... Yes, for work</i> | |
|----------------------------|---|--|-----------|
| | | <i>yes</i> | <i>no</i> |
| Bulgaria | % | 40% | 10% |
| Romania | % | 44% | 17% |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

However, Bulgarian Roma are more determined in their intentions to migrate within the next 12 months, compared with Romanian Roma in the samples. Sixty-one percents of Bulgarian Roma are sure or very sure about the realization of their migration intentions, compared with respectively 49.7% of Romanian wishing to migrate.

Table 2. Intentions of Roma from Bulgaria and Romania to migrate within the next 12 months, by reason of migration

| | | Bulgaria | Romania | Total |
|--|-----|----------|---------|-------|
| For work | yes | 19.9% | 23.7% | 21.8% |
| | no | 80.1% | 76.3% | 78.2% |
| For studying | yes | 0 | 4 | 4 |
| | no | 1093 | 1063 | 2156 |
| Other reasons (business, tourism etc.) | yes | 23 | 42 | 65 |
| | no | 1070 | 1025 | 2095 |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

Intention to migrate - As we can see from the table above, only a relatively small share of Roma interviewed in Romania and Bulgaria does have intentions to migrate, seeking job opportunities abroad being the main reason. Only four Roma from Bulgarian sample stated that they would choose to migrate for studies. Migration for other reasons (i.e. business, tourism) was mentioned by comparable insignificant shares of Roma from samples of both countries. Moving beyond the intentions of migration, and looking to prior experiences of international migration after 1989, we can see that in both origin countries even lower shares of Roma from Bulgaria and Romania have already migrated to find work abroad (12% and respectively 18% of the Roma samples).

The destination choices for Bulgarian and Romanian Roma are different. Spain is the main destination mentioned by Romanian Roma (35% of the people who have the intention to travel), followed by Italy (30%) and France (21%). The Bulgarians consider Greece (24%) at a first place as a possible destination, closely followed by Spain (20%) and Germany (22%).

Selectivity of Roma migration

Based on data from samples²³ of Romanian and Bulgarian Roma migrants in Italy and Spain, we can draw a picture of these migrants groups according to main socio-demographic characteristics (i.e. gender, age, marital status). The pooled sample of Romanian and Bulgarian Roma migrants in Italy and Spain counts 854 persons (493 Roma migrants in Italy, and 361 in Spain). In what concerns the distribution of this migrant population in host countries by their belonging to larger national groups of origin, the following table gives an overview of migrants in the sample.

²³ The description of sampling methodologies is provided in the methodological chapter.

Table 3. Distribution of Roma migrants from Romania and Bulgaria in host countries Italy and Spain

| | <i>Migrants in Italy</i> | | | <i>Migrants in Spain</i> | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------|---------|--------------------------|-------|---------|
| | Counts | % | valid % | Counts | % | valid % |
| Bulgarian Roma | 104 | 21.1 | 21.1 | 69 | 19.1 | 19.4 |
| Romanian Roma | 388 | 78.7 | 78.9 | 287 | 79.5 | 80.6 |
| Total | 492 | 99.8 | 100.0 | 357 | 98.7 | 100.0 |
| Total | 493 | 100.0 | | 361 | 100.0 | |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

Age - These migrants are unevenly distributed by classes of ages, the largest share of migrants being concentrated in the age group of 20 to 29 years old, followed by the category of ages between 30 to 39 years old. Together these age groups reunite around two thirds of all Roma migrants from Romania and Bulgaria in the sample. This picture provides an image of Roma migrants in Spain and Italy as a rather young population, able to work. With regard to differences of average age of Roma migrants in Spain and Italy, we notice that, overall, the second group is slightly younger than the first (31 years old on average compared with the mean of 34 years old for Roma migrants in Spain).

Table 4. Distribution of Roma migrants from Romania and Bulgaria in host countries Italy and Spain, by age groups

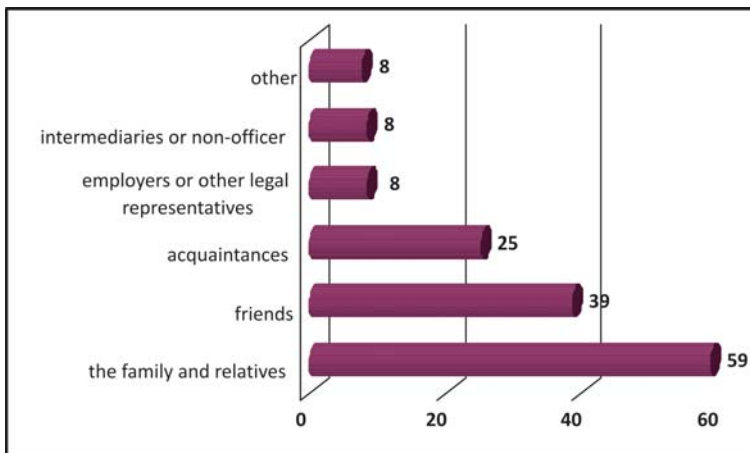
| | <i>Italy</i> | | <i>Spain</i> | |
|----------------------------|--------------|-------|--------------|-------|
| | Counts | % | Counts | % |
| 16 to 19 years old | 53 | 10.8 | 23 | 6.3 |
| 20-29 years old | 189 | 38.3 | 129 | 35.8 |
| 30 to 39 years old | 160 | 32.5 | 96 | 26.6 |
| 40 to 49 years old | 59 | 12.0 | 67 | 18.5 |
| 50 to 59 years old | 23 | 4.7 | 39 | 10.8 |
| older than 60 years | 9 | 1.8 | 7 | 2.0 |
| Total | 493 | 100.0 | 361 | 100.0 |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

Family networks and migration - In what concerns the marital status of migrants in the samples of Roma migrants from Romania and Bulgaria in the host countries under consideration here, the largest group is represented by married people (61% in Italy and 55% in Spain). Those living together represent also an important share in each country of destination (18% in Italy and 16% in Spain). The category of single migrants is relatively small: 15% in Italy and 18% in Spain, while the other categories of marital status (i.e. widow/er, divorced, separated) do not exceed 3% in each country, except for those separated migrants in Spain (around 7%). Although these categories of marital status are less represented in both countries examined here (i.e. Italy and Spain), it is however more common to

find women rather than men among them. Those Roma migrants who are married or have a partner are usually living with their spouses/partners in host countries, in the same dwelling. Therefore, Roma migration in Spain and Italy seems to be familial rather than individual. Likewise, Roma migrants rely mostly on family/relatives upon arrival in the host country, and rarely on friends or acquaintances. The majority of Roma migrants in Spain and Italy said they had someone to turn to when they arrived in the host country (73% of Romanian, and respectively 84% Bulgarian Roma migrant respondents in Italy).

Figure 3. Type of contacts migrants say can turn to upon arrival in Italy (%)



Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

Note: respondents were allowed to choose multiple answers.

Table 5. Migrants' education in comparison with education level in origin countries

| | primary | | secondary | | post secondary |
|---------------------------------|---------|------------|-----------|-----------|----------------------|
| | none | incomplete | primary | secondary | university or higher |
| Roma in Bulgaria | 12,3% | 28,1% | 47,9% | 11,2% | 0,6% |
| Roma in Romania | 23,3% | 26,2% | 46,3% | 3,6% | 0,5% |
| Roma Bulgarians in Italy | 20,2% | 20,2% | 59,6% | | |
| Roma Romanians in Italy | 36,6% | 24,0% | 37,9% | 1,5% | |
| Roma Bulgarians in Spain | 12,0% | 12,0% | 34,0% | 37,0% | 5,0% |
| Roma Romanians in Spain | 12,1% | 20,3% | 39,5% | 27,3% | 0,8% |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

The comparison among education levels in countries of destination and origin could bring few evidences:

- There are significant differences between education levels of Roma migrants in Italy and Spain. In Italy, Roma migrants from Romania and Bulgaria are less educated than their counterparts in Spain.

- The education level of Roma migrants in Spain is higher in comparison with origin countries level. They seem more positively selected in respect to education.
- The Romanian Roma in Italy have a very poor education level - more than 60% lack even primary education.

Reasons of migration - Job searching appears to be the main driver of Roma migration from both origin countries. Improving the quality of life is also very important motivation of Roma migration, especially for Romanian Roma. No major gender differences were observed in the samples of Roma migrants in Spain and Italy with respect to motivation of migration. Women seem equally motivated to migrate in order to find work and to improve their quality of life. The gender differences with regard to migrants' employment patterns will be however examined more in detail in the next section which deals with patterns of migration and aspects of socio-economic integration of Roma migrants from Romania and Bulgaria to Southern European host countries.

Table 6. Reasons of migration of Romanian/Bulgarian Roma by destination country (in %)

| | | Italy | Spain |
|--------------------------------------|----------------|-------|-------|
| seeking for a job | Bulgarian Roma | 85,6 | 53 |
| | Romanian Roma | 67,6 | 50,6 |
| the quality of life | Bulgarian Roma | 3,8 | 31 |
| | Romanian Roma | 51,3 | 42,4 |
| family reasons | Bulgarian Roma | 13,5 | 10 |
| | Romanian Roma | 17,3 | 4,3 |
| the cost of living | Bulgarian Roma | 6,7 | 1 |
| | Romanian Roma | 10,6 | 0,8 |
| education or training | Bulgarian Roma | 0 | 0 |
| | Romanian Roma | 2,3 | 0,4 |
| political reasons | Bulgarian Roma | 1 | 1 |
| | Romanian Roma | 2,3 | 0,4 |
| religious reasons | Bulgarian Roma | 0,3 | 0 |
| | Romanian Roma | 0 | 0 |
| the climate | Bulgarian Roma | 1,3 | 0 |
| | Romanian Roma | 0 | 0 |
| transit to other destinations | Bulgarian Roma | 1 | 0 |
| | Romanian Roma | 0,3 | 0 |
| other reasons | Bulgarian Roma | 2,9 | 4 |
| | Romanian Roma | 0 | 1,2 |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

Note: in Italy respondents were allowed to choose multiple answers

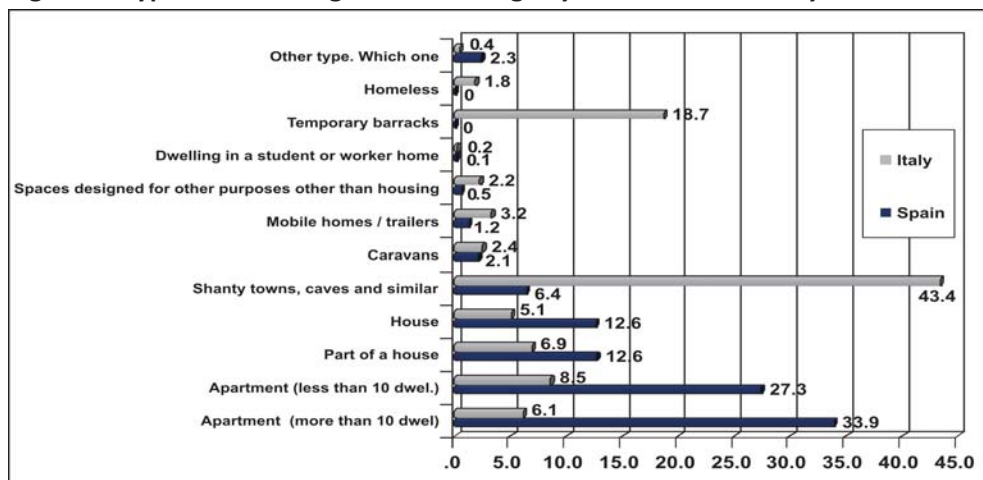
Patterns of Roma migration

Before arriving in the host country, with few exceptions, the Roma from Romania and Bulgaria, have lived in their origin country. Only five Romanian Roma migrants in Spain stated, for instance, that they lived in Italy before coming to Spain, and one Bulgarian Roma lived in Spain before choosing Italy as destination country. France, Germany as well as countries like Turkey or Hungary are also named by few dozens of Romanian Roma migrants in Italy as previous destinations. Few persons of Bulgarian Roma migrant sample in Spain have previously lived longer in countries like Germany, Greece or Serbia (3 cases each), France (2 cases), and Portugal and Russia (1 case each). Roma migrants in Spain and Italy fit therefore in the prototype of economic migrants and not in that of nomads travelling across Europe. Most of migrants were in the same country of destination one year earlier, by the time of the survey, and many of them have projects of permanent settlement in these host countries. Indeed, 87% of Roma migrants in Italy and 95% of Roma migrants in Spain declared they were living in the same region of the host countries one year ago, while a small fraction was living in another country (usually, their place of origin). With regard to the chronological phase of migration, about a quarter of the sample of Roma Romanians in Italy arrived before 2002, and over 70% arrived before 2007, while the majority of Bulgarian Roma in Italy (80%) arrived after 2007, the year when Romania and Bulgaria joined the EU. Unlike Italy, in Spain, there are not large differences between the shares of Romanian and Bulgarian Roma with respect to the phase of arrival. Most Roma migrants (75% from Romania and 80% from Bulgaria) entered Spain after 2007. Very few migrants declared they arrived before 2002 (2 cases of Bulgarian Roma and 10 cases of Romanian Roma). Gender differences with regard to period of arrival in host countries are not very significant either. Moreover, in each host country, approximately 53% of migrant respondents intend to stay forever, women being most likely than men to settle in host countries (or, at least, they intend to do so). However, 15% of Roma migrants in Italy intend to leave the country within a year, while only about 3% of Roma migrants in Spain have defined such projects of return. In what regards the patterns of migration it seems that Roma migrants in Spain and Italy follow relatively different trends. While 65.7% of Roma migrants interviewed in Spain stated they already lived in Spain for more than a month, except the present stay, only 18.5% of Roma migrants in Italy declared the same. Therefore, migrants in Spain may participate in a more circular migration pattern compared to migrants in Italy. This could be also related to the fact that an important share of migrants in Spain possess residence permits (64%), compared with a small share of Roma migrants in Italy (12%).

Patterns of Roma migration may be also intertwined with socio-economic inclusion of Roma migrants in host countries. Beyond migrants' socio-demographic characteristics (i.e. age, gender, marital status, etc.), an important role is played by host country's policies towards migrants. Therefore, we need to consider different indicators of socio-economic integration (i.e. housing conditions, employment, children school attendance, ethnic origin of one's friends, access to social services in the host country, access to health care, discrimination).

Housing conditions for migrants are very different across host countries, as already noted in the first section. First, there are important differences between Roma migrant groups in Italy and Spain in what concerns the type of dwelling they inhabit (see figure below).

Figure 4. Type of Roma migrants' dwellings by destination country



Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

Second, Roma migrants in Italy live in poor conditions, mostly in shanty towns or temporary barracks, while Roma migrants in Spain live most often in apartments in buildings with more than 10 dwellings. Regardless of the number of dwellings in the buildings, around 60% of Roma in Spain live in such places.

Table 7. Type of dwellings inhabited by Roma migrants by destination country and Roma origin (%)

| | ITALY | | SPAIN | |
|---|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| | Roma BG | Roma RO | Roma BG | Roma RO |
| House | 4.9 | 5.2 | 14.5 | 12.3 |
| Shanty towns, caves and similar | 49.0 | 42.3 | 4.3 | 7.0 |
| Part of a house | 9.8 | 6.2 | 11.6 | 13.0 |
| Temporary barracks | 2.9 | 23.1 | | |
| Apartment in a building with less than 10 dwellings | 12.7 | 7.5 | 24.6 | 28.9 |
| Caravans | 7.8 | 1.0 | 0.0 | 2.5 |
| Apartment in a building with more than 10 dwellings | 0.0 | 7.8 | 39.1 | 32.7 |
| Spaces designed for purposes other than housing (factories, garages...) | 2.9 | 2.1 | 0.0 | 0.7 |
| Dwelling in a student or worker home | 1.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Homeless | 3.9 | 1.3 | 0.0 | |
| Mobile homes / trailers | 3.9 | 3.1 | | 1.4 |
| Other type | 1.0 | 0.3 | 5.8 | 1.4 |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

Note: Respondents were distributed as follows: 353 Roma in Spain and 487 Roma in Italy

It is important to notice that in Italy Romanian Roma are more likely than Bulgarian Roma to live in temporary barracks. In Spain, however, Romanian and Bulgarian Roma seem to share more similarities in what concerns the housing conditions (i.e. type of dwellings).

Discrimination felt in the host country - in Italy a larger share of Romanian Roma (more than half of these migrants - 53%), compared with Bulgarian Roma (one third) felt discriminated during the last year. In Spain, the situation is quite different. First of all, more than half Roma migrants never perceived discrimination in Spain during the last year. There are differences between Romanian Roma and Bulgarian Roma in terms that 75% of the first group felt no discrimination compared 61% from the second group. Again, the differences between Romanians' and Bulgarians' statements with reference to discrimination are lower. Overall, 61% of Bulgarian Roma and 75% of Romanian Roma never perceived discrimination in Spain during the last year.

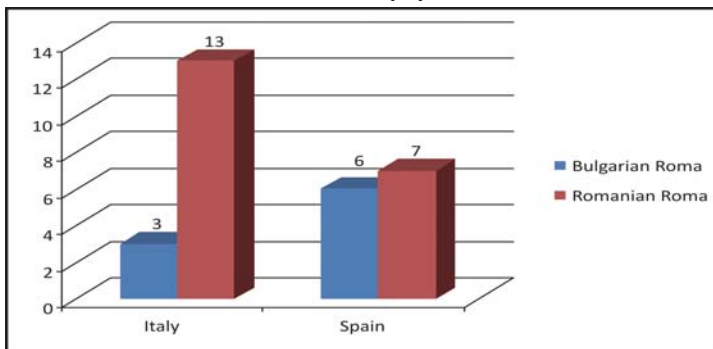
Table 8. Discrimination felt by countries and national groups

| Large national groups | COUNTRY | | |
|-----------------------|---------|-------|-------|
| | Italy | Spain | Total |
| Bulgarian | 34,8% | 39,2% | 37,1% |
| Romanian | 53,5% | 24,9% | 42,2% |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

An important indicator of social integration is **children school attendance**. Children's exposure to host country's educational system is not only a means of socialization, but it was found also a leading way of upward mobility especially for migrant groups occupying marginal positions as those often faced by Roma people. The majority of children attend school in Spain and Italy. A special situation seems to be in Italy where Romanian Roma children (87%) are less integrated in educational system than Bulgarians Roma (94%).

Figure 5. Children school non-attendance (%)



Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

It might be also important to recall that Romanian Roma in Italy are more likely to live in camps or barracks, usually situated on the outskirts, and therefore the access to infrastructure (bus stations, schools) may be more difficult. The Romanian Roma parents explained the non-attendance by economical difficulties and children unwillingness. In Spain, the situation is quite similar for Romanian and Bulgarian Roma children, that is, about 7% of migrant children are not attending school, according to parents' declarations.

The indicator *ethnic origin of friends* revealed a higher level of integration of Roma people in Spain than in Italy. The composition of friendship ties is considered to be of interest for migrants' integration. Having inter-ethnic friendship ties may be one of the factors that ensure a smooth access to jobs, for instance, and through their better economic outcomes migrants may achieve a higher level of integration in the host society. It was shown that those who rely on weak ties (i.e. friends of different ethnic origin, acquaintances) and not solely on strong ties (family or community members) enjoy a wider range of labour-market opportunities (Pfeffer and Parra, 2009). In Spain, more than 60% of interviewed persons declared unimportant the ethnic group in choosing friends and 35% of Romanians Roma and 41% of Bulgarians Roma affirmed that they have inter-ethnic friendship ties. In Italy the spatial isolation (see above the housing situation) could be an explanatory factor for this integration deficiency. It is commonly argued that migrants who are exclusively embedded in their ethnic group may have lower opportunities to find better jobs or adequate accommodation and may suffer from isolation. When comparing Romanian Roma to Bulgarian Roma in Italy, it appears that the former group is better connected to the society of arrival. About 41% of Romanian Roma, compared with 29,4 % of Bulgarian Roma in Italy say that the ethnic origin is not relevant in establishing friendship ties. Despite the fact that Romanian Roma are more isolated than Bulgarians in Italy, at least with respect to housing conditions, they tend to cross the ethnic borders and this may be an indication of their attempt to integrate in the host society.

Table 9. Friends' ethnic origins (% of countries total)

| | | Italy | Spain | Total |
|-------------------|---|-------|-------|-------|
| Bulgarians | From my ethnic group only | 28,4% | 14,1% | 21,4% |
| | Predominantly from my ethnic group, but also I have friends | 41,2% | 14,1% | 27,9% |
| | The ethnic group of my friends does not matter for me | 29,4% | 67,7% | 48,3% |
| | I do not have close friends | 1,0% | 4,0% | 2,5% |
| Romanians | From my ethnic group only | 23,8% | 15,2% | 20,3% |
| | Predominantly from my ethnic group, but also I have friends | 34,5% | 16,8% | 27,4% |
| | The ethnic group of my friends does not matter for me | 40,7% | 63,7% | 49,9% |
| | I do not have close friends | 1,0% | 4,3% | 2,3% |

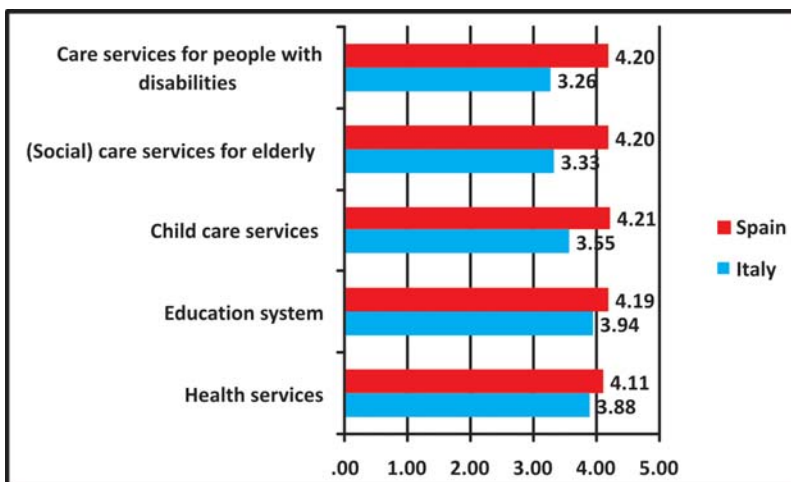
Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

The types of **social services** provided to migrants vary by country and the comparison between them is quite difficult. We can present further just few highlights:

- The Romanian and Bulgarian Roma migrants in Spain are better connected to public services than those in Italy.
- About 60% of Roma sample in Spain received job counselling while only 4% of Bulgarian Roma and 22% of Romanian Roma in Italy enjoyed this type of service.
- 50% of Romanian Roma and 7% of Bulgarian Roma in Italy are users of special social services for Roma.

The evaluation of public services demonstrates also a better appreciation by Roma migrants in Spain than in Italy (see the figure presented below).

Figure 6. Migrants’ assessments about the quality of public services in Spain and Italy



Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

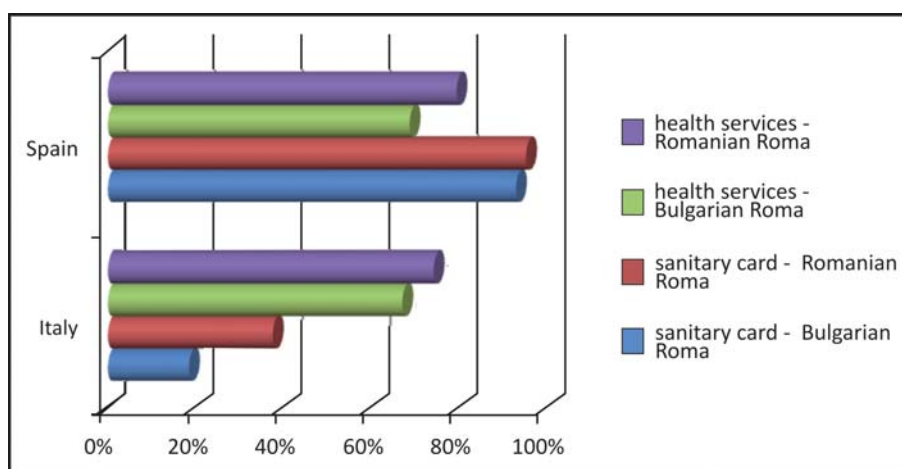
Health services - The Roma migrants in Italy seem to be less included in the health insurance systems than Roma in Spain (95% in Spain and 34% in Italy). One possible explanation of this fact is that in Italy, according to a country report²⁴, the health system is decentralised and the local institutions responsible for its management (Azienda di Sanità Locale) do not implement any specific programme for Roma, a group living often in environments with bad sanitation, threatening the health condition of these inhabitants. Furthermore, Roma migrants are excluded from most of health care services since people without Italian citizenship can receive only urgent or essential

²⁴ The report is part of a larger document requested by the European Parliament’s Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs, entitled: “Measures to promote the situation of Roma EU citizens in the European Union”, issued in 2011, available at <http://www2.lse.ac.uk/businessAndConsultancy/LSEConsulting/pdf/Roma.pdf>

medical treatments. The subjects in both countries (around 70% of Roma migrants in each host country) declared that they called health services for them or other family member.

These discrepancies may therefore be explained through the differences between the two health systems. In Spain, at least until recently, there was universal access to healthcare and Roma community, including Roma migrants, has also access to these services. However, as it is noted in a country report included in the same source (see note 3), access is poor in the areas not covered by the national health system.

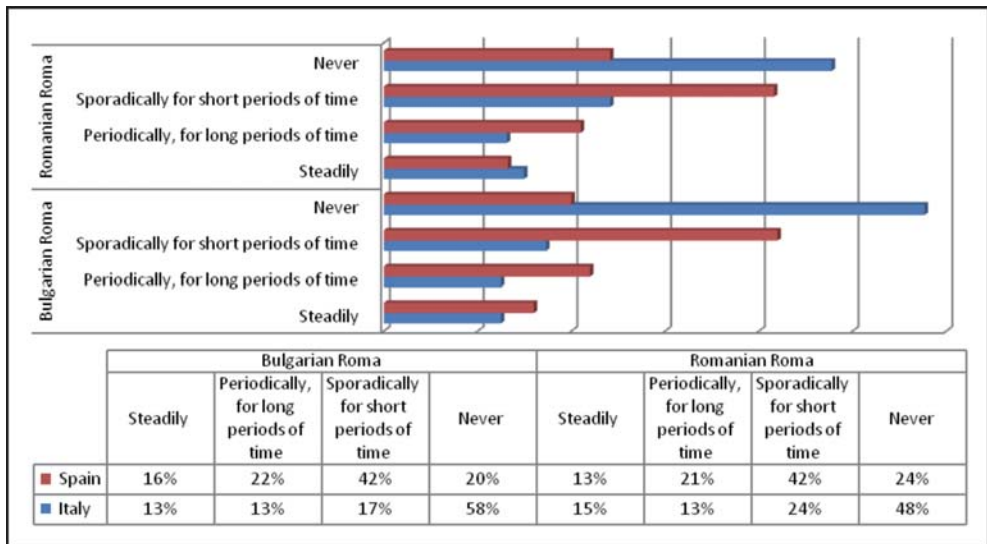
Figure 7. Health system access and insurance



Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

The Roma migrants' **employment** followed a common pattern in both countries of destination: a precarious employment associated with temporary jobs and low social security. In Italy most of the interviewed persons did not work in the last two years or had just short periods of time of work. Roma women follow to a large extent the traditional model, working less than men. In Italy, the large majority of Roma women (71% of Bulgarians and 60% of Romanians Roma) did not worked at all in the last two years. In Spain, the situation is quite different: 24% of Romanian Roma and 20% of Bulgarian Roma declared themselves totally inactive in the last two years and 38% (Bulgarian Roma) and 34% (Romanian Roma) worked steadily or periodically for long period of time. The Roma women worked more often than in Italy, having temporary jobs (40% of Romanians Roma women and 47% of Bulgarians Roma) and the proportion of women who never worked is about a quarter of each women sample.

Figure 8. Have you been working in the last two years?



Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

The occupational status and domains of activity analysis revealed a very poor employment, the majority of interviewed persons being involved in elementary occupations, agriculture (especially in Spain) and crafts. Comparing the two countries of destination, there are significant differences in Roma occupational status: in Spain, Roma migrants of both origins are involved in more qualified jobs than in Italy where the big majority take on elementary occupations.

Table 10. Migrant’s occupation status by country

| Country | Occupation status | Italy | Spain |
|-----------------|--|-------|-------|
| BULGARIA | Professionals | | 2% |
| | Service and sales workers | | 26% |
| | Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers | | 4% |
| | Plant and machine operators, and assemblers | | 11% |
| | Craft and related trades workers | 4% | |
| | Roma traditional occupation | 8% | |
| | Elementary occupations | 88% | 57% |
| ROMANIA | Professionals | 5% | 7% |
| | Technicians and associate professionals | 0% | 2% |
| | Service and sales workers | 12% | 13% |
| | Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers | 2% | 2% |
| | Craft and related trades workers | 2% | 7% |
| | Plant and machine operators, and assemblers | 4% | 2% |
| | Elementary occupations | 58% | 67% |
| | Roma traditional occupation | 17% | |

Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

Migrant transnationalism of Romanian and Bulgarian Roma in Italy and Spain

Migrants' transnationalism is one of the most researched topics in the field of migration. Transnationalism refers to different socio-economic, political and cultural activities (i.e. construct of identities that transcend national barriers, participation in the political and social, creation of businesses that contribute to the development of society of origin, sending of remittances) through which migrants keep an active feeling of belonging to their society of origin, while being abroad (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton-Blanc, 1994; Portes, 1996). It was shown that "being a transnational migrant implies living and being part of two societies linked through the transnational social practices of the migrants" (Itzigsohn and Giorguli, 2002: 770). Therefore, migrants' transnationalism and migrants' inclusion into the host society do not exclude each other, but may be differently intertwined. Itzigsohn and Giorguli (2002) examine the relationships between these two processes and establish the following typology concerning the involvement of migrants in transnational activities:

- *Linear transnationalism* results when migrants smoothly achieve the rebuilding of social relations and the way of life from the country of origin through sending remittances, travelling home, and building of ethnic institutions in the country of reception.
- *Resource dependent transnationalism* refers to emergence of transnational activities in accordance to the slow process of accumulation of necessary means allowing the participation in these activities (i.e. time to participate in ethnic clubs, money to set up a business and contacts in both countries allowing the development of business).
- *Reactive transnationalism* is emerging when an migrant perceives his or her experience in the country of reception in negative terms (i.e. frustration with occupational careers or the social status attained in the country of reception, discrimination or a negative perception of the reception society that leads migrants to identify rather with their country of origin) (Itzigsohn and Giorguli, 2002).

Based on this typology, this report further examines whether Romanian and Bulgarian Roma in Spain and Italy involve in transnational activities (i.e. sending money outside Italy/Spain; regularity of visits to and of contacts with household members in the country of origin) and how their transnationalism is linked to their inclusion in host countries.

At a first sight, Romanian and Bulgarian Roma in Italy and Spain are equally engaged in relationships with their country of origin, as it stands from the analysis of the variable "are you in touch with your relatives and friends in your home country". Indeed, 86% of Romanian Roma and 88% of Bulgarian Roma in Italy declared that they are in contact with their relatives and friends left behind. Similar shares of Roma national groups in Spain declared as well they are in contact with relatives or friends back home. Gender differences are not noticeable in any

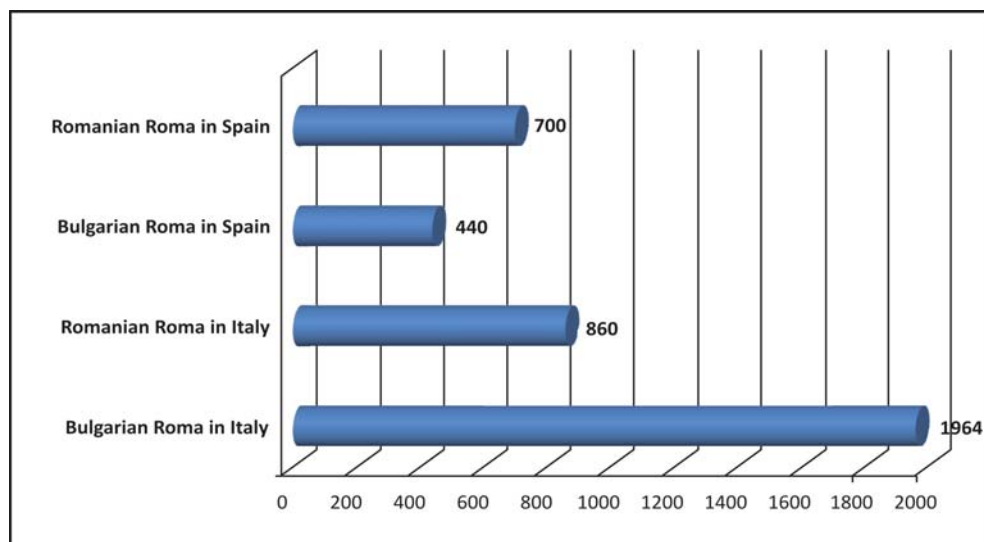
of host countries with regard to the same variable. Narrowing the focus to those **Roma migrants having contacts with relatives/friends**, we further address the question of the regularity of contacts. Bulgarian Roma in Italy are more likely to have daily and weekly contacts than their Romanian counterparts in Italy who tend to have less regular contacts with those left behind (monthly- approximately one quarter of each national sample) and some exceptional cases mentioned they contact friends or relatives once in a year or less. In Spain also, we observe large differences between Romanian and Bulgarian Roma especially within the first two categories of contacts' regularity. While 30% of Bulgarian Roma keeping contacts with relatives say that these contacts are on a daily basis, only 4% of Romanian in Spain declare the same. However, 44% of Romanians in Spain have weekly contacts, while only 27% of Bulgarians Roma declared the same. Moreover, regardless of the time of arrival in the host country, 80% of Romanian Roma and 74% of Bulgarian Roma in Italy returned at least once to their home country, and also around 73% of Romanian as well as of Bulgarian Roma from Spain returned at least once. The last returns usually took place in 2011 (57% of returns from Italy, and 34% returns from Spain). Less than 10% of Roma migrants in each country (5.5% of Roma migrants in Italy, and 9% of Roma migrants in Spain) didn't return in their country. Those who never returned have mainly arrived more recently (after 2007) and therefore they might not have accumulated enough resources in order to travel back to their country. There are not large differences across national groups with respect to the number of returns to country of origin neither in Italy, nor in Spain.

Beyond these variables regarding social transnationalism, it is also important to take into account other variables concerning economic transnationalism. The current survey data enables to examine the involvement in practices like sending remittances, regularity and amounts of remittances sent by Roma migrants. Economic transnationalism tends to be less developed than social transnationalism among both Roma national groups in Spain and Italy. More than half of Roma migrants never sent remittances outside Spain/Italy. If we look at **those who send remittances**, in what concerns the regularity of money sent outside the host countries, in Italy, Roma migrants tend to send more often (47% send weekly or at least once in a month), than in Spain (30% send remittances on monthly basis). In Italy, a lower share of Roma migrant women send remittances, compared to Spain where gender differences are not important in this respect.

Regarding the amounts remitted, in Italy, out of 164 Roma migrants who reported the amounts sent during the last year, 15% have remitted up to 100 Euros, and 17% of 117 Roma migrants in Spain declared amounts up to 100 Euros. There are however large differences when comparing the means of amounts sent by large national groups of Roma (see figure bellow) in each host country but also within the same national group across host countries. In Italy, for instance, the average of remittances sent by Bulgarian Roma is more than two times larger than the average of amounts sent by Romanian Roma (1964 Euros compared with respectively 860 Euros). In Spain the situation is opposite, Romanian Roma sending,

on average more money than their Bulgarian counterparts. The differences between means of amounts sent may be partly explained through incomes/occupation. However, the shortcomings of data on income and occupation available for this report don't allow for a clear statement in this regard. For instance, Bulgarian Roma in Italy send much more money than Bulgarian Roma in Spain, although it is shown in the occupation section that the economic situation of migrants in Spain is relatively better than that in Italy. An alternative explanation could be the intention of most Bulgarian Roma who send money home from Italy to return home soon (within a year or so), and therefore they might send money for family or investments to support their family upon return. There are less significant differences between Romanian Roma in Spain and Italy. This group sends comparable amounts of money during the last year (700 Euros, respectively 860 Euros)

Figure 9. The amount of money sent in the past year by Roma migrants from Italy and Spain (in €)



Source: EU-INCLUSIVE survey

Likewise, we can notice gender differences with respect to money sent during the last year: on average, Bulgarian Roma women from Italy sent larger amounts than their male counterparts, while, Romanian Roma women send lower amounts. In Spain, Roma men of both nationalities send more money, on average, than women, but this gender difference is larger for Bulgarian compared with Romanian Roma group. Finally, we can also address the question of remittances' recipients, that is, the persons who receive the money sent by migrants. Regardless of the national group of origin, the largest category of remittances' recipients is represented by migrants' parents, followed by the categories of children and spouses/partners.

Discussion: Roma inclusion and the challenges which lie ahead

We consider this study as an exploratory research on Roma migrants' topic, very useful for future research. There are very few studies on Roma migration, and being aware of the limits of the present survey (i.e. some questions are differently applied across countries, there are variables with too many missing values, the sampling methodology was not similar, the language the questionnaire was administrated), we can only address some observations based mostly on these preliminary results. Therefore, we caution against considering the following statements as conclusions and invite stakeholders to further explore and debate around specific questions briefly addressed here.

A first observation concerns the relatively uneven prospects of Roma migrants' integration in host countries considered here, namely Italy and Spain. It seems that, overall, Roma migrants in Spain enjoy better access to public services, live in better housing conditions, have less defined projects of return and their legal status in the host country is mostly regular.

A second observation refers to the differences across national groups of Roma in each host country. In Italy these differences between Romanian and Bulgarian Roma are striking in many respects (i.e. type of dwellings, chronological stage of arrival in the host country, projects of return, children's school attendance, job counselling services), usually at the disadvantage of Romanian Roma. In Spain, at least in some respects (possession of a certificate of residence, of a health card) the differences are lower between Romanian and Bulgarian Roma samples and the first group seem to be in a relative better position: 85,6% of Romanian Roma hold a certificate of residence and 76,8 of Bulgarian Roma (similar percentages of Roma hold a Spanish health card).

A third observation would be that the migrants' employment seems to closely replicate the origin countries pattern: high unemployment rate, non standard and unsecure jobs and elementary occupations. However, the employment situation in Spain is quite different than in Italy: more Roma people in Spain are employed in qualified and secure jobs. In Italy a large proportion of Roma are unemployed and the large majority have elementary occupations.

Finally, based on the results of these data it is difficult to estimate whether Roma migrants are transnational migrants and, if so, to what extent they fit in one of those three categories of transnationalism theorized by Itzigsohn and Giorguli (2002). Although Roma migrants contact regularly their family members and friends left behind and keep active ties with their community in the origin country, they lack resources in order to develop economic transnational activities. Except for sending limited amounts of money for family, any other economic transnational activity is unknown among Roma migrants, at least as it appears from the EU-INCLUSIVE survey.

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Editura Dobrogea

Trustul de Presă „Cuget Liber”
Constanța, I.C. Brătianu nr. 5, cod 900711
Tel: 0241/582.130; Fax: 0241/619.524
www.cugetliber.ro/edituradobrogea

Bun de tipar: iunie 2012
Apărut: iulie 2012
Format: 16 / 23 cm
Coli tipar: 5,5



UNIUNEA EUROPEANĂ



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Romii din România, Bulgaria Italia și Spania, între incluziune socială și migrație.

Studiu comparativ.

Editat de Fundația Soros România

Iulie 2012

Conținutul acestui material nu reprezintă în mod obligatoriu poziția oficială a Uniunii Europene sau a Guvernului României

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Project cofinanced from European Social Fund through Sectorial Operational Program Human Resources Development 2007-2013

Priority Axe 6: Social Inclusion Promotion

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Project Title: EU INCLUSIVE. Data transfer and exchange of good practices regarding the inclusion of roma population between Romania, Bulgaria, Italy and Spain.

Identification project number: POSDRU/98/6.4/S/63841

Roma from Romania, Bulgaria, Italy and Spain, between Social Inclusion and Migration.

Comparative study.

Edited by Soros Foundation Romania

July, 2012

The contents of this publication do not necessarily represent the official position of European Union or of the Romanian Government.

ISBN: 978-606-565-047-3

