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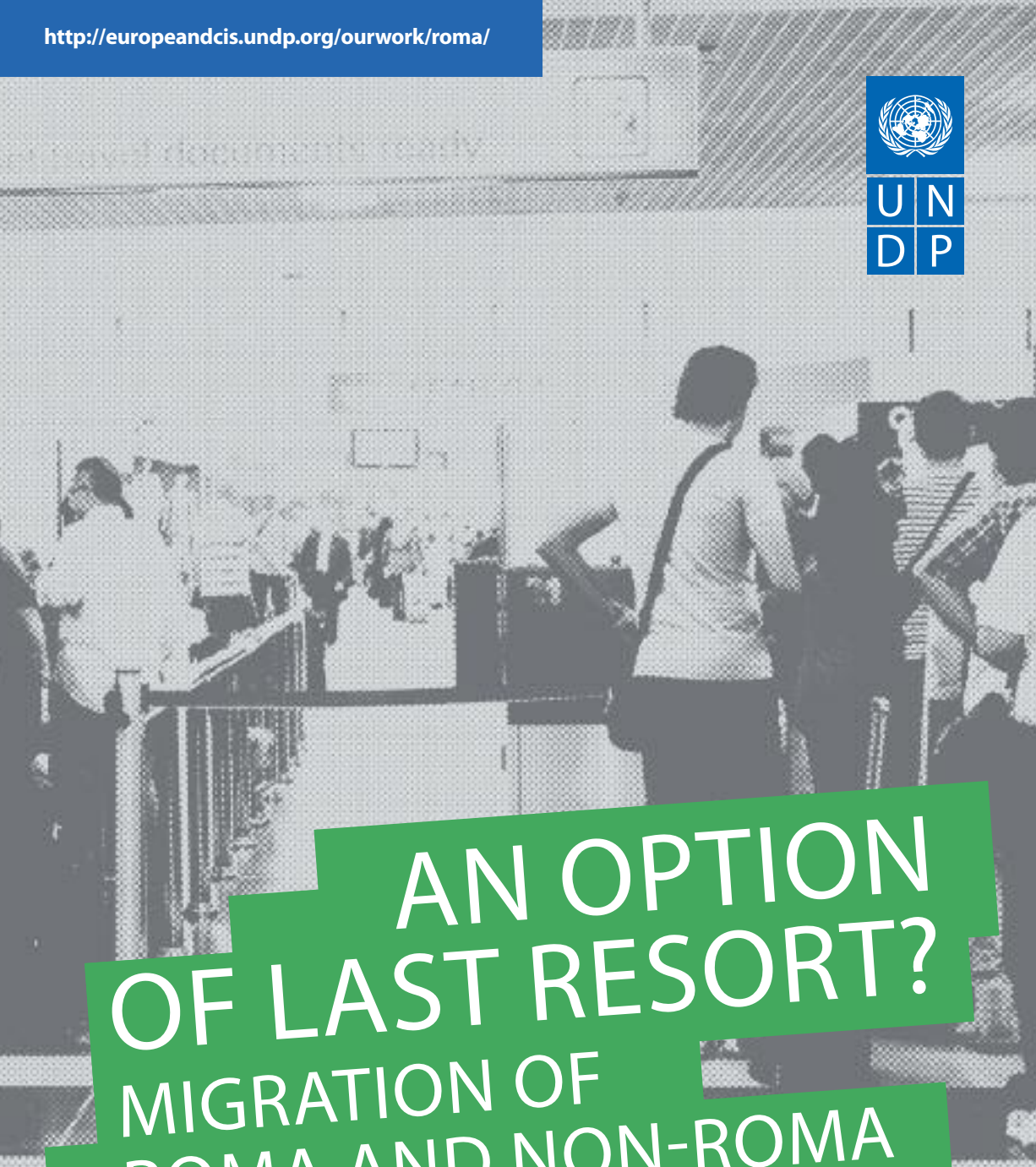

AN OPTION OF LAST RESORT?

MIGRATION OF ROMA AND NON-ROMA FROM CEE COUNTRIES

Roma Inclusion Working Papers

An Option of Last Resort?

Migration of Roma and Non-Roma from CEE countries

Stoyanka Cherkezova, Ilona Tomova

Roma Inclusion Working Papers

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Table of Contents

Introduction

This report aims to explore the migratory movements of Roma and partly of non-Roma from the CEE countries, attitudes to migration, profiles of migrants and the main factors that lead to choosing this type of behaviour.

Migrations are discussed in the general demographic and economic contexts of the countries of emigrants'origin. A comparative analysis of the similarities and differences of migratory movements, in terms of welfare, incomes, access to labour is provided.

The main research questions, which have been discussed and answered, are as follows:

- What are the main reasons for Roma and non-Roma to migrate, and do they fulfil their own expectations?
- Do the reasons for migration of Roma differ from those of other Europeans from Central and Eastern Europe?
- What are the most frequently chosen destinations?
- What are the typical profiles among Roma and non-Roma migrants?
- What is the life of Roma immigrants in the receiving countries?

Migration is a complex issue that is difficult to capture in its entirety through the use of just one instrument. This is why a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods has been used in this research. The first and the second chapters of the analysis are based on the available quantitative data. Statistics collected from official sources are not sufficient to provide comprehensive information on the topic. To offset this restrictive situation, data from two surveys (prepared and conducted in close cooperation) have been used.

One is the UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011 was conducted in 12 countries in Central and Eastern Europe (Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Moldova, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Albania, Montenegro, FYR Macedonia, Slovakia, Czech Republic and Serbia) among Roma and non-Roma people living close to Roma communities. The analysis included only respondents who participated in Module 4 of the study: "Individual status and attitudes of the randomly selected respondent", N=13481. In the first chapter it is used to study the intentions for future migration of Roma and non-Roma native population from the twelve countries surveyed and the factors

leading to that choice. In the second chapter it is used to reveal the Roma and non-Roma immigrants' profiles, patterns of migration and integration in CEE receiving countries.

The second data set used comes from the FRA Roma pilot survey 2011 that was conducted in parallel in EU Member States, where Roma populations had not been surveyed such as Italy, Greece, Spain, Portugal and France, as well as in the central and eastern EU Member States. Data from this survey are employed to analyse Roma migrants' profiles in France and Italy, different aspects of their integration: employment, living conditions, sources of incomes, access to health care and education, discrimination experience etc. and the pull and push factors. In Italy a comparison of the respective situations of Roma migrants, National Sinti and non-Roma based on the Roma Pilot Survey data set was included.

The migrants' profiles (comparable to CEE immigrants' ones) are based on data from:

- in the case of France – interviews of 329 randomly selected Romanian Roma migrants, living in camps in and around Paris;
- in the case of Italy: interviews of 210 randomly selected Roma migrants (out of 231 randomly selected Roma respondents covered by the survey) - 101 from Romania and the rest from the Western Balkans (countries from Former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, FYR Macedonia and Serbia). They answered questions about all members of their households. Thus information about 1240 and 1254 members of Roma migrant households respectively in France and in Italy was collected.

In order to capture the specific dimensions of the Roma migration, which are omitted in the quantitative methods, a qualitative research was conducted on Bulgarian Roma migration to Belgium. Despite the peculiarities of their communities of origin, specific socioeconomic situation and pull and push factors, the qualitative analysis provides important insights, which may also be relevant for Roma migration in the EU in general.

The qualitative research is based on the results of field work conducted in Brussels and Ghent in the periods 8–19 July 2012 and 18–28 November 2012, through semi-structured interviews with emigrants, with experts from the Municipality, the Employment Agency and non-governmental organisations in Brussels and Ghent. In addition, the method of direct observation was used (of Bulgarian Roma emigrants' meeting places and homes, of the Bulgarian "Church of God" in Ghent, and of the workplaces of six emigrants). The study also used the results of a desk research of available documents and sources, relevant to the topic and the specific population groups.

1 Roma and non-Roma migration seen from the countries of origin. An aggregate perspective of the push and pull factors

Demographic and economic context in CEE

The demographic and economic situations in the CEE are specific and combine the processes of rapidly shrinking and ageing, mass impoverishment of the population, and the transition to market institutions.

All those countries are characterized by drops in the natural growth rate (per 1,000 people) in almost all the years after 1950. For the period 2005–2010, in half of these countries this rate was negative (Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Republic of Moldova, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia).[1] The rest (except Albania) are countries with very low population growths, according to the classification of Urlanis (Figure 1).

Most Western European states also belong to those with very low population growth rates, under the classification of Urlanis.[2] The surveyed countries share one specific feature: since 1990, the population of almost all of them has either decreased or increased at much lower rates, compared to Western Europe (Figure 2).

The main difference is that after the political and economic changes, the migration outflow (emigration) from CEE countries exceeds migration inflows making those countries net "migration donors" for the highly developed economies (Figure 3).

The official data on immigration flows for the period 2001–2010 in European countries shows that 5.9% (Eurostat) of the people of the 12 countries surveyed[3] have moved abroad (and have lived there for at least 12 months). This overall score is quite high, though underestimated.[4] The biggest outflows were from Romania and Alba-

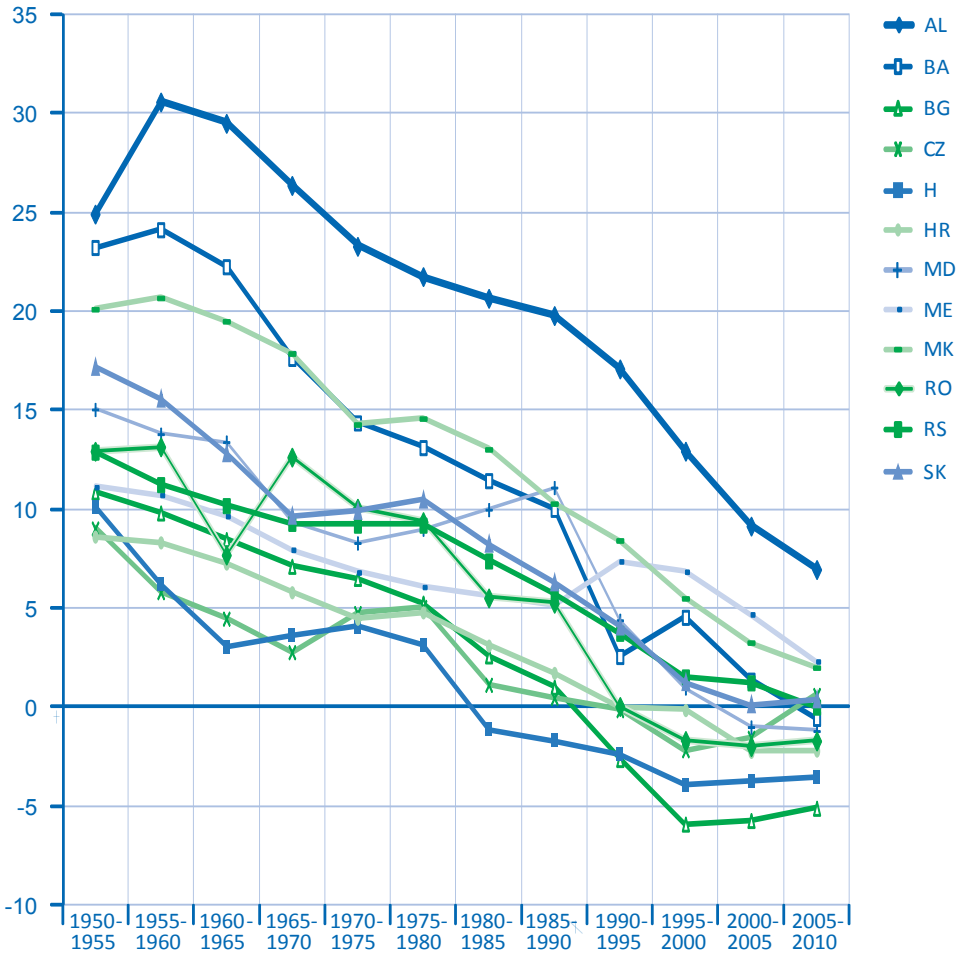
1 The main reason is the higher drop in birth rates, rather than in death rates. The latter during a certain period even increased for some countries such as Bulgaria, Moldova, Romania and some of the former Yugoslav republics.

2 Exceptions from that rule are France, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, as well as Iceland and Ireland. The former fall into the next category – lower growth: from 3.0 to 5.9‰ according the same classification. The latter are in the medium natural increase category– from 6.0 to 9.9‰.

3 The population for the period 2001–2010 is estimated as average, on the basis of the World Population Prospects data.

4 There is an underestimation here, because not all host countries of Europe provided data, as well as due to its administrative character. The latter requires the person to have registered themselves to an address, which is not always the case for all the people who are staying abroad. Also, it is difficult to account flows within the Schengen area (in the case of Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia), as the citizens of these countries can move freely.

Figure 1: Natural growth rate (per 1,000 people) in 12 CEE countries, 1950–2010

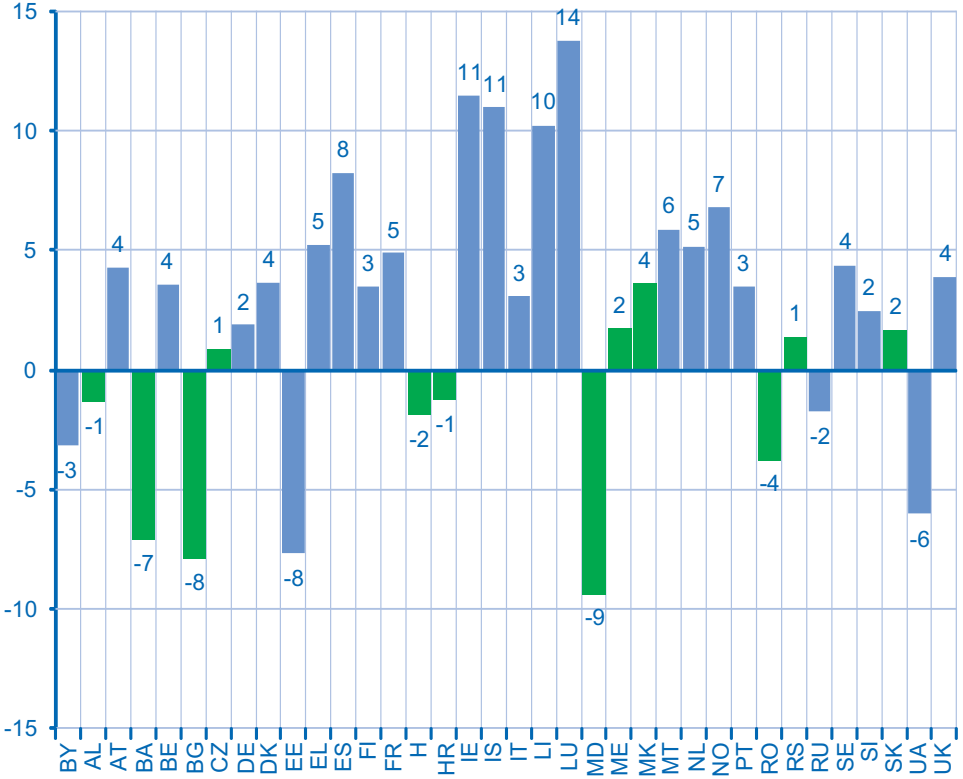


Note: For visual clarity, the following abbreviations were used in the graphs: AL (Albania), BA (Bosnia and Herzegovina), BG (Bulgaria), H (Hungary), HR (Republic of Croatia), CZ (Czech Republic), MD (Moldova), ME (Montenegro), MK (FYR of Macedonia), RO (Romania), RS (Republic of Serbia), and SK (Slovakia). The abbreviations follow the country codes used by EUROSTAT, http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/Glossary:Country_codes

Source: Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, World Population Prospects: The 2010 Revision,

nia, among the total outstream from the studied countries (Annex, Tables A6 and A7). Respectively 13.7% and 10.2% (the highest shares), of their average annual populations for the period, migrated.

Figure 2: Average annual population change by country, 1990–2010 (per 1,000 people)*



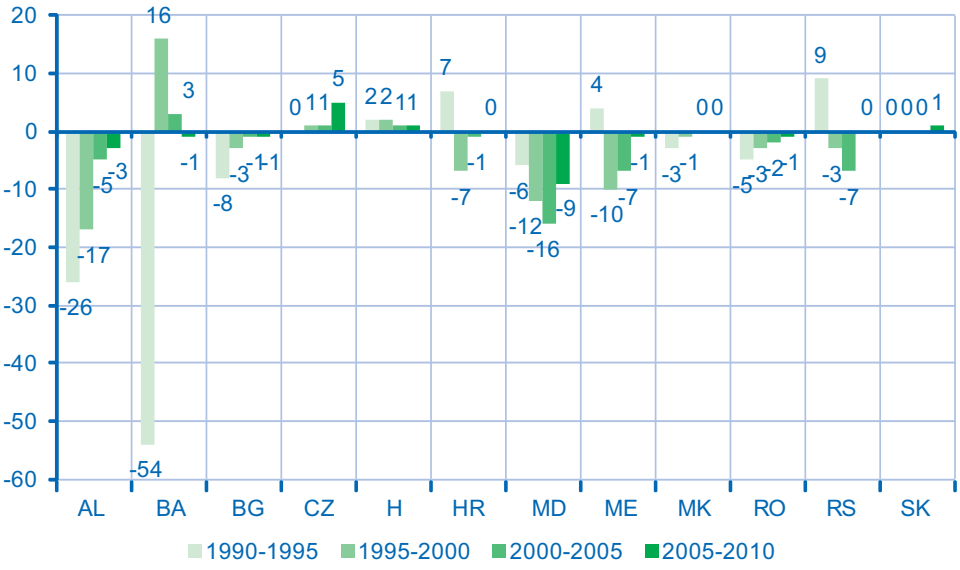
Source: Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, World Population Prospects: The 2010 Revision, 2012, own calculations,

*In green are marked the twelve countries surveyed.

There are several possible sources of data on migration flows which can be used to analyze the impact of various factors: official statistical data on migration, asylum applications – accepted/rejected, work permits, indicators of the number of detected irregular residents of countries, etc. Most states calculate migration by applying a criterion of a minimum stay of 12 months as a definition.[5] Since the official statistical records register the movements with a time lag of a year (and sometimes more than a year) after the actual event, the link between the change in factors for migration

5 Exception is Moldova. Person with a stay for more than 6 months is considered as an immigrant.

Figure 3: Net migration rate by country, 1990–2010 (per 1,000 people)



Source: Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, World Population Prospects: The 2010 Revision,

Note: the data is based on official estimates of international migration, as well as on estimates derived as the difference between overall population growth and natural increase.

and the consequent migratory behaviour could be underestimated and even blurred. For example, the poverty represented as dynamics of income and/or its distribution in the country of origin (push factor) could lead to fluctuation of outflows. Taking into account the registration statistics in the receiving country, the changes will be "observable" a year after. During that time there could be people that decide to go back home or to move to another country. Official statistics, including Eurostat, reflect only part of the information and do not reveal temporary, seasonal or the so-called circular migration.

Asylum applications could provide some evidence about migration flows and be interpreted in this context. A Frontex report indicates that sometimes asylum applications are used just to avoid the formal requirements for visa or residence/work permit and to get access to the host countries (COM (2012) 443 final/03.08.2012, BG, 10). While the applicant is waiting for approval, he/she can move and reside there, enjoy social rights, even work irregularly.[6] Asylum application could also be one way for

6 In times of peace (1999–2007), the large amount of rejected asylum applications also testifies to this (applicants from Bulgaria– 81.1%, Czech Republic – 91.5%, Romania – 76.9%; Bosnia and Herzegovina – 70.8%, Croatia – 74.3%, Moldova – 66.3%).

people to remain in the host country after being caught to stay there irregularly for too long. Beside the inflows of refugees, the asylum applications reveal some flux of a different type of immigrants. Even though political or religious reasons are usually specified in asylum requests, quite a lot of those reasons are economic in essence. Fluctuations in the number of asylum applicants by country of origin provide indirect evidence for the latter; broadly speaking, in times of an economic slump (hardships) their number increases and vice-versa it decreases when the economic prosperity (Annexes, Tables A1–A4). Such interpretation is likely to be accurate for countries which are not involved in armed conflicts during the period investigated. It is applicable just in the case of limited access imposed by receiving countries' restrictive policies. Besides, it is difficult to draw a clear line between economy and human rights.[7]

Massey et Capoferro and Heckmann provide examples of persons who became legally residing after an irregular stay in a receiving country, or a stay prolonged beyond its legal duration, or change his/her legal status (PortesetDeWind 2008: 262, 288). Such person can be counted twice in same year, or could not be included in statistics. It is not appropriate to sum data about the immigrants, asylum applicants, persons with work permits, nor to use only one source of information. The possible bias of information does not allow profound analysis to be made, or to compose indexes. The method of comparison will be used.

Jointly with data for immigrants and work permits, asylum applications will be used to analyse different factors for movement. Economic situation and incomes, availability of employment opportunities, armed conflicts, political and social changes will be discussed as factors for migration below. The analysis does not reject or neglect the political, religious or other non-economic nature of asylum applications, but will stress on the latter.

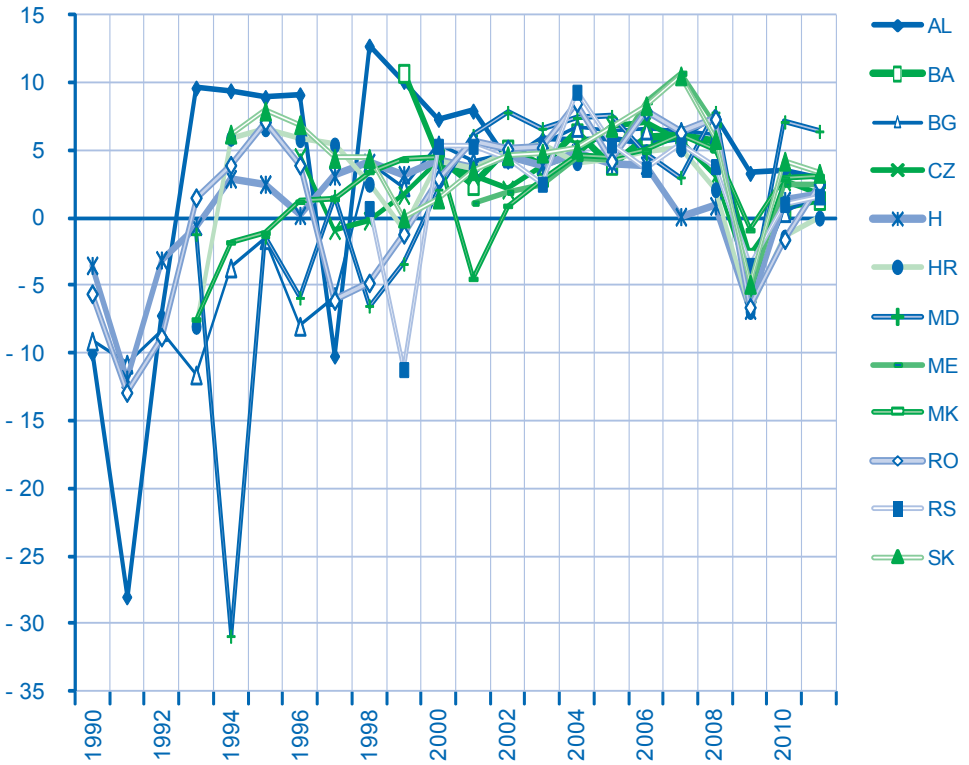
A major factor appears to be the economic situation in countries of origin (Figure 4). The 1990s were a period of intense change when the decline in employment opportunities associated with the transition to a market economy resulted in mass unemployment and impoverishment of large parts of the population in Central and Eastern Europe.

Policies, measures, actions, and changes implemented through different approaches, led to diversity in terms of welfare, incomes, employment opportunities and services in these countries.

Different approaches could be used to measure the welfare. HDI is largely used under the capability approach. Czech Republic (0.87 in 2011), Slovakia (0.83) and Hungary

7 I would like to thank to Mariya Samuilova and Roumyana Petrova-Benedict for their invaluable comments that helped to improve this analysis.

Figure 4: Real GDP growth (Annual per cent change)

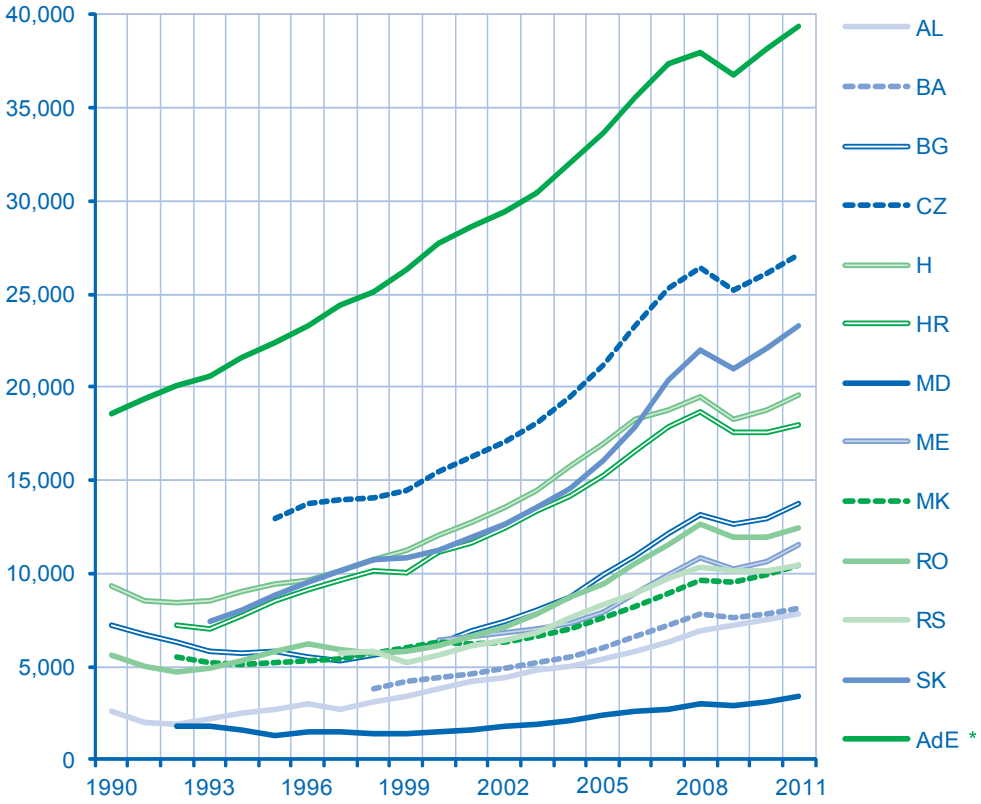


Source: International Monetary Fund, World Economic Outlook Database, October 2012, www.imf.org

(0.82) score comparatively high HDI. Croatia comes after them (0.80). Romania, Montenegro, Bulgaria and Serbia are in the next group (0.77-0.78), while Albania (0.74), Bosnia and Herzegovina (0.73), FYR Macedonia (0.73, and Moldova (0.65) occupy the last places. In terms of non-income HDI value, the 12 countries maintain the same ranking, but the difference between the Czech Republic (first by rank: 0.92 for 2011) and Moldova (last by rank: 0.75) becomes smaller. Divergences get larger from an income component perspective. The Czech Republic's income index is 0.77 and Moldova's: 0.49. The ranking of 12 countries remains the same, but the income component sets all of them lagging behind in overall world ranking.[8] This means that 1) comparisons between the twelve countries concerning the welfare – migration relationship could be made through focusing on the economic part of welfare without"perturbing" their

8 For instance Czech Republic (with highest indexes out of 12 surveyed countries) is 27th out of 187 countries according HDI. For comparison UK is 28th and Greece – 29th. According to the income index, the Czech Republic is with rank 40 and after UK (21) and Greece (35).

Figure 5: GDP based on PPP per capita by countries, 1990–2011**

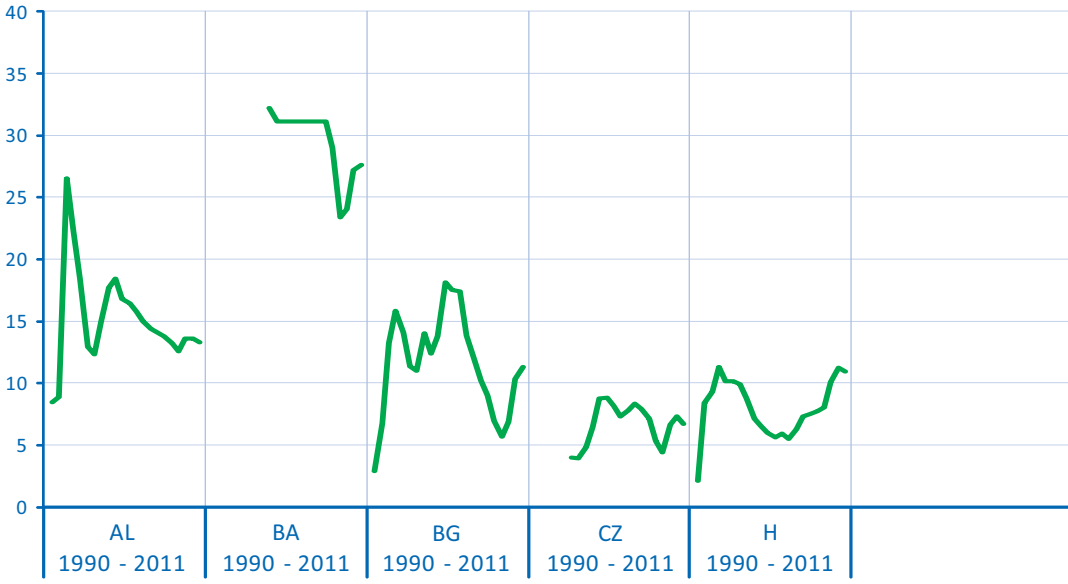


Source: International Monetary Fund, World Economic Outlook Database, October 2012, www.imf.org
Note: Advanced economies – Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hong Kong SAR, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Republic of Korea, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, San Marino, Singapore, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Taiwan Province of China, United Kingdom, United States
** Current international dollars per capita

ranking. 2) In terms of preferred foreign destinations, the economic situation could provide more adequate explanation than the common index, since the differences between countries are more distinct. This will be taken into consideration when focusing on economic part of welfare as a precondition for emigration. Speaking of international comparisons for a long period of time, there are quite few indicators that could be used. GDP based on PPP per capita, though not good enough, is universally accepted for the moment and will be applied as a measure of economic welfare.[9]

9 The official statistics does not propose comparabale data on income distribution for all 12 countries. The issue will be explored afterward as part of the analysis of UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey database, 2011.

Figure 6: Unemployment rates by country, 1990–2011 (%)

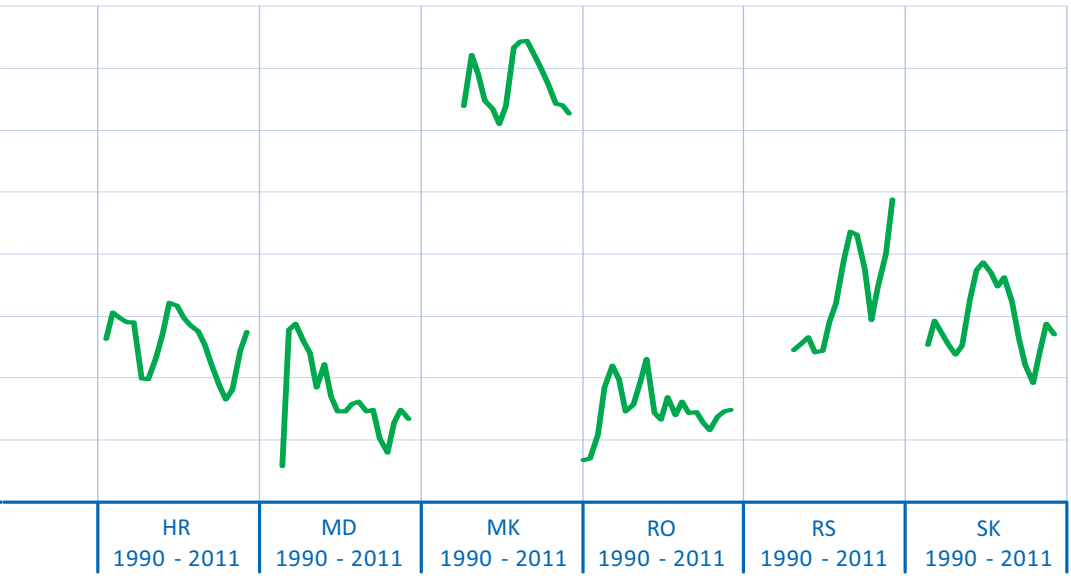


Source: International Monetary Fund, World Economic Outlook Database, October 2012, www.imf.org

Note: Unemployment rate in Montenegro 2005 – 30.3%, 2006 – 29.6%, 2007 – 19.4%, 2008 – 16.8%, 2009 – 19.1%, 2010 and 2011 – respectively 19.7%. Source MONSTAT (Montenegro Statistical Office)

The Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia are often cited as examples of relatively successful reforms in the region (with positive growth in most years and greater prosperity). Statistics on immigration in European countries show that the inflows from those countries are comparatively small (respectively 2.0%, 2.5% and 5.4%)[10]. Net Migration Coefficients are close to zero, or even positive, albeit at low levels (Figure 3). Asylum applications are also relatively few (Annex, Table A1-A4). In terms of access to employment, in Slovakia the social costs of transition were higher – unemployment rates have not dropped below 11.0% and in some years have even reached more than 19.0%. That could explain the higher share of migrants, including asylum seekers from Slovakia. Croatia, even when involved in an armed conflict, has also maintained a relatively high level of welfare among the 12 countries being considered. The migrants for the period 2001-2010 are 5.8%. Asylum applications are rel-

10 Numbers of immigrants in European countries with Czech, Hungarian or Slovak citizenship (Annex,Table 6 and 7) for 2001-2010 are brought into correlation to the average annual population for the period (estimated on the base of World Population Prospects 2010 data). The share of flows to Australia, Canada, USA and Russian Federation is almost the same. (Annexes, Table 8) The shares of immigrants in next paragraphs by nationality are estimated in the same way.



atively few in the post-war period (of all requests in the period 1993–2000, 59.0% were filed in 1993 and 1994). In Bulgaria and Romania the transitions went rather roughly. Net Migration Coefficients were negative. The migrant outflows were respectively 5.6% and 10.2% of their population. There were considerably more asylum seekers from both countries in periods of economic recession. The number of applications from Bulgarian and Romanian citizens closely followed trends in the economy (Figures 4, 5 and Annexes, Tables A1-A3) and the labour market – unemployment rates (Figure 6).

The economic growth after 1993 in Albania and after 2000 in Moldova cannot compensate for the impoverishment of the population (Figure 5) caused by a significant decline in real GDP in some years (Figure 4). Therefore, rates of net migration remained negative for the entire period, and even decreased in Moldova after 2000.[11] Data on migrants from Moldova (unlike from Albania) show the country as an ex-

11 This migration is so massive that, besides the effect of a population loss, it results in active population shrinkage, and thus reduces the unemployment rates. From this perspective, it is doubtful whether immigration is such a negative phenomenon, if the options for paid labour are scarce in the home country.

ception: 4.8% in EU countries and 3.5% in Russia. On the other hand Moldavians rely heavily on the generated income of their citizens temporarily residing in other countries. Remittances from abroad into the country were about 16.0% of the disposable incomes of the population in 2007–2011 (NBS Moldova 2011), and in 2009 they accounted for 23.1% of the GDP (Migration and Remittances Factbook 2011: 14). The explanation of such contradiction could be found in irregular stay of Moldovan migrant workers (35% of them) – mainly in CIS countries. (IOM, 2008: 15). The situation in Albania is similar – in 2009, revenues from abroad are 10.9% of the GDP (ibid.). For both countries the number of first permits for their citizens is comparatively large (Annexes, Table A5) and the number of asylum seekers remained elevated over the years (in Moldova it is growing) (Annexes, Tables A1–A4).

FYR Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina are also countries with relatively low incomes. Growth was positive in the period 2000–2008, but the cost of the war and its implications for the economies, including loss of markets, could not be overcome. Unemployment rates are relatively high and persistent (Figure 5). The four countries are also (like Albania and Moldova) among those with the highest share of remittances as a percentage of GDP for Europe: 2009 – Bosnia and Herzegovina (12.7%), Serbia (12.6%), and FYR Macedonia (4.5%) (Migration and Remittances Factbook 2011: 26). On the other hand, the intensities of the migration from Serbia and Montenegro (3.0%) are among the lowest. Conversely, flows of persons seeking refugee status are greatest from these countries, given the type and size of the population of each of them and continue to be the largest, even years after the end of the war and recently seriously threaten the visa-free regime.

Using the asylum application as a disguise for economic motives for migrations is not a new practice. Until the mid-1970s, people from the former Yugoslavia had the opportunity to work and receive residence permits in Europe, beyond the "Iron Curtain." This right also benefited many Roma. They continued to migrate using the asylum system, or residing irregularly in countries like Germany, Italy, Austria, Belgium, France, Spain, the UK and the Netherlands after a restriction of possibilities for employment and residence. This pattern of migration is named as specific for Roma and unusual for the rest of the population of former Yugoslavia and explained by Roma's "lack of confidence in the social structure and institutions" (Matras 2000: 35). However the sheer number of the asylum applications since the beginning of the transition period (even after the war) has been so high that it is hard to believe this practice is widespread among Roma only.

Apart from the economic transition, two other transformations have taken place in CEE since 1990: in social policies and major political changes (Segert 2009: 3). The political reforms were welcomed with enthusiasm and "hope that the change of the system would bring greater prosperity to the entire population", and that a good life would no longer be postponed until the "communist future" and "would be felt in the

near perspective" (Segert 2009: 8). In the long run, this led to a sense of insecurity and disappointed expectations. The populations of these countries lost their previous benefits – social benefits, holidays, security and protection (Vladimirova 2003: 274–5). A sense of injustice was incited by political instability and the manner in which transition turned out in some countries: with little transparency and chaos in terms of changes of ownership, privatisation of state enterprises, law-making, and even in policy making. Repeated corruption scandals spread an understanding that the political class serves certain interests, and there is a huge gap between it and the common people (Segert 2009: 10). In such a context, the outcome of any policy seemed predetermined and irresponsive to personal choice. People were more likely to seek in another country what they expected, but did not receive, from the transition. Fledgling democracies seemed selective in regard to certain groups of their populations, such as the Roma. "They experience enormous difficulties in exercising their political and civil rights" and "…experience a growing sense of alienation and indifference to the …political life..." (Tomova 2012: 5). The sense of distance between the "losers" and "winners" is even stronger, and migration abroad becomes a more desirable alternative.

Armed conflicts and political tensions with ethnic and religious "overtones" in the former Yugoslav space played an enormously important role in the migration processes as a whole. They reached their climax, where conflicts about territory, resources or political power were disguised (and sold to the public) as "ethnic". In a region where too many national myths and national interpretations overlap territorially, ethnic mobilisation proved to be an extremely effective tool for political and military mobilisation (Ivanov 1996). This was, however, disastrous in human terms, resulting in several waves of internal displacements and refugee flows in the early 1990s (and at the end of the decade, after the confrontation in Kosovo). The most sizeable were:

- The dramatic "shift" of populations between the territories of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia,[12] and Slovenia (Figure 3) including massive migrations within countries (e.g. Roma IDPs in Serbia).

- Roma exodus from Kosovo following the Kosovo campaign – both to neighbouring countries (according UNHCR about 40–50,000 to Serbia and Montenegro and 7,000 to FYR of Macedonia, prima facie refugees who arrived as part of a mass inflow, and who were located in camps), as well as to Western Europe (50,000 RAE), mostly Germany (Maksymczak et Al. 2011: 27), and

- The flux of asylum applicants from these territories (as well as from Albania, Montenegro and FYR Macedonia) to EU countries, and some developed economies outside the European Union (Annexes Tables A1–A2).

12 Identified as one of the top destinations in the world for refugees in 2010 – Migration and Remittances Factbook 2011, 8

According to UNHCR, today about 300,000 people that were relocated due to the Balkan conflicts of the 1990s are still away from home. The internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the region number 218,500, and include 80,000 members of the Roma, Askhali and Egyptian (RAE) minority groups.

Table 1: Major refugee populations by origin and country/territory of asylum, 1990–1999 (in thousands)

Origin	Territory of asylum	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Yugoslavia, FR	Albania	-	3.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	4.0	0.0	22.3	3.9	0.5
Yugoslavia, FR	Bosnia and Herzegovina	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.0	26.1	13.3
Yugoslavia, FR	Croatia	-	332.0	-	-	-	6.7	0.5	0.4	3.4	1.5
Yugoslavia, FR	FYR Macedonia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.9	21.0	8.9
Yugoslavia, FR	Slovenia	-	-	-	29.2	-	-	0.5	-	-	-
Yugoslavia, FR	Czech Republic	-	8.5	0.0	-	-	-	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Yugoslavia, FR	Hungary	43.0	29.5	0.6	0.9	8.6	4.7	3.2	0.5	2.5	2.3

Source: Refugees and Others of Concern to UNHCR, 1999 Statistical Overview and Refugees and Others of Concern to UNHCR, 2000 Statistical Overview

Notes: The population has been included if it numbered 10,000 or more in any of the ten years. A 'dash' (-) indicates that the value is zero, rounded to zero or not available. Thus, gaps in the time series may be due to the lack of available data, rather than reflecting the actual refugee movements.

In a situation of war, when people urgently seek survival and migration, the refugees' choice of one country or another is not necessarily a matter of premeditated selection. The host countries (restrictive) conditions and the migrant networks formed during the 1970s[13] play a significant role. The networks were used during the con-

13 Including the networks of ex-YU Roma, especially in Germany and Austria

flicts, as well as today, and influence the choice of destination countries.[14] These elements make the situation of ex-YU Roma and non-Roma considerably different from that of the other survey countries.

In many cases, asylum seekers arrive irregularly in the nearest country.[15] Some host countries do not have well-developed systems to serve and record the refugees. Most CEE countries, which in this period were building their management systems, including databases, do not have reliable information. Western European countries faced the challenge to host relatively large inflows of immigrants, reaching a peak precisely in those years. In some countries, this led to the development of more restrictive immigration policies. In Germany, for example, it led to the so-called "Asylum Compromise": since 1993, the German constitution has allowed restricted access to asylum. Determining the nationality of asylum seekers, from territories with shifting statutes (Yugoslav republic breaks up to its federal units and new states become independent by stages), is a difficulty for all receiving countries. Data on refugees from areas of conflict, in the period 1990–1992, were scarce. This does not allow for a thorough analysis of the impact of the armed conflict on migration, but nevertheless will be considered in subsequent analysis.

Armed conflicts generate large, but short-term (corresponding to duration of the conflict), waves of asylum seekers.[16] Migration along religious and ethnic lines has similar features. Such examples are the waves of ethnic Hungarians from the former Yugoslavia and Romania into Hungary in 1989 and 1990. Their numbers fell sharply a year later (Hárs, 2009: 12 and 16–18).

On the other hand, harsh economic conditions and poor welfare, including incomes, turn out to be push factors, which generate relatively stable annual migration flows over time. Authors point out that the reasons for the movement in many cases are economic in essence (Heckmann, 2007; Massey and Capaferro, 2007; Europol, 1999). Differences between countries of origin confirmed the importance of the economy, income, and job opportunity as key factors for relocation. Those differences suggest that country grouping by the criteria outlined above is advisable.

Three major factors common for the 12 CEE countries result in similar migratory behaviours. These are the level of welfare, availability of job opportunities and restructuring of the production base during the period of transition (with the third one having implications beyond just the shrinking of employment opportunities). These

14 I would like sincerely thank to Tatjana Peric whose comments helped to clarify this issue.

15 Albanians migrated to Italy and Greece (King etVullnetari 2003:25), residents of the former Yugoslavia – to Slovenia (Lavenex 2009:2), Hungary (Futo 2008:4), Albania, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia (Okólski 2004: 39).

16 They also create preconditions for subsequent movements of their relatives, friends, people same community, etc. after the end of the war (cumulative causation) who could be pushed not by political or religious motives, but by labour and economic ones or.

three processes have an asymmetrical impact on various populations, affecting certain working age groups harder than others, and setting higher barriers to their reintegration into the workforce. The most affected are older workers, those ethnically different from the majority population, people with disabilities, etc. One of the most affected groups is composed of the Roma. They face difficulties in accessing basics services, including health and services, adequate education, and jobs in their home countries, due to discriminatory attitudes of service providers and employers towards them (Tomova 2011, FRA 2011: 19-21, O'Higgins 2011, O'Higgins et Ivanov 2006). A hypothesis arises that the motives for migration of Roma from these countries will not differ considerably from the motives of millions of migrants who have left their homeland in search of work and livelihood.

Immigration policies of receiving countries and the choice of destination

Restrictions on the free movement of people were common for the CEE countries before 1989. After the abolition of those restrictions, the access to desired destinations for CEE citizens was gradually differentiated. Receiving countries changed their policies as a result of: 1) the need of "traditional" receiving countries to regulate the sharply raised immigration flows since 1990; 2) transformation of some countries from generating emigration through areas of transit migration, and finally, in host for immigrants; 3) the development of intergovernmental relations and the formation of a common supranational immigration policy in some of the most desirable destinations (the European Union Member States); 4) differences in the foreign policy of sending countries, in terms of intergovernmental agreements and participation in economic unions due to the fact that those countries are at different stages of membership negotiations.

After 1990, the boundaries of CEE countries were opened and their emigration policies changed. When restrictions on the freedom of movement were removed, people became eagerly enthusiastic to take advantage of this opportunity. Migrant flows were large, and contributed to some changes in the policies of the host countries (e.g. Germany). In countries with immigration traditions, those changes were part of previously accepted policies regulating the flow of newcomers, through a variety of requirements that the newcomers had to meet.

In the UK immigration control has been ingrained in policies since 1962, leading to an increase in asylum applications. As a result, efforts were focused on reducing these in the future. A fundamental change in 2002 was the comprehensive programme. It aimed to support highly skilled economic immigrants and tighten border controls. A scoring point-based system was introduced, which classified migrants into a five-tiered system, depending on the needs of the labour market. Most points were awarded to highly-skilled migrants, who did not need a job offered in the country

to qualify. Next were the skilled workers who were needed in specific sectors (nurses, teachers and engineers) and the third tier encompassed low skilled workers. These two categories required the presence of employer sponsors. The fourth tier covered students, and the fifth concerned temporary workers and youth mobility (Hansen 2007: 2). The system was implemented in two stages, in 2008 and 2010, respectively, and was continuously updated. Besides this, through the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act of 2006, the United Kingdom allowed the Home Secretary to deprive a person of British citizenship (or Right of Abode), if it is considered that such a deprivation is "conducive to the public good". This resulted in a reduction of asylum seekers annually.

Since the 1960s, Germany has been implementing economic benefits oriented policies. Agreements with Spain (1960), Greece (1960), Turkey (1961) and Yugoslavia (1968) aimed to fill labour shortages in some sectors of the country's rapidly growing economy. The renewal of residence permits was also facilitated, due to the need to reduce staff turnover in some industries, which employed the so-called "guest workers". In this respect, guest workers were allowed to bring their families in the 1970s. The right to work was secured for some of them, regardless the conditions on the labour market in the 1980s. Since 1991, the possibility of obtaining a permanent residence permit was introduced if the immigrants had stayed 5 years in the country, participated in the labour market, spoke German fluently and had enough living space (Özcan 2007: 1–4). Since 1993, foreigners who have lived 15 years in Germany could obtain German citizenship. At the end of the 1990s, the children of those who had worked eight years in Germany received German citizenship, but dual citizenship was not allowed. On the other hand, German immigration policies before 2005 were described as "aimed at artificially maintaining the temporary character of an immigrant's settlement", while the model of integration was defined as exclusive. The models of Austria and Belgium were also listed in this category (Carrera 2006: 2). Since 2005, the policies for regulation and integration of foreigners became gradually interlinked. Integration became a responsibility of the state and involvement in post-arrival integration courses (language courses + orientation courses) became compulsory. The target group covered newcomers from third countries who are entitled to residency and recipients of social benefits, in case they did not have sufficient German language skills. It was believed that the acquisition of language skills would facilitate their integration into the labour market. For those already living in Germany and for EU citizens, these courses were optional (Perchinig et al. 2012: 46–47). This compulsory attendance of courses was more separating, rather than integrating. German authorities preferred full-time classes, as part-time classes created higher costs. Conversely, participating in part-time courses was preferred by immigrants as it allowed them to work/study in parallel. About 40% of the attended language courses and 60% of the literacy courses were part-time classes. Even in these cases, the possible hours for paid work were limited. The options for migrants were either to have previously completed the respective courses in their home country, or to have enough money to live on, at least initially in the host state. As a rule, at-

tendees paid one euro for each lesson, and the total costs for each course was €645 (645 lessons) (Perchinig et al. 2012: 9–10). Thus, the implementation of policies for the integration of immigrants is actually restrictive for newcomers. This integration model is applicable only to legal residents, who fall under certain conditions when they come from third countries, or from Bulgaria and Romania. For them, visas or work permits are required. The "Asylum Compromise" of 1993, on the other hand, made it harder to "bypass" these rules by using an asylum application.

The French immigration policy is mixed. It has been characterized by frequent changes in concepts over the past 20 years in line with the flow of immigrants. Control became more stringent after 1988, and gradually tightened up by 1997. In 1993, police powers to deport foreigners were increased, reducing the chances for refugee claimants. The so-called "Pasqua Laws" prohibited foreign students to work after graduation, increased the period of approval for family reunification. Immigrant flows were reduced to 100,000 per year. The tightened French policies for receiving citizenship and the privileges of being a 'citizen' are cited as a national model for an assimilative type of integration (Carrera 2006:3). According to Silver, one possible paradigm in defining a situation as a form of exclusion is the so-called "Monopoly". In it, societies are seen as inherently conflicting with different groups that control resources, rights and benefit (insiders), who protect their possessions from those who have none (outsiders), by creating barriers and limited access to activities/occupations, cultural resources, goods and services (Silver 1995: 62–67). Under this paradigm, access to one group affects the access to the desired resources and other social goods. In this context, the restrictions on receiving citizenship, and the stateless residing of immigrants, put them in a position of exclusion from the privileged community. After 1998, this policy was mitigated. Naturalisation procedures were alleviated. Highly-skilled workers (HSW) were given a special status.

After 2002, the so-called selective migration was introduced. Although this policy was developed more in relation to non-European immigration – for family reunification, it also affected CEE immigrants. France did not open its labour markets to the 10 new EU member-states after 2004, with the exception of certain selected sectors experiencing shortages and gradually increased the number of possible occupations. (Schain 2010: 207–210, Kofman, Rogoz and Lévy 2010: 5–7). Since 2007, its policies were heavily influenced by those of the EU.

The restrictions introduced in Germany, France and UK in the 1980s shifted part of the migration flows to those countries without much experience in dealing with this phenomenon. This led, in those countries, to a relatively new model-based policy, responding to a rapidly changing environment, and increased flows of immigrants – legal and otherwise.

In Italy, the development of the policies was to curb irregular immigrants and gradually tighten the rules for access by foreign workers. Quotas for immigrants were in-

troduced and matters with the legalisation of unregistered aliens were settled (Law 39/1990 LeggeMartelli). Special centres were established for the deportation of irregular immigrants (Law 40/1998 LeggeTurco-Napolitano). Arbitrary detention, without warning, for unregistered immigrants and prohibition against repeated access for the expelled for a period of 10 years, were introduced (Law 189/2002 LeggeBossi-Fini). Irregular immigration and helping an immigrant in irregular situation were criminalized and became punishable with imprisonment (Security Set 94/2009). The quota for immigrants was determined each year for particular non-EU countries. That quota typically included Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, and Serbia. In 2012, the quota was 35,000 people. This policy contributed to the presence of more irregular immigrants in the country, who would not even bother to apply for refugee status.

In Spain, policies during the 1990s became restrictive, after the increased immigration flows in early 1980s, and in accordance with country's admission into the Schengen area in 1991. The new legal framework introduced entry and visa regulations, permanent work permits, quotas for foreign workers, a more stringent policy on refugees and enhanced border security, steps for the design of an integration policy and specialized administrative services (Kreienbrink 2008: 3). During this period, integration became a matter which was "closely linked to the labour market, as well as to issues such as access to public services and to decent living conditions" (Perchinig et al. 2012: 101). Since 2000, more stringent measures for access were introduced – it was considered that integration should only be directed to legally residing migrants. Policing and deportation were supported. As of 2004, the rules became, once again, more favourable for migrants who had the opportunity to legalize their stay. Language certificates were required, but these were part of the "post arrival integration" policy, and did not restrict access (Lechner, Lutz et al. 2012: 40). Unlike other countries, Spain required an interview in order to obtain access to a permanent residence permit, rather than a test. Currently, Spain is a relatively affordable destination for immigration when compared to other host countries, considering opportunities for labour market mobility, family reunion and long-term residency as indicators (Alonso 2011:41).

Changes in the immigration policies in part of EU accessed CEE countries correspond to their transformations from donors into transit, and later into host countries. Such is the case of the Czech Republic. Originally, a policy of complete liberalisation of movement was implemented (1990–1993) and structures to accommodate refugees and returning dissidents, including from Romania, were established. Programmes that provided housing, employment mediation and social support were designed. Then, restrictions were introduced (after 1994), due to the slower growth of the economy, the rising unemployment and the EU membership requirements for candidates. As a result, only some of the programmes for the integration of certain "target groups", e.g. foreigners staying more than one year, remained. The policy concept

changed completely after 2004, when the focus shifted from enriching culture and diversity to economic benefits. Strategies focused more on the employment of immigrants than on tackling social exclusion. After 2009, foreigners who wished to obtain a permanent residence permit were required to prove language proficiency, economic self-sufficiency, orientation in the society and relations with the majority population. In this regard, the Czech Republic did not differ significantly from other EU countries. Responsibilities for the status as immigrants were transferred to the foreigners themselves. The difference was in the exceptions to the requirements. The following cases were exempt from these requirements: 1) some highly qualified specialists, including citizens of Moldova, Bulgaria and Croatia and 2) persons under the age of 15 and over 60 years old, and 3) family reunifications. (Perchinig et al. 2012: 42–46) This policy favoured the staying for longer periods in the country by highly qualified labour. The situation was not attractive for non-residents, unless they had long-term plans or if they did not bother to travel several times with their family.

Immigration policies of non-European Union countries

Policies in destination countries such as Russia and the U.S.A. were relatively different from those recently synchronized in the European Union.

The U.S. policy was aimed at the highly skilled people. In 1995, a requirement for a flexible cap of 675,000 people, the number of annual immigrants, entered into force: 480,000 were to be invited by their family, 140,000 for the purpose of employment, and the remaining 55,000 were citizens of countries with low rates of immigration to the United States (the so-called Diversity Lottery). Besides this, visas were issued for temporary work (about 130,000 annually) – for two types of work: highly skilled (50%) and unskilled seasonal labour in sectors where there were shortages. One year before, a number of measures to combat irregular immigration were introduced, with the most dramatic of these being the ban on the use of social services, including medical care (Parrott 2007: 2–4).

The three "flexible cap" categories listed provided lawful permanent residency (LPR) status or the so-called green cards, allowing immigrants to own property, work at a regular job, study at colleges and universities and participate in the armed forces of the United States, but did not mean citizenship. Unlike many European countries, here an interview was required to obtain permanent residence. Language proficiency requirements and passing of a test on the history of the United States were necessary for those entitled to acquire citizenship. Unlike U.S. citizens, a holder of a permanent residence permit cannot enjoy some of the social payments, which are provided to citizens. In terms of social benefits, the U.S.A. is an unattractive destination.

In order to obtain a temporary or permanent visa, many procedures require completion, including the payment of certain fees, signing a preliminary contact and col-

laboration with an employer to obtain a work permit. In this respect, the United States is not so different from Europe. The main difference is the remoteness of the country, which means taking a somewhat greater risk when migrating. For citizens of the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary, there is an option of visa-free visits of up to 90 days, which can be a solution to that problem.

In Russia, the initial wave of returning ethnic Russians (3 million) from other countries of the former Soviet Union necessitated the rapid development of legislation in the early 1990s. This first rush was gradually replaced by temporary labour migrants – again mainly from countries of the former Soviet Union. Then policy was directed at addressing irregular immigration in the late 1990s. In 2002, quotas were introduced for foreign nationals (non-CIS) and their subsequent reduction. Starting in 2006, there was a "turn" towards liberalizing access and facilitating the issuance of visas for certain countries. Quotas began to be defined separately for the countries with and without a visa regime. For ethnic Russian immigrants, minimal cash allowances were provided, but these are "so limited that many migrants do not bother to apply for them" (Nozhenko 2010: 6). A specific feature of the Russian economy is the large share of the informal sector. The number of work permits increased from 129 thousand in 1994 to 670 thousand in 2005 and reached a 4 million ceiling in 2009 (IOM 2006: 89) and after that decreased to 1.75 million in 2011[17]. The recent reduction and the complex procedure created incentives for irregular stay and/or employment. More than half of all legally resident immigrants work in the country unlawfully (Nozhenko, 2010: 3).

Common European Union immigration policies

In addition to the individual policies, another important factor is the participation in supranational unions, in this case the European Union and the formation of the basis of a common immigration policy. Step by step – with the Schengen Agreement (1985), Treaty of Maastricht (1992), and the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997), migration became one of the questions in the European Union, subject to a common policy, but also a shared responsibility among member-states. What came out of this are the general rules and procedures for access to the Schengen zone, in which almost all the EU Member States[18] are included.

Thus, three main types of countries are distinguished. The first one includes the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary and refers to the states from the Schengen space.

17 Juraev,A. and Bravi, A.,(2012)Are shrinking quotas in Russia pushing migrants into illegal work? available from http://europeandcis.undp.org/blog/2012/03/15/are-shrinking-quotas-in-russia-pushing-migrants-into-illegal-work/

18 Austria, Belgium, Germany, Greece, Denmark, Estonia, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Portugal, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Hungary, Finland, France, Czech Republic and Sweden plus Iceland, Norway and Switzerland.

Table 2: Member States' policies on access to the labour market for workers from Bulgaria and Romania

Receiving country	Workers from Bulgaria and Romania
Belgium	Restrictions with simplifications
Czech Republic	Free access - national law (1.1.2007)
Denmark	Free access (1.5.2009)
Germany	Restrictions with simplifications*
Estonia	Free access (1.1.2007)
Ireland	Restrictions
Greece	Free access (1.1.2009)
Spain	Free access (1.1.2009)
	Restrictions for workers from Romania (22.07.2011)
France	Restrictions with simplifications
Italy	Restrictions with simplifications
Cyprus	Free access (1.1.2007)
Latvia	Free access (1.1.2007)
Lithuania	Free access (1.1.2007)
Luxembourg	Restrictions with simplifications
Hungary	Free access (1.1.2009)
Malta	Restrictions
Netherlands	Restrictions with simplifications
Austria	Restrictions with simplifications*
Poland	Free access (1.1.2007)
Portugal	Free access (1.1.2009)
Slovenia	Free access (1.1.2007)
Slovakia	Free access (1.1.2007)
Finland	Free access (1.1.2007)
Sweden	Free access (1.1.2007)
United Kingdom	Restrictions

Source: DG EMPL-COM (2011) 729 final

Note: * Restrictions also on the posting of workers in certain sectors

Their citizens have the right of free travel to any country, which is a party to the agreement, and to be employed, or become entrepreneurs there. Bulgaria and Romania are EU member states, but not part of the Schengen zone, and like the Czech Re-

public, Slovakia and Hungary before 2007, enjoy the right of free movement (after checking of the identity papers at border) and of residence in the EU, but no free access to the labour markets of all member states. After their accession to the Community, for both countries a seven-year transitional period of adjustment was introduced (COM/2011/0729). During this period, their citizens fall within the legislation of the host country, in terms of the authorisation for paid work occupation – the issuance of work permits is an internal matter. The reasons for the limitations on individual countries are related to the difficulties of the national labour markets. In 2011, citizens of Bulgaria had free access to the labour markets of 15 Member States of the EU-25, and those of Romania – to 14.

Access to "restraining" countries is different. For example, in Germany the procedure for issuing a work permit requires better coordination between employers and job seekers: the employer must provide proof that finding a new job and receiving a permit is the responsibility of the worker himself. In Austria, a labour market test is required, while in Belgium, for occupations in which there are labour shortages[19], it is not. France, for example, allows migrants from Bulgaria and Romania to begin work in a number of occupations (291). Britain requires a great deal of coordination between employers and job seekers, and consecutively, everyone must apply for a work permit, with some exceptions made for seasonal and agricultural workers.

On the other hand, citizens of both countries can remain in any state in the Schengen zone up to three months without a specific reason, which somewhat alleviates formalities. In many cases, there is a requirement for the employer to prove that there are no local applicants for a vacancy, for which a Bulgarian or Romanian is applying. Thus, efforts to obtain a work permit may be wasted if a local candidate appears; which is rather discouraging for migrants' attempts to find legitimate employment in the host country.

The last category is the so-called third countries. These include Bosnia and Herzegovina, Moldova, Serbia, Croatia, FYR Macedonia, Albania and Montenegro. The policy toward them is uniform in terms of visa requirements for all members of the space. This policy has encountered the opposition from member states, which reserve the right to set quotas for certain professions. The only practice that eliminates the quotas, concerns students and researchers – indispensable and 'hunted' high-skilled workforce. They have been offered faster and easier procedures called the "Blue Card". Outside the zone are the UK, Ireland and Denmark, which have established special exceptions (the so-called opting-out clauses).

In the European Union there is a differentiation by countries, in terms of visa-free stay of up to 90 days. For FYR Macedonia and Serbia, visa-free access for short stays was

19 In particular, low-qualification jobs such as drivers, gardeners, cashiers or masons.

granted in 2009, for Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina - in 2010. This does not ensure a right to a job, but facilitates access, by reducing the time and costs involved in preparing documents and a contact with a potential employer.

In contrast, work residence permits apply for periods exceeding three months, but require the implementation of a number of conditions for access. The visa regime allows 90 days to cross these rules, even if the purpose of the trip is to work. When an individual applies for asylum, his stay could be extended, and one also can benefit from certain types of social support. This creates prerequisites for a documented residence, but irregular work.

On the one hand, the economic situation and labour markets in sending countries is the cause of outflows, but restrictive policies limit the right of movement. Applications for asylum can be understood and interpreted as one method to overcome these barriers. For example, in the Czech Republic, Bulgaria and Romania, the number of asylum applications dropped sharply after the countries became members of the European Union. Visa-free access to short stays for Macedonian and Serbian citizens has led to many abuses – a large number of asylum applications in 2008–2011, while residence permits decreased (Annexes, Table A5). For the period 2008–2011, the proportion of rejected asylum applications has increased, compared to the previous period for the citizens of FYR Macedonia (97.1% of all examined), Bosnia and Herzegovina (85.0%), Serbia (89.8%) and Montenegro (91.7%), Albania (79.6%), and for Moldova (94.3%), which has not enjoyed visa-free regime.[20]

An asylum claims often used to delay a deportation in case of unlawful residing, as well as for prolonging stay beyond the period in which the application was rejected. For example, according to Frontex, "most Moldavians apply for asylum in Austria after being found living there illegally" (COM (2012) 443 final/03.08.2012, BG, 10). Data on irregular migration could hardly be collected. In part, they are reflected in the number of found illegitimately located people in EU countries (2010): Serbian citizens – 12,055, Croats – 3,020, Macedonians – 3,590, Albanians – 52,815 (72,675 in 2008), Bosnia and Herzegovina citizens– 2,340, Moldavians – 4,390, Montenegrins – 365 persons (Eurostat).[21]

The rejected asylum applicants and the irregularly residing are not covered by statistics on legal immigrants (registered at an address for more than 12 months), which significantly changes the picture of the preferred destinations by country. Statistics on immigrants shows that since 2000, the most preferred 10 countries, in descending order, are: Italy, Spain, Germany, USA, Austria, Czech Republic, Greece, Russia, Hungary and Slovenia.[22] If the applications for asylum and temporary work permits are

20 Fears of an influx of Moldavians and future abuse of the visa regime to be introduced are unfounded.
21 Each person is counted only once within the reference period.
22 Estimates are approximate because of differences in methodology, lack of data for some countries and periods.

added, the ranking of countries according to preference changes: Italy, Germany, Spain, USA, Austria, Greece, Czech Republic, Slovenia, the UK and Canada. Germany is a more desirable destination than Spain, but it is less accessible. Greece is chosen more frequently than the Czech Republic. Britain and Canada are better rated than Russia,[23] but there are limited opportunities to legally reside there. If irregular immigrants are added, maybe the picture will change even more, but as there is a partial overlap between the irregularly captured residing persons and asylum-seekers (the persons sometimes apply for asylum after being captured), the mechanical summing up would bias the results.

This proves the thesis (concerning those countries) that asylums compensate for the limited access to the right to freedom of movement, and that partly they are of economic nature, without neglecting the parallel existence of other types of reasons for requesting asylum and other factors in the country of choice: historic ties, common language, culture proximity, etc.

Destination choices are often made in a situation of restricted access to host countries and varieties of restraining rules for each sending state. This gives reason to expect that the picture of migration intentions among Roma and non-Roma could differ from the actual implemented movements in terms of destination country. It is possible for less desirable locations to attract larger flows of migrants from Central and Eastern Europe, due to an easy access to their labour markets. The hypothesis will be verified, or rejected, by the UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011.

Migration attitudes and the impact of push factors

The countries included in the study are among those who have officially registered relatively high share of population that identify themselves as Roma, or whose native language is Romani. According to census data by countries, their share is as follows: Romania – 3.2% (Census 2011), Slovakia – 2.4% (Census 2011), Czech Republic – 0.05%[24] (Census 2011), Hungary – 2.04% (Census 2001), Bulgaria – 4.85% (Census 2011), FYR of Macedonia – 2.67% (Census 2002), Moldova – 0.36% (Census 2004), Montenegro – 1.01% (Census 2011), Serbia – 1.48% (Census 2002), Bosnia and Herzegovina – 0.2% (Census 1991), Albania – 0.2% (Census 2001), Croatia – 0.23% (Census 2001).

23 In Moldova, limited access and opportunities for EU visa-free stay, redirect to Russia part of a flow wishing to migrate to Europe, including those who were refused a visa for the Schengen area – in 2008, 12.1% of the applications for short-stay visas were refused, in 2009 – 10.15%, in 2010 – 11.43%, and in 2011 – 9.7%).

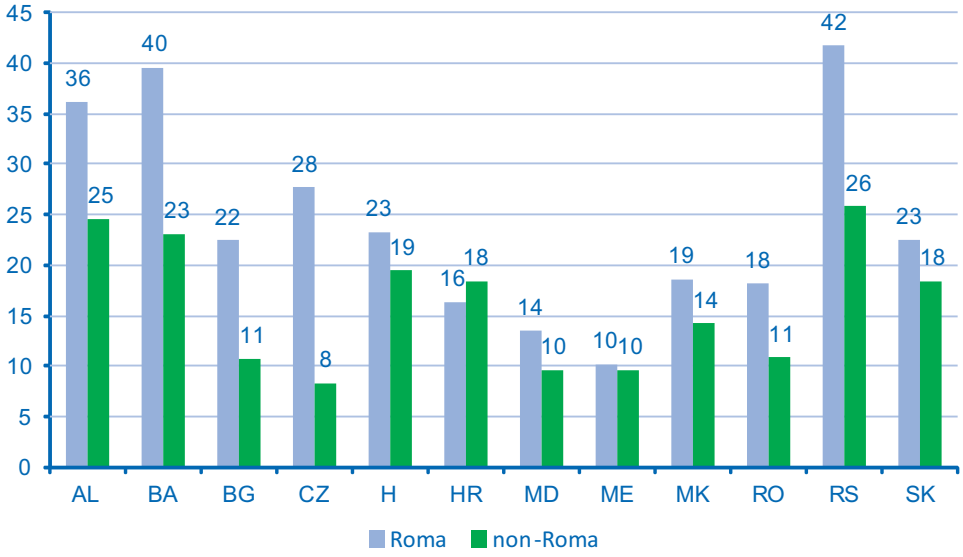
24 In the 2011 census, there is a significant decrease in the proportion of all ethnic groups, compared to the census in 2001.

The conclusions in the next sections of the quantitative study should be accepted based on sample averages, sample shares, sample figures etc. The UNDP/WB/EC survey was conducted in May-July 2011 on a random sample of Roma and non-Roma households living in areas with higher density (or concentration) of Roma populations. In each of twelve countries surveyed, approximately 750 Roma households and approximately 350 non-Roma households living in proximity were interviewed. Thus the figure of Roma living in different countries and the number of Roma households interviewed in each country differs from their factual distribution in and across the countries. The frequencies by country of Roma and non-Roma respondents are presented in Annexes (Table A11). In a number of studies and papers, variations between the official data and the actual number of Roma are cited. They are underestimated in population censuses (Ivanov, 2012, 80; Tomova, 2011, 104; Cahn, et Guild, 2010, 87–88, etc.). This analysis does not claim to provide accurate estimates in absolute figures. It studies states, processes, trends, and situations. "Roma" and "non-Roma" in next sections refers to Roma and non-Roma respondents only.

According to the UNDP/WB/EC survey, 24% of Roma intend to move to another country in the future. Among non-Roma, these attitudes are relatively less evident – 16%.

Differences in terms of the desire to migrate exist between states, and in each country – by respondents' ethnicity (Figure 7). Strong intent to move out is present in Serbia,

Figure 7: Share of Roma and non-Roma, who are considering moving to another country at some time in the future, 2011



Source: Author's calculations, UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011

Bosnia and Herzegovina and Albania. These are countries with low level of wealth, with strong and long traditions of labour migration before 1989 and the newly available overall right of movement within the Schengen zone. This explains why people in Moldova, where the poverty level is similar, but still visas are needed, do not show such 'enthusiasm'.

Three countries are distinguished that seemingly contradict expectations for a link between welfare levels and unemployment rates on the one hand, and attitudes towards migration on the other hand. In Montenegro, welfare is comparatively low (not much higher than in Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Albania – Figure 5), but here the intentions to travel abroad are the lowest (except for the Czech non-Roma). In general, there are great similarities between FYR Macedonia and Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania, and in the former - significant levels of registered unemployment, and yet respondents show a lesser willingness to go to a foreign country. In Slovakia, people express the opposite attitude – intentions are more prevalent in a relatively high welfare context.

Distances between the attitudes for future migration of Roma and non-Roma are also specific to each country. They are calculated as difference between the proportion among Roma respondents willing to migrate and the analogous proportion calculated for the non-Roma. The distances are most prominent in the Czech Republic (19 percentage points) Bosnia and Herzegovina (17 percentage points), Serbia (16 percentage points), Bulgaria (12 percentage points) and Albania (12 percentage points).

In the light of these considerations, two questions arise:

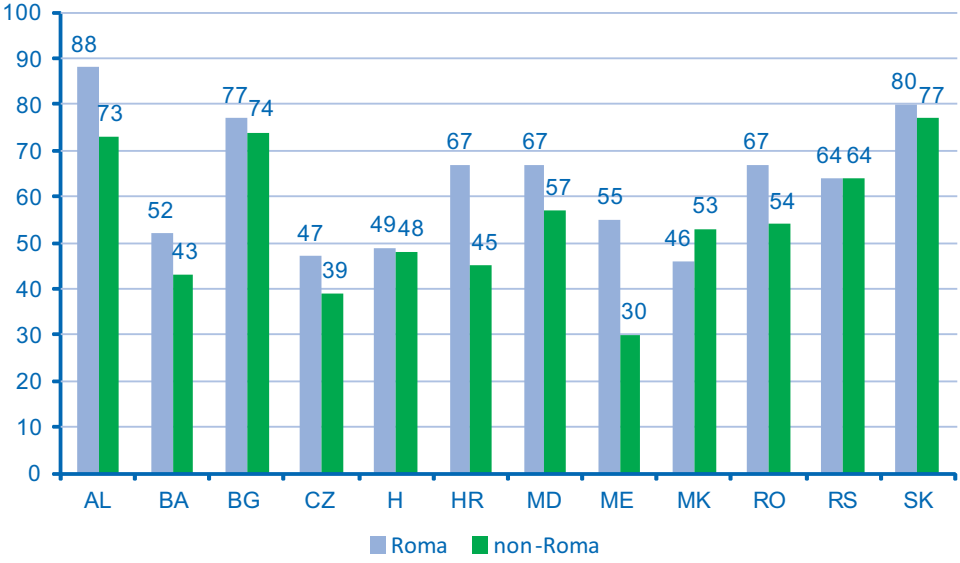
- How acceptable is the aggregation of attitudes towards migration for all countries and whether exceptions disprove the thesis involving the influence of factors such as 'welfare' and 'availability of employment opportunities'?

- Could variations in migration intentions between Roma and non-Roma in each country be explained by those same factors?

Better living conditions – or access to employment?

The ranking of motives for a possible migration is identical for all countries. The majority of respondents, who intend to relocate abroad, indicate "better chances of finding employment" as the main reason for migration (64% among Roma and 56% among non-Roma). Next are the "better pay / better working conditions" – 16% among Roma and 20% among non-Roma. Thirdly, motives are related to "better living conditions / social and health care system / political situation" – 15% for Roma and 16% for non-Roma. The differences are significant in terms of the weight of each reason, given by the proportion of respondents by country and ethnicity.

Figure 8: Share of "better chances of finding employment" motive for Roma and non-Roma, by country, 2011 (in%)



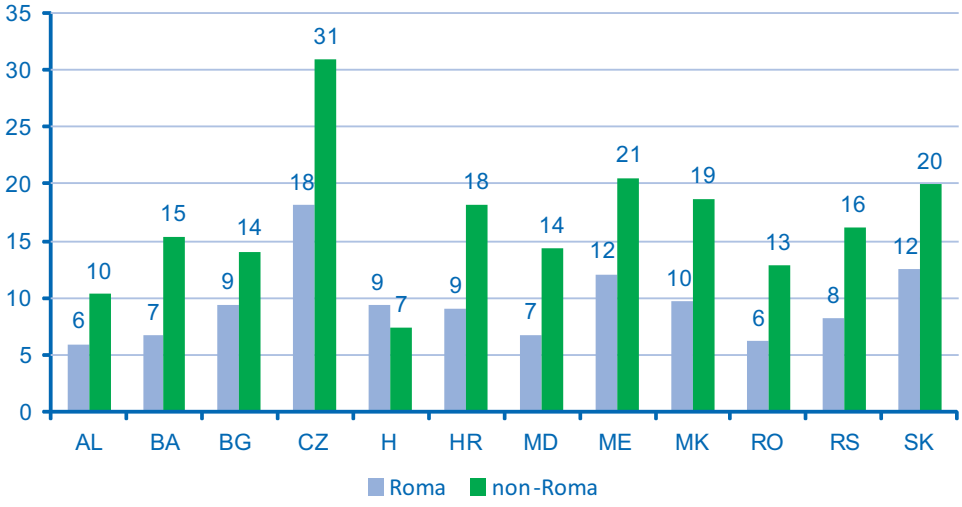
Source: Author's calculations, UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011

In Slovakia and Albania the share of respondents citing „better chances of finding employment" as a reason for migration is significant. In those countries there are higher unemployment rates than in the other states with similar levels of incomes and respectively - welfare. According to studies, a common practice is the choice of short-term labour migration of the population from Slovakia to the Czech Republic (Kurekova, 2009, 135). Possibly, the combination of higher incomes, with lower rates of employment in the former country, reflects not only higher labour productivity, but 'external' income generated by the temporary movements for work purposes, , i.e. remittances. This explains why in Slovakia the intentions for moving are more prevalent than in other countries with relatively high wealth (Hungary and Czech Republic). Thus, the example of Slovakia does not reject the thesis of population's economic welfare being an important prerequisite for migration.

Another over-mentioned exception was Montenegro – a country characterized by low welfare and rather limited job opportunities (Figure 10), but also with little intent for migration. Compared to other countries, 'better chance of finding work' most rarely plays a role in the decision to migrate for Montenegrin non-Roma, and comparatively seldom for Montenegrin Roma. The reason is a distinctive characteristic of Montenegrins' values.

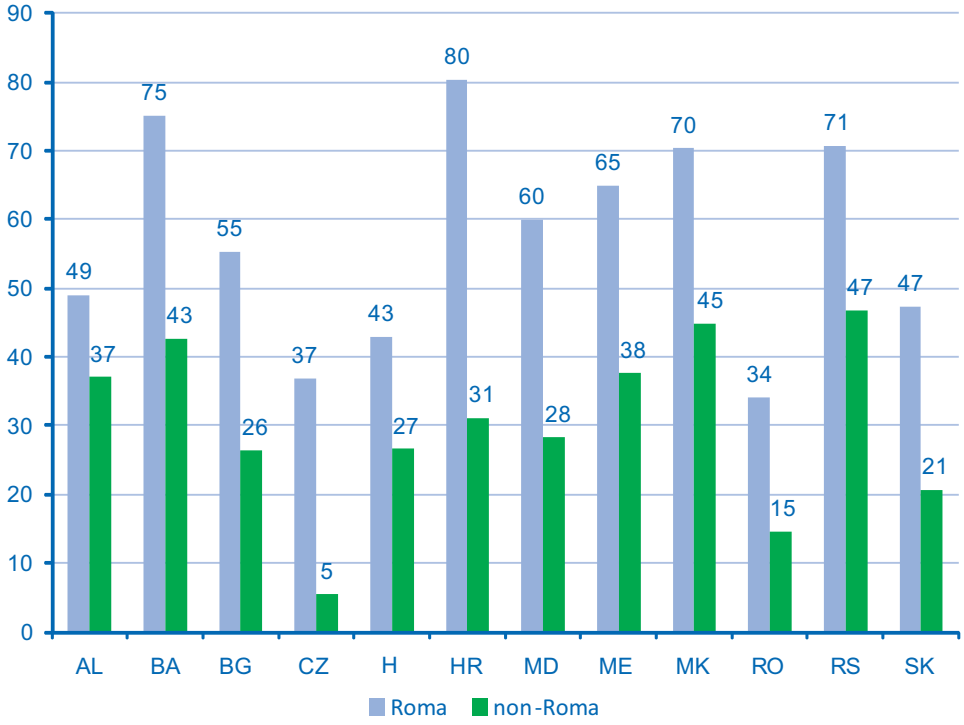
Here, 96% of Roma and 99% of non-Roma prefer to have a secure low-paid job, than a highly profitable, but uncertain and irregular employment. Under that attribute, the Montenegrins rank in the first place among the other countries. For comparison, the average share for all countries is respectively 81% among Roma and 88% among non-Roma. Travelling abroad is rarely seen as an option for Montenegrins to gain additional opportunities for work, since employment abroad is often unregulated. This hypothesis is confirmed by non-Roma, where 91% of people who prefer a secure employment are not potential migrants, against 60% of potential migrants among respondents who prefer informal employment. Among Roma, this hypothesis was not confirmed. The reason is that they do not have secure and regulated work in their own country (62% have no contracts), in comparison to non-Roma (18% respectively). The declared reasons to leave are not associated with job opportunities for Roma, who have chosen higher incomes and irregular employment. The motive is a better life: better pay and working conditions (50%) and better living conditions (the remaining 50%). How to then explain their low perceptions of migration? Reasons were sought in education, health and poverty. It turns out that the poorest among Roma do not even think about travelling, because of their lack of capacity, usually financial, to do so. Attitudes change depending on the total equivalised disposable income of the household per day. The largest share of those willing to migrate (19%) was

Figure 9: Mean daily (OECD) equivalised income based on PPP of Roma and non-Roma, by country, 2011



Source: Author's calculations, UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011

Figure 10: Unemployment rates* of Roma and non-Roma, by country, 2011



Source: Author's calculations, UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011

* corresponds to ILO definition

observed among Roma falling in the fourth decile group of income, and not among the poorest.[25]

Because of their poverty Roma do not even consider migration as possible, even if the average income is a bit higher than in other countries. Average daily equivalised income of Roma in Montenegro is 9.02 USD in PPP. It is approximately equal to the average value for all Roma included in the study (9.37 USD in PPP), but it is higher when compared to countries with similar access to the Schengen zone. The Roma

25 In calculation of decile groups, the variable Mean daily (OECD) equivalised income based on PPP has been used. This is monthly income of the household, converted into a daily per capita measure, using an OECD modified equivalence scale (1, 0.5, and 0.3) and using the 2009 PPP conversion factor, derived from the International Comparison Programme 2005 estimates and extrapolated. The variable is constructed by O'Higgins (2012) and Ivanov (2013). As absolute poverty line is used $2.15 ppp per day. People with finances under this line get into the lowest income decile group.

from Montenegro intend to travel less frequently than those in Serbia (8), Bosnia and Herzegovina (7), FYR Macedonia (77), and Albania (6). Montenegro is a confirmation, rather than an exception, of the thesis for the influence of 'welfare' and 'availability of job opportunities'.

In the other countries, poverty (Figure 9) and limited opportunities for employment (Figure 10), and the gap between Roma and non-Roma, correspond to differences in migration intentions by ethnicity (Figure 7). With the exception of Macedonia and Serbia, the motive "better chances of finding employment" is cited more often by Roma than non-Roma (Figure 8). The distances between Roma and non-Roma are the biggest in Montenegro, Croatia, Albania, Moldova, Romania, and the least – in Serbia, Bulgaria and Hungary.

In Croatia the distance (Figure 8) reflects existing variations in access to paid work by ethnicity (Figure 10). These are the largest in this country, as well as in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Moldova and the Czech Republic.

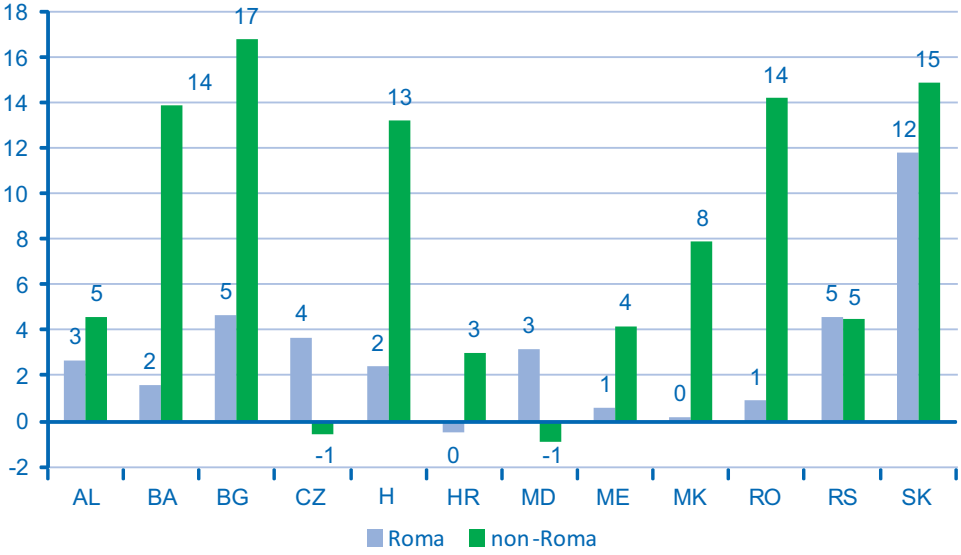
The largest numbers of Roma who belong to the so-called "working poor" are in Romania and Moldova – respectively 16% and 14% of all Roma workers have, per day, less than 2.15 USD in PPP. This proportion is significantly higher than that among non-Roma – respectively 4% and 3% of all workers. That, together with limited labour access, explains the difference by ethnicity in terms of motive for "better chances of finding employment". This also clarifies why the next two most frequently cited reasons have greater significance than in other countries.

In Albania, lack of jobs, although comparatively not as widespread as in some other countries, results in absolute poverty for 22% of Roma and 6% of non-Roma. For these people, access to paid labour is a question of survival, keeping in mind that this is the poorest country among all states surveyed. Working poor are a much lower proportion among employed for both groups: 2% of Roma and 1% of non-Roma. Employment significantly reduces the gap by ethnicity – 0.7 percentage points. That circumstance, and the discrepant access to paid work by ethnicity, explain why Roma more often point out 'better chances to find work' as reason to migrate.

The respondents' answers generally point to unemployment as one of the major reasons for their decision to migrate. Almost without exception, when a person is unemployed, he or she wants to work and actively seeks a job[26], thus his/her willingness to migrate increases – significantly in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania among non-Roma, and more than in other countries in Bulgaria, Slovakia, Serbia and Moldova among Roma.

26 The data do not allow calculation of statistically significant theoretical probabilities. Thus the shares of those intending to migrate are used to determine the probability of an event to happen. They can serve for drawing some general conclusions.

Figure 11: Distances between share of respondents* intending to migrate, and share of unemployed respondents intending to migrate, by ethnicity and by country (percentage points)*****



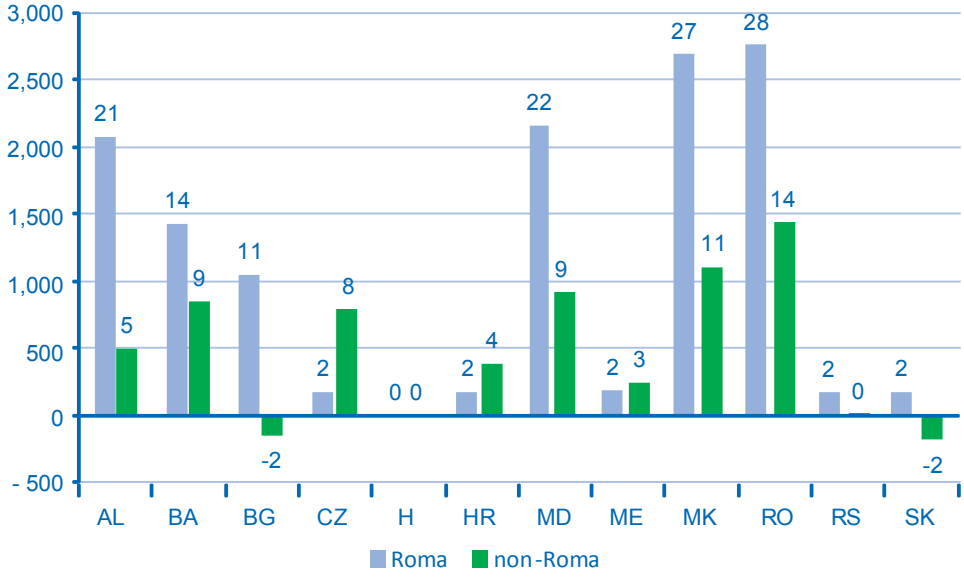
Source: Author's calculations, UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011

Note:
* all respondents despite their activity status
** the operational definition for 'unemployed' corresponds to the ILO categorisation.
*** calculated as difference between share of intending to migrate among all respondents (nevertheless their activity status on the labour market) and share of intending to migrate among unemployed respondents

The availability of job opportunities in most cases influences the migration among non-Roma than among Roma. Unemployment rates among Roma are significantly higher than those of non-Roma in the majority of the twelve countries. There are fewer unemployed non-Roma, but a greater proportion of them intended to migrate. Conversely, the Roma are more frequently unemployed, but in most of cases that does not change their attitudes much. Therefore, there are no large variations in the proportion of respondents, in terms of ethnicity, who named 'chances of finding a better job' being their main reason for migration.

The analysis of reasons to move, and their general structure, provides a basis to consider that availability of employment opportunities in the country of origin plays a significant part in the decision for migration. It is important for a migration decision, not only whether a person is looking for work, but also on whether the job would cover some of his/her preferences. In Albania, the needs for income and work are a matter of survival. For non-Roma from Montenegro, security is what matters, the

Figure 12: Distances between the shares of poor unemployed and 'working poor', by country



Source: Author's calculations, UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011

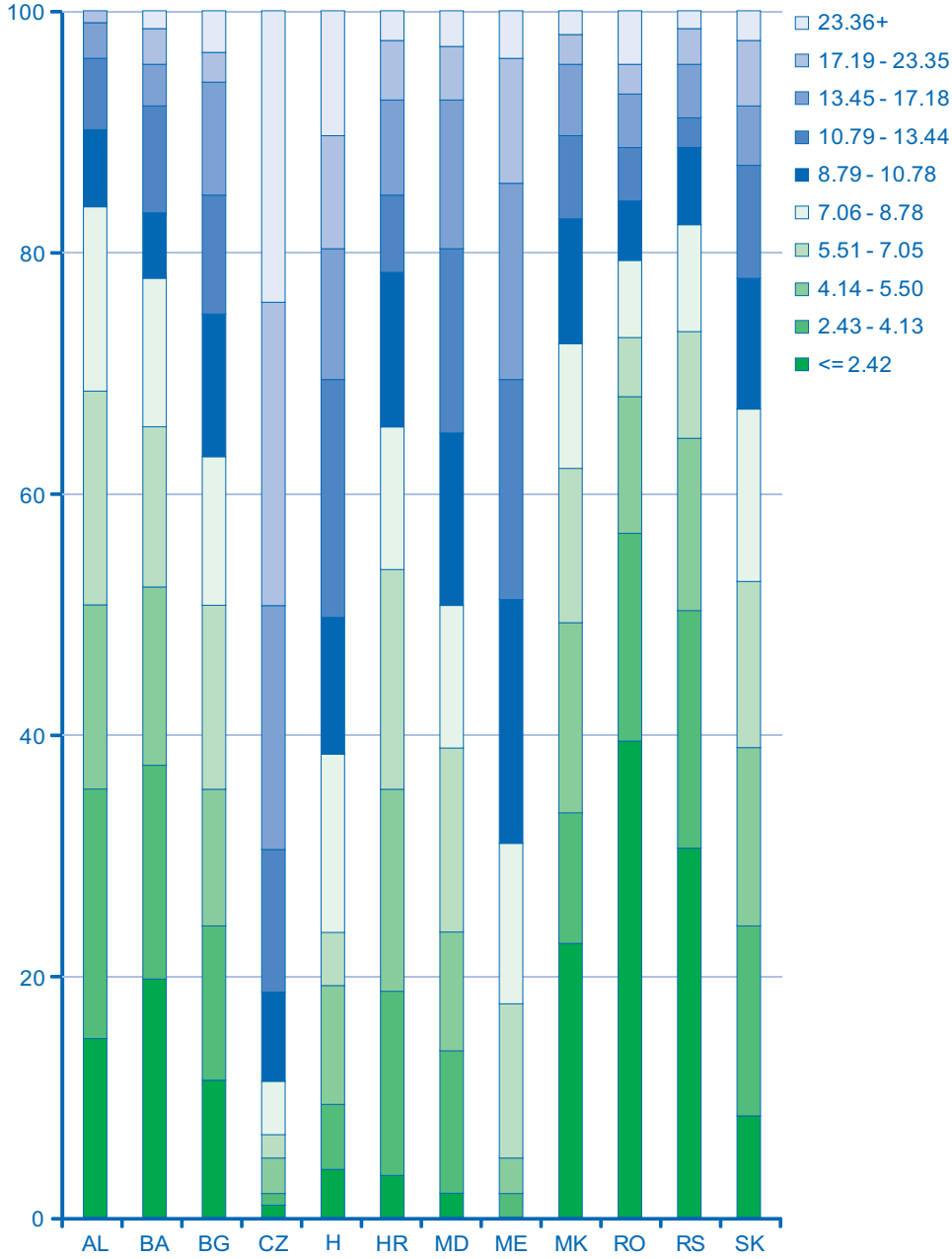
Note:
* all respondents despite their activity status
** the operational definition for 'unemployed' corresponds to the ILO categorisation.
*** Calculation: determines the difference between the proportion of poor among all unemployed (respectively for non-Roma and Roma) and the proportion of working poor. Those with incomes of less than $2.15 ppp per day are considered as poor. From the first, the second partition is subtracted. It shows whether, and to what extent, the problem of poverty is solved, if an unemployed Roma/non-Roma begins work (for each country).

work should be regulated. In Romania and Moldova, wages are crucial for people to get out of the "working poor" category. There are different criteria for a job to be recognized as an opportunity, or an alternative to the situation the respondent is currently in.

The question arises whether the poverty problem is solved when a person works, and whether it is relevant if that person is Roma or non-Roma. The answer: it is very important for Roma, and in poorer countries – also for non-Roma.

On the one hand, Roma, more often than non-Roma, do not have paid labour and employment for them is principally a way out of their poverty situation. On the other hand, their decision is not significantly determined by their status in the labour market. The difference between the proportion of those willing to migrate, among the

Figure 13: Income* distribution of Roma population, by country, 2011 (deciles)**

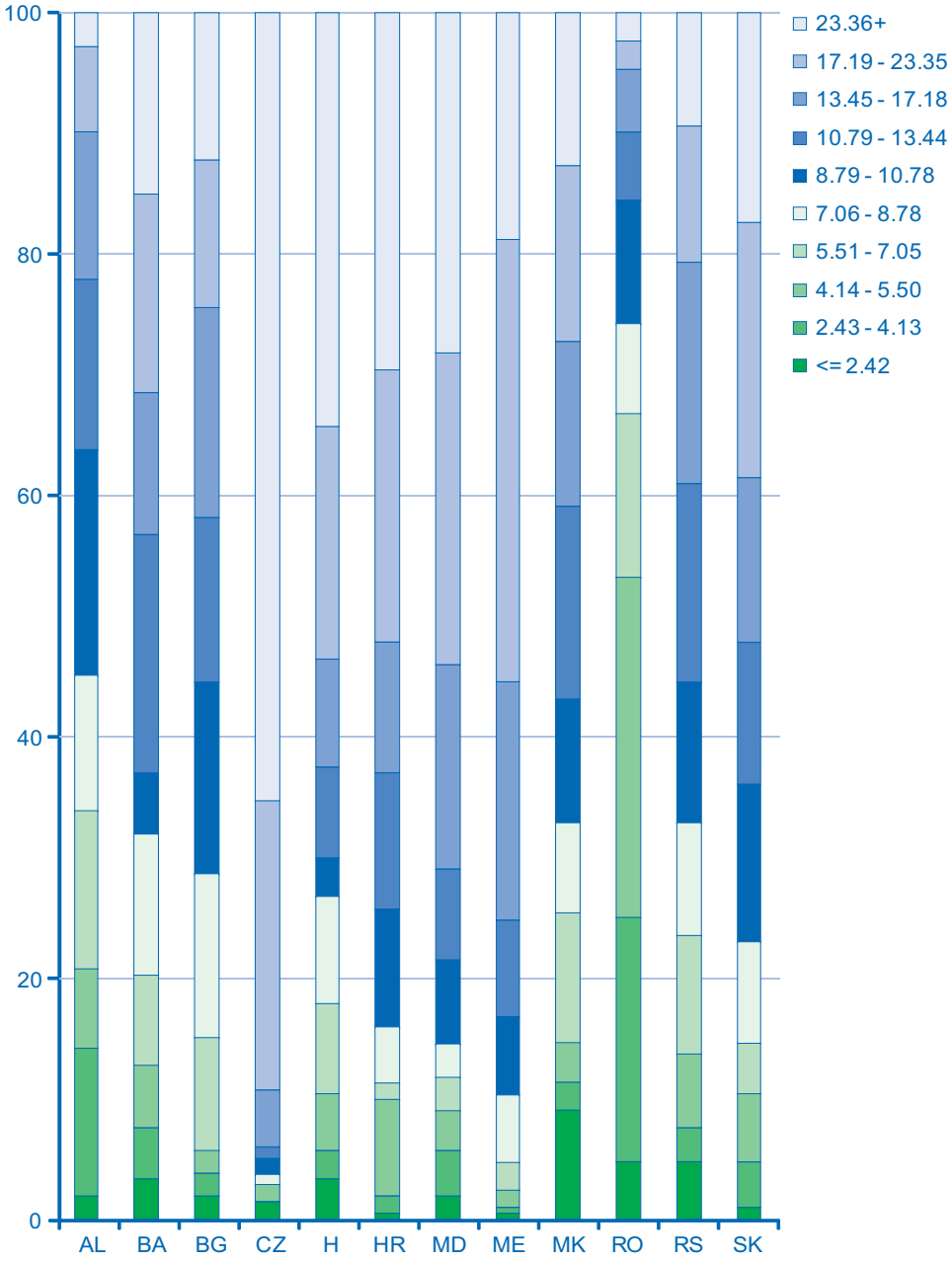


Source: Author's calculations, UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011

* Income per OECD equivalised per capita per day based on PPP

** The figures reflect sampled decile groups as a base for comparison. The decile groups are equal for the 12 countries surveyed since the aim is to describe the contrast between the countries themselves on one hand and on the other between the Roma and non-Roma groups; both charts do not provide information about income distribution in the countries themselves.

Figure 14: Income distribution of non-Roma population, by country, 2011

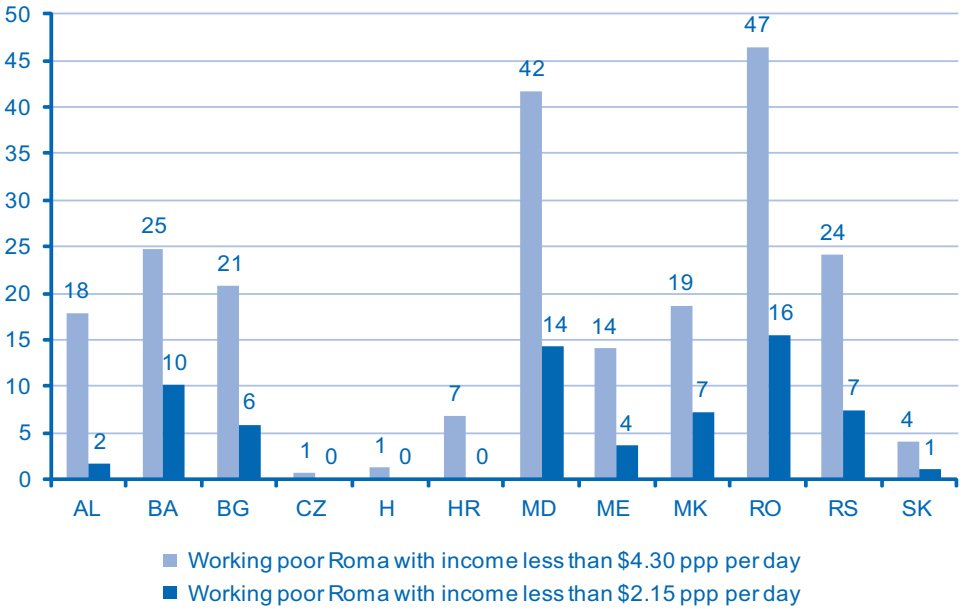


Source: Author's calculations, UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011

* Income per OECD equivalised per capita per day based on PPP

** The figures reflect sampled decile groups as a base for comparison. The decile groups are equal for the 12 countries surveyed since the aim is to describe the contrast between the countries themselves on one hand and on the other between the Roma and non-Roma groups; both charts do not provide information about income distribution in the countries themselves.

Figure 15: Share of 'working poor' Roma with income* under different thresholds, by country, 2011



Source: Author's calculations, UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011

* Income per OECD equivalised per capita per day based on PPP

unemployed, and their share among workers, is relatively small (Figure 11). Hence the question: why is that?

First – because poverty is more widespread among Roma, and prevails among the population in the low income decile groups (Figures 13 and 14).

Second – because the employment of Roma solves problems with extreme forms of destitution, but not the situation of poverty in general. If one were to put up the poverty line, it would be observable that paid work solves the problem of destitution less frequently, and that the number of poor employed Roma is higher (Figure 15).

Third – because relative deprivation is important, compared to the majority. For 91% of the Roma is 'very important' or 'important' to have the same lifestyle as the majority. For a greater part of them, this is associated with having the same income ($r_S = 0.73$, $\alpha = 0.01$). The data show that in most countries, the average monthly income that a Roma household receives is less than the minimum desired monthly

salary from paid labour for an 8-hour working day.[27] If the proportion between the two variables is less than 1, it can be considered that the respondents do not judge their household situation to be satisfactory, in terms of available income. In three countries, the ratio is higher than 1 – Czech Republic (1.43), Croatia (15.1) and Hungary (1.24). In these states, welfare is generally higher, in terms of average household income of OECD equivalised per capita per day based on PPP.

In comparison, for all states, this average is 9.38 USD. Thus, in Croatia there is a larger share of people among the non-Roma, than among the Roma, willing to migrate. This is not the case in Montenegro. There, the structure of Roma's income distribution is slightly unfavourable (Figure 13) and the average disposable income per day is approximately equal to that in Croatia, but the perception of insufficient income is more common. Therefore, the ratio is 0.80. It may be considered that, for Roma, there is a correspondence between the level of population welfare by country on one hand, and the gap between available and preferred income on the other: Bosnia and Herzegovina (0.82), Bulgaria (0.86); FYR Macedonia (0.78), Moldova (0.34) and Serbia (0.71). The exceptions are Albania (0.90), Slovakia (0.89) and Romania (0.57). In Romania, there is a relatively large distance between Roma and non-Roma, in regard to incomes (Figures 9, 13, 14). In Slovakia, although the income distribution among Roma illustrates a better picture, compared to other countries, there also is a distance(Figures 9, 13, 14).

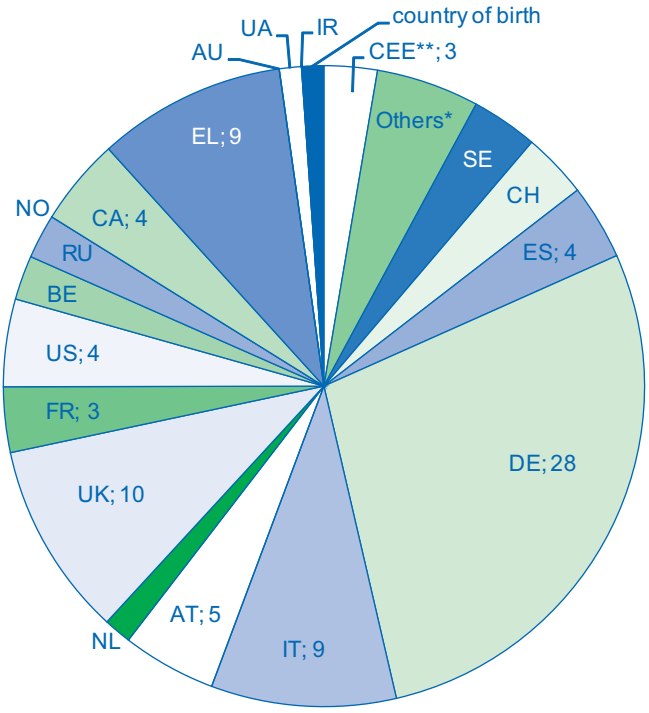
Therefore, apart from the employment status (whether the respondent works or not), an important factor influencing the decision about migration is how the lack of a job in the respective country leads to a drop of income, and a sense of deprivation. Behind the most frequently cited reason, "better chances for finding work", the Roma very often actually point out the other two cited reasons corresponding to wages, incomes and welfare.

Therefore, the most preferred countries are those where income and welfare of the population is higher. The most common destinations for Roma are Germany, UK, Greece, Italy, Austria, Spain, Canada, USA, Sweden and Switzerland / France.

Canada and the United States are far more rarely cited as remote countries. The process of migration to those countries follows certain rules, which are hardly evadable through asylum applications (rarely used), as it happens in Europe. The risk is increased, because the travel is expensive. The lack of support network also could be essential, especially in case of Roma. An important factor for choice is the nearness of the country, and in some cases – cultural similarities, and presence of migrant networks. This latter could be evidenced by the difference in the preferences of Roma

27 In the comparisonis used self-reported average monthly household income for the past six months, calculated in national currency for each country average (numerator) relative to the average desired minimum wage amount of Roma in the country, against what the respondent would like to work 8-hour day, in national currency (denominator).

Figure 16: Preferred countries for future migration by Roma, 2011



Source: Author's calculations, UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011

Note:

* Countries with a share under 1%: Denmark, Slovenia, Libya, Kosovo, Turkey, Norway, Mexico, Japan, Israel, India, Australia, Malta, Poland, Cyprus, Thailand, EU Countries, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Portugal, Ireland, Luxembourg, UAE, Canary Islands

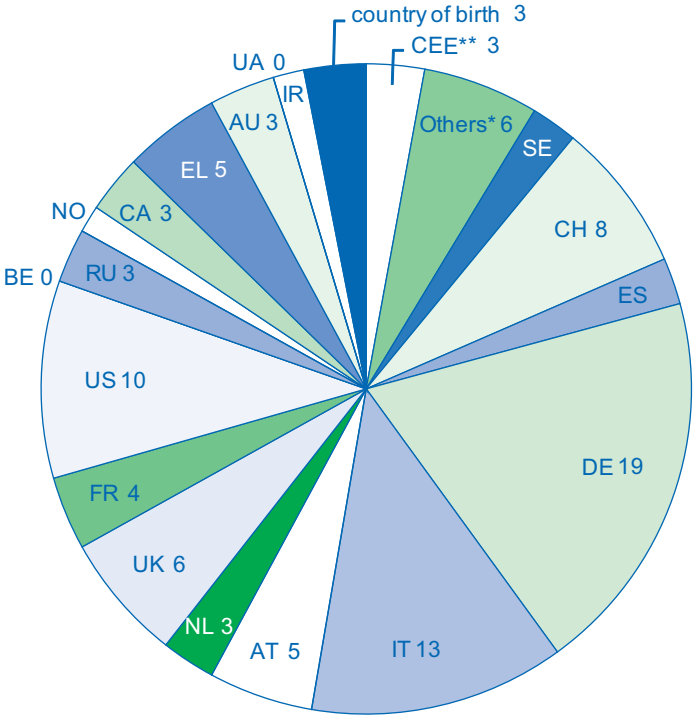
** Countries, included in the research: Albania, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Montenegro, Croatia, Hungary, Macedonia, Romania, Serbia

by receiving countries. Germany is mentioned frequently by Roma from Montenegro (67% of Roma who intend to migrate from the country), FYR Macedonia (62%), Bosnia and Herzegovina (52%), Croatia (45%) and Serbia (44%). Great Britain is preferred by Roma in the Czech Republic (46%) and Slovakia (43%). Greece is traditionally subject to Albanian Roma cyclical migration – 56% indicated it as a desirable destination. In Moldova, the most frequently chosen country is Russia (45%). In Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary there is a relatively even distribution of responses. Romanian Roma prefer Spain (29%) and Italy (18%), Bulgarian Roma – Greece (19%) and Germany (18%), Hungarian Roma – Germany (27%) and Canada (21%).

Ranking is different among the non-Roma: Germany, Italy, USA, Switzerland, UK, Austria, Greece, France, Australia, and Canada.

Non-Roma rely on other migrant networks, and more often turn to more distant countries because they use more channels of information, including the Internet (57% – with a home computer and 46% – with Internet versus 21% and 15% of Roma). They better comprehend the requirements for foreigners, due to higher literacy and level of education, and often choose to reside legally in the country.

Figure 17: Preferred countries for future migration by non-Roma, 2011



Source: Author's calculations, UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011

Note:

* Countries with a share under 1%: Belgium, Denmark, Slovenia, Kosovo, Turkey, New Zealand, Mexico, Malta, Cyprus, Ukraine, EU Countries, Luxembourg

** Countries, included in the research: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Croatia, Hungary, Romania

Beyond those reasons, a factor for migration decisions is the experience on previous trips: 48% of the respondents who have already lived abroad intend to move again. Among those who have not migrated yet, the share is comparatively low – 19%. Among Roma, the probability for a person to be willing to migrate increases significantly (by 31 percentage points), if one has already had some experience with staying abroad before. Among the non-Roma, the chances increase by 21 percentage points. This, again, confirms the argument of the importance of information sources, differently used by Roma and non-Roma.

It could be concluded that the differences in attitude towards migration among Roma and non-Roma are driven not so much by dissimilarity in their motives, but by the conditions in which they reside, and the distances between individual situations, in terms of employment, access to secure income, and welfare. A second important factor is their knowledge about the host society, with the latter being affected by various sources of information and resulting, to a large extent, from informal exchange and relations with already established migrant networks. A third factor is the respondents' capacity (including financial) to travel.

Discrimination? The push and pull perspective: two sides of a coin

A recent study points out discrimination as the main reason for migration among Roma (FRA, 2009, 6). According to the data provided by UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011, in the countries surveyed, 35% of Roma have stated that they were discriminated against based on ethnic origin in the last 12 months. This is an indication that there are serious problems in the sending countries, as well as that Roma have developed sensitivity towards this issue. However, the same survey shows a very small proportion of the respondents declaring "less discrimination in other countries" as a motive to move abroad: 1% of Roma. A possible explanation of this discrepancy (assuming that the decisions taken are fully rational) is that discrimination abroad is less tangible, but this is either insignificant for Roma, or they are not aware of what awaits them, and are thus less likely to identify discrimination as a motive for migration. An alternative explanation could be that there is discrimination in the host counties. In that case, the knowledge or ignorance of Roma about what waits them can produce the same effect. This alternative explanation seems more likely, as when Roma go abroad, they not only differ ethnically from local populations, but are also immigrants and often have poor proficiency of the local language. To verify this hypothesis, it is necessary to compare Roma people's intentions to move to preferred destinations (Figure 16) with the domestic attitudes in potential host countries' to-

Table 3: Attitudes towards allowance of few/many immigrants of the same/different ethnicity as the majority

Answers	Allow immigrants of same race/ethnic group as majority					Allow immigrants of different race/ethnic group as majority				
	DE	FR	UK	EL	IT*	DE	FR	UK	EL	IT*
Allow many to come and live here	28.8	12.2	10.7	27.8	24.5	14.7	10	8.1	4.7	13
Allow some	48.6	52.2	48.1	20.4	42.5	44.3	43.6	41.1	10.7	43.4
Allow a few	18.5	29.2	28.3	32.4	21.2	31.3	37.6	33	44.2	26.9
Allow none	4.1	6.4	12.9	19.4	11.9	9.7	8.8	17.8	40.4	16.7

Source: Author's calculations, European Social Survey 2010 in Germany, France, UK and Greece; ESS 2004 for Italy

Note: The possible differences with the actual situation in Italy (data from 2004) are taken into consideration. The distance could be explained in terms of attitudes toward an increase in negativity caused by the economic crisis. On the other hand, the ethnic biases are among so-called stable values. If there are any differences, they should not be essential.

Table 4: Correlation between awareness of immigration as important for the economy (positively or negatively) and attitudes for allowance of immigrants by ethnicity

Impact of awareness of immigration as important for the economy (positively or negatively) on:	DE	FR	UK	EL	IT*	ES
Attitudes for allowance of immigrants of same race/ethnic group as majority (Spearman coefficient*)	0.43	0.53	0.47	0.36	0.46	0.49
Attitudes for allowance of immigrants of different race/ethnic group as majority (Spearman coefficient*)	0.48	0.54	0.55	0.56	0.59	0.54
Differences in between the two correlations	0.05	0.01	0.08	0.2	0.13	0.05

* The estimation was made with the Spearman coefficient after proof of statistically significant correlation with chi-square for α=0.01

Source: Author's calculations, European Social Survey 2010 in Germany, France, UK, Spain and Greece; ESS 2004 for Italy

wards immigrants of different ethnic origin, and to test if there is a correspondence between the two attributes. Both, most desirable destinations, as well as less desirable ones are selected.

In all countries, the negative attitudes towards immigrants are reinforced by discriminatory prejudices against other ethnicities/races. There is no correspondence between discriminatory attitudes in the host countries and Roma intentions for migration. On the contrary, there is a strong intolerance to ethnicity or race in Greece – one of the most preferred destinations for the Balkan Roma. Part of the reasons for this intolerance are related to the fact that Greece was used by citizens of countries outside of Europe as a "front door" to the continent, and because of the large flows from Central and Eastern Europe after 1989, mainly from Albania, Bulgaria and Romania (Markova, 2010).

In Germany there is a certain tradition (from the 1950s and 1960s) of foreigners to be received for economic reasons – i.e. "guest workers" who had access to the labour market due to labour shortages, and who contributed to the country being given as an example of the so-called "German Economic Miracle". This tradition has been renewed by the Government of Schröder from the beginning of the 21st century (Constant et Tien, 2011). About 9.95% officially registered foreigners, including those who have al-

ready been naturalized, resided in the country in 2011 (source: Federal Statistical Office of Germany). There are many among them who came from Turkey and Eastern Europe. The data show some tolerance, in comparison with other countries, to immigrants, including those from other ethnic groups or races. However, like in Greece, the proportion of citizens that are unhappy with allowing ethnically/racially different foreigners into the country is approximately twice as large compared to the proportion of immigrants 'that is "acceptable" to be allowed in the country in general.

The relationship between perception of immigration as beneficial/harmful to the economy, and attitudes for admission of foreigners into the state, varies by countries. In Greece, great importance is attached to immigration as an incentive or a barrier to economic development. There, the perception of same ethnicity/race immigrants is based on the opinion about the immigrants' impact on the economic situation in the country in 36% of the cases. When the issue is referred to immigrants from another ethnicity or race, the correlation is strong. The situation in Italy is similar. In both countries, the influx of foreigners was not controlled (i.e., immigrants were not selected) and the general perception is that immigration harms the economy. When this understanding is intertwined with negative attitudes towards other ethnic groups, pessimistic orientation towards immigration becomes more prevalent. Immigration is a relatively new phenomenon in these countries, occurring since the early 1980s. Foreigners were originally from Africa, Asia, and, subsequently, from the beginning of 1990s – from Eastern Europe, with migrants working in the informal economy. Immigration is portrayed in both political debates and the media as an urgent social problem that needs solving and the ongoing press coverage, populist attacks against irregular migrants and implementation of posteriori policies are being used to maintain the negative image of immigration. The latter are inefficient and lead to increased irregular migration flows (Triandafyllidou et Ambrosini, 2011; Finotelli et Sciortino, 2009; Bull, 2010; Ziengenfuss, 2011). All this reflects the public attitudes towards immigrants, especially those from other ethnic groups, which are believed to be involved in the informal sector.[28] In Italy, however, immigration is viewed as more favourable in economic terms than it is in Greece.

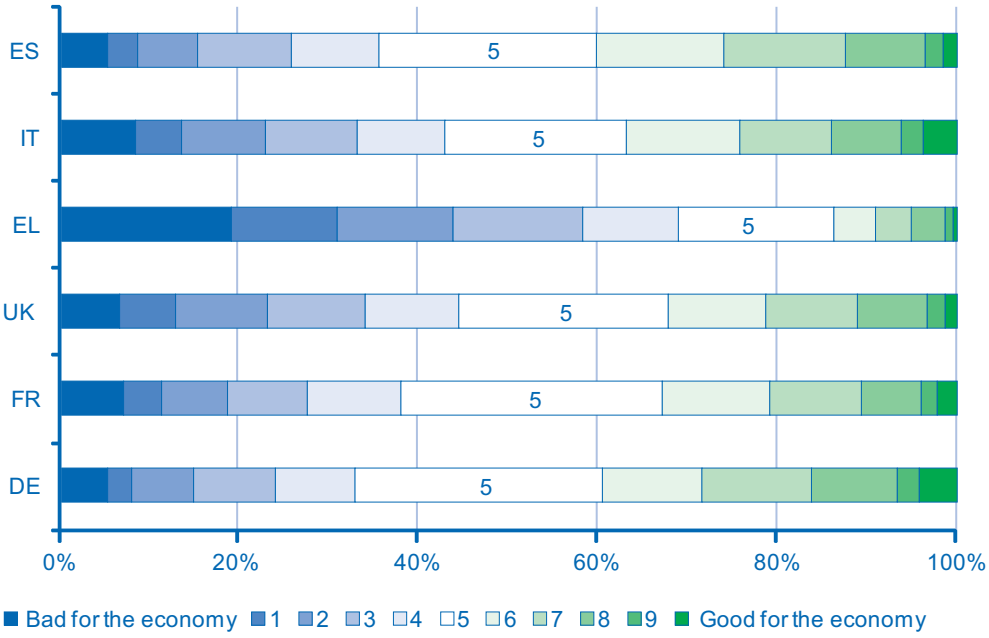
In the other studied countries of Western Europe, the prevailing opinion is that a certain number of immigrants should be permitted because they bring economic benefits.[29]

Immigrants can fill in existing gaps in the demand for some types of labour. They take up low-skilled vacancies, which are undesirable for the local population and thus rarely occupied. Roma often have no, or low, qualifications and education. They usu-

28 In both countries, in 2008, after threats totheir macroeconomic and financial stability, and suffering from excessive budget deficits. In this case, data for Italy, which are based on public opinions of 2004, does not permit a summary based on this criterion.

29 Although they differ in terms of tolerance, including the differences in policies towards immigrants in previous years and the degree of control of flowing streams.

Figure 18: Is immigration bad or good for the country's economy?



Source: Author's calculations, European Social Survey 2010 in Germany, France, UK, Spain and Greece; ESS 2004 for Italy

ally apply for these unattractive jobs, but are hardly viewed as the desired economic immigrants, mainly because of the negative stereotypes about this group. Despite the differences between host countries,[30] none of them typically seems to demonstrate any particular hospitality. What is important for migrants (if they have enough information), however, is not so much what the attitudes are, but whether there are discriminatory practices against them in everyday life.

These are some examples of negative public practices that create preconditions for ethnic tensions and reflect the community's negativism toward Roma in host societies in Western Europe:

– May 2008, Naples, Italy: The local population burned Roma gypsy camps in a suburb of the town with Molotov cocktails after a woman claimed that a Gypsy girl had come into her flat in an attempt to steal her baby. The government's

30 The explanations may be different and have cultural, economic, social and historical context, including migration of Roma, but are not subject to examination.

answer was to show informal support of this action against the Roma. The forceful repatriation of Roma became an urgent national task after this incident in 2008 (Triandafyllidou et Ambrosini, 2011; Finotelli et Sciortino, 2009; Bull, 2010; Ziengenfuss, 2011)

- Germany, 2009: A repatriation programme for RAE from Kosovo began and was implemented in 2010 with a bilateral Readmission Agreement with Kosovo. Some sources point out that the repatriation was not voluntary, since the immigrants resided in Germany for years. In addition, Germany paid more than 100 Roma to return to Romania in June 2009 (ERRC 2010, Knaus et Widmann 2010)
- France, August 2010: Since this date, French authorities have expelled around 8,000 Roma immigrants to Romania and Bulgaria. This act was called a "Voluntary Repatriation Programme", which practically put out of sight the discriminatory nature of the selective expulsion, as those actions were explained with an illegal settlements problem. Another official argument was the high rate of unemployment among those communities. Each adult received 300 Euro, or 415 USD, in exchange for leaving the country. It also included the dismantling of illegal Roma settlements. Despite the international criticism, that was just the beginning. In 2012, Roma camps in Lille and Lyon were destroyed with the argument of their "unsanitary" conditions. Sarkozy's course was followed in the Netherlands (ERRC 2010, CNDH 2010, HRW 2012)
- Ostrava, Czech Republic: During the transition period, members of the local elites privatised the vast majority of municipal housing where Roma people resided for years. The new owners used various means to get rid of the Roma tenants: they changed permanent contracts into short term ones, and then did not renew them after their expiration, increased the cost of rents dramatically, constantly invading the privacy of tenants, etc. In the late 1990s, under political pressure, the local governments proposed to give thousands of Roma one-way airplane tickets to Canada, if they did not apply for municipal housing. Thousands of Roma moved to Canada (Tomova 2013: SIIP: 51)
- Other examples of such policies were the Roma repatriations from Denmark (23 Roma sent back to Romania), Sweden (50 Roma sent to Romania in 2010). Finland, amid public outcries about public security, threatened expulsions in 2010 (ERRC 2010)

Further examples of public practices that echo from the negative social attitudes toward immigrants are:

- The ostentatious expulsion of irregular immigrants in Greece – Albanians, mostly in the mid-1990s and since 2009; (Triandafyllidou et Ambrosini, 2011)
- The introduction of the Bossi-Fini law in 2002 in Italy. It imposes the requirement for immigrants to have stable work to obtain the right to remain in the country. Thus, it aims to regulate the inflow of temporary work immigrants. The law originally included the introduction of urban patrols – measures rejected by the Constitutional Court (Bull, 2010)

In the different countries, the features of minorities which lead to social exclusion vary, due to historical experience and, respectively, political constitution of the country, The differences in ethnicity, race, language, religion, etc. lead to various forms of discrimination between the Western and the Eastern European countries in terms of frequency, strength and openness. Social psychology studies show that, during the last decades, open forms of ethnic discrimination occured more often in CEE than in Western Europe, taking into account that ambivalent attitudes towards minorities had increased in all countries. This is a consequence of substantial differences in education and a stricter control over hate speech in Western Europe. At the same time, latent forms of discrimination are more explicitly expressed in Western Europe. The demonstrated tolerance, in one respect, degenerates into intolerance of another type, by taking into account the prevalent social taboos.

Bulgaria, where ethnicity-based discrimination is not publicly condemned and is even, in some cases, encouraged, has the most intolerant attitudes in this respect (moderate correlation). In the other countries, ethnic intolerance occurs more in more subtle forms. In Germany and Greece it is based on nationality; in France, Britain and Spain – based on colour and race; in Italy – on language. Association can be referred

Table 5: Correlation between belonging to a different ethnic group from majority, and discrimination on various grounds (Pearson coefficient)*

Country	Self-perception as a member of a discriminated group in the country	Discrimination on the ground of:				
		Colour or race	Nationality	Religion	Language	Ethnic group
DE	0.22	0.22	0.24	0,.19	0.12	0.17
FR	0.15	0.25	0.07	-	0.14	0.14
UK	0.14	0.21	0.04**	0.09	0.07	0.13
EL	0.28	0.1	0.3	0.14	0.13	0.15
IT	0.11	-	0.15	-	0.38	0.19
ES	0.25	0.34	0.05**	0.09	0.08	0.22
BG	0.36	0.23	-	0.19	0.14	0.47

* Statistical significance at α=0.01

** Statistical significance at α=0.05

Source: Author's calculations, European Social Survey 2010 in Germany, France, UK, Spain, Greece and Bulgaria; ESS 2004 for Italy

as weak, to moderate. Britain and France generally show the greatest tolerance towards other ethnic groups. Intolerance is stronger in the southern countries of Europe. In Italy, where other ethnic groups are the most discriminated against on the grounds of language, ethnically different representatives perceive themselves, to the least extent, as part of a discriminated group (compared to other countries). Italians perceive discrimination by language as something that stems from the shortcomings and limitations of the immigrants themselves, as a language can be learned. It is not possible to change one's ethnic identity, but one can hide it. For the ethnically different person, it is irrelevant on what grounds he/she will be discriminated against. What is important is the outcome – how that will affect his or her life.

On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that each person is so rational and informed as to make comparisons across countries. Assuming that the individual weighs the positives and negatives, he/she could conclude that Bulgaria, Greece and Italy do not differ significantly in the proportion of discriminated based on ethnicity. This does not prevent the Bulgarian Roma from choosing Greece as the most frequent destination to migrate to, while Italy is third after Germany. Britain, on the other hand, where tolerance is relatively high, is not among the most desired countries. There, the labour market niches for unskilled and low-paid workers are already occupied by people with a better knowledge of the local language – residents of former colonies, or people with relatively high education in the donor country. Abroad, the education of the latter is inapplicable for many reasons. The situation is similar in France, which was also a colonial country. In Germany, competition for low-skilled jobs is also massive, but speaking Turkish is an advantage for Turkish speaking Roma from the Balkans because there is large diasporas of Turks there.

Indirect discrimination against some minority groups on the labour marker has increased the CEE countries in which the economic crisis was prolonged and painful and where job opportunities and decent salaries have been significantly limited. Indirect discrimination has often been hidden behind accusations that Roma people are themselves to blame for the low level of employment among their community, since they are poorly educated, lack skills, have "cultural deficits", abuse disciplined working practices, show no loyalty, stick to laziness and so forth. The impact of discrimination on migration intentions should rather be sought in this impossibility to find a job, which indirectly influences the decision about migration. Matras makes a point about sending countries - "it seems that ethnic violence and lack of economic opportunities can be … closely interrelated" (Matras 2000: 38).

Summary of findings from quantitative research of attitudes for migration

The liberalisation of labour force movement in Europe with the common Schengen rules does not make work migration easier for the citizens of most sending countries

included in the study. Despite that - many people choose to travel abroad (even with the present restrictive rules) due to the strong push and pull factors that still remain. This combination of low degree of freedom of work migration and strong push/pull factors creates preconditions for irregular migration. Some migrants can make use of the weaknesses of the asylum system or remain after the visa-free period. That leads to the hypothesis that there is a considerable number of irregular immigrants, among Roma and non-Roma alike.

The hypothesis that the causes of Roma migration do not differ from those of non-Roma has been confirmed: poverty, lack of jobs and a desire for a better life are the main reasons for all potential emigrants. In this sense, the data from the survey dispel some widespread stereotypes about Roma migrations, namely related to their presumably nomad nature of life, travelling to abuse the welfare systems of richer countries etc. Roma people who intend to migrate have similar values regarding paid labour as non-Roma. They prefer contracted, permanent, full time low paid labour instead high paid temporary job. But in the country of origin they often do not have opportunity for better job. They are often exluded from the labour market at least in two dimensions: lot of Roma are unemployed, and those employed are often poor. That is why a great share of the working poor Roma people intend to travel. The motive for migration "better chances for work" in the receiving country interrelates with the poverty - absolute and relative to local majority population. But although the reasons for migration of Roma and non-Roma are similar, the situation of Roma is worse and the share of the potential emigrants among them is higher.

Discrimination in the native country is among the important reasons for the labour market exclusion. However less discrimination abroad is not a frequently stated reason for migration, and cannot be considered as a factor that attracts Roma immigrants. Immigrants' experience in host countries is not necessarily positive. The immigrants from ethnic minorities are more often discriminated against than the immigrants in general. Various studies reveal a rather complicated picture of Roma emigrants' motivations. Roma usually cite multiple mutually related reasons for emigration: unemployment, low income, severe housing problems and inability to repay credits, serious family problems and poor quality of life.

Roma deprivation brings serious challenges for the integration policies of the twelve sending countries surveyed. Steps need to be taken for improving the employment opportunities, for reducing poverty and improving the living conditions of Roma people – and all those matched by antidiscrimination measures.

2

Who are they? Profiles of Roma and non-Roma migrants

This chapter provides an analysis of the different profiles of migrants (Roma and non-Roma). The analysis is structured in two parts. Its Part A covers Roma and non-Roma immigrants in the twelve CEE countries covered by the UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011. Part B investigates the socio-economic situation of Roma migrants in France and Italy. The analysis in the Part B is based on the data from the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) Roma pilot survey 2011.

The data to certain extent makes the analysis and the conclusions regarding the socio-economic situation of Roma (migrants and residents) from both sections comparable (albeit with certain caveats). Some comparisons are possible because:

- In close cooperation through severapartsl bilateral meetings FRA and UNDP designed common questions, synchronized translation of the questionnaires, agreed fieldwork procedure and coordinated sampling.
- The same set of core questions with identical wording and answer categories was included in both, UNDP and FRA questionnaires.
- Both surveys were conducted from May–July 2011 on a random sample of Roma and non-Roma households living in areas with concentrated Roma populations.

The analysis in both parts is carried out in three dimensions: demographics (along gender and age criteria), functional (by type of migration), and integration issues.

In order to outline the demographic profile of Roma and non-Roma migrants, the following attributes can be applied:

- Do the immigrants travel with their families?
- How long have they been in these countries for?
- What is the reason for going abroad?
- What are the most often chosen destinations in CEE?

- Have they been trying to legalize their residence?
- Did they work (hired and/or self-employed) during their stay?
- Have they received support from the government (monetary)?

The functional characteristics reveal whether the migration is permanent, temporary, transit and/or circular. The operational definitions are presented in the first section and are employed in the second section, too.

The analysis of integration investigates such issues as access and type of employment opportunities, sources of incomes and poverty, housing situation and living conditions, access to local healthcare system, enrolment of immigrant's children in education. The focus is rather on overall trends, processes, and situations than on precise accuracy of the findings. "Roma" and "non-Roma"also hereafter refers respectively to Roma non-Roma respondents only Roma and non-Roma "households" refer to the households of those Roma and non-Roma respondents.

Part A. Roma and non-Roma immigrants in CEE countries

The analysis in this part aims to identify specific and general characteristics of the profiles of typical immigrants – temporary and permanent, Roma and non-Roma, in the twelve CEE countries included in the survey. It also explores some aspects of their integration – attempt to register with different authorities, employment, incomes, access to health care, some issues of housing etc.

Respondents are not weighted by the number of migrants, distributed by country of origin. This is difficult, given that no one knows the actual number of immigrants from these countries. The profiles are derived from sample averages and shares (for information about the sample see Table A 11 in the Annex). A high accuracy of the findings cannot be expected, and therefore they should be seen as indication of certain tendencies, rather than hard evidence of the status in respective areas. No comparisons between sending countries are made.

The working definition of a "migrant" used in this chapter of the analysis is "a person residing (irregularly or legally) in the country where the study was conducted, but born in another state".

Demographic characteristics

The typical Roma migrant respondent was between 25 and 39 years old (32%). He or she mainly accompanied his or her family, comes for family reunification (47%) or for

work and a better life (44%). The person was married, or cohabiting with someone (72%), had tried to legally register (82%) and had received assistance from the state (51%). Most often, had arrived in the spring months (March to June – 46%). He or she was Muslim (63%) and usually literate (75%), not very educated (no formal education – 38%, primary education (ISCED 1): 26%, lower secondary education (ISCED 2) – 26%). In most cases the Roma immigrant was a female – 61%.

The typical non-Roma migrant respondent was a bit older as most migrants were from 50 to 54 years old (15%). He or she arrived in the host country mainly for family reunification (43%) and for work and a better life (30%). More often, a case of refugee status was registered (18%). Almost the same share as the Roma had tried to register (82%), but sometimes had received benefits (38%). Most often arrived in the country between June and September (53%). Less often than Roma, was married, or has a partner (59%). Most were Orthodox Christians (46%) and Catholics (22%). Next came Muslims (22%). They were better educated than the Roma (most had upper secondary education or higher (58%) and, similarly to the Roma respondents, women predominated (61%).

The majority of respondents moved abroad after the 1980s, most migrants coming to the host country in 1999 and 2000. Among Roma, there were migration waves in 1980, 1985, 1990, 1993, 1996 and 2000 (Annexes, Figure A2). With the increase of age, there are some differences in the reasons for Roma and non-Roma to migrate. Behaviour patterns vary depending on the phase of the life cycle of individuals. The phases are the same for Roma and non-Roma. Roma start work and raise families earlier.[31] When they arrived in the host country, the majority of them were under 15 years of age – 53% of women and 55% of men (Table 7). They accompanied their parents, spouses, family members or travelled for a marriage (53% of migrants under employable age). More often, accompanying attendants were women (62% of the girls indicated that reason) than men (42% of those indicating that reason). In 21% of cases, young Roma men travelled to find a better job.[32] Some of the boys and girls were forcibly relocated against their will (less than 2% of reported this as a first reason),[33] possibly due to women trafficking, children for sexual exploitation and forced labour.[34] Non-Roma under the age of 15 also usually joined their family or migrate simultaneously with family members (50%).

31 The data show that at the ages of 15 to 19 years, 30% of Roma have been married or living together with someone, while non-Roma in this category are 9%.

32 For comparison: 14% of non-Roma boys, up to 15 years old, have migrated in search of work.

33 This estimate is rather arbitrary and cannot be considered reliable. It is presented more as a proof of the existence of such practices among the Roma population, not to evaluate the distribution.

34 Almost all countries included in the study were identified as a source, transit and destination for trafficking in women and children for sexual purposes or forced labour, including begging(Trafficking in Persons Report 2012, U.S. State Department, (www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2012/index.htm), and for all countries, Roma men, women and children have been identified as more vulnerable victims of trafficking: Bulgaria (pp.99), Croatia (132), Bosnia and Herzegovina (91), Czech Republic (138), Hungary (181), Macedonia (229), Montenegro (254), Albania, and Serbia, (304), Slovak Republic (311).

In the 16 to 29 age bracket, men mainly indicate better chances of finding a job – Roma (38%) and non-Roma (38%). Both groups clearly show a distinguished family pattern: among women, a high proportion of accompanying is present – Roma (56%) and non-Roma (52%), but among non-Roma, some women migrated with the basic purpose of education (4%).

The percentage of Roma women aged between 30 and 49 years old who needed a job is slightly higher than that of the previous age group (24%) with negligible difference between women and men. More are those who seek better living conditions. There are more divorced Roma women (about 12% – Annexes, Figure A3), who have become heads of households and need to work to provide for their children (at least one or two, often 3 to 4 (Annexes, Figure A6) and/or parents. Raising children is the responsibility of the mother and when she splits from her partner/husband, they stay with her – 71% of divorced women Roma live in households with children, while this proportion is 44% for men. When children grow up, women can begin work and thus improve the material status of the family.

The eldest men and women of both ethnic groups have decreasing commitments towards other family members. Widows/widowers dominate among Roma (Annexes, Figure A3). There are fewer responsibilities to care and provide subsistence for others, as well as search for new livelihoods. The reasons for migration are less, too. Non-Roma seek better living conditions, or join their family (57%). The Roma distribution is rasonably spread evenly, but too scarce to allow the drawing of reliable conclusions.

Functional characteristics of migration: permanent, temporary, transit and circular

The analysis of migration intentions by looking at desired destinations showed that the 12 countries surveyed are not among the most attractive for immigration. Respondents who are willing to migrate to any of the twelve countries are relatively few – about 3% among Roma and non-Roma. However, there are quite a few immigrants in these countries. At the time of interviewing, 9% Roma and 5% non-Roma that lived in CEE (both permanent residing, and temporary migrants) were born in another country.

In this context, two hypotheses emerge, and subsequently will be tested:

- CEE countries are only a temporary stop, a transit place through which migrants pass to reach another desired final destination;
- there are more opportunities for integration in some CEE countries (e.g. Czech Republic, Hungary), as compared to wealthier countries, and they are

the more likely option for migration, although they are the less preferred ones (according to the analysis of future migration intentions).

Research on emigration from CEE countries shows that migrants often go through one, or more, transit countries before settling in their desired destination. Scenarios, in which a migrant is unable to reach their preferred Western country do occur, and the migrant remains trapped for a long time in the transit place. (Okólski, 2004: 39)

To screen out the temporary residing persons, the criterion of "length of stay in another country", i.e. how long the migrant spent there, was not used. What matters was the intention of future behaviour – whether the respondent had an inclination to migrate again, and if so, where to (return to his home country or go else where). If there is a desire to move again, he/she is considered as a temporary migrant. If the intention is to return to the home country, it could be a case of circular migration, or a failed transit migration. Transit migration occurs when the final, destination is a third country (other than country of origin or of present residence).

Around 21% of the Roma migrants living in CEE countries intend to move again. From those, 14% will return to their homeland. Temporary migrants are more often identified among the non-Roma living abroad: 24%, of which 39% want to return to their country of origin. Over 69% of the Roma who want to migrate identified a country from the EU-15 (plus Switzerland and Norway)as a preferred destination, while 9% pointed to the USA, Canada and Australia. Thus, in 18% of the cases, Roma migrants use CEE as a transit point, a "springboard"[35] to go to another country (usually with higher incomes and welfare). Meanwhile, 47% of the temporary non-Roma migrants intend to reach a country from the Schengen zone and 11% would like to go overseas.

Such attitudes are affected by the time of arrival (when immigrants arrived in the country). Dependence is negative: the later the Roma and non-Roma migrants arrived, the more likely it is they intend to move again.

35 For some migrants, access to the Schengen zone is limited not only because of visa regimes, but also due to national policies that allow foreign workers only into certain professions.In many places, obtaining a work visa requires connecting with employers, passing languagetests, having vocational skills, etc. In the Czech Republic, these access conditions were more liberal by 2005. Even today, third country nationals are not required to attend a course to obtain status of long term residents. This permission gives certain rights to migrants, including movement and work in the Schengen zone. For example,third-country nationals, who have acquired this status in another EU Member State, are allowed to engage in any kind of employment in Germany.Besides this, by virtue of COM (2012) 230 final,part of the third country nationals who have overstayed the authorised period of stay are regularized by the Member States in accordance with national legislations. Many of them do not remain in the country in which they are registered, but move to other Member States. Thirdly, a stay in a country such as the Czech Republic, allows migrants to raise funds to travel to more distant destinations such as the USA and Canada.

Table 6: Pearson's R correlation between year of arrival of the migrant and his/her intention for subsequent movement

Ethnicity	Gender	Pearson's R	Asymp. Std. Errora	N of Valid Cases	Approx. Sig.
Roma	Male	-0.21	0.05	214	0.00
	Female	-0.08	0.05	322	0.13
non-Roma	Male	-0.39	0.11	59	0.00
	Female	-0.32	0.07	99	0.00

Source: Author's calculations, UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011

*Includes only persons, who at the moment of the interview were not born in the country

The correlation outlined in Table 6 is relatively weak and differs by gender and ethnicity. For example, it becomes less and less desirable for non-Roma men to migrate to another country the longer they stay in a specific country. This is least likely to occur among Roma women as well.

Factors contributing to different patterns of migration from CEE countries

There seem to be four groups of factors influencing these variations, namely differences in A) migration patterns by ethnicity, gender; B) migration patterns by age; C) the degree of integration by ethnicity, depending on length of stay, and D) sources of income.

Migration patterns by ethnicity, gender

Gender differences are the result of certain specifics in migration patterns among Roma women and men. In the traditional model of segregation of duties in Roma families, men take an active role in the labour market and the participation of women is concentrated in domestic work and the raising of future generations.[36] Men are usually the first ones to go abroad to work, with women eventually following them. This type of division of responsibilities is still common among the Roma of Cen-

36 Roma women with higher education are an exception. They usually fight for their right for professional career even when it means that they should leave their community. The Roma women practicing their traditional crafts are also an exception" - Young women abandoned by their husbands, are often victims of trafficking. After the start of the global economic crisis, women more easily find jobs as domestic helpers or in the hospitality industry.

tral and Eastern Europe. Approximately one third of Roma women, aged 15 and older, are engaged in housework: according to the data form the survey, 26% of Roma women do not actively seek a job and are full time housewives (looking after the children). Another 7% said they were on maternity leave. In comparison with non-Roma women, these shares were 13% and 4%, and among Roma men – 1% and 0.4%. The relationship between gender and activity status was moderate among Roma ($V^2 = 0.48$, $\alpha = 0.01$) and less defined for non-Roma ($V^2 = 0.33$, $\alpha = 0.01$). These differences explain why non-Roma women are more mobile than Roma.

Gender differences in family roles and work are the same among migrants, except that Roma women stay at home more often to care for the children, or perform household work, without using a leave (30%). They also benefit from maternity leave (3%)less often. In many European countries the right to welfare payments for raising a child is linked to previous paid employment and social security schemes. (Corsi et al., 2008, 116). Thus, differences in terms of restrictions to access social support arise between Roma natives and Roma immigrants, who do not have a regular permit to reside in the host country.

Roma men are usually more likely to migrate again once other family members have joined with them(28% of them would migrate), than if they came alone (22%). Women have lower mobility attitude when they came unaccompanied (18% would migrate again). The men and women who arrived alone are in the receiving country to support their families and send money back to their home. When a family reunites, and because Roma find it harder to integrate everywhere, they try living in a third country, thus becoming an example of transit migration.

The situation among non-Roma is the opposite. When men arrive with their families, the probability of subsequent migration is lower (31%), than if they came alone (39%). The second type of migrants more often return back home.

Migration patterns by age

With the increase of age, migration decreases (Table 7). For Roma, age does not have high significance in their intention to subsequent movement – but the willingness drops: Pearson correlation $r = -0.16$, $\alpha = 0.01$, while among non-Roma, it has more impact: $r = -0.42$, $\alpha = 0.01$.

Possible factors for these ethnic differences are: 1) variations in health status by age (if the respondent is in poor health, they are less inclined to migrate), 2) property ownership that changes with age unevenly among Roma and non-Roma, 3) reasons for the move, depending on the stage of life-cycle and whether a given reason can motivate a person to move.

Table 7: Immigrants by age at the time of arrival,* still living in the receiving country (%)

Ethnicity	Gender \ Age	0-15	16-29	30-49	50-69	Total
Roma	Male	55	33	11	1	100
	Female	53	35	11	1	100
	Total	53	35	11	1	100
non-Roma	Male	48	36	13	3	100
	Female	35	50	10	5	100
	Total	40	45	11	4	100

Source: Author's calculations, UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011

Note: The age at which the respondent had migrated to the host country is calculated on the basis of data for his/her age at the last birthday, from which are deducted years of stay in the receiving state. The latter is calculated as difference between year of interview (2011) and year of incoming, pointed by the person.

With increasing age there is a change in subjective health status (Spearman coefficient r_s= -0.52, α = 0.01 for Roma and r_s= -0.59, α = 0.01 for non-Roma). Among non-Roma, this influences the intention to travel again; they are less likely to migrate further if they are sick (r = 0.24, α = 0.01).[37] Among Roma, the correlation is not statistically significant.

The impact of ownership of property was dismissed as a possible explanation – the relationship between possessing their own home and the decision for migration is low – Cramer coefficient: V^2 = 0.1, α = 0.01 for both ethnic groups. The narrowness between age and the likelihood that a person is to own the house where he lives is also negligible – V^2 = 0.09, α = 0.01 among Roma and V^2 = 0.12, α = 0.01 among non-Roma.

The third possible explanation is related to the reasons by life cycle phases. The analysis of the profiles of migrants indicated that these vary with age. Non-Roma with families are less likely to travel with them, which is clearly associated with the life cycle phases. Before having a family, they are more mobile and can move to a third coun-

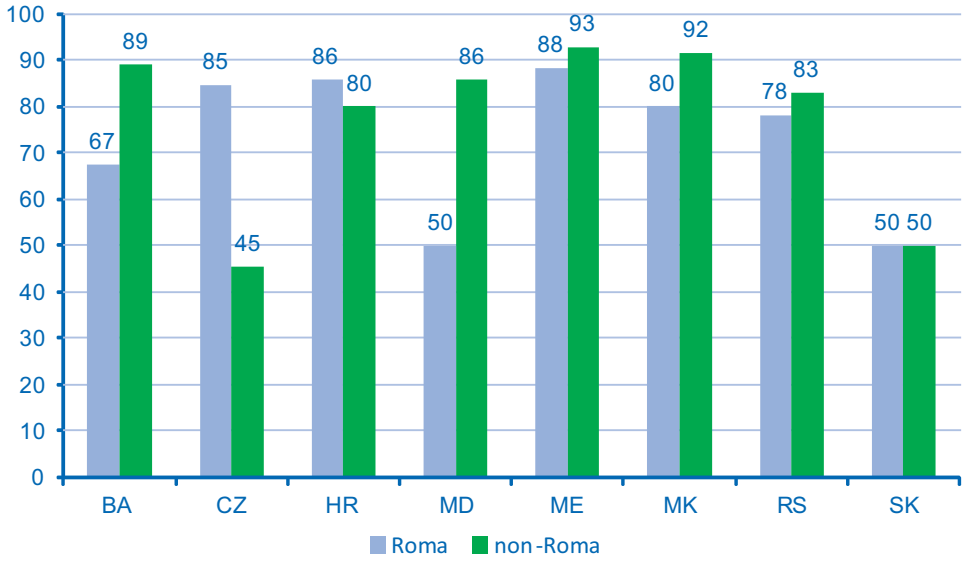
37 The relationship between the calculated parameters is defined by the questions "how old was he/she on the last birthday?" and "how is his/her health in general?" Differences in sense of self in relation to health donot reflect the actual distances in health. For example, the relationship between age and the presence of long-term illness is small and almost the same for Roma and non-Roma, slightly higher for Roma r=-0.46,α=0.01, than for non-Roma r=-0.44,α=0.01. Similar results are obtained for the relationship between increasing age and whether the person has been limited in daily activities during the last six months. However, since the subjective sense influences the personal plans and decisions, here subjective assessment of the individual's health will be used.

try. Then, mobility is limited to circular migration. Roma tend to travel with their families. For them, the option of subsequent migration is often associated with transit stays in CEE countries. Therefore, age does not matter so much for Roma in transit.

The degree of integration by ethnicity, depending on length of stay

The last reason for the differences by ethnic origin in the intentions for subsequent migration can be found in the degree of integration, which varies among Roma and non-Roma on the one hand, and depends on the length of stay in the country, on the other. Here, two opposing hypotheses arise that could explain the differences in behaviour by ethnicity. In the first case, the weak correlation between year of arrival and a desire for a further migration among Roma is interpreted by the fact that they integrate faster than non-Roma and thus the association is weaker, irrespective of when they arrived. The second, and more probable option, is that Roma are generally poorly integrated and therefore there is a weak correlation between length of stay and intent to subse-

Figure 19: Share of immigrants who have tried to legalize their stay* in the receiving country, 2011 (%)



Source: Author's calculations, UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011

* By means of registering where they live, application for a work permit, enrolment of child/children in school/kindergarten, application for government assisted housing.

** Numbers of respondents from Bulgaria, Albania, Romania and Hungary were not sufficient enough for conclusions.

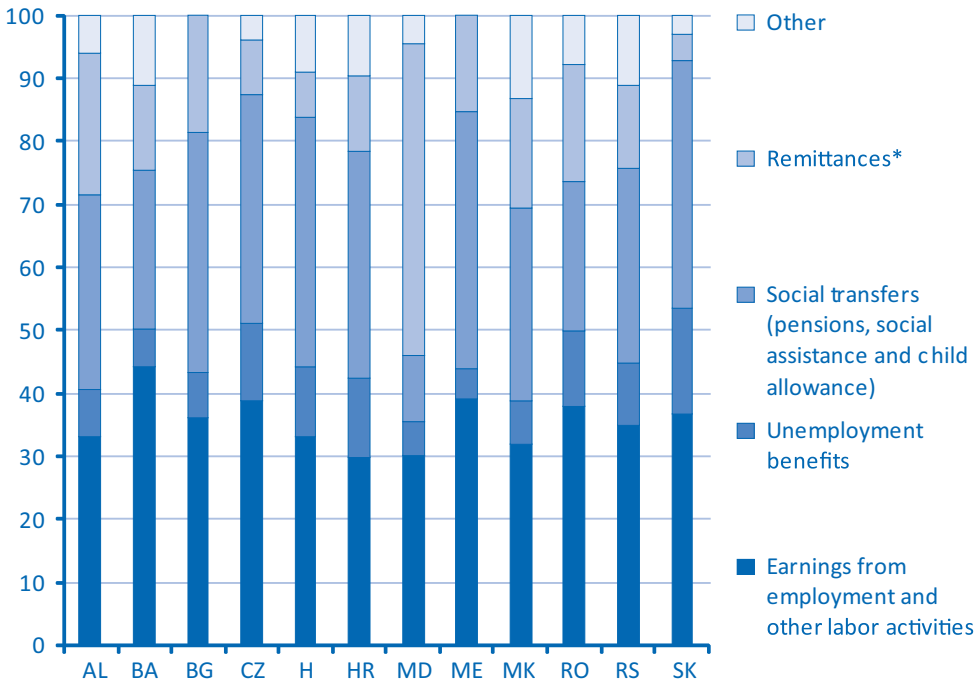
quent migration. Moreover, they do not expect to be better off upon their return to their home country, and, more often than non-Roma, believe that re-migration will bring positive results. Their stay in the host country is a matter of compromise.

The first condition requires the existence of some form of integration for immigrants to legalize their stay. Many of them have tried to do this by residence registration, applying for a job, enrolling children in school or kindergarten, and filing an application for public housing (Figure 19).

Roma show different activity by countries. In countries where social systems are more generous, they try to legitimize their stay more often than non-Roma, or equally (Figure 20).

On the other hand, such conduct is connected to the access regimes in countries (whether they are part of the Schengen area or not).

Figure 20: Structure of earnings of Roma households by countries, 2011 (%)**



Source: Author's calculations, UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011

* Money transfers received from friends and relatives living abroad;
** For every source, the average monthly amount is calculated. The proportion of every source is calculated from the total average amount of earnings.

Table 8: Share of immigrants who have tried to legalize their stay* in the receiving country, by ethnicity and year of arrival, 2011 (%)

Year of arrival / Ethnicity	up to 1979	1980-1989	1990-2000	2001-2005	2006-2011
Roma	90	92	84	88	66
non-Roma	85	96	94	60**	

Source: Author's calculations, UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011

* By means of registering where they live, application for a work permit, enrolment of child/children in school/kindergarten, application for government assisted housing

** The data are summarized because of the low number of respondents

The length of stay in the country is related to the behaviour of immigrants. The more time they have been in the host country, the more likely they are to legalize their stay.

Most of the immigrants who have not tried to legitimize their stay have arrived in the past five years. Firstly, these are the Roma who are not eligible to reside in the country, or have no legal ground to request such a right, but they have to go and stay there for economic reasons. Few of them are going to move again, and this has no relation to their legitimacy.[38] It is not possible to argue that these people abuse the welfare systems of host countries. This type of immigrants probably fear deportation. In the Czech Republic, for example, benefits and allowances are relatively lucrative and accessible to a significant part of the local Roma (Figure 20), but 50% of Roma who arrived between 2006 and 2011 have never attempted to apply for a benefit. Roma migrants have similar behaviours, but, for various reasons, in countries where social benefits are very small compared to others – for example in Albania. Otherwise, over 70% of respondents have tried to legalize their stay.

Patterns of migration and sources of income

Most of the Roma and non-Roma newcomers rely on their income, which does not come from allowance, but from unregistered work. None of the Roma who have mi-

38 25% of those who have tried to register some form intend to migrate again, with a corresponding 26% among those who have tried to legalize their stay.

Table 9: Integration into the labour market of immigrants who have tried to legalize their stay, by year of arrival (%)

Integration indicator	Share of assistance receivers from state/ local government/ other office		Share of registered in PES		Share of people with a written contract with employer	
Year of arrival / Ethnicity	Roma	non-Roma	Roma	non-Roma	Roma	non-Roma
up to 1989	57	32	43	23	53	60
1990-2000	50%	46	40	16	20	35
2001-2005	40	100	54	50	33	33
2006-2011	37	25	17	17	0	50

Source: Author's calculations, UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011

grated in the last five years have indicated that they have an employment contract with their employer, although half have permanent jobs and others work from time

Table 10: Distribution of employed Roma and non-Roma immigrants by type of employment and year of arrival (%)

Ethnicity	Roma				non-Roma			
Type of employment / Year of arrival	Permanent	Temporary	Seasonal	Periodically (from time to time)	Permanent	Temporary	Seasonal	Periodically (from time to time)
up to 1989	41	25	5	29	65	19	4	12
1990-2000	7	29	17	46	57	30	4	9
2001-2005	0	0	0	100	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2006-2011	50	0	0	50	100	0	0	0

Source: Author's calculations, UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011

to time. Of these, 37% receive allowances. In this respect, non-Roma often sign an official agreement – 25% of cases.[39]

Of those who have tried to legalize their stay, integration in order to secure a right to paid employment and social protection increases with duration of residence.

In the host society (like in the sending ones), non-Roma are well integrated, in terms of labour security, when they have a longer stay. They often have contracts and permanent employment.

It cannot be assumed that job security plays a major role as a retaining factor for Roma with longer stays in a country, as they, again, are in a less beneficial position than non-Roma. The hypothesis that Roma choose the less unfavourable between several available 'bad' alternatives is confirmed. Officially, inactive behaviour also means that security and social protection are undesirable, because irregular residence may be understood as a compromise.

This case is different for non-Roma in terms of their intentions during a longer stay in the country – those are temporary migrants who wish to return home (though few in number, all of the respondents who arrived after 2006 and who reside irregularly said they would move again). Such behaviour indicates that they still have expectations that could be fulfilled in their home country, or another one. Stay abroad is not necessarily a last resort, but a stage of gaining money.

The analysis of some values confirms these assumptions. The differences between Roma and non-Roma,who arrived in the host country during the last five years, are clear: 81% of Roma prefer secure and low paid jobs instead of high-earnings and unregulated employment, whereas non-Roma choose the first option (67%). Therefore, for a significant part of the recently residing abroad Roma, their stay does not create the necessary opportunities to engage in the regulated labour market, although that is desired by them.

This stay creates some possibilities for rescue from extreme poverty for some migrantsto wealthier countries who have come in the last five years. In general, migration does not lead to major changes in the material status – 8% of Roma people who do not live in their country of origin have less than PPP 2.15 USD per day. For comparison, 12% of the Roma who live in their home country are in the same position. However, when Roma move into a wealthier country, they manage to raise their income sufficiently as to avoid extreme poverty. In the Czech Republic, all respondents who immigrated there indicate that they earn more than PPP 2.15 USD

39 The numbers are approximate, because of the small number of respondents.

a day, even though 65% of them are below the poverty line of the country. The situation in Slovakia and Croatia is similar. Immigrants who arrived between 2006 and 2011, in general, both countries, have lower rates of poverty among Roma – 4% below the extreme poverty line (women only), while among those established between 2001 and 2005, they are 11%.

Among non-Roma, the proportion of people who were born in another country and are living in extreme poverty is smaller – 3%. None of those who immigrated in the last five years live on less than PPP 2.15 USD per day, or below the country's poverty line. In terms of access to income, they are in a better position. Small but statistically significant differences in terms of employment, unemployment, literacy, proportion of unemployed who receive unemployment benefits, people with access to a pension, health status of individuals, access to medical care exist between countries[40] (Annexes, Table A9). In this sense, it cannot be expected that these have a strong attractive retention, or repulsive effects, for migrants. The most significant differences, by spread of work with/without written contract, are not valid for Roma and non-Roma immigrants, who are in a worse position than the local population in the labour market. Roma living in a foreign country face multiplied barriers to entry in the labour market caused by differences in ethnicity and nationality. They are, therefore,forced to endure adverse conditions more often than local Roma and non-Roma immigrants (Annexes, Table A10), for example living in ruined houses or slums, in dwellings, with a lack of beds for every person in the household. They rely on already established migrant networks in the host country and more often live in neighbourhoods with predominantly Roma populations, than local Roma. They live with relatives and family members (78%) and still have to pay rent to them in 4% of cases in which they live in the home of a family member and in 22% of cases when in a relative's home). On the other hand, they are able to cover this expense with their income better than local Roma (considering the share of persons who have difficulty paying their rent). They occupy pipe-water supplied housing and have health insurance more often than local Roma. In terms of these indicators, non-Roma immigrants live much better as they have a higher quality of life, compared to all other respondents (Annexes, Table A10).

Recently arrived Roma (2006 to 2011) are in the worst conditions in terms of access to health services as they do not have health insurance – in 61% of cases. The majority of them face difficulties in paying their rent (75%), but rarely live in ghettos or destroyed dwellings, and more frequently have access to piped-water at home than. In 69% of cases, they are settled in Roma neighbourhoods. Among them, the general immigrants' pattern is a bit more clearly distinguished.

40 The distances between Roma and non-Roma are alike in every country. For example, access to health services is limited for 42% of Roma and 26% of non-Roma, who considers that he/she essentially needs it.

In general, migration into CEE does not solve many of the integration problems that the Roma face at home. Staying abroad is often a matter of compromise, which allows to avoid extreme poverty. Therefore, the second hypothesis is confirmed.

The question, then, is what good practices could be implemented to overcome such deficits and complex situations. There are some positive examples of interaction and cooperation between local authorities from CEE countries, leading to better integration of Roma immigrants into the host as well as in the sending countries.

Bilateral agreements between Kavarna, Bulgaria and host cities in Poland

In Kavarna (a relatively small town in north-eastern Bulgaria with a population of 11,549), the Roma make up between 1/5 and 1/4 of the population, and approximately 1/3 of the children in preschool and compulsory school age. Almost all industrial enterprises in the town and workshops in the villages were closed in the early years of transition. In 1992, land reform started with the closure of the socialist agricultural cooperative farms and the Agro-Industrial Complex (APC), and the return of lands to their former owners. More than 3,000 people remained unemployed only as a result of the closure of the APC. For a long time, jobs were shrinking and slightly more than 1,000 people were employed. Registered unemployment in the municipality affected 49.7% of the active population – 4,148 people (NSI Census 2001). The number of discouraged,those with odd jobs, or seasonal work doubled– 8272 people (NSI 2005). Only 125 (6.1%) of Roma in the municipality had a job – mainly under temporary employment programmes for the long-term unemployed. The official picture of unemployment in the Roma community is 89.1% (NSI 2005).

Since the transition began in Kavarna, the Roma have tried to make made their fortunes abroad. Back in the 1990s, some men found seasonal work as construction workers in Germany, Austria, Israel, the Netherlands*, and other countries. Several families began trading in cheap clothes on the border between Germany and Poland. Their business was profitable. Furthermore, it allowed not only men, but also their wives to go abroad. They were joined by relatives and neighbours. Gradually, over two thirds of the households sent at least two people to work in Poland. Until 2007, they worked entirely in the informal sector. The majority were forced to work three months, as this was the period of visa-free stay in the EU for Bulgarian citizens, then returned to Bulgaria, and after a certain time – back to Poland. The problem is that most of them work without permit. They are constantly forced to lie and practictically – to break the law.

In 2007, Mayor C. Tsonev concluded bilateral agreements with the mayors of the four Polish cities where the majority of Roma from Kavarna were employed – Poznań, Opole, Kielce and Radom. Since then, they have worked there legally, have registered own companies, and pay taxes. Many report that they earn monthly over 3,000 EUR. They save everything they can to build large and beautiful houses in Kavarna,to buy expensive cars and to provide funding for the weddings of their sons. According to the mayor, the most important result of this change in the economic status of Roma is that it reduces the prevalence of negative stereotypes towards them in Kavarna and in the Polish cities. The perception of them as a prosperous group is a prerequisite for changing attitudes and interethnic relations in a positive direction. (Tomova 2013)

* Countries with large colonies of Turkish "guest workers",where the Roma present themselves as Turks from Bulgaria

Part B: Migration of Roma from CEE to France and Italy

This part of the analysis explores the socio-economic situation of Roma migrants (most of them from CEE EU member states, mainly Romania) in France and Italy. The analysis is based on the data from the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) Roma pilot survey 2011.

The data generated by this survey (and used for the analysis below) makes comparisons with the picture outlined in Part A possible (albeit with certain caveats – see introduction of Chapter 2):

The analysis in this part, similarly to that in part A, is carried out in three dimensions: demographics (along gender and age criteria), functional (by type of migration), and integration issues.

In order to allow an acceptable degree of comparability, similar operational definition for "migrant" is applied in both parts of this research. Also the concept of "citizenship" is used as a supplementary condition. A person is defined as migrant, if he/she is not born in the country and does not have citizenship. Therefore, for the purpose of the analysis, EU citizens exercising their right to free movement are also considered as 'migrants'. In France, the migrants who were explicitly targeted by the survey were Roma from Romania living in segregated settlements or camps. In Italy the situation is more complex: the survey did not target explicitly Roma migrants, but they were sampled within areas where Roma live in high concentration independently of their citizenship. Some of these Roma from CEE had children who were born in Italy, but did not have Italian citizenship, because in Italy children of immigrants born in the country have to wait until their 18th birthday before they are en-

titled to apply for citizenship (Law no. 91/1992)[41]. The survey considered respondents under 18 born in Italy, but without Italian citizenship, as migrants. This helps us approximate the terms used in the current section to those in the previous one, where only those not born in the country were considered as migrants.

The analysis of the data from France is contextualised in light of experiences of recent Roma migrants facing difficulties in legalizing their status. This is necessary because there is some information that some Roma migrants who do not live in camps may be hiding their identity, whereas those living in camps are "recognizable".

In France, the FRA survey was targeted explicitly at Roma migrants, mostly from Romania, living in camps in and around Paris, where Roma immigrants are most easily identifiable. Further questions about their experience as EU citizens moving to France were added. The adapted version of the general Roma questionnaire tries to gather information on the difficulties which recent and visible Roma migrants are facing when trying to legalise their status. The conclusions are indicative for these groups of population and partially by analogy could be referred to other Roma migrant groups in camps.

No representative quantitative survey of the Roma people had ever been conducted in France and Italy before that research. There is no reliable and definite data about Roma population and its geo-demographic distribution in both countries. Despite the efforts in Italy[42] to collect information on the special geographical distribution of the Roma and their demographic characteristics, the data can only be considered as representative for the population in the areas covered, but might be indicative for others.

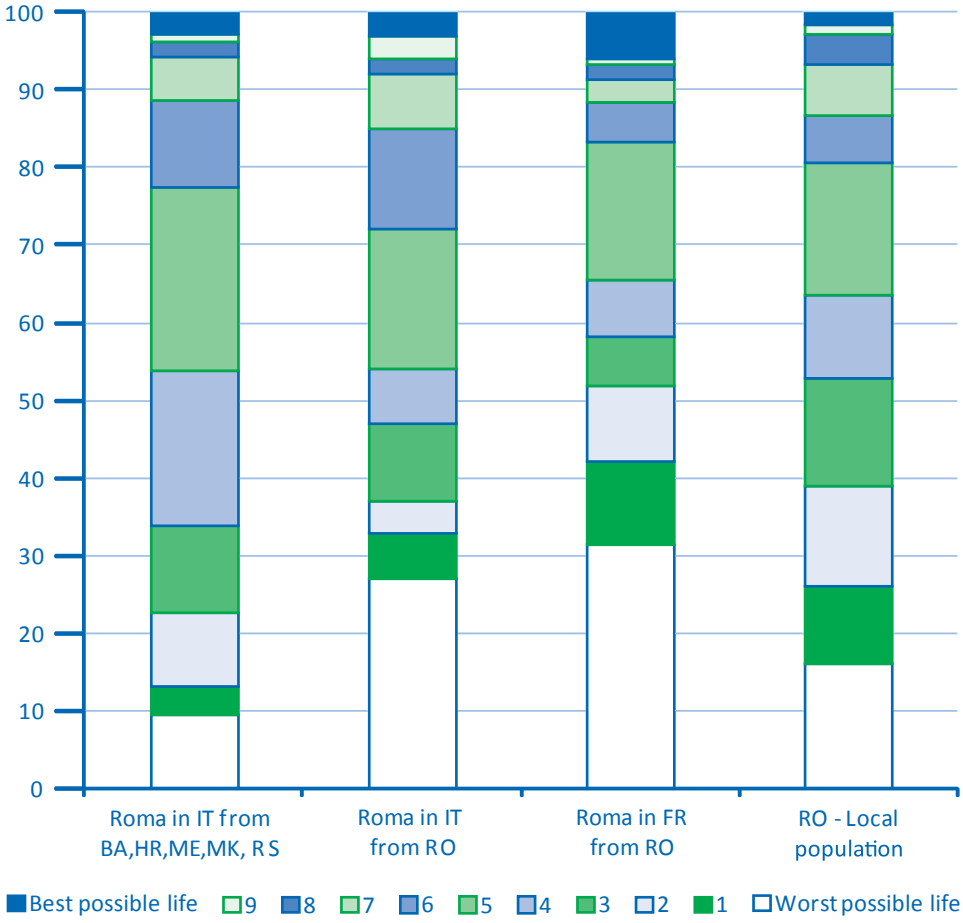
Functional characteristics of migration – temporary or permanent, transit or circular

The criteria used in the previous part to distinguish temporary and permanent, as well as transit and circular migration are applied in this part, too. The majority of the respondents in Italy and France intend to stay in the receiving countries, however more Roma migrants in France than in Italy said that that they intended to leave the country in which they are currently residing. The temporary migrants are 14% of all migrants in Italy and 19% of all migrants in the camps situated in, or around, Paris. The Roma who migrated from Romania to Italy express least often an inclination to migrate again (11%) compared to those from the Western Balkans and also from those who migrated in France.

41 Information from Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Italy (Office of Reference: D.G.IT. - OFFICE III) available at http://www.esteri.it/MAE/EN/Italiani_nel_Mondo/ServiziConsolari/Cittadinanza.htm reached June 2013

42 5500 Roma families were found

Figure 21: On which step of the ladder would you say you personally feel you stand at this time, assuming that the higher the step the better you feel about your life, and the lower the step the worse you feel about it? Which step comes closest to the way you feel?



Source: FRA Roma pilot survey 2011

Temporary stay in Italy is more likely to be of circular nature, as most migrants who intend to move again said that they would choose to return to their homeland: 56% of those from the Western Balkans and 63% of those born in Romania. Alternatively, these are potential returnees who intend to go back for good and not to circulate.

The situation in France is reversed – there results show that migration can be considered mostly as transit: 58% of the respondents said that their future destinations were not their home countries. The most preferred destinations for those surveyed

in France and Italy, are similar to the countries that potential Roma CEE migrants usually opt (with established migrant networks or with comparatively high economic welfare). The most favored destinations are Spain, Germany, Italy/France[43], or United Kingdom. The latter is the most preferred next destination among the Romanian Roma migrants in Italy. The Roma migrants in France who intend to move again usually prefer Spain, Germany, and Italy. The Roma from the Western Balkans currently residing in Italy and who want to move again mostly prefer Germany the most as a next destination (after their home country), possibly because of the existence of long established local networks that can provide job opportunities.

A possible explanation about the differences in the functional characteristics of the migration between the Romanian Roma, who have migrated to Italy, and those who have migrated to France is that the Romanian Roma migrants living in camps in France find their lives there on average worse than Roma migrants in Italy, which is why they are more inclined to migrate again (Figure 21).

Romanian Roma migrants who reside in camps in and around Paris feel worse about their current life compared to other surveyed groups. Asked to assess their satisfaction on an 11 point scale, with 10 being the highest value of satisfaction and 0 being the lowest, the respondents' satisfaction is 3.00 as a mean score. Surprisingly, they feel worse even when compared to Roma who remained local inhabitants in Romania (mean = 3.46).[44] The score of the Romanian Roma in Italy is higher – 3.62. Roma originally from the Western Balkans and living in Italy express the highest rating (mean = 4.13).

The analysis of the relationship between the perception of people's life and the intention for further migration is made using Kendall's tau-c coefficient. In the case of Romanian Roma in Italy the coefficient indicates statistically significant weak association ($\tau = 0.17$, $\alpha<0.05$). Little fraction (3%) of the decision for subsequent migration is related to life satisfaction. There is no statistically significant association in the case of the people living in France. The distance is even smaller among those living in Romania ($\tau = -0.07$, $\alpha<0.01$). Their decision to migrate is hardly influenced by the way they feel in the home country.

All four groups of Roma people perceive more positively their future. Coming life for the next five years is expected to be better than the present one. Roma who live in Romania are least optimistic about improvement in their life in 5 years, scoring lowest (mean = 3.63), while the similar value for the immigrants in France is higher by approximately 2 points (mean = 5.03). The study of the relationship be-

43 Italy is the third chosen destination for the respondent living in France, and france is on third place for Roma migrants in Italy.

44 The opposite was expected because the Roma migrants from CEE decide to travel abroad usually to find better life and stay there if their personal situation is more satisfying (Chapter 1).

tween the expectations for the future and the intentions for migration also shows weak correlations.

The weak correlations (Kendall's tau-c coefficient) can be explained by the variety of the motives for migration, as well as by the variety of the solutions which a person can resort to in order to improve his or her life. For example, respondents in camps in and around Paris most likely to migrate again from France are those who had graded 3 (Moda) for their present life. These are persons, who do not grade their present life very positively. Probably they believe that migration might be one of the ways of improving it. That is why they point most often that they will migrate. This occurs more rarely among people who had given a grade below 3. One of the possible explanations is that they believe they do not have the capacity to migrate. Another is that these people, despite assessing their life as bad, consider the life they had in their home country (Romania) as even worse and lacking perspectives. The reason for their decision to stay in the host country might be the expectation that, despite their high level of current dissatisfaction, migration emerges as survival option. A third possible explanation might be that they did not come to France voluntarily. According to data from FRA Roma pilot survey 2011, the motive for migration pointed out by 50% of the migrated Roma in France doesn't fit any of the pre-formulated reasons for migration (see Figure 23).[45] This in itself is an interesting finding which requires further in depth qualitative research.

Migrants' demographic profiles

The demographic profile of the typical Romanian Roma migrant respondent residing in camps in and around Paris is between 30 and 44 years old (44%). Unlike migrants in CEE countries, where they often come to join or accompany other family members, in France the reason most often indicated for migrating is looking for work and a better life (35%). Most indicated that they prefer to reach their destination in spring (March to June – 44%). The majority have not tried to register, apply for a work permit, enroll children in school/kindergarten, or apply for government assisted housing (72%), and the majority of those who did try said that they had not received assistance from public authorities (67%). More than half of the respondents were married or cohabiting (58%), often literate (63%), but with low education status (no formal education – 32%, incomplete or complete primary education: respectively 42% and 14%). The distribution by gender is even (50% males).

The typical Roma migrant respondent in Italy is similarly between 30 and 44 (44%), but more often male (62%), and married or cohabiting (87%). A higher percentage

45 The questionnaire use limited number of previously formulated reasons for migration. Half of the respondents did not choose any of them, but the answer "other reason".

than those in France were literate (78%) and had better education (no formal education – 23%, incomplete or complete primary education: respectively 21% and 11%, incomplete secondary school – 33%). The Romanian Roma migrants surveyed in Italy had a higher education (49% with incomplete secondary school) compared to those from the Western Balkans.

More migrant Roma respondents surveyed in Italy than elsewhere (both in the previous and in the current chapter) declared that better job opportunities and better living conditions were motives for their migration (70%). Romanian Roma migrants say that employment opportunities are essential (52%), while Roma from the countries of the former Yugoslavia claim that the most important driver to migrate are better living conditions (46%).

There are significant differences in the survey results concerning Italy and France. The efforts made by the surveyed Roma migrants to register, apply for a work permit, enroll children in school/kindergarten, or apply for government assisted housing. In Italy, the majority (73%) of Romanian Roma have made such efforts and practically all Roma migrants from the Western Balkans (99%), too. However, only a small share of the respondents said that they had received assistance from public authorities for these efforts (12%).

Efforts to register, apply for a work permit, enroll children in school, etc. can be seen as a first step towards integration in the receiving society for those that plan to stay longer. In this case, the results could indicate that Roma migrants in France make less effort to integrate than those in Italy. The analysis does not reveal any statistically significant relationship between the individuals' attempts to integrate and their intentions for future migration.

Roma immigrants in France and the dimensions of their integration

Immigrant Roma living in camps in France: integration issues

The survey interviewed Romanian Roma migrants in France that live in camps and therefore the results do not reflect the behaviour of all Romanian Roma migrants in the country. Another study has described cases of Romanian Roma migrants in France living in rented apartments, who have found work, but concealed their ethnic background when looking for work (Cahn et Guild 2008: 24). Roma who conceal their ethnic background are 'invisible' to random surveys based on self-identification and there are no data on their number. The data provided by UNDP, as well as those by FRA, give some information though. With due caution, given the very small number of respondents in this category, we can say that more respondents from this group made efforts to integrate by registering, applying for a work permit, enrolling children in school/kindergarten or applying for government assisted housing (39% and 40% respectively) than those surveyed in camps in and around Paris,

who were often in the centre of heated political debates receiving a large share of negative media attention. The FRA survey tried to find out the extent to which these respondents had tried to integrate and if they had received support from public authorities in doing so.

Several indicators are used in order to determine whether, and to what extent, the migrants had tried to integrate and if they had received support from public authorities in doing so:

- Has the person attempted to register during his/her stay in France?
- Is he/she employed, and if yes, what is the type of his/her employment?
- Has he/she access to medical services when needed?
- How much are the disposable incomes of the household?
- What are the living conditions in the household?
- Do the children in the household visit a nursery school, a kindergarten or a school and if not: what are the reasons for this decision?
- And, has he/she or someone from his/her household, received assistance from public authorities while making the above efforts?

A small share of the Roma respondents had arrived in France already in the early 1990s (5%). The majority had migrated after the year 2000. This coincides with the time when visa-free stay regime in the EU for Romanian citizens was introduced and access to work opportunities was eased. The more recent the year of arrival, the larger the proportion of respondents: 74% migrated during the last 5 years, most of them between 2010 and 2011 (Annex, Figure A6).

It is possible that the reason for the clustering in recent periods could be high outflows from the camps of people, who reside there from longer time. Some of them are expulsed or go back to home under the "humanitarian return" programme (Cahn and Guild 2010: 52). Others probably redirect to this "invisible" part of the immigrants who hide their identity, who live in different living conditions, once they succeed to "get on their feet". Thus in the camps live mostly most recent newcomers.

Other possible reason for the clustering in recent periods in these camps could be the increase of the inflows, explained by economic factors or by the so-called cumulative causation. The latter occurs when "the potential costs of migration are substantially lower for friends and relatives left behind"; thus "migration becomes self-perpetuating" (Massey: 449) and the size of the migratory flow between two

countries is not strongly correlated to wage differentials or employment rates" (Massey: 450). As a result the share of annually arrived migrants grows steadily with each year. These inflows are even larger if the migrants are travelling towards these migrant networks together with their families (as is the case amongst 76% of the respondents).[46] The thesis for cumulative causation does not rule out the possibility that the migrants' decisions are influenced by economic factors – related to the labour market, or to the standards of living in both - the sending and receiving countries. For example, the flow of migrants sharply rose after the beginning of the economic crisis in Romania in 2009 Chapter 1, Figure 4 and Annex, Table A 13). The data from the supplementary questionnaires show that 25% of the respondents send money to their home country.

The length of stay in the country is related to the immigrant's decision and attempt to legitimise his/her stay. The association could be referred as moderate ($r = 0.35$, $\alpha<0.01$)[47]. The more recent migration in the country the lesser probability the migrant to attempt registering. (Annex, Table A 13) The duration of their stay matters for this decision in 12% of cases. In the rest of the cases, other factors affect the decision-making, such as fear of expulsion, or eviction. A report of ERRC gather an existing official data on dismantling and expulsion: 75% of the 741 illegal camps recorded in France in 2011 had been dismantled; during the first nine months of 2010, 13,241 of the 21,384 foreign nationals expelled from France were Romanian or Bulgarian citizens and by force 6,562 Romanian and 910 Bulgarian citizens; in 2011, more than 7,400 Romanians and 1,250 Bulgarians received an expulsion order; almost 2,700 expulsion orders were distributed to Romanians and 340 to Bulgarians in the three first months of 2012 (ERRC 2013a: 17-18). A large part of the FRA survey respondents said that they had already been expelled (50%), or evicted (75%). It is reasonable to assume that these experiences were shared spreading fear to those who had not encountered such experiences (89% said that they feared expulsion and 95% feared eviction). Despite this, or maybe because of it, these people do not attempt to make efforts to integrate, such as registering, trying to obtain a work permit, sending their children to school, etc. Such efforts could draw more attention to them and possibly trigger precisely the processes they want to prevent, namely expulsion or eviction reinforcing a vicious circle of social exclusion.

Certain motives can offset the fear of expulsion. Children are among the main reasons migrants said they had contacted public authorities: 74% of those who tried to register for any reason did so when trying to enrol their children in school. The need to legalise their employment comes second: 51% of those who contacted pub-

46 The data were obtained from the additional module to questionnaire administered among the Roma immigrants in France for the FRA Roma pilot survey 2011.

47 The point biserial correlation between year of arrival and the try to legalise the stay is estimated under SPSS as Pearson's r correlation. The numeric expression for the positive answers of the second question ("Yes, I have tried to register…") is 1. The numeric expression for negative ones is 2.

lic authorities did so to get a work permit. It is a step towards other welfare advantages like: to obtain health insurance and retirement, to receive family allowances, to apply for accommodation, and for social benefits in case of low incomes or unemployment. A third motive is the willingness to live in better conditions – 36% of respondents who tried to register have applied for government assisted housing.

Legalisation is attempted by the literate respondents ($r = 0.33$, $\alpha<0.01$): 71% of the claimers can read and write compared to 59% of the respondents who do not seek registration. The immigrants who tried to legalise their stay speak French twice as often: in 56% of the cases ($r = 0.26$, $\alpha<0.01$).[48] There are no major differences as regards the level of education and health status.[49]

Special regimes for migrants from Bulgaria and Romania*

The migratory movements of Romanian and Bulgarian citizens in EU, including France have some particularities compared to the rest of European Union citizens. Before 1990 the Romanian citizens did not the right to move freely abroad. They could apply for asylum. After 2000 the Romanian citizens obtained the possibility to reside freely in the EU countries for 90 days. A residence permit was not needed for those three months. This rule has been implemented until present. For that time they were not allowed to participate in the labour market.

After 2000 they were considered as non-member state citizens (see Chapter 1) and their movement was restricted respectively. After the accession of Romania in 2007 until the year of the FRA Roma pilot survey 2011 "transitional clause" allowed France and the other EU countries to keep some restrictive rules. Thus, after 2000, the Romanian citizens who intended to work in the country needed both a residence permit and a work permit for a period of stay longer than three months. For the purpose the potential employer from France had to apply for both documents and to pay a tax (between 70 and 300 euros and depending on the contract duration). This was a precondition for the employers to be reluctant to hire Romanian (and Bulgarian) citizens if they have the option to hire nationals or EU – 25 citizens. After 2008 simplified procedures were introduced for Romanian citizens for a list of occupations. The list of occupations differentiates until now. In 2008 it included 62 ocuppations. In 2011 it contained 150 occupations. Today the list is larger and include

48 The question"Do you speak French well enough to be able to ask for help in the case of a medical emergency?" has been used.

49 Measured via the subjective health attribute – using a 5-rank scale.

more than 200 professions. The duration of work permit varied depending to the length of contract.

These rules create a complex picture regarding the immigrants' legal status in the country. In addition, the complexity increases when other rules regarding the legality of the stay are introduced, e.g. registration at the municipality, housing applications, enrolment of the children in school. These are different aspects of the legal status and are interrelated to each other. For example, the immigrants cannot enroll their children in school if they have no municipal registration. There are two requirements to receive such a registration: they must either possess a residence permit or stay in the country for less than three months. Simultaneously, they could have jobs in the informal sector and this is how they would be considered irregular migrants (see Chapter 1).

All the complexities of the possible personal situations could be hardly covered. As it is very likely that respondents will not give reliable information on their legal status when interviewed, the question used in the survey was formulated as follows: "While living in France, have you tried to do any of the following: register where you live, apply for a work permit, enrol your child/children in school/kindergarten or apply for government assisted housing?"

An attempt to register still does not mean actual registration. It also does not mean that people who have never tried to register are irregular migrants, since they could be in the country for less than three months and registration is not needed. On the other hand, the Romanian Roma immigrants could have sought for job during that time and intended to extend their stay. Such people could have tried to register before the end of the 90 days period. Thus, plenty of possible situations could have happened and it is hardly possible to classify them as situations of irregular or legal residents.

The attempt to register is at least an indication for immigrants' intention to integrate in the receiving country and to legalise their stay. It fits to the concept of the voluntary/non-voluntary exclusion (see next section: "Participation in the labour market"). This is also an indication that the people who tried to register expect that they probably succeed to integrate, to obtain access to different benefits like education, healthcare, more job opportunities etc.

On the other hand, the people who did not attempt to register, or apply for different permits and social services could choose that type of behaviour for different reasons. One could be that they also want to integrate, but possibly they do not believe that this could happen. Or they do not want to do it because of fear of expulsion. Or they do not want to be integrated.

These different possible personal situations and choices will be considered throughout the analysis. They will be discussed when the attempt to register, to apply for a work permit or housing, enrol the children in school are interpreted.

Throughout the analysis the people, who tried to do at least one of the following: register where they live, apply for a work permit, enrol their child/children in school/kindergarten or apply for government assisted housing are considered as people who want to legalise their stay, who want to integrate. For the sake of brevity they are called people who attempted/tried/sought to legalise their stay or who tried to register. The opposite category is named "people who did not attempt/try to legalise their stay" or "who did not try to register". These operational definitions are used also in the section for Italy.

*Sources: Gouvernement du France, MEFE et MIIIC 2008, Gouvernement du France, MTEFPDS 2013, Gouvernement du France, MIIINDS 2006, Gouvernement du France, MIIINDS 2008, Observatoire régional de santé d'Ile-de-France 2012.

Participation in the labour market

Roma respondents who made efforts to register their residence are more likely to be employed (employment rate = 45%) and less likely to be unemployed (unemployment rate = 31%). The majority of those who have not tried to legalise their stay are most often unemployed (unemployment rate = 63%; of employment rate = 29%).[50] (Annex, Figure A7).

Both groups are in a more adverse position in the labour market as compared to foreigners in France (unemployment rate - 18.2% (Eurostat)[51]. The hypothesis is that experiencing ethnicity-based discrimination, they are excluded from job opportunities more often compared to the rest of the foreigners. The latter also encounter barriers that impede their integration, because of their immigrant status, but are more rarely subject to discrimination (see Chapter 1).

Burchardt et al. offer a definition for the social exclusion and separate voluntary from non-voluntary exclusion. „An individual is defined as being socially excluded, if (a) he or she is geographically present in a society but (b) for reasons beyond his or her control he or she cannot participate in the normal activities of citizens in that society and (c) he or she would like to so participate." (Burchardt et al. 1999: 229).This operational definition will be used in the analysis of the status on the labour mar-

50 The definitions in the construction of the question correspond to ILO definitions. It is taken into consideration that some of the respondents tend to hide their informal employment and declare that they are unemployed.

51 Refers to non-citizens residing in the receiving country, according its national normative basis.

ket of Roma migrants and the socio-economic conditions in which they reside. It will be applied for both - France and Italy.

The question of exclusion in such case goes through the following checklist: 1) whether the people have tried to find job; 2) if it was not possible to start work, whether this is a result of discriminatory practices.
The immigrants who have never tried to register could rely only on work in informal sector. Their employment is considered as irregular. The cases of respondents, who tried to register and the rest of the cases will be considered separately. Thus the analysis distinguish a particular category of people, who do not have access to employment, because they do not act in accordance with the legal requirements and this could make the employers reluctant to hire them.

The data allow for the formulation of a well-grounded hypothesis that literacy gives an advantage among the migrants who tried to register (Table 11).

Other implicit variables downplay the importance of literacy for participation in employment among respondents, who have not tried to legalise their stay. Very often they are self-employed and occupied with unskilled irregular labour. Such employment does not always require literacy, but having contacts in the community where one lives, and having initiative, are very important. The business is often unregistered and provides a livelihood to other people who also did not tried to register (Table 12). For example, more than 30% of the respondents (in some period of their stay) have been selling flowers, newspapers or other items in the street, restaurants or in bars. A qualitative researches also give evidence that some migrant Roma selling scrap metals, newspapers or secondhand clothes have registered their activities with the relevant authorities and have obtained the status of being self-employed (ERRC 2013 a: 7).

Literacy and attempt to integrate through legalisation give some advantage to the respondents as job seeker to be hired by an employer. However, the opportunities to be hired do not increase much: 11% of people who tried to register have been hired for some period during their stay vs. 4% of those who have never attempted to legalise their stay (Table 11).

Speaking French gives an advantage even to those, who did not try to register: 11%, were occupied in labour with an employer for some period during their stay. In comparison, 1% of those who do not speak French were hired. Among respondents who attempted to legalise their stay, the language proficiency has not facilitated much them when they were seeking for a job. Almost no respondents have attended French language courses, or any other courses in order to improve their skills.

Literacy and local language proficiency do not grant large advantages in the labour market. However they could be impediment for labour participation. The attempt to legalise the stay in the country provides better chances to find employment.

Table 11: Roma migrants in France who have tried or not to legalise their stay by literacy and status on the labour market, 2011 (%)*

Status on the labour market		Current status on the labour market			Since you moved to France, have you ever had paid work with an employer?**		
Respondent's characteristics		Emplo-yed	Unem-ployed	Active	Yes	No	Total
He/she have tried to legalise his/her stay	Literate	73	27	100	13	87	100
	Illiterate	57	43	100	8	92	100
	Total	**69**	**31**	**100,**	**11**	**89**	**100**
He/she have not tried to legalise his/her stay	Literate	31	69	100	6	94	100
	Illiterate	47	53	100	1	99	100
	Total	**37**	**63**	**100**	**4**	**96**	**100**

Source: Author's calculations, FRA Roma pilot survey 2011

* There are no significant correlations between the attributes and the distributions are indicative.

** Accoding to ILO and Eurostat definition the cathegory "employed" includes hired people and self-employed. The people who have paid work with an employer are the hired ones. The table presents data for two different statuses: (a) the current status on the labour market and (b) the employment status as hired for the whole period of stay in France.

The share of those who felt discriminated on ethnic grounds[52] among the Roma who tried to legalise their stay is 51%, and among those who did not try to register – 36%.

52 The question in formulated as follows: "In the past 12 months (or since you have been in France) have you personally felt discriminated against in France on the basis of one or more of the following grounds."

These results are statistically significant. The correlation is weak ($r = 0.14$, $\alpha<0.05$). It seems that for Roma immigrants in camps around Paris, it is more likely to become an object of discrimination due to their ethnic origin when they try to legalise their stay, than if they don't.

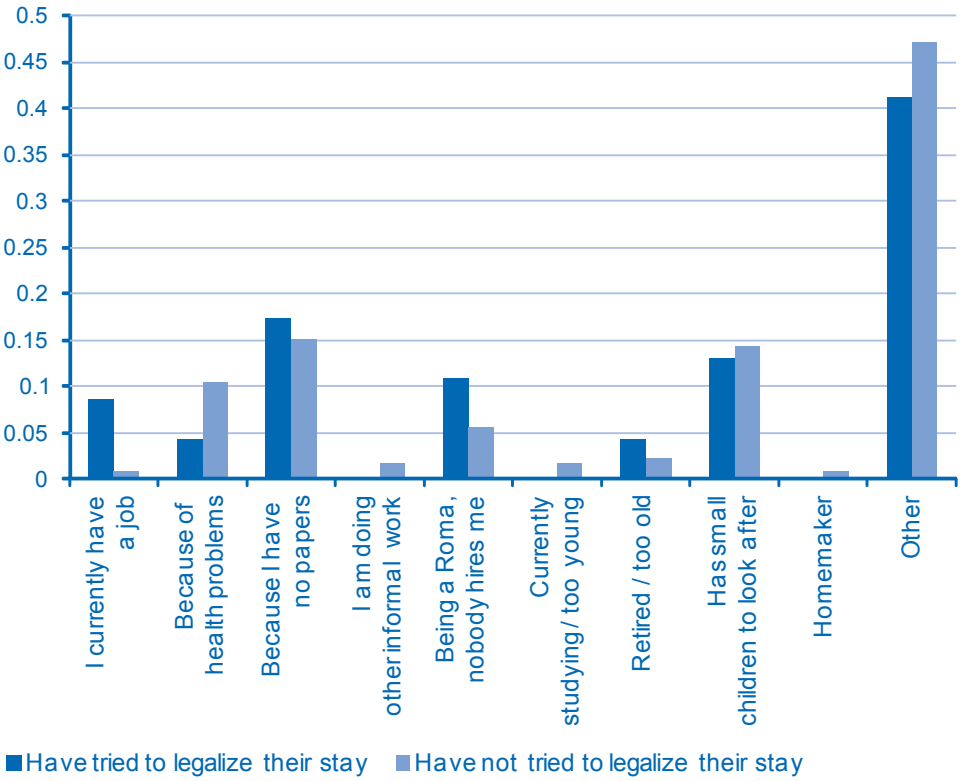
The people who tried to legalise their stay more often make an attempt to exercise some of their rights. For example, the respondents who never tried to legalise their stay in France declare less often that they were looking for work in the past 5 years[53]: 16% compared to those who attempted to register (44%). Thus, the picture of discrimination in the labour market is different: 51% of the former and 46% of the latter have felt discriminated when they were looking for job. It is possible that the Roma immigrants perceive their limited employment opportunities as discrimination although this limitation is at least partially due to the lack of attempt to register (respectively to apply for work permit). In other words, the decision of an employer to not hire a job seeker because he/she do not meet the legal requirements for residence can be hardly treated as discrimination.

The immigrants, who have tried to legalise their stay, have higher chances to find work, but in order to achieve this, they have to put a lot more efforts – they are exposed to discrimination when are in contact with people outside the community. The discrimination in the labour market discourages both types of immigrants – who tried to register and who did not, but it does not influence much their choice to not participate in labour: the reason "Being Roma, nobody hires me" is rarely stated as a reason to not seek work.

The question why the respondents who have never attempted to register rarely seek work remains open. The most frequently stated reason for migration by the potential Romanian migrants is "better chances of finding employment" (Chapter 1, Figure 8). Among the respondents in Romania, 84% point out that they prefer to have a secure low-paid job than a highly profitable, but uncertain and irregular employ-

53 The question is formulated as follows: "Over the past 5 years (or since you have been in the country, if less than 5 years) have you ever looked for paid work in France?". It is taken into consideration that the two referred periods are with different duration (12 months vs. 5 years).
It was checked if the length of stay has some influence on the frequency of experienced discrimination. Even not statistically significant, the results showed that the year of arrival (i.e. the length of stay) have some impact on the number of cases experiencing discrimination. (Annex 2, Table A2) The influence is different for Roma immigrants who tried to register and for these, who did not attempt, but there is no clear tendency. Additionally there is statistically significant moderate correlation between the two questions($r=0.39,\alpha<0.01$).
The data showed also that the possibility to search for a job fluctuates depending on the year of arrival, but also here there is no clear tendency and it cannot be concluded that respondents' duration of stay is related to their behavior on the labour market (this implies for all respondents and for the two groups depending on the attempt to legalise the stay). Thus the length of stay also does not influence the frequency of experienced discrimination on the labour market.
These preliminary conditions are taken in consideration in the analysis. The purpose here is to be compared people who tried to register with the ones who have never tried to do this.

Figure 22: Why are you not looking for a job?



Source: Author's calculations, FRA Roma pilot survey 2011

ment. It is possible that at least for a part of them the short duration of stay in France and the difficulties they met there are the reason not to try to find a job immediately. Another explanation is that they want to work, but do not believe that they have the necessary capacity for that. For example, only 4% of the respondents who have not tried to register, who point out that they do not speak the local language have looked for work, compared to 25% of those who do speak the language.[54]

The obligation of part of the respondents to take care of their families, home and children is among the mentioned reasons not to seek a job in the receiving country (Figure 22). Apart from household-benefiting work and the child care, the responsibilities of the women in the Roma families also include maintaining the relationships with the social institutions, incl. the applications for social assistance and other so-

54 The relationship between knowledge of the local language and respondent's decision to seek work is significant ($r=0.32, \alpha<0.01$).

cial benefits. (Tomova: personal archive). It is expected the man to work and earn money. As a result the women are more often inactive (42% from all women) than the men (7% among all men are inactive).

We are raising the hypothesis that the women and men could pursue different goals when they try to legalise their stay. The women more often seem to seek for different social services and allowances, while the men seem to be job seekers. For the same reason 73% of women who have tried to register have never looked for a job in the last 5 years. And for the same reason women perceive themselves as less discriminated on the labour market (40%) compared to men (53%).That is why it is more likely the men to be inactive because they are discouraged rather than on other grounds. Tomova shows that Roma men are extremely unhappy when they have no work, because they have not fulfilled their main family responsibilities. (Tomova: personal archive). That is why the assuming that Roma people do not want to work is doubtful.

Another possible reason is the fear of eviction. It could be that facing the risk of being forcefully relocated immigrants who live in camps without registration find it pointless to put in effort in seek for employment. The people who attempted to legalise their stay and work are much less afraid of being evicted than the rest of the migrants. One part of the respondents report that they don't have the necessary documents to seek work and the fear of eviction might be the common factor behind that fear and the reluctance to look for employment (Figure 22). A large part of the respondents point out to "other reasons", which also might be implicitly related to the fear of relocation (Figure 22). This is possible, but it is difficult to prove. When some clearly definable substantial motive exists, such as the upbringing of children or discouragement, and the respondents states it, it does not preclude the fear of eviction as an underlying reason. This is why the results can be somewhat blurred and do not allow for definitive conclusions to be drawn.

Another possibility is the people being a victim of trafficking and/or of forceful exploitation. Finding a comprehensive answer requires additional, more in-depth qualitative surveys on the mechanism and the reasons behind the immigrants' refusal to participate in paid employment.

Paid work, incomes and access to social services

The Roma migrants who live in the camps in and around Paris are less integrated in terms of the type of employment and are in a much more disadvantaged position compared to those Roma who have migrated to the CEE countries. There are hardly any cases of people working full time. They are more often hired for ad hoc jobs. The other alternative is setting up a business of own, which is often of an illegal nature. The share of the self-employed is higher among those who had not legalised their stay.

Table 12: Distribution of employed Roma immigrants who have tried or not to legalise their stay by type of employment, 2011 (%)

Respondents	Paid work – full time	Paid work – part time	Paid work – ad hoc jobs	Self-employed	Total
He/she have tried to legalise his/her stay	3	5	27	65	100
He/she have not tried to legalise his/her stay	0	7	15	78	100

Source: Author's calculations, FRA Roma pilot survey 2011

Due to the large share of unemployed and the type of employment, households do not have regular incomes and are also unable to rely on access to certain social services which are tied to employment and the social security contributions.

None of the unemployed Roma immigrants who tried to legalise their stay have indicated that they had been registered in Public Employment Service. The immigrants rarely have received any support or assistance from the State/Local Government in order to find a job when they were unemployed: this is the case of just 6% of all respondents.

Rarely did they receive assistance in order to find an accommodation (20% of the ones who had made an attempt to legalise their stay); 66% of the respondents from the same group didn't receive support when they needed it. This share reaches more then 85% among the people who had not registered.[55]

Very rarely the assistance received was cash: 3% has received payments from the French authorities; 1% has received money from NGOs. There are no cases when they have received money from Roma civil society organisations. Most part of Roma has to rely primarily on themselves and on their closed community in which they live.

There are examples of attempts of authorities to improve and support Roma people integration mainly at local level in France. Those are projects with different scope in terms of field of support - mostly in the field of housing solution in some municipalities and regions like integration villages (villages d'insertion) or "Urban and social and project teams" (Maîtrisesd 'Œuvre Urbaine et Sociale – MOUS) in some departments in Île-de-France region. [56] Other examples concern support for employ-

55 In some cases the assistance is payment for return to home country.

56 "An equal place In French society: French government strategy for Roma integration within the framework of the Communication from the Commission of 5 April 2011 and the Council conclusions of 19 May 2011", p. 10

ment participation and/or integration in education (city of Cesson , city of Lieusaint) and health care (cities in Île-de-France). (FRA 2009b: 9; Observatoire régional de santé d'Île-de-France 2012: 102-109) The projects are good examples of initiatives aiming at fostering Roma people integration, but they have little impact in terms of number of enrolled Roma migrants and families. Most of them (during the time of the survey) have limited access to employment due to the transit clauses imposed for Bulgarian and Romanian citizens. Furthermore this is crucial for their poverty.

Due to restricted access to employment, the majority of the households are very poor. Only 2% of them live above the poverty line (and are not at risk of poverty).[57] This is usually observed in households, in which there are members (at least one) who are employed at full time work: in 33% of those households equalized household income is above the risk poverty rate. All households in which the respondent is unemployed are poor. The phenomenon of working poor is quite common: 95% of the households which contain at least one employed person fall under the poverty line. Employment does not solve this problem, unless it is regulated and at full time working day – something accessible for very few of these people. The variations between those immigrants, who tried to legalise their stay and those who did not are also slight. Even if they try to legalise their stay, there is not much chance for them to overcome poverty as there are no jobs.

The average equalized income per day based on PPP is 8.6 USD in the households surveyed in France.[58] It is higher than the mean income of Roma people, living in Romania (6.1 USD in PPP), but is lower than the mean income of Roma, living in other CEE countries: Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Croatia, Montenegro and Bulgaria, Moldova (Chapter 1, Figure 9). Compared to the above countries, population of France enjoys higher incomes[59]. The monetary poverty of immigrants in terms of relative deprivation[60] (and absolute shortage) is higher. It is possible this to be one of the reasons that make the Romanian Roma migrants who reside in camps in and around Paris to grade lower their current lives compared to the Roma living in Romania, despite the higher incomes of the former.

The lack of employment opportunities and low income often puts households in a deadlock situation. The people find it hard to manage their daily responsibilities. They take loans in order to cope. They have difficulties repaying them later on.

57 For the estimation is used self-reported average monthly household income for the past six months, calculated in national currency (euro). It is equivalized andcompared to 60% of HH equivalisedmedian income in France for 2011 (at risk poverty rate).

58 This is monthly income of the household, converted into a daily measure, using an OECD modified equivalence scale (1, 0.5, and 0.3) and using the 2009 PPP conversion factor.

59 For example in 2011 GDP per capita in PPS (Index EU27 = 100) for France is 109, for Czech Republic is 80, for Slovakia – 73; for Hungary – 66; Croatia - 61, Bulgaria – 46, Montenegro – 42 (Eurostat).

60 Deprivation which is compared to other migrant groups and compared to the French local population's income.

Table 13: Distribution of answers of respondents who have tried to legalise their stay or not to the question "Which of the following best describes how your household is keeping up with all its bills, credits and payments at present?"

Share of people who: / Respondent's characteristics	are keeping up without any difficulties	are keeping up but struggle to do so from time to time	are keeping up but in a constant struggle	have fallen behind with some payments	have fallen behind with many payments	Total
He/she have tried to legalise his/her stay	6%	26%	54%	6%	8%	**100%**
He/she have not tried to legalise his/her stay	5%	12%	71%	6%	6%	**100%**
Total	**5%**	**16%**	**66%**	**6%**	**7%**	**100%**

Source: Author's calculations, FRA Roma pilot survey 2011

Low incomes and the lack of job opportunities force a lot of the people into begging (71%) or to collect waste and other items for recycling or reselling (72%) in order to earn money for food. A lot of them experienced cases of going to bed hungry - this is the case of 65% of the surveyed households in which at least one of the members has tried to legalise their stay and in 82% of the households whose members never tried to register. The relationship between attempt for registration and the absolute poverty measured by hunger (were there cases when some of the household members were going to go to sleep hungry or not) is very weak ($r = 0.17$, $\alpha<0.01$). This proves that in order to solve the problem with the extreme poverty, the attempt to legalise the immigrant's status is not of a great importance. The relationship between the status on the labour market and poverty (measured with this indicator) has been examined, but no statistically significant differences have been found. The share of households in which people went hungry to bed is approximately the same (77% - 78%) regardless of whether the respondent has or does not have a job.[61]

61 The variable „In the last 5 years (or since you are in France) have you ever been without regular paid work even though you wanted to work and you were looking for a job?" has also been used for verification and it also didn't show significant differences.

Poverty, legal residence and access to healthcare

In France the access to healthcare services is tied to the requirement of a person to reside there permanently and legally, as well as to be either employed or self-employed, but to pay healthcare insurance contributions. The person and the members of his/her family have the right for reimbursement of some of their medical expenses (usually up to 72%). When they reside temporarily, are not working or do not have a medical insurance, the expenses should be entirely covered by the persons[62]. They are enabled to use the benefits of some scheme up until one year after stopping playing for it.

Over 70% of the Roma do not have medical insurance. When they seek medical help they have to provide some documents and to pay the service fee in full. This proves to be impossible for some due to the poverty they live in. From the ones who had sought medical help, 30% did not receive care. One of the reported reasons is the high price of the treatment (29%). Another is the lack of official documents needed (around 40%).[63] Poverty leads to a different type of exclusion. For the majority of the people, healthcare is of vital importance: 62% of the respondents who did not receive healthcare consider their health as either bad, or very bad. Bad health in turn influences poverty and bad living conditions. Among the people living in households with members who had never gone to sleep hungry, 84% claim that they have no complaints, injuries or diseases that limit everyday activities. The share of the people who do not have serious health problems is lower by almost 20 percentage points among the people who starve often. Hunger among the respondents itself determines 2% of the cases of serious health problems. The relationship is very weak ($r = 0.15$, $\alpha<0.01$).

Monetary poverty and living conditions

The living conditions in the camps are specific and do not correspond to the housing situation of other Roma migrants in France. None of the households of Roma migrants in camps in and around Paris live in the apartment in block or a new house in good condition. Few of them live in old houses in good condition (5%). Others live in caravans (19%) or in ruined houses, slums, barracks, tents, sometimes in deserted buildings (76%).

The Roma migrants in the camps in and around Paris live in extremely adverse living conditions - without piped water (98%) and a toilet inside the dwelling (97%) and sometimes even without a toilet outside (37%), without a kitchen (78%), shower or

62 Or if the person is from EU member state and have European Health Insurance Card it is possible the expenses of treatment to be covered by the sending countries funding.

63 The data has an approximate disposition due to the low number of respondents.

a bathroom inside (100%), without connection to the sewerage system or waste water tank (92%), very often without electricity supply (59%) or any kind of heating facility (65%). They often experience at least one of the problems: a leaking roof, damp walls, the plumbing system, the electric wiring, vermin, etc. (74% of the cases).

The majority of the Roma are poor and apart from not being able to afford improving their living standards, in many cases this is also an infrastructural problem with which they would not be able to cope on their own, unless they are legally residing (such as providing electrical and sewage systems as well as water in the accomodation).[64] The analysis of the relationship between poverty and the household conditions in which the Roma live did not find major differences between those who live under the poverty line (the majority of the respondents) and those, above it. The differences came up in attributes which reflect the individual situation and depend on personal/family capacity and choice. Such attributes are whether the person has fixed a leaking roof, damp walls, the plumbing system, the electric wiring, and vermin. About 38% of the people who live above the poverty line report that they have such problems; this share among the poor is 75%.[65] Those with higher incomes are able to afford all kinds of reconstructions of their households. All of them have claimed that they are able to do this. Among the people who live under the poverty line, only 23% are able to afford this; 31% of them can afford most of the required repairs and 28% can only perform some of them. People above the poverty line claim to be owners of the accommodation they live in more often (75% compared to 50% among the poorer people). They, like the majority of the respondents, leave a sedentary life: 86% of the respondents declare that they reside there throughout the whole year. They are not travellers. In that sense the forced eviction harm their "normal" sedentary life style – a phenomenon that the Defender of rights in France called "forced nomadism" – "a situation which displace geographically the problem and make the situation of the families unstable in advance; and thus interrupt all perspectives for social integration" . (Défenseur des droits 2013: 59).

It makes more sense for people to invest in repairs and to improve their living standards if they are sedentary. However, for someone who lives in the camps and is often under the threat of relocation, reluctance to invest efforts for maintaining and improving their standard of living is logical choice – why should they do that if they might be kicked out of their home the very next day? Furthermore what kind of renovation or reconstruction could be done if the dwelling is a tent? Not a single one of the "owners"[66] of the dwellings, who can afford to perform recon-

64 There is no legal framework about how to provide access water or electricity utilities in illegal for example settlements (which is the case here).

65 The correlation is weak: $r=0.13, \alpha<0.05$

66 Some of the respondents who declared themselves as owners of the housing they live have tried to register and some have not. It is disputable from a legal perspective whether they are owners. Their self-perception matters though from the perspective of their behavioural motives and decisions on housing and thus the indicator is adequate.

struction, has done so. Among the poorer respondents, apart from a lack of motivation, inability is also a factor. The person is so poor that each effort to improve their living standards requires him/her to devote a significant part of the family budget for that purpose. In such a case the choice is clear – it is better his/her children to go to bed well fed rather than repairing the roof or the walls. Despite this, there are people who try to cope with these problems and find means and a ways to make such reconstruction: 16% of the Roma who live under the poverty line have performed some kind of reconstruction in their homes. This is more common among those, who live in municipal accommodation (20%) and least often when they are renting a private dwelling (14%). A small share of the respondents has received financial or other assistance from the government (1%) or from the owner of the home (1%). They were not helped by NGOs, religious, or Roma organisations. They had not taken out a loan. In order to make the decision to invest in repairs, an important factor is their intention for integration and respectively attempt to legalise their stay: 36% of poor migrants who attempted to register have performed reconstruction of their homes compared to 9% of others. Intention for legalisation proves yet again to be a factor that enables people to live better ($r = 0.33$, $\alpha<0.01$). Checking the relationship between the bad living conditions and the health status did not lead to any statistically significant conclusions. The results give reason to hypothesize that poverty as a prerequisite for poor living conditions indirectly affects the health of migrants. There are distinct differences in the proportion of people with serious illness depending on the type of dwelling: 29% from those who live in ruined houses, slums, caravans, cars, barracks, tents and deserted buildings etc. have complaints, injuries, diseases that limit everyday activities, while among those who inhabit in old houses in good condition, this share is 17%.[67]

Migrant's poverty and children; school and child labour

Among the residents of the camps, 29% are children aged 15 years and below. Most households have either one or two children (46%) and 1/4th of all households do not have any. 28% of all the households have three or more children.

One of the motives that stimulated a part of the respondents to try to legalise their stay is their children's education. The data show that having more children in a household increases the probability of parents trying to register with the authorities ($r = -0.24$, $\alpha<0.01$). For example, 87% of the people living in households with no children did not tried to legalise their residence in France compared to only 1/3 of the people, inhabiting in households with 5 children who have not tried to register.

67 Due to the low number of respondents it could only be hypothesized.

Despite this, the majority of the children (more than 70%) who have reached the age for the respective educational levels (such as kindergartens and schools) do not attend those institutions. Others seem to be too old for the educational level that they have been signed up for. [68]

Table 14: Children of Roma migrants in France by age and attended educational level during the current school year (at the time of interviewing), 2011 (%)**

Attended educational level during the school year	Age*				Total
	0-2	3 - 6	7-10	11-15	
Not yet in education	100	84	43	18	**57**
Kindergarten/Preschool	0	14	5	0	**5**
Primary School	0	0	40	46	**24**
Secondary school	0	0	0	1	**0**
Temporarily not in school / skipped the year	0	2	3	8	**4**
Stopped school completely	0	0	8	27	**10**
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: Author's calculations, FRA Roma pilot survey 2011

* Age groups are composed according the French educational system. Its degrees correspond to ISCED as follows: 3-6 years old children are enrolled in Kindergarten/Preschool (ISCED 0); 7-10 years old children are enrolled in primary education (ISCED 1); 11-18 years old - Secondary school (ISCED 2 and 3).

** The questions in FRA Roma pilot survey 2011 do not reflect the ISCED structure. Furthermore there is a little difference between educational levels in France and Romania under ISCED classification. For example the preparatory class (for 6 years old children) in Romania is part of the primary education. The respondents could accept differently the educational levels and what primary and secondary school means, because of these incompatibilities between the different educational systems. That is why the conclusions should be interpreted with caution.

Romanian Roma rarely have their children attending kindergarten or preschool. This is a common problem in the countries of origin. The following factors gathered from surveys in Romania are provided as an explanation for this phenomenon: occupa-

68 There are special classes for children who don't speak the language.

tional status (mothers being housewives), Roma parents' attitude towards school and preference for family childcare, Roma parents' educational level. Financial shortcomings of the household, the absence of educational facility in close proximity and families' beliefs that it is better for the child to stay at home, rather than to go to a kindergarten are all reasons for the children to not attend kindergarten (Surdu 2011: 18-27). A survey conducted by Open Society Foundation shows that 80% of the Roma children in Romania do not attend kindergarten or preschool preparation (Bădescu et al. 2007: 74). Laura Surdu's research also points out that only 24% of today's generation of children and youth (under 19 years) have attended a kindergarten (Surdu 2011: 18). These results could be considered in conformity with the UNDP/WB/EC and FRA surveys. Emigration of Roma even further decreases the probability that their children will attend kindergarten/preschool. The gap between the kindergarten non-enrolment ratios in countries of origin[69] and those of the migrants' children is between 5-10 percentage points. The gap is particularly large in regards to Roma children in primary school age (between 7 and 10/11 years old). About 19% of the children residing in Romania are not enrolled in school, compared to 55% of the Romanian Roma migrant's children in France. The gap is smaller for the age group of 11-15 years: 39% of Roma children residing in Romania drop out. For the migrants' children the share is 53%.

The FRA Roma pilot survey 2011 data suggests that 29% of the Roma migrant women living in the surveyed households in France aged 16 and above are housewives and 35% of the women are unemployed. This might be one of the reasons for the low share of children up to 6 year old in the educational institutions, but cannot explain the large difference for the group of the 7-11 years old. Studies in the Central and Eastern European countries show that the small share of children enrolled in kindergarten and preschool education determines the children's weak command of the majority language when they go to school (Bădescu et al. 2007), impeding their integration. In an attempt to address this, the option of Romani as language of instruction was introduced in Romania in 1989. However as a result, the Roma children who choose to learn in Romani more often end up attending ethnically segregated schools, while those who learn in Romanian more often study in ethnically mixed schools. The education opportunities of Roma children in France depend on the knowledge of the local language. In the majority of the interviewed households (63%), the respondents do not speak even basic French necessary, for example, to ask for medical help if they need it. Not speaking the local language is probably among the causes for the lower participation of Roma children in schools and, when they do participate, of the difficulties both the children and the tutors face, ul-

69 Data for Romanian Roma home residing children used in this paragraph is from Bădescu et al. 2007. The study is made from Open Society Foundation has implemented the "Roma Inclusion Barometer" survey (N=1.387 persons aged 18 and over, self-identified as Roma). Statistic error margin: ± 2,6%; Questionnaire: multiple choices, duration: 50-60 minutes; Data collecting period: 14-30 November 2006

timately resulting in dropping out of school. The data from the survey show that poor command of the French language is rarely reported as a direct cause for dropout (3%), but the most often reported reason relates to the knowledge (or lack of) of the language: „Did poorly in school, gave up, failed at entrance exam to the next level" (32%).

The immigrants' children usually attend mixed classes (89%). Hardly any Roma children attend classes which do not have other Roma children (3%), or which are comprised entirely of Roma children (8%).

Around half of the children who have stopped attending school completely have not given a concrete reason why they chose to discontinue their studies. The possible explanations are related to poverty of their families and irregularity of their residence.

Kindergartens and schools in France are free of charge. Despite that, the households have to bear some associated costs and the lack of resources of households stands out amongst the reasons for not enrolling children in at least two dimensions. One is education-associated cost: in 8% of cases, the children have completely stopped attending school because the costs of education are too high. The other is the opportunity cost of enrolment: the children need to work and contribute to the household income. Around 32% of children aged 7 and above work outside of home. 60% of working children of the 7 years old and older) do not attend school. In comparison, this share among children aged 7 and above who are not employed outside their households is 52%. The difference between the two groups is not very high since a part of the children works and attends school at the same time. Slightly more than 2/3 of the children work together with their families, i.e. the parents are aware that the children are working. The tasks that they usually perform are typical for populations living in poverty: 44% collect things for reselling/recycling; 5% sell in the street, guard cars, do small errands. Other tasks fit the image of Roma that is being created in France – 42% are asking for money in the street. A part (19%) of the children refused to answer what kind of work they were performing, while 7% answered that they do other work. It is possible that these children are involved in unlawful activities.

Enrolling a child in school or kindergarten requires an address registration to be presented along with personal documents, which is often impossible for the inhabitants of the illegal settlements. The situation is similar in the case of children signing up for school, which, unlike kindergarten, is compulsory.

The experience of discriminatory practices in the educational facilities is also a reason for dropping out: 8% of the parents or students declare that they have been ethnically discriminated by people working in a school, or in training, and further 5% share that they have also been discriminated on other indicators. One of the stated reasons for children to not attend schools is "hostile school environment and bullying (6%).

The push – pull factors revisited

The migrant group of Roma descent that was surveyed in France is not representative, but it still „face" of the migrants there. Despite this, it is uncertain to what extent the media portrait of those people truly reflects their life. It is highly probable that the extreme poverty is driving them into collecting rubbish, selling and reselling used items, even into begging on the street. Poverty and the lack of attempt to legalise the residency are among the reasons contributing to their poor quality of life, to the dropout of their children from school, to the elderly not having access to employment, and for the poor health status of all, young and old alike. This situation is worsened by the fear of eviction or forceful relocation, by the inability to speak the local language, by discrimination, which people experience in different forms.

Despite this, a large part of the migrants do not intend moving again. A majority (89%) claim that if they are evicted, they will try to come back to the country again. Others have already done so. At the same time, they feel less satisfied with their life in comparison to the Roma who live in Romania. Why do they prefer to stay in France then? Here they are also subject to ethnic discrimination – and even higher than in Romania (Table 15). The only area in which they feel being less discriminated in France compared to Romania is education.

Table 15: Experience with discrimination by ethnicity (share of people who reported to have experience in the respective field), 2011 (%)

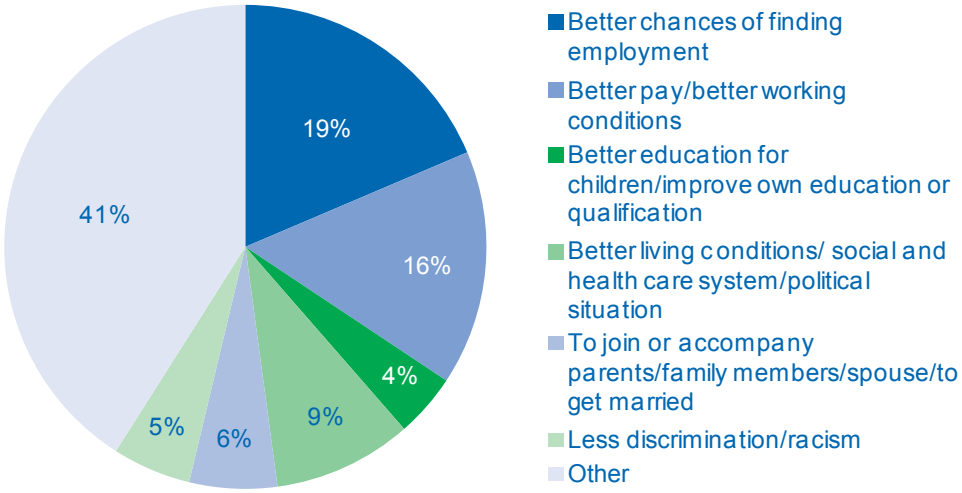
Discrimination	In France	In Romania
General*	33	29
Looking for work**	49	39
Upon signing-up their children to school**	8	16
Seeking medical help**	21	17
Looking for an apartment, or a house to rent or buy**	51	33

Source: Author's calculations, FRA Roma pilot survey 2011

* In the past 12 months or since the respondent have been in the country
** Over the last 5 years in or since the respondent have been in the country

Among the stated reasons for migration, less discrimination in the receiving country has a relatively low weight in decision-making. So the choice of migration is being determined by other factors that offset the higher discrimination – or prior to moving the people are not aware of the higher discrimination they might face.

Figure 23: What were your reasons* for moving to France?



Source: Author's calculations, FRA Roma pilot survey 2011

* Each respondent had the ability to choose more than one answer. The graph depicts all given answers (up to three for each respondent).

The share of those who chose the "other" option is the largest. What does this "other" option contain? All of the migrant Roma in France were asked additional questions, with one related to their reasons for migration. Unlike the majority of the questions in the survey, this was an open question and the respondents had the ability to name and choose the reasons themselves.

The Roma who live in camps in France are not the typical Romanian Roma. For example, 51% of those who migrated to France aged between 16 and 65[70] upon their arrival to the host country claim to not have worked before moving. In comparison, among the Roma who live in Romania, 31% of the people in the same age group are unemployed and further 3% do not work due to disabilities or other reasons. Thus the respondents in the migrants-targeted survey are among the Romanian Roma who were in a more disadvantaged position in the labour market in their home coun-

70 The lack of work can be caused not only by unemployment, but also by disability, retirement, or if the person is too old or too young. In order to minimise the influence of other causes outside of unemployment on the share of unemployed, the share of the respondents who had been in working age when they came to the country is compared to their status on the labour market right before their migration from their home country. On the other side are those who were unemployed, or did not work due to disabilities. Both categories are not identical, but are similar. The variations which can be expected due to the fact that there may be students among the nonworking ones, or people who are not working due to other reasons, are small since the share of those categories among the Roma between 16 and 65 years of age is close to negligibility in this case.

try before moving, compared to the majority of Roma in Romania.[71] One might say, they had fewer options to make both ends meet that the other members of their group and that was a strong push factor than in the case of the latter. It is possible that they are very poor due to the same reason. The major reason for migration that the Roma migrants in France report in the additional questionnaire is the poverty in their home country – the same poverty, due to which people are hungry.

The phrases that the respondents use when sharing the reasons why they prefer to live in France are very strong and reveal high degree of urgency. They are not simply looking for a better life. They need to survive. Among the most common reasons are famine and the lack of work and housing in their home country. Many people claim that they have more opportunities for work and making a living in France than in Romania. A better future for their children, dignified life, better healthcare or better education for their children are rarely mentioned as reasons most probably because these are the next priority after basic survival. The people in the camps in France accept their situation as a better life, despite suffering from different forms of exclusions in the receiving country.

Roma immigrants in Italy and the dimensions of their integration

Unlike France, Italy has available data to evidence Roma who arrived from countries of the Western Balkans in the beginning of the 1970s (Annex, Figure A 9). Around 32% immigrated before 1989 as a result of the more liberal policies of the Former Yugoslavia. The established migrant networks allowed those escaping from armed conflicts and deteriorating economic situation to find refuge in the 1990ties. The share of respondents who came during this period is largest (63%). Only 5% of the respondents have moved since 2000. There is not a single one who has migrated in the last 5 years. One of the possible explanations is that no settlements of recent migrants from the Western Balkans were sampled during the survey. Other possible explanation is that the Roma from the Western Balkans probably do not find the living conditions in the country attractive enough to migrate there nowadays despite the established migrant networks. The data from UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011 showed that the Roma from the former Yugoslav Republics these days prefer Germany as a destination for future migration. The data from FRA Roma pilot survey 2011 on the intentions of these migrants for further migration from Italy also showed Germany as one of the preferred countries. Long established migrant networks exist there. Large number of emigrants in Germany speak Turkish as well as part of Roma speak the language as well, which add to the attractiveness of Germany as destination country. There are more employment opportunities because of the economic situation of the country. A significant difference is that unlawful resi-

71 The respondents surveyed in France also probably are less educated compared to the Romanian Roma immigrants, who live outside the camps.

dence is not incriminated, as it is in Italy (see Chapter 1). Acts of open racism and discrimination are less common.

The situation is the opposite among the Romanian Roma. The respondents are distributed in time in a similar pattern to that in France. They began to build migrant networks after the beginning of the 90s, the impact of which has become noticeable in the last few years. Most of the respondents migrated after the year 2000 (78%), with 42% having arrived in the country in the last 5 years. The conclusions regarding the migrating Roma in France and particularly about factors such as cumulative causation, removal of the Visa regime and worsening of the economic situation post 2009 also apply here. The data from UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011 showed that along with Spain, Italy is the most preferred destination of the Romanian Roma. One of the possible reasons is the similarity between the languages in the countries of origin and destination. The interviews show a considerably better (in comparison to France) understanding of the local language.[72] A bit more than 7% speak Italian fluently without a foreign accent. More than 40% do not speak Italian fluently, but speak it well enough to answer the questions from FRA Roma Pilot Survey 2011 questionnaire.

The migrants from the Western Balkans speak Italian better: 72% can freely use the language without an accent. One of the reasons is that a part of them have lived in Italy longer than the Romanian Roma. Another reason may be found in the fact that, during the 1990s, Italian language was introduced as taught in some regions of former Yugoslavia that bordered with Italy.

The knowledge of the local language turns out to be one of the prerequisites for the better integration of the Roma in France. On the other hand, the migrants from Roma origin in Italy reveal more positive picture not only in regards to knowing the local language, but also to their satisfaction with their life and those from the Western Balkans rate the latter the highest from all respondents. Two hypotheses arise in regards to this:

- The Roma who have migrated in Italy are more integrated than the Roma migrants from Romania surveyed in the camps in France, considering that the latter are not representative of the Roma migrants in France in general.
- The Roma, who have migrated from the Western Balkans in Italy are more integrated than the Roma from Romania, which is due to the length of their stay in the country.

72 Unlike in France, where the interviews had to be conducted in Romanian, all interviews were conducted in Italian in Italy. At the end of each questionnaire the interviewer filledindependantly information about the respondents. One of the tasks of the interviewer was to rate the language proficiency of the respondent in the native language.

In order to determine whether, and to what extent, the migrant is integrated, several indicators have been used (as for France): attempt to register (see the Box in the section); support from the government; employment status; access to medical services; incomes; living conditions; access to a kindergarten or school for children.

Since the respondents in Italy reflect relatively better (compared to France) the universe of Roma in the country, including the Roma migrants in the country, comparisons between local Sinti[73] and non-Roma (majority population) will be included in the analysis.[74]

There is no evidence of relationship between the length of stay in the country and the attempts for legalisation among the migrant Roma from the Western Balkans, since almost all of the interviewed have attempted to legalise their stay regardless of their time of arrival. They have been in the country for longer and there are no migrants among them who have arrived in the last 10 years (Annex, Figure A6). The policy of regularisation in Italy probably plays a role in the legalisation of their stay. Amnesties are periodically granted in the country: 6 in the period between 1986 and 2009, the last two dating from 2002 and 2009 respectively[75] (Ambrosini 2011:1).

The Romanian Roma migrants who have arrived more recently are less likely to attempt legalising their stay. The relationship is slightly weaker than the one in France ($r = 0.30$, $\alpha<0.05$). Literacy stands out among the other factors that help the Romanian Roma in legalising their stay in Italy. The literate Roma are more likely to attempt to legalise their stay than those who are unable to read and write ($r = 0.33$, $\alpha<0.01$): 80% of those who are literate have attempted to register, as compared to 41% of those who are unable to read and write. Another possible factor is the ability to speak the local language: 80% of those who speak Italian fluently have tried to register, as compared to 63% of those who experience difficulties in using the local language.[76] Educational levels and health status do not cause considerable differences in the willingness to register.

Participation in the labour market and incomes

Whether a Roma person will try to reside legally or not determines his/her employment status in the labour market in Italy, just like in France, but not to the same de-

73 Sinti do not recognize themselves as Roma people. They indicate that they have different culture, language and geographical origin. Despite this they are often pointed as Gypsy/Roma population in official documents of EU and in the publications of many researchers as J.-P. Liegeois, A. Fraiser etc.

74 The respondents are also aged 16 and above. The condition to have been born in the country and to have citizenship has been placed. For the Roma, N=318and information has been collected for 1356 members of households and for the non-Roma - N=487 (1182 members of households).

75 This amnesty affects unregulated migrants who work domestic workers, baby sitters or carers of elderly people. These are predominantly women.

76 data do not have statistical significance and the conclusions are for illustration.

gree. The differences in the employment rates among the Roma migrants from Romania who tried to register and who did not are approximately 10.0 percentage points in Italy compared to 15 percentage points in France (Annex, Figure A7).[77] Probably, there are more employment opportunities overall in Italy than there are in France. The employment rate among the migrants in Italy is higher, i.e. the migrants have searched for and found work more often.

There are no great differences in the unemployment rates among the migrants in Italy stemming from their country of origin. The unemployment rate among the Roma from the Western Balkans is 43% and among the migrants from Romania – 42%. Despite this, they remain a lot higher than the unemployment rates among the local population (9% - Eurostat) and than the one among the immigrants in Italy (12% - Eurostat).[78]

The Roma from the Western Balkans in Italy seek work less often than those from Romania. This is due to the difference in the family models and the role of the woman and the man. Almost half (49%) of the women in families from the countries of the Former Yugoslavia are full-time homemakers. Due to this, the women seek employment less often than the men and end up in the category of the inactive, bringing down the overall unemployment rate for the whole group. This is also the case among the local Sinti women (47% are housewives). The similarity between the local Sinti and the immigrants from the Western Balkans is not due to the prolonged stay of the latter in the country. The share of full-time homemakers among the women who had arrived before 1989 is smaller than the one of the migrants from the 1990s, 43% and 46% respectively.[79] It cannot be maintained that there is a reverse tendency: convergence with the family models of non-Roma, whose share of housewives is 16%.

The traditional family models are less common among the Romanian Roma. The share of homemakers among the Roma women who have arrived from Romania is 36%. This is also observed among the Romanian Roma in France: 29% of the women are housewives. The distribution among the Roma women who live in Romania is similar – 35% are housewives. Probably due to these national specifics, the female Roma immigrants in Italy end up in the category of "unemployed" more often than those from the Western Balkans.

The Roma migrants are more integrated than the local Sinti population, among whom the unemployment rate is higher (49%). One of the reasons was sought in

77 Due to the low number of unregistered respondents from the countries of the Former Yugoslavia, conclusions cannot be drawn for this group.

78 A more precise comparison requires only the unemployment rates among the Roma who tried to register to be taken into consideration (40% of those from Romania and 42% for those from the Western Balkans). The conclusions are the same.

79 The number of women who have emigrated after 2000 is too small for any conclusions to be drawn.

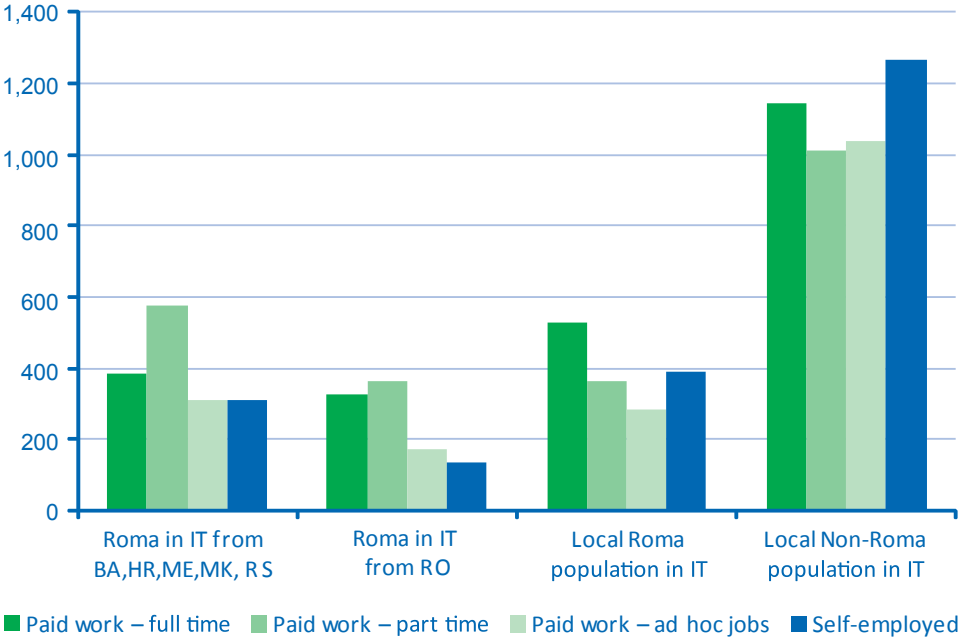
the education levels of the migrant Roma, but this hypothesis was rejected. The local Sinti are more rarely without education (11%) and more often have uncompleted or completed primary education (49%). The share of those who have completed secondary education is higher (9%) at the expense of those with uncompleted secondary education (27%). In other words, the local Sinti are more educated that the migrant Roma. They are more literate (88%); speak Italian better: freely without accent (80%) or with an accent (9%). When they are unemployed, they more often have an opportunity to use public employment services: 58% of them are registered in thee administrative office. Only 6% of the unemployed Roma migrants from the countries of the former Yugoslavia countries and 31% of the ones from Romania have registered in an employment service. The welfare system in Italy is given as an example of a less generous system, in comparison to systems in other countries (such as France, Great Britain and Germany) (Pellizzari 2011: 2). Despite this, the access to the system gives the opportunity to the unemployed to rely on benefits, or other types of social payments, for a certain period of time. Thus the employment seekers have the opportunity for better job selection. The local Sinti population has better chances then Roma migrants in terms of access to employment services. The latter have arrived in the host country precisely in order to find a living and are not fastidious in regards to type of job. 37% of the migrants from the Western Balkans who, at the time of the survey, are either

Table 16: Share of employed people among respondents - natives and migrants, by type of employment, gender and ethnicity, 2011 (%)

Group	gender	Paid work – full time	Paid work – part time	Paid work – ad hoc jobs	Self-employed
Roma in IT from BA,HR,ME,MK, RS	Male	4	2	1	47
	Female	0	4	2	25
Roma in IT from RO	Male	5	8	4	35
	Female	1	5	1	26
Local Sinti population in IT	Male	7	5	0	35
	Female	3	4	1	9
Local Non-Roma (majority) population in IT	Male	52	2	1	9
	Female	35	10	2	6

Source: Author's calculations, FRA Roma pilot survey 2011

Figure 24: Average monthly equalized income per capita*in households, by respondent's type of employment, 2011



Source: Author's calculations, FRA Roma pilot survey 2011

* This is monthly income of the household, converted into per capita measure, using an OECD modified equivalence scale (1, 0.5, and 0.3). The 2009 PPP conversion factor is not employed. The data should not be compared with data about incomes in other countries. It could be employed to describe the contrast between the different groups: natives/migrants; from RO/from the Western Balkans; Roma/ non-Roma.

employed or self-employed have claimed that they are looking for a job. 64% of the employed Romanian migrants are seeking work. This means that they are either expecting to not be able to continue working at their current workplace, or for whatever reasons, do not find their current employment satisfactory. The share of the employed Roma who are looking for new employment among the local Roma is approximately the same as that among the migrant Roma from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, Macedonia (FYR) and Serbia: 38%.

The local Sinti are more often hired on full time paid work than the migrant Roma. The hired local Sinti are less likely to seek a new job (13%) than the self-employed, or those with ad hoc jobs (around 42%). The Roma from former Yugoslavia successor states most often, compared to the others, rely on self-employment and are relatively more satisfied by their employment status: 35% are seeking another job. The Roma from Romania are the most unsatisfied with their self-employed status with 84% seeking another job.[80] It is not sure whether the local Sinti are more integrated

than the migrants in regards to the type of employment (or vice versa) as it is unclear what exactly are the activities of the self-employed and what are the characteristics of this type of employment. The data shows that the average monthly equivalized income in households of the self-employed Roma migrants from Romania are the lowest incomes from labour among all groups of respondents (natives and migrants; from Romania and Western Balkans; Roma and non-Roma). Thus self-employment is an unattractive employment option for Roma migrants from Romania.

The local non-Roma population is in a very good position on the labour market compared to all the surveyed Roma groups in regards to employment rates, types of employment (mainly hired full-time) and incomes from labour. The Roma from Romania are in the worst position in regards to the type of employment and incomes earned. The employment rate among them is higher than those among the Roma from the Western Balkans, and the unemployment rate is lower than the one among the local Sinti population, but it comes at the price of a compromise. The hypothesis that the Roma from the Western Balkans are better integrated, concluded from using the labour market data, and seems realistic. Using the household income data, the hypothesis is confirmed. The Roma from the Western Balkans and Italy have a relatively high average equivalized income per day based on purchasing power parity (PPP): 13.24 USD, while the Romanian Roma in Italy have lower income: 8.03 USD. They have a lower income than the Romanian Roma who have migrated to France. Despite this, there is reason to believe that the Roma migrants in Italy are more integrated than the Romanian Roma surveyed in France. While there is no data suggesting that the length of stay aids their integration in the case of the latter, this hypothesis is confirmed in the case of the migrant Roma in Italy. The relationship between the year of arrival and the average monthly equivalised income is statistically significant). The relationship is the strongest among the employed migrants from Romania). The more recently immigrant has arrived in the country, the lower his/her employment incomes are. There is no statistical significance in the data among the migrants from the countries of the former Yugoslavia. They have all arrived in previous years. This probably explains their higher level of integration in comparison to the Romanian Roma migrants.

The comparison with "at risk poverty" rate (60% of HH equivalised median income in Italy) shows a similar picture as in France. Only 1% of the employed Romanian Roma migrants in Italy live on incomes higher than the 60% of HH equivalised median income. Not a single inactive or unemployed Romanian Roma has incomes above the poverty line. The picture among the Roma from the Western Balkans is slightly more optimistic: 4% of the employed, 3% of the unemployed and 2% of the inactive ones all have incomes above the poverty line. Employment creates slightly more opportunities among the local Sinti to get above the "at risk poverty line: 6%

80 The conclusions are contingent due to the small number of such cases. In the other categories of the indicator, the number of respondents is even smaller and will not be analysed.

of the employed and 2% of the unemployed are above it. Legalisation of stay helps reduce poverty in a higher degree among the migrants from Romania. The legal migrant and his/her household find it easier to cover bills, credits and payments (Annex, Table A 15). The Roma migrants in Italy report more often than the Roma in France that they have fallen behind with many payments (16% of the migrants from Romania and 13% of the migrants from the Western Balkans). Despite this the Romanian Roma in Italy assess their life more positively than the ones in France, while the migrants from countries from the former Yugoslavia are most positive in that regard (Figure 21). The issue of discrimination was investigated as a possible explanation. The Roma migrants in Italy report more often than the ones in France to have been ethnically discriminated when looking for work during the past 5 years or since they have been in the country (65% of the emigrants from the FYR and 85% from Romania). Legalisation of stay does not play a key role. The differences in the shares of discriminated among the registered and unregistered migrants are minimal. Discrimination cannot be the explanation.

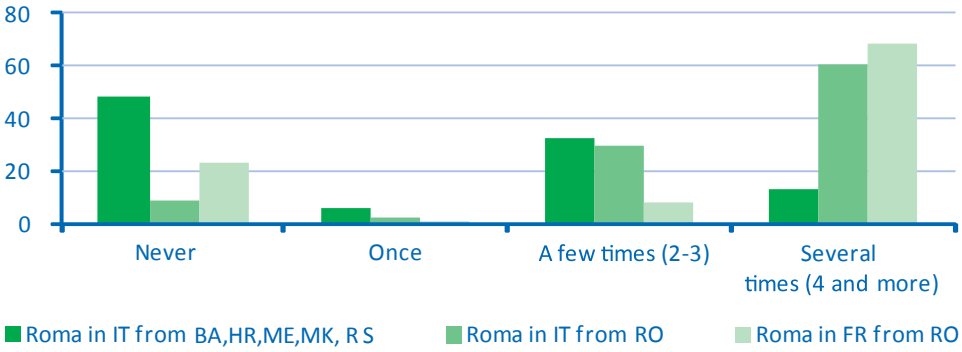
Another possible explanation is related to the ability of migrants to decently earn their living.[81] The analysis of the socio-economic situation of the Roma migrants in France showed that they have received assistance from the hosting country upon registering, more often then the immigrants in Italy. Considering the higher unemployment rate among the French Roma immigrants, this is possibly one of the explanations for their higher average income than that of the Romanian Roma migrants in Italy (7% of whom have received support). Thus the more generous welfare system in France creates conditions for higher incomes for those who legalise their stay, but the availability of social services and payments cannot replace the incomes from employment.

The next explanation was sought in the extreme forms of poverty.

While the migrants from the Western Balkans more often escape the extreme forms of poverty, the same cannot be asserted about the Roma emigrants. The hypothesis that the migrants from the Western Balkans are more integrated than the Romanian Roma in Italy is confirmed again. Employment clearly solves the challenge of extreme poverty among the first group. Among those who, in the last 5 years, have been without regularly paid work, despite willing to work, 71% have gone to bed hungry at least once, against 14% among those who have always worked ($r = -0.56$, $\alpha<0.01$). There is no statistically significant relationship among the Roma from Romania. The difference between the share of the starving among the people who have been employed (86%) and those who have been unemployed in a certain period (93) is relatively low.

81 The fact that satisfaction with life is a result of a number of factors and that it cannot be explained only via economic status or the opportunities for paid work is taken into consideration.

Figure 25: In the past month did you or anyone in the household ever go to bed hungry because there was not enough money for food? (%)



Source: Author's calculations, FRA Roma pilot survey 2011

Paid labour and access to social services

Another possible explanation for the larger satisfaction of the migrants is their integration in other aspects of the socio-economic life. Due to the fact that the majority of the migrants have tried to legalise their stay (and possibly more often are legally residing) and that they are more often employed, compared to the Roma migrants in the camps in France, they have a better access to medical services. Among the migrants from the Western Balkans, 94% have medical insurance. In this regard these migrants are in a better position than the local Sinti (85% have insurance) and other non-Roma (79% have insurance). There are no significant variations in the relationship of their status in the labour market among the Roma from former Yugoslavia countries.

Fourty one percent of the Romanian migrants have medical insurance. This share is significantly lower among the immigrants who did not tried to legalise their stay (12%).[82] The share of the people with medical insurance among the Romanian Roma is highest among the employed people, who have tried to legalise their stay: 68%.

The Italian and French healthcare systems are categorised as providing a relatively easier access to medical help (in comparison with countries from Central and Northern Europe). The access in Italy is to urgent and essential primary and hos-

82 Since 2007, it is possible for the Romanian citizens who uninterrupted healthcare insurance conditions in their homeland to use, if they need, medical help in the countries of the EU, including if residing temporarily. Thus a person can have medical insurance in a country without actually having registered as a resident in that country.

pital care. Irregular immigrants can complete an official form in order to declare a lack of sufficient economic resources. This would give them the ability to use healthcare services just as if they were a native citizen for the period of 6 months and are given an anonymous ID regional code for that purpose. The regional health authority thereafter reimburses this medical expense. Access to the healthcare system by an irregular immigrant may not be reported to the authorities (Romero-Ortuño 2004: 259-260). Due to this, the legalization of stay in Italy does not play a significant role for the access to basic medical assistance. The lack of medical insurance does not impede in receiving medical help either. As a result, a larger part of the migrants from Romania have received medical help when they needed it (83%). This share is more than 90% among the migrants from the Western Balkans.

The number of respondents who have not received medical treatments/examination is small and does not allow for an in-depth analysis. Among the reported reasons for not receiving medical assistance, given by the respondents from Romania, those connected with their economic and legal status stand out: „Treatment was refused by service provider/ insurance company" (21%) and „The examination/treatment / medication is too expensive / no coverage" (42%). Limited access is not an issue in the majority of the remaining cases. The respondents did not seek help based on their own judgement: they were afraid of treatment, wanted to wait to see if the problem solves on its own, did not know a good doctor.

The migrants from the Western Balkans are better integrated, more often have medical insurance and have tried to reside legally. Apart from it being less likely to be refused reimbursement for their treatment, they found themselves in need of medical help less often (44%) in comparison to the Romanian Roma (56%). The local Sinti and non-Roma seek examinations or treatments less often as well (43% and 33% respectively).

On the other hand, the Roma from Romania consider themselves healthier than the Roma from the countries of the Former Yugoslavia and the local Sinti. They report their health as good, or very good, more often, similarly to the local non-Roma population (Figure 26). It is possible that the Romanian Roma subjectively overestimate their health status and may thus require medical help more often than the others, despite considering themselves healthier. This assumption was rejected. The Romanian Roma evaluate their health rather objectively. They appear healthier than the Roma from the Western Balkans: 21% and 28% from both groups respectively declare having some complaints, injuries or diseases that limit them in their everyday activities. It is possible that the Roma from Romania have a more responsible attitude towards their health. This is a subject to a different survey.

Figure 26: How is your health in general?

Source: Author's calculations, FRA Roma pilot survey 2011

Living conditions

The Roma respondents in Italy live in diverse living conditions. The Romanian Roma most often reside in the big cities (31%) or in their suburbs (15%), especially if they have not tried to legalise their stay in the country (58% of the unregistered are in cities and 19% - in the suburbs). Another relatively large part of them inhabit fixed encampments for travellers (31%) This is more common among the ones who have tried to register (40%) and among those who have settled themselves in the country during the 1990s (59% of them). Around 8% of them live in unregulated camps (campo irregolare). In the rest of the cases the Roma live in small towns, in the capital or in temporary encampments for travellers.

The Roma from the Western Balkans most often live in fixed or temporary encampments for travellers (44% and 21% respectively). The majority of respondents report that they live in the same accommodation the whole year. The migrants from the countries of Former Yugoslavia live in illegal settlements (30%) less often than compared to the Romanian Roma (55%). More than 80% inhabit an area that is segre-

gated from the rest of the settlement, but in a majority neighbourhood (around 96%). This relates to all Roma, regardless of when and where did they arrive in the country.

The newcomers (who have arrived during the last 5-10 years) tend to settle in the big cities and endure the adverse living conditions until they find work and legalise their stay. Once they achieve this, they prefer to move to places offering better living conditions.

This concerns all migrants, regardless of their country of origin: the earlier the arrival, the higher the probability of living in fixed encampment for travellers. The share of encampment 'settlers' is 54% for those came before 1989, 48% for those arrived in 1990s, 45% for those migrated between 2000 and 2005 and only 5% for the those that have arrived in the last 5 years. The striving is for living in legal settlements: the more recent the arrival, the higher the probability that they will inhabit in illegal settlements – and vice versa ($r = -0.34$, $\alpha<0.01$).[83] This probability is higher for the Roma who migrated from Romania ($r = -0.46$, $\alpha<0.01$). In that regard, Roma migrants do not differ substantially from other migrants, who also aspire to legalise their stay in the country and to settle in better living conditions. (Ambrosini 2011).

The difference comes from the diverging understanding of what "better living conditions" mean. According to ERRC report the Italian authorities recognize Roma as "nomads", although almost all of them in Italy are sedentary. Thus, main local policies towards this group include construction of nomadic camps since these are not intended for long-term use (ERRC 2013: 8). It is not surprising that most of Roma people, even sedentary population, inhabite "nomad" dwellings. More than half of the Roma from the Western Balkans live in mobile homes or caravans (52%), new houses in good condition (4%), apartments in bloc-of-flats (1%), and older houses in relatively good condition (1%). The rest reside in ruined houses or slums (26%), barracks (2%) and containers (15%).

Roma from Romania live in worse conditions and this is related to the nature of their stay in the country. Roma living in apartments in blocs-of-flats, older houses in relatively good condition constitute 16% of the Roma from Romania and all of them have tried to legalise their stay; 21% live in mobile homes or caravans and 10% - in ruined houses or slums. The rest of the Roma from Romania attempted to register (53%) inhabit barracks, tents, bungalows, containers, public gardens, or live in the streets and under bridges. The distribution of the group Roma migrants from Romania, who did not try to register is even worse: 92% live in barracks, tents, bungalows, containers, public gardens, or live on the streets. The share of those living in such dwellings or places is smaller among the people who have migrated in the

83 The variable "live in illegal settlements" is binary with options "yes"=1 and "no"=2.

1990s (46%), and is highest among those who arrived after 2006. The data reveals statistically significant relationships between the year of arrival and the living conditions, namely are the people living in relatively good conditions or not ($r = 0.40$, $\alpha<0.01$).[84] The relationship between legalizing the stay and the type of the inhabited dwelling (does it provide conditions for decent living or not) is almost as strong ($r = 0.395$, $\alpha<0.01$).

The education of children

The average number of children in Roma migrants' households in Italy is two. The households of the migrants from the Western Balkans have more children: mostly between two and three. (Table 17) This is in line with the observed traditional role of the woman in the family among this group – to raise the children.

Table 17: Roma migrants in Italy – household distribution by number of children and country of origin, 2011 (%)

Country of origin	Number of children in the household									Total
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Western Balkans	12	19	21	26	11	6	2	2	1	100
Romania	23	18	27	13	9	8	2	0	0	100

Source: Author's calculations, FRA Roma pilot survey 2011

Roma from the Western Balkans tend to enroll their children in kindergarten/baby-care before they complete two-years of age (half of the kids of that age attend a pre-school institution). All children in the age groups 3-6 and 7-10 attend school; 25% of the children aged 11 and older have discontinued their education completely, the stated reason being "lacking personal documents". None of the children works outside the household. All of the children attend mixed schools together with children of non-Roma origin. Although the data should be interpreted with caution because of the low number of respondents, it is still indicative for the fact that the Roma from the Western Balkans value education of their children and are in a po-

84 The responses are grouped along the following categories are generally: "dwellings allowing for decent living" (those are caravans, mobile cars, ruined house, appartment, new or older house in good condition) and those that do not allow (like tent, barrack, bungalows, containers, or no dwelling at all – living in public gardens, on the streets and under bridges). The more recent the moment of arrival, the higher the probability that the migrants will fall into the second group.

sition to execute their rights in regards to access to education. They appear well integrated in that respect.

The Roma from Romania manifest a different pattern in regards to the degree of integration. The data here also suggests that the higher number of children goes hand in hand with a higher share of the households that have tried to legalise their stay: 56% of the respondents in households without children have attempted to do this. This share grows with the increase of the number of children: for example, 89% of the respondents in households with 4 children have tried to register.[85] The children and their future are drivers for the attempt for legalisation. As regards to enrolment in pre-school institutions, the situation is close to that of the Roma from Romania who live in France: no children below the age of two are enrolled in kindergarten and 75% of the group between 3 and 6 years are not enrolled yet. 14% of the children between 7-10 years old are not enrolled in school yet and 5% have stopped attending. The remaining 82% attend school. The comparison with the Roma living in Romania suggests similar patterns regarding enrolment ratios. 71% of the children in the age group 11-15 years attend school. A minor share of this group (2%) is not enrolled yet, 7% skipped the year and the remaining 20% have dropped, or discontinued their education. The share of the children in this age group who drop out is lower in Italy than in Romania. This doesn't necessarily mean that the access to education in Italy is better. The stated reasons for dropping out are the high costs of education (in 46% of the dropout cases), the need of getting the children involved in income generation, respectively job (18% of the cases), safety concerns (18%) or poor performance at school (9%).

Summary of findings from quantitative research of migrants' profiles and patterns of migration

Due to methodological reasons the findings regarding the different groups of Roma migrants made in Chapter 2 and presented in part A and B of the chapter are difficult to compare directly. In France the most vulnerable and most recent Roma newcomers were surveyed (due to the sampling design). In Italy two groups are clearly distinguished: relatively better integrated Roma migrants from the countries from the Western Balkans and less integrated Romanian Roma who have arrived in the receiving country more recently. In CEE countries the patterns of migrants slightly differ depending on the length of stay.

The data suggests that Roma immigrants in CEE countries are more integrated than the respondents in Italy and France. The immigrants in CEE countries more often try

85 The households with more than 4 children are less than 12%. That is why the example is with households with 4 children.

to legalise their stay[86], receive assistance from the state andhave health insurance and more rarely inhabit dwellings or places with extremely poor living conditions. Data show a bit contradictory picture regarding the labour market status. The immigrants in CEE countries more frequently are hired in paid job: full time, part time or ad hoc jobs (16%) than the respondents in France (9%) and the Roma immigrants in Italy from the Western Balkans (7%), and more rarely than Romanian Roma migrants in Italy (22%). But, CEE immigrants are more rarely self-employed (4%) than the others (respectively 25%, 32%, 24%). It seems that the self-employment opportunities are larger in both Western European countries. But, what kind of opportunity? In France the data showed that the self-employment could be selling newspapers and flowers in streets, bars, collecting waste and other items for recycling or reselling etc. In Italy self-employed immigrants very often seek another job-a compromise until they find better opportunity for work. It is possible that the differences between Roma migrants to France/Italy and to CEE countries are due to the generally slighter socio-economic differences between the Roma and the majority population in CEE countries. More qualitative studies are needed in order to investigate this question.There are several features shared by the Roma migrants whose status was studied in this chapter. All of them are not well integrated anywhere. Roma living in a foreign country face multiplied barriers to participate in the labour market caused by differences in ethnicity, nationality, language, education and qualification, lack of awareness of local normative system etc. They are, therefore, forced to endure adverse conditions in the labour market more often than local Roma/Sinti and non-Roma immigrants (in CEE). Roma migrants are frequently among the working poor. Although,employment to some extent alleviates the extreme forms of scarcityand thus has key role for Roma immigrants' situation regarding incomes and poverty reductionhousing, access to health care, and education. The limited opportunities for labour market participation affect negatively those aspects of integration.

There is a significant number of immigrants who never tried to legalise their stay among Roma immigrants (and in CEE countries – among non-Roma immigrants alike). Essential for integration is whether immigrants have tried to legalise their stay in the host country or not. The positive example of Roma migrants from the Western Balkans in Italy gives clues for this. Almost all of these respondents have tried to legalise their stay in the country and probably resided there legally (because of the periodical amnesties in the receiving country). Almost all of them have health insurance, their children are enrolled in kindergarten and school, they do not starve, inhabits in comparatively good living conditions and are more often employed in comparison to Romanian Roma respondents in Italy and France. Roma foreigners from Western Balkans are even better integrated than local Sinti in Italy in many aspects.

86 Except for the Roma respondents from Western Balkans in Italy, who are in better position: most often among all respondentsattempt to register with the authorities and have health insurance.

The main reason for Roma to decide to migrate is the need to find work and secure their livelihood. This is why they prefer countries with relatively higher incomes and better job opportunities (like France and Italy). The twelve CEE countries are often a temporary stop, a transit zone through which Roma migrants pass to reach their final, financially more desirable destination, although they know that this financially-induced choice comes with compromises in many aspects. In France, where the respondents are in most unfavourable position, they still want to stay in the country and even claim that they will try to return in case of expulsion.

The data suggests a number of tough questions regarding Roma migrants. Their life in the receiving country is a difficult compromise. One might wonder whether the "benefits" of immigrating to the host society are truly a solution for deprived Roma. Are the construction of nomadic camps (like in Italy) or people eviction and displacement of the Roma a sustainable solution reflecting the specific needs of this population? Aren't such approaches contributing to their exclusion in the long run? Do restrictive policies actually work in the controversial immigrant's issue – or maybe they are contributing to migrants' irregularity and increase of social tensions in both the receiving and sending countries? Maybe the immigrants' pull-out from the shadow of the irregularity in the receiving country might be among the steps for a successful solution of the exclusion problem? How much does the discrimination in the country of origin contrast with that in the receiving state (see Chapter 1)? Should criticism of inclusion policies focus solely on the sending countries, or would it make more sense if all parties involved jointly work for solutions?

In that context the proposals of The Social Platform's Steering Group (2013) calling for the "development of mobility strategies and migration policies between the receiving countries and the countries of origin" or for mainstreaming migrants "explicitly into, and across, the EU's regular policy priorities, ..on education, employment and social inclusion" seem urgent and extremely relevant. Comprehensive approaches that "invest in integration policies", "ensure adequate and accessible channels for different types of regular labour migration", "establish effective mechanisms to allow migrant workers in an irregular situation to lodge complaints against abusive employers", "prohibit through legislation the criminalisation of service providers and health professionals", "legislation that guarantees migrants' access to emergency care as well as other forms of basic healthcare", "promoting integration policies that tackle severe housing exclusion" etc. can be the building blocs of a sustainable approach the to challenges of Roma migration. However they can't be implemented without firm commitments from the governmenmts and the civil society in the respective countries.

3

Qualitative analysis of migration. The case of Bulgarian Roma migration to Belgium

Context and description of the qualitative research

Belgium is a country with a negligible share of a native "Roma" population – mostly groups of *Sinti* and *Kalo*, predominantly nomadic, constantly migrating between Belgium, France, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. A significant number of Roma from Central and Eastern Europe migrated to Belgium and other Western countries after the fall of the Iron Curtain. Many of them have already brought their families and plan to stay permanently. Their status deffers depending on the status of the countries whose citizens they are. The largest proportions of recently arrived Roma are from Bulgaria. Experts estimate that their current numbers exceed those of the local *Sinti*. Thus, unsolved problems of Roma integration in Central and Eastern Europe created need for the host country to launch and implement a series of policies and measures for social inclusion of Roma migrants.

Brussels and Ghent are among those Belgian cities, where a large number of Roma from former socialist countries have arrived, especially after 2001. Immigrants from Bulgaria, Slovakia and Romania have constituted the largest share of the Roma population in both cities since 2007. This share has increased tenfold as a result of their emigration, reaching 2% of Ghent inhabitants in mid-2012[87] (VDAB, Ghent, 2012). Belgium allocated more resources to integrate these communities, which were already placing a growing burden on the education system and the quality of social services. The rapid increase in the number of immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe hampered their integration, increasing social inequality and creating conditions for tensions and conflicts between them and the local population.

The global economic crisis led to higher unemployment even in the developed and prosperous Western European countries, especially among the young popula-

87 At the end of 2003, the number of immigrants from Bulgaria in Ghent constituted 341 persons, which then grew to 667 as of 31.12.2006. Their number reached 5,840 people by 31.08.2012 . Experts estimate that about half of them are Roma (Interview with the Director of VDAB, Ghent). It should be borne in mind that these figures cover only registered residents. Due to restrictions on Bulgarian citizens, a significant proportion of immigrants from Bulgaria, the majority being Bulgarian Turks and Turkish-speaking Roma, live there without residential registration. Thus the share of actual residence of Bulgarian Roma in the city is probably much higher.

tion, immigrants and people with disabilities. The Belgian labour market faced more difficulties in absorbing new waves of migrant jobseekers, especially those who knew neither French, nor Flemish nor English, and those with lower education and qualifications. The Director of VDAB in the city of Ghent summarised the challenges his office was facing in the changed economic and demographic situation:

> *I could cite some data about the recent migration into Ghent of Bulgarians and Slovaks and respectively – of Bulgarian and Slovak Roma. Slovaks in Ghent with address registration numbered 281 in 2004, and Bulgarians – 392. In 2011, the number of Slovaks rose up almost 7 times to 1,930; and the registered Bulgarians were already 5,630, who reached 5,840 in August 2012 – almost 15 times more, as compared to 2004. According to experts' estimates, 90% of Slovak and Czech emigrants are Roma, and around 50% of Bulgarians in our city are also Roma. At the moment, 22.8% of all registered unemployed jobseekers in Ghent are immigrants. Their integration into the labour market is difficult as they do not speak Flemish and 86% of Slovaks and 68% of Bulgarian migrants have low qualifications.*
>
> *We have to provide various policy actions tailored to the needs of these jobseekers: language courses, integration courses, vocational training and requalification, for those who would prefer to start another job. We would like to offer them increased guidance towards a job: qualification courses; professional reorientation; realistic job targets; help some change their attitudes and improve their communicative skills. However, the crisis and the increase in the number of applicants for training vouchers led to some social restrictions – amounts paid before 2009, have been halved since 2009… We are also used to providing career services for working citizens… We develop different approaches, aimed at recognising and reinforcing their competencies. Many immigrants face severe social difficulties and need social assistance. Here, in VDAB we provide various free services for all: customer reception; information provision; registration of jobseekers; file management; support in drawing up a CV; assistance in completing administrative formalities; provision of tools for disseminating CVs, or search for vacancies and trainings.*

The fast increase in migrant numbers, and the difficulties they, the local institutions and native people face, concerning their integration, were the reasons why Brussels and Ghent were chosen for the site of the qualitative research. The researchers applied multiple-case sampling to register the "typical migrants", the contrast precedents and the exceptional cases. During the field work, a total of 32 Bulgarian Roma emigrants to Belgium were interviewed. Out of them: 19 females, 13 males; 14 – married, 11 – not married, 7 – divorced; 8 – with college or university education, 12 – with secondary education (3 of them without diploma), 7 – with primary education (at least grade 8), 5 – lower primary (grade 4–7). The age struc-

ture of the interviewed was: up to 29 – 11 people; 30–39 – 10 people; 40–49 – 6 people; 50+ – 5 people.

The objectives of the pilot research were as follows:

- To conduct an in-depth research into the emigration motivation of Roma.
- To construct profiles of the Roma emigrants.
- To study the ways irregular Bulgarian emigrants and asylum seekers in Belgium deal with daily challenges: finding undeclared work; finding accommodation; obtaining political or humanitarian refugee status; acquiring the right of employment and temporary residence; acquiring the right of employment and permanent residence; accessing social services, educational institutions for their children, health care services and, possibly a shelter.
- To research social changes in the immigrant community resulting from living in the host country (adaptation, assimilation, changes in identity, reverse migration).

Throughout the work process, plenty of field research material was collected, which allowed researchers to provide a partial answer to other questions, or at least formulate hypotheses and define new tasks and objectives for a more detailed research in the future. These tasks may involve:

- Researching social networks in Bulgaria and Belgium, which enable the emigration of thousands of people regardless of the restrictions applied to Bulgarian nationals.
- Studying the role of shops, companies, organisations, churches and other institutions, recently established by Bulgarian emigrants, in the integration of newcomers.
- Studying transnational families and researching the impact of emigration on Roma lifestyle in Bulgaria.
- Researching the implications of Roma emigration for the country of destination, and for the country of origin.
- Researching gender aspects of the emigration process, and their impact on Roma families.
- Drawing cross-national comparisons.

This part of the study presents an analysis of the qualitative data collected. Although the picture is not complete, it is sufficient to provide grounds for the critical reconsideration of some myths and stereotypes about Bulgarian Roma emigrants.

Socio-Economic Situation of Roma in Bulgaria: A Macro-Analysis of Push Factors

The NSI data from the 2011 Census indicate that Roma still remain the third largest ethnic group in Bulgaria: 325,343 people identified themselves as Roma (i.e. 45,565 people less than in the 2001 Census), that is, 4.9% of the population (NSI 2011). Their projected number, based on various rates of the Roma natural increase rate, during the period 1992-2004, produced significantly higher figures. It was anticipated that, by 2011, their number would exceed 450,000 people, with the reservation that a possible decline due to outward migration was not considered in the forecast, and the natural increase rates would remain constant (Pamporov 2007, pp. 63–64). The census data were surprising to most experts. Nevertheless, they have their explanations:

First, in the 2011 census there was no information about the ethnicity of 9% of the population in Bulgaria. The main hypothesis suggests that most of these are Bulgarian Muslims, Roma and people who are identified as Roma/Gypsies by the neighbouring population, but prefer to identify themselves as Millets, Agyupts, Turks or Bulgarians.

The second valid hypothesis indicates that the discrepancy between the expected number and self-identification arises from outward migration. Roma were the least mobile group in the country until 2001. To a great extent, this was a result of the deep and widespread poverty in the community during that period. Since 2001, and especially 2007,[88] the proportion of Roma households with at least one member working abroad has significantly increased. Representative surveys of the Roma report that in 18% of the Roma households, on average, 1.8 members worked abroad during the period 2004–2008.[89] In some Roma neighbourhoods, over 40% of Roma households had members working abroad during different time periods (Tomova 2008 and 2009, Ilieva 2009). Some of them had been residing abroad for many years and, naturally, they were not included in the census.

88 In 2001, the visa regime for Bulgarian citizens was repealed. In 2007, Bulgaria became a member of the EU.

89 Data provided by the Generation and Gender Surveys (2004 and 2007) of the Max Planck Institute and the Institute of Sociology of the Bulgarian Academy of Science; the representative survey of Roma in Bulgaria by the Open Society Institute Health Status and Health Care Access of Roma in Bulgaria (2007); and the international comparative survey Health and the Roma Community (December 2008).

The third valid hypothesis is related to the fertility slump, which has also affected the Bulgarian Roma community, although not to the same extent as the Bulgarian Turkish and ethnic Bulgarian populations.

The fourth applicable hypothesis concerns the continuing high child mortality rate in the Roma community. According to NSI data, during the period 2004–2007, it reached 25.0 per thousand among children aged between 0 and 1 year[90] (Tomova 2005).

Self-identification is the basic principle of determining the number of members of different ethnic groups. However, researchers of marginalised and stigmatised groups usually note that some of their members prefer to publically declare a different identity, hoping to avoid contempt, discrimination or violence. Such changes in self-identification are common amongst Roma in most European countries. Therefore, experts rarely rely only on official data provided by statistical offices; furthermore, they make their own estimations of the number of the Roma population by "objective criteria". In most cases, these estimations are quite disputable. Bulgarian scientists and politicians, though, argue that the number of people perceived by the neighbouring population and discriminated against as Gypsies exceeds 800,000,[91] i.e. over 11% of the Bulgarian population.

Civil and political disintegration of Roma in Bulgaria

Most Roma in Bulgaria, as well as in other Central and East European countries, encounter prejudice, intolerance and discrimination. They experience enormous difficulties in exercising their political and civil rights.

As a result of the crisis in left-wing political parties, and continuous widespread dropout of Roma from the labour market after 1989, the opportunities for Roma to find a national political party to protect their political and civil interests have dramatically decreased. They can hardly depend on trade union protection. Instead, various political parties have begun to directly buy Roma votes for small amounts of money, paid personally to many different people before elections; or paid to moneylenders, or Roma "businessmen", who provide the votes of those Roma who depend on

90 During this period the average child mortality rate in Bulgaria was 10.2 per thousand (Tomova 2005).

91 As early as 1992, Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov, Bulgarian scholars in Gypsy Studies, "expertly estimated" that there were 800,000 Roma in Bulgaria, without specifying the methodology they used or without justifying their claims. Afterwards, their figures were quoted by Prof. Jean-Pierre Liegeois, who was consulted by them. The estimation was based on another disputable expert estimate provided by the Ministry of Interior in 1989, when by "objective criteria" 576,927 people were counted as Roma. Bulgarian sociologists remained rather sceptical. Years later they still considered these numbers greatly exaggerated. They might not be reached even in 2012, but nowadays they are regarded much more reasonable than 20 years ago.

them to the political party that pays the most, or is able to provide other services to the 'Boss'. These parties usually lose interest in their Roma "clients" immediately after the elections. Roma themselves experience a growing sense of alienation and indifference to the Bulgarian political life.

In spite of the actual existence of many Roma parties and non-governmental organisations in Bulgaria (or as a result of their confrontation or fragmentation), the political representation of Roma in the Parliament, different institutions and even local authorities is not enough, or not efficient enough. A definite sign of the challenges that the Roma face in exercising their political and civil rights is the inability of their representatives in the Parliament, institutions and local authorities to provoke a serious public debate on the issues concerning Roma exclusion, and to facilitate the implementation of consecutive social integration programmes. The Bulgarian political elite now feels pressed to initiate policies for Roma integration, mainly by the European Union, not by Bulgarian political parties or by civil Roma organisations.

Another significant indicator of the political and civil disintegration of Roma is the lack of efficient legal, judicial, civil and professional opposition to the language of hatred, used by some politicians and most of the media, which strongly reinforces negative feelings, social distance and discrimination against members of the Roma community.

A severe problem that the Roma face, in relation to civil disintegration, is the intensification of the spatial segregation of their communities during the post-communist period. The representative survey *Adoption of a Socialist Lifestyle by Bulgarian Citizens of Roma Origin* conducted in 1980 (Dimitrov, Chakalov, Georgieva and Dechev 1984) reported that, at the beginning of 1980s, 49% of the Roma in Bulgaria lived in separated neighbourhoods. During the last decade of the socialist period, the proportion of segregated Roma households decreased. From the second half of the 1990s onwards, however, surveys reveal that over three-quarters of the Roma were already spatially segregated (Mitev, Tomova, Konstantinova 2001). At the beginning of the 1990s, a large-scale withdrawal of state institutions from the ghettoes commenced. Many healthcare and social centres, cultural institutions, kindergartens and public transport lines were closed down. The control over illegal construction, public order maintenance and compliance with normative regulations, including those pertaining to life-threatening and health-threatening risks (such as fire-precaution regulations, sanitary and hygienic conditions in neighbourhoods, etc.) was sharply reduced. Some of the gravest consequences of the segregation are the increasing difficulties encountered by members of segregated neighbourhoods in finding jobs, and the limiting of opportunities for young people to prepare themselves to work in the legal economy (Wilson 1987, 1999).

Another type of social exclusion, relating to the abuse of Roma civil rights, is the continuing segregation in educational institutions. Bulgarian governments recognise

the necessity for fast measures in this respect, pro forma. However, no action plans have been produced, nor have any financial accounts for the implementation of desegregation programmes been prepared. Large-scale trainings for teachers working in a multicultural environment, as well as with children with serious social problems, have not been provided yet (apart from separate initiatives of non-governmental organisations and pilot programmes of the National Council for Cooperation on Ethnic and Integration Issues). No additional funds have been allocated for actual desegregation actions. The preparation of the public opinion for implementation of such a complex educational reform has not begun yet.

Economic and social disintegration of Roma in Bulgaria

One of the most dramatic changes in the Bulgarian society during the post-communist period was the rapid deindustrialisation of the country, and the devastating agrarian reform. As a result, the country lost 1.3 million jobs (21% of the then existing jobs) in the first years of the transition period (Beleva 2005). When, in 1998–2002, the structural reform started with the closure of ineffective production sites, other hundreds of thousands workplaces were curtailed. The global economic crisis brought an additional cut of 430,000 jobs since 2009.

The demand for unqualified and unskilled workers was sharply reduced, regardless of the slow automatisation and modernisation in the remaining industrial units. Expectably, Roma, who were the last to join the industrial work forces, and generally had lower educational levels and qualifications in comparison with other Bulgarians, were the first to drop out from the labour market. Due to their lower social and cultural capital, and the reinforcement of negative stereotypes and prejudice against their community, it was harder for them to reintegrate into the reduced working class, even in the conditions of economic growth.

The changed macroeconomic situation in Bulgaria resulted in Roma exclusion from the labour market in large numbers and constantly high unemployment in their community. The 2001 Census showed that the employment rate among Roma was barely 17.9%. The next census in 2011 reported similar data – 20.6% (NSI 1994 and 2004, NSI 2011). The characteristics of Roma employment have changed: many Roma have low-paid jobs provided by the social ministry as a temporary measure for reducing unemployment amongst undereducated people, or who are employed as seasonal or temporary workers. In summary, during the post-communist period, there was a decline in Roma employment ranging from 37 to 66%.[92] No other ethnic group in Bulgaria has been affected by such severe unemployment.

92 In the last years of the communist period, the employment rate among Roma was 84% (Dimitrov et. al. 1980).

The Roma community is the ethnic group with the lowest level of education in Bulgaria. Another peculiarity of the group is that functional illiteracy is twice more common among Roma women than men. Since namely women raise children, their illiteracy, or low educational level, seems to be crucially important for their children's educational aspirations and achievements.[93]

Table 18: Completed Level of Education by Ethnicity (persons aged over 20)

Education	Bulgarians		Turks		Roma	
	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011
Tertiary education College/ university degree	19.2	25.6	2.4	4.9	0.2	0.5
Secondary education/High school	47.6	52,3	21.9	29.7	6.5	9,.0
Primary education (7-8th grade completed)	24.9	18.0	46.9	44.5	41.8	40.8
Completed 4th grade	6.9	3.4	18.6	13.4	28.3	27.9
Persons who did not complete 4th grade; illiterate/ never been to school	1.4	0.9	10.2	7.5	23.2	21.8

Source: Author's calculations based on NSI 2004 and 2011 data (data from the census in 2001 and 2011)

An increase in the educational levels In the three largest ethnic groups is observed, but the change is the slightest in the Roma community. Various reasons account for Roma's lower educational levels. Politicians and some economists usually point out the cultural peculiarities of the community, ignoring, however, the existing inequality of Roma, following from different structural factors and institutional racism. The Bulgarian educational system fails to provide equal opportunities for quality education to children whose mother tongue is not the Bulgarian language, to children living in rural areas, or those from poor families. Roma have a strong presence in all three of these groups.

Access to health care services depends on various factors, which exert a negative cumulative effect on Roma health. The quality of medical services greatly depends on the economic situation in the country and government policies specifically targeting health. In Bulgaria and Romania, the financial resources for medical treatment

93 We should bear in mind that there is a strong correlation between the level of education and the subgroup division, type of settlement, and degree of segregation of Roma neighbourhoods.

(allocated from the state budget as well as personal) are most scarce. This means that Bulgarian and Romanian citizens have more limited access to health services, and their quality is generally lower. Simultaneously, the share of out-of-pocket expenditure on health care is unbearably high for most people, particularly for poor social groups. Bulgaria, in comparison with other members of the European Union, is the country with the highest share of out-of-pocket expenditure on health, entirely covered by patients as soon as treatment has been received – on average, over two-fifths of the cost of treatment is paid by patients (WHO 2008).

Another problem affecting the Roma to a greater extent is the uneven distribution of physicians and hospitals. There are more patients per physician in areas inhabited mainly by Roma and Bulgarian Turks. This means that they receive poorer health care services and waste more time waiting in front of examination rooms during every visit; furthermore, they have to travel a longer distance to visit a medical specialist, medical laboratory or hospital (Tomova 2009).

The drop-out of almost two-thirds of the adult Roma from the formal labour market, and their temporary, seasonal, or irregular employment in the grey market create health insurance problems for many of them. According to the survey *Health and the Roma Community: Analysis of the Situation in Europe*, in December 2008, 26% of the adult Bulgarian Roma population had no health insurance. As a result, they rely more on emergency room services, physician's altruism and pharmacists' advices, when purchasing medicines without visiting a doctor. The legislative changes adopted after 2008, as well as the increasing proportion of grey market workers, have probably led to a rise in this percentage.

The comparative survey *Health and the Roma Community*[94] reports that Bulgarian Roma demonstrate poorer health status, even compared to the Roma population in other countries. Their self-assessment of health is the lowest, in comparison with Roma from all surveyed countries. They most often point out that they are not able to cope with daily activities due to their poor health, but at the same time, they do not receive the necessary medical care. They face great difficulties in obtaining a medical disability certificate from the Territorial Expert Medical Commission, even if they have had a heart attack or stroke, have undergone a cancer operation, or suffer from chronic obstructive pulmonary disease or another acute disease. Bulgarian Roma rank first among Roma from all surveyed countries in terms of a number of diseases like high blood pressure, diabetes, cardiac diseases, arthritis and rheumatism, prostate and menopause-related problems, and second – in respect of asthma, chronic bronchitis and stomach ulcers. Bulgaria occupies the first place in terms of high blood pressure among Roma children. The survey indicates that 12.6% of the Roma population in Bulgaria, including children, is disabled or chronically ill. One pe-

94 The survey was carried out using the same methodology in Bulgaria, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Slovakia and the Czech Republic throughout November and December 2008.

culiarity, which is especially characteristic of the Roma community, is early disability and widespread chronic disease as early as middle-age. One-third of the men and two-fifths of the women aged between 45 and 60 have already lost their working capacity, either fully or partially, due to their poor health (FSG 2009).

Poverty and social exclusion are the major reasons for poor housing conditions in Roma neighbourhoods (FRA October 2009, Tomova 1995). In 1992, 31.1% of Roma had living spaces of less than 5 sq. m. per person (NSI 1995). In 2001, very similar data were reported – 29.9% (NSI 2003). The 2011 Population and Housing Census of NSI indicates that Roma continue to be the group living in the poorest housing conditions. Moreover, the difference between them and the rest of the population is considerable. While ethnic Bulgarians have average living space of 23.2 sq. m. per person, the Roma have only 10.6 sq. m. Today, at least one quarter of the Roma (23.5%) have living spaces of under 5 sq. m. per person.[95] Due to poverty and social exclusion, the majority of Roma live in overpopulated neighbourhoods, often not included in town planning, in areas without any, or with poor sewage and water supply systems, frequently with illegal electrical power supply systems or even without electricity. According to NSI data from the 2011 Census, two-fifths of the Roma still live in dwellings without any plumbing, and use water from outdoor taps or wells; three-fifths of the Roma and Turkish dwellings are not connected to the central sewage system; and there are no toilet facilities in two-thirds of the Roma dwellings.

Social exclusion of the Roma community in Bulgaria is observed in all major social spheres. The spatial and social isolation of Roma reinforces the social distance between them and the rest of the Bulgarian citizens, and increases the risk of their discrimination. The danger of erupting severe conflicts, which will be regarded as ethnic, is growing as well. The process of democratisation of the Bulgarian society is delayed. The sense of social solidarity among members of different ethnic groups is eroded. All of the above pose serious challenges to the ability of the Bulgarian society to function normally on a long-term basis.

Residence and labour restrictions of EU Member States for Bulgarian citizens

Bulgaria has been a member of the European Union since 2007. However, Bulgarian and Romanian citizens still do not have the economic and social rights enjoyed by citizens of other Member States, including new Member States which joined the EU in 2004.

95 These estimates are not accurate because the preliminary NSI data have been presented on interval scales, and we are not able to estimate what percentage of four-member and five-member families, for example, living in a dwelling of 15–29 sq. m., have in fact living spaces of 5 sq. m. per person or less. The same applies to households with six, seven or eight members living in dwellings of 30–44 sq. m., etc. Thus, whole groups are excluded from the estimation.

Since visa restrictions were lifted in 2001, Bulgarian citizens have been entitled to three-month residence in other Member States. Pursuant to Article 7 of Directive 2004/38/EU on the right of citizens of the European Union to move freely, certain conditions are imposed on the right of residence for a period longer than three months. New EU citizens are therefore eligible if they are workers or self-employed in the host Member State. In case the above provision does not apply, citizens are entitled to longer residence if they have sufficient resources for self-support in the host state, and have comprehensive sickness insurance covering their treatment costs (or those of their family members) and thus would not become a burden on the social assistance system of the host Member State during their period of residence.[96] For periods of residence longer than three months, EU citizens should register with the competent authorities of the host state. If they have the respective document certifying their right of residence, they may acquire the right of permanent residence, in case they have resided for a continuous period of five years in the host Member State, were employed or were self-employed in this period, and know the native language.[97]

The right of residence is closely related to employment, and Bulgarian and Romanian citizens' rights of employment in Member States are still limited. These restrictions are stipulated in the 2003 Treaty of Accession of Bulgaria and Romania. In accordance with this Treaty, for the first two years following the accession of both countries, the access of their citizens to the labour markets of old Member States shall depend on the national laws and policies of host countries. Thus, Bulgarian and Romanian nationals need work permits, and are further restricted only to occupations that are generally not preferred by local citizens. These restrictions may be extended for an additional period of three years. After that, old EU Member States can continue to apply the same restrictions for a further two-year period if they can prove serious disturbances in their labour markets. In 2011, most of the old Member States applied such an extension; furthermore, Bulgaria and Romania did not become parties to the Schengen Agreement. For the time being, only Spain grants Bulgarian and Romanian citizens equal access to the labour market, and in the autumn of 2012, France produced a longer list of bottle-neck occupations for which Bulgarian and Romanian citizens are eligible to apply. In Belgium, Bulgarian (and Romanian) citizens are entitled to fill only vacancies for which it is difficult to find applicants, according to a list of occupations prepared by the Ministry of Labour. If they lived and

96 The right of residence for more than three months is also extended to family members of EU citizens who comply with the above provisions, as well as students studying in another Member State, provided that they have sufficient resources for themselves and comprehensive sickness insurance coverage not to become a burden on the social assistance system of the state wherein they study.

97 Pursuant to Article 16, Paragraph 3 of Directive 2004/38/EU on the right of citizens of the European Union to move freely, continuity of residence shall not be affected by temporary absences for annual leaves or other reasons, not exceeding a total of six months per year, or by absences of a longer duration for compulsory military service, or by one absence of a maximum of twelve consecutive months for important reasons such as pregnancy and childbirth, serious illness, study or vocational training.

worked on legal conditions in the country for at least three years, they could receive another status, and have full access to all the vacancies.

In the last years, Belgium has developed anti-discrimination legislation to meet EU requirements on equality and non-discrimination of all residents of the country, including migrants. However, some restrictive changes in social legislation and the rules to acquire Belgian nationality were made as a result of emigration pressures.

As the emigration from CEE into the other Benelux countries also increased, they agreed that the access of Bulgarians and Romanians to Western labour markets, would remain limited until the end of 2013. Their decision was accepted and became a political decision of the European Commission. URBIS-COOP increased political pressure on the governments of sending countries to improve the effectiveness of Roma integration. They sent letters to the European Commission to take policy measures to combat discrimination against the Roma in Central and Eastern Europe, to reduce poverty in these countries and to restrict the number of immigrants from CEE into Western Europe. A common political decision of Benelux was to reduce the social rights of migrants from Bulgaria and Romania. The Belgian Government has signed these restrictive political demands at the last moment, fearing that if they refuse to do so, the influx of immigrants into Belgium will increase many times.

The mayor of Ghent offers a new way to solve the problems – build bilateral cooperation between Belgium and the sending countries, and between Ghent and those regions in Bulgaria and Slovakia where the majority of the emigrants come from. Such cooperation could help the sending countries and regions to develop economic development projects; to find Western investors for the implementation of development projects; to develop joint projects and to apply to the European Commission to finance new activities and services.

In Belgium, the majority of Bulgarian emigrants – Bulgarian Turks and Turkish speaking Roma – seek irregular market employment among the Turkish diaspora. Almost all of them present themselves as Bulgarian Turks. The Roma conceal their ethnic identity in order not to lose their job, or accommodation. A Roma respondent living in Ghent describes her situation: "*Being a Bulgarian, Romanian or Moroccan is the same as being a Roma in Bulgaria, from natives' point of view. Local people think that all Bulgarian emigrants are thieves, beggars or prostitutes. It is the way Bulgarians are represented by the Belgian media. Several months ago, there was a TV documentary about Bulgaria shot in deserted villages, and several Roma ghettoes – for example, the destroyed Roma block of flats in Yambol. I am positive that over 95% of the Bulgarians have never seen such misery... A week later, clients of the coffee shop, who knew I was Bul-*

garian, were surprised that I can turn on the TV and asked me if I had ever seen a TV set before I came to Belgium. Sometimes, I am asked if there are asphalted roads and cars in Bulgaria, if there are schools, if there are other educated people, if children go to school... I have cried with shame, no matter that I am a Gypsy... That is why many Roma here pretend they are Turks: they are ashamed to say that they come from Bulgaria." (Interview with a 29-year-old Roma woman from the town of Silistra, living in a village near Ghent, with completed secondary education, Ghent, 15 July 2012.)

However, the undeclared employment provides neither access to social and health insurance, nor work and residence permits. The inability to formalise their employment deprives Bulgarian labour emigrants of the social rights enjoyed by other workers in the host country. One of the key objectives of the project is to study the mechanisms used by Bulgarian Roma to work in Belgium, regardless of its restrictive legislation.

Motivations for emigration

In the report of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights from 2009 (*The Situation of Roma EU Citizens Moving to and Settling in Other EU Member States), it is briefly summarised that: "poverty and racism are the main factors 'pushing' Roma to leave their countries of origin, with poverty being the dominating factor mentioned by Roma respondents"; and "factors 'pulling' Roma towards certain countries include their assumed prospects for finding work and improved living standards*" (FRA 2009, p. 6 and pp. 18–22). Within the discourse of the report, excerpts from interviews with Bulgarian Roma are frequently used to illustrate examples of racism in native countries, although many European researches claim that social distance, prejudice and discrimination against Roma in other Member States are even stronger.[98]

Racism and discrimination are rarely cited as a motivation for emigration in Bulgarian national surveys on migration attitudes: 1% to 3% of the responses of members of the two largest minorities – that of Bulgarian Turks and Roma. Roma respondents probably give "socially desirable" answers in both cases: when not mentioning racism and discrimination as a valid reason in interviews conducted in Bulgaria, where interviewers are quite frequently ethnic Bulgarians; and when emphasizing their bad experiences in Bulgaria, thus highlighting positive evaluations of the host country. However, it is possible that respondents have also developed sensitivity to occurrences of overt and institutional racism in more developed democratic societies. Nevertheless, if the second hypothesis applies, racism is not a primary motivation for emigration, since it is not recognised as a major problem before leaving

98 See data from the European Values Surveys as well as data from EU-MIDIS: European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey.

the country. A reference to racism represents either a psychological justification for their permanent emigration in the host country, or is used as a mean of evoking empathy and gaining support in the new environment. From a methodological perspective, it is worth testing both these hypotheses.

Researches of the United Nations Development Programme, the *Generation and Gender Surveys* of the Max Planck Institute and national studies, as well as the interviews conducted by the author in Belgium and Bulgaria, reveal a rather complicated picture of Roma emigrants' motivation. Roma usually cite multiple reasons for emigration, which operate simultaneously: unemployment, low income, severe housing problems, inability to pay credits, serious family problems and poor quality of life. Modern means of communication provide a flow of information about employment opportunities and wages on the grey markets of Western countries. This in turn stimulates emigration. Previous life and work personal experience gained abroad also facilitates the decision to leave again for a foreign country. Having relatives and acquaintances abroad, other family members are more likely to join them. The larger the number of people from a particular area working abroad, the greater is the likelihood of other people from the respective neighbourhood to emigrate as well. The low educational status and lack of language competence are not considered a problem in this case, since emigrants depend on their relatives and acquaintances for support. Half of the individuals labelled as "Roma" in Bulgaria speak Turkish, which is relied upon while planning emigration.

The Roma interviewed in Belgium mentioned the long-term unemployment and poverty and lack of long-term perspectives for changes in the situation in Bulgaria as a primary reason for their emigration. In fact, all respondents cited poverty as a motivation for their emigration. Twenty-three out of thirty-two respondents underlined that unemployment had been the main motivation for their emigration, as well as that of their family members.

"We are working people. My parents, my relatives – all of them have worked at the Agro-Industrial Complex all their lives, since childhood, since they were 15–16 years old. My mother stopped working only when she looked after me and my brother, until we turned 1–2 years old... And after the democratic changes, all workshops in village factories in Silistra and the Agro-Industrial Complex were closed down. All people were laid off. There was extreme poverty. My parents bought some land, as did my aunts. We grew some vegetables, fruits and so on. We raised cattle – for food and sale. However, the merchants bought it very cheaply, for peanuts, as a giveaway, and the price of fodder, seeds, chemicals and everything was going up. Everything became meaningless: you worked all day long and lost money. My mother pushed me and my brother to finish our secondary education in order to find jobs, but we could not find any anywhere, there simply were no jobs... It was pretty awful in 1997... you could not even buy bread back then. I had to leave school because my brother was in his last year, and both of us went to school in the village of Zamfirovo, and at least he had to graduate. I helped at home; af-

ter that I did my military service in Varna, in the Navy. I took a six-month culinary course, but could not find work neither in Silistra nor in Varna later on; I only washed dishes in a hotel... While I was doing my military service, my brother left for Brussels. My aunt was already there. They said that it was hard to find work there, but anyways, you could find some. That was why I left for Brussels as well. I have been living here for 10–11 years now." (Interview with a 30-year-old Roma man from the village of Dichevo, Silistra District, with completed ninth grade, Ghent, 12 July 2012.)

"People here try to escape from unemployment and poverty. We came here to help our families survive. I have two girls, one of them is a student, and the other got married. If I want to give them a better chance, I have to stay here, work 16 hours a day for a Turkish guy and grit my teeth... I used to work at Kremikovtsi, I even became a supervisor. We earned good money and I was not deprived of anything. There were Roma and Turks in our team, and got along well enough... Then mass unemployment emerged... I tried to start my own business using my savings, but I got involved in the affairs of a gangster, who set fire to my merchandise; I was ruined. Later on, I found undeclared jobs in two different companies, but both of them went bankrupt... If there was work in Bulgaria, nobody would stay here." (Interview with a 52-year-old Roma man, born in Shumen but who lived in Sofia, with completed vocational education, Ghent, 14 July 2012.)

In sixteen interviews, the respondents indicated the changes in the nature of their employment and resulting consequences as a motivation for their emigration. Before 1990, all of them (or their parents) had permanent employment contracts and all types of insurance. In post-communist years, they were able to find only seasonal, temporary or irregular employment**,** without health and retirement insurance. Their income was low, irregular and unsteady, which triggered their decision to emigrate.

"I have never had a declared job in Bulgaria. If you find work, it is temporary, without health insurance, without anything... You are forced to accept this. You can never bargain – whatever they pay you, you accept. They often say: 'We are going to pay you when you finish.' And we work like dogs, 10–12 hours a day, on weekends, and at the end, he hauls us over the coals for not doing a good job, and chases us off without paying us a single dime... Thus over and over again... And when I understood that there was no justice, I decided to stay in my village and help my father-in-law raise cows. However, in Bulgaria you cannot make your living out of this; maybe if you have land to grow fodder... My wife's uncle was already in Belgium. He told me that I could find black market work. Not that in Bulgaria I worked in the "white labour market"... And I came here in 2000. It is the first time here in Belgium, since 2007, that I have ever worked legally… I am homesick. I told my wife: 'Why this Belgium was not Bulgaria?' If I had money... But there is no work in Bulgaria; no security; nothing can be done. I bought cows with the money I had saved in Belgium: the purchase prices of milk and meat went down; and the price of fodder went up... Three cows died and I gave up... I decided to open a restaurant with my savings; but people had no money..." (Interview with a 36-year-old Roma man from the

village of Senovo, Razgrad District, with completed secondary education, Brussels, 10 July 2012.)

"My daughter was married, but her husband left her and took another woman as his wife. She was still looking for work to provide for her kid, but there were no jobs. My husband and I were not of much help; we also counted on irregular jobs... Both of us became sick because of heavy work. We became disabled, but there is no easy work in the countryside... One day you hoe the vineyard of some neighbour, the next day – the garden of another; after that you gather grapes or tomatoes... He sometimes does repairs to the houses of some old women. Poverty is everywhere; it is also among Bulgarians and Turks, not only among us. Everybody pays however they can; some give food, others – clothes. People seldom pay money; and if they do, the amount is small – 5 or 7 levs[99] for a whole day's work... My daughter left her child with me to look after, and left for Silistra to look for a job. I used to take my grandchild along with me, at least to feed her and leave her in a warm place while I was working in the fields... We suffered greatly. My daughter said that she would go to Belgium; and we went with her; how could we let her go alone." (Interview with a 53-year-old Roma woman from the village of Zafirovo, Silistra District, with completed primary education – grade 8, Brussels, 11 July 2012.)

Nine respondents explained that their loans from banks, moneylenders or acquaintances urged them to emigrate.

"We lived in my grandmother-in-law's house, and she used to say that the house was for my husband. We took out a large loan to renovate it – to make piping and a sewer, to build a bathroom and toilet, to add two more rooms to the house, because we had two children. However, when the grandmother died, a lot of heirs appeared and drove us out of the house. We rented lodgings. We had just paid our loan; and some people were selling their flat. We took another loan to buy it. After that my husband went to prison for two years... When he came out, he told me that he would leave for Germany, since I could hardly cover our bank payments and the rent, and provide for our children. We took another loan from people we knew. Howevever he did not have work at first in Germany and could not send us money; and later he started seeing another woman... I had to pay all loans; just our bank credit was 20,000, not to mention the interest... I should have left with him to earn more..." (Interview with a 39-year-old Roma woman from the village of Dryanovo, with completed vocational education, Ghent, 17 July 2012.)

Eight respondents stated that their main motivation to emigrate was their desire to earn and save money in order to buy their own homes in Bulgaria.

The primary motivation of five respondents was humanitarian; either they, or a member of their family, was seriously sick, without any hope of survival in Bulgaria.

99 This means 2.5 – 3.5 EUR per day.

A young woman from the village of Mokren, Kotel District, born with hepatitis B that led to cirrhosis when she became 16, gave birth to a baby several years later. As a result, her health sharply deteriorated and her life was endangered, because, until 2005, liver transplantations were not performed in Bulgaria. In Belgium she obtained humanitarian status and she underwent an operation. She received a liver transplant and later on – a kidney transplant. Today, she is in good health and works in Ghent. Another young woman from a village in Targovishte District, suffering from diabetes, which had caused blindness and impaired her heart and kidneys, was granted humanitarian status in Belgium as well. Her diabetes was managed, she received a kidney transplant, a cardiac surgery and underwent four operations on her eye in order to not lose her eyesight completely. At present, she studies Flemish and French, Braille, fine arts, culinary arts and massage therapy. She dreams of becoming a masseuse. She lives in Ghent together with her parents. An older woman from Shumen also obtained humanitarian status. She underwent a type of surgery of the locomotive system three times and a heart surgery. She received social welfare allowances and was provided with social housing in Ghent during the course of five years. She did not seek employment. She looked after her granddaughter and the household of her divorced daughter, with whom she had arrived in Belgium. The Belgian authorities took a decision to send her back to Bulgaria. Its enforcement was pending during my first fieldwork in Belgium – July 2012. In November, I was told that she has gone through a second heart surgery and is still in Ghent.

Fifteen years ago, a baby girl was born into a Roma family with one child, living in the village of Ezerche. However, due to her difficult birth, she developed cerebral paralysis and later on – epilepsy. Her father left for Belgium to provide for his family and his daughter's medical treatment. When the girl turned 14, she left for Belgium together with her mother and her brother. She is now given new medical treatment and her health is improving. She attends a special school for children with disabilities. She studies Flemish, French and culinary arts, is acquiring self-care skills and is engaged in sports. Her mother hopes that she will graduate, will work as a cook when she grows up, and will be able to look after herself when her parents are not alive.

Four respondents mentioned other family problems that contributed to their decision to leave Bulgaria and go abroad. This is a recurring pattern:

I finished high school and married soon after. I gave birth to two children. My husband was a construction worker. He earned good money, but I was not happy with him. He was very rude and thus his constant absence was not a burden for me. However, when the crisis came in 2009, neither he, nor I, were able to find any work. Life became hell at home... We had friends in Brussels and I came to look for a job here. I started working as a waitress in a Bulgarian cafe. My spouse also arrived soon after, but could not find a job. He just stayed at home, being summoned for some odd repairs every now and then… He was very jealous that I worked in a coffee shop full of men, and started to behave even

more rudely. He used to insult me and hit me for no reason. I had not done anything to spark such a jealousy. I worked for 12 hours, then I went home to cook, serve, wash clothes, iron, clean, and arrange everything he had scattered throughout the day. I was sending every saved dime to my children... A year and a half ago I left him I have a new boyfriend of three months now, also from Bulgaria ... (Interview with 34-year-old woman from Smolyan, with secondary education, Brussels).

Better educational and employment opportunities, prospects for political participation and quality life, as well as better educational opportunities for their children, are all cited by a small number Roma, mostly college and university graduates, as an important motivation for emigration to Belgium. Here is the story of a woman who completed only fourth grade, but her husband has a college education:

I am from the village of Senovo, near Razgrad. I only studied up to fourth grade and married in 1981, at age of 16. I gave birth to my son the following year. I raised him until the age of three, then my daughter was born. I raised her as well. I had no education, back then we were allowed to raise our children until up to three years of age. My mother-in-law had to work because she was close to retirement and I was the hostess. When my mother-in-law retired, they took me in her place at the dairy farm. It must have been in 1988. I worked there for three or four years, then democracy came, and the dairy farm was closed down and I lost my job. My husband was employed, my father-in-law and mother-in-law had their pensions and they provided for the family too. However, the kids grew up and had to study in the city. My son studied at the University, my daughter was in 8th grade in Razgrad, living with her aunt, a sister of my husband, and we went to Belgium to provide for them. (Interview with 47-year-old woman from the village Senovo, Razgrad, with 4th grade education, Brussels, 22.11.2012)

We interviewed five Roma university graduates, who had worked in Bulgaria, but chose to live in a West European country, where better opportunities and quality of life were provided. Another two of our respondents (university graduates) immigrated to Belgium immediately after completing their studies in Bulgaria.

I graduated from the mathematical high school in Razgrad and applied to study medicine in the university, but I failed at the exams. I started working as a health mediator for 10 months and was paid BGN 270[100] per month. I took preparatory courses in chemistry and applied again, but I was enrolled as a midwife in Varna. I received a 5-month internship at St. Marina Hospital. My supervisor counselled me to continue to work in the hospital, but the salary was about BGN 300 per month. I had no close relatives in Bulgaria – they all were in Belgium. I decided to go there too. I received my diploma and went to try my luck. Two or three months later, I was told that I could practice my profession in Brussels; I obtained a license allowing me to work as a midwife. I filed an application in

100 BGN 270 ("levs") equals approximately 135 EUR.

a hospital, but did not know the language. There were three other candidates who spoke French and Flemish and knew the system, had experience ... I did not get the job. I studied French for two years and reached eighth level. I found work – looking after a baby. For three years I looked after the children of one family – the father was German and the mother a Turk. Meanwhile, I was self-employed and started to learn Flemish. I took two levels. This year, I enrolled in intensive courses and took the third level. I worked as a volunteer for Doctors without Borders – a translator of Turkish, Bulgarian and Roma. I enrolled in the Flemish Free University. They allowed me to attend the classes of an obstetrical intern in a hospital – to meet the requirements of the system. This does not mean that I will get a certificate in Belgium, but at least it will help me understand the system. I will pay for my classes. The problem is that if five years after graduation I have not practiced the specialty, I can lose the right to practice. I was offered a job in Bulgaria, but I would not go back there for 300 levs. I hope to succeed in Belgium ... (Interview with 27-year-old woman from Senovo, with college education, 21.11.2012, Brussels).

A young Roma student, who had initially emigrated with the aim of earning money during summer to pay for his tuition and expenses in the next year, changed his decision. He became a student at Leuven Catholic University. After the first year, he moved to Brussels University and completed his studies in applied economics. At present, he is on a study leave in a large insurance company in Belgium, and intends to stay and work there; he has already received two quite attractive offers. His story is prejudice-breaking:

I was born in the village of Razvigorovo, near Shumen. When the cooperative farm was shut down, my parents lost their permanent jobs. They sought work as herders in various parts of the country, so I and my sister continually changed schools. At first, it was difficult, but not bad. In that way, I had the chance to study in Plovdiv and Sofia, where I learned to speak fluent Bulgarian and received quality training. We lived very poorly. In the beginning of each school year, my parents bought us clothes and books, and that was for the whole year... When I was in fifth grade (11 years old), my sister and I began helping our parents, taking care for piglets in Bozhurishte, giving a helping hand, however we could. We worked not only during the holidays, but whenever our parents needed our help ... When I was in eighth grade, we were in Razvigorovo. I graduated with excellent marks. One day, at school, people from a foundation in Shumen came and offered to provide boarding school for excellent students at a very low fee. Thus, it was possible for me to continue my studies in a mathematics high school, to live in the city and study for only 30 levs per month. For me, the conditions were perfect – we lived eight guys in a room. There was a TV lounge, a library and a study where we prepared our lessons and used a computer. I never had pocket money, but one learns to live without money. When I was in 10th grade, my family situation turned very bad, and Dad sold all that we had – one calf to continue to provide for my studies. I could only work during the summer to help... I graduated the most prestigious school in Shumen with honours, and did not even realize that this was the best school, where other students applied and queued up for... I was in love with mathematics. I prepared myself for the University admission exams – I

did twice all the problems in textbooks and did very well on exams. I was enrolled in the most popular majors at Varna University – Accounting and Control. I had to provide for myself. I lodged with another guy. At night I worked in a 24/7 non-stop grocery store, during daytime I attended lectures ... I finished the first year. My uncle had left for Belgium and offered me to join him, to work and save money for tuition and lodging in Varna.

In Brussels, I worked as a construction worker in a company owned by some Turks, and I did not even go to language courses (in 2003, Bulgaria was not an EU member, jobs were illegal, there was no one to give me advice on what to do). I wanted to work and study in Belgium, to receive quality education and gain expertise, allowing me to work in a proper profession, but back then tuition fees were too high for people outside the EU, and I did not speak the language... Then I began language courses – first in French, then in Flemish. I took the sixth level in both languages, but it was not enough for university. In 2007, I joined language courses at the Catholic University of Leuven – Belgium's best university. When I passed the exams, I enrolled in the academic course Applied Economics. I lived with my uncle and I travelled every day. During the day I studied, I worked at night – from 6:00 p.m. to midnight at a Turkish fast food shop. In that manner, I could cover my school fees, textbooks, transportation and food... It was very difficult. The level of university education was very high, and I studied with a dictionary in my hand... I wrote four exams, but I realized that it was difficult, and I moved to the Free University of Brussels. Now my thesis defence is forthcoming. In the summer, I did a prestigious internship at an insurance company. Because of my extended internship, they gave me the opportunity to learn additional management skills, beyond providing services to clients. When I defend my thesis, I will search for a job in my specialty. I have some offers already... (Interview with a Roma man, 27 years old, from the village Razvigorovo, Shumen, with higher education, Brussels, 21.11.2012).

Profiles of Roma emigrants in Belgium

The majority of the Bulgarian Roma emigrants in Brussels and Ghent are Turkish-speaking Muslims from North East Bulgaria, having completed eight grade, or higher. They emigrate being fully aware that they may find mainly irregular jobs in local Turkish communities. The majority of them have initially planned to stay in the host country until they save enough money to meet their immediate needs in Bulgaria. Many of them[101] come back to Bulgaria,try to live in their native country and invest their savings into small family businesses, or solve serious housing problems. Nevertheless, they soon have to return to Belgium due to unemployment, or low income in Bulgaria. Some of them go back and forth several times, until they finally decide to remain in Belgium and take their families with them. They introduce them-

101 Of all interviewed 32 Roma immigrants from Brussels and Ghent, 23 persons have tried to go back to Bulgaria and settle their life at home. Five of them have made more than one attempt to start a small enterprise or business in Bulgaria, but they failed and returned to Belgium.

selves as Bulgarian Turks, accept whatever job they are offered and agree to whatever remuneration their employer is willing to pay. Men usually work 12–16 hours a day, six days a week, for EUR 25–50 per day. Women, on average, work 10–12 hours a day, on business days, for EUR 20–40 per day. They seek additional jobs as waitresses, kitchen help, or household help with Turkish or Moroccan families they know during the weekends. They frequently rent lodgings in their "patron's" houses (basements, attics, or share a rented apartment with other Bulgarian emigrants). The respondents claim that almost all Bulgarian Roma emigrants have occasionally lived together with 5–15 other persons in a single room. They do not usually have time to study Flemish or French. Therefore, they remain dependent on people of Turkish backgrounds for years. They rarely have the courage to apply for social welfare allowances, because they are afraid of expulsion.[102]

The second largest group also comprises Turkish-speaking Roma, having completed eight grade or more. For a long period of time, they work for someone of Belgian Turkish background in the same conditions as the first group, but manage to convince their employers to help them legalise their residence by making them partners, or by transferring them 1–10% of their company's shares. In this way, they can legalize their stay in Belgium as self-employed. They receive the same small wages, but pay themselves for health and social insurance. In one or two years, most of them leave their "patron" and register with the Employment Agency as unemployed, declaring bankruptcy. Many apply for social welfare allowances. They enrol in Flemish, or French language courses. If they find formal work, they quit the course and become wage labourers. They are not willing to be long-term dependents on social welfare payments, because they are afraid they could be deported. They claim that they receive social allowances for approximately twelve months per ten-year residence. The respondents state that about 10% of Bulgarian Roma emigrants match this profile.

A small number of the Bulgarian Roma emigrants, mainly undereducated, are long-term dependents on social allowances, or get involved in illegal activities. They usually obtain temporary jobs in the grey economy, but after a while apply for social allowances. If they succeed, they stop actively looking for work, relying mostly on social benefits. When their social allowances are terminated, they expect to be supported by their children, with whome they move in. Some of these emigrants coerce their daughters-in-law to prostitute illegally, and live on their income. Others collect and sell scrap. The rest of the emigrants despise them, and blame them, as well as several dozens of Bulgarian prostituting women, for the negative image of Bulgarian emigrants. According to the respondents, 5–10% of the Bulgarian emigrants in Brussels adopt such a lifestyle.

102 In Belgium, the expulsion of immigrants from Bulgaria, who have applied for welfare, is extremely rare, although most of the interviewees have heard from their employers or from other immigrants that this happens in other countries, and could happen to them, so they fear such a scenario.

The proportion of Bulgarian Roma emigrants obtaining humanitarian status because of their, or their relative's, poor health is rather small. They generally live with their families in Belgium. At first, they rely mainly on social welfare allowances. Other family members usually seek employment in the formal labour market and frequently have legal jobs. They do not intend to return to Bulgaria.

The proportion of Roma college or university graduates, as well as secondary school graduates, having a small profitable business in Belgium is the smallest. However, they are of particular interest to us as the shops, cafes and firms they own provide work for a few Bulgarian Roma emigrants, but also serve as centres where Bulgarian emigrants gather and exchange information, seek and find jobs, lodgings or additional income. There are at least thirteen such places in Brussels only, which, to a certain extent, function as community centres. Some businessmen fund non-governmental organisations, or religious institutions established by Bulgarian emigrants. They give loans to their compatriots in the event of serious humanitarian problems, or provide gratuitous assistance to Bulgarian Roma in need. They also fund cultural events. Some secondary and higher school graduates work for various Belgian NGOs and offer other emigrants not only social services, but also information about laws, legislation and social welfare necessary for their successful adaptation in Belgium. The Bulgarian Evangelical church in Ghent[103] serves as a centre for contacts, providing psychological and social counselling for emigrants living in the city. Roma businessman provide free meals for parishioners on Sundays and orchestra for the sermons.[104] The ambition of some Roma college or university graduates is to take part in the political life of the city they live in, or work in the European branches of Roma non-governmental organisations.

Approaches to resolving difficulties in emigrant life

Arrival

All respondents relied upon various Bulgarian social networks in order to arrange their travel to Belgium. They were assisted by these networks in gathering any preliminary information about the destination country; in contacting acquaintances al-

103 It was recently established by its minister – a Roma person with university education from the town of Kotel.

104 Due to time constraints, I was not able to find out if there were evangelistic churches recently established by Bulgarian Roma emigrants in Brussels. I know a Belgium church next to the North Railway Station in front of which buses and minibuses transporting Roma and Bulgarian Turks stop. There are three Bulgarian food and drink shops near the church, where newcomers may go in case they do not know anybody in the city. The fact that many Bulgarian Roma, living in Belgium, are Muslims is a possible explanation why they do not often use churches as contact, information and service centres. In Brussels, Romanian Roma gather in front of seven churches and one can always get in touch with them there.

ready living there, as well as in finding carriers providing transport to a designated destination in Brussels or Ghent. To undertake their travel, they frequently borrow money from their relatives, neighbours, or other acquaintances under a guarantee of repayment.

Services related to the arrival and settling of immigrants in Belgium are often subject to specific family businesses.[105] In some cases, it is organized by the owners/drivers of the minibuses. They often have other logistics services in addition to transport: they take the new arriving people to Bulgarian cafes or shops to facilitate their contacts with other immigrants, or potential employers. They give the newcomers advice on how to find accommodation, or provide information on the possibility of finding work in the informal labour market in the host country for a small remuneration, etc. To attract poorer immigrants as customers, they agree to take them on board "on credit" and wait for their first salary as a payment of the fare, or for a more expensive service. Sometimes, other family members of the driver are included in these networks. Some recruit people willing to travel from Bulgaria, or to Bulgaria, others sublet their rented home in Belgium to newcomers and gain huge profits from this activity. Others sell smuggled cigarettes, alcohol and food from Bulgaria to immigrants.

I observed a different model in Ghent. A Bulgarian Roma man, university graduate, founded a firm for translation and legalisation, consultancy and transport services. He prepares applications for work or social services for immigrants who do not speak Flemish, French or English. He legalizes the necessary documents on his clients' behalf, or provides information about a great variety of services in Belgium at reasonable prices. His wife works with him in the company office in Ghent, while in Sofia, a close relative provides similar services. This is an example of entrepreneurial skills of some immigrants in Belgium, who successfully utilize their social and cultural capital: this man has earned the trust of other immigrants in Ghent, because he acts as a pastor in the Church. He is fluent in Bulgarian, English, Romani and Turkish. In Belgium, in a refugee camp, he learnt French and Flemish. He knows Flemish social institutions really well, because, before opening his own business, he worked as a health social assistant in a hospital in Ghent, and the Employment Bureau in the city often uses his services as a lecturer in his specialty/vocational courses organized by the City or VBAD. This man is aware of the procedures for obtaining refugee status, because he personally passed through them with his family. He has mastered the skill of defending the rights of Roma while working in a Roma NGO.

105 Here, we shall not consider the networks of organizers involved in trafficking for prostitution, pickpocketing, begging or other labour exploitation that characterize mob pyramid structures in most countries, including Bulgaria, or some family groups mainly among the Kaldarash, but only those associated with "voluntary" labour emigration of Roma from north-eastern Bulgaria, the majority of which are Turkish speaking and Muslims.

The emigration of a single person, from a neighbourhood or settlement, provokes a chain emigration of relatives, neighbours, former colleagues, or acquaintances to the host country. They rely on the fact that the first-comers will help them with advice, translation, lodgings, initial financial support, loans or a job search.

East Bulgarian Roma's proficiency in Turkish compensates for their lack of knowledge of French, English or Flemish, but encapsulates the newcomers in the Turkish community of the respective Belgian city. Apart from those having humanitarian status and some college, or university graduates with a preliminary employment contract prior to their departure for Belgium, all other respondents have used a chain of contacts through local people of Turkish background. Bulgarian Roma often complain about the brutal exploitation to which they are subjected by their Turkish Belgian "patrons". However, they are aware that they have no other options for work and lodgings. Besides this, the Belgian Turks usually advise them on how they may apply for consumer or mortgage loans (after their acquiring the right of residence and employment). They occasionally inform them on how they may utilise Belgian social welfare and health care services. Roma emigrants generally seek medical help and legal advice from Turkish Belgian physicians and lawyers, to whom they were referred by their "patrons". They resort to emergency services or hospitalisation only in the event of serious chronic illnesses or accidents.

New technologies make the separation with an emigrant's family more bearable. Even Roma, having no primary education, have already learned how to use Skype, in order to communicate with their families living in Bulgaria. All Roma use cellular phones.

Residence

Bulgarian emigrants in Belgium often face a number of difficulties in obtaining residence permits. Many of them reside irregularly for years. We were told about people living without residential registration in Turkish neighbourhoods in Brussels, or Ghent, for more than 10 years. Some use different methods to legalize their stay in case they are caught as "illegal" migrants residing in Belgium, or when their families arrive to join them: they make a claim for asylum, or marry Belgians, or pretend to marry a person with legal status. Here are some stories:

"I lived and worked illegally in Belgium for 2.5 years, but I was worried that my family would fall apart. I wanted to summon my wife and my child, but I could not imagine that they would hide in attics and basements, and so I decided to apply for asylum as a political refugee. I claimed I had been an activist in a Roma Party, and when I refused to provide Roma votes for one of the political parties in local elections, a series of discriminatory measures, and even physical abuse, were launched against me. The officials believed my story and permitted me to stay. I was given refugee status and even a so-

cial allowance. My family joined me. Then my friends found me a job in a Belgian company and I left the welfare dole. I already have Belgian citizenship... I am ashamed that I lied and made up this story, but it was the only way to qualify for asylum. An acquaintance of mine had done the same and was successful, so I also decided to try..."

"I worked illegally in Belgium for six years, but when my wife and children arrived, it became hard – I was the only breadearner and I could not cover all the costs for rent and subsistence... In order to receive welfare benefits, one must have legal status. So we decided to apply for refugee status as Roma – victims of discrimination in Bulgaria. This was in 1997... The authorities refused us refugee status and we had to go back to Bulgaria. However, my son had met a Belgian girl in a discotheque and they got married. So he obtained a legal right to stay, and we joined him as family members, back in 1998. Then I received my E-card, and since 2002, an E+, as well. I worked in construction. We are all Belgian citizens now. My daughter graduated school here, and as a straight-A student, she was honoured with a trip to Spain. She works at the airport in Brussels. My son worked in a Belgian company at first, but then he established his own business in construction. I assist him in the company..."

"For two years I worked as a housemaid. When the job was over and I was left unemployed, I decided to apply for social assistance. I was told, however, that I was not eligible for welfare, and neither for work. I was afraid that I would be sent back to Bulgaria... I met a good friend of my aunt's. He has a residence permit and is allowed to work. So, I told him I was in trouble and he agreed to declare that we live in cohabitation. That is how I legalised my stay in Belgium. Then I started attending language classes. When one learns the language, one can find a better job. In the worst case, we will pretend to be a family one more year – in 2014, Bulgarians will be entitled to the right to work... I have a boyfriend who wants us to get married, but with an uncertain status, we cannot risk it as he also resides here illegally."

Social assistance and allowances

The Roma respondents and the social workers interviewed in Ghent and Brussels claim that Bulgarian Roma[106] rarely try to contact Belgian social welfare authorities and non-governmental organisations providing social services. They are unwilling to apply for social welfare services and allowances, because they are afraid of being deported. The necessity to work over eight hours per day, including during weekends, prevents them from attending foreign language courses and integration courses acquainting them with Belgian life, social and legal systems. They try to learn how to cope in different situations from their Turkish "patrons", or from other emi-

106 This is true also for the other Bulgarian emigrants, not only for Roma. According to the Director of VDAB in Ghent, 10.7% of the registered Bulgarian emigrants in the city are unemployed. Only part of them has applied for social assistance to VDAB or OCMW.

grants. They collect information mainly from Roma social workers in Brussels and Ghent and from other migrants in Bulgarian shops, cafeterias, or at church.

The municipal employees and the social workers from non-governmental organisations offering free social services to emigrants in Brussels and Ghent supported Roma respondents' statements:

In the last years, I have constantly worked with Slovak Roma. They are very open-minded, seek and rely on social welfare services. Obviously, they are used to benefiting from such services in their country. Bulgarian Roma, however, are not like them. They are more reserved and are obviously not used to being aided by social welfare institutions. I have lately had only three Bulgarian Roma clients.

Bulgarian Roma usually seek employment in the local Turkish community unofficially. There were children in one of the arriving groups and I thought that I would more easily establish contact with them. I felt that they were not willing to communicate with official authorities. Most adults know neither French nor Flemish, which further impedes effective communication with them, but we can always rely on our colleagues speaking Turkish or Russian... All our efforts proved futile; they are rather reserved. Their children, however, go to school and are controlled by their parents. Bulgarian Roma have fewer children than Slovak Roma; they support their kids and want them to receive a better education." (Interview with an employee at the Intra-European Integration Unit, Department of Cooperation, City of Ghent, 13 July 2012.)

The growing numbers of migrants from CEE are pressing Belgian institutions to offer more services and to apply diverse policies for their integration.

School mediators

In Belgium, education is compulsory for all children aged 6 to 18, including migrant children, even when their parents are not registered, or work on the grey labour market. Children's regular attendance of school and their successful performance is a condition for the parents to receive social services and monthly benefits from the social service OCMW. This policy aims to motivate parents in some vulnerable families to be more involved in their children's education.

The functions of school mediators in Belgium differ from those of assistant teachers in Bulgaria, Romania, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary. They do not help children in mastering the material – this is a commitment of teachers and volunteers involved with the children of immigrants in the child's home. School mediators visit families in all cases where teachers and psychologists consider that the intervention and strict supervision of parents is necessary to

overcome a crisis, or a problem the child has: when the child is missing classes or is lagging behind in learning; or if the child violates discipline in the classroom, or shows aggression towards others. Their aim is to clarify the problem and involve parents in its solution. The school mediator aims to help parents raise their aspirations and expectations about their own child, and to enhance the parents' responsibility for their children's school success. They help parents understand their rights, responsibilities and obligations toward their own child's school success.

School mediators assist the school to better adapt to the expectations of the immigrant families. They provide school teams with information about Roma and their culture. They assist school staff in developing its intercultural knowledge and skills. School mediators motivate teachers to reinforce Roma children's self-esteem. They facilitate contacts between teachers and parents that could fail due to lack of knowledge of Flemish, or French, on the side of parents, or when the teachers need to respond to the Roma parents' cultural characteristics.

Ghent's Employment service VDAB registers all job applicants and provides them with different types of services. Those who have an E-card are provided with information about jobs on the list of bottle-neck occupations, to which immigrants from the respective country are entitled. They need to prepare their documents and apply for these jobs on their own. VDAB employees are usually not able to offer courses to those who wish to apply for any of the vacancies announced, because the employer expects the applicant to start work immediately.

Those Bulgarian citizens, who have worked at least one year after the receipt of their E-card and are entitled to an E+ card, who lost their jobs and sought the services of VDAB, are provided with a complete list of available jobs in the city. They are eligible for vocational courses. Employees of VDAB organize regular 12-day orientation courses, which provide full information to job seekers about all vacancies, information about job content, career orientation. If the job seekers decide they would like to acquire new professions, they are able to participate in annual training courses. They also have the right to free language courses offered by another institution in Ghent – COMPAS.

Two NGOs dealing with emigrants (COMPAS in Ghent and Foyer in Brussels), social and health assistants in the City of Ghent, OCMW, hospitals, schools and police officers provide the emigrants with valuable assistance in the event the latter need healthcare or hospitalisation, in their search of proper schools for their children, in the communication between parents and teachers and in case social protection and assistance is sought. Other emigrants speak of them with deep respect and gratitude.

Work and employment

According to the interviewed Roma, the most effective approach to deal with difficulties is working hard overtime, even in poor conditions and for low remuneration. All emigrants told stories about working at different jobs for long hours without any rest. Men and women's working hours usually exceed 12 hours per day. They also work during holidays, seeking better remuneration.

When I headed for Belgium, I was not aware that not knowing the language would be such an obstacle. Upon arrival, I followed the formal procedure and registered as a job-seeker. I was allowed to work as an economist based on one of my degrees as a teacher or social worker based on the other. I was given an identity card and a work permit; I was even self-employed for 6 months; however, I never performed a job matching my qualifications because I did not speak any of the languages... At first, I studied Flemish and I even passed my first certificate exam. I studied at night, but it became very difficult and I gave up. My work permit will probably be revoked, because I do not pay my insurance contributions anymore,I work for local Turks since I speak Turkish, just like other immigrants, but they pay us just enough to keep alive, and yet we stay. I cannot afford to take lodgings in Brussels and that is why I live with two roommates in a village, 35 km away from the city. I work at several places: mainly for a cleaning company, but I do not have work every day. They call me one day ahead and I go to work. I also sell airplane tickets. I work as a waitress every weekend and, when I can, during the week. I clean the houses of some Turkish ladies and an old Moroccan lady. I work as a hairdresser as well. The previous week has been my most profitable week since I came here: €1,000 for one week! During the daytime, I worked at two places, and at night – in a discotheque; during the weekend, I was a waitress – there were a lot of Turkish weddings and it was a very well-paid job. I spent 60 hours, without any sleep at all, going from one workplace to another! I may have drank three buckets of coffee... I was so happy when I sent money home just before my child's birthday... (Interview with a 35-year-old Roma woman from Dobrich, Brussels, 12 July 2012.)

My uncle introduced me to a local Turk and he hired me. I started working in his furniture store: loading, unloading, serving customers. I worked 12 hours daily, seven days a week for 20 EUR per day. After six months I found another job in a Turkish bakery. I was working 12–14 hours for 225 EUR per week – a six-day working week for two years. After that, I went back home to Bulgaria. However, it became impossible to support my family there and I decided to go back to Belgium. I started to work again in the same bakery, but my boss increased my working hours up to 17 hours daily, and kept my weekly salary at 250 EUR. I resented that and left his firm. I started working in another Turkish bakery for 35 EUR per day, but no rest on Sundays. I agreed because the patron promised to declare that I am a co-owner of his firm. So I started working legally – as self-employed. (Interview with a 36-year-old Roma man from Senovo, Brussels, 11 July 2012.)

Such hard work often impairs emigrants' health. Five respondents indicated that they went back to Bulgaria to have surgery for a disc herniation, discopathy, meniscus tear

and other illnesses because they had no health insurance in Belgium. In Bulgaria they paid for their surgery, and after a short period of rehabilitation, they returned to their previous hard work regime in Belgium.

Restricted consumption and exploitation

Another common approach to resolving difficulties is economising. Emigrants save on everything before their families arrive: on rent by living in basements, attics or overcrowded lodgings, always having roommates in order to not pay the rent solely by themselves; on food; on clothes; on health care. They seek treatment for their already chronic illnesses only if they declare their job, or have health insurance,

Some emigrants try to exploit their co-nationals, or even relatives. Some of them rent lodgings from Belgian Turks and re-rent it to a group of emigrants, thus profiting. Others charge a fee for finding employment for their fellow citizens. Some of them receive the remuneration from their relatives, on the pretext that they provide for them while the latter are seeking jobs, by asking them to "give a helping hand" in their work, without mentioning that the employer pays for such assistance.

Education

The arrival of the rest of an emigrant's family entirely changes their lives. Their children go to school and almost all parents make every effort to enrol them in vocational courses which will provide them with employment opportunities after their secondary school graduation. The social workers also point out that, unlike the Slovak Roma, Bulgarian Roma send their children to school and control their behaviour. Bulgarian Roma parents are proud that their children easily and rapidly acquire French or Flemish and are able to interpret for their parents, assist them in their communication or correspondence with different institutions and authorities just several months after their arrival to Belgium. All families with children or chronically ill members cited better quality of education and health care in Belgium as a major reason for them staying in the country. There are very few children who either drop out, or do not attend, school. This usually happens only in families where the parents work in Belgium, their children are left in the care of their relatives in Bulgaria and the children visit them for several months. Long visits result in the interruption of the children's schooling in Bulgaria and their subsequent dropping out.

Housing

Housing in Brussels and Ghent is a very serious issue – not just for immigrants, but also for some of the Belgian residents of both cities. Rents are very high, even when

it comes to small apartments. This problem is even more severe for immigrants who work irregularly, have low and precarious income, and could face long-term unemployment. Officials in the administration of Ghent told us that they know of cases with Bulgarian emigrants, who have rented a mattress for eight hours a day – the mattress benefited three people at different times.

The city of Ghent is trying to solve this problem, partly by municipal social housing, although, according to the staff at the City Hall, there is no tradition of providing social housing in the city. The City Hall has 50 social houses, but there are 12,000 people on the waiting list who have to wait 4–5 years for social housing. Rental of such housing constitutes half of the social benefits provided to the needy. Thus the local authorities solve a very serious problem for about 12% of people most in need. Although Bulgarian emigrants rarely turn to social services with such applications, some of them do use social housing. Five of the 32 interviewed Roma were granted humanitarian status and received free life-saving surgeries. Four of Rescue Medication beneficiaries from Bulgaria and their families were provided with social housing, social support, free language and integration courses, and eventually – work.

Some Roma declared they decided to reside in Belgium because it is easier for them to buy a dwelling there, as compared to Bulgaria. According to them, the interest rate on mortgage loans is lower in Belgium. Moreover, in Belgium they are eligible for a mortgage loan even if they are unskilled labourers, whereas in Bulgaria they will never be granted a credit under these circumstances. The purchase of a dwelling signifies their determination to never return to Bulgaria.

Gender dimensions of migration – female Roma emigrants

Men are the first to go abroad to seek employment In Roma families. Women usually stay home to look after their children and parents and eventually join their husbands after the employment opportunities in the host country have already been explored. The transnational family model was common among Roma emigrants at the beginning of the post-communist period. As soon as visa restrictions had been lifted, more than a third of the men soon to become fathers from some Roma neighbourhoods went to work abroad in order to support the new family member (Ilieva 2009).

However, the growth in the number of Bulgarian Roma abroad changed this pattern. The removal of visa restrictions made it both easier, and cheaper, for women to join their husbands. More than half of the women interviewed in Belgium had gone there with their husbands. Here is a typical story about how the wife helps to cope in the new country:

I completed 8th grade and then fell in love and got married. My parents were against my marriage – I was only 15 years old. They wanted me to continue studying in a vocational school but I disobeyed…

My husband and I left for Turkey after ohe wedding,I washed dishes in a restaurant while he worked in a gas station. We stayed there for a year and came back to Bulgaria, but there were no jobs at all, for either of us and so we left for Belgium. I was so scared… We did not have any relatives or acquaintances there. However, my husband had been in Brussels before – he worked there for 3 months during the year when we met. We went to his previous patron who has a house decoration firm. He agreed to employ my husband again as well as, rented us his attic as we had no place to live.

There was another Bulgarian family in the house. The woman worked in a firm making salads and other food, and introduced me to her boss. I was so happy and started working the same day. The boss was a Turkish lady. I worked 9 hours per day and she paid me 25 EUR. This is a small amount of money in Brussels, but there was nothing better. I worked there for three years. All this time we lived in Brussels illegally, without any registration.

Then I became pregnant. We returned to Bulgaria, but, again, neither of us was able to find a job there. We spent all our savings, even the gold from my wedding party. We had to take a loan to reconstruct our apartment and to prepare the baby's room. The situation became desperate – we had no money, not even for food, baby diapers, nor milk. So my husband decided to go back to Brussels. I went with him – it was easier for women to find a job there. However, I was so unhappy because of my baby – he was 8 months old when I left him…

It was a sad trip. We had no money and were not able to pay the driver. He agreed to wait a month for us to pay for the trip. We had food and cigarettes only for the first day, so we travelled without any food for three days… When the boss saw us, he felt sorry for us, and rented us a room. He agreed to be paid later. My husband started working in his firm, but I was not able to find any work. Five months later a neighbour told me that help was needed in a hotel nearby, and I went there immediately. Now I work 12 hours a day, seven days a week. They pay me 1,150 EUR per month. I have been working there for four years, without a single free day. They do not pay me any insurance. If I get sick, I will have to return to Bulgaria, because neither I, nor my husband, have health insurance. I do not have an E-card (Interview with a 24-year-old Roma woman from Silistra, with basic education (8th grade), Brussels, November 26th, 2012).

The growing number of emigrants has led to the emergence of another pattern: the woman goes to relatives and acquaintances living in the host country, hoping that they will assist her in her job search, and the man remains in Bulgaria, especially if he has a well-paid job – in construction, for example. This change in migration patterns is mainly induced by the change in the demand for a specific type of labour-

ers in West European countries. The large-scale employment of women, and population aging, has increased the demand for low-paid day care and household services. After the end of the construction boom and the beginning of the financial and global economic crises, it became easier for women to find jobs as domestic help, or in other areas of services. Their proportion among emigrants rose.

Other poor Roma women[107] became involved in the growing human trafficking. In some neighbourhoods in Bulgaria, young women, abandoned by their spouses, were "sold" to moneylenders in order to settle the debts of their brothers or other family members, with whom they lived together (Tomova 2011). The image of a Roma woman prostituting herself abroad was reinforced and gradually imposed as a common stereotype by the Bulgarian media.[108]

In fact, most Bulgarian Roma women-emigrants work as housekeepers, cleaning ladies or are employed in tourism, mainly as chambermaids or kitchen help. A small number of them work in industrial plants, or as seasonal agricultural labourers (Tomova 2011). We saw the same picture in Belgium. Of 19 interviewed women, eight worked as domestic or hotel maids, including two women with college or higher education. Four women worked in cafes. Two worked in factories. (Four others used to work in factories/workshops before starting work as domestic helpers.) One worked as a saleswoman in a grocery shop. One woman worked in a family-owned business. Three women looked after their children or were sick and could not work.

They face all the difficulties of a migrant's life, further aggravated by the fact that they are women in a community with strong paternalistic attitudes, working abroad illegally. Many face not only labour exploitation in the informal labour market, but also various forms of psychological and sexual harassment in the workplace and at home.

"I have a B.A. in economics and an M.A. in pedagogy. I was an activist in the Roma political party Euroroma. In Bulgaria, I worked for different institutions for 10 years: at first, I worked at the Dobrich Municipality, after that at the National Statistical Institute, and finally I was appointed the principal of the kindergarten in the village of Altsek... My salary was never small. I did not leave Bulgaria because of unemployment... However I was over my head in debts – eleven years of study! I lived in a rented apartment. Afterwards, when

107 Frequently, these were young women, abandoned by their spouses, who had no occupation and were not able to find any job and provide subsistence for themselves and their children. Later on, very young girls living in large urban ghettoes, and mainly in villages, became involved in human trafficking as well.

108 The way Roma neighbours of women working abroad describe them further enhances this stereotype: they generally regard these women as "whores", with the exception of the women in their own families. This might be attributed to envy, but it is more likely due to the devaluation of women in patriarchal societies, and the presumption that women persistently violate cultural rules and norms when not being controlled by men.

the father of my child and I separated, I filed five alimony lawsuits against him. Lawyers are ruthless...

I do not find physical and servant's work burdensome. I do not find it hard to work like a horse. Everyone knows that this is life abroad. I am sick and tired of everyone in the restaurant, or the coffee shop, who thinks that they are allowed to slap me on the butt, or to insert their tips into my neck opening, and that, if he insists, I will agree to something else... In Bulgaria I had terrible problems with my husband, my parents and the neighbourhood. I did not have any problems only at work and I could always find a safe harbour there. Here work is also my whole life, but I feel bad. I started drinking. When some rough customer feels you up, you can hardly keep yourself from slapping him in the face! And when the bartender sees my trembling, he pours me 20 grams to swallow." (Interview with a 35-year-old Roma woman from Dobrich, Brussels, 12 July 2012.)

"My husband used to work in the Netherlands – he went there when I was pregnant. He found another woman and left me. My child and I lived at his grandmother's home, but when he stopped sending us money, we moved out to live with my parents and my brother's family. However, being jobless and so poor, they could not provide for us. Since I had an uncle living here, I decided to come here and not to burden them...

I work at a small Turkish hotel. My cousin used to work there, but she found a better job. She proposed for me to take her place and I immediately agreed. I work on the grey market without a work permit or insurance. I work from 6:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. for €1,100 per month, and I have no time to sit even for a moment. In the mornings, I am in the restaurant: I serve meals and clean the tables, register clients at breakfast, pour coffee. Afterwards, I put the dishes in the dishwashers and go to clean the rooms. In the afternoon, I work in the laundry – I wash and iron.

Some time ago, I used to clean the house of some Turkish family and look after their children when the parents went out. However, the man started making advances towards me... One day, his wife heard him, and told me a lot of things, hit me and threw me out... How could I explain to her how terrible I felt, but I did not say a word, because I needed the money...

My uncle insists I find a man, but I do not want to marry; and they scold me all the time. A friend of mine says: 'Get married on paper only to an independent guy with a work permit and insurance, or to someone you know, only to obtain work and residence permits as a family member; then you can start looking for a job in some Belgian company, or family.' I also think about this occasionally; but where can I find a guy I know, who will agree to marry me only on paper, and not make passes at me... Besides, how will Belgians and I understand each other when I speak neither French nor Flemish that well..." (Interview with a 23-year-old Roma woman from Silistra, with completed tenth grade, Brussels, 11 July 2012.)

"I want to learn French and find a job in a Belgian cafe. Here, my clients are mainly from Bulgaria – Turks and Roma, and some Bulgarians. They approach female bartenders and waitresses as if they were prostitutes. They think that, for a couple of nice phrases and a tip of one euro, a woman is obliged to become their lover. The same attitude is demonstrated by the café owners – Belgian Turks. They also expect the waitress to have sex with them, for the privilege to work in their place. I do not allow such advances, and I have changed a few places already..." (Interview with a 37-year-old Roma woman from Sliven, with secondary education, Brussels, 22 November 2012.)

For most of the female emigrants, the separation from their children living in Bulgaria is a painful experience. Two-thirds of the interviews include stories about their kids. They gladly use every opportunity to tell about their children and show their pictures, and they leave barely holding back their tears. An elderly respondent shared with us that her daughter was deeply depressed; neither ate nor went out; worked like a robot; and cried all night long for her child living with her ex-husband's parents. Another respondent, whose ex-husband does not allow her to take her child to Brussels, said that she was so desperate that she thought of kidnapping and illegally taking her child to Belgium. Those working as domestic help for families with children transmit their love and need to nurture their own kids to the children of their employers, but constantly feel guilty about depriving their own children of motherly care.

Even these desperate mothers represent "successful cases" amongst Roma emigrants going abroad to provide subsistence for themselves and their children. Other women, however, have not managed to find a decent job; or other circumstances have turned their lives into a nightmare.

"I am from Dryanovo. I came to Belgium 5 years ago. I have three kids – two from my first marriage, and my third one was born here. Here I remarried. This was my failure...

I finished vocational school in Dryanovo – a sewing-machine operator. I have 18 years of employment as a tailor and 3 at a furniture factory of an Englishman in our town. I got married when I was 19, immediately after I finished school... He left for Germany. There he fell in with another circle of people – pimps, prostitutes... He began to think in a different way... Then he started to live with another woman – younger than me, and I was so hurt and angry that I filed for divorce...

My sister lived in Belgium. I talked to her over the phone and she told me to come there. I left my children with my husband...

A Turkish guy used to visit my sister's home every day. When he came, my sister and her husband would find some work to do and leave the room. One day he grabbed my hand and told me not to act like a maiden. I pulled my hand out and told him that I did not understand what he was talking about. He said that he had paid my brother-in-law €1,000

for me and he had the right to sleep with me. I got mad, and told him to sleep with whomever he had given the money to, that I did not want anything and had not received anything. I was cross with my sister and wanted to move out, but I had no job, no money, no place where to go...

One day I was not feeling well and was lying on the couch, and my brother-in-law told me: 'Let me give you a massage!' I startled and jumped up telling him: 'Leave me alone!'... He hit me and threw me to the bed. I started screaming and his daughter came running... He hit me and said: 'Do you know what happens to women like you? They end up either on the streets or in a grave'. I stopped speaking to him and my sister, I stopped eating... I stayed with them for another month and moved out. I went to my acquaintances. They asked €380 for the rent – for a single room. A friend of mine said that she would help me find a job and took me to an Arab guy who owned a hotel.

I did not know my landlords well. My landlady had a son. They also rented other rooms out. A Turkish guy lived in one of them. He knew them and told me: 'When I am not in the room, you had better be outside as well!' I got scared and was glad that my working time was quite long, to be far away... Loose people lived in the lodgings, and I was afraid and disgusted...

The season was slack and one day this Arab guy came to me and said that they would close the hotel and would call me when they open it again. Later, I found out that my landlady took my place...

I began to work at a Turkish coffee shop. I worked there for about a year. I found lodgings. My parents and my brother came to me. I provided for them for months on end. However, another woman, one of ours, came and became a mistress to my boss, and he hired her and sacked me. My parents and my brother worked, but did not leave any money at home. When I was jobless and told them that they would have to pay the rent, they pretended they were cross with me, and moved out. They refused to take me and my child, and I was not able to pay the rent any longer. I rented lodgings from a Bulgarian guy. He waited four days, and when I did not pay, he called for a van, loaded our stuff and had it thrown away.

My child and I were left homeless, jobless, penniless and without any clothes. We went to a social care home... I gradually found work, social housing... I received a monthly social allowance of €970 and had an undeclared job in a coffee shop. One day my elder daughter phoned me and said that she wanted to come over. I enrolled her at school. I studied Flemish. Things were going well...

Then this guy came – my husband-to-be. He was kind. He was very nice to my children... I believed I was given a second chance... I was fooled... We lived together... After a month he insisted that I leave work. He said that married women stayed home and did not work at coffee shops and hotels getting touched all over. I wanted to work, but I obeyed him.

He began to beat me... At first, it seemed as if he did not smoke and drink, but it turned out that he had never stopped... All my money was spent on cigarettes and booze. If I tried to hide some to buy food for my children, he would beat me up. Later he would apologise to me, and tell me that he loved me and I made him jealous... He started lying... It turned out that he was married, and I did not know that I was living in sin...

I had to pay for my Flemish course, but he did not give me any money and forbade me to go. I became pregnant; I felt sick all the time, and obeyed him. I lost my social housing rights and allowances. Then he threw me out and told me to stay out of his sight; otherwise he would beat me up.

We lived on the streets for six months. My kids and I stayed with friends for a month, then with others – for another month. Later on, we lived in shelters: before noon you would make a reservation, and in the evening you would have a place to sleep. It was too overcrowded in one of the shelters; there were people sleeping on the floor. Sometimes we slept together with many other people in a single room. I could not sleep; I would guard my kids all night long... Once we could not take a shower for two weeks... We were cold very often. We would have to leave the shelter by 9.00 a.m. My elder daughter left school, my younger – continued to study... Occasionally, I had to sleep with my younger daughter in one bed; and I was five months pregnant; my pregnancy was very difficult... One night I felt extremely sick; I went out to the yard and must have passed out there. In a couple of hours, my kids woke up and found me... I was hospitalised. I was dehydrated. I was diagnosed with diabetes...

Our church helped me find lodgings. I was six months pregnant. One day my elder child came to me and said: 'Mom, do not stop me! I have to work; we cannot live like this any longer!' She left school and began to work at a Turkish coffee shop. Some time later, a Bulgarian lady phoned me and talked me into letting my child take a job at the coffee shop of a Bulgarian guy. I told my daughter to leave the Turkish man and go to work for the Bulgarian guy... One night my daughter did not show up... I was terrified and was just standing at the window praying... In the morning, she came back home swollen, bruised... That guy had beaten her up and raped her! My kid was crying. She said that she would go back to Bulgaria; she would write to her father to take her...

I went to the person who recommended me that guy, and started yelling... She told me: 'Sue him!' But I did not dare... Where would I go? How would I possibly pay a lawyer? How could I prove it happened? I would only blacken my child's name... Everybody would say that she was disgraced... I blamed myself for everything... I was so sorry for what happened to my kids; that I was not able to protect them...

We, my kids and I, were under such stress... We found lodgings in a small attic. My daughter dared to start working again... One boy, her schoolmate, found her... She calmed down, blossomed again... I was again hospitalised for my diabetes, and my child phoned her father to come and take her sister. He took my younger child. My elder

daughter married that boy. On her wedding day, I went into the hospital to have my baby. I gave birth to another girl. I was feeling terribly sick; I thought I would die. They wanted me to give the baby up for adoption, but I refused. They took her and sent her to a foster care home. When I came out of the hospital, my attic was occupied. I was homeless again... I moved to a basement; I paid less money. I would lie there all day long and cry for my kids...

Every day I go around looking for a job... When someone I have met at the church is available, he drives me to my baby, to see her... I live in hope that I will find work and raise this child, and God will not let her suffer and be humiliated..." (Interview with a 39-year-old Roma woman from Dryanovo, Ghent, 17 July 2012.)

Life in Belgium has led to profound changes in the consciousness, values, expectations and behaviour of many of those interviewed women. Five of them have gathered their courage and have abandoned their violent husbands, who have abused, or neglected them. For years, they have dealt with the difficulties on their own and are proud of their achievements. Two of them have started new relationships and hope to find happiness in their new families. All regularly send money to support their children in Bulgaria.

Other women say that the hardships of a migrant life made them more self-sufficient. They do not expect their husbands to support them, work and contribute to family welfare. Their children attend kindergarten, or school. Mothers speak with great pride about the school performance of their children and hope that they will achieve more in life.

Summary of findings from the qualitative research

The data from the qualitative research dispel numerous myths about Bulgarian Roma immigrants. They are usually represented as homeless people building shacks out of materials they have at hand, unscrupulously availing themselves of social welfare services in host countries, begging, prostituting, stealing cables and whatever they can find.

The truth is that very few Bulgarian Roma imemigrants are involved in such activities in Belgium. Bulgarian Roma immigrants seek social welfare services and assistance only occasionally. Many of them work 10–16 hours per day, seven days a week, on the irregular labour market, organised mainly by Belgian citizens of Turkish origin. They agree to receive scanty remuneration. Due to their low-paid work, hundreds of small and medium-sized enterprises of local Turks are surviving in the crisis.

No matter how poorly Bulgarian Roma immigrants are paid, their remuneration exceeds many times what they would receive in their native country, if they find any

job there at all. With their savings, they support their families in Bulgaria, solve housing problems, provide their children with better education, and sick members of their household with health care. They successfully demonstrate that Roma can cope with extremely difficult situations through hard work, thus setting a good example for Roma children and youths. The improved financial status of their families in Bulgaria facilitates the social inclusion of their children, reduces social inequalities and dependence of many people on social welfare. The money they send to their families is invested in the Bulgarian economy and reduces the risk of bankruptcy of thousands of small and medium-sized companies.

The relatively lower levels of remuneration amongst Bulgarian Roma and Turks decrease the labour costs of many medium and large-sized Belgian enterprises signing contracts with local "Turkish" companies for various activities and services. Bulgarian Turks and Roma perform low-paid services in construction, the restaurant industry, the hospitality business, commerce, transport and manufacturing. Their temporary employment enhances the flexibility of Belgian enterprises by reducing their expenditure on long-term employment contracts and social allowances paid in the event of layoffs following from a decreased volume of work in the conditions of a global crisis.

Bulgarian Roma and Turkish immigrants, having no social or retirement insurance in Belgium, will not become a burden on the social assistance system of the host country. They cannot even rely on a small retirement pension in Bulgaria until they become eligible for a minimum old-age pension. Female emigrants provide labour-consuming child, adult and sick people care, as well as cleaning and other household services to thousands of Belgian citizens.[109] This enables Belgian women to work, or satisfy their other needs.

The labour for Bulgarian immigrants restrictions in West European countries do not lead to limiting labour emigration, especially that of people, like the majority of Roma and Bulgarian Turks, who have poor education and qualifications. Therefore, politicians' promises to resolve the problem with such "unwelcome" emigration remain unfulfilled. Right-wing politicians and the media over-exploit scandalous incidents involving breaches of the peace, or public norms, committed by a few marginalised Roma. This probably contributes to the consolidation of some citizens of the host countries into right-wing and populist political parties. It certainly reinforces the xenophobia and anti-Roma attitudes of a greater part of European citizens and hinders the fight of the civil society against racism and Roma social exclusion.

109 They are mainly of Turkish origin. When female emigrants learn French or Flemish, they provide services to Belgium natives as well.

Conclusions

The number of immigrants from CEE countries into Western Europe, including the Roma, has significantly increased after the fall of the Iron Curtain. The reasons for that are the crisis of the 1990s and the transition to a market economy, which led to a decline in employment, mass unemployment and impoverishment of large parts of the populations in Central and Eastern Europe. Other important reasons were the armed conflicts, political transformations and social changes. Then, the recent economic crisis occured. Three major factors, common for the 12 CEE countries, result in similar migratory behaviour and generate relatively stable annual immigration flows over time. These are the production and employment restructuring, the access to job opportunities, and the level of welfare. National and local institutions found it difficult to cope with the challenges of the transition period, and the recent financial crisis. The changes had asymmetrical impact on different population groups, stronger than others, setting higher barriers to their reintegration into the labour market. One of the most affected groups is the Roma. They often have health problems, less vocational training and education. They face difficulties when looking for a job in their home countries, including discriminatory attitudes and practices of employers towards them.

A principal finding of the study confirms that the motives for migration of the Roma from the 12 CEE countries do not differ considerably from those of millions of immigrants who left their homeland in search of work and livelihood.

Violence during military conflicts, poverty and relative deprivation are major push factors for migration. The respondents' answers generally point out that unemployment is one of the major reasons for a migration decision. What matters in this choice,is not only whether a person is looking for work, but whether the job could meet some of his/her preferences. There are different criteria for a job to be recognized as an opportunity, or alternative to the current situation of the respondent. Most frequently, paid labour abroad is a survival strategy aimed at leaving behind the unemployed or the "working poor" categories.

The labour market status has greater impact on migration decisions among the non-Roma, than among the Roma. Regardless of the Roma's labour market status, poverty is widespread within the group. The phenomenon "working poor" is more common. Roma employment can often solve problems with extreme forms of destitution, but is not a way out from the situation of poverty in general. That is why their decision is not strongly affected by their status in the labour market, although the motive is the same. The subjective sense of deprivation, compared to that of the majority, is also crucial for future migration.

The second important factor is the people's knowledge about the host society, affected by various sources of information, and resulting, to a large extent, from in-

formal exchange and relations with already established migrant networks. The Roma people use the Internet for that purpose less frequently.

A third factor is the respondents' capacity (including the financial capacity) to travel. Research shows that potential travellers abroad are not the poorest among the Roma, but those with some income to start their life abroad.

Even though almost one in three Roma people is reported to have experienced ethnic intolerance in his/ her home countries, this does not appear to be the strongest push factor for emigration. The reason is that they anticipate such discrimination everywhere. Using the push factor framework to examine the impact of discrimination in the homeland on the decision to move is not enough. It is necessary to study the difficulties concerning the access to the receiving countries, the economic and emotional prices the potential migrants have to pay and the attitudes toward poor and marginalized groups in the receiving country. Similarly to the relative deprivation concept, here the individual's behaviour could result from a comparison of different possible future personal situations. The relatively lower Romani information culture (including the digital knowledge) and the 'modest' use of different channels to keep themselves informed, meet the counter influence of the internationally publicised cases of Roma immigrant evictions, acts of violence against them, the globalizing of information exchange and the wide spreading of news on the whole. In such context, the Roma have better chances to obtain information about possible life abroad. In case the options abroad seem unfavourable with regard to the acceptance of Roma people, discrimination does not seem to be a strong push/pull decision-making factor. Although the Roma know that they are not welcome abroad, and are likely to face discrimination there, this knowledge is rarely an obstacle to migration. On the other hand, even when they feel discriminated in their home country, this does not mean that they will do everything possible to leave it.

Migration offers another possibility to many Roma: one could easily change his/her group identity in a place where no one knows him/her. If one changes the geographical and cultural milieu (as is the case with Turkish speaking Roma from South Balkans into the Turkish diasporas abroad), it is easier to pretend being Bulgarian Turk or simply Bulgarian, or Macedonian, or Hungarian. Many Roma consider the change of identity for the clear purpose of a better life and escape from the stigma and extreme poverty. This type of behaviour presupposes assimilation, rather than integration, of Roma in the receiving societies.

Do Roma migrants find what they are looking for in the receiving country? The Roma are often not welcome, wherever they go. That is the reason they travel several times from one country to another, while searching for 'a new place under the sun'. They meet more difficulties in finding paid secure contracted labour. Non-Roma immigrants, who are more integrated into the labour markets everywhere, obtain more access to permanent full-time employment.

Job security cannot be considered to play a major role as a retaining factor for Roma's longer stays in a country, as, again, they are in a less favorable position than the non-Roma. The research shows that a stay abroad creates some possibilities for a rescue from extreme poverty, mostly for the migrants in wealthier host countries and/or for those who have come in the last five years. The qualitative research illustrates that no matter how low the wages of the Bulgarian Roma emigrants are, their even irregular remunerations exceed many times the ones they would receive in their native country, if they could find any job there. With their savings, they support their families in Bulgaria, solve housing problems, provide their children with better education and sick members of their household with health care services. They successfully demonstrate that Roma can cope with extremely difficult situations.

However, Roma migrants' average income is lower than that of the non-Roma. Besides this, Roma immigrants are generally less integrated into the host societies and, therefore, there is a statistically significant weak relationship between the length of stay and the intent to subsequent migration. Moreover, they do not expect that they will cope better upon their return to their home country, and more often than non-Roma, believe that re-migration will bring positive results if it is to some third country. Their stay in the host country is a compromise – to deal with poverty and extreme forms of social exclusion.

Non-Roma immigrants are better accepted everywhere, including in Western societies. Their strategic line is different. The temporary immigrants more often intent to go back to their home country, because they believe that there is an option for them to live well at home. This is the reason why temporary migration is more common to non-Roma than the Roma.

The hypothesis that there are more opportunities for integration in some CEE countries (e.g. the Czech Republic), than in wealthier ones in terms of secure employment opportunities for temporary Roma migrants was partly confirmed. On the other hand, the higher remuneration and more generous welfare systems of Western societies are more attractive and, possibly, accessible. Speaking of pull factors in the east-west perspective, the Roma immigrants in CEE countries more frequently find what they are looking for, in terms of work – full-time, paid labour.

Both the quantitative and the qualitative research show that the widespread stereotypes that Roma travel abroad mainly to commit crimes, enjoy the benefits of social policies and avoid looking for jobs, might turn out to be wrong for the larger part of Roma migrants. The majority of them work long hours per day, seven days a week, in the host countries' informal labour market. They agree to receive scanty remuneration. Due to their low-paid work, thousands of small and medium-sized enterprises both in the informal and in the regular labour market are surviving in the crisis. Roma temporary employment enhances the flexibility of host countries' enterprises by reducing their expenditure on long-term employment contracts and

social allowances paid, in the event of layoffs following from a decreased volume of work in the conditions of a global crisis. Roma female emigrants provide labour-consuming child, adult and sick people care, as well as cleaning and other household services to thousands of Western European citizens. This enables local women to work or satisfy their other needs.

Recommendations

A number of promising moves concerning immigration policies can be outlined, taking into account the research findings.

Both strands of the analysis (the qualitative and the quantitative) point out the poverty and exclusion from labour market as major push factors for migration. Poverty reduction could not be accomplished only by Roma employment inclusion. It is important that the issue of the "working poor" category is solved. Measures toward reduction of the irregular labour market and expansion of contracted employment are crucial, both in sending, and receiving countries. Policies for reduction of disparities between Roma and non-Roma salaries with same educational and vocational level are necessary. This also means active trade unions' position and support. The inclusion of Roma representatives in trade unions to empower them in terms of equal employment opportunities and voice is vital.

The quantitative survey data show that migrants from the 12 countries often prefer to move to particular destinations, despite the legislative and policy instruments to curb immigration, in general, and irregular immigration, in particular. Immigrants find ways to circumvent the rules. In some countries, restrictions reduce legal immigration, while the same statement is questionable when it comes to irregular one. The quantitative study suggests that asylum claims often represent an attempt of the illegal/irregular immigrants to legalize their stay, at least for few more months. Qualitative research confirmed this conclusion, and presented some other strategies undertaken by irregular immigrants to remain as long as possible in the host country.

Integration becomes an essential issue, especially when we take into consideration the large number of irregular immigrants residing in European countries for years. Integration policies (including the allocation of EU resources) should be the overarching priority for meeting the immigration challenges in the EU for the period 2014–2020.

Searching for options for the legalisation of the stay of the already residing people is one of the first steps toward integration. Examples are found in the national policies of some countries. The study presented some local cooperation initiatives for legalisation and integration of Roma migrants. The example of bilateral cooperation between Kavarna, Bulgaria and four Polish cities shows how immigration can work to the benefit of all – the sending and the receiving community, and the migrants themselves.

Data show that Roma migrants reside and work irregularly on the territories of the host countries more often than non-Roma. To some extent, this is due to discrimi-

nation against them in the host country. The claims that Roma, who migrated to the EU, are the "consequences" of discrimination only in the sending country, and the latter should cope with that internal issue, need to be revised. In many of the sending countries, millions of people have been excluded from the shrunken labour market for years and have two options: to look for a job somewhere else, or to depend on social assistance for years (if possible). Reducing the social rights in the receiving country is not a welcomed solution either. Dealing with the challenges of migration is neither a domestic matter of the country of origin, nor the integration responsibility of only the host country. The examples of both Kavarna and Ghent offer a new way to look for better solutions to the problems, through bilateral cooperation at the local level. Bilateral agreements and cooperation between the sending and receiving regions can help sending countries and regions design projects for economic development; find Western investors for the implementation of development projects; create joint projects, and apply to the European Commission to fund new activities and services. The large flows of EU funds should, therefore, be more focused on local cooperation initiatives.

One of the key findings of the study is that there are many myths about Roma migrants. These result from the improper, or deviant, behaviour of small groups that are presented as typical for all Roma migrants. Quantitative and qualitative surveys, however, reveal a rather different picture. The majority of Roma migrants seek work – if possible – a legal and secure job. Many of them fear deportation, and therefore, do not seek social services; hence one cannot even consider implementation of any integration policies towards them, or about spending resources on such policies. It cannot be argued with absolute certainty that these people abuse the welfare systems. This study shows that Roma migration could also have a positive impact on the receiving countries' economies, although this fact is usually neglected.

Media and some politicians readily disseminate the former negative image, based on the behaviour of a small part of people residing abroad – not only for the Roma, but generally for immigrants of particular nationalities from the CEE. This aggravates their situation.

If the integration of immigrants is increasingly seen as an issue that needs a solution, for which policies are designed, and a great deal of resources are allocated, the formation of negative attitudes not only does not help, but also hinders the success of these policies. The dissemination of a realistic and positive image of immigrants, breaking the myths and stereotypes about them, is a serious challenge both to media and politicians.

A key solution for the Roma inclusion, both in their native and in the receiving countries, is finding good examples and practices for integration of Roma children in education. It is crucial that Roma parents get more involved in this process. The functions of school mediators in Belgium present such a good example, and a good

practice, that often does not exist in CEE countries (the assistant teacher in CEE countries has a different job description).

Integration policies for immigrants have to take into consideration the dissimilarities across communities and the specific features by ethnicity. Migrant networks differ from one place to another depending on the sending community. Therefore, local solutions and cooperation are needed.

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Annexes

Table A1: Asylum applications by European country and citizenship 1990–1992 Annual data (rounded)*

Citizenship / Receiving country**	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Croatia	Serbia and Montenegro	FYR Macedonia	
Belgium	N/A	200	560	935	
Denmark	N/A	80	N/A	N/A	
Germany (incl. former GDR)	N/A	1,025	N/A	N/A	
Greece	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Spain	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
France	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Italy	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Luxembourg	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Netherlands	N/A	40	N/A	N/A	
Austria	1,180	90	5,915	225	
Portugal	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	
Romania	0	0	0	0	
Finland	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	
Sweden	N/A	190	N/A	N/A	
United Kingdom	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Norway	N/A	45	N/A	N/A	
Total	**1,180**	**1,670**	**6,475**	**1,160**	

Source: EUROSTAT, own calculations, (reached November, 2012)

* data for Slovakia and Czech Republic is not available

** receiving countries without available data are not included

(Absolute number)

	Albania	Bulgaria	Romania	Moldova	Hungary
	340	1,235	7,550	5	125
	25	200	715	N/A	30
	0	51,935	179,635	N/A	1,865
	100	0	0	0	0
	15	1,355	2,105	N/A	5
	840	1,315	8,000	N/A	50
	20,110	1,030	4,160	N/A	20
	5	35	90	N/A	0
	405	1,145	4,820	15	375
	1,585	2,810	22,315	0	50
	0	0	225	0	5
	325	0	0	0	0
	15	205	670	N/A	5
	65	665	3,690	10	250
	N/A	690	1,160	N/A	10
	40	270	320	0	10
	23,870	**62,890**	**235,455**	**30**	**2,800**

Table A2: Asylum applications by European country and citizenship 1993–2000 Annual data (rounded)

Citizenship / Receivin country*	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Croatia	Serbia and Montenegro	FYR Macedonia	
Belgium	565	210	16,990	1,360	
Czech Republic	25	0	670	55	
Denmark	1,715	520	4,095	145	
Germany (incl. former GDR)	6,600	2,075	110,425	2,195	
Greece	0	0	15	0	
Spain	740	150	655	75	
France	940	95	5,675	60	
Italy	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Cyprus	5	N/A	570	N/A	
Luxembourg	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Hungary	360	25	8,780	25	
Netherlands	17,180	1,450	19,875	1,180	
Austria	3,705	275	19,445	660	
Poland	60	5	45	N/A	
Portugal	30	30	40	5	
Romania	10	5	445	0	
Slovenia	85	30	955	10	
Finland	65	10	1,075	15	
Sweden	6,800	5,540	9,425	150	
United Kingdom	610	2,455	26,955	240	
Norway	630	225	6,885	50	
Total	**40,125**	**13,100**	**233,020**	**6,225**	

Source: EUROSTAT, own calculations, (reached November, 2012)

* receiving countries without available data are not included

(Absolute number)

	Albania	Bulgaria	Romania	Slovakia	Czech Republic	Moldova	Hungary
	2,575	3,720	9,420	1,680	435	785	50
	25	895	290	40	0	130	0
	155	315	560	1,200	225	185	20
	2,900	27,000	86,220	2,345	500	1,750	310
	15	0	5	0	0	0	0
	140	575	8,660	20	35	255	15
	850	375	18,890	20	5	955	15
	70	100	1650	N/A	0	0	0
	5	N/A	N/A	N/A	0	0	0
	10	25	25	N/A	0	0	0
	5	50	175	5	0	45	0
	2,025	1,160	4,630	2,730	1,045	370	305
	675	260	800	0	0	0	55
	N/A	5	15	0	0	15	0
	30	40	1,915	15	0	20	5
	20	0	0	0	0	5	0
	5	0	25	0	0	50	0
	80	75	100	415	185	15	0
	275	250	750	275	90	50	20
	3,910	1,990	7,715	1,305	3,810	460	30
	190	25	985	740	50	130	10
	13,960	**36,860**	**142,830**	**10,790**	**6,380**	**5,220**	**835**

Table A3: Asylum applications by European country and citizenship 2001–2007 Annual data (rounded)

Citizenship / Receiving country	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Croatia	Serbia and Montenegro	FYR of Macedonia	
Belgium	600	55	5,740	835	
Bulgaria	0	0	20	0	
Czech Republic	15	0	140	55	
Denmark	1,910	85	3,250	395	
Germany (incl. GDR)	4,930	310	34,015	2,605	
Ireland	25	545	355	35	
Greece	10	0	25	15	
Spain	85	0	155	75	
France	6,835	155	16,665	1,075	
Italy	20	0	775	115	
Cyprus	20	0	15	75	
Luxembourg	245	5	2,055	105	
Hungary	10	0	2,045	195	
Netherlands	1,405	125	2,645	285	
Austria	1,285	100	20,420	3,270	
Poland	0	0	5	5	
Portugal	20	0	10	5	
Romania	0	0	205	0	
Slovenia	455	25	1,715	335	
Slovakia	5	0	190	65	
Finland	315	285	2,240	740	
Sweden	5,790	835	19,970	1,690	
United Kingdom	380	135	8,045	1,265	
Norway	2,600	1,455	7,290	850	
Total	**26,960**	**4,115**	**128,015**	**14,095**	

Source: EUROSTAT, own calculations, (reached November, 2012)

(Absolute number)

	Albania	Bulgaria	Romania	Slovakia	Czech Republic	Moldova	Hungary
	1,370	1,195	1,590	1,915	570	325	240
	15	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0	170	135	1,690	0	365	0
	200	235	145	375	75	100	15
	1,455	2,285	585	2,200	200	1,015	90
	555	65	3,330	35	470	1,195	30
	130	220	435	0	0	395	0
	55	25	520	5	5	105	0
	2,140	325	1,520	160	5	6,995	25
	25	10	230	0	0	65	0
	0	120	65	0	0	305	0
	240	0	10	0	0	45	0
	20	0	175	95	0	200	0
	315	65	125	445	180	125	95
	595	180	720	75	40	6,165	25
	0	205	285	10	0	325	0
	15	5	5	0	0	10	0
	5	0	0	0	0	55	0
	305	0	50	10	0	135	5
	0	30	20	0	15	2,325	0
	190	1,405	270	540	55	175	10
	1,065	3,140	1,355	810	195	620	455
	4,020	270	4,835	365	4,450	2,125	85
	970	1,480	720	605	775	305	70
	13,685	**11,435**	**17,160**	**9,335**	**7,035**	**23,480**	**1,145**

Table A4: Asylum applicants by citizenship, 2008–2011, Annual aggregated data (rounded)

Citizenship / Receiving country	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Croatia	Serbia	Montenegro	FYR of Macedonia	
Belgium	940	90	6,930	100	3,535	
Bulgaria	10	0	0	0	5	
Czech Republic	5	5	30	0	5	
Denmark	95	10	730	10	65	
Germany (incl. former GDR)	1,225	80	16,925	370	5,595	
Ireland	0	30	45	0	0	
Greece	0	0	25	5	0	
Spain	0	0	5	0	25	
France	1,435	10	5,870	480	1,525	
Italy	1,160	100	915	180	150	
Cyprus	0	0	395	0	0	
Luxembourg	130	0	1,335	125	475	
Hungary	30	0	2,265	15	110	
Netherlands	75	25	270	0	675	
Austria	290	10	3,000	35	645	
Poland	0	0	10	0	5	
Portugal	20	0	5	0	0	
Romania	0	0	60	0	0	
Slovenia	90	20	130	5	15	
Slovakia	0	5	55	0	10	
Finland	45	5	345	10	50	
Sweden	1,380	90	11,520	235	1,925	
United Kingdom	30	10	15	0	25	
Iceland	0	0	5	0	5	
Liechtenstein	0	0	20	0	40	
Norway	80	40	1,375	25	165	
Switzerland	905	25	4,220	90	1,560	
Total	**7,945**	**555**	**56,500**	**1,685**	**16,610**	

Source: EUROSTAT, own calculations, (reached November, 2012)

(Absolute number)

	Albania	Bulgaria	Romania	Slovakia	Czech Republic	Moldova	Hungary
	1,990	400	405	1,320	290	70	365
	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0	0	0	15	0	60	0
	30	55	35	0	0	20	10
	260	75	40	85	15	130	20
	150	0	0	0	0	310	0
	1,685	0	0	0	0	260	0
	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1,925	0	0	0	0	895	0
	185	0	0	0	0	70	0
	5	0	0	0	0	65	0
	90	5	5	0	0	0	0
	30	0	10	0	0	80	0
	75	0	0	0	0	25	0
	145	15	45	10	0	645	0
	0	0	0	0	0	30	0
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	10	5	0	0	0	335	0
	15	0	0	0	0	5	0
	0	0	10	0	0	270	0
	45	1,325	160	10	0	15	0
	580	60	45	10	10	65	5
	945	0	10	5	0	35	0
	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0	0	0	0	5	0	0
	155	25	40	0	25	30	40
	125	205	165	20	15	115	15
	8,465	**2,170**	**970**	**1,475**	**360**	**3,530**	**455**

Table A5: First permits by citizenship and receiving European country, 2008–2011

Citizenship / Receiving country	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Croatia	Serbia	
Belgium	1,355	615	5,758	
Bulgaria	15	27	463	
Czech Republic	1,188	601	787	
Denmark	311	208	659	
Germany	5,858	5,735	14,026	
Estonia	1	7	12	
Ireland	106	427	135	
Greece	97	144	814	
Spain	318	554	1,226	
France	1,612	742	5,199	
Italy	13,484	12,577	28,612	
Cyprus	45	54	669	
Latvia	3	10	22	
Lithuania	2	6	20	
Luxembourg	247	59	283	
Hungary	261	1,298	8,414	
Malta	94	42	369	
Netherlands	1,224	631	1,525	
Austria	7,914	4,791	13,530	
Poland	151	148	346	
Portugal	30	84	132	
Romania	47	93	1,418	
Slovenia	22,686	4,906	10,316	
Slovakia	71	270	3,172	
Finland	774	1,531	666	
Sweden	3,077	1,140	6,407	
United Kingdom	979	3,728	4,519	
Norway	765	735	1,678	
Total permits	**62,715**	**41,163**	**111,177**	
Per cent change of number of permits in 2011 (2008=100)	45.3	88.2	58.2	
Share of permits for remunerated activities reasons	46.7	47.9	31.0	

Source: EUROSTAT, own calculations, (November, 2012)

(Absolute number)

	Montenegro	FYR of Macedonia	Albania	Moldova
	266	3,661	3,305	920
	6	130	219	828
	1,315	3,486	306	6,434
	65	380	166	292
	742	4,170	1,619	1,442
	2	11	8	87
	7	77	224	706
	81	584	100,531	1,625
	84	190	558	5,904
	148	861	1,681	2,432
	662	33,234	182,889	128,103
	17	33	222	3,633
	12	13	9	464
	0	8	15	374
	356	78	87	23
	48	71	152	424
	7	18	53	65
	48	480	446	350
	203	3,529	569	469
	57	296	416	3,402
	4	23	27	6,199
	12	226	689	17,102
	389	7,439	183	254
	8	376	53	92
	10	299	135	138
	490	1,615	707	472
	448	2,136	5,441	1,691
	77	322	239	424
	5,564	**63,746**	**300,949**	**184,349**
	347.9	65.8	41.9	41.5
	9.5	5.1	35.1	55.6

Table A6: Immigration by country in Europe and citizenship, 2001–2007

Citizenship / Receiving country*	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Croatia	Serbia and Montenegro	FYR Macedonia	
Belgium	80	114	350	251	
Bulgaria	0	0	0	10	
Czech Republic	1,695	981	1,922	1,836	
Denmark	1,530	174	1,325	575	
Germany (incl. former GDR)	59,633	75,940	105,306	23,681	
Estonia	0	4	2	1	
Greece	122	95	994	578	
Spain	1,028	1,645	2,259	403	
France	0	0	0	0	
Italy	9,174	7,515	31,977	28,023	
Cyprus	0	63	699	37	
Latvia	0	8	9	4	
Lithuania	6	10	19	14	
Luxembourg	444	66	1,463	183	
Hungary	135	548	11,695	100	
Malta	27	13	182	2	
Netherlands	1,174	761	1,367	667	
Austria	32,469	24,171	57,418	9,599	
Poland	4	10	13	5	
Slovenia	34,619	8,027	19,313	12,014	
Slovakia	112	378	1,807	631	
Finland	448	124	1,202	79	
Sweden	6,772	1,090	10,091	1,334	
United Kingdom	599	551	0	669	
Croatia	3,557	101,484	1,493	942	
FYR Macedonia	315	138	2,637	3,101	
Bosnia and Herzegovina	0	711	0	369	
Total	**153,943**	**224,621**	**253,543**	**85,108**	

Source: EUROSTAT, own calculations, (November, 2012); * receiving countries without any available data are not included

(Absolute number)

	Albania	Bulgaria	Romania	Slovakia	Czech Republic	Moldova	Hungary
	253	2,625	5,491	486	388	0	602
	0	1,498	0	0	1	7	0
	249	4,793	2,831	82,476	11,967	10,527	273
	195	1,026	2,559	837	1,378	200	1,592
	9,688	89,027	182,331	77,875	61,438	5,614	124,611
	0	21	24	9	31	12	20
	136,808	21,298	11,274	136	163	1,788	141
	1,620	137,917	682,532	5,954	6,250	14,926	5,600
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	187,330	27,135	517,444	6,273	4,108	60,432	4,197
	43	4,245	3,696	2,901	606	1,407	1,055
	3	325	79	26	85	121	13
	34	137	23	17	38	200	11
	274	462	766	440	578	69	696
	77	382	66,185	4,415	303	337	13,905
	5	444	277	63	70	3	43
	412	7,406	6,111	2,940	2,719	389	4,062
	1,644	10,540	37,192	21,864	8,860	2,524	23,162
	7	30	15	9	8	28	2
	136	1,029	1,094	1,464	238	517	264
	46	1,021	3,671	12,270	6,161	141	2,145
	105	359	628	161	255	72	635
	610	1,925	4,593	688	840	229	2,283
	780	9,688	4,971	14,731	15,011	266	11,612
	14	15	71	47	51	25	40
	1,446	437	41	28	22	24	37
	7	50	91	41	38	77	13
	341,786	**323,835**	**1,533,990**	**236,151**	**121,607**	**99,935**	**197,014**

Table A7: Immigration by country in Europe and citizenship, 2008–2010

Citizenship / Receiving country*	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Croatia	Serbia or Montenegro	FYR Macedonia	
Belgium	250	129	983	637	
Bulgaria	0	0	2	19	
Czech Republic	828	330	613	884	
Denmark	251	77	327	224	
Germany (incl. former GDR)	6,154	8,732	13,156	2,308	
Estonia	1	0	4	1	
Ireland	28	112	0	9	
Spain	357	649	1,065	291	
Italy	4,391	2,262	15,580	14,095	
Cyprus	0	0	54	0	
Latvia	1	2	5	2	
Lithuania	1	4	6	7	
Luxembourg	165	58	586	66	
Hungary	102	557	5,333	84	
Netherlands	302	216	286	186	
Austria	2,914	2,020	6,105	1,030	
Poland	11	32	57	13	
Slovenia	30,351	3,967	8,692	7,328	
Slovakia	73	256	3,082	324	
Finland	259	47	339	71	
Sweden	1,661	448	3,925	811	
United Kingdom	0	0	0	0	
Croatia	639	12,525	374	169	
FYR Macedonia	41	17	261	219	
Total	**48,780**	**32,440**	**60,835**	**28,778**	

Source: EUROSTAT, own calculations, (November, 2012); * receiving countries without any available data are not included

(Absolute number)

	Albania	Bulgaria	Romania	Slovakia	Czech Republic	Moldova	Hungary
	606	3,560	6,162	922	500	182	835
	2	1,148	0	0	0	7	0
	96	2,529	1,724	24,244	65,201	5,479	252
	69	2,510	4,998	694	423	127	1,292
	1,046	24,093	48,225	8,749	6,309	699	25,151
	5	34	17	8	49	30	42
	58	43	284	2,271	1,144	171	937
	778	32,504	184,228	1,853	2,540	5,660	3,320
	85,799	20,557	372,267	3,243	1,671	65,410	3,119
	0	830	1,217	194	93	36	103
	1	286	272	39	59	63	19
	4	47	12	3	10	184	11
	126	369	832	225	293	26	382
	47	163	17,091	2,455	143	199	4,417
	226	9,042	4,318	1,669	1,184	148	3,648
	171	2,466	9,260	4,941	1,320	239	5,195
	42	230	103	86	63	107	45
	61	1,629	293	652	120	225	214
	42	906	4,055	3,666	4,247	77	3,255
	54	422	567	130	136	40	678
	384	2,358	6,099	666	687	133	2,681
	0	0	18,730	0	0	0	0
	1	5	20	24	21	13	18
	229	35	0	1	1	4	2
	89,847	**105,766**	**680,774**	**56,735**	**86,214**	**79,259**	**55,616**

Table A8: Inflows of foreign population by nationality into Australia, Canada, United States and Russian federation, 1995–2007, 2008–2010

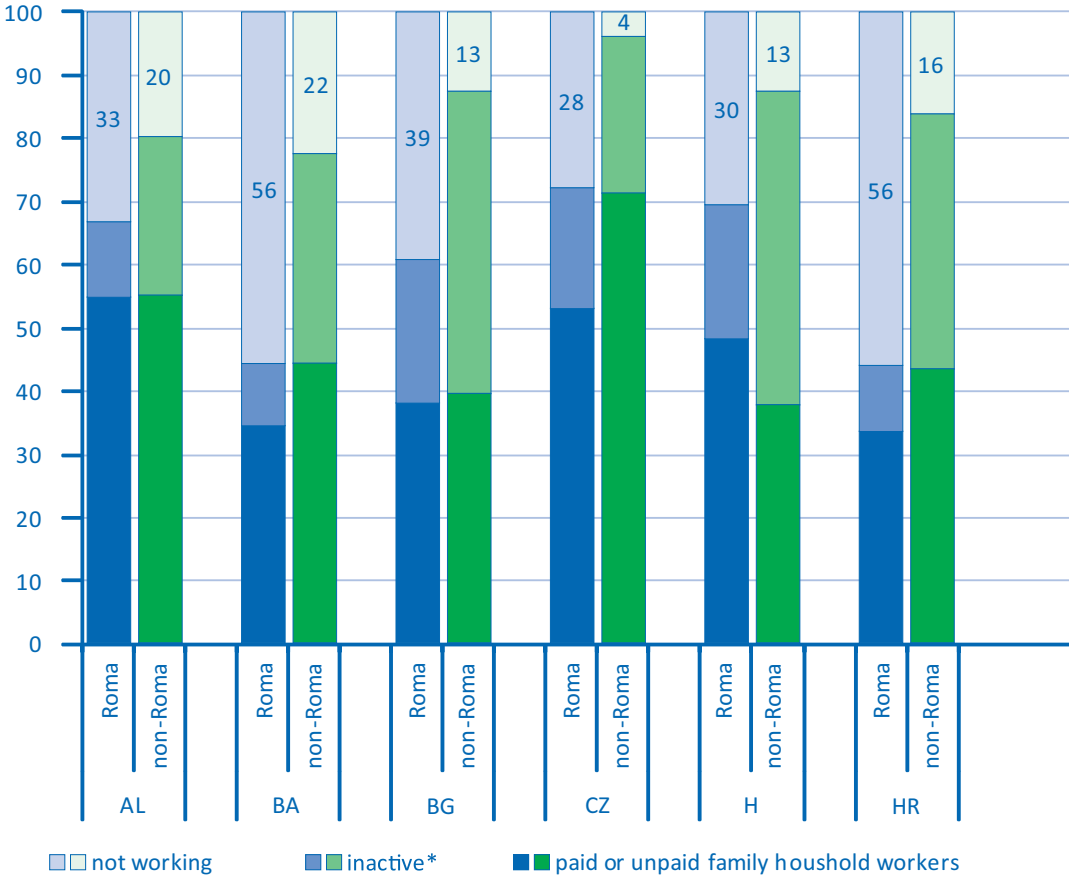
Period	Citizenship / Receiving country	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Croatia	Serbia or Montenegro	FYR Macedonia	
1995–2007	Australia	15,987	5,011	5,991	1,636	
	Canada	18,940	7,338	7,452	3,209	
	United States	123,155	15,424	47,413	9,711	
	Russian Federation	63	43	124	27	
2008–2010	Australia	464	297	1,120	0	
	Canada	594	257	1,135	566	
	United States	3,938	1,308	8,757	3,198	
	Russian Federation	111	45	456	32	
	Total	**163,252**	**29,723**	**72,448**	**18,379**	

Source: OECD, own calculations, (November, 2012); http://stats.oecd.org/

Note: Registration criteria vary considerably across countries (as the minimum duration of stay for individuals to be defined as immigrants ranges from three months to one year).Australia, Canada and the United States consider as immigrants persons who have been granted the right of permanent residence. Statistics on temporary immigrants are also published in this database, since the legal duration of their residence is often similar to long-term migration (over one year).Nearly corresponds to immigration by country from the Eurostat database.

	Albania	Bulgaria	Romania	Slovakia	Czech Republic	Moldova	Hungary
	1,366	1,211	3,501	1,252	1,442	310	1,479
	11,385	14,947	57,841	4,794	3,080	6,171	5,804
	51,967	49,986	73,643	8,008	3,124	18,641	12,837
	18	2,357	22	57	305	87,097	81
	458	287	904	430	552	96	757
	1,693	2,278	6,593	357	445	4,639	1,067
	15,602	8,663	13,843	1,897	563	5,968	3,463
	10	578	21	57	235	43,766	92
	82,499	**80,307**	**156,368**	**16,852**	**9,746**	**166,688**	**25,580**

Figure A1: Roma and non-Roma population by activity status and by CEE country, 2011 (%)



Source: calculated from UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey database, 2011.

Note: Only respondents that participated in Module 4 are included

* due to childhood, education, old age, retirement, disability, sickness;

Not working: include 1) people, who were actively seeking work in the last 4 weeks, 2) ready to start a job which they already have; 3) do not actively seek work.

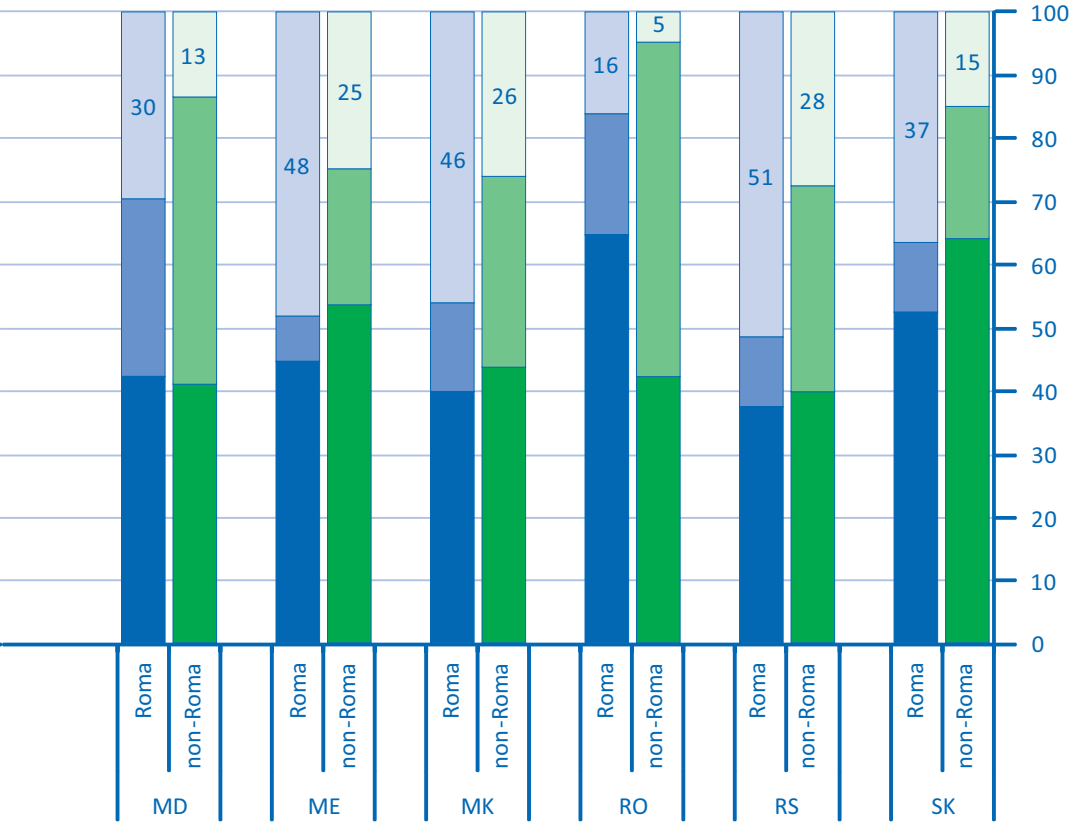
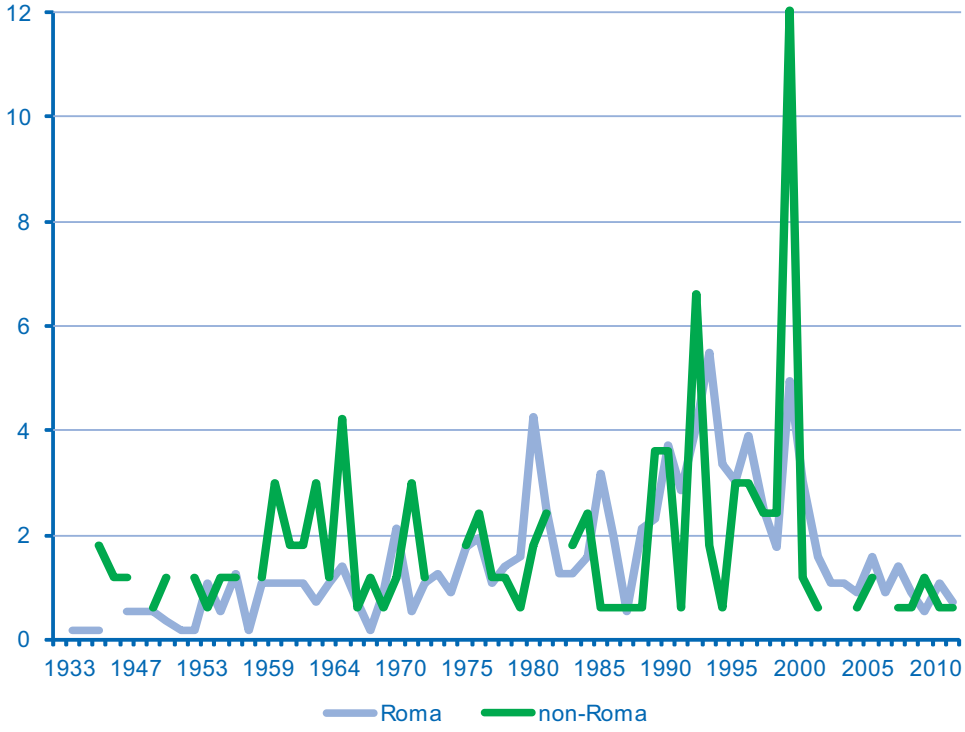

100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
30
13
48
25
46
26
16
5
51
28
37
15
Roma
non-Roma
MD
ME
MK
RO
RS
SK

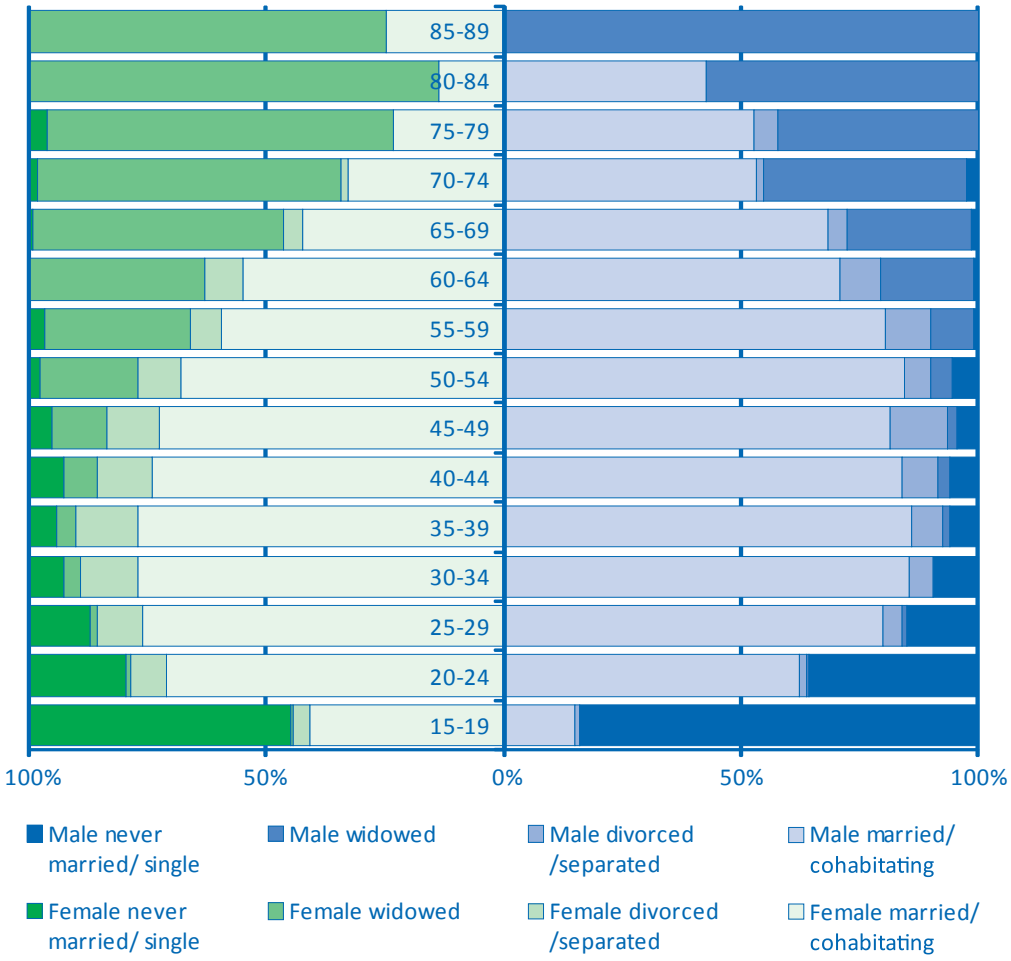
Figure A2: Flows* of Roma and non-Roma migrants to CEE countries, 1933–2011



Source: calculated from UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey database, 2011

* The flow for each year is represented as percentage of all Roma/non-Roma migrants arrived in the receiving country in a definite year;

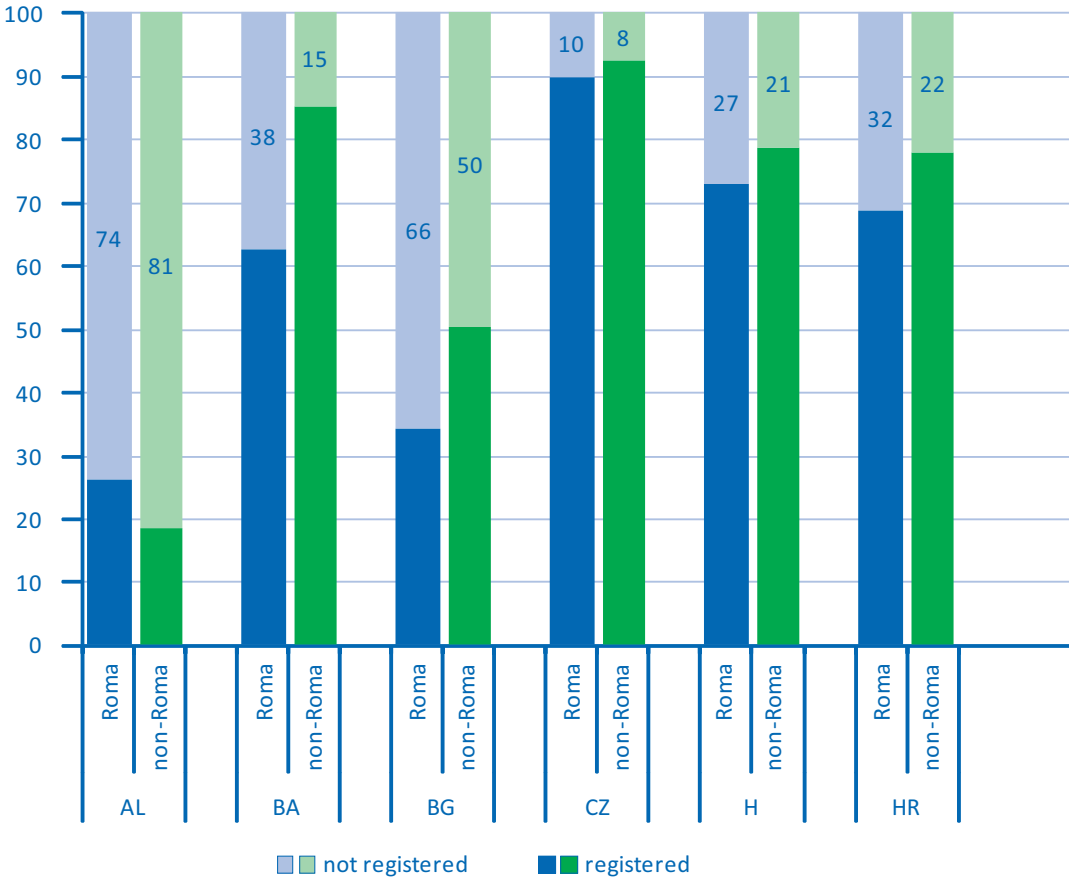
Figure A3: Roma men and women* from CEE by marital status and age



Source: calculated from UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey database, 2011

* Only men and women that participated in Module 4 are included

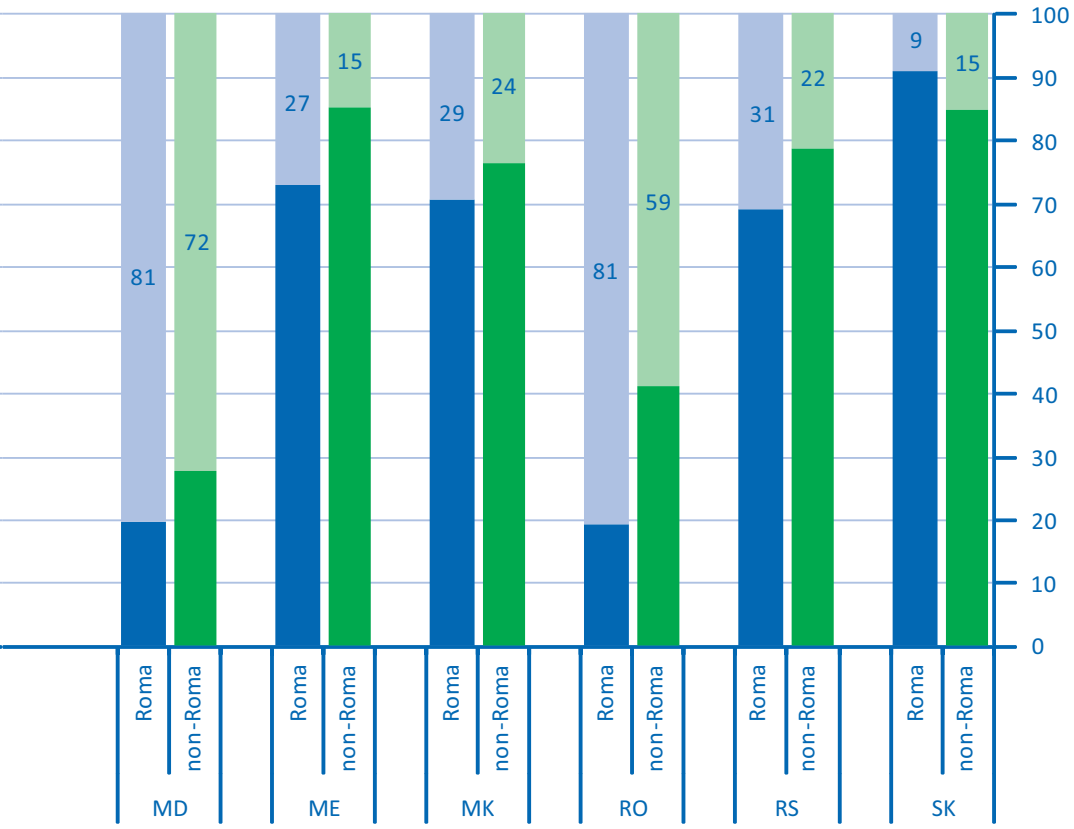
Figure A4: Unemployed* Roma and non-Roma native residents, by registration in PES by CEE countries, 2011 (%)



Source: calculated from UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey database, 2011

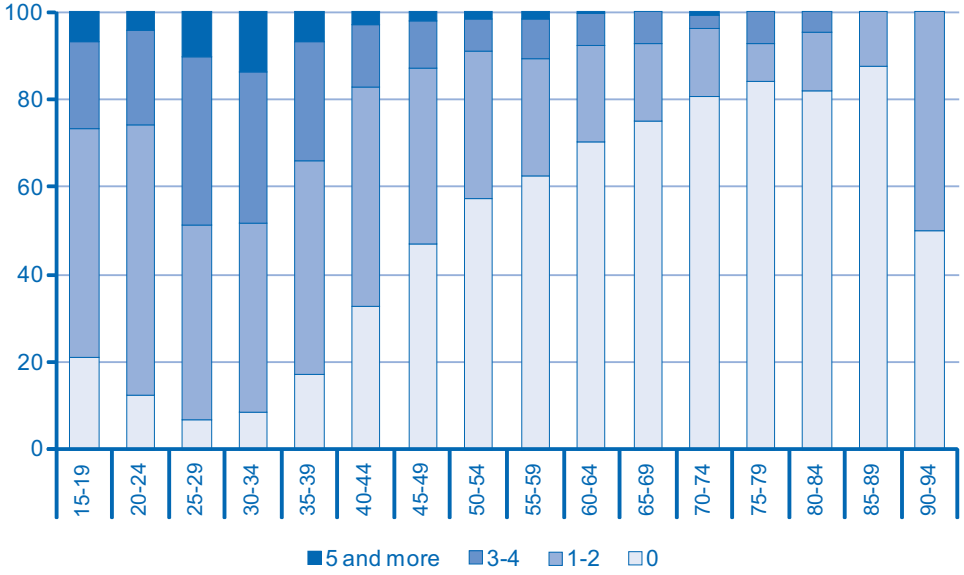
* according to ILO definition

** Only respondents that participated in Module 4 are included



Source: calculated from UNDP/WB/EC regional Roma survey database, 2011

Figure A5: Roma women* from CEE by age and by number of children in household (%)



Source: calculated from UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey database, 2011

* Only women that participated in Module 4 are included

Table A9: Cramer's V correlation between CEE country of present residence* and ten attributes for Roma and non-Roma active population

Ethnicity	attribute:	Cramer's V	Approx. Sig.
Roma	activity status	0.18	0.00
	during the last week, did do any paid work (in cash or in kind whether payment)	0.15	0.00
	do you have a written contract with your employer?	0.48	0.00
	unemployment benefits	0.19	0.00
	salaries/income working as employees (cash and in-kind), or self-employment inco	0.16	0.00
	any pension - social old age, disability, survivor pension, war veteran pension	0.20	0.00
	can she/he read	0.30	0.00
	what is his/her highest attained education level?	0.19	0.00
	Do you feel safe in regards health protection – do you have the confidence that you will receive service in case you need it?	0.27	0.00
	for the last 6 months, has been limited in daily activities people usually do be	0.15	0.00
Non-roma	activity status*	0.16	0.00
	during the last week, did do any paid work (in cash or in kind whether payment)	0.17	0.00
	do you have a written contract with your employer?	0.42	0.00
	unemployment benefits	0.13	0.00
	salaries/income working as employees (cash and in-kind), or self-employment inco	0.16	0.00
	any pension - social old age, disability, survivor pension, war veteran pension	0.20	0.00
	can she/he read	0.08	0.00
	what is his/her highest attained education level?	0.19	0.00
	Do you feel safe in regards health protection – do you have the confidence that you will receive service in case you need it?	0.22	0.00
	for the last 6 months, has been limited in daily activities people usually do be	0.15	0.00

Source: calculated from UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey, 2011

Note: The states are accepted in parallel as homeland, as well as a receiving country

Table A10: Access to various rights and living conditions and distances between native residents and immigrants for Roma and non-Roma in CEE countries, 2011

Ethnicity	Lives in the country, where he/she was born	Rooms per household member - mean	Square meters per household member - mean	Share of people							
				who live in dwelling, where there is not enough beds for each houshold member (%)	who have to pay rent for dwelling (%)**	who have difficulties with the rent payment (%)	who live in predominently Roma neighbourhood (%)	with piped water inside the dwelling (%)	who have not received medical consulting or care* (%)	without medical insurance	who live in ruined house or slums (%)
Roma	Native resident	0.8	18	33	14	53	59	55	31	27	28
	Immigrant	0.9	20.9	35	19	46	67	72	24	19	31
non-Roma	Native resident	1.4	35.4	6	13	28	17	78	25	10	6
	Immigrant	1.4	36.4	9	17	29	27	85	16	8	8

Source: calculated from UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey, 2011

* who declared that they needed, but have no access, because they could not afford to (too expensive), it was too far to travel, a treatment was refused or have no health insurance

** from the people, who pay rent

Table A11: Respondents covered in Module 4 of UNDP/WB/EC survey

Country of current residence		Albania	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Bulgaria	Czech Republic	Slovakia	Montenegro	Croatia	Hungary	Macedonia FYR	Moldova	Romania	Serbia	Total
Respondents	Ethnicity of respondents													
Respondents in Modul 4	Roma	755	766	700	696	732	753	730	742	747	709	725	774	8,829
	non-Roma	338	360	347	336	331	354	347	345	346	332	344	360	4,140
Respondents in Modul 4, who are not born in the country of current residence	Roma	2	54	6	118	32	258	130	6	51	50	4	73	784
	non-Roma	2	11	5	16	10	28	47	5	30	26	0	41	221

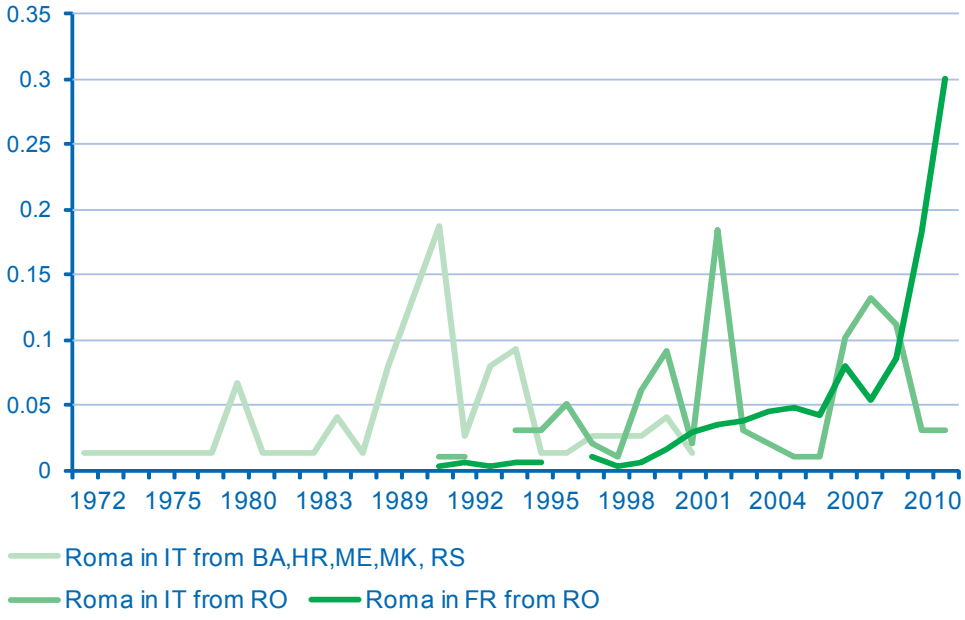
Source: calculated from UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey, 2011

Table A12: Roma and non-Roma immigrants in CEE countries by gender and activity status

Activity status Ethnicity Gender		Paid work - full time	Paid work - part time	Paid work - ad hoc jobs	Self-employed	Full time homemaker (looking after the children)	Parental leave	Work in family business	Other unpaid or voluntary work	Not employed	In school/ student	Retired/ too old to work	Unable to work due to disabilities	Other	Total
Roma	Male	14.6	2.3	13.6	7.9	2.0	0.3	1.0	0.0	40.7	1.0	14.2	1.3	1.0	100
	Female	2.4	1.1	3.0	1.5	30.1	2.8	0.4	0.4	39.2	0.4	14.7	2.8	1.1	100
	Total	7.2	1.6	7.2	4.1	19.0	1.8	0.7	0.3	39.8	0.7	14.5	2.2	1.0	100
non-Roma	Male	30.1	2.4	2.4	4.8	1.2	0.0	1.2	0.0	20.5	3.6	32.5	1.2	0.0	100
	Female	20.0	3.0	4.4	0.7	17.0	1.5	0.0	0.7	20.0	3.0	29.6	0.0	0.0	100
	Total	23.9	2.8	3.7	2.3	11.0	0.9	0.5	0.5	20.2	3.2	30.7	0.5	0.0	100
Total	Male	17.9	2.3	11.2	7.3	1.8	0.3	1.0	0.0	36.4	1.6	18.2	1.3	0.8	100
	Female	6.4	1.5	3.4	1.3	27.1	2.5	0.3	0.5	34.8	1.0	18.1	2.2	0.8	100
	Total	10.9	1.8	6.4	3.7	17.2	1.6	0.6	0.3	35.4	1.2	18.1	1.8	0.8	100

Source: Author's calculations, UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011

Figure A6: Roma immigrant respondents in France and Italy by year of arrival, 1972–2011



Source: Author's calculations, FRA Roma pilot survey 2011

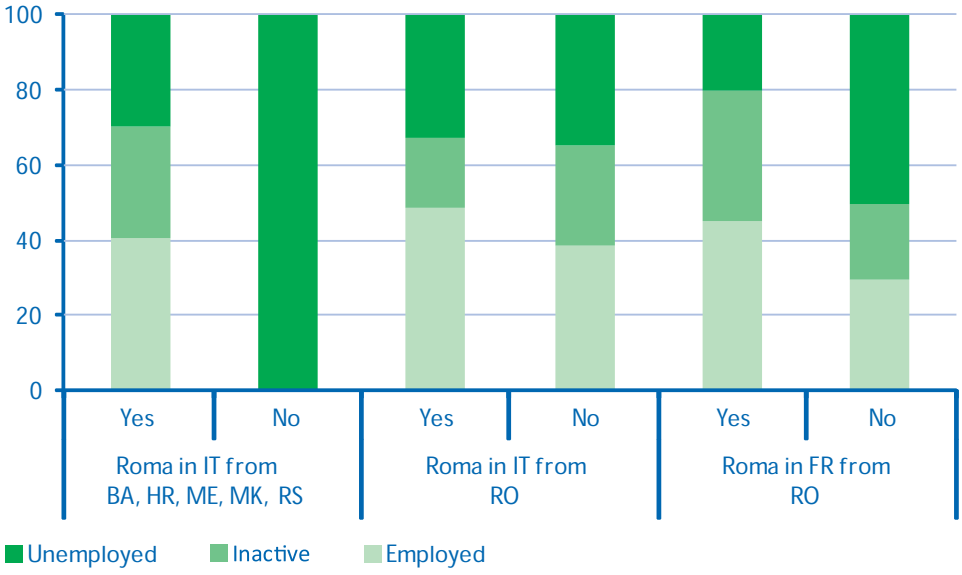
Table A13: Share of Roma respondents - immigrants to Italy and France who have tried to legalise their stay* by receiving country, sending country and year of arrival, 2011 (%)

Respondents \ Year of arrival	Before 1989	1990-1999	2000-2005	2006-2011	Total
Roma in IT from BA,HR,ME,MK, RS	96	100	100	-	99
Roma in IT from RO	-	90	83	56	73
Roma in FR from RO	-	50	54	20	28

Source: Author's calculations, FRA Roma pilot survey 2011

* By means of registering where they live, application for a work permit, enrolment of child/children in school/kindergarten, application for government assisted housing

Figure A7: Activity status* of Roma migrants in France and Italy by try to legalise their stay and by sending country, 2011 (%)**



Source: Author's calculations, FRA Roma pilot survey 2011

* A broader definition for unemployed is used. It is based on self-perception of the respondents and what they declare. It corresponds to "not working" in Figure A1

** By means of registering where they live, application for a work permit, enrolment of child/children in school/kindergarten, application for government assisted housing. This attribute is presented as Yes (have tried to legalise the stay) and No (have not tried) on X axis

Table A14: Share of respondents in France, who have experienced ethnicity based discrimination for different period (12 months or 5 years), generally or when they look for a job, by year of arrival and attempt for legalisation of the stay, 2011

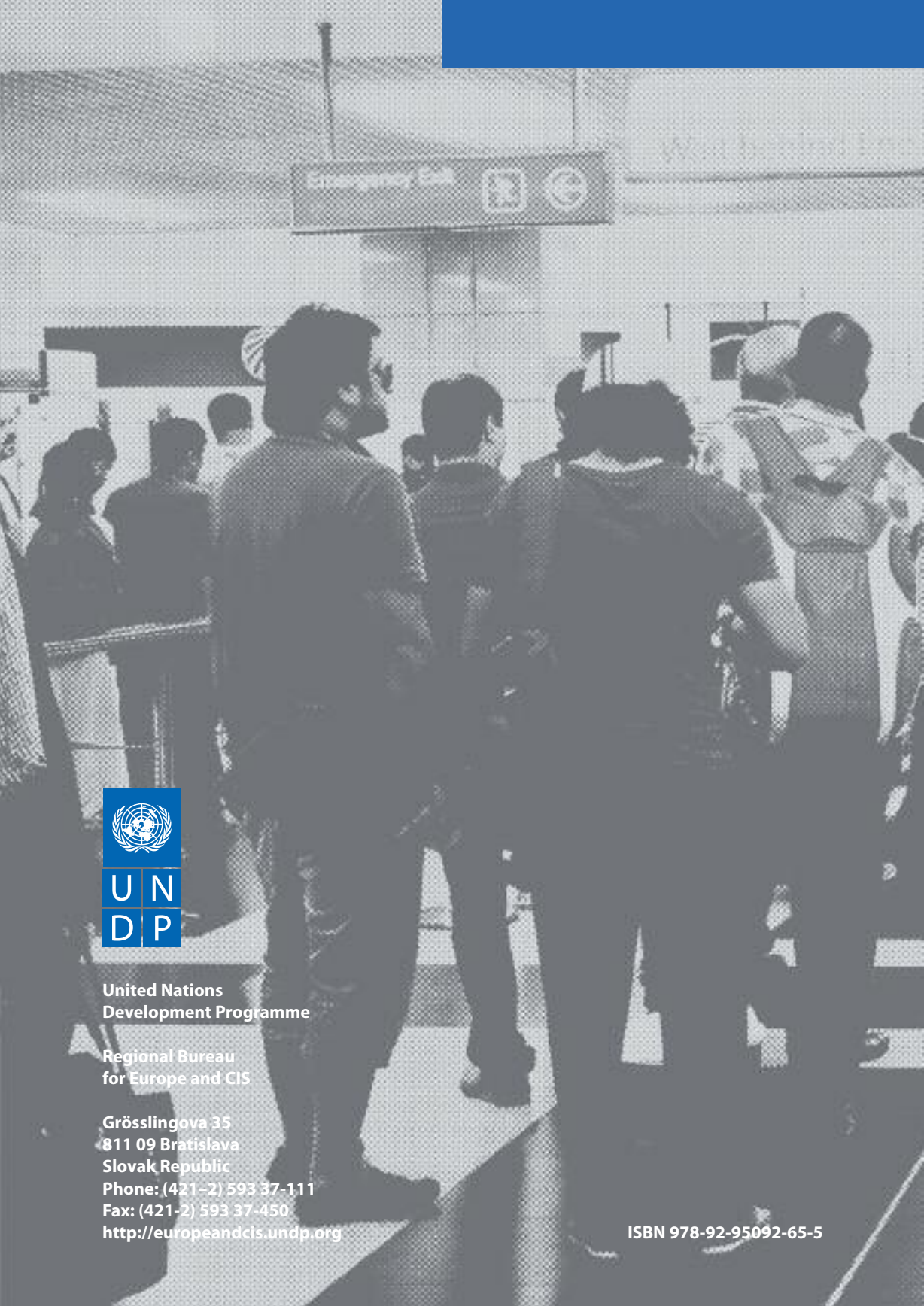
Year of arrival in France	Have you tried to do any of the following: register where you live, apply for a work permit, enrol your children in school, apply for government assisted housing?	During past 12 months (or since you have been in the country) have you personally felt discriminated against in France because you are a Roma			Over the last 5 years in France, (or since you have been in the country if less than 5 years), have you ever been discriminated against when looking for paid work?		
		Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
1990-1999	Yes	50	50	100	67	33	100
	No	57	43	100	50	50	100
	Total	54	46	100	60	40	100
2000-2005	Yes	51	47	100	33	67	100
	No	27	73	100	50	50	100
	Total	40	60	100	35	65	100
2006-2011	Yes	52	48	100	55	45	100
	No	36	64	100	52	48	100
	Total	39	61	100	53	47	100
Total	Yes	52	48	100	47	52.6	100
	No	35	65	100	52	48	100
	Total	40	60	100	49	51	100

Source: Author's calculations, FRA Roma pilot survey 2011

Table A15: How Roma migrants' households in Italy keep up with all its bills, credits, and payments? (%)

Group	Respondent's characteristics Share of people who	are keeping up without any difficulties	are keeping up but struggle to do so from time to time	are keeping up but in a constant struggle.	have fallen behind with some payments.	have fallen behind with many payments.	Total
Roma in IT from BA, HR, ME, MK, RS	He/she have tried to legalise his/her stay	7	16	33	31	13	100
	He/she have not tried to legalise his/her stay	0	0	100	0	0	100
Roma in IT from RO	He/she have tried to legalise his/her stay	6	21	51	7	15	100
	He/she have not tried to legalise his/her stay	0	0	80	0	20	100

Source: Author's calculations, FRA Roma pilot survey 2011



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