ROMA
IN THE
REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

Sorin Cace, Vasile Cantarji
Nicolae Sali, Marin Alla

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Executive Summary

The Context of the Report

In 2000 Moldova, together with another 189 countries of the world signed the Millennium Declaration of United Nations. This document reaffirmed the attitude of the international community towards the fundamental values of humanity – freedom, equality, solidarity, tolerance, respecting the environment and sharing responsibilities – and emphasized the relevance of solving serious problems in reaffirming peace, respecting human rights and ensuring sustainable development and environment protection. The social exclusion of certain groups and persistently high poverty rates amongst these groups is a significant factor currently compromising the achievement of the Millenium Development Goals (MDGs) by individual countries. Roma are widely considered as such a group deserving particular attention in terms of achieving of MDG targets. The challenges for the Roma ethnic group are well known: overcoming poverty, improving access to education and developing marketable skills. Developing policies to assist the Roma requires access to reliable data. But reliable statistical information on the Roma in Moldova has been lacking. Consequently, policymaking in the Central and Eastern Europe countries where most of the Roma live has so far relied primarily upon qualitative rather than quantitative information.

To ensure a comprehensive approach in assessing and addressing Roma issues in the region, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), in 2002, conducted an extensive survey research on Roma vulnerability covering Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia and Romania. The resulting regional human development report (called Avoiding the Dependency Trap) analyzed the status of Roma from a human development perspective in these countries. The report's recommendations to monitor poverty and other MDG-related targets relevant for vulnerable groups and Roma, in particular, were broadly confirmed by the Decade of Roma Inclusion initiative, launched by eight countries of South Eastern Europe (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania, and Serbia) and supported by the World Bank, the Open Society Institute (OSI), UNDP, the European Commission, the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Council of Europe and other organisations involved in development issues. The 'Decade' grew out of the conference 'Roma in an Expanding Europe: Challenges for the Future', hosted by the Government of Hungary in June 2003. In February 2005, the 'Decade' was formally launched in Sofia where the prime ministers of the aforementioned countries pledged to close the gaps in welfare and living conditions between Roma and the non-Roma in their countries, and to break the vicious circle of poverty and social exclusion. In October 2006, during the International Steering Committee meeting of the 'Decade' in Sofia, Moldova also joined the Decade of Roma Inclusion initiative.

Why this Report?

Given the similar challenge of lack of reliable and accurate data on Roma population available from existing Moldovan statistics, UNDP Moldova initiated in 2005 the first quantitative study, which covered 600 Roma and 600 non-Roma households in 81 localities. The present report was designed to provide the national counterparts with basic quantitative data and statistics on the Roma situation in Moldova in different areas such as: poverty profiles (incomes and expenses), education, employment and unemployment, health, housing, security and migration. This information should also serve the purpose of enhancing the national dialogue on the Roma situation in Moldova and the challenges faced by the Roma, as well as providing a platform for the development of solutions, sound policies and the implementation of comprehensive programmes of Roma social inclusion.

After the first decade of transition and market reforms in Moldova, the essential legal foundations for guaranteeing human rights have been put in place. However, experience so far suggests that a legal framework for minority human rights protection is a necessary but insufficient precondition for sustainable integration. To be sustainable, integration policies need to address three major deficiencies: lack of availability of employment opportunities, lack of equal access to education and lack of participation in the government, especially at the local level.

The report aims to initiate a debate on sustainable development opportunities for vulnerable groups. The report outlines several major policy deficits regarding Roma communities and vulnerable groups in general and seeks to help policy makers to address these issues:

- Lack of adequate disaggregated socioeconomic data for proper policymaking;

- Shortage of integrated solutions that treat the problems of marginalized communities in their entirety (for example, by linking education, employment, health and capacity building activities in community-based projects);

- Insufficient awareness that the provision of development opportunities for vulnerable groups is a long-term investment, which ultimately benefits the majority and minority populations equally.

Major Survey Findings

Social-Demographic Situation

There are several major theories on the origins of the Roma (or Gypsy) population. More controversial is the disagreement over the size of the Roma population. The debate over the size of the Roma population is a direct consequence of the lack of clarity regarding Roma identity.

Since the second half of the XXth century, the number of Roma population in Moldova registered during the Censuses has been constantly growing. The recent population Census held in 2004 showed that 12,271 Roma people live in the country, representing around 0.4% of the population; a share that is significantly lower than in other countries in the region such as Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary etc. However, regional experience shows that Censuses tend to underestimate the real number of Roma population. Negative stereotypes attributed to the Roma by majority population, ethnic discrimination in the labour market, education, health care, and other social spheres, injustices and discrimination actions that the Roma had to face in the past are among the key reasons for denying Roma ethnicity.

Present survey data estimate Roma population in Moldova at 15,000 people. Some alternative sources estimate Roma population at 20,040 or even as much as 250,000 (circa 7% of the population) as quoted by some Roma leaders. However there are no reliable sources that confirm that the number of Roma population is much higher than the official figures. Thus, due to this uncertainty concerning the size of the Roma population, especially as in most cases Roma do not identify themselves declaratively of Roma ethnicity due to reasons mentioned above, it is difficult to determine the exact number of Roma population living in the Republic of Moldova. This remains an open question without a definitive answer.

The ethnic self-identification and hetero-identification, cultural, linguistic, civil, and religious beliefs are all elements of assimilation, segregation or ethnical conservation processes. In this context, the survey data suggest that, in Moldova the rate of self-identification of Roma is quite high attaining 80%. In terms of gender structure, Roma population is close to the national average, but the Roma population is younger than the majority population, recording a higher birth rate and lower life expectancy. Romani language is the predominantly spoken by Roma at home (spoken by 64% of Roma people). However it is worthwhile mentioning that a tri-*lingual* phenomenon is noticed among Roma (this is generally characteristic to people living in Moldova) -- other languages spoken being the language of the Moldovan majority (75%), Russian language (77%) as well as Ukrainian (22%). Mirroring the non-Roma population, the Orthodox religion is predominant in the Roma population (95%).

Early marriages among Roma are characteristic and represent a worrying trend. The minimum marriage age for the Roma is 15 years old for both men and women (this is one year earlier than the legally accepted age (16 years old) for women and three years earlier than the legally accepted age (18 years old) for men. Despite the peculiarity of migration of entire households, a higher frequency of mixed

marriages is registered within the Roma community compared to the national pattern. However, the share of mixed marriages is significantly lower than that recorded among other minorities, thus indicating an unconscious choice of self-identification, a higher exclusion and self-exclusion of this social group. An alternative explanation would be a stronger commitment to preserve their ethnicity on the part of the Roma.

Family Incomes, Expenses and Poverty

Recent economic growth during the last 5 years has helped bring many families out of poverty, reducing the poverty headcount from a dramatic 73% in 1999 to 29% in 2005. However, this poverty reduction has been uneven across the groups of population, with certain vulnerable groups, including the Roma, left behind by the recent economic improvements. The findings of the report estimate that the Roma face a two times higher risk of poverty than non-Roma. Five out of ten Roma live in extreme poverty. The poverty status of Roma families is determined by many factors such as education, size of the household, residence area and low employment level.

The disposable incomes of Roma households do not cover even half of living subsistence levels. The structure of incomes of Roma households show greater reliance on transfers from abroad, "unofficial income" sources such as the sale of personal possessions, collecting unwanted or disposable items, informal activities such as gambling, begging and fortune telling, as well as welfare transfers from the state. Both Roma and non-Roma spend more than half of their budget on foodstuff, however Roma families rely less on food produced in the household and more on procured food. On the other hand, Roma spend less on education, a fact that reduces the chances of alleviating the poverty of the Roma youth. In general, one third of the Roma population belongs to the poorest twenty percent of the general population. While Roma families are generally poorer than non-Roma families, the level of inequality within the Roma population mirrors that of the non-Roma.

Employment status also influences the risk of poverty. However, results of the survey showed that this factor is not as significant as insufficient education or the number of children in a household. The majority of adult members in poor Roma households are either unemployed (four out of ten) or have occasional jobs (two out of ten). The availability of a permanent job clearly has a beneficial effect on the poverty situation, pulling people out of the vicious cycle of poverty. The share of those with full-time or part time jobs is twice as high among the non-poor Roma. Other factors such as the type of occupation in terms of qualifications, position in a hierarchy, salary level and others have a significant influence on poverty levels.

Analysing the poverty profiles of Roma and non-Roma of the Republic of Moldova, one can conclude that small towns are worse off in terms of poverty. This situation appears due to the subsistence economy when goods are produced for self-consumption and not for commercialization, a characteristic of rural areas. In the case of non-Roma population, the benefits of the rural subsistence economy (producing their own food products) are outweighed by the benefits of living in urban areas such as better employment opportunities, migration to work abroad and other factors.

The Roma in Moldova relay less on state transfers than in other countries of the region. This can be explained by the very scant resources available for social assistance in Moldova compared to other countries of the region. Nevertheless, Roma tend to receive more social assistance payments and less social insurance payments than non-Roma. Cash benefits in Moldova are ineffectively targeted and

they cannot resolve the issue of Roma inclusion. It would be better to orient efforts towards other types of assistance such as investing in education, provision of clothes or in enhancing the participation of the youth in income generating activities. From this perspective, there could be a beneficial implementation of Conditional Cash Transfer schemes which make benefits payment conditional on certain desirable social outcomes, for example more frequent school attendance or regular health checks.

Education

Education is of major importance not only for reducing the risk of poverty, but also for capitalization of human potential. Ensuring the right to education is a universal right which is incorporated in the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova and nationalized Millenium Development Goal 2, where Moldova committed to achieve universal access to secondary (gymnasium) school education thus increasing the enrolment rate in secondary (gymnasium) school education from 88% in 2002, to 88.9% in 2006, to 93.8% in 2010 and to 100% in 2015. The survey results show a significant gap in education and literacy levels between Roma and non-Roma. The education component of the Human Development Index, unlike other components, shows the greatest difference, one-third lower for Roma than non-Roma. Compared with the rest of population, Roma have a much higher illiteracy rate, a much lower level of education, significantly lower enrolment in education and a higher drop-out rate.

Roma education and literacy levels fall well short of the national average. Every fifth Roma cannot write and read, while a person with college or higher education is a rarity, this category constituting only 4% of the total Roma population in comparison with the non-Roma population enrolment of 38%. The drop-out rates at schools and low enrolments among Roma children are of alarming proportions and raise the legitimate question: why is this happening?

The reasons for school non-attendance are both objective and subjective. From the objective point of view, Roma claim they lack the financial capacity to support their children's education. There are also child health related problems and problems related to school infrastructure. From a subjective point of view parents invest little effort to encourage their children's education since many consider that the child has achieved the necessary level of education. Early marriages and perceived discrimination in schools are contributing factors. Another important factor that can influence the education process is the migration abroad of the entire family to find work.

Discrimination in schools, named as the reason for school drop-out in only 2% of cases, is considered by some Roma leaders as the main reason of school non-attendance. They perceive that the discrimination was and is still present in schools. "If you are Roma, people are not receptive to you just because you are Roma, and because there are stereotypes, and it takes some time, several years for you to prove you are not bad", stated one Roma leader. At the same time, survey findings show that the discrimination perceived is not "de facto". There are few education institutions with concentrations of only Roma children, thus avoiding the negative effects of segregation and discrimination attitudes concerning these children. Moreover, according to world practices, in the field of interethnic relations, segregation in education is not beneficial since it may lead to a more acute isolation and segregation of the minority.

In order to solve the problem of Roma school non-attendance, a series of activities have been undertaken concerning both the enrolment of Roma children in the cycles of compulsory education, and the creation, using the principles of positive discrimination, of favourable conditions for the promotion of young Roma in higher education. However, in practice, inclusion of Roma children in the cycles of compulsory education – primary and low secondary (gymnasium) – have not been a significant success. In the area of higher education there is little evidence that Roma have succeeded in being included in reserved positions in higher education institutions and, therefore, have greater access to higher education in reality.

Employment and unemployment

Low levels of employment and employability are key features of the Roma labour market performance. Employment and activity levels of the Roma population is much lower than that of the non-Roma population, while the low education level of the Roma results in low qualifications and low income employment. In the case of Roma, survey data suggest that they report two times higher unemployment than non-Roma. At the same time, most unemployed Roma (70%) do not even look for a job. Long-term unemployment has profound, negative effects on the social fabric of Roma communities. Due to peculiarities in age structure among Roma, children constitute a greater share of the population (due to statistically higher birth rates among Roma), while pensioners and the disabled make up less of the population in comparison with non- Roma. As a result, one active Roma has to support 2.7 inactive persons, while in case of non-Roma this indicator is significantly lower—only 1.2. There is also weaker participation of Roma women in the labour market, a fact that can be explained by a more traditional perception of the women's role of a mother who raises and takes care of children and house in a family, and by a generally lower level of education –characteristic of the entire Roma population in comparison with non-Roma.

Poor education opportunities for Roma today guarantee poor employment prospects for Roma in the future. The low education levels of the Roma result in low qualifications and low-income employment. The survey showed that most employed Roma work in low remunerated jobs that do not require special qualifications. Low education level, a high share of temporary work and employment in the informal sector, shows that Roma are in a more difficult situation concerning employment and implicitly, obtaining incomes needed for the satisfaction of basic needs. Thus, low activity rates of Roma, combined with employment in lower-salary sectors of those who manage to find the job, increase the poverty risk for Roma.

In terms of activity areas, although both Roma and non-Roma are predominantly involved in agriculture, Roma still prefer to involve in trade. The most dramatic difference in Roma and non-Roma employment is noticed in health, education and science, and police and security spheres where Roma are practically not present (less than 1 percent of Roma surveyed worked in these sectors, compared with 5 to 10 percent of non-Roma). This could partly explain perceived discriminatory attitude in access to education, health, and public administration voiced by Roma leaders during interviews. Land processing for subsistence farming, widely practiced in Moldova to substitute low cash incomes, is not widespread among Roma, a fact that can be partially explained by land ownership issues and preference to other types of activities, such as trade.

The Roma population invests twice less effort in starting up and legalizing their own businesses than non-Roma, preferring not to get involved in formal business activities but rather in small trading ac-

tivities. Even their start up businesses appears to be less successful. Among the underlying reasons are the low education level of the Roma, limited business opportunities in the areas where Roma live and limited access to credit, a necessary precondition for small business development. However the survey results showed that both Roma and non-Roma populations have limited access to financial services.

Creating an attractive labour market, preventing extensive migration of the labour force, especially of young people, and ensuring a professional "de-freezing" are considered by the Moldovan population as primary employment and poverty reduction measures needed to be taken in the country. In order to more efficiently use the labour force resources available in the country, the focus of structural and industrial policies should be towards supporting small businesses.

Health

The performance of Moldova's health sector has seriously deteriorated during the transition period due to lack of resources to finance the costly system inherited from Soviet times and slow reforms in this sector. The deterioration of health services and the financial crisis has exacerbated the inequality of the system.

The core health indicators in Moldova (life expectancy, infant mortality, maternal mortality, children health), that belong to the most relevant indicators of human development in any society, registered significant improvements in 2005. Still, they are significantly worse compared with EU, CEE, and CIS countries. Although official statistics do not provide disaggregated data on life expectancy, child and maternal mortality for Roma, the survey shows that in Moldova (as in other countries of the region) the life expectancy, infant mortality, morbidity, and other major health indicators are substantially worse than for the majority population.

Life expectancy at birth for Roma is estimated at the level of 65.3 years, which is nearly three years shorter than for the general population. The life expectancy component of HDI for Roma is lower than for non-Roma, but not so significantly (6% lower). This difference is the smallest among the components of the HDI, with income and education components showing much more significant differences between Roma and non-Roma population. Although Roma population registers higher birth rates, at the same time the level of miscarriages and infant mortality are nearly twice higher for Roma than for non-Roma population. Also, is it very unlikely that the Moldovan MDG 4 target on infant mortality, representing 6.3 (per 1000 live births) by 2015, is attainable for the Roma population.

The results of the survey show similar morbidity levels for Roma and non-Roma, with the most frequent diseases claimed by both Roma and non-Roma during the year preceding the survey being flu and colds. Roma suffer more frequently from chronic diseases than non-Roma, with cardiovascular diseases topping the list followed by respiratory problems and diseases of the digestive system. Also, Roma children under 14 are less effectively covered by the vaccination programme. Lack of knowledge about the programme is the main reason explaining this situation.

Most Roma and non-Roma population know their family doctor. However, most people do not usually approach their doctor. The system of compulsory medical insurance is in place. However, only 23% of surveyed Roma are covered by the compulsory medical insurance system (and have medical insurance), while for non-Roma the coverage is nearly twice higher at 59%. A similar situation occurs for the elderly, presumably many of them having no free policies. Two main reasons for the limited coverage by the medical insurance system are the high costs of the medical insurance and the fact that people consider that they do not need it or they simply do know about it. Another factor that explains the differences in access to health services between the two groups is the distance, which varies from 1-3 km, to the medical institutions.

Housing conditions

Access to housing infrastructure is one of the important aspects of household deprivation and an additional useful proxy of household vulnerability. Results of the survey demonstrate that despite the prevailing stereotype of the Roma nomadic way of life, there are very few Roma households (15%) which were newly established households in respective localities during the last 15 years and no clear migration pattern has been observed.

Housing deprivation for Roma households is much higher than for the majority of households. One third of Roma households live in an insecure dwelling. The overwhelming majority (more than 80%) of Roma households do not benefit from basic housing conditions such as potable water, WC, bathroom and canalisation. Wood is in many cases the primary resource used for cooking and heating in the cold period for Roma. Although, relatively reduced access to information sources and information technologies is valid for the entire country, it is even more obvious in the case of Roma households. Interestingly most Roma population also have limited access to traditional information and communication means such as books, telephone, radio.

The desperate state of their living conditions, lack of household facilities and "information and communication gap" could be a reason explaining the deficit in general culture and knowledge among Roma, and, implicitly, the very low education level of Roma children. All these factors contribute to widening the social distance between Roma and non-Roma, perpetuating the Roma social exclusion and are symptoms perpetuating the vicious poverty cycle.

Security and community relations

In the last decade, the problems of Roma population were included in the international community agenda, due to increasing proof of human rights violation and insecure socio-economic conditions in Roma communities. International organisations such as UNDP, European Union, Council of Europe, OCSE and some NGOs, such as Open Society Institute have paid special attention to these trends.

Food insecurity risk is the major concern for Roma. Food shortage is a reality experienced quite frequently by almost two thirds of Roma households. At the same time, measures undertaken by the population in these cases do not tend to diminish or to alleviate food shortage definitively. Borrowing from relatives, friends and acquaintances, which are the most frequent measures, only alleviate the situation for a certain a period of time but do not solve it definitively.

Although insufficient incomes are problem number one for both Roma and non-Roma, the meaning of this problem is different for the two groups. In the case of the Roma, this can be interpreted as the lack of financial capacity to supply their families with enough food, because according to Roma opinion, there is a high probability that Roma families face the problem of hunger. Other problems with a relatively high degree of threat claimed by Roma are lack of access to health protection services, physical insecurity, crimes and lack of access to education. Unlike the Roma population, the non-Roma population is less concerned about basic needs. Besides lack of access to health protection services, the following prevailing concerns among non-Roma are the crime situation, environmental problems and corruption.

From the Social Distance Index perspective, the Roma manifest an open attitude towards other ethnic groups showing less social distance than non-Roma and other ethnic groups of the Republic of Moldova. Roma show a much more open attitude accepting most ethnic groups on the level of family members, or at least friends (Gagauz and Bulgarians). At the same time non-Roma accept Roma as neighbours but not as friends or family members. It must be mentioned that the Roma in Moldova is the ethnic group that is most rejected by the majority population. Also Roma are represented very poorly in the structures of local administration and there is insignificant evidence of a Roma being a member of any political party. The results of the survey showed that none of the observed Roma households contained a member of a local council or a political party. At the same time, 1.8% of surveyed non-Roma households contained members of a local council, and 1.3% households contained members of a political party. Given these circumstances, one can conclude that in reality, Roma may face a more serious discriminatory attitude than other ethnic groups.

Migration

The inherited political and social-economic system, institutional uncertainties and instabilities of the transition period in Moldova, has stimulated a massive labour migration abroad. The exodus of citizens of the Republic of Moldova abroad for work is a phenomenon of significant proportions, and the Roma population has participated in the migration flow. However, the Roma migration behaviour has some specific features. First, it should be mentioned the fact that emigration of the entire family is more specific to the Roma population, a phenomenon which partly explains the school drop-out rate of Roma children. Generally Roma migrants are younger than non-Roma.

Roma migrants prefer seasonal migration and give their preference to the CIS countries, especially to Russia and Ukraine due to low expenses, the ease of acquiring travel documents and the language factor. Simultaneously, these countries are less attractive from the viewpoint of work remuneration and security.

In the case of the Roma the use of remittances is more oriented towards current consumption and real estate investments and less to investments in business and savings. This structure of remittances use is characteristic for the primary phases of migration process. While Roma intend to use bigger share of remittances for business and savings in future, these ratios are still lower than for non-Roma. This

can be explained by both the modest size of earnings, which may cover only living expenses with no surplus left, and the lack of entrepreneurial skills and opportunities.

Speaking about living conditions, the Roma population is in a worse situation in comparison with non-Roma. In this context, the fact that Roma direct their remittances to real estate investments can be seen as consumption expenses with the purpose of creating basic living conditions. For non-Roma, these type of remittances can be treated as investments with the potential to preserve or augment income.

Policies specifically targeting Roma in Moldova

To respond to international commitments related to national minorities and specifically the Roma, considered the most "problematic" minority by the public authorities; since 1991, the Government of Moldova has been undertaking a series of measures to address the key problematic development areas the Roma encounter including education, health protection, promotion of their cultural and traditions and the development of the Roma NGO/associative sector. However, external and internal evaluations, including the opinion of the Council of Europe Ministers Committee on the implementation of Framework Convention on the Protection of Social Minorities[1] concluded that insufficient measures were implemented and the authorities would need to double the efforts aimed at improving the Roma situation and ensure their participation in the socio-economic and education areas as well as decision making process.

During the period of 2005-2006 the National Bureau of Interethnic relations developed the "Action Plan to Support Roma in Moldova for 2007-2010", which was approved on 21 December 2006 by the Government Decree nr.1453 dated 21 December 2006[2]. This plan anticipates tangible actions for supporting the Roma group identified in 5 thematic areas:

- Education and science (action related to enrolment of Roma children in pre-university (secondary and high school) education, parents' motivation in ensuring participation of their children in educational process, development of legal framework to support the organisation and activity in Sunday Schools, introduction of "Roma history and culture" courses in schools etc.)

- Culture (actions related to the preservation and development of Roma culture, development of folklore creation, participation in different cultural events, development of the Moldovan Roma Culture Development Centre, development of Roma dances and music bands, organization of events dedicated to International Roma Day by the National Bureau of Interethnic Relations etc.)

[1] Opinion II of the Council of Europe Ministers Committee on the implementation of Framework Convention on the Protection of Social Minorities, Resolution ResCMN (2005)8 having regard to the implementation of the Framework Convention on the Protection of Social Minorities

[2] Available on-line at http://lex.justice.md/document_rom.php?id=7C2CFD92:F34F089B

- Health and social protection (actions related to improvement of Roma access to health services and promotion of healthy living environment, prophylaxis of diseases among Roma population etc.)

- Jobs/Labour (actions related to support for development of traditional skills and crafts by training of craftsman, monitoring of their employment, as well as by a set of measures to support development of traditional crafts enterprises; promotion of active labour market policies, which include information for Roma regarding jobs available, professional education, training and retraining, support for individual entrepreneurship activities of Roma)

- Public order (actions related to development and delivering of specialized training courses for law enforcement bodies from Roma compactly populated areas, inclusion of Roma staff in law enforcement structures, building awareness of Roma population on legislation provisions related to migration (regulations on entry and leave of the country), as well as additional measures related to the registration of Roma children of pre-school and school age by the Ministry of Informational Development).

Certainly, these are important actions, however in many areas they are quite broad and incomplete for ensuring Roma inclusion and sustainable human development.

There are issues of a serious concern like lack of access to education materials and resources, including teachers teaching courses in Roma language, high child mortality and lack of access to health services, lack of access to communication means and services etc. which have not been targeted by the given action plan. Also, it is not clear what are the financial means, as well as the implementation and monitoring and evaluation mechanism of this plan. In order to ensure successful implementation of the plan, it is worthwhile considering the results of this survey as baseline and to have the action plan reviewed and expanded on. Roma group-sensitive policies, programming and projects with clearly identified problems, needs, objectives and targeted actions, as well as responsible implementing partners, financial resources allocated by the state and a financial gap that need to be outsourced should be developed and implemented in a comprehensive way targeting the decreasing of Roma vulnerability, social inclusion and closing the social distance gap.

I n 2000, in New York, 189 countries signed the "Millennium Declaration of United Nations[1]. This document reaffirmed the attitude of the international community towards the fundamental values of humanity – freedom, equality, solidarity, tolerance, respecting the environment and sharing responsibilities – and emphasised their relevance towards resolving serious problems, reaffirming peace, respect for human rights and ensuring sustainable development and environment protection. Moldova joined the Millennium Development initiative and committed to achieve the goals by 2015. Through the Decree[2] the Government of Moldova approved specific targets and put them in the basis of mid-term development programmes (the Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy 2004-2007, EU-Moldova Action Plan 2006-2008 and the National Development Plan 2008-2011).

Social exclusion of certain groups and persistently high poverty rates among the groups could easily compromise the achievement of the Millenium Development Goals (MDGs) by countries. In addition, addressing the needs of vulnerable groups is critically important for maintaining social cohesion in the spirit of the Millennium Declaration. Roma are widely considered as a vulnerable group deserving particular attention in order for countries to achieve MDG targets. Issues of Roma integration and sustainable income generation are key policy priorities in many countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). Progress on minority issues, specifically concerning the Roma, is among the assessment criteria in the accession preparation process in EU candidate countries.

To analyze the status of Roma from a human development perspective in the CEE, UNDP carried out an extensive survey research in 2002 on Roma vulnerability in Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia and Romania (*Avoiding the Dependency Trap*[3]). Following the report, the 'Decade of Roma Inclusion' initiative grew out of the conference 'Roma in an Expanding Europe: Challenges for the Future', hosted by the Government of Hungary in June 2003; the 'Decade' was formally launched in February 2005 in Sofia. In October 2006, during the International Steering Committee meeting of the 'Decade' in Sofia, Moldova also joined the 'Decade of Roma Inclusion initiative'.

On its way to European integration, Moldova has to address social exclusion issues, especially of generally marginalized and deprived groups, like the Roma. Unfortunately, the Central European experience cannot provide us with a blueprint of an effective solution. To start developing nationally owned solutions it is necessary first to understand - what are the issues that Roma ethnic group face.

Given the lack of comprehensive data and analysis on the Roma situation in Moldova, UNDP Moldova has joined the regional initiative and has undertaken the first comprehensive survey of the Roma minority in Moldova. The survey looks at Roma realities from a "human development" perspective, an

[1] More information on Millenium Declaration can be found on http://www.ohchr.org/english/law/millennium.htm
[2] More details are availble at http://lex.justice.md/index.php?action=view&view=doc&lang=1&id=300778
[3] http://europeandcis.undp.org/index.cfm?menu=p_book&BookID=65.

approach pioneered by UNDP over a decade ago, thus looking at the social-demographic situation, poverty profiles, education, employment and unemployment, health and housing conditions, as well as security and community relations and migration patterns and trends of Roma population versus non-Roma population.

The main findings are summarised in this report, which has a dual role. On the one hand, it continues the discussion initiated by the regional study and places Roma issues in Moldova in the regional perspective. On the other hand, it provides national and international stakeholders, policy and decision makers, academia and civil society representatives with reliable and comparative data/information on the Roma situation in Moldova. This could serve as basis for initiation of the dialogue on development challenges Roma face, as well as on the development of solutions, sound policies and implementation of targeted programmes in a participatory way to address Roma social exclusion issues.

Roma: International Perspective

History has shown that the protection of national minorities is essential to ensuring stability, democratic security and peace. A pluralist and genuinely democratic society should not only respect the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of each person belonging to a national minority, but also create appropriate conditions enabling them to express, preserve and develop this identity. The creation of a climate of tolerance and dialogue is necessary to enable cultural diversity to be a source and a factor, not of division, but of enrichment for each society[4].

In this respect, as follow-up to the Declaration of the Heads of State and Government of the member States of the Council of Europe adopted in Vienna on 9 October 1993, countries adhered to the Convention for the Protection of National Minorities - the first legally binding multilateral instrument devoted to the protection of national minorities in general. Its aim is to specify the legal principles that states undertake to respect in order to ensure the protection of national minorities, including Roma.

Discrimination is both a cause and a consequence of inadequate development opportunities; as such, the enforcement of anti-discriminatory legislation is a necessary, but not sufficient condition for addressing the hardships experiences by national minorities, including Roma. Non-discrimination, on the one hand, and minority protection on the other, can be regarded rather as complementary. The principle of non-discrimination aims at ensuring equality. Minority rights are aimed at the preservation of diversity. While the former ensures the right to equality, the latter safeguards the preservation of identity, or, in other words, the right to diversity[5].

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[4] Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, Preamble
[5] EU Enlargement and the Protection of National Minorities: Opportunities, Myths, and Prospects Boris Tsilevich,, Member of Parliament of the Republic of Latvia and moderator of MINELRES project.

In this context, the text of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination is instructive. In this Convention, the term *"racial discrimination"* shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life[6].

The attitude of the international community on fundamental values of humanity – freedom, equality, solidarity, non-discrimination, tolerance and social inclusion - as well as human rights protection of all people regardless of their race, colour and national ethnic origin etc. is expressed also in the Millennium Development Goals. Deriving from the Millennium Declaration, in a concise form, they define the following goals to be reached by signatory countries by 2015:

- Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger;

- Achieve universal primary education;

- Promote gender equality and empower women;

- Reduce child mortality;

- Improve maternal health;

- Combat HIV/SIDA, malaria and other diseases;

- Ensure environmental sustainability;

- Develop a global partnership for development.

The eight Millennium Development Goals provide time-bound quantified indicators to help the governments and other actors measure progress in reducing poverty and social exclusion. In this context, Roma Inclusion Decade has the role to support governments in improving the situation of poor and marginalised groups of Roma population. However, the MDGs will not be achieved if issues of social exclusion and poverty of certain groups are not solved. Addressing the needs of vulnerable groups is critically important for maintaining social cohesion. In this context, the Roma are widely considered as a vulnerable group deserving particular attention as countries aspire to achieve MDGs targets. Pockets of poverty and the social status of vulnerable groups are often hidden by national averages. This is why the real challenges faced in achieving the spirit of the MDGs lie in redressing the development obstacles facing marginalized and vulnerable groups. Meeting MDG targets in Southeast European countries means addressing the needs of vulnerable groups, including Roma.

To ensure a comprehensive approach in assessing and addressing Roma issues in the region, in 2002, UNDP conducted an extensive survey research on Roma vulnerability, which covered Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia and Romania. The resulting regional human development report (called

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[6] The provisions of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination can be found on http://www.ohchr.org/english/law/cerd.htm

Avoiding the Dependency Trap) analyzed the status of Roma from a human development perspective in these countries.[7] The report's recommendations to monitor poverty and other MDG-related targets relevant for vulnerable groups and Roma, in particular, were broadly confirmed by the 'Decade of Roma Inclusion' initiative, launched by eight countries of South Eastern Europe (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania, and Serbia) and supported by the World Bank, the Open Society Institute (OSI), UNDP, European Commission, Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Council of Europe and other organisations involved in development issues. The 'Decade' grew out of the conference 'Roma in an Expanding Europe: Challenges for the Future', hosted by the Government of Hungary in June 2003.[8] In February 2005, the 'Decade' was formally launched in Sofia where the prime ministers of these countries pledged to close the gaps in welfare and living conditions between Roma and the non-Roma in their countries, and to break the vicious circle of poverty and social exclusion. In October 2006, during the International Steering Committee meeting of the 'Decade' in Sofia, Moldova also joined the 'Decade of Roma Inclusion initiative'.

At the practical level, the 'Decade' can be seen as an endeavour to meet the MDG targets for Europe's most vulnerable group – the Roma. It represents the first joint exhaustive effort designed to improve the Roma situation in the region with the assistance of the international community. *Roma Inclusion Decade* is a political commitment of countries from this region aimed at reducing economic disparities, promoting human development in general, and breaking the vicious circle of poverty. Each participant country has developed national action plans, with clearly defined objectives and quantifiable indicators of success. In this respect, the Decade of Roma Inclusion provides a basis for group specific MDG progress monitoring.

The essential value declared by Roma Inclusion Decade is Roma participation. The document provides for the participation of Roma representatives and NGO representatives, which promote initiatives targeting the Roma population in any phase of program development, including as members of the Managing Committee - the body responsible for implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

The areas chosen for *Roma Inclusion Decade* are education, health, employment and housing. Also, identified were the main cross-cutting issues: poverty, discrimination and gender problems.

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[7] Using comparable quantitative data developed from more than 5,000 interviews (1,000 in each of the five countries), *Avoiding the Dependency Trap* provided the public and policy makers with a more complete picture of the hardships facing Roma communities. In this way, *Avoiding the Dependency Trap* paved the way for fuller consideration of new policies for Roma integration.

[8] http://www.romadecade.org

Box 1. Priorities of Roma Inclusion Decade

Education

- Ensure Roma access to compulsory education;
- Improve education quality;
- Implement integration and desegregation programs;
- Extend access to preschooler education;
- Improve access to post-secondary education and adult education.

Employment

- Improve level of possibilities by education and vocational training;
- Extend participation in labour market by active measures;
- Improve information on labour market;
- Reform hiring services.

Health

- Ensure access to health protection services;
- Improve databases on Roma health condition;
- Increase Roma inclusion in health services;
- Improve health of vulnerable communities.

Housing

- Avoid discrimination in access to housing;
- Improve living conditions in Roma communities;
- Extend access to dwellings.

Source: http://www.romadecade.org

Roma: National Perspective

With independence gained in 1990, the Republic of Moldova entered a long and complex transition with social and economic changes that have moved the country from an authoritarian to a democratic regime with a market economy. This implied changes in the roles played by the state and the population in terms of rights and duties. The transition highlighted the need for the country to put human rights forward as a key factor for the national development and accordingly the country made significant efforts to align national legislation with international human rights norms.

Moldova joined the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1990) and most international treaties, including the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1993) and Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1996)[9]. The Constitution of the Republic of Moldova adopted in 1994 includes the main human rights obligations of the state, stipulated in conformity with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, international covenants and other treaties to which Moldova is a party, and sets forth the priority of international human rights instruments over national legal norms (Article 4).[10] Also, in accordance with the Constitution, Article 10 (2) , "the State shall recognize and guarantee the right of all citizens to the preservation, development and expression of their ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity the state". Discrimination based on ethnic criteria is prohibited by the Constitution.

The Government of Moldova approved a number of decrees during the period 1991-2006 aimed at the development of Roma national culture. The first was Decree Nr.51, "Regarding measures of ensuring the development of the Roma national culture" adopted on 8th of October 1993 by the Government of Moldova. Later in 2001 Government approved Decree Nr. 131, dated 16 February 2001[11] "Regarding measures to support Roma in Moldova". The latter decree reveals the following key problematic areas where the Roma encounter difficulties: education, health protection, promotion of cultural and traditional aspects and development of Roma non-governmental, civil society organizations. In particular, the actions foreseen by the aforementioned decree provide measures for adequate enrolment/implication of Roma children in schools (education), promotion of a healthy life and prophylaxis of diseases, establishing the necessary conditions for development of traditional artistic aspects, as well as support of the statutory activities of Roma NGOs/CSOs in the Republic of Moldova. A separate issue mentioned in the decree was the deficit of data on the dimensions of the Roma population. In this context a sociological survey of the Roma situation is planned as well as a study of Roma language and culture in Moldova.

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[9] To date, the Republic of Moldova is a party to 586 multilateral treaties. These include the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and CRC optional protocol (1993), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1993), Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (1990), Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (1994), Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1995), Convention relating to the status of refugees and refugee protocol (2002), the European Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1997) and other international instruments affirming the human rights standards. More details can be found on www.mfa.md/img/docs/lista_tratate_multilaterale.pdf.

[10] The Constitution stipulates the respect and protection of a person's rights, the fulfillment of the principle of equality of all citizens in front of justice and authorities without distinction of any kind, such as race, religion, sex, political or other opinion, ethnic or social origin, or property as a primary responsibility of the State. It ensures the free access of citizens to justice, the right to file a petition, as well as the right for remedy for acts violating his/her rights and compensation for the damages inflicted by the State or its institutions.

[11] Available on-line at http://lex.justice.md/index.php?action=view&view=doc&lang=1&id=298741

However, measures foreseen by the Decree nr. 131 were recognised as insufficient by the resolution of the Council of Europe Ministers Committee (2005)8 dated 7 December 2005 on the implementation of Framework Convention on the Protection of Social Minorities in the Republic of Moldova, as well in the Notification II on Republic of Moldova issued on 9 December 2004 by the Consulting Committee of Council of Europe concerning the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. Thus, a recommendation was to develop a new Action Plan to address the Roma issues. In this context, during the period of 2005-2006 the National Bureau of Interethnic relations developed the "Action Plan to Support Roma in Moldova for 2007-2010", which was approved 21 December 2006 by the Government Decree nr.1453 dated 21 December 2006[12]. This plan anticipates tangible general actions for supporting the Roma group, as well as separate actions identified in 5 thematic areas:

- Education and science

- Culture

- Health and social protection

- Jobs and

- Public order

The general actions laid out in the plan relate to the provision of support to the Roma NGO sector and encouraging participation of Roma in the programmes and projects related to the improvement and monitoring of the Roma social-cultural situation and their social integration and systematic publishing of materials on Roma social-cultural situation. In the education and science area, it lays out the development of a specialized curriculum for the discipline "Language, History and Roma Culture", as well as delivering specialized courses on teaching this discipline in pre-university (secondary and high school) education institutions in Roma densely populated communities. Other action laid out in the plan include the enrolment of Roma children in pre-university (secondary and high school) education, parents' motivation in ensuring participation of their children in educational process, development of the legal framework to support the organization and activity in Sunday Schools, as well as other programmes targeted towards eliminating Roma illiteracy.

Another distinct action is carrying out scientific researches on Roma cultural, historic, linguistic and social dimensions. In the cultural area, actions have set out to preserve and develop the Roma culture, including the development of folklore creation, participation in different cultural events, the development of Moldovan Roma Culture Development Centre, the development of Roma dances and music bands etc. The plan also sets out the organisation of events dedicated to International Roma Day by the National Bureau of Interethnic Relations.

In the area of health care, the action plan sets out measures contributing to the preparation and activity of social and health mediators of the Roma group. Ensuring the cooperation of family doctors with social and health mediators represents a priority stipulated in the Plan. In addition, the Ministry of Health intends to promote a healthy way of life and prophylaxis of the diseases among Roma, assure

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[12] Available on-line http://lex.justice.md/document_rom.php?id=7C2CFD92:F34F089B

the Roma access to medical health according to the legislation and grant financial help to the Roma poor - vulnerable families with many children.

The Action Plan addresses issues related to Roma employment as well. Among the four actions in the employment area, one worth stressing is the reviving and development of traditional handicrafts, including ensuring the qualification of specialists in the handicrafts and traditional professions in vocational educational institutions. In addition to this, the plan contains actions regarding:

- Supervision of the employment process in the work fields of ethnic graduates;
- Information and consulting regarding vacancies in the labour market;
- Contributions to Roma professional qualifications and re-qualifications;
- Development of businesses in Roma communities.

The plan also contains important actions related to public order including the development and delivery of specialized training courses for law enforcement bodies from Roma densely populated areas, the inclusion of Roma staff in law enforcement structures, building awareness of Roma population on legislation provisions related to migration (regulations on entry and leaving the country), as well as additional measures related to the registration of Roma children of pre-school and school age by the Ministry of Information Development.

Various entities are involved in tackling problems facing the Roma in Moldova. These are mainly government institutions responsible for certain actions under the Action Plan including the Bureau of Interethnic Relations, Ministry of Education and Youth, Ministry of Economy and Trade and the National Agency on Labour Force Employment, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Social Protection, Family and Children, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Information Development, Academy of Sciences of Moldova. There is also a Permanent Commission on Human Rights in the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova and an Ombudsman Institution (Parliamentary Advocates) in charge of monitoring, promotion and protection of human rights in the Republic of Moldova, including the rights of national minorities, as well as other related special structures with responsibilities in the field of national minorities (Presidential Commission on Interethnic Relations and the Main Division on Refugees affiliated to the Ministry of Justice). Specialists on interethnic relations and languages operate in local administration bodies and municipal and district centres.

Context and Rationale of the Present Study

This study builds on and expands the groundbreaking report *"At Risk: Roma and the Displaced in Southeast Europe"*–developed by UNDP in 2006. The report is a part of a much broader effort to address the dimensions of the vulnerability and Roma exclusion, thus focusing on groups of EU aspirants–the countries of Southeast Europe such as Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania, and Serbia with Kosovo. Based on solid quantitative data and statistics, the above report analyses the determinants of vulnerability as they affect Roma and the displaced. The report concluded with series of recommendations to improve Roma situation, taking into account commitments made by countries to achieve MDGs.

Moldova was not covered by the aforementioned report. Considered a South-eastern country with declared aspirations towards achieving MDGs and European Integration, UNDP Moldova decided to join regional initiative and continue this series of studies by applying the same methodology of research. Given the similar challenge of lack of reliable and accurate data on Roma population faced by Moldovan statistics, the report shall provide the national counterparts with basic quantitative data and statistics on Roma situation in Moldova in different areas such as poverty profiles (incomes and expenses), education, employment and unemployment, health, housing, security and migration. This information should also serve the purpose of enhancing the national dialogue on Roma situation in Moldova and challenges faced by them, as well as provide a platform for the development of solutions and sound policies and implementation of comprehensive programmes of Roma social inclusion.

Objective

The main objective of the current study is to understand the Roma situation in the Republic of Moldova by offering quantitative and qualitative data on the level of population social exclusion, from the perspective of social-demographic situation, incomes and expenses, poverty, education, employment and unemployment, health, housing, security and community relations and migration.

Methodology of study

The study was carried out during the period October 2005-Ocotober 2006 and covered 81 localities[13] and 1200 households[14] in total, divided in two sub samples (600 Roma and 600 non-Roma[15]). Taking into account the lack of systematic and representative information on the Roma situation in the Republic of Moldova at the national level, two methods of data collection were used for the survey:

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[13] Localities covered by this survey can be found in the map presented in Annex II.

[14] The definitions for the household and head of household, used during the survey, are as follows:
- Household – is a place separated from other households by a separate entrance, with one or many persons living together for 3 months during the last 12 months having a common budget and common meals.
- Head of the household – this is the member of the household appointed by any other member or who identified himself as head of household, regardless of the reason or criteria (e.g. the oldest, takes the decisions in the household, has the highest incomes, by tradition, etc.). The head of the household is determined by the question: "Who is the head of the household?" The head of household can be either a man or a woman.

[15] For comparability reasons non-Roma families were selected in close proximity to Roma communities. This helps us to remove influence of regional disparities from Roma—non-Roma comparisons.

- Quantitative survey based on regional methodology through filling in structured questionnaires by Roma families and non-Roma families living in close proximity with Roma communities.
- Qualitative data collection through interviews[16] with the representatives of central authorities, with responsibilities in this area, leaders of Roma NGOs, donors.

Additionally, analysis of the legislative and institutional framework in the field of minorities, as well as related information on programmes addressing Roma issues was used.

Given the lack of reliable demographic data on the Roma population, the statistical data of 1989 Population Censuses and the data provided by the survey of Organisation *Juvlia Romani* organised in 2001 in the framework of CORDAID project were used to ensure a better sample representation at the national level. The following factors were taken into account during sampling:

1. Number of Roma declared at the Census;
2. Distribution at the district level;
3. Country residential coverage (rural-urban);
4. Etc.

The sampling took into account the peculiarities of Roma population in the framework of every locality, in order to adjust the non-Roma sub sample to the Roma one. From this standpoint, there were set 3 types of localities:

- Localities populated predominantly by Roma; in this case the interviews with non Roma representatives were carried out in the neighbouring locality, populated predominantly by non-Roma;
- Localities where Roma constitute a small part of the population, but are concentrated in a distinct part of that locality; in this case, the non-Roma sampling point was set in close proximity to the region populated by Roma;
- Localities where Roma population does not constitute a distinct part of that locality; in this case, both Roma and non-Roma households were selected by the same method.

The Roma sub sample is based on a list of localities where there are at least 5 Roma households in the locality.

The questionnaires were filled in by interviewers at the domicile of interviewed persons; data on all household members were registered. Data were analysed on household and individual level, taking into account all members of surveyed households, for which data on socio-demographic and economic status were registered.

Conclusions provided in the present report are based mainly on the results of study. Additionally, some other reports were taken into consideration while drawing conclusions and recommendations.

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[16] Only one person was interviewed from every household, and he/she provided information on the social-economic status of every household member

Districts (Rayons) and Localities included in the Sample

Raionul Briceni:
Briceni
Lipcani

Raionul Ocniţa:
Otaci

Raionul Soroca:
Soroca
Bădiceni
Prodăneşti

Raionul Drochia:
Drochia
Chetrosu
Gribova
Baroncea
Ochiul Alb
Nicoreni

Raionul Edineţ:
Edinet

Raionul Rîşcani:
Mihăileni

Raionul Floreşti:
Floreşti

Raionul Şoldăneşti:
Răspopeni

Raionul Glodeni
Glodeni
Danu
Duşmani

Mun. Bălţi

Raionul Orhei:
Orhei
Slobodca
Selişte
Lucaşeuca
Tabora
Isacova
Morozeni
Ghetlova

Raionul Ungheni:
Pîrliţa

Raionul Călaraşi:
Călaraşi   Parcani
Buda   Ţibirica
Vălcineţ   Schinoasa
Palanca   Leordoaia
Răciula

Raionul Criuleni:
Bocşana

Raionul Nisporeni:
Nisporeni   Vărzăreşti   Mărinici
Vulcăneşti   Ciorăşti   Balaureşti
Bursuc   Pîrjolteni

Raionul Ialoveni:
Ialoveni
Costeşti

Raionul Anenii Noi:
Anenii Noi

Raionul Străşeni:
Străşeni   Stejăreni
Lozova   Doina
Vorniceni   Huzun
Micleuşeni

Raionul Căuşeni:
Căuşeni

Raionul Hînceşti:
Hîncesti
Sărata Galbenă
Minjir
Cărpineni
Sofia
Horjeşti

Raionul Ştefan-Vodă
Ştefan Vodă
Antoneşti
Talmaza

UTAG:
Comrat
Ceadîr Lunga
Gaidar
Copceac

Raionul Cantemir:
Cania

Raionul Cahul:
Cahul
Zîrneşti
Slobozia Mare

Raionul Taraclia:
Taraclia
Corten

1

The number of Roma living in the country is important and a hotly debated issue. Statistics on number of Roma in Moldova is limited to Population Census data only, which could underestimate number of Roma, as they often avoid identifying themselves as Roma, in order to escape prejudice (or being stigmatised). Consequently, the first objective was to estimate number of Roma using the survey data.

Investigating the demographic patterns of Roma group was another objective. Are they gradually converging toward majority family models or do they tend to follow the traditional patterns? In this context this chapter presents the socio-demographic status of Roma compared to the non-Roma population living in close proximity to Roma settlements.

Demographic Characteristics

Social demographic evolution of an ethnic group is determined by three factors:

- *Ethno-demographic factor* which is the biological reproduction of the group, expressed in population growth as a relation between the birth rate and the mortality rate;

- *Migration factor* which concerns the numerical evolution of the population expressed in the relation between the emigration of members from the ethnic group settlement and the immigration of new members;

- *Ethno-transformational factor* which reveals the results of interaction between groups, which causes changes in ethnic conscience through cultural, political and economic influences etc.

Ethno-Demographic Factor

Who are the Roma? Currently there are several major views on Roma identity, ethnicity and nationhood, each of which is supported (and promoted) by different organizations in the context of their specific political agenda. These include:

- The Roma as ethnos and ethnic minority, by the International Romani Union (IRU);

- Roma intellectuals, who suggest that the Roma nation is currently undergoing a process of creation, and that this is the period of the Roma Renaissance;

- Nikolae George's idea of Roma as a trans-European nation without its own territory, alienated from the continent as a whole;

- The Roma sometimes define themselves as a nation without a state or non-territorial European nation, a vision developed during the 2000 IRU Congress in Prague. The Congress adopted a declaration demanding that international institutions grant them the status of nation without a state;

- The classical idea of Roma as a cultural minority, migrants etc.; and

- Roma as a social minority, underclass or in general as a socially vulnerable group, usually proposed by outside experts (Szelenyi, 2000).

The concept of an institutionally represented non-territorial European nation receives perhaps the broadest support, including from the EU. In practical terms, the claim for acceptance as a *nation without state* translates into demands for *representation* in the political bodies of the EU and its member states. The most prominent example is the European Roma Forum accepted by the Council of Europe with a Partnership agreement on 16 December 2004.

The variety of approaches shown above suggests caution in choosing terms to describe the Roma because these terms can influence policies and social attitudes.

The debate over the size of the Roma population is a direct consequence of the lack of clarity regarding Roma identity. 'Counting the Roma' is not easy (if possible at all) given the flexible (or different) meaning ascribed to the term 'Roma' and the diversity of the 'Roma universe'. This is why it is only possible to talk about estimates. Estimates indicate that between 6.8 and 8.7 million Roma live in Europe, 68 per cent of whom live in Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans.

Available data for the second half of the XXth century show that the number of Roma population in the country has been in continuous growth, although the growth rates have been decreasing significantly from one Census to another. According to the data presented in **Table 1**, the most recent estimate of the number of Roma population is 12271 people, representing c.a. 0.4% of population.

Table 1: Evolution of Roma population (number of registered Roma as per Censuses carried out in the second half of XX century)

Census (year)	Nr. of Roma registered	Growth	Growth per annum
1959	7265		
1970	9235	27.1%	2.5%
1979	10666	15.5%	1.7%
1989	11517	8.0%	0.8%
2004[1]	12271	6.5%	0.4%

However, similar to the regional situation, debates over the size of Roma population take place in Moldova as well. The main alternative source in this sense is the survey carried out by the Associa-

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[1] Source: Statistical Yearbook of Moldova, 2006

Box 2. Ethnographical groups of Roma in the Republic of Moldova

Moldovan Roma identify themselves most often with the name of "le rom le ciace" (real, traditional Roma). On the terri-tory of the Republic of Moldova a large number of groups are present, identified mostly by the handicrafts practiced. In this context we can mention the groups of ursari, aurari, argintari, caldarari, ciurari, lingurari, fierari, florari, geambasi.

The Roma ursari are represented by a majority group in the localities of Guzun, Buda, Bursuc, Vulcăneşti, Suruceni, Ursari in the central region of the country. In the communities Ursari and Vulcăneşi, district Nisporeni two local groups of ursari, the *Basarabeni and Pruteni* can be distinguished. Since long ago, *the ursari* have followed a settled way of life; the main occupation for men is the work with metals, while for women it is the manufacturing of combs. The surnames of ursari Roma are predominantly Moldovan: Cantea, Argint, Bogdan. The main relatives attested between traditional ursari Roma are: Ganeştii and Zuhareştii.

One of the most numerous Roma ethnographic groups is the vlahic faction. *Vlahâi* are named *curteni* by other Roma. The most numerous group of v*lahâi* Roma is present in the localities of Vălcineţ (district Călăraşi) and Pripiceni-Rezeşi (district Rezina). This group of v*lahâi* Roma is the most linguistically assimilated in that most of them speak the national language.

The *ciocănari* and *lăieşi* Roma, who live in the neighbourhood of Chisinau are called v*lahâi* Roma with the name of *paiaslo* (from Romani language „pai" = water, namely diluted, non-traditional Roma). The group of v*lahâi* is represented by the groups of *căldărari and chişinăueni.* The ethnical group of *chişinăueni* is divided in two local subgroups of Roma: *lăieşii* and *lingurari.*

Other Roma also attribute to *vlahâi* the group of *brăzdeni* Roma, which live in the district of Cahul, in the locality of Treteşti, (the native population call it *La Brazdă).* The main occupation of brăzdeni Roma as testified by their name is agriculture (brazda=furrow).

Another Roma group are *ciocănari Roma (ciocan=hammer). T*heir representatives live in the Northern part of the coun-try; the majority group is found in the town of Soroca and its neighbourhood. The *ciocănari* Roma have traditional handi-crafts working with metals and also speculation activities with deficit products. (This group is also called popeşteni.*)*

In the town of Drochia are located the *ciurari* Roma.

A group of Roma, called *cangliaria* (from Romani language "ca*ngli"* = comb), namely also *pieptănari,* live in the locality Vulcăneşti of the Nisporeni district. The representatives of this group are occupied with manufacturing combs and other objects from cattle horns. In the same locality an entire sector is populated by *pomanari (beggars)* Roma*,* regularly in-volved in begging activities, travelling in the villages of Moldova and the neighbouring settlements of Ukraine confirming their statute as victims of fires, floods and other natural calamities. The *pomanari* Roma do not have any preconceived ideas concerning the activity they carry out daily. This group is called by lăieşi and ciocănari with the name of manghi-tori, (in Romani language – "te mangu" = to beg, "te mangas" = to ask for, to require).

The ethnic group of *lingurari* Roma is called by lăieşi, ursari and ciocănari by the name "*caştalii*" (Romani language "*caştalo*" = carpenter and "*lenm*" = wood).

In Moldovan communities another group of Roma is called "*şătrari*", equivalent to the gypsy name "*cătunarea*" (Romani language "*cătuna*" – camp). The ethnic name of *cătunarea* is also present in *vătraşi,* Roma for the town of Comrat.

Source: Sali Nicolae, Duminica Ion, "Emerging Civil Spciety. Roma in the Republic of Moldova: Between Tolerance and Prejudices", Chisinau 2006, Monograf

tion of Roma Women "Juvlia Romani" in 2001 using administrative sources. According to this survey, a number of 20,040 of Roma were living on the territory of the Republic of Moldova excluding the municipality of Chisinau and the district of Taraclia. Some Roma leaders have quoted figures as high as 250 000 (c.a. 7% of population), but there are no reliable sources that would confirm the fact that the number of Roma population is much higher than the official figures. Taking into account the rate of self-identification to Roma ethnicity revealed by this study and Census data, it is estimated that the number of Roma in Moldova is close to 15,000 people.

> **Box 3. An estimation of the number of Roma population provided by a Roma leader**
>
> "I consider that the number of Roma population in the Republic of Moldova constitutes approximately 250 000 persons, and I'll tell you the reasons why the Censuses reveal such a low number of *Roma*. For example, my nationality in my passport is *Moldovan*, and I do know *Roma* who have written their nationality in their passports as *Gagauz*, *Bulgarian*. Due to their unbearable life there has been a tendency of Roma to 'hide' at any cost their belonging to this ethnic group; this is a historic reality. They agreed to marry *Moldovan* or *Ukrainian* women or any other nationality and to have blonder children, to be written in documents as *Moldovans. But this* after all does not mean they are not *Roma*. If a *Moldovan* is a census taker conducting the interview, a *Roma* will say they are *Moldovan* too. For example, in the village Pîrjoleni of Strășeni district, if you go there and call the people *tsigani* (*Roma*) they may appear upset but in fact they are *Roma*. We went to the school and met the director who is also from that village and he told us he is *Moldovan*, although he is *Roma. He* was my colleague at University."
>
> Source: Interview with Roma Leader

Translated into the regional context, the estimation of Roma population of about 15,000 is significantly lower than in other countries in the region such as Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary etc. (see **Box 4**). However, these figures should be treated with caution. Regional experience suggests that Roma populations are indeed usually larger than officially registered during Censuses. Estimation of number of Roma in the present report is c.a 20% higher then Census data, with some Roma leaders quoting figures 20 times higher then Census data. At the same time, in the region, different experts' estimates of Roma population are 2-3 times higher than census data. The reason behind this is that often Roma avoid identifying themselves as Roma. The reasons for denying they belong to Roma ethnicity are as follows:

- negative stereotypes attributed to Roma by the majority population;

- ethnic discrimination in the labour market, education, health care and other social spheres;

- injustices and discrimination actions that Roma had to face in the past.

In order to estimate the number of Roma population we must take into consideration the peculiarities of an extremely complex social process. The ethnic self-identification and hetero-identification, the cultural, linguistic, civil, and religious beliefs are all elements of assimilation, segregation or ethnic conservation processes. In various interactions, either formal or informal, people face a situation where they must assign themselves to one or another ethnic community. As a result of negative stereotypes associated with Roma ethnicity, and a sometime discriminatory attitude, Roma have a reason to hide their real ethnicity.

Box 4. Roma population in the region

● **Romania**. Official data (1992 census) count 409,723 Roma, or 1.8 percent of the population. Different expert estimates (Institute for Research of the Quality of Life, 1998) place this figure at around 1.5 million, or 6.5 percent of the population. Other estimates report between 1.4 million and 2.5 million Roma, making this group the largest Roma population in Europe and possibly the world.

● **Bulgaria**. Official data (2001 census) report 365,797 people of Roma identity or 4.7 percent of the population. Different experts' estimates (data from sociological polls, labour offices, social assistance service, Ministry of Interior) vary between 600,000 and 750,000, without showing essential changes over the last years.

● **Hungary**. The 1990 Hungarian census reported that 142,683 Hungarians were Roma, the 2001 census registered 190,046 Roma in the country. Roma groups and NGOs put this number between 400,000 and 500,000 and sometimes as high as 800,000. The sample survey generally recognized as the most systematic attempt to calculate inter alia the size of the Roma population was undertaken in 1993/94, and estimated that on 1 January 1994, there were 456,646 Roma living in Hungary (a little under 5 percent of the population).

● **Slovak Republic**. Official data (2001 census) report 89,920 people of Roma identity, or 1.7 percent of the population. However, the London-based Minority Rights Group NGO estimates the number to be 480,000 to 520,000, or 9 percent to 10 percent of the total population. This would make the Roma the second largest minority in the Slovak Republic, after the Hungarians.

● **Czech Republic**. According to official data (2001 census), the number of Roma is 11,718, sharply below the 1991 census figure of 32,903.39 Different experts' estimates vary between 160,000 and 300,000 (Liégeois 1994). The Minority Rights Group estimates the number to be 275,000 (2.5 percent to 2.9 percent of the population).

Source: "Avoiding the Dependency Trap", UNDP 2004.

Referring to the Roma from Moldova, the data presented in **Figure 1** suggest that Roma self-identification as Roma is quite high. Eight out of ten respondents identified by the interviewer as Roma[2], declared themselves, as well as the members of their household, as Roma. Others identified themselves in most cases as Moldovans (15%) or with other ethnicities.

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[2] In the frame of the survey, the ethnic identification of Roma respondents was based both on the respondent self identification and on the assessment of the field operator. The assessment was based on such factors as skin colour, language, accent, way of speaking, life style, name of the respondent. Details are provided.

Figure 1. Ethnic self-identification of Roma (self-declared ethnic identity of the respondents identified as Roma)

Other nationalities
3%

Moldovan
15%
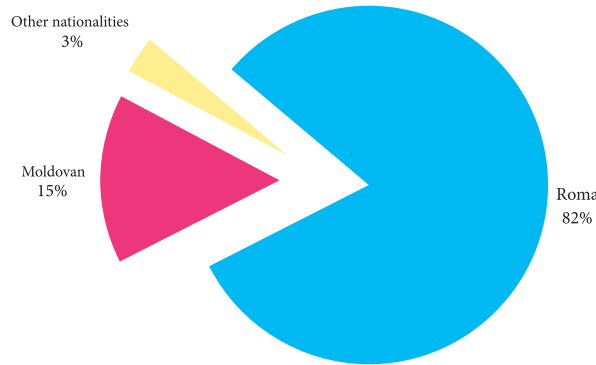
Roma
82%

Source: Survey results

In terms of the structure of population by sexes, the study results showed that Roma population seg-regated by sexes differs insignificantly from that of the general population. According to the data of National Bureau of Statistics, on 1 January 2006, out of the total population of the Republic of Mol-dova, 51.8% were women and 48.2%-men[3], which is quite close to the results obtained from survey for Roma population - 52% women and 48% men (see **Figure 2**). If analyzing the population by age distribution, the results show that Roma population, in comparison to non-Roma, is significantly skewed toward young age groups. While youngsters under 16 years old represent 19% of non-Roma population, in the case of Roma, the ratio of the same age group is significantly higher — 28%. This pattern is also observed for the next age group, Roma and non-Roma, from 16 to 30 years old, but the difference is less significant. For older age Roma and non-Roma groups, the situation is reverted — the ratio of older groups in Roma population is significantly lower than in non-Roma popula-tion. The explanation of this situation is of a demographic nature - a higher birth rate and lower life expectancy for the Roma population.

Figure 2. Age pyramid of Roma and non-Roma population
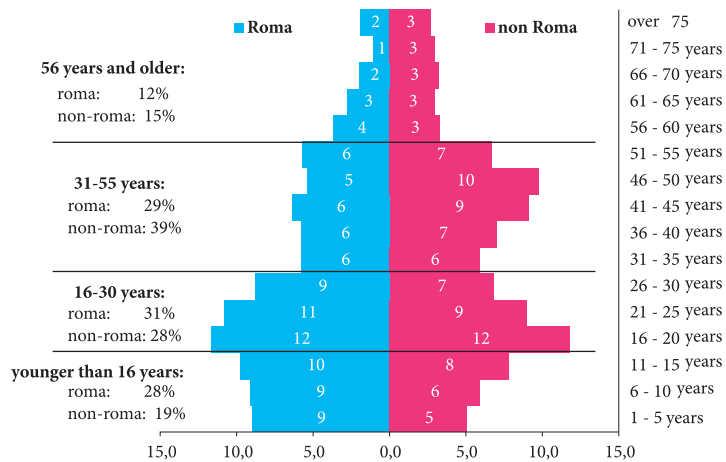
Source: Study results

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3 http://www.statistica.md/statistics/dat/822/ro/Situatia_demografica_2005.pdf

These findings are very close to the picture drawn by the regional report. The Roma population in the region is much younger than the non-Roma population. According to the regional report, the aging index[4] for Roma in the region is 15. At the same time, for total populations in all the countries covered by Regional report the aging index is 50[5], with the highest levels recorded in Bulgaria, Hungary, and the Czech Republic. The regional median age for Roma is 19.3 years, compared to 33.6 years for the overall population.

Differences in age structure are mirrored in differences in civil status. In the case of Roma, the ratio of non-married persons is over 10% higher than for non-Roma, a fact explained by a higher ratio of young people in the Roma population in comparison with non-Roma. However early marriages among the Roma population represent a worrying phenomenon. As per data presented in **Table 2**, one can conclude that, generally Roma people marry at an earlier age. The minimum age of married persons registered among surveyed Roma is 15 years in comparison with 17 years in case of surveyed non Roma[6]. No significant gender differences in marriage ages are observed in the case of Roma, with both women and men having a minimum marriage age of 15 years. Contrary, in the case of non-Roma population, the minimum marriage year for men is 20 and for women, 17. Another indicator of early marriages is the ratio of those who were married (including currently married, as well as separated and widows) in the age group 15–25 years. In the Roma case, this ratio is significantly higher (40% for women and 30% for men) compared to non-Roma population (30% for women and 19% for men).

Table 2. Age characteristics of married persons (Roma and non-Roma)

	Men		Women	
	roma	non-roma	roma	non-roma
Average age of married persons	41.9	46.3	40.0	42.8
Minimum age at marriage	15	20	15	17
Share of married persons among 15 - 25 years old	30%	19%	40%	30%

Source: Survey results

This situation is quite similar to findings of the Regional Report[7], which showed that, in four out of the five countries, 33-47% of respondents in the 16 to 19 age cohort are married. The ratio of married in the 20 to 24 years old age group is generally 68 %-78 %; only in the Czech Republic is it smaller (54%).

Growing numbers of so-called "custom law" marriages both in the region and in Moldova, at the expense of formal civic marriages, is another important demographic tendency in the Roma communities. "Custom" means that the couple is viewed as married by the community, relatives and by

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[4] i.e. number of those who are older then 60 per 100 persons younger than 15,
[5] In Moldova the ageing index is 56 for the general population
[6] According to the Family Code, the legally accepted age for marriage is 16 years old for women and 18 years old for men.
[7] UNDP 2004. "Avoiding the Dependency Trap"

themselves—but not in the eyes of the administration. In contrast to the Anglo-Saxon legal tradition, custom law marriages are not "common law" marriages and are not recognized by the state as legally binding.

Migration Factor

Migration in the Republic of Moldova has been widespread during the transition period especially since 1998 and is characteristic for all ethnic groups living in the country. Despite the magnitude of the migration phenomenon, few if any studies were conducted in 1990s, and migration data remained scarce and speculative. In 2004, the *Migration and Remittances Study*[8] was carried out. According to the study results, the estimated number of migrants, i.e. people absent from Moldova at the date of study, constituted 399 thousand. The *migrating contingent* was estimated at 571 thousand persons (including those who had been abroad in the past 2 years and had come to Moldova for a short period) and the *migrating potential* was estimated at 690 thousand people (including those who have never been abroad, but are ready to leave).

However, that was baseline information which did not shed light on the impact of migration and remittances on the social-demographic situation in Moldova since it did not provide data disaggregated by social economic groups. In addition, any attempt at measuring Roma migration, either through sociological studies or Census, faces additional difficulties due to migration behaviour specific to Roma, who usually migrate with their entire households.

The findings of the survey suggest that generally the characteristics of Roma migrants are quite close to non-Roma migrants, in terms of age representation. In both cases, the majority of migrants are young men. One of the observed particularities of Roma migration behaviour, which distinguish them from the general population, is the migration of the entire household. Taking into account the particular interest of migration issues, the study findings on the migration character and effects on Roma group are presented in Chapter 8 of this report.

Ethno-Transformational Factors

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

The linguistic factor has a special importance in ethnic identity. Usually any integration process, not necessarily assimilation, is accompanied by an increased use of the languages of other (dominant) ethnic groups. The Roma perceive learning the language of the majority of the population as both a need and a possibility to integrate easier into the society.

According to the data shown in **Figure 3**, the language spoken at home for more than half of Roma is Romani language. However, a significant part of Roma (39%) speaks the national language[9], while

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[8] CBS-AXA (2004) "Migration and Remittences Study". Study on request and with financial support of IOM, EC FSP, and IMF

[9] According to the Article 13 (1) of the Constitution of Moldova "State language of the Republic of Moldova functioning on the basis of Latin alphabet". http://www.e-democracy.md/legislation/constitution/i/

around 3% of Roma speak Russian at home. Interestingly, the share of those who know Romani language is higher than the share of those who speak it at home — 64% and 57% respectively, thus, the difference being 7%.

However, if we look at languages generally spoken by Roma we will find a completely different picture. The percentage of Roma that use other languages is quite high, and practically a tri-*lingual* phenomenon (a general characteristic of people living in Moldova) is noticed among the Roma. A significant share of population speaks the national language and Russian as well as Romani -75% and 77%, respectively.

Another frequently used language for Roma is Ukrainian, spoken by 22% of Roma. An explanation for this would be the fact that some Roma live in close neighbourhood with the Ukrainian population. This is especially true for localities situated near the Ukrainian border and Ukrainian villages in the country.

Figure 3. Languages spoken by Roma
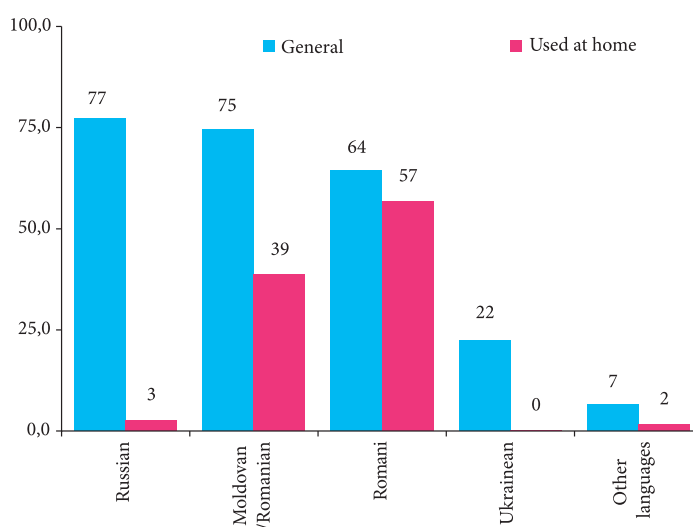
Source: Survey results

Mixed marriages have a significant ethno-transformational effect. One of the basic conditions for widespread mixed couples is the cohabitation in close neighbourhood or even cohabitation with representatives of other ethnic groups; as well as no or limited socio-cultural constraints to mixed marriages. These conditions are valid in the case of the Roma in the Republic of Moldova.

In general, mixed ethnic marriages occur quite frequently in Moldova. For example, in 2005 according to the National Bureau of Statistics data[10], 22% of marriages were interethnic (see **Table 3**). Among Moldovans this rate is 9%, while for Russians and Ukrainians–81% and 65%, respectively. As for Roma, around 27% of couples surveyed are mixed couples. This share is close to the national average, but is significantly lower than for other minorities. This fact could be explained to a lesser extent by Roma attitudes towards other ethnicities and to a larger extent by a higher rejection level of Roma by the representatives of other ethnicities (judging by the index of social distance, presented in Chapter 7 of the report).

Table 3. Ethnical structure of couples in Moldova

Nationality	Share of mixed couples
Moldovan	9%
Ukrainian	65%
Russian	81%
Gagauz	24%
Bulgarian	65%
Jews	95%
Belarus	97%
Total	22%
Roma mixed ethnical couples (according to survey data)	27%

Source: Survey results, Own calculations based on Statistical Yearbook 2006, table 2.2.15, page 69

By religious beliefs, the differences are not significant; the majority of the Roma population is Orthodox (95%), in comparison with 98% in the case of non Roma.

Conclusions

There are several major theories on the origins of the Roma (or Gypsy) population. More controversial is the disagreement over the size of the Roma population. The debate over the size of the Roma population is a direct consequence of the lack of clarity regarding Roma identity.

Since the second half of the XXth century, the number of Roma population in Moldova registered during the Censuses has been constantly growing. The recent population Census held in 2004 showed that 12,271 Roma people live in the country, representing around 0.4% of the population; a ratio that is significantly lower than in other countries in the region such as Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary etc. However regional experience shows that Censuses tend to underestimate the real number of Roma population. Negative stereotypes attributed to the Roma by majority population,

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[10] Own calculations based on Statistical Yearbook 2006, table 2.2.15, page 69.

ethnic discrimination in the labour market, education, health care, and other social spheres, injustices and discrimination actions that the Roma had to face in the past are among the key reasons for denying Roma ethnicity.

Present survey data estimate Roma population in Moldova at 15,000 people. Some alternative sources estimate Roma population at 20,040 or even as much as 250,000 (circa 7% of the population) as quoted by some Roma leaders. However there are no reliable sources that confirm that the number of Roma population is much higher than the official figures. Thus, due to this uncertainty concerning the size of the Roma population, especially as in most cases Roma do not identify themselves declaratively of Roma ethnicity due to reasons mentioned above, it is difficult to determine the exact number of Roma population living in the Republic of Moldova. This remains an open question without a definitive answer.

The ethnic self-identification and hetero-identification, cultural, linguistic, civil, and religious beliefs are all elements of assimilation, segregation or ethnical conservation processes. In this context, the survey data suggest that, in Moldova the rate of self-identification of Roma is quite high attaining 80%. In terms of gender structure, Roma population is close to the national average, but the Roma population is younger than the majority population, recording a higher birth rate and lower life expectancy. Romani language is the predominantly spoken by Roma at home (spoken by 64% of Roma people). However it is worthwhile mentioning that a *tri-lingual* phenomenon is noticed among Roma (this is generally characteristic to people living in Moldova) -- other languages spoken being the language of the Moldovan majority (75%), Russian language (77%) as well as Ukrainian (22%). Mirroring the non-Roma population, the Orthodox religion is predominant in the Roma population (95%).

Early marriages among Roma are characteristic and represent a worrying trend. The minimum marriage age for the Roma is 15 years old for both men and women (this is one year earlier than the legally accepted age (16 years old) for women and three years earlier than the legally accepted age (18 years old) for men. Despite the peculiarity of migration of entire households, a higher frequency of mixed marriages is registered within the Roma community compared to the national pattern. However, the share of mixed marriages is significantly lower than that recorded among other minorities, thus indicating an unconscious choice of self-identification, a higher exclusion and self-exclusion of this social group. An alternative explanation would be a stronger commitment to preserve their ethnicity on the part of the Roma.

2

Incomes, expenses and poverty

Poverty (measured through income or consumption) is the most important and visible syndrome of social vulnerability and exclusion. It is linked to low incomes that do not permit people to buy even basic goods and services such as food, clothes, footwear, but also health and educational services. The survey focused special attention on the links between sources of household incomes and dependency on social welfare payments. Regional experience suggests that many Roma families fall into the dependency trap, fully relying on welfare payments. This survey is intended to go beyond the statement that Roma households dominate among those most affected by poverty. It is also expected to provide additional information on the poverty magnitude and on which are the most affected groups.

In the Republic of Moldova, poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon and similar to that of other countries undergoing deep political, economic and social transformations. Poor families face numerous dimensions of deprivation, including but not limited to: (i) reduced level of incomes and consumption; (ii) unsatisfactory or low quality nutrition; (iii) poor health condition; (iv) limited access to education; (v) vulnerability to economic crises, natural disasters, and political or social instability combined with uncertainty in the future; (vi) limited participation in decision making process; and (vii) very limited possibility to improve own living standards.

As a part of global efforts to eradicate poverty and improve living standards, Moldova undertook the commitment under the Millennium Development Goals (MDG)[1] to reduce the share of population living on less than two dollars per person per day from 39.8% in 2002 to 28% in 2006, to 23% in 2010 and to 18% in 2015. To achieve the above (and other) long-term development targets formulated in the Implementation Strategy of the Millennium Declaration, adopted at the Millennium Summit in 2000, Moldova developed and is currently implementing the Strategy of Economic Growth and Poverty (EGPRS) for the period of 2004-2007[2]. This medium-term strategy document represents the major framework for the mid-term sustainable development of the Republic of Moldova.

This chapter analyzes the poverty dimensions among Roma and non-Roma population, looking at such welfare measures as incomes, expenses, their sources and structure, as well as elaborates on the poverty profiles of Roma and non-Roma population.

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[1] This refers to MDG 1 of the Localized Millennium Development Goals in the Republic of Moldova, which were approved by Government Decree Nr. 288, dated 15 March 2005, Annex 1.
[2] More details can be found on www.scers.md.

Incomes

The amount of income is the first and most evident indicator for measuring welfare. Low incomes limit families' possibilities of financing the procurement of basic goods and services such as food, clothes, footwear but also health and educational services.

The study results show that in the month preceding the study month (October 2005), the average cash income of a Roma household constituted 956 Lei, which is 40% lower than the average 1597 lei received by a non-Roma household. The difference in per capita cash income of these two groups is even bigger, reaching 46%. The average cash income per capita for the Roma households represents 282 Lei, in comparison with 527 lei for non-Roma households. One of the common coping strategies in many post-Soviet countries is supplementing reduced cash income with in-kind incomes in the form of own agricultural products. However, in the case of Roma, the monetary equivalent of their own agricultural products (produced by the household for own consumption) is only 76 lei per capita, thus bringing the total income to 358 lei per capita, while for non Roma families this figure is 690 lei.

According to the data presented in **Figure 4**, in comparison with the national subsistence minimum[3] per capita, the income of Roma families constitutes less than half of this minimum, while in the case of non-Roma, the income reaches 90% of subsistence minimum.

Figure 4. Per capita incomes and subsistence minimum for Roma and non-Roma
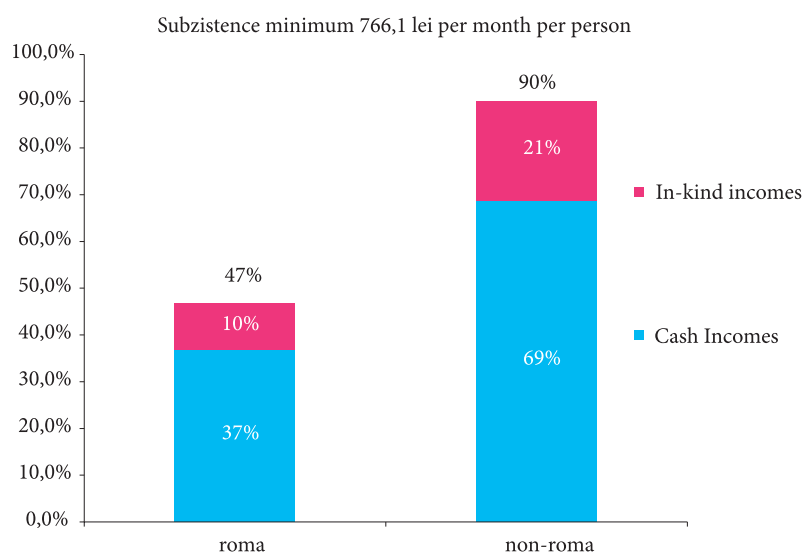
Source: Survey results

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[3] The value of national subsistence minimum for 2005 constituted in average 766.1 Lei per person monthly. Source: National Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Moldova, 28 March 2006

The structure of incomes is another important indicator of vulnerability and deprivation. Families with single income source and with incomes from non-stable sources are more vulnerable and could easily slip down to penury in case of unfavourable events in the economy (crisis, recession, external shocks). In addition, high reliance on social assistance reduces the possibilities for such families to exit the vicious poverty circle and increases social tensions.

Judging by the data presented in **Table 4**, incomes from salaries, earnings as well as business incomes constitute the main income sources for both Roma and non-Roma. However the amounts and share of this type of incomes differ significantly for the two groups of population. In the case of the Roma, the share of salaries, earnings, incomes from businesses or other individual activities constitutes approximately half of total incomes, while for non-Roma the share of these sources is significantly higher, reaching 69% of total incomes.

Remittances from abroad play a crucial role in the entire Moldovan economy. In the case of Roma families, remittances play a more important role in income structure - accounting for 18% of total income compared to only 8% in the case of non-Roma. For Roma population, an important source of income are unofficial income sources such as sale of personal possessions, collection of unwanted or disposable items, informal activities such as gambling, begging and fortune telling (totalling 11%), while in the non-Roma scenario, this source has a very low share (1%).

In general, the share of social protection transfers is nearly equal for both groups: 13% for Roma and 12% for non-Roma. However, Roma tend to receive more social assistance benefits than social insurance benefits. Thus, social assistance benefits (most noticeably child benefits) comprise 6% of income in case of a Roma family versus 3% in case of non-Roma family. A higher number of children in Roma families due to higher fertility and lack of family planning could explain this fact. Conversely, the share of social insurance payments is lower in the case of Roma. This is explained by lower salaries and lower activity rates in the official sector, resulting in lower contributions and lower payments.

	roma	non-roma
Salaries, earnings, incomes from businesses or other individual activities	48%	69%
Remittances and gifts received from friends or relatives from abroad	18%	7%
Incomes from the sale of agricultural products	7%	9%
Sale of personal possessions, collection of unwanted or disposable items	7%	0%
Activities not registered officially (gambling, begging, fortune telling, etc.)	4%	0%
Disability pensions	3%	1%
State allowances for children	2%	1%
Allowances (unemployment, social assistance)	1%	0%
Pensions	7%	9%
Money from interest rates, capital, debtors	2%	1%
Humanitarian aids or from NGOs, charity missions	1%	0%
Total	**100%**	**100%**
Subtotal unofficial activities and sale of personal belongings	**11%**	**1%**
Subtotal Social Assistance	**6%**	**2-3%**
Subtotal Social Insurance	**7%**	**9%**

Source: Survey results

From the regional perspective, it should be noted that the level of dependency of Moldovan Roma on social assistance payments is much lower than in region[4], where a significant numbers of families are primarily reliant on state social assistance payments for their survival (16 percent in Romania and Czech Republic and 44 percent in Slovak Republic). It should be noted that most of the social assistance benefit schemes in Moldova are inefficiently targeted and do not propose exit strategy. Thus, the risk of families becoming dependant on social assistance benefits is high. However, since most of benefits are of low amounts, this significantly mitigates the risk.

Expenditures

Consumption expenditures and its structure is recognized as a more suitable indicator of welfare, especially for poverty calculations, than incomes. Unlike incomes, expenses are less affected by short-term fluctuations, more easily recorded and in general, the population is more willing to report their expenses. In terms of expenses structure, it is noticeable that poor households tend to spend more money on food and limit spending on such essential items as health services and access to education.

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[4] Avoiding the Dependency Trap, A Regional Human Development Report, 2002

Results of the survey showed that in October 2005, the average per capita consumption in the Roma families totalled 415 Lei, in comparison with 648 Lei spent per member by non-Roma families. In other words, the consumption expenditures per person in the case of Roma population is one-third lower than the consumption per person in non-Roma families.

According to the data presented in **Table 5**, the structure of expenditures for both Roma and non-Roma families is similar, reflecting the general social-economic situation in the country. Both Roma and non-Roma spend more than half of their budget on foodstuff (54% for Roma and 52% for non-Roma), however Roma families rely less on food produced in the household (which is 18% of expenses compared to 25% for non-Roma), and more on procured food (35% in comparison with 27% for non-Roma). In non-Roma families, home-grown products are equivalent to 163 Lei per person monthly, while in Roma case – only 76 Lei per person monthly. Consequently, the Roma spend less on food products and produce twice less food products for their own consumption.

At the same time Roma spend a larger share of their budget for health services (8% versus 6% for non-Roma), and less for education (3% versus 5% for non-Roma). This pattern reflects challenges faced in relation to education in Roma families and generally poorer health conditions (these issues are further elaborated in chapters 3 and 5).

Table 5. Expenditures per capita in Roma and non-Roma families in October 2005

	roma		non-roma		Expenditures of Roma in % of non- Roma
	Lei	%	Lei	%	
Food products	148	35	174	27	85
Own production food	76	18	163	25	46
Subtotal food	224	54	337	52	66
Alcohol and tobacco	11	3	10	1	116
Clothing and footwear	66	16	108	17	61
Housing facilities	35	9	66	10	54
Medical services	35	8	41	6	85
Household goods	15	4	23	4	66
Transport	14	3	25	4	56
Entertainment	4	1	9	1	45
Education	10	3	30	5	35
Total expenses	**415**	**100**	**648**	**100**	**64**

Source: Survey results

However, the picture changes for the ratio of expenditures of Roma to non-Roma families. While the total expenditures incurred by Roma families constitutes 64% of total expenditures for non-Roma families, the ratios for essential spending, like food and health service, are significantly higher. At the same time, expenditures for alcohol and tobacco in the case of Roma are higher than for non-Roma, reaching a striking 116%. On the other hand, Roma families spend significantly less than non-Roma for such essential items such as education (35%) and housing facilities (54%). Not surprisingly, outcomes are sad. Generally Roma have a lower education level and live in miserable housing conditions.

Poverty rates

Poverty headcounts enables the quantitative assessment of the vulnerability of different population groups in terms of welfare (measured through incomes or consumption). To assess different population groups it is necessary to classify persons or households as poor or non-poor, using their consumption per adult equivalent[5] and the poverty line as a threshold. The most used indicators in Moldova are the following poverty lines:

(i) **Extreme, or food poverty line**, equivalent to food only consumption basket, necessary for mere survival, i.e. 2282 kcal per person per day. This line is calculated on the basis of the general Household Budget Survey. In 2005 this constituted 279 lei per person per month.

(ii) **Absolute poverty line** recognizes the need of essential non-food items, like dwelling, clothing, etc. and adds respective expenditures to the food poverty line. This line is also calculated based on the general Household Budget Survey. For 2005, this line was established at the level of 354 lei per person per month.

(iii) **International poverty line** is used for making international comparisons and is established at the level of $2 in purchasing power parity (PPP) per person per day (268 lei for 2005[6]). In the case of less developed countries, $1 poverty line is often used while for more advanced countries, like CEE countries, $4 line is used.

Income/consumption poverty is one of the important aspects of vulnerability. Poverty in the Republic of Moldova is widespread as a result of the crises and decline of the transition period. According to the second EGPRS report[7], economic growth in last 5 years helped bringing many families out of

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[5] Consumption expenditure is a better measure of the welfare level, as it is less affected by seasonal fluctuations, the difficulties of registration of informal incomes, and generally better reported. In order to ensure the comparability of households of different size and structure, the OECD equivalence scale shall be used, according to which the first adult (family head) of the household is attributed 1.0 coefficient; the other adults are attributed 0.7 coefficient; while coefficient 0.5 is attributed to every child under 15 years.

[6] SCERS, Ministerul Economiei şi Comerţului *"Raport privind sărăcia şi impactul politicilor"*, noiembrie 2006

[7] For more details please visit the EGPRSP reports at www.scers.md

poverty and the absolute poverty rate on a national level dropped significantly from 73% in 1999 down to 29% in 2005[8]. However, poverty among specific groups of population could be significantly higher, as benefits of economic growth could not trickle down to these groups.

The findings of the survey (reflected in **Figure 5**) suggest that every second Roma lives in extreme poverty, and six out of ten live in absolute poverty. These findings show that the poverty risk for Roma is more than twice higher than for non-Roma. Poverty rates for non-Roma households are generally in line with national data, with 19% under the extreme poverty line and 25% under the absolute poverty line (in 2005 the national extreme poverty rate was 16.1%, and absolute poverty rate-29,1%[9]).

Figure 5. Poverty headcounts for Roma and non-Roma
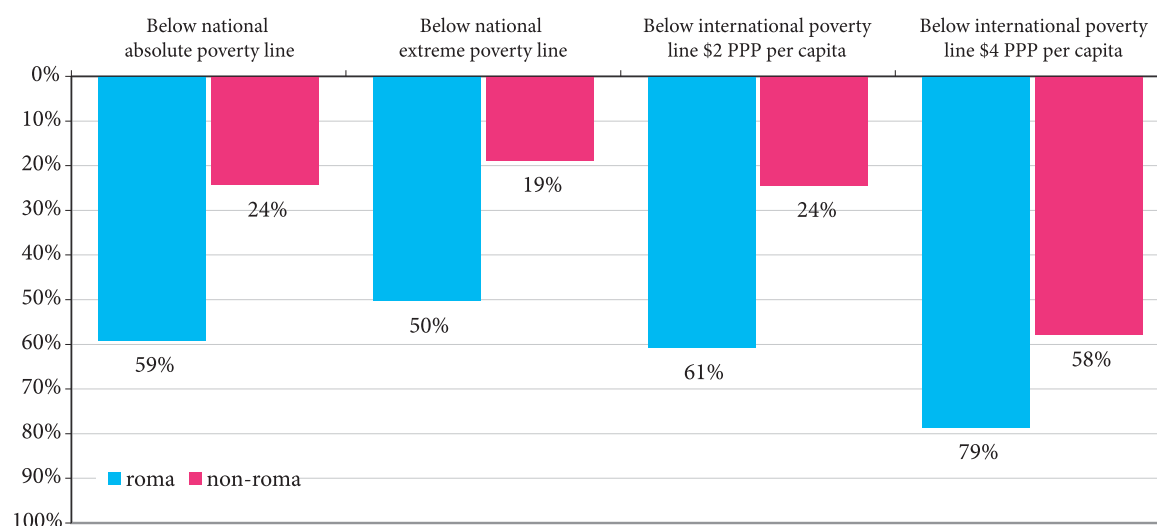
Note: Welfare measure is total consumption per adult equivalent . National poverty thresholds are used.
Source: Survey results

[8] It should be specifically noted that a direct comparison of poverty data from the Roma survey and the nation-wide Household Budget Survey cannot be made due to significant differences in methodology of data collection and analysis. Although, these data could be useful for qualitative comparisons.

[9] SCERS, Ministerul Economiei şi Comerţului "*Raport privind sărăcia și impactul politicilor*", noiembrie 2006

Poverty Depth and Inequality

As mentioned earlier, the poverty line can be interpreted in many different ways. Consequently, it is necessary to compare distributions of welfare indicators to make judgments on how poverty rates change over a range of poverty lines. Cumulative Distribution Function of expenditures per capita was constructed for both Roma and non-Roma (see **Figure 6**). Results show that poverty headcount will be higher for Roma than for non-Roma at any chosen poverty line (in other words, for any expenditures level, distribution for non-Roma is to the right of distribution for Roma).

Figure 6. Distribution of Roma and non-Roma by expenditures per capita
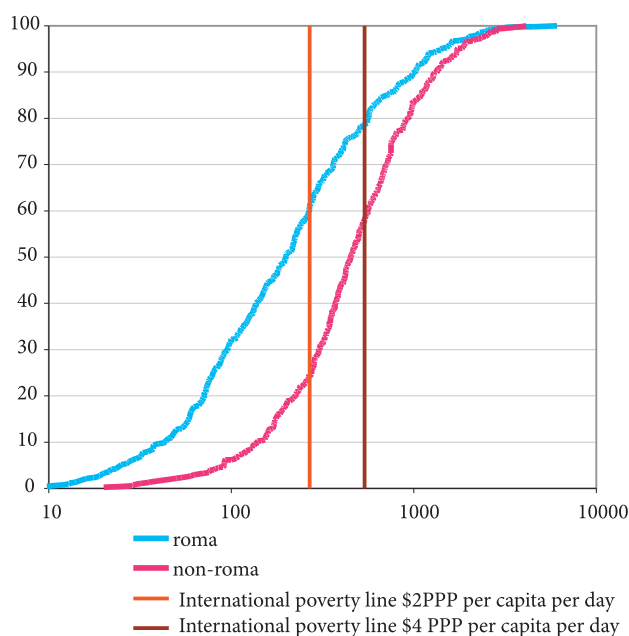
Source: Survey results

By grouping the households of both Roma and non-Roma by quintiles[10] (see **Figure 7**) according to the monthly expenditure per adult equivalent, it was noticed that in the case of the Roma population the two richest quintiles comprise 27%, while in the case of non-Roma this represents 55%. In the case of the Roma, the two poorest quintiles cover 56% of population. Although the Roma are significantly poorer, inequality within them is almost at the same level as within non-Roma. In the case of Roma, the Gini coefficient[11] is 0.425 versus 0.422 in non-Roma.

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[10] The portion of a frequency distribution containing one fifth of the total sample. All population is broken down into five groups, from the poorest (quintile 1, comprising 20% of the poorest) to the most well off (quintile 5, comprising 20% of the richest).

[11] The Gini coefficient is one of the inequality indicators, which is equal to 1 for perfect inequality (when one person has all income or expenditures, and the rest have zero) and 0 for perfect equality (everybody has the same incomes or expenditures)

Figure 7. Group distribution by expenditures (Roma and non-Roma)
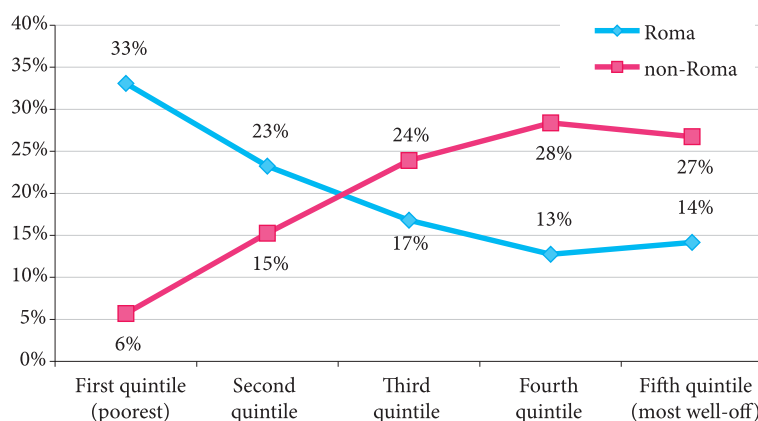
Poverty profiles

P overty rates are not the same across the different groups in society. To understand concentration of poverty, as well as its causes and effects, one should compare poverty rates of different groups. In Moldova, the Roma population lives predominantly in rural area and in small towns, the areas, which suffered most during crisis of transition period. Productivity and incomes in agriculture are low causing significant cash-income poverty rates in villages. At the same time, subsistence farming in villages is widely used as the coping strategy. Small towns, which had limited access to land and cannot use subsistence farming as income substitute, suffered the most—most of them had one or two major enterprises, which closed during the 1990s.

As shown in **Figure 8**, the highest extreme poverty rate for Roma is in urban areas (small town), soaring to 70%. At the same time, the poverty rate in large cities is much lower - 18% - reflecting better economic development and existing job opportunities, and probably, better integration of Roma in large cities. The Roma poverty rate in rural areas is lower than in small towns, but twice higher than in big cities, thus reaching 40%. Poverty rates for non-Roma are similar for small towns and rural areas (18% and 22% respectively) and very low (2%) for big cities. This outlines the fact that in the case of non-Roma population, the subsistence economy "benefits", (own foodstuff products), characteristic of the rural areas, are compensated for in urban areas by other factors including better employment opportunities, departures abroad for work.
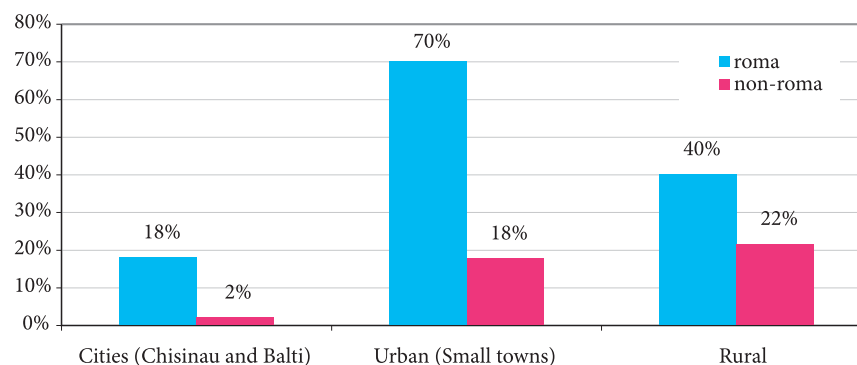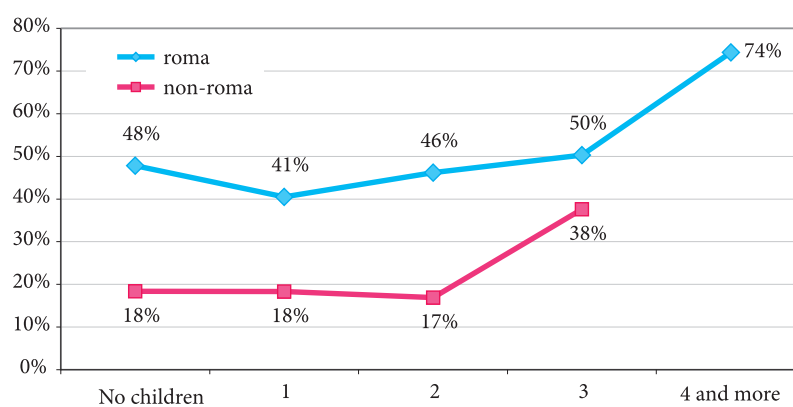
Source: Survey results

In the case of the Roma population, the poverty rate is in opposite relation to the size of the house-hold. As shown in **Figure 9** there is a clear correlation between the level of poverty and the number of children in the family. In the case of Roma population, this can be a determinant factor of high poverty. Judging by the data, Roma families have more children than non-Roma families (on average 1.2 versus 0.7). Also, whilst in the case of Roma the poverty rate increases consistently with the increase in the number of children, in the case of non-Roma, the poverty rate follows a different pattern. The minimum risk of poverty is registered not in the families without or with only one child, but in families with two children. This situation is explained by the fact that most families with two children are more mature families with more or less stable employment and an extended supporting network. On the contrary, the category of families without children is represented either by young families or by old people who often have a limited supporting network, limited employment opportunities, and face a higher poverty risk. Families with one child are usually young families, also facing a higher poverty risk, due to higher unemployment rates among young people and significant spending necessities for nurturing the child. The highest rate of poverty appears in the case of families with three children.

Figure 9. Extreme poverty headcounts by number of children in family (Roma and non-Roma)
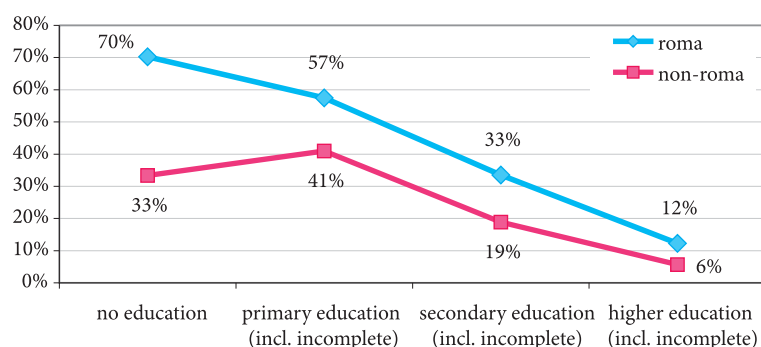

Source: Survey results

The education level of people is another dimension, which plays a significant role in poverty prevention and eradication. It was noticed that the higher the level of education of the head of household, the lower the household vulnerability. Moreover, once the education level increases the differences between Roma and non-Roma groups in terms of poverty level decreases significantly. Grouping households living under the extreme poverty rate by the education level of the head of household, as shown in the **Figure 10,** significant discrepancies are observed in the case of Roma and non-Roma households headed by a person with no education (having even no primary education), the difference representing 37%. In the case of households headed by a person with primary, secondary and higher education, the differences are lower, these representing 16%, 15% and 7%, respectively.

Figure 10. Extreme poverty headcounts by education level of the head of household (Roma and non-Roma)

Source: Survey results

The poverty risk is also determined by the employment status. However, as **Figure 11** shows, this relation is not as strong as in the case of education or number of children. The majority (40%) of adult members in poor Roma households are unemployed, while employed and self-employed account for 5% of the poor, and another 18% have occasional jobs. The availability of permanent jobs clearly has a beneficial effect on the poverty situation, pulling people out of the vicious cycle of poverty. The ratio of those having a full-time or part time job is twice higher among non-poor Roma—12%. This difference is even more radical in the case of non-Roma, where working adults represent 15% of poor and 33% of non-poor households. Besides occupational status and the self-appreciation occupational status of the population, which can be ascertained through questioning, other occupational characteristics such as the type of occupation from the perspective of qualifications, position in a hierarchy, salary level and other factors may have a more important influence on the poverty. However, from this standpoint, no significant inequalities are observed.
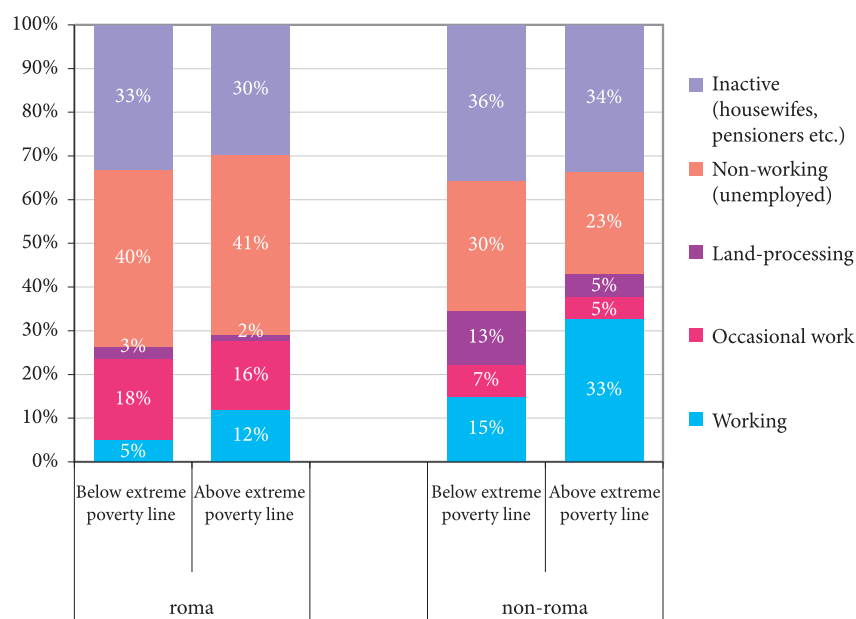
Note: Figure based on reported occupational status during last month.
Source: Survey results

One of the poverty coping strategies is subsistence farming - production of agricultural products at a home land plot for internal consumption but not for commercialization. In the Republic of Moldova, an agricultural country, agricultural products produced by the households for their own consumption are an important source of welfare and significantly the poverty level. This has the biggest impact on the poverty level from the perspective of the following factors: residence area, number of children, education and occupational status. The correlation between the status of the poor and the quantity of goods produced for their own consumption confirm that this type of activity significantly improves the chances of escaping from foodstuff poverty[12]. Agricultural land processing for own consumption is a clear coping strategy for poor non-Roma households, with 13% of adults involved in it in comparison with 5% adults in non-poor households. As was mentioned earlier, this strategy is not widespread among Roma since only 2% Roma adults in poor households and 2% in non-poor households are involved in agricultural land processing for own consumption.

As shown in **Table 6**, Roma households are less involved in the agricultural production for their own consumption. Only 37% of them admitted that they produce products for their own consumption, which is a sharp contrast with 70% of non-Roma households. This discrepancy could be explained by the fact that many Roma households do not own land parcels. Hence, the average monetary equivalent of the products produced for own consumption per household in Roma families constitutes only 59% of non-Roma household production.

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[12] The Pearson coefficient is 0,315 for Roma and 0,218 for the Roma

Table 6. Agricultural products produced by the households for own consumption (Roma and non-Roma)

	roma	non- roma
Average of monetary equivalent of the products produced for own consumption, per capita per month	76 lei	163 lei
Share of households that produce agricultural products for own consumption	37%	70%
By types of product		
Vegetable	29%	61%
Fruits	25%	53%
Milk and diary products	9%	25%
Eggs	23%	50%
Meat and meat products	22%	48%

Source: Survey data

Conclusions

Poverty (measured through income or consumption) is one of the important and visible aspects of vulnerability. In the Republic of Moldova, poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon similar to the countries that undergo deep political, economic and social transformations. Poverty in the Republic of Moldova is widespread as a result of the crisis and decline of the transition period. In view of achieving the MDG 1 targets, the Government developed and approved the EGPRS – mid-term strategic framework for sustainable development in Moldova. According to the second EGPRS report 2006[13], economic growth of the last 5 years helped bring many families out of poverty and the poverty headcount on a national level dropped significantly from 73% in 1999 down to 29% in 2005. However, this poverty reduction was uneven across the groups of population, with certain vulnerable groups, including Roma, left behind by the recent economic improvements.

In general, Decent Standard of Living component (measured through GDP) of the Human Development Index has a very low value for both Roma and non-Roma, reflecting the poor economic situation in Moldova. However, the GDP Index for Roma is still 18% lower (see Annex 4). Findings of the report estimate that Roma face two times higher risk of poverty than non-Roma. Five out of ten Roma live in extreme poverty. At the same time, it is worthwhile mentioning that the difference in GDP Index is not as dramatic as in the Education Index, which is one-third lower for Roma than for non-Roma.

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[13] www.scers.md

The poverty status of Roma families is determined by many factors, such as:

- Education: the study clearly reveals that a higher education level of the head of household reduces significantly the poverty incidence;

- Size of the household (especially the number of children): which is in direct correlation with the level of poverty. A high number of children increases the household chances to have expenses which fall under the extreme poverty rate;

- Residence area, more specific for Roma: Roma households in small towns are characterised by a high degree of vulnerability and poverty; this aspect is less characteristic for non-Roma;

- Low employment level.

Taking into account the incomes and expenditures incurred by Roma population as indicators of welfare, as well as their structure, one can observe the higher vulnerability of this group in comparison with the rest of the population.

The disposable incomes of Roma households do not cover even a half of the living subsistence. The structure of incomes of Roma households show greater reliance on transfers from abroad, "unofficial income" sources such as sale of personal possessions, collection of unwanted or disposable items, informal activities, such as gambling, begging and fortune telling, as well as welfare transfers from the state. In terms of expenditures structure, the situation for both Roma and non-Roma families is similar, reflecting the general social-economic situation in country. Both Roma and non-Roma spend more than half of their budget on foodstuff, however Roma families rely less on food produced in the household and more on procured food. On the other hand, Roma spend less on education, a fact that reduces the chances of getting young Roma out of poverty. In general, the third part of the Roma population belongs to the poorest quintile in terms of expenditure. While the Roma are poorer than non-Roma families, inequality within them is at the same level as non-Roma.

Employment status also influences the risk of poverty. Results of this survey showed that this relation is not as strong however as in the case of education or the number of children per family. The majority of adult members in poor Roma households are either unemployed (four out of ten) or have occasional job (two out of ten). The availability of a permanent job clearly has a beneficial effect on the poverty situation, pulling people out of a vicious cycle of poverty. The share of those having full-time or part time job is twice higher among non-poor Roma. Importantly, this difference is more radical in the case of non-Roma, where working adults representing 15% of poor and 33% of non-poor households. This fact suggests that other occupational characteristics such as type of occupation from the perspective of qualifications, position in a hierarchy placement, salary level and other factors may have a more important influence on poverty.

Analysing the poverty profiles of Roma and non-Roma of the Republic of Moldova, one can conclude that the concentration of poor population is more in small towns than in rural area. This situation is a result of the subsistence economy, when goods are produced for self-consumption and not for commercialization - a phenomenon characteristic of rural areas. That is why poverty dimensions are higher in small towns than in villages. For the non-Roma population, the subsistence economy "benefits", (own foodstuff products) characteristic of rural areas is compensated in urban areas by better employment opportunities, departures abroad for work and other factors.

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

Cash benefits in Moldova are ineffectively targeted and they cannot resolve the issue of Roma inclusion. It would be better to orient the efforts towards other types of assistance such as investing in education, provision of clothes or in enhancing the participation of youth in income generating activities. From this perspective, the implementation of Conditional Cash Transfer schemes could be beneficial. Conditional Cash Transfer programmes, which are widely implemented in Latin America, make benefit payment conditional on certain desirable social outcomes such as more frequent school attendance by children or regular health checks. As a result, they create an incentive for the rational use of benefits and have a dual impact by increasing family welfare and achieving higher enrolment.

Education is of major importance not only for reducing the risk of poverty but also for the complete fulfillment of human potential. Access to quality education is an indispensable element for the promotion of human development and economic growth of a nation. For vulnerable groups, including Roma, better access to quality education is widely seen as a precondition for increasing employment and therefore income potential. In addition, achieving universal primary education is one of the Millennium Development Goals. However, adapted to the national context, under Millennium Development Goal 2: "Achieving Universal Access to Secondary School Education", Moldova committed to achieve the target on increasing enrolment rate in secondary (gymnasium) school education from 88% in 2002, to 88.9% in 2006, to 93.8% in 2010 and to 100% in 2015.

The Republic of Moldova has inherited from the USSR a relatively high level of adult literacy. Literacy[1] rates in 1993 were 97%, increasing up to 99% by the year 2005 (though, according to research for NHDR report, the *functional* rate of literacy could by significantly lower than the rate of *formal* literacy, namely the elementary capacity to write and read). Still, the coverage rate at all levels of education is rather low, at the level of 70%, as compared to the standards of countries with a high level of human development[2].

By investing in education, an economy based on natural resources and cheap labour forces can be transformed into a competitive economy based upon the high added value created by an educated labour force. By making a more considerable contribution to economic growth, the more educated a labour force, the better it is paid. When developing initiatives for improving access to quality education, one should also take into account the specifics of the marginalized groups such as Roma, for whom access to education is usually limited and the quality of available education is lower than the norm.

This chapter describes the status of Roma education, by looking more closely at illiteracy, education level, school drop-outs, causes of school non-attendance, and availability of educational institutions. Further, the chapter contrasts Roma education status with that of majority communities, and highlights the major determinants of this lower education status. It describes also some measures undertaken to increase the school attendance of Roma children.

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[1] For the purposes of this survey, literacy was defined as the share of persons over the age of 15 who can read and write.
[2] National Human Development Report 2006 "Quality of Economic Growth and Its Impact on Human Development"

Education Level and Literacy

In general, the most dramatic manifestation of differences in educational level is the level of illiteracy among Roma. Education and literacy levels among vulnerable groups, Roma in particular, fall well below national averages. According to the data presented in **Figure 12**, one fifth of the Roma population do not have the minimum writing-reading abilities while for the non-Roma population this share is ten times lower. In other words, while literacy rates among majority non-Roma respondents are close to national literacy rates for adults (over 15 years of age), which is 98.9%, the literacy rate for Roma respondents, which is 75 %, is far below the national levels. This is even on a par with the reported national averages for Kenya (74%) - a country considered further behind in terms of human development. The presence of such a high illiteracy rate (21% compared to 2% for non-Roma population) among Roma population practically excludes a significant part of the population from social and economic life and significantly limits their possibilities to find well-paid jobs.

Figure 12. Adult illiteracy of Roma *vs* non-Roma
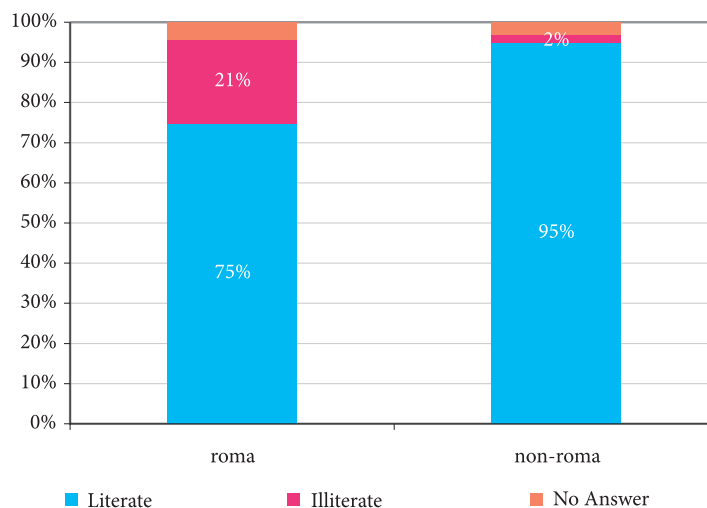
School education is an important aspect indicated by respondents during the survey both from the perspective of school attendance and schooling outcomes, as the chances of success in life in general is higher with a higher education level. Overall, as shown in **Figure 13**, the Roma have a much lower level of education than the rest of the population. Beyond the fact that every fifth Roma adult is uneducated, three out of ten Roma have only primary education, and another three out ten have only secondary education (including incomplete or vocational education). There are very few Roma with higher education. On the contrary, the majority of non-Roma adults (45%) have a secondary and vocational education and 38% have a higher education. Non-Roma with no education constitute only 3%, while with only primary education–10%.

Figure 13. Education level of Roma and non-Roma older than 18 years
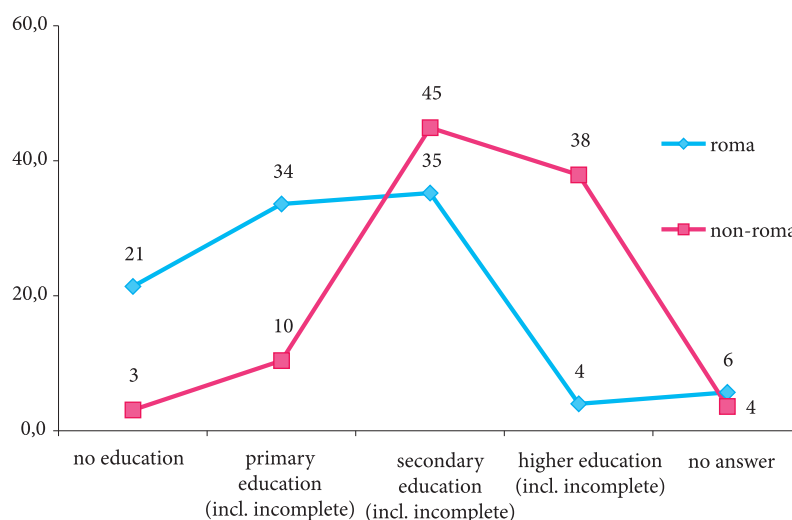
School Attendance

In order to improve the educational attainment for Roma, the survey data suggest that the measures taken should focus on the causes of low enrolment. The survey data presented in the **Figure 14** show that enrolment rates for Roma children are lower than for non-Roma for all stages of education[3]. The fact that primary education covers less than 70% of Roma children and secondary education less than 50% raises serious concerns on prospects of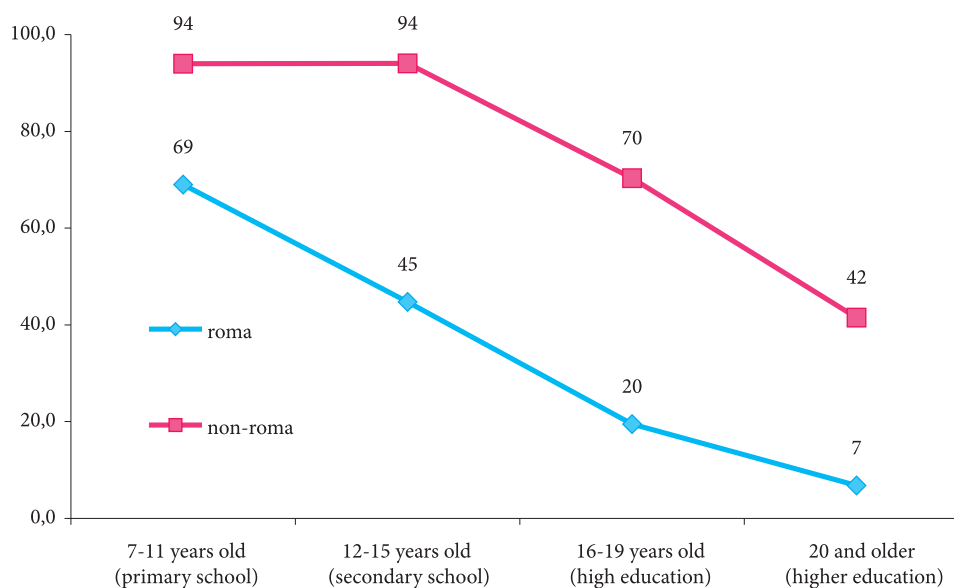 achieving Millennium Development Goal 2 for Roma[4]. This is in dramatic contrast with the situation of non-Roma, where enrolment rates for primary and secondary education are much higher (94%) and close to universal (100%). 43% of Roma children at the ages of 7-15 do not attend school, in comparison with only approximately 6% in the case of non-Roma.

The enrolment gap increases with declining enrolments among Roma after primary school. The data presented in **Figure 14** show that the decrease of school enrolment of Roma children begins even from the first education cycle, thus secondary education covers only 45% of children, while upper secondary education–only 20%. For comparison, the share of non- Roma children enrolled in the two compulsory education cycles is maintained at the same level (approximately 94%), and then only slightly decrease for upper secondary education down to 70%.

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[3] Ages correspond to the primary education cycle (7-11 years), secondary (12-15 years), high education (16-19 years) and higher education (over 20 years).

[4] Millennium Development Goals in the Republic of Moldova, First National Report, June 2005.

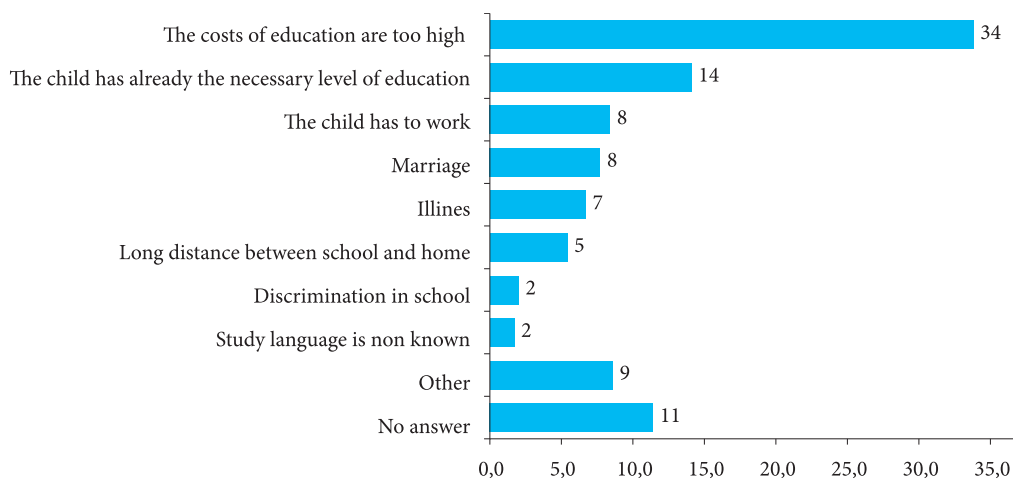Figure 14. Enrolment rates of Roma and non-Roma in different levels of education

94   94

69

80,0

70

60,0

45

40,0

42

20,0

20

7

0,0

| 7-11 years old (primary school) | 12-15 years old (secondary school) | 16-19 years old (high education) | 20 and older (higher education) |

roma

non-roma

Source: Survey results

Education component of the Human Development Index for Roma in Moldova (see Annex III for full details) is one-third lower that for non-Roma. The Education Index for Roma is 0.64, which corresponds to the level of lesser-developed countries such as Malawi, Zambia or Nigeria. In the case of non-Roma, the Education Index is 0.91 and corresponds to the average level of countries with well-advanced education systems like Slovakia or Bulgaria. It worthwhile mentioning that the education component of HDI shows the biggest difference for Roma and non-Roma, while differences in other HDI components is much more modest—less than one-tenth in the Health Index and close to one-fifth in the Income Index. This suggests that closing the education gap could effectively contribute to the human development of Roma and bring them close in terms of human development, to the majority population. That is why it is very important to understand the reasons Roma children drop out of school.

As shown in **Figure 15**, the high drop-out rate of the education system (for Roma children between 6 and 22 years) result from a mixture of subjective and objective reasons. A series of objective reasons include the high costs of the studies (34%), illness (7%), the long distance between home and the school (5%). Among subjective reasons, the most widespread is the parents' belief that their child has already achieved the necessary education level (14%), followed by early marriage of the child (8%) and the necessity of the child to work (8%). It is important to mention that discrimination in schools and lack of language knowledge were mentioned only by 2% of respondents—finding which contrast with statements of some Roma leaders that namely these two factors limit access of Roma to school. At the same time, it is necessary to mention that there is no education in Romani language.

Figure 15. Reasons of non-attendance of education institutions by Roma children

Figure 15. Reasons of non-attendance of education institutions by Roma children

The costs of education are too high — 34
The child has already the necessary level of education — 14
The child has to work — 8
Marriage — 8
Illines — 7
Long distance between school and home — 5
Discrimination in school — 2
Study language is non known — 2
Other — 9
No answer — 11

Source: Survey results

Another explanation for school drop-outs and low enrolment of Roma children would be lack of financial possibilities of the household to support the child's education. During the interview, the respondents were asked to explain this aspect. As per results shown in **Figure 16**, only in 34% of Roma families, the head of the household declared that they can support their children to study, in comparison with 63% in the case of non-Roma. The high cost of education and the family perception of lack of financial resources to support further education of children could reflect three things. First, the high direct cost of education (fees), which is true for colleges and universities. The majority of places in colleges and universities are granted through tuitions and only limited or even no scholarships schemes are available. Second, the high indirect costs of schooling, which could include payment for manuals, informal fees for school maintenance, but also expenditures for school breakfasts, lunches and clothes, footwear etc. Last, but not the least, the high opportunity costs. Families have to choose between keeping children in school (which potentially could bring higher income in the future, but these expectations are lowered by perceived stigmatization and discrimination of Roma), and lack of current incomes, that force families to place children in work, or marry them off or simply to decide that maintaining the current level of education is enough.

Figure 16. Financial possibilities of Roma and non-Roma families to support child education
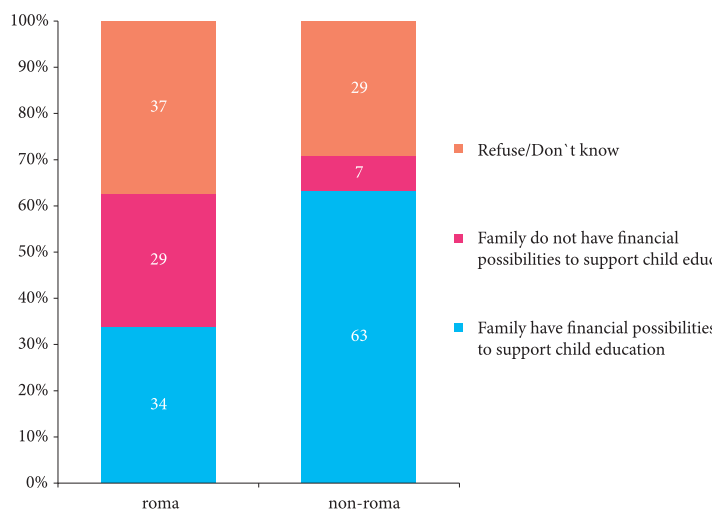
The respondents also mentioned the problem of non-access to education institutions for their children; the issue refers to the school infrastructure, not to the household capacities to finance the studies. As data from **Figure 17** show 17% of the Roma population consider that there are no accessible education institutions where their children can go. This figure is much higher than in the case of non-Roma (4%).

Figure 17. Accessibility to education institutions for Roma and non-Roma
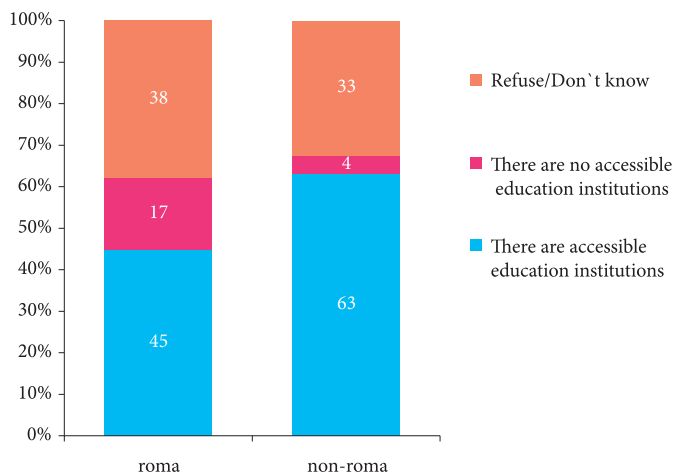
Such situations are characteristic, first of all for people living in villages populated predominantly by Roma where there are no education institutions. Under these circumstances, their children must attend the schools from the neighbouring villages, which mean long way to walk for children. From the data presented in **Table 7**, although, for both analysed groups (Roma and non-Roma) for the majority of children the school is situated at a distance up to 3 km; in the case of children, the ratio

of children having to walk a distance of less than 1 km constitutes 25%, while in the case of non-Roma, this ratio is 31%. However, for the Roma, the ratio of children having to walk 1 to 3 km is higher. Additionally, as data show, a long distance to school, poor road infrastructure, and underdeveloped public transportation services further limit the school access for Roma children.

Table 7. The distance to school for Roma and non-Roma children

Category	roma	non-roma
Less than 1 km	25%	31%
From 1 to 3 km	33%	15%
From 3 to 5 km	4%	6%
From 5 to 10 km	3%	1%
Over 10 km	3%	9%
No answer	32%	38%
TOTAL	100%	100%

According to the survey results (see **Table 8**) only 25% of Roma children have as colleagues children of the same ethnic origin, compared to 56% in case of non-Roma. While this situation creates condition for involvement of Roma children in inter-ethnic social life, it also results in tensions. Roma child could face negative attitudes and stereotypes from their colleagues, and as a result of negative attitudes could drop out of the school. This could explain why discrimination in schools, which has a ratio of only 2% in the parents' "reasons of drop out" rating, is considered by some Roma leaders as the main reason of school non-attendance.

Table 8. Ethnicity of majority of school colleagues of the Roma and non-Roma child

Category	roma	non-roma
Same ethnicity	25%	56%
Other ethnicity	38%	3%
Mixed	7%	4%
No answer	30%	37%

Box 5. Discrimination

Discrimination was and it is still present even in schools. It is said that all children are equal but this is only said because discrimination exists in reality. It is not spoken about but you can feel it in the same class. If you are Roma, people are not receptive to you just because you are Roma, and because there are stereotypes and it takes some time, several years, for you to prove you are not bad. Behaviour towards Roma is more demanding but at the same time more indifferent. We are who we are and this is the attitude to us. Wherever you go, you feel this discrimination – at hospital or any other public place. You feel this and I think things will remain the same for many years. Equal rights should not exist only on paper.

Source: Interview with Roma Leader

Conclusions

Education is of major importance not only for reducing the risk of poverty but also for capitalization of the human potential. Ensuring the right to education is a universal right incorporated in the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova and nationalized Millenium Development Goal 2. According to Constitution's Art. 35, (1) "The right to education shall be put into effect by the compulsory comprehensive school system, lyceum education (secondary school) and vocational training, as well as the higher education system, and other forms of instruction and knowledge improvement" and (2)" The State shall ensure, under the law, the right of anyone to choose the language in which the teaching and training are to be performed" Also, (4) "The state education system shall be free" to all people irrespective of their ethnicity.

Under MDG 2, Moldova committed to achieve universal access to secondary school education thus increasing the enrolment rate in secondary (gymnasium) school education from 88% in 2002, to 88.9% in 2006, to 93.8% in 2010 and to 100% in 2015. However, the current reality shows that the coverage rate for whole population at all levels of education is rather low, at the level of 70%, as compared to the standards of countries with a high level of human development[5] and there is a lack of access to quality education, including for the Roma population.

The survey results show a significant gap in education and literacy levels for Roma vs. non-Roma. The Education component of the Human Development Index, unlike other components, shows the biggest difference, in the case of Roma one-third lower than non-Roma. Compared with the rest of population, Roma have a higher illiteracy rate and a much lower level of education, much lower enrolment in education, and a significantly higher drop-out rate.

Roma education and literacy levels fall well short of the national average. Every fifth Roma cannot write and read, while a person with college or higher education is a rarity, this category constituting only 4% of the total Roma population in comparison with the non Roma population enrolment of 38%. The drop out rates at schools and low enrolments among Roma children are of alarming proportions and raise the legitimate question: why is this happening?

The reasons for school non-attendance are both objective and subjective. From the objective point of view, Roma claim they lack the financial capacity to support their children's education. There are also children health related problems and problems related to school infrastructure. From a subjective point of view, parents invest few efforts to encourage their children's education since many consider that the child has achieved the necessary level of education. Early marriages and perceived discrimination in schools are contributing factors. Another important factor that can influence the education process is the migration abroad of the entire family to find work.

Discrimination in schools, named as the reason for school dropout in only 2% of cases, is considered by some Roma leaders as the main reason of school non-attendance. They perceive that the discrimination was and is still present in schools. "If you are Roma, people are not receptive to you just because you are Roma, and because there are stereotypes, and it takes some time, several years for you to prove you are not bad", stated one Roma leader. At the same time, survey findings show that the discrimination perceived is not "de facto". There are few education institutions with concentrations of only Roma

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[5] National Human Development Report 2006 "Quality of Economic Growth and Its Impact on Human Development"

children, thus avoiding the negative effects of segregation and discrimination attitudes concerning these children. Moreover, according to world practices, in the field of interethnic relations, segregation in education is not beneficial since it may lead to a more acute isolation and segregation of the minority.

Ensuring better access to quality education is widely seen as a precondition for increasing the human development and welfare of a nation. Closing the education gap could effectively contribute to increasing access to the labour force market and enhancing overall human development of Roma, thus bringing them closer, in terms of human development, to majority population. The data outline the fact that the activities directed to educational assistance for Roma should be targeted at the reasons for non-attendance, low enrollments and drop-outs. However, it seems that the present situation may not be improved for some time due to the fact that there is insufficient participation by Roma children in primary and secondary education cycles, declared by the Law[6] to be compulsory. The ratio of children of ages corresponding to primary cycle not covered in the primary education system constitutes more than 30 %, while, the secondary education cycle is attended by less than 50% of Roma children.

In order to solve the problem of Roma school non-attendance, a series of activities have been undertaken concerning both the enrolment of Roma children in the cycles of compulsory education, and the creation, using the principles of positive discrimination, of favourable conditions for the promotion of young Roma in higher education. However in practice, inclusion of Roma children in the cycles of compulsory education – primary and low secondary (gymnasium) – have not been a significant success - the situation, thus, remaining difficult. In the area of higher education, the Ministry of Education has undertaken actions to simplify access to Universities. Thus, in 2003 every state institution of higher education reserved two places of budgetary financing and two places of extra budgetary financing for candidates of Roma origins. In 2006, the Regulation for higher education enrolment foresaw a share of 15% allocated to vulnerable categories, including Roma, in total enrolment places, provided by the enrolment plan with budgetary financing. However, there is little evidence that Roma have succeeded in being included in this 15% and therefore are getting access to higher education in reality.

To improve enrolment of Roma children in primary education, the Ministry of Education monitored the activity of education departments concerning school attendance by children from Roma families. According to the newly approved Plan of Action to Support Roma in the Republic of Moldova for 2007-2010, the Government committed to develop a specialized curriculum for the discipline "Language, History and Roma Culture", as well as deliver specialized courses on teaching this discipline in pre-university (secondary and high school) education institutions in Roma densely populated communities. Enrolment of Roma children in pre-university (secondary and high school) education, the parents' motivation in ensuring participation of their children in the educational process, the development of legal framework to support the organization and activity in Sunday schools, as well as other programmes targeted towards eliminating Roma illiteracy are among other planned actions. Certainly these are important actions however, they are quite broad and incomplete for ensuring the enhancement of Roma education, Roma enrolment in the labour force market and overall sustainable human development. The action plan also does not include any measures in terms of development and improving access to educational materials, as well as human resources. The number of Romani teachers is very low, which contributes to perceived barriers in access to education and teaching in native language.

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[6] Article 9, Law on Education Nr.547 adopted on 21.07.95.

4

Employment and unemployment

As we have seen in Chapter 2, the relationship between Roma employment and poverty reduction is very complex. The survey data show that employment differences between poor and non-poor households are not substantial. The data suggests that it is not employment per se that matters, but rather the kind of employment – particularly full time jobs yielding higher incomes and requiring more skills. Given the large numbers of poorly educated Roma, as we have seen in Chapter 3, one would expect to find heavy Roma representation in unskilled occupations.

The situation is aggravated by the general situation of the labour market in the Republic of Moldova, which is characterized by a notable counter-performance. While the economy has been growing rapidly during the last five years, the number of jobs has been reduced. At the same time, activity rates have reduced significantly (from 60% in 2000 to 49% in 2005 for the population aged 15 and above)[1]. At the same time, the employment rate has decreased from 55% in 2000 to 45% in 2005, more significantly among men than among women.

During this period of economic growth the number of unemployed has decreased by 44%, the unemployment rate (which is around 8%) remaining at a level lower than in the CEE and CIS countries and similar to one of the EU-15. Nevertheless, the unemployment duration was very high, two years on average. It is also worthwhile mentioning that the unemployment rate for youth is twice higher than in general[2].

Extensive labour migration is the main reason that explains the lowering of unemployment rates and increasing the imbalances on the labour market. Other key issues affecting the functioning of the labour market in the Republic of Moldova are the following:

- a large number of jobs with low productivity and low payment;
- salary levels not adequately reflecting the productivity and the level of qualification;
- high share of informal activities in some sectors;
- high unemployment rates among youth
- high level of long-term unemployment

It is important to mention that participation in the labour market not only provides income to families but also contributes to the social inclusion of individuals. This chapter presents the situation of the labour market participation of Roma in comparison with non-Roma. It also describes particularities of Roma employment, and related policy issues.

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[1] Moldova National Human Development Report 2006
[2] Moldova National Human Development Report 2006

Occupational Status

Poverty profile data (see Chapter 2) show that most Roma, both poor and non-poor, consider themselves as jobless. These data suggest that the type of employment is more important than the employment status *per se*. As shown in **Figure 18**, 29% of Roma are unemployed or without a job; a figure which is more than twice higher than for non-Roma. At the same time, only 30% of unemployed Roma are actively seeking a job, in comparison with 37% for non-Roma. The share of pensioners among Roma is lower than for non-Roma—10% in comparison with 14%—reflecting differences in age structure (see chapter 1). The share of housewives is higher (13%) among Roma population than among non-Roma (9%), demonstrating weaker participation of Roma women in the labour market. This situation is caused by three factors: 1) traditional roles in Roma families, 2) education level of Roma women and 3) their involvement in reproductive and care economy, demonstrated by significantly higher birth rates of Roma (see Chapter 1 and Figure 2).

Figure 18. Occupational status of household members (Roma and non-Roma)
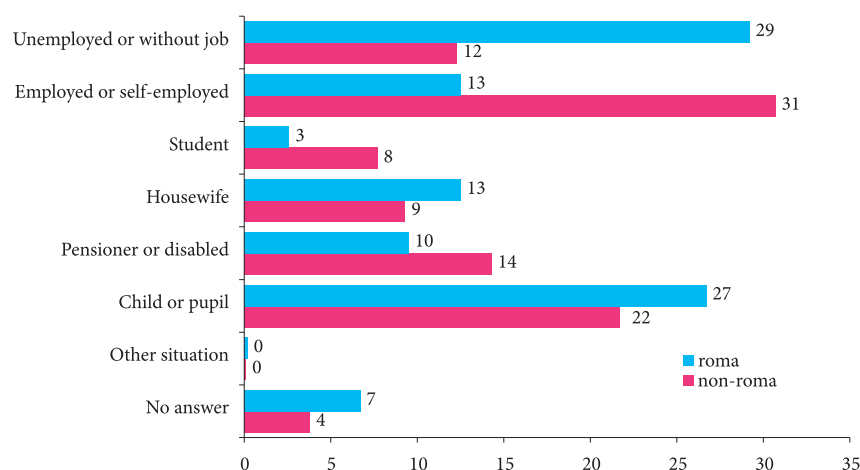
Source: Survey results (Household's head appreciation)

In general the Roma population has a two times lower activity rate[3] than the non-Roma population. Thus, according to results shown in **Table 9**, 27% of Roma belong to the category of active population, compared to 46% for non-Roma. The inactivity ratio of the Roma population is larger (39%) than for the non-Roma (28%). This situation is aggravated by a significantly higher number of children in Roma families. As a result, one active Roma has to support 2.7 inactive persons, while for non-Roma this indicator is significantly lower—only 1.2. Combined with employment in lower-salary sectors, these factors perfectly explain the poverty situation of Roma, described in a previous chapter.

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[3] Active population includes working people, unemployed who are looking for a job and students. Inactive population includes jobless not seeking for employment, housewives and pensioners or disabled persons.

Table 9. Population distribution by occupational status (Roma and non-Roma)

Category	roma	non-roma
Active population (employees, students, unemployed and housewives seeking a job during the last month)	27	46
Inactive population (pensioner or disabled persons, unemployed and housewives not seeking a job during the last month)	39	28
Other (including pupil/child)	34	26
Dependency ratio (number of inactive people supported by one active person)	2.7	1.2

Source: Survey results

In terms of types of activity, Roma and non-Roma demonstrate significant differences. As shown in **Figure 19**, most non-Roma were employed[4] in full-time or part-time jobs (25%), while for Roma this type of job is quite limited (only 6%). Occasional jobs represent the main form of employment activity for Roma (14%) and are not so characteristic for non-Roma. Interestingly, work on a farm and working on their own land is more characteristic for non-Roma, a factor that could be linked with land owner-ship issues (see 'Land ownership' section below).

Figure 19. Activity of members of household in October 2005 (Roma and non-Roma)
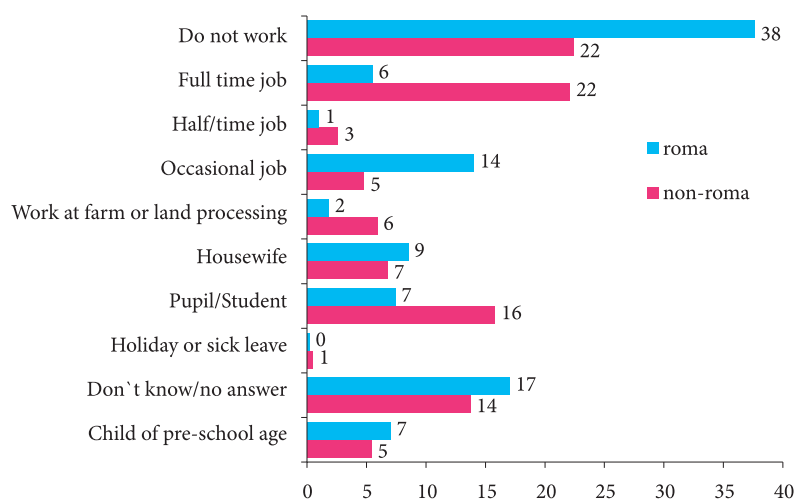
Source: Survey results

Results of the survey showed (see **Table 10**) that Roma and non-Roma population register significant differences in their activity areas. Although, in both cases, the population is predominantly involved

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[4] During last month, i.e. October 2005.

in agriculture, (32% of total employed Roma and 22% of total non-Roma population), still a significant share of Roma are involved in trade (19%) and "other" activities (13%). In the case of non-Roma population, involvement in construction and education registers the highest ratios (11% non-Roma versus 7% Roma for construction and 10% non-Roma and less than 1% Roma for education). The latter data clearly show that there is lack of Roma teachers in the system, which could partly explain the predominant perception of discrimination in the schooling system reported by some Roma leaders, and the limited access to study in their native language. Thus, the promotion of and increasing the role of Roma should be not only in public administration and the police, as mentioned in the Action Plan for Roma, but also in the education system.

Table 10. Sectors of employment for Roma and non-Roma

	roma	non- roma
Agriculture and forest industry	32%	22%
Commerce	19%	10%
Construction	7%	11%
Other commercial services (barber, tailor, etc.)	7%	6%
Industry or mining	5%	3%
Public services	3%	7%
Transport	3%	4%
Services (tourism, restaurants, cafeterias etc.)	2%	3%
Culture and art	1%	2%
Communications	1%	3%
Health	1%	5%
Education and science	Less than 1%	10%
Police and security sphere	Less than 1%	2%
Non-governmental sector	Less than 1%	1%
Finances	Less than 1%	2%
Other	13%	6%
DK/NA	6%	3%

Source: Survey results

Most Roma are employed in jobs with low qualification requirements (such as temporary unskilled labour). Their level of education (but probably not only education level), influences the occupation position of Roma as the survey results showed significantly lower education level for Roma than for non-Roma. Most employed Roma belong to three groups, namely temporary workers, unskilled workers and self-employed. By contrast, the non-Roma population are involved in a much higher diversity in job placement, including jobs that require a higher qualification level.

The findings of the study coincide with the findings of the Regional Reports[5] on Roma. It showed a significant difference between subjective unemployment and the traditional definition of unemployment, and estimated that unemployment rates are far below the levels that are often reported. It showed that respondents often understand "employment" as a "steady job" rather than the broader conception of "income generating activities." This explains why self-reported subjective unemployment rates often substantially exceed conventionally defined unemployment rates: Roma who are involved in income generation in the shadow economy or in subsistence agriculture, often describe themselves as unemployed and this is the reason why subjective and broad unemployment rates differ substantially. This pattern of employment, with a high ratio of the population involved in the shadow economy or temporary work, is characteristic for the Roma in Moldova as well.

Land Ownership

One of the common poverty coping strategies in many post-Soviet countries is supplementing reduced cash income with in-kind incomes in the form of their own agricultural products. Survey data presented in Chapter 2 showed that agricultural land processing for own consumption is a clear coping strategy for poor non-Roma households, with 13% of adults involving in it in comparison with 5% of adults in non-poor households. This strategy is not widespread among Roma, which is partly explained by land ownership issues. As per results of the survey, fewer Roma families own private agricultural land (40% surveyed families) than the rest of the population (66%). But these figures does not offer a clear image unless we take into account the quantity of land owned as well, because, in most cases, the land next to the house is not a major source of income. The cut-off point is 0.3 ha, which is the maximum size of the plot next to the house. In this respect, only 33% of Roma households own land plots exceeding 0.3 ha, in comparison with 54% non-Roma households. In addition, more than a half of Roma households (56%) residing in rural localities did not receive agricultural lands during the privatization of agricultural lands. [6]

There are very seldom cases when households, both Roma and non-Roma, rent agricultural land for processing. This is explained by the low profitability of the agriculture, and the fact that land is usually rented by small number of 'leaders', who can also hire those who lend the land as temporary workers. For the Roma, an additional explanation lies in more limited agricultural land ownership. As a result, Roma are looking for other income sources, rather than those generated by processing land, their own or rented. Most often, they prefer, or they are compelled to perform, temporary work

[5] Avoiding the Dependency Trap, A Regional Human Development Report, UNDP, 2002. At Risk: Roma and the Displaced in Southeast Europe. UNDP, 2006

[6] In 1999 agricultural lands, previously owned by state *kolhozes*, were distributed to individual farmers in the process of land privatization through "Pământ" ('The Land') Programme. By 2005, land parcels were distributed to 655.7 thousand people, with an average land parcel of 1.35 ha.

rather than to rent land. Roma produce fewer food products for their own consumption than non-Roma, probably due to this lack of agricultural land and adherence to their more preferred business - trade. The share of Roma households that produce vegetables, fruits, eggs, and meat products is twice less than the share of non-Roma households; moreover, the production of dairy products is three times less.

Entrepreneurship

S mall- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) can play a critical role in economic development because of their abilities to adapt to changing market demands, generate employment, diversify economic activity and contribute to exports and trade. The Government of Moldova has promoted the development of SMEs including measures to simplify the registration and business entry procedures.

However, the survey results show that Roma population invests fewer efforts in starting up and legalizing their own businesses. According to the survey data, only 7% of surveyed Roma households made efforts to start a business, of which only one third were officially registered. For non-Roma families these indicators are twice higher–14% of households made such attempts, over a half being registered later on. According to the data presented in **Figure 20**, over a half of Roma enterprises carried out their activity in trade. In general, this sector is preferred by both Roma and non- Roma (45% of enterprises are from this sector) due to easy entry rules and lower level of formality to start up business in this sector. Another explanation is the fact that it does not require special education or training, and there are no difficulties in the sharing of experience between generations. Given this situation, the interest in trading activities of the Roma population requires a special focus for plans and strategies in the development of small and medium enterprises.

Figure 20. Distribution of business initiated by Roma families by field of activity

Other
8%

Agriculture
12%

Construction
10%

Public
utility
services
8%

Industry
8%

Trade
54%
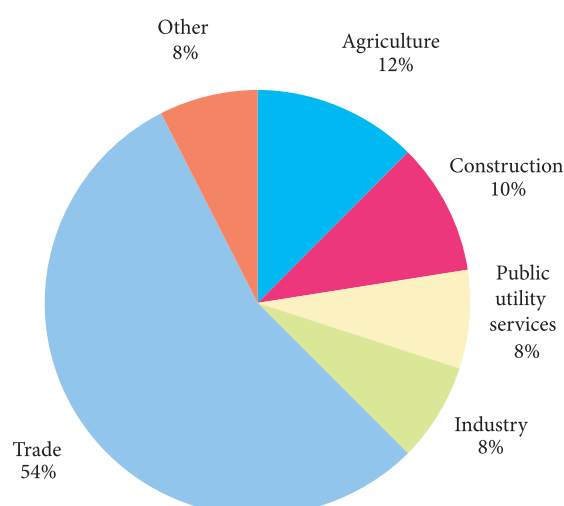
Also, the survey results showed that only half of the businesses initiated by Roma succeeded in maintaining at their initial level (30%) or developed further (20%). In the non-Roma case, the businesses succeeded more--25% developed further and 38% remained at the initial level.

Access to credit is a necessary precondition for small business development. The survey results showed that both Roma and non-Roma populations have limited access to financial services. Thus, only 16% of Roma households and 18% of non-Roma benefited from credits and loans in the past. For both groups, the main purpose of the credits is to solve personal and family problems, however non–Roma borrowed also for other reasons such as repair or purchase of real estate (22% in com-parison with 4% for the Roma) and investment in small businesses (11% in comparison with 7% for the Roma).

Conclusions

E mployment is an important element in poverty reduction; although the relationship between employment and poverty reduction is very complex. The employment level of the population, in many cases, is influenced by the differences in the demographic and geographic situation, education level, established traditions and attitudes, which are sometimes perceived to be discriminative etc.

The employment and activity levels of Roma population is much lower than of non-Roma population. In the case of Roma, survey data suggest that they report twice higher unemployment than non-Roma. At the same time, most of the unemployed Roma (70%) do not even look for a job. Due to peculiarities in age structure among Roma, children constitute a more significant ratio (due to demonstrated high birth rates among Roma), while pensioners and disabled persons have a less important ratio in comparison with non-Roma. As a result, one active Roma has to support 2.7 inactive persons, while for non-Roma this indicator is significantly lower—only 1.2. There is also a weaker participation of Roma women in the labour market, a fact that can be explained by a more traditional perception of the women's role of a mother who raises and takes care of children and the house in a family, and by a generally lower level of education- characteristic to the entire Roma population in comparison with non-Roma.

The low education levels of Roma push them to low qualifications and low income employment. The survey showed that most employed Roma works in low remunerated jobs, which do not require a special qualification. Low education levels, a high ratio of temporary work and employment in the informal sector demonstrates that Roma are in a more difficult situation concerning employment and implicitly, obtaining incomes needed for the satisfaction of their basic needs. Thus, the low activity rates of Roma, combined with employment in lower-salary sectors of those who manage to find a job, increase the poverty risk for Roma.

In terms of activity areas, although both Roma and non-Roma are predominantly involved in agriculture, Roma show a significant preference to involvement in trade. The most dramatic difference between Roma and non-Roma employment is noticed in health, education and science, and the police and security sphere, where the Roma are practically not present (less than 1 percent of Roma surveyed worked in these sectors, compared to 5 to 10 percent of non-Roma). This could partly explain the perceived discriminatory attitude in access to education, health, and public administration, voiced by Roma leaders during interviews. Land processing for subsistence farming- widely practiced in Moldova to substitute low cash incomes with in-kind ones - is not widespread among Roma, a fact that can partly be explained by land ownership issues and preferences for other types of activities such as trade.

Also, Roma population invests twice less efforts in starting up and legalizing their own businesses than non-Roma, preferring to be involved not in formal activities but in informal small trading activities. Even start up businesses appears to be less successful. Among the reasons behind this are the low education level of Roma, limited business opportunities in the areas where the Roma live and limited access to credit, which is the necessary precondition for small business development.

However, the survey results showed that both Roma and non-Roma populations have limited access to financial services.

Low levels of employment and employability are key features of the Roma labour market performance at a regional level as well. This is due to the low competitiveness of Roma workers and, sometimes due to discriminatory practices in the labour market. Poor education opportunities for Roma today guarantee poor employment prospects for Roma in the future. Income generation projects based on traditional skills should not be viewed as likely to effect large reductions in unemployment. Long-term unemployment has profound, negative effects on the social fabric of Roma communities. Regional report suggests that public works employment for Roma (and other disadvantaged groups) should be promoted—especially if they can be tied to job training or retraining activities. Social economy entities could be extremely helpful in this regard.

Creating an attractive labour market, preventing extensive migration of the labour force, especially of young people and ensuring a professional "de-freezing" are considered by the Moldovan population as primary employment and poverty reduction measures needed to be taken in this country. In order to more efficiently use the labour force resources available in the country, the focus in structural and industrial policies should be focused on the support of small business.

With respect to Roma, the "Action Plan to support Roma in Moldova 2007-2010" foresees three major directions of improving the employment situation of Roma. First: support for traditional skills and crafts by training craftsman and monitoring their employment, as well as by a set of measures to support development of traditional crafts enterprises. Second: active labour market policies including information available to Roma regarding jobs available, professional education, training and retraining. Third: support for Roma individual entrepreneurship activities. These are important initial steps. However it remains to see how these measures will be translated effectively into reality.

Health conditions

5

Health conditions

In general, the Moldovan health sector is perceived as performing poorly[1] and lags considerably behind other European and CIS countries. Because of high mortality rates, the natural increase of the population has remained negative. In 2005 the situation was even worse than during the last fifteen years (with a rate of natural increase of -1.9 per 1000 inhabitants). Although life expectancy registered positive trends in 2005 (constituting 67.8 years[2]), it is still 10 years below the average of the countries of the European Union. The indicators of maternal and children health, which belong to the most relevant indicators of human development in any society, are also significantly worse compared with the EU, CEE, and CIS countries.

Unequal access to health care services remains a major issue in Moldova. The deterioration of health services and financial crisis has exacerbated the inequality of the system. A body of evidence[3] indicates that the increase in household out-of-pocket spending has had a larger negative impact on poor and low income households, including most of the Roma. Compulsory medical insurance was introduced in 2004, however the outcome of the reform at this stage does not show increased quality and accessibility to health services, especially for vulnerable groups, including Roma.

Health aspects are at the core of MDGs 4, 5, and 6. Under the Millenium Development Goals. Moldova is seeking to improve the health conditions of its population and has committed to achieving the following targets:

- **Goal 4. Reduce Child Mortality**

    - Reducing mortality rate of under-fives from 18.3 (per 1000 live new-born) in 2002 to 15 in 2006, to 11.9 in 2010 and to 8.4 in 2015;

    - Reducing infant mortality rate from 14.7 (per 1000 live new-borns) in 2002 to 12.1 in 2006, to 9.6 in 2010 and to 6.3 in 2015;

    - Increasing the rate of children over 2 years vaccinated against measles from 99.2% in 2002 to 100% beginning with 2006.

- **Goal 5. Improve Maternal Health**

    - Reducing maternal mortality ratio from 28 (per 100,000 live newborns) in 2002 to 23 in 2006, to 21 in 2010 and to 13.3 in 2015;

    - Providing all maternity units with qualified medical staff starting from 2006 (at present the proportion is 99%).

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[1] The World Bank "Moldova Health Policy Note: The Health Sector in Transition". Report No. 26676-MD, 2003
[2] National Human Development Report 2006
[3] The World Bank "Moldova Health Policy Note: The Health Sector in Transition". Report No. 26676-MD, 2003

Monitoring the health status of Roma populations is another area that is deficient due to lack of statistical data disaggregated by ethnicity. However, there is evidence that life expectancy, infant mortality, morbidity and other major health indicators in Moldova and other countries of the region are substantially worse for Roma than for the majority population.

This chapter analyses the health situation and challenges the Roma population face (vs. non-Roma) on the basis of data produced by the survey. Due to the constraints of the survey, its objectives regarding health issues were rather modest and limited to the self-assessment of the respondents. Another important area investigated was the rate of inclusion in health insurance systems and access to medical services.

Infant Mortality

In general, the conditions enabling the people of Moldova to live long and healthy lives have been challenged. After 1991, when Moldova became independent, the state was no longer of maintaining the existing system of health protection at an acceptable level, a fact that contributed to the aggravation of health indicators, including for mothers and children. However between 2000 and 2005 infant mortality declined steadily from 18.4 per 1,000 live births to 12.4. Also in 2005, the mortality rate of children under 5 was 14.7 per 1,000 live births compared to 20.3 in 2001. Maternal mortality has also decreased significantly, from 43.9 to 18.6 cases per 100,000 live births. Still the chance to deliver a healthy child and also the survival chance during the first year of baby's life is lower (14.7 deaths per 1000 live births) in Moldova than in other European countries where an average of 4.5 deaths per 1000 live births was recorded in 2005 (Eurostat, 2006).

Official statistics do not provide disaggregated data on life expectancy, child and infant mortality for Roma. This study collected the information necessary for an estimation of these indicators for the Roma population. Life expectancy at birth for Roma is estimated at a level of 65.3 years[4], which is nearly three years shorter than for the population in general. The life expectancy component of HDI for Roma is lower than for non-Roma, but not significantly so (6% lower). This difference is the smallest among components of the HDI, with income and education components showing much more significant differences. However, the overall picture is far from rosy.

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[4] There is no data on Roma mortality and life expectancy. For calculation of Health component of the Human Development Index was used infant mortality rates obtained from survey and adjusted life expectancy.

Also, according to survey data shown in **Figure 21**[5], 21% of Roma women who had at least one pregnancy had at least one miscarriage (the reason being other than abortions). The situation is alarming, as this figure is almost two times higher than in the case of non-Roma, where the percentage of women who had miscarriages constitutes 14%. Family planning is limited or even not existing, which contributes to a high rate of gynaecological diseases, abortions and unwelcome pregnancies among Roma women.

Figure 21. Miscarriages in case of Roma and non-Roma women
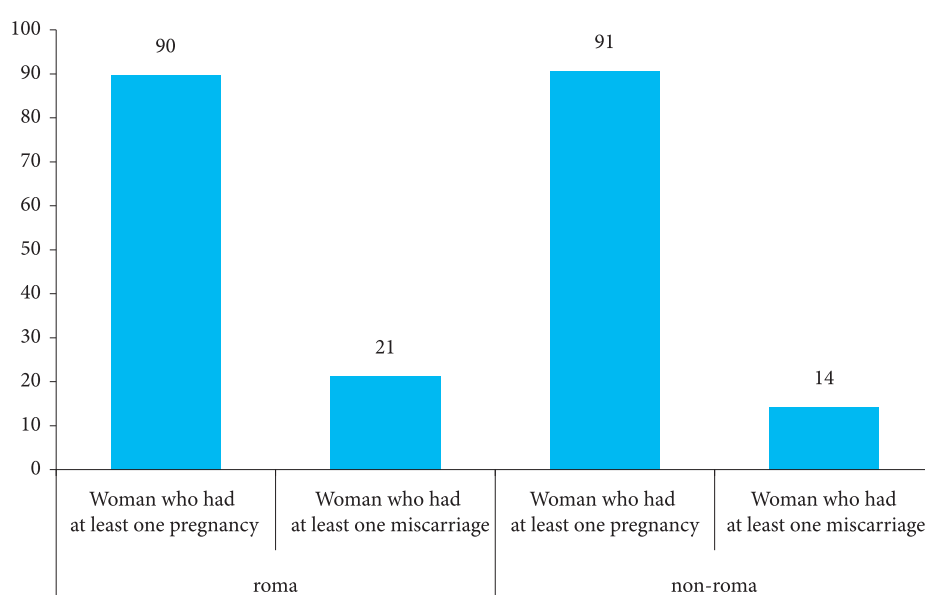
Infant mortality is a commonly recognized indicator closely linked with living standards. Survey data represented in Table 11 show the high level of Roma population vulnerability. The indices of infant mortality[6] in case of the Roma population constitutes 29 deaths during the first twelve months of live (per 1000 live births), and it is almost twice higher than the indices obtained for the non Roma sub sample (17 per 1000). Based on this estimated Roma child mortality rate which constitutes 29%, it is very unlikely that the Moldovan MDG target on infant mortality representing 6.3 per 1000 live births by 2015 is attainable for the Roma population.

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[5] Information was obtained for one household member only, namely, the wife of the head of household, the head of household if she is a woman or replaces the husband.

[6] The indices present the number of death cases in ratio to total number of children delivered by women, on which data were collected.

Table 11. Infant mortality data for Roma and non-Roma

	roma	non-roma
Number of new-born deaths reported by households covered in the survey	40	19
Number of births reported by households covered in the survey	1386	1123
Number of deaths per 1000 newborn	29	17

Source: Survey results

Diseases and Vaccination

The survey results show that the most frequent diseases claimed by both surveyed Roma and non-Roma during the year preceding the survey were flu and colds. The diseases of respiratory system were predominant, affecting 35% of Roma and 34% of non-Roma. However, during the last 12 months preceding the survey, a significant ratio of both populations – 40% of Roma and 44% of non-Roma – did not suffer from any disease.

The fifth part (20%) of the Roma population claimed that they are affected by chronic diseases in comparison with 16% of non-Roma. This figure could be higher as most surveyed Roma did not completely understand what "chronic disease" means. The most frequent diseases the Roma claim to suffer from are diseases of the cardio-vascular system (22%), followed by the respiratory system (17%), reproduction and urinary system (14%), psycho-neurological diseases (13%), and gastro-intestinal system (11%). For non-Roma the most frequent diseases and their incidence have the same characteristics, with marginal differences. Also, Roma receive less regular observation by doctors.

According to the data presented in **Figure 22,** Roma are less covered by a vaccination programme[7], with 11% of Roma children under 14 years not vaccinated in comparison with only 3% of non Roma children. In 13% of cases of Roma and 10% of non-Roma the situation is unclear because the respondent did not have an answer to this question. As a reason for non-vaccination 17% of Roma respondents mentioned the lack of insurance policy (among non-Roma this reason constituted 58%). Another reason is lack of information—"I did not know it was necessary to be vaccinated" as claimed by 22% of Roma parents.

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[7] Survey question asked about vaccination in general, without specifying the disease.
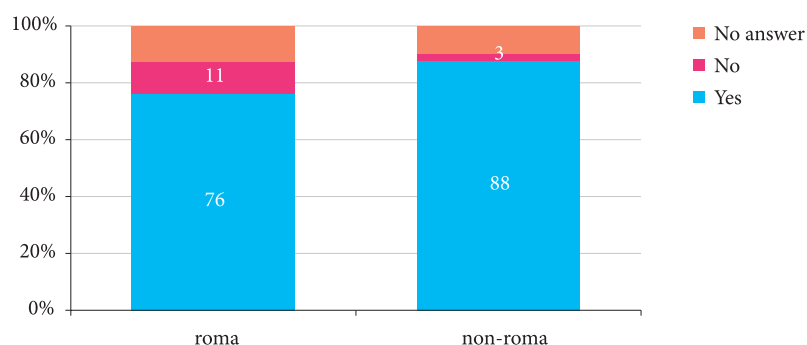
Source: Survey results

Access to health care services and compulsory medical insurance

Access to health care services remains highly unequal in Moldova. According to the results of the survey, out of all Roma who got sick during the last 12 months preceding, only 47% contacted a doctor, in comparison with 57% of non-Roma. The survey also revealed that Roma appeal less to specialised health services.

In general, family doctors ensure the primary medical assistance in the framework of the health protection system. That is why the first step in accessing the health services is to know the family doctor and registered on their list. The results of the survey show that most of the Roma and non-Roma know their family doctor, although for Roma this indicator is slightly lower at 74% of Roma respondents in comparison with 82% of non- Roma respondents.

Only 23% of surveyed Roma are covered by the compulsory medical insurance system (and have insurance policies), while for non-Roma the coverage is nearly twice higher - 59%. However, a significant part of Roma children and elderly people do not have medical insurance policies (and consequently are not insured), although this insurance is provided free of charge, a fact that contributes to Roma exclusion. Two main reasons for the limited coverage of Roma by medical insurance are the high costs of the policy and the fact that people consider that they do not need it. In the case of the Roma, the first reason represents 75% in comparison with 60% for non- Roma. This difference is understandable taking into account the significant differences in incomes of Roma and non-Roma (see Chapter 2). The second reason—perception that it is not necessary—has a lower ration among

Roma 12% in comparison with 24% for non-Roma. One of the serious barriers of access to health services and limited coverage by medical insurance mentioned by Roma NGOs is the lack of identification documents (identity cards, birth certificates) of some Roma. Another factor that explains the differences in access to health services between the two groups is the distance to the medical institutions. For example, only 38% of surveyed Roma are within a 1 km range of the doctor's surgery compared to 47% for non-Roma. However this factor is of limited importance as in the majority of cases for Roma households (81.1%), the doctor's surgery is situated up to 3 km away, a distance considered 'normal' for access to public services (schools, city hall etc) in Moldovan village life.

As per data presented in **Table 12**, most Roma respondents affirmed that during the last 12 months they had cases when they could not afford to buy the necessary medicines (75% in comparison with 41% in the non-Roma case). The problem is not necessarily the unavailability of medical services, but not being able to cover the expenses for the needed medical assistance as claimed by 75% of Roma.

Table 12. Reasons of non-coverage by compulsory medical insurance
(through insurance policies) for Roma and non-Roma

	roma	non-roma
High costs	75%	60%
Do not need it	12%	24%
Do not know it must be purchased	5%	4%
Do not know where to purchase it	2%	2%
Other reasons	4%	5%
No answer	3%	6%

Source: Survey results

Also 9% of Roma household members have at some stage, been refused medical assistance due to the lack of necessary documents, while 2% were segregated from the other patients in hospital.

From the regional perspective (see **Figure 23**), Roma from Moldova are the least covered by medical insurance and least in contact with their family doctors. Only 23% of the Roma population in Moldova is covered by mandatory medical insurance, compared to virtually full coverage in the Czech Republic, Slovak Republic and Hungary and 55-65% coverage in Bulgaria and Romania. The situation for Moldovan Roma concerning access to their family doctor is better, with 74% knowing their family doctor; a level which is closer to Bulgaria, Czech Republic and Romania, but lower than the 95% level for Hungary and Slovak Republic.

Figure 23. Access to health care services for Roma: Moldova from a regional perspective
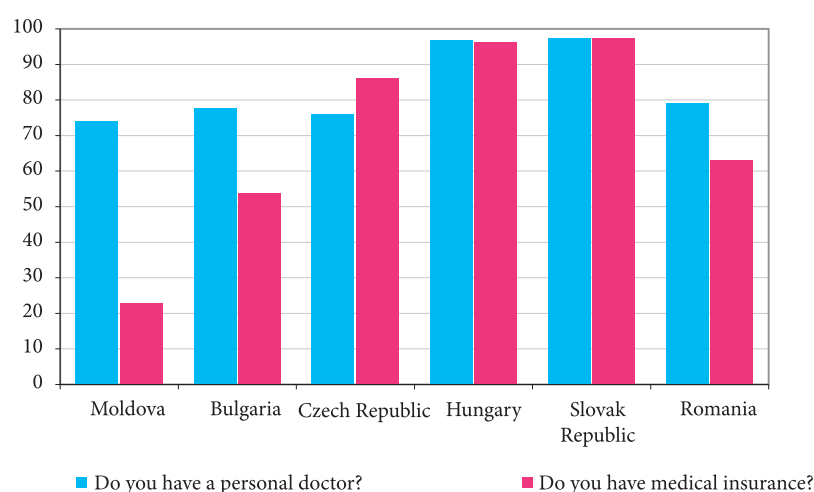
Source: Survey results, Regional Human Development Report

Conclusions

The performance of the Moldovan health sector seriously deteriorated during the transition period due to lack of resources to finance a costly system inherited from Soviet times and slow reforms in this sector. The deterioration of health services and the ongoing financial crisis has exacerbated the inequality of the system. Under the Millennium Development Goals 4, 5 and 6, Moldova committed to improve the health conditions of the population, committing to achieving the respective targets. However, there is an evident unequal access to health care services. It remains a major issue in Moldova, and vulnerable groups like Roma suffer the most.

The core health indicators in Moldova (life expectancy, infant mortality, maternal mortality children health)-which belong to the most relevant indicators of human development in any society - registered significant improvements in 2005. Still, they are significantly worse when compared with the EU, CEE, and CIS countries. Although official statistics do not provide disaggregated data on life expectancy, child and maternal mortality for Roma, the survey shows that in Moldova (as in other countries of the region) the life expectancy, infant mortality, morbidity, and other major health indicators are substantially worse for Roma than for the majority population.

Life expectancy at birth for Roma is estimated at the level of 65.3 years[8], which is nearly three years shorter than for the population in general. The life expectancy component of HDI for Roma is lower than for non-Roma, but not significantly so (6% lower). This difference is the smallest among the components of the HDI with income and education components showing much more significant differences between the Roma and non-Roma population. Although the Roma population register higher birth rates, at the same time the level of miscarriages and infant mortality are nearly twice higher for the Roma than for non-Roma population. Also is it very unlikely that the Moldovan MDG target on infant mortality, representing 6.3 per 1000 live births by 2015, is attainable for the Roma population.

The results of the survey show that the most frequent diseases claimed by both Roma and non-Roma during year preceding the survey were flu and colds. Roma more frequently suffer from chronic diseases than non-Roma, with cardiovascular diseases topping the list followed by respiratory problems and diseases of the digestive system. Roma children under 14 are less covered by the vaccination programme. Lack of knowledge about the programme and free coverage of medical insurance are the main reasons explaining this situation.

Most Roma and non-Roma population know their family doctor. But most people do not contact their doctor. Although a system of compulsory medical insurance is in place, only 23% of surveyed Roma are covered by the compulsory medical insurance system (and have insurance policies), while for non-Roma coverage is nearly twice higher at 59%. Two main reasons for this situation are the high costs of medical insurance policies and the fact that people consider that they do not need insurance or they simply do know about it. Another factor that explains the differences in access to health services between the two groups is the distance of their homes, in most cases varying from 1to 3 km, from medical institutions.

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[8] There is no data on Roma mortality and life expectancy. For the calculation of the Health component of the Human Development Index infant mortality rates obtained from the survey and adjusted life expectancy rates were used.

Although state has initiated a number of programmes of assistance and intervention that have made good progress, it is evident that significant efforts need to be invested to improve the health conditions of both Roma and non-Roma. The "Action Plan to support Roma in Moldova 2007-2010" foresees a series of measures for improving Roma access to health services and promotion of a healthy living environment, prophylaxis of diseases among Roma population etc. However, they are in general very vague. It is worthwhile mentioning that the maternal and child health issues are of serious concern and significant attention should be paid to improving the situation in this area.

6

In general, dwelling conditions in the Republic of Moldova are satisfactory. The majority of population in rural areas live in private houses, and in urban areas--in privatized flats. The population has nearly universal connection to electricity, however connection to the gas network is limited although expanding.

At present, more than 50% of the population consumes water that does not fulfil the sanitary norms. This is mainly the result of the exhaustion and degradation of the quality of aquatic resources and lack of or poor conditions of systems and technology used in treating water. 67% of rural establishments' aqueducts are not hygienic and are in poor conditions[1]. Piped water and canalization are generally available in big towns and many small towns, but remains a rarity in rural areas, where the main source of potable water is well water and the main sanitation is non-flushed toilets. This results in the poor quality of potable water, which in 70-80% of cases does not correspond to chemical norms and in 30% - to microbiological norms[2]. The main challenge for the population in Moldova in terms of dwelling conditions is the rapid deterioration of the housing infrastructure and the high prices for new houses, which makes new housing not affordable for the majority of population.

Adequate housing conditions is one of the important aspects of non-income poverty. This chapter describes and analyses living conditions of Roma in contrast with non-Roma, looking at access to basic amenities such as: infrastructure, dwelling, household equipment, information means and services, etc.

Dwelling Characteristics

Roma are often perceived as nomads without a permanent home and other immovable and movable property. Contrary to existing stereotypes concerning Roma nomadic life style, according to the data presented in **Table 13**, only 15% of Roma households are 'new' households settled in the respective locality during the last 15 years. This ratio is exactly the same compared to non-Roma. However, some differences are observed when it comes to directions of migration. In the case of Roma no clear direction of migration is observed. At the same time, for non-Roma the main direction of migration is rural-urban (56% of the households created during the last 15 years and located in urban area come from rural area).

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[1] The First National Report: Millennium Development Goals ih the Republic of Moldova http://www.un.md/mdg/mdg_in_moldova/Millenium_ENG.pdf

[2] Raport Anual de Evaluare a Implementării Strategiei de Creştere Economică şi Reducere a Sărăciei - 2006, sectia 6. PROTECŢIA MEDIULUI ŞI DEZVOLTAREA REGIONALĂ http://www.scers.md/files/Raport_SCERS_020507_FINAL.pdf

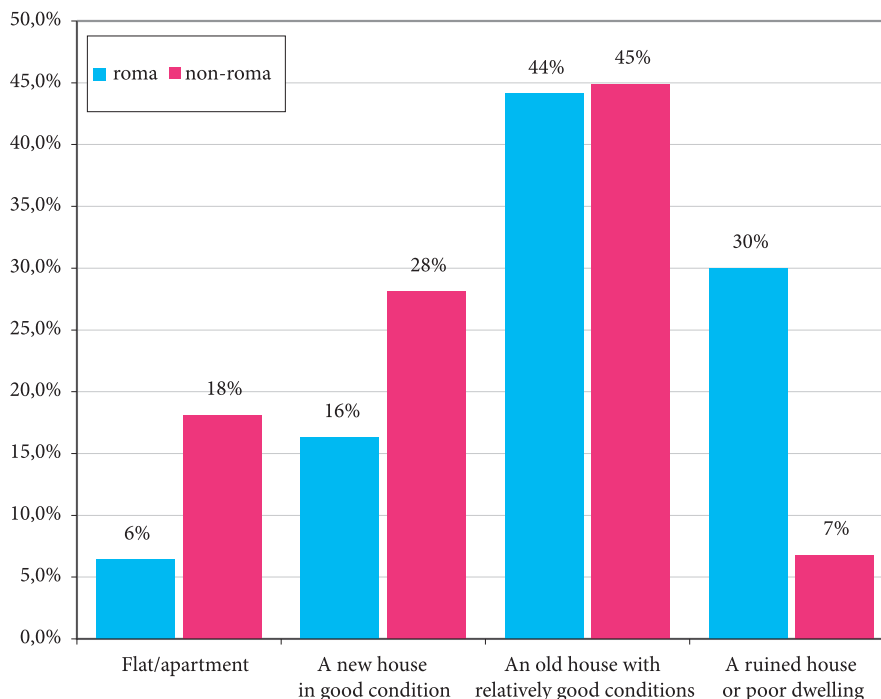Table 13. Changes of residence area for Roma and non-Roma

		roma		non-roma	
		Previous placement			
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Current residence area	Urban	17%	33%	15%	56%
	Rural	9%	41%	5%	24%
Households that changed locality		15%		14%	

Speaking about factors that conditioned migration, most often family reasons are mentioned – 60% for both Roma and non-Roma. Economic factors are also relevant (24% for the Roma and 30% for non-Roma). 10% of Roma households that changed their locality during the last 15 years explained that the reason for changing their residence area was that "we were forced to move".

Housing quality, both in terms of dwelling status and available infrastructure, is an important determinant of vulnerability. Insecure living conditions represent a major problem for a significant part of Roma population. Survey results shown in **Figure 24**, suggest that the third part of surveyed Roma households does not have access to a secure dwelling; they live in dwellings which are in very poor conditions or even in ruins (30%), in comparison to only 7% of non-Roma households.

Figure 24. Quality of dwelling of Roma and non-Roma households

In addition, Roma dwellings are a bit smaller in terms of number of living rooms and living area per member. An average member of the surveyed Roma households benefits from 18 m² of living area in comparison with 24 m² for non-Roma. Survey data demonstrated that poor households[3], both in the case of Roma and non-Roma face a higher dwelling insecurity than the population in general. Thus, 37% of poor Roma households and 15% of poor non-Roma households live in a ruined house.

Availability of Housing Infrastructure

A ccess to housing infrastructure is one of the important aspects of household deprivation and an additional useful proxy of household vulnerability. Access to sanitation services is important not only for ensuring decent living conditions, but in order to radically decrease mortality and morbidity due to water-borne diseases. Access to information and communication equipment is important for inclusion and education. Recognizing the importance of access to basic infrastructure, some Southeast European countries included it among their national set of MDG indicators[4]. However, Moldova did not include this as a target.

Results of the survey demonstrate that the levels of housing deprivation for Roma households are much higher than for the majority of households. According to the data presented in **Figure 25**, about nine of ten Roma dwellings do not have a flushing WC and piped potable water in the dwelling. However, this situation is also characteristic for the majority of the non-Roma population, where 71% have no flushing WC and 76% live without potable water. Eight of ten Roma households do not have bathrooms and sewerage treatment in their dwellings. This situation is also valid for non- Roma population, where 51% do not have bathrooms and 60% do not have sewerage treatment. The most significant difference observed was concerning the availability of the kitchen: 42% of Roma households surveyed do not have a kitchen in comparison with 17% in the case of non-Roma. Household lack of access to electricity is another example of deprivation. Electricity supply was not available to 10% of Roma households and only to 2% of non-Roma households. While Roma predominantly wood for cooking (44%), non-Roma use gas, either piped or bottled (61%). However wood is the primary heating source for both groups during the cold period of the year, but non-Roma population uses more charcoal (27%) and gas (15%) than Roma.

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3 See Chapter 2 for discussion on the poverty status of households.
4 UNDP, National Millennium Development Goals: A framework for action, 2006.

Figure 25. Basic conditions in the dwellings of Roma and non-Roma households
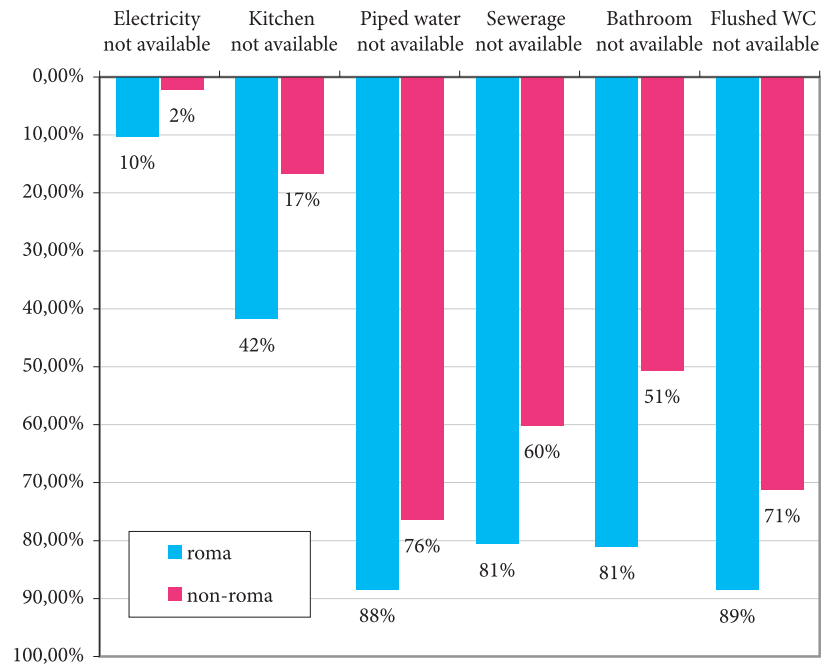
Source: Survey results

While the Roma and non-Roma household spend approximately the same share of their expenditures for housing (8% in the case of Roma and 10% in the case of non- Roma), the absolute figures are quite different. A Roma household spends in average 118 Lei for housing per month, which is 62 Lei less than a non-Roma household; reflecting less access to housing infrastructure, limited possibilities to pay bills and lower consumption of energy. Housing services providers have tightened payment regulation and cut services to households in the case of non-payments for longer than two months. According to survey data, 2% of Roma households had outstanding housing bills for potable water and 5% for electricity, in comparison with 2% in the case of non-Roma. Re-connection to services is costly as the family has to pay the fee and costs of connection. As a result, families have either to reduce consumption of housing utilities, or rationalize their expenditures to cover bills.

From the Regional perspective (see **Table 14**), Roma from Moldova are in the worst conditions in terms of housing infrastructure. The absolute majority of Roma households surveyed have no access to bathroom in their dwelling, no running water, no toilet in the dwelling and no sewage treatment.

Table 14. Sanitation of Roma dwellings: Moldova from the regional perspective

	Moldova	Bulgaria	Czech Rep.	Hungary	Romania	Slovak Rep.
Running water	88	45	4	34	65	32
Toilet in the dwelling	89	75	15	46	65	44
Sewage treatment	81	51	6	63	62	46
Bathroom in the dwelling	81	70	2	41	66	37

Source: Survey results; Regional Human Development Report

Household Equipment and Information Technologies

The availability of household equipment and access to information technologies are important dimensions of a population's living standard. The survey results show that Roma households are significantly less equipped with household equipment such as refrigerators – available to only one third of households and washing machines – available to 17% of households. Also only 65% of Roma households have the necessary number of beds for every member of the household, in comparison with 87% for non-Roma population.

The relatively reduced access to information sources and information technologies is valid for the entire country, however, it is even more obvious in the case of Roma households. According to the **Figure 26**, 65% of Roma households possess TVs and 47% of Roma households possess radios. However, the non-Roma situation in this respect is much better.

Relatively new information resources such as PC, parabolic antenna and Internet are not widespread in the surveyed households, both Roma and non- Roma. The PC is available in 2% of Roma households and in 7% of non-Roma; the parabolic antenna – in 2% of Roma and 4% of non- Roma households and access to Internet is available to 1% of Roma and 2% of non-Roma households. Interestingly, most Roma population also have limited access to traditional information and communication means, such as literature (91% of Roma households do not have even 30 books, in comparison with 49% of non-Roma), telephone (absent from 71% of Roma and 33% of non-Roma households accordingly), radio (53% and 31%, respectively) and TV (35% and 11%). A rarity for both populations is a mobile phone available in 12% of Roma and in 28% of non-Roma households.

Figure 26. Availability of information sources
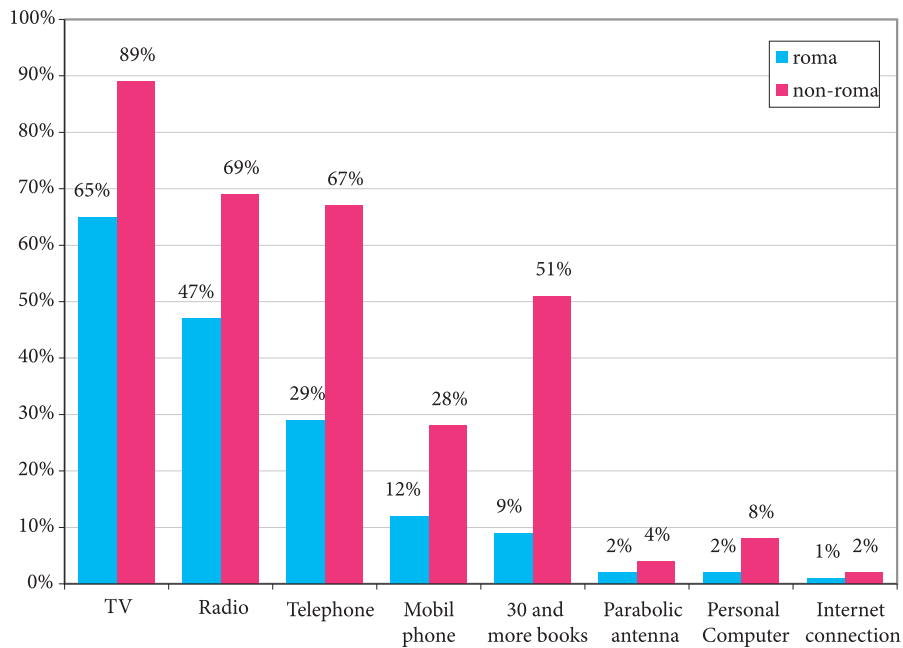
Figure 26. Availability of information sources

Also, the survey data show that it is uncommon for Roma to purchase long-term household equipment, and even if they do, it is in a smaller amount than in the case of non-Roma. During the last 12 months (October 2004 - October 2005), 11% of Roma households (in comparison with 19% non-Roma) purchased long-term household equipment. Also, during this period, a Roma household spent in average 1857 Lei for these acquisitions, while in case of a non-Roma household, these expenses were twice higher constituting 3072 Lei. The most popular durable goods bought for both groups are kitchen equipment, TV and video player, refrigerator, furniture, and (especially Roma) – a radio.

In the abovementioned context concerning household equipment available in households, we observe the discrepancies between the share of availability of certain goods in Roma and non-Roma households constitute a 20-40% difference making it clear the Roma are in a very difficult situation.

Conclusions

Access to housing infrastructure is one of the important aspects of household deprivation and an additional useful proxy of household vulnerability. The results of the survey demonstrate the prevailing stereotype of Roma as nomads. In fact there are very few Roma households (15%) which were newly established households in the respective locality during the last 15 years and no clear migration direction is observed.

Housing deprivation for Roma households is much higher than for the majority of the population. The third part of Roma households lives in an insecure dwelling. The overwhelming majority (more than 80%) of Roma households do not benefit from basic housing conditions such as potable water, WC, bathroom and canalisation. Wood is in many cases the primary resource used for cooking and heating in the cold period for Roma. Although, relatively reduced access to information sources and information technologies is valid for the entire country, it is even more obvious in the case of Roma households. Interestingly most Roma population have limited access to traditional information and communication means such as books, telephones and radios.

From the regional perspective, the Roma from Moldova are in the worst conditions in terms of housing infrastructure. The absolute majority of Roma households surveyed have no access to a bathroom in their dwelling, no running water, no toilet in the dwelling and no sewage treatment. This is due to the generally poor sanitation infrastructure conditions that have deteriorated dramatically in the absence of maintenance during the transition period. However, lack of sanitation infrastructure make Roma particularly vulnerable from a health perspective, taking into account their limited access to health services and their limited incomes.

The desperate state of their dwellings, lack of household facilities and "information and communication gap" could be a reason explaining the deficit in general culture and knowledge among Roma, and, implicitly, the very low education level of Roma children. All these factors contribute to widening the social distance between Roma and non-Roma, perpetuating the Roma social exclusion and should be seen as a symptom perpetuating the vicious poverty cycle.

7

Security and community relations

 Poverty is not just an income issue: it is a complex social phenomenon. The regional study on Roma situation shed additional light on the process of "ghettoization" of whole communities in the CEE countries. Inadequate education, poor health, long-term unemployment, fragmentary work history, labour market participation limited to informal sector employment and a dependence on social welfare benefits—these elements contribute to ghetto cultures experienced by Roma from the countries in the region. If this status-quo persists, it can lead to irreversible marginalization and vicious circles of Roma exclusion. The Roma overrepresentation in the poorest social strata could lead to domination of these ghettoized communities. This could have profound negative consequences, the most dangerous of which is the transformation—certainly in the perception of majority populations, and potentially in Roma self-perception as well—of Roma from an ethnic or cultural minority into a social minority with marginalized status.

In line with the points mentioned above, this chapter outlines the insecurity and threats faced by Roma and non-Roma, which can lead to their marginalization or exclusion from society. It also analyses how Roma cope with insecure, threatening situations and which institutions they approach under these circumstances. In addition, it presents the hierarchy of the problems and the threats, Roma and non-Roma face in daily life. Roma positioning in the community and their participation in political life constitutes other elements presented in this chapter.

Food Security

Lack of regular adequate incomes coupled with reduced access to land leads to increased food insecurity for Roma families. According to the survey results shown in **Figure 27**, over a half of Roma household heads answered affirmatively to the question "During the previous month, did you or somebody from your family go to bed hungry due to a shortage of food?". Generally, for the Roma population, this situation occurred quite often. In 28% of cases, it happened 2-3 times and in 17% of cases it happened more than 3 times. On the contrary, for non-Romas this situation occurs far less frequently.

Figure 27. Cases of food shortage for Roma and non-Roma
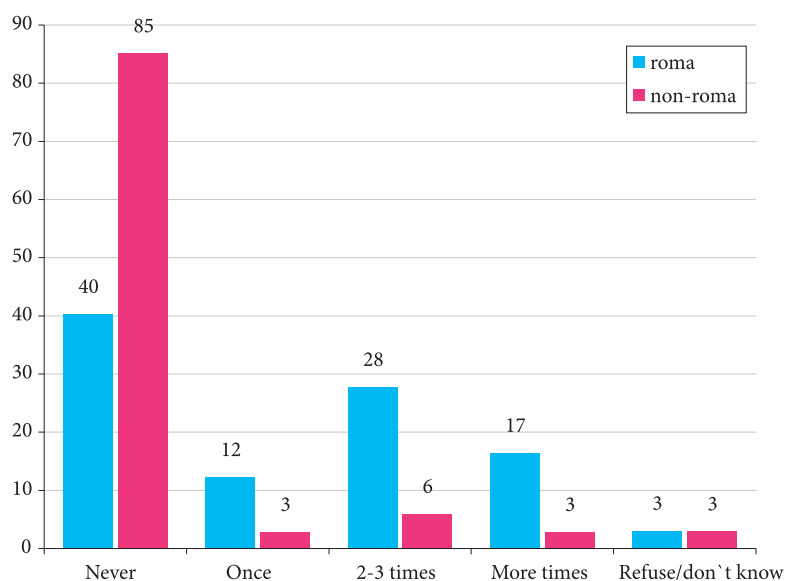
The community, as per data shown in **Table 15**, offers basic assistance in critical cases, in particular in those related to food shortage. Generally, however, if such cases occur, Roma would rather borrow food or money from relatives, friends or acquaintances (62% of Roma and 44% of non-Roma). Approximately 10% of both Roma and non-Roma would try to earn additional money through physical work. 6% of Roma respondents mentioned that they may ask their children, family or the head of household to beg; a scenario which was acceptable to less than 1% of non-Roma. 21% of non-Roma respondents compared to only 7% of Roma respondents consider that this situation of 'going hungry' would not happen again.

Table 15. Measures to be undertaken by Roma and non-Roma in case of repeated food shortages

|	roma	non-roma
Lending (from relatives, friends or acquaintances)	62	44
Earning money from physical work	10	9
Income from begging/collection of secondary resources	6	0.4
Request for assistance from various NGOs	2	1
No measures undertaken	0.3	1
Other	0	0
It would not happen again	7	21
No answer/Don't know	11	22

Source: Survey results

Security and Community Problems

While discussing vulnerability issues, it is important to understand threats groups face, as well as differences between groups in terms of threat perception. The data shown in **Figure 28** present the perception of Roma and non-Roma population on the probability of various threats (rated on a scale from 1—lowest to 5—highest). Both, Roma and non- Roma perceive insufficient incomes as the problem with highest probability. However, in case of Roma, lack of incomes has a much higher magnitude. Strikingly, "hunger", associated with lack of incomes, is in second position for Roma, while for non-Roma it represents a significantly lower problem and is placed in 8th position. In addition, the Roma population is afraid of the lack of access to health protection services (3rd place), diseases caused by unsatisfactory hygienic conditions and lack of physical security and crime (all being rated at the same level). Roma are more concerned than non-Roma about lack of access to education, lack of a house, and local interethnic conflicts. At the same time Roma are less worried about such problems, which are the centre of attention of non-Roma such as street and organized crime, physical insecurity, corruption and environmental pollution.

Figure 28. Importance of security and community problems from the perception of Roma and non-Roma

Importance of the problem (1-lowest, 5-highest)
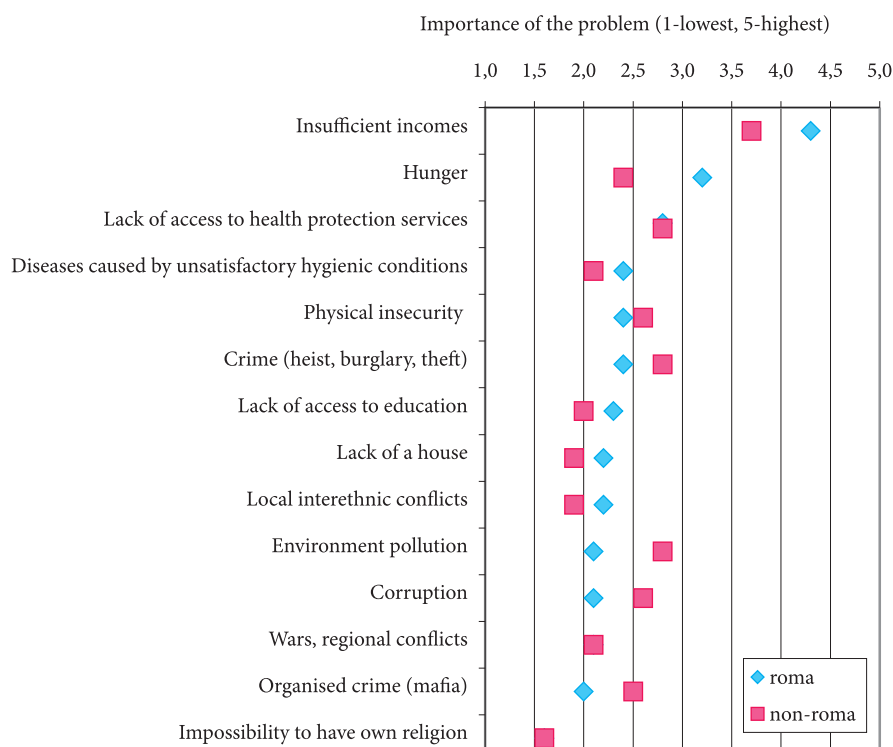
In case of problems, according to the data presented in **Figure 29,** most Roma (77%) will appeal to family, relatives, friends and neighbours. This is followed, though lagging far behind, by approaching state institutions and the police (18%), demonstrating a lack of trust in public and law enforcement bodies. Interestingly, for non-Roma approaching the social network is more characteristic (87%), while appealing to state institutions and the police is less characteristic (10%). However, if one compares involvement of family, relatives, friends and neighbours in the resolution of problems, by Roma and non-Roma, the findings are surprising. Roma are relatively less reliant on "their close connections" than non-Roma. This contradicts the generally perceived stereotype that Roma tend to be more reliant on their own Roma community and solve their problems within their own community.

Figure 29. Person and institutions Roma and non-Roma address in case of problems
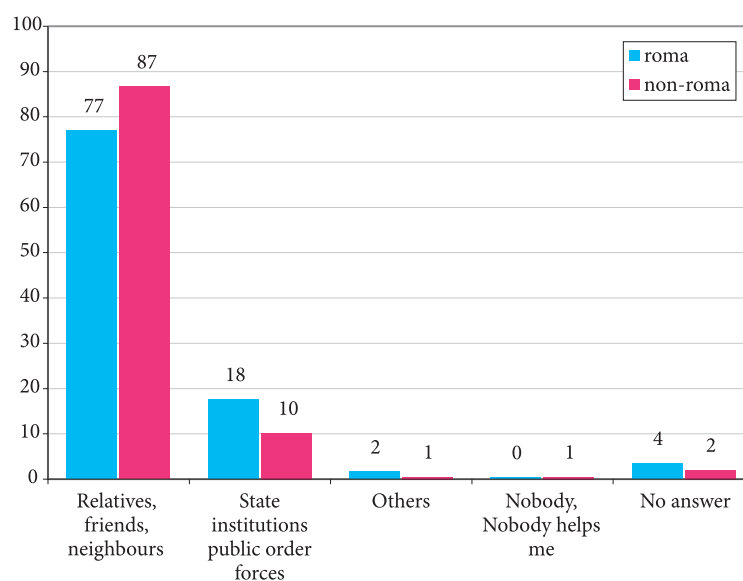
Source: Survey results

In the context of individual problem, when speaking about insufficient incomes, both Roma and non-Roma, would ask for the assistance from relatives and family; in the case of wars and regional conflicts – they would address the police and central administration, however Roma to a lesser extent than non-Roma. In the case of inter-ethnical conflicts, non-Roma would appeal to the police, local public administration, and the central government, but Roma, in the same situation, would ask more for the support of their immediate family and relatives. In a situation of hunger, they will ask for assistance from family, relatives, friends and the local public administration. In the case of problems connected with crime, the majority of both populations would appeal to the police, although in the case of Roma, this level is lower. The same statement is valid for cases of corruption, organised crime and physical threat.

Concerning the participation in decision-making structures, (an aspect which has benefited from special treatment in other states including strategies involving positive discrimination) in the Republic of Moldova, Roma are poorly represented in the bodies of local administration and have a very low degree of political participation.

Box 7. Problems concerning relations with state institutions

"We can say a lot about the problems with the state. The biggest problems are with the police. If something happens, who is guilty? Roma! This is already a serious problem between Roma and the state. People ask: Why do Roma children turn to the legal authorities. Because the community forces us to do that. Gradually, we understand that our rights are not respected, and we must know our rights. That is why our children turn to the law. They should know how to defend themselves and to discuss equally with others based on the law. We are not slaves and they are not masters.

And another stereotype. Roma do not work less than others do. Moldovans and Russians are beginning to migrate now but Roma have been migrating to Russia for a long time. They worked a lot. They did not steal. They earned money in exchange for their health - and their houses from Otaci and Soroca are built on earned money."

Source: Interview with Roma leader

Social Distance

One interesting method to evaluate interaction between different social or ethnic group is the Social Distance Index. The Index of Social Distance is calculated based on a questionnaire reflecting the Scale of Social Distance of Bogardus. The respondent is asked to express his acceptance or non-acceptance of a person of a group. The distance is measured according to various degrees of proximity:

1. to be a part of your family.

2. to be your friend

3. to be your neighbour

4. to live in your locality.

5. to live in the Republic of Moldova

The Index of Social Distance represents a simple sum of non-acceptances of a certain situation. Thus, the lower the value of the Index of Social Distance is, the less the distance between the group members. So an index value equal to zero means an extremely reduced distance and acceptance of all positions. When the value is equal to 5 it means non-acceptance of all positions (covered in the scale) and accordingly, the maximum social distance.

The index of social distance (see **Figure 30**) manifested by Roma to other ethnicities of the Republic of Moldova is very low which indicates the Roma's high acceptance of other ethnic groups. In the case of Roma, an index value exceeding 1 was registered only for Gagauz and Bulgarians, in comparison with other ethnic groups when this value is under 1. In the case of non-Roma, a very high value for the

index of social distance between the groups and Roma was registered (2.3) and thus a high closure and rejection level.

In other words, data represented in **Figure 30** suggests that Roma are accepted by non-Roma at the neighbour level, but not on the level of friends or family members. It must be mentioned that this represents the highest level of social distance registered in Moldova. At the same time, the Roma show a much more open attitude, accepting most ethnic groups at the level of family members, or at least friends (Gagauz and Bulgarians).

Figure 30. Index of Social Distance between Roma/non-Roma and other ethnic groups in Moldova
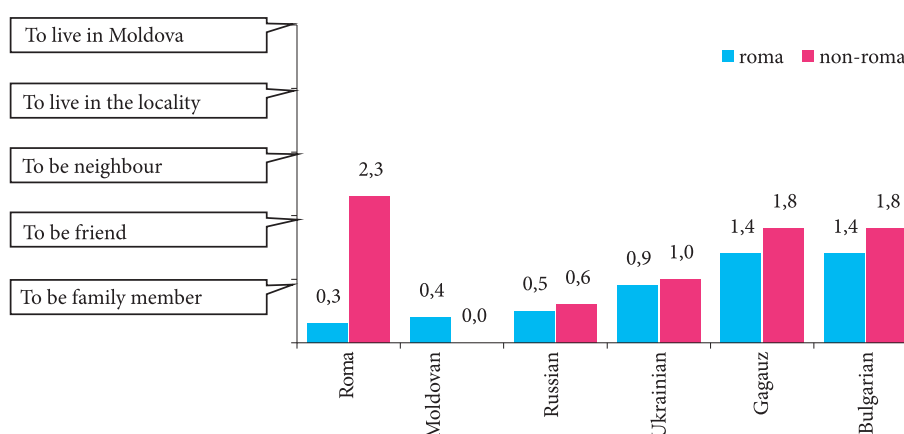
Source: Survey results

Conclusions

In the last decade, the problems of the Roma population were included in the international community agenda due to increasing proof of human rights violation and insecure socio-economic conditions in Roma communities. International organisations such as UNDP, European Union, Council of Europe, OCSE and some NGOs, such as Open Society Institute paid special attention to these trends.

Food insecurity threat is the major concern for Roma. Food shortage is a reality experienced quite frequently by almost two thirds of Roma households. At the same time, the measures undertaken by the population in these cases do not tend to diminish or to alleviate the threat of good insecurity definitively. Borrowing from relatives, friends, and acquaintances, which are the most frequently used solutions, can only alleviate a specific situation for a certain period of time, and but not solve the problem definitively.

Although insufficient income is problem number one for both Roma and non-Roma the meaning of this problem is interpreted differently by the two groups. For Roma this often means the financial

incapacity to supply their family with food because according to Roma the resulting problem faced with a high degree of probability is actual hunger. Other problems with a relatively high threat degree claimed by Roma are lack of access to health protection services, physical insecurity, crimes and lack of access to education. However, it is worthwhile mentioning that the Action Plan includes measures to increase Roma participation in community policing and resolution of community security issues. Unlike the Roma population, the non-Roma population is less concerned about basic needs. Apart from lack of access to health protection services, the following prevailing concerns among non-Roma are the crime situation, environmental problems and corruption.

From the Social Distance Index perspective, Roma manifest an open attitude to other ethnic groups. They have a lower level of social distance than non-Roma and other ethnic groups of the Republic of Moldova. Roma show a much more open attitude, accepting most ethnic groups on the level of family members, or at least friends (Gagauz and Bulgarians). At the same time non-Roma accept Roma as neighbours but not as friends or family members. It must be mentioned that the Roma in Moldova is the ethnic group that is most rejected by the majority population. Also, Roma are represented very poorly in the structures of local administration and there is insignificant evidence of a Roma being a member of political party. The results of the survey demonstrated that none of the observed Roma households included a member of a local council or a political party. At the same time 1.8% of surveyed non-Roma households included members of a local council, and 1.3% included members of a political party. Given these circumstances, one can conclude that in reality the Roma face a more discriminatory attitude from other ethnic groups.

Migration

8

Migration

The inherited political and social-economic system, institutional uncertainties and instabilities of the transition period in Moldova, stimulated a massive labour migration abroad. As per results of the study "Migration and Remittances in Moldova", carried out by CBS AXA at the commission of IOM, the EU Food Security Programme and the IMF[1] in 2004, the number of migrants was estimated at approximately 571 thousand persons, which constitutes 40% of the economically active population. At the same year remittances from abroad reached 30% of GDP, placing Moldova in the first place in the world in terms of remittances to GDP ratio. By means of remittances, emigration has served as an important tool of economic survival for households. The material welfare of every third family in Moldova depends almost entirely upon the money earned abroad.

However, positive economic benefits of migration are counterweighted by negative social consequences. As a result of emigration, a large number of children from the Republic of Moldova live without one or both parents. According to official data, in February 2005, almost 28 thousand children of school age lived in families where both parents were missing and over 68 thousand – in families where one parent was missing[2]. Alternative estimations suggest that, in fact, over 40 thousand children aged newborn to 14 live without both parents and between 150 and 270 thousand[3] – in families where one parent is missing. The socialisation of these children is much more complicated and painful than that of children from complete families and therefore can lead to a number of social problems. According to official statements, 55-60% of all juvenile crimes are committed by young people who are left without parental supervision. Almost half of the teenagers whose parents have migrated abroad have negative self-perceptions, a fact that significantly hinders their social integration. Each fourth of this category of children/young people manifests poor school/university results as a negative consequence of migration. According to some surveys, human development at the family level depends directly upon the economic resources the woman controls or manages. Consequently, the emigration of the mother abroad causes extremely high risks for any given family.

Emigration has generated a culture of dependency among children from families with emigrants. According to some surveys, their interest in education and integration into the local labour market is visibly decreasing. Though lacking statistical data, mass-media sources state that most young people who emigrated already have at least one relative established abroad. In this sense, the Moldovan Diaspora considerably simplifies the process of finding a place for living and reduces the risks related to emigration.

Over 70% of Moldovan emigrants work illegally, without having any elementary wage and social rights in the host countries. Due to this reason, they have no protection from abuses of employers, police, public administration and criminal groups. Over 80% of the emigrants work more than eight hours a day, half of them under extremely hard conditions, risking ruining their health. They do not contribute to social insurance, neither in the Republic of Moldova nor in the host country. This situation threat-

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[1] http://www.iom.md/materials/migration_remittances.pdf
[2] National Migration Bureau, August 2005
[3] Moldova National Human Development Report 2006

ens the stability of the pension system in the Republic of Moldova in the future when some of the emigrants will return to their homeland.

The dimensions of the migration phenomenon and its effects on Moldovan society, including Roma have been subject to various debatable discussions, in most cases, without foundation on empirical data. Among the painful consequences of emigration are: disintegration of families by divorce or separation, abandoned children, creation of favourable conditions for the trafficking of human beings (and organs) either for sexual exploitation or forced labour.

This chapter outlines the dimensions of external migration of the Roma population and its impact on the Roma communities.

Migration Patterns: Characteristics and Directions

In the opinion of Roma leaders, the negative social effects of migration on the Roma community are even more obvious due to the fact that Roma often migrate with their entire family, a phenomenon which is not characteristic for the rest of the population. This partly explains why Roma children drop out of schools.

The study results reveal that in November 2005, only 12% of Roma households and 12% of non-Roma had at least one member working abroad. These results are significantly lower than the ones presented by many field studies carried out in the Republic of Moldova. In the Roma case, there is an underestimation due to the specificity of Roma migration abroad by the entire family (as frequently noticed by field interviewers). A more in-depth investigation of such cases was not possible due to

objective reasons and the seasonal character of migrations; the data collection period coincided with the most intense inflows of seasonal migrants back home.

As in the case of non-Roma, Roma men are the most predominant migrants, representing 59% of migrants. The average age of a Roma migrant is 33 years (in comparison with non Roma - 36 years. The Roma migrants are a bit younger. The age category under 25 years represents 35% of total migrants and is approximately 10% higher in comparison with the same age category of non-Roma.

As shown in **Figure 31**, Russia, Ukraine and Italy are three main host countries for Roma labour migrants from the Republic of Moldova (these countries are also traditional destinations for all labour migrants from Moldova). However, in the case of Roma, the directions of emigration (country of destination) differ significantly from non- Roma population. There is a much higher emigration flow to CIS countries. Over two thirds of Roma migrants work in Russia and Ukraine (44% and 24%), followed by Italy (20%) and Turkey (6%), which is more specific to the Roma-Gagauz population. The CIS countries are attractive for seasonal migrants such as Roma due to low cost of migration, the minimum travel document requirements and the linguistic factor. The reverse side of the coin of migration in CIS countries is a lower level of remuneration and security issues.

Figure 31. Directions of migration of Roma and non-Roma
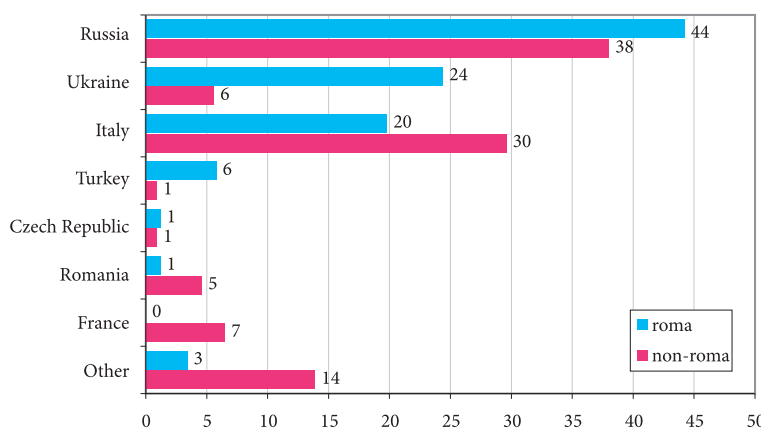
Source: Survey results

As shown in **Table 16**, short term migration is a characteristic of Roma migration, (one month is characteristic for 13% of Roma in comparison with 6% of non-Roma). Alternatively, Roma migrate for a much longer period—longer than half year. On the contrary, for non-Roma the migration period of three to six months is most characteristic. However, the average emigration period for both Roma and non-Roma is almost the same, representing 8.7 months and 8.6 months, respectively. During the last 5 years, a Roma migrant has migrated and returned on average 4.2 times while a non-Roma has migrated and returned – 3.3 times. If we do not take into account the seasonal character of migration, Roma migrants spend less time at home.

Table 16. The average emigration period for Roma and non-Roma

	roma	non-roma
One month	13%	6%
Two months	9%	8%
Three months	18%	32%
4 - 6 months	24%	20%
7 - 12 months	24%	14%
Over 12 months	11%	15%
No answer	1%	6%
Average (months)	8,7	8,6
Number of departures for the last 5 years (average)	4,2	3,3

Source: Survey results

Remittances, their Use and Investment

Remittances, especially monetary remittances represent an element of primary importance in the migration process for the migrants' country of origin. According to the experience of many countries, in particular ex Soviet Union countries that have experienced significant emigration abroad, the consumption of remittances received in the first years after the departure is highly oriented towards paying the debts for emigration and current consumption, such as foodstuffs, clothing, communal facilities and other current expenses in a household life. If the remittances are of a durable character, the moment that immediate consumption needs have been satisfied, the remittances are oriented towards real estate investments, such as the purchase, construction or renovation of already owned real estate, and social-human investments such as medical assistance and education. Lastly, in a favourable business climate in the country of origin, they can be directed toward beginning and the development of small and medium businesses.

The results obtained on the distribution of remittances show that, in general, the structure of remittances used by Roma is similar as for the total population of the Republic of Moldova[4], although

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[4] http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2005/cr0554.pdf

these results should be treated with caution due to the small number of observations used. The pattern of using remittances shows significant difference between Roma and non-Roma (see **Figure 32**). Non-Roma households manifest some progressive behaviour in terms of the use of remittances, shifting the use of remittances from current consumption towards savings and businesses use[5]. In the case of Roma, almost one third of the remittances is used for current consumption, followed by investments in real estate (which is quite understandable, taking into account the generally poor conditions of Roma dwelling, see chapter 6), and repayment of debts. Business use represents only 4% of the total volume of remittances, and savings—another 3%. Other significant directions of use of money received from abroad by Roma are the payment of debts, including those made for the departure (17%), socio-human investments, such as medical assistance, education (12%), other types of consumption (goods for the household, vehicle, weddings etc.)–14%. In comparison, following current consumption, the non-Roma spent significantly less on real estate investments (16%) but more on savings (8%).

Figure 32. Use of remittances by Roma and non-Roma
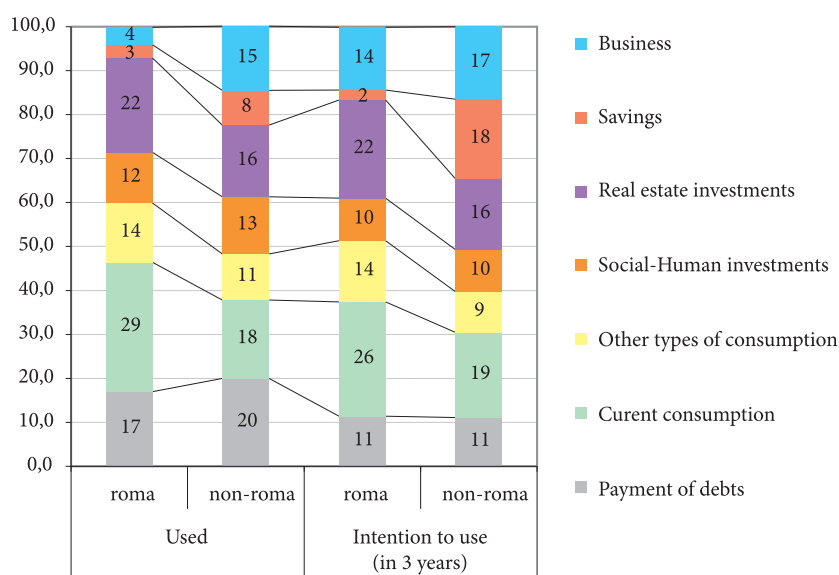
The intention for investments in the future represents an important indicator of both the further evolution of the migration phenomenon and poverty eradication. Thus, in the future, in conditions when the flow of remittances in the households continues for three years, the Roma population intends to increase its share of expenses in business (from 4% spent currently up to 14% over 3 years), to the level close to the current and intended use of remittances for business purposes by the non-Roma population. It is important to mention that non-Roma families intend to keep the share of remittances directed for business at the same level, a fact that reflects on the unfavourable business climate and lim-

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[5] idem

ited opportunities for productive investments of remittances. At the same time, non-Roma families intend to radically increase the share used for savings (from 8% to 18%) while for Roma, orientation towards savings is very insignificant. However, both Roma and non-Roma expect to maintain their share of remittances use for current consumption and social human investments at the same level.

Conclusions

The inherited political and social-economic system, institutional uncertainties and instabilities of the transition period in Moldova, stimulated a massive labour migration abroad. The exodus of citizens of the Republic of Moldova abroad for work is a phenomenon of significant proportions, and the Roma population is included in this phenomenon. However, Roma migration behaviour has some specific features. First, emigration with the entire family is more specific to the Roma population. This partly explains the high drop out rate from schools by Roma children. Generally, also Roma migrants are a bit younger than non-Roma.

Roma migrants prefer seasonal migration and give greater preference to the CIS countries, especially to Russia and Ukraine due to low expenses, the easy process of minimum travel documents and the language factor. Simultaneously, these countries are less attractive from the viewpoint of work remuneration and security.

In the case of Roma the use of remittances is more oriented towards current consumption and real estate investments and less to investments in business and savings. This structure of remittances use is characteristic for the primary phases of the migration process. While Roma intend to use a larger share of remittances for business and savings in the future, these shares are still lower than for non-Roma. This could be a result of both the modest size of earnings that can only cover living expenses with no surplus left over and the lack of entrepreneurial skills and opportunities.

When speaking about living conditions, the Roma population is in a worse situation in comparison with non-Roma. In this context, taking into account the fact that Roma direct their remittances to real estate investments, gives weight to the argument that these are in fact consumption expenses for the Roma meaning the creation of basic living conditions. While for non-Roma real estate investments can be treated as true investments and possibilities to save and increase money.

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ANNEX I. METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS

In the Republic of Moldova, the study covered 81 localities and 1200 households in total, divided in two sub samples. The Roma sub sample is based on a list of localities where Roma households are at least 5 in the locality.

The strata size and the totals per regions were determined based on the 1989 Census Population and on the results of the survey carried out by NGO Juvlia Romani.

Representation:

The sampling took into account the peculiarities of the Roma population in the frame of every locality, in order to adjust the non-Roma sub sample to the Roma sample. From this standpoint 3 types of localities were chosen:

- Localities populated predominantly by Roma. In this case interviews with non-Roma representatives were carried out in the neighbouring locality, populated predominantly by non-Roma;

- Localities were Roma constitute a small part of the population, but they are concentrated in a distinct part of that locality. In this case, the non Roma sampling point was set in close proximity to the region populated by Roma;

- Localities where the Roma population does not constitute a distinct part of that locality. In this case, both Roma and non-Roma households were selected by the same method.

Roma identification:

In the frame of the survey, the ethnic identification of Roma respondents was based both on the respondent self-identification and on the assessment of the field operator. The following table presents the assessment of importance of identification criteria used by the operator when identifying respondent's ethnicity.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
	Most important	←	←	←	←	Less important	No answer
a) Skin colour	38.2%	8.0%	13.2%	4.8%	6.3%	29.3%	0.2%
b) Language, accent, way of speaking	45.1%	11.9%	8.8%	11.1%	6.3%	16.6%	022%
c) Life style	32.2%	26.1%	15.9%	7.3%	6.1%	12.1%	0.2%
d) Name of the re-spondent	21.9%	7.1%	24.2%	12.3%	15.2%	19.0%	0,2%

Randomisation phases:

Locality

The list of Roma localities was established based on the following sources:

- Data of the 1989 Census Population;

- Results of the survey carried out by the NGO Juvlia Romani in 2001, in the framework of CORDAID project;

- Data from NGOs acting in this field.

Household

A maximum of 8 interviews were organised at sampling point. Statistical methods were used for the selection of households where the interviews were organised.

Head of household

In each household, the interview was carried out with the head of the household. In the case when he/she was missing due to various reasons (and would remain missing for the next 2 weeks) the interview was carried out with his/her deputy.

The definitions for the household and head of household used during the survey are as follows:

Household – is a place separated from of other households by a separate entrance, with one or many persons living together for 3 months during the last 12 months and having a common budget and common meals.

Head of the household – this is the member of the household appointed by any other member or who has identified himself as head of household, regardless of the reason or criteria (the oldest, the decision taker in the household, the highest income earner, by tradition, etc.). The head of the household is determined by the question: "Who is the head of the household?" The head of household can be either a man or a woman.

Data collection period: All data were collected during the period 3-19 November 2005.

Interviews were held with the representatives of central authorities with responsibilities in this field, leaders of Roma NGOs and donors of Roma programmes in order to organise data collection of qualitative nature.

The Roma NGOs from the country presented us structured information on the fore-mentioned initiatives and projects for some areas.

ANNEX II. DISTRICTS (RAYONS) AND LOCALITIES INCLUDED IN THE SAMPLE

District	Locality
	Mun. Chişinău
	Mun. Bălţi
Basarabeasca	Basarabeasca
Briceni	Briceni
Briceni	Lipcani
Cahul	Cahul
Cahul	Zârneşti
Cahul	Slobozia Mare
Călăraşi	Buda
Călăraşi	Călăraşi
Călăraşi	Vălcineţ
Călăraşi	Palanca
Călăraşi	Răciula (Parcani)
Călăraşi	Ţibirica (Schinoasa)
Călăraşi	Leordoaia
Cantemir	Cania
Căuseni	Căuseni
Criuleni	Boşcana
Criuleni	Cricova
Drochia	Drochia
Drochia	Chetrosu
Drochia	Gribova
Drochia	Baroncea
Drochia	Ochiul Alb
Drochia	Nicoreni
Edineţ	Edineţ
Floreşti	Prodăneşti
Floreşti	Floreşti
Glodeni	Glodeni
Glodeni	Danu
Glodeni	Dusmani
Hînceşti	Hânceşti
Hînceşti	Minjir
Hînceşti	Cărpineni
Hînceşti	Sofia
Hînceşti	Horjesti
Hînceşti	Sărata Galbena
Ialoveni	Costeşti
Leova	Sărata Noua
Nisporeni	Vulcăneşti
Nisporeni	Bursuc
Nisporeni	Nisporeni
Nisporeni	Vărzăreşti

Nisporeni	Bălăureşti
Nisporeni	Mărinici
Nisporeni	Pârjolteni (Ursari)
Nisporeni	Bolţun
Ocniţa	Otaci
Orhei	Orhei
Orhei	Slobodca
Orhei	Selişte (Lucaşeuca)
Orhei	Tabora
Orhei	Isacova
Orhei	Morozeni
Orhei	Ghetlova
Rîscani	Râscani
Rîscani	Mihăileni
Şoldăneşti	Răspopeni
Soroca	Soroca
Soroca	Bădiceni
Ştefan Vodă	Talmaza
Ştefan Vodă	Antoneşti
Ştefan Vodă	Ştefan Vodă
Străşeni	Lozova (Stejăreni)
Străşeni	Vorniceni
Străşeni	Dolna
Străşeni	Micleuşeni (Huzun)
Străşeni	Ialoveni
Străşeni	Străşeni
Străşeni	Anenii Noi
Taraclia	Taraclia
Taraclia	Corten
Teleneşti	Chiştelniţa
Ungheni	Pârliţa
Ungheni	Grăseni
UTAG	Comrat
UTAG	Ciadâr Lunga
UTAG	Gaidar
UTAG	Copceac

ANNEX III. CALCULATION OF HDI FOR ROMA AND NON-ROMA

Background and methodology

Human Development Index emerged as composite index to operationalize the concept of Human Development. It was proposed by UNDP economist Mahbub ul Haq in 1990s as replacement of GDP index to measure social development. The HDI is a synthesis of human development. It measures the average achievement of three basic dimensions of human development:

o   **A long and healthy life**, as measured by life expectancy at birth

o   **Knowledge**, as measured by adult literacy rate (with two-thirds weight) and the combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment ratio (with one-thirds weight)

o   **A decent standard of living**, as measured by GDP per capita in purchasing power parity (PPP) terms in US dollars

DIMENSION	A long and healthy life	Knowledge		A decent standard of living
INDICATOR	Life expectancy at birth	Adult literacy rate ↓	Gross enrolment ratio (GER) ↓	GDP per capita (PPP US$) ↓
	↓	Adult literacy index ↓	(GER) index ↓	↓
DIMENSION INDEX	Life expectancy index ↓	Education Index ↓		GDP Index ↓
	Human Development Index (HDI)			

Before HDI is calculated, an index has to be created for each of these dimensions. To calculate these indices—minimum and maximum values are chosen for each underlying indicator[1]. Performance in each dimension is expressed as a value between 0 and 1 by applying the following general formula:

$$\text{Dimension index} = \frac{\text{actual value - minumum value}}{\text{maximum value - minumum value}}.$$

The HDI is then calculated as a simple average of the dimension indices.

Indicators and data sources

The main data source of information on Roma is a sociological survey implemented by CBS-AXA in November 2005 based on the methodology of regional Roma Study. The survey covered 600 Roma and 600 non-Roma families (living close to Roma ones) and include information on incomes, education and the health condition of Roma families. Due to the small size of the sample, the margin for error is high up to 4%. Also, it should be noted, as non-Roma families were selected close to Roma families, this could show a certain bias in the sample toward more deprived regions. In the discussions below three indices will be used—(i) for Roma; (ii) for non-Roma; and (iii) for the Republic of Moldova from Global HDR 2006.

Life expectancy at birth cannot be estimated directly from the Survey, as it does not provide age-specific

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[1]

Indicator	Maximum value	Minimum value
Life expectancy at birth (years)	85	25
Adult literacy rate (%)	100	0
Combined gross enrollment rate (%)	100	0
GDP per capita (PPP US$)	40,000	100

mortality tables necessary for such calculations. To estimate life expectancy at birth for Roma we used a correlation between Child mortality and Life expectancy at birth and the findings of the survey on child mortality among Roma. Based on life expectancy at birth for the general population of 68.1 year, we assessed <u>life expectancy at birth for Roma at 65.3 years</u>.

Literacy rate for Roma was obtained from the survey. Data from the survey suggest that the Roma have a low literacy rate of 74.9% compared to 94.9% for non-Roma surveyed. It should be noted that the Moldova Population Census 2004 meansured a 98.9 literacy rate[2].

Gross enrolment rates (GER) for Roma and non-Roma were estimated from the survey basing on enrolment rates for each grade and weighted by share of children belonging to each age group. Combined GER for Roma is estimated at 42.4%, while for non-Roma at 83.1%. It should be mentioned that HDR2006 use GER for Moldova of 70.0% with reference to "*preliminary national or UNESCO Institute for Statistics estimate, subject to further revision*".

GDP for Roma was estimated at the level of 60% of national GDP based on the ratio of Roma/Non-Roma incomes from the survey. GDP for non-Roma is assumed to be equal to national GDP due to small size of the Roma population.

Interpretation of results

Indices and results of calculations are summarized in the table and graph below.

Indicators	Non-Roma	Roma	Moldova (HDR2006)
Life expectancy at birth, years	68.1	65.3	68.1
Adult literacy rate, %	94.9	74.9	98.4
Combined gross enrolment rate, %	83.1	42.4	70.0
GDP, PPP$	1,729.0	1,037.4	1,729.0
Life Expectancy Index	0.718	0.672	0.718
Education Index	0.910	0.641	0.889
GDP Index	0.476	0.390	0.476
HDI	**0.701**	**0.568**	**0.694**

Life expectancy index for Roma is lower than for non-Roma, but not significantly so (6% lower). However, based on the child mortality rate, health issues should be treated as of serious concern. Based on estimated child mortality of 28.9 per 1000 live births, it is very unlikely that the Moldovan MDG target on infant mortality of 6.3 per 1000 live births is attainable for this group.

Education Index is one third lower for Roma than for non-Roma and is the source of greatest concern. Both components of index (adult literacy rate and gross enrolment rate) are lower for Roma, reflecting
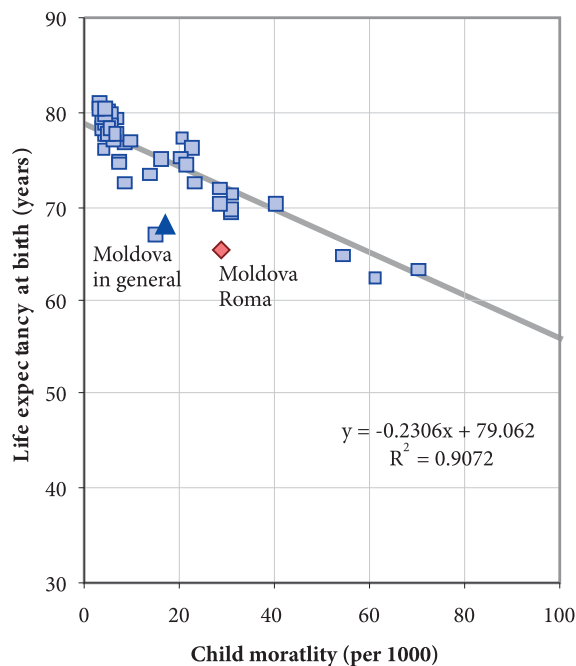
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[2] http://www.statistica.md/recensamint/Totalurile_recensamintului_populatiei.doc

a vicious cycle of education deprivation for the Roma. This suggest that improved access to education, enrolment and social inclusion through participation in school life could be way out of this vicious cycle for Roma. The results of the survey suggest that only 2% of parents indicated discrimination as the cause of non-participation of their children in education. More significant barriers are economic reasons. 33.8% of parents complained about the high cost of education[3]. Strikingly, 30.2% of reasons are subjective social factors such as early marriage or "children having reached the necessary level of study".

GDP Index is c.a. 18% lower for Roma. However, it has a very low value for both Roma and non-Roma, reflecting the generally poor economic situation in Moldova. Interestingly the difference in the GDP index is not as dramatic as in the Education index.

Reflecting differences in the above-mentioned indexes, **Human Development Index** is one fifth lower for Roma than for non-Roma

	Life Expectancy	Education Index	GDP Index	HDI
non-roma	0.718	0.910	0.476	0.701
roma	0.672	0.641	0.390	0.568
Moldova (RDU2006)	0.718	0.889	0.476	0.694

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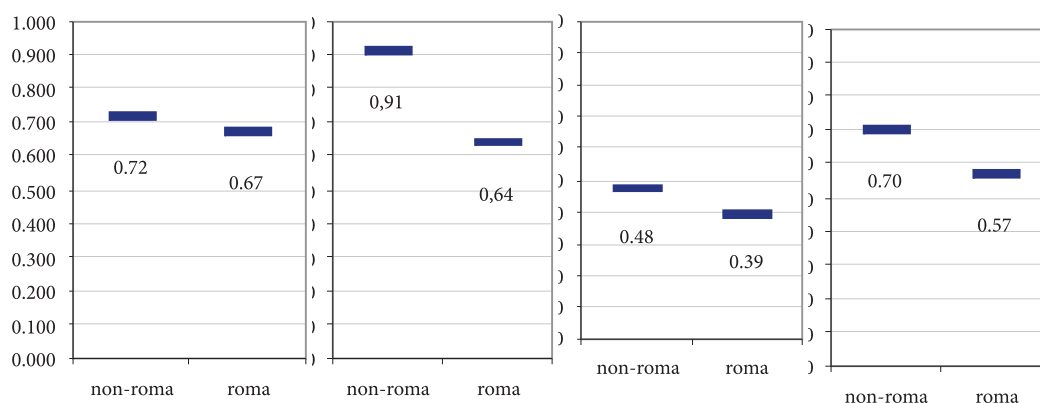
[3] Responses were provided for children up to 22 years old, covering all levels of education. Thus the high cost of education could include both direct costs (higher education) and indirect costs of actually sending children to school (for formally free primary, secondary and tertiary educations).

UN
DP

Moldova