Public Disclosure Authorized

86671 v2

UNIUNEA EUROPEANĂ

GUVERNUL ROMÂNIEI
MINISTERUL MUNCII, FAMILIEI, PROTECŢIEI SOCIALE ŞI PERSOANELOR VÂRSTNICE
AMPOSDRU

Fondul Social European
POSDRU 2007-2013

Instrumente Structurale
2007-2013

The World Bank

DIAGNOSTICS AND POLICY ADVICE FOR SUPPORTING ROMA INCLUSION IN ROMANIA

Prepared by the Human Development and Sustainable Development Teams

Europe and Central Asia

The World Bank Group

February 28, 2014

Public Disclosure Authorized

Standard Disclaimer:

This volume is a product of the staff of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/ The World Bank. The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed in this paper do not necessarily reflect the views of the Executive Directors of The World Bank or the governments they represent. The World Bank does not guarantee the accuracy of the data included in this work. The boundaries, colors, denominations, and other information shown on any map in this work do not imply any judgment on the part of The World Bank concerning the legal status of any territory or the endorsement or acceptance of such boundaries.

Copyright Statement:

The material in this publication is copyrighted. Copying and/or transmitting portions or all of this work without permission may be a violation of applicable law. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/ The World Bank encourages dissemination of its work and will normally grant permission to reproduce portions of the work promptly.

For permission to photocopy or reprint any part of this work, please send a request with complete information to the Copyright Clearance Center, Inc., 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923, USA, telephone 978-750-8400, fax 978-750-4470, http://www.copyright.com/.

All other queries on rights and licenses, including subsidiary rights, should be addressed to the Office of the Publisher, The World Bank, 1818 H Street NW, Washington, DC 20433, USA, fax 202-522-2422, e-mail pubrights@worldbank.org.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In June 2013, the Romanian Ministry of Labor, Social Protection, Family and the Elderly requested the World Bank to assist in developing national policies and identifying cost-effective programs to promote the integration of Roma, by providing diagnostics and policy options in key areas of poverty and social safety nets, employment, education, housing and habitat upgrading, health, combatting discrimination, and institutional mechanisms for effective local service delivery and use of EU instruments. The purpose of this study is to respond to this request and inform policy makers and other readers of the overall living conditions and main challenges faced by Roma, and to recommend options for solutions to these challenges. The results will be made available to relevant stakeholders, so that they can be incorporated in:

- Proposals for the 2014-2020 EU programming period;
- The new national Roma inclusion strategy (NRIS);
- Sector-specific strategies;
- New legislation;
- Ministerial and municipal budget allocations.

This report presents a comprehensive diagnostic of living conditions among the Roma in Romania, including separate chapters on education, employment, social protection, health, discrimination, housing, and an overview of institutions and policies available to address Roma inclusion. The report combines quantitative and qualitative evidence, and outlines a set of policy measures to foster productive participation and contributions of Roma, as well as to improve their wellbeing. The study will be accompanied by a summary report titled *Roma Inclusion – What It Takes for Romania*, which focuses on priority interventions and policy measures on the basis of the key messages from sectoral diagnostics. The report draws on comments and inputs provided by representatives of the Romanian civil society, academia and government agencies in the course of two consultations (September 24-25, 2013 and November 21-22, 2013).

The report was prepared under the direction and guidance of Mamta Murthi, Ana Revenga, Alberto Rodriguez, Laszlo Lovei, Elisabetta Capannelli, Omar Arias, Elisabeth Huybens, Christian Bodewig, Roberta Gatti, Ismail Radwan, Katarina Mathernova, and Ines Fraile-Ordonez. The development of the report was coordinated by task team leaders Kosuke Anan (kanan@worldbank.org) and Sandor Karacsony (skaracsony@worldbank.org). The chapters were prepared, in alphabetical order, by Simona Anton, Magda Balica, Florin Botonogou, Aida Catana, Adrian Dan, Plamen Danchev, Dana Farcasanu, Celine Ferre, Richard Florescu, Vlad Grigoras, Sorin Ionita, Ana Ivasiuc, Barbara Kits, Adam Kullman, Joost de Laat, Mihai Magheru, Ashna Mathema, Cristi Mihalache, Mariana Moarcas, Larisa Ofiteru, Iulius Rostas, Claudia Rokx, Manuela Stanculescu, Rob Swinkels, Lea Tan, Dikshya Thapa, and Michael Weber. Oana Maria Caraba, Sujani Eli, Sophia Georgieva, Corina Grigore, Camelia Gusescu and Isadora Nouel contributed to the team's work and provided support.

The team is grateful for the comments received from the report's peer reviewers, Dena Ringold, Ana Maria Munoz Boudet and Eva-Maria Szavuj (European Commission, DG Regional Policy). The report also benefitted from further constructive comments by Koen Delanghe and Enrica Chiozza (European Commission, DG Regional Policy), Soraya Goga and Siobhan McInerney-Lankford. The team appreciates the feedback and support provided by Ms Marie-Jeanne Ghighea from the Ministry of Labor, Social Protection, Family and the Elderly throughout the development of the report.

CONTENTS

1 Introduction 4

2 Education 16

3 Employment 65

4 Social Protection 126

5 Health 152

6 Addressing Discrimination – Challenges and Opportunities 195

7 Housing 230

8 Institutional mechanisms for effective local service delivery and use of EU instruments . 262

1 INTRODUCTION

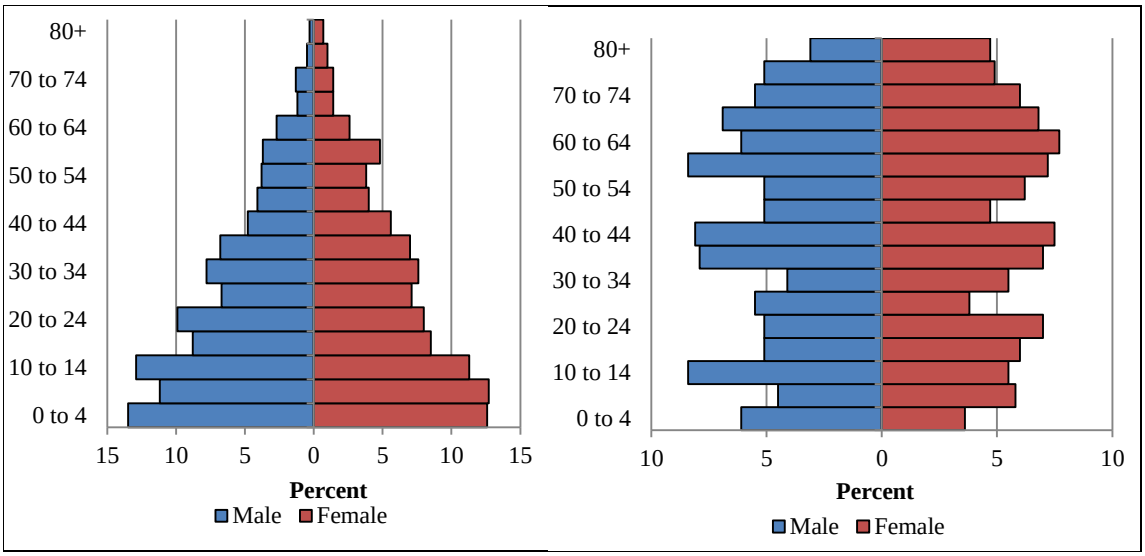
1.1 ROMA INCLUSION: SMART ECONOMICS, BUT NOT YET A REALITY

Romania's long-term economic sustainability and the long-term viability of the country's social protection system crucially depend on the success of Roma inclusion. During the 2011 Census, 621.573 Romanians (approximately 3% of the population) declared Roma ethnicity, making Roma the second largest ethnic minority in Romania (after Hungarians). Expert estimates place the number of Roma much higher: according to Council of Europe data, the Romanian Roma population in 2010 was estimated to be between 1,200,000 and 2,500,000 (i.e. between 6% and 12% of the total population)[1]. If these alternative estimates are correct, the Roma would form the largest ethnic minority in the country. Moreover, survey data from the UNDP/WB/EC (2011) household survey[2] indicate that just over 37% - more than one third - of the Romanian Roma population is under 15 years of age (Figure 1-1), which is in stark contrast to the ageing demographic profile of Romania's overall population. Hence, not only do the Roma form a large ethnic minority group, but due to its demographic characteristics, this group also accounts for an increasing share of new labor market entrants: currently, by using a population estimate of 1,800,000 Roma in Romania, the share of Roma among new labor market entrants reaches 20%. Hence, a large and growing share of new labor market entrants in Romania is coming from the Roma population. Creating the conditions for a productive inclusion of young Roma is critical for offsetting the steep projected decline in the country's working-age population (30% by 2050): in this respect, the labor contribution achieved through Roma inclusion should also be considered as an essential component of economic growth and contribution to financing of future pensions and social services.

[1] Notes: With regard to census based estimates there is a concern that Roma substantially underreport their ethnicity. An alternative set of expert estimates is commonly reported (e.g. European Commission (2011) *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, An EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020*, and United Nations Development Programme (2002), *'Avoiding the Dependency Trap*'.

[2] The UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011) was designed by the World Bank and UNDP, financed by the European Commission DG Regional Policy, and implemented by UNDP through IPSOS polling agency. Interviews were held with a random sample of Roma in Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic. In each country, approximately 750 Roma and 350 non-Roma households living in the same neighborhoods or vicinity were interviewed. The sample focused on those communities where the share of the Roma population equals or is higher than the national share of the Roma population. This approach covers 88% of the Roma population in Bulgaria, 90% in the Czech Republic, 78% in Hungary, 89% in Romania, and 83% in Slovakia. Summary findings were presented in "Roma at a Glance" (UNDP/FRA, 2012).

FIGURE 1-1: POPULATION PYRAMIDS: ROMA (LEFT PANEL) AND NON-ROMA NEIGHBORS (RIGHT PANEL)



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

However, the Romanian Roma are poor, vulnerable and socially excluded, severely limiting their opportunities to contribute to Romania's economic growth and shared prosperity. Against this background, data from the Roma household survey paints a bleak picture of the current status of Roma communities: the vast majority of Roma in Romania and other Eastern European countries continue to live in poverty, much more so than neighbors living in the same or nearby communities. The at-risk-of-poverty rate[3] of Romanian Roma, at 84%, is almost 3 times higher than among neighboring non-Roma (see Table 1.1)[4]. The rate of Romanian Roma households in severe material deprivation[5] is alarmingly high (90%), and almost half of Roma households have very low work intensity[6] (see Table 1.1).

[3] The at-risk-of-poverty rate is a key social inclusion indicator in the European Union which indicates the share of persons aged 0+ with an equivalised disposable income below 60% of the national equivalised median income.

[4] The share of Roma at risk of poverty is comparable to that of the neighboring countries: statistics compiled by UNDP report rates for Romania, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia, ranging from 71% (the Czech Republic and Hungary) to 87% (Slovakia). The estimate for Romania reported above is slightly higher than the UNDP estimate for Romania. This is caused by two factors: firstly, the sample used by UNDP differs from the one used in this chapter. Secondly, the income levels reported by Roma households were decomposed into 'major sources of income' in order to increase the precision of the obtained estimates. The UNDP dataset and the dataset used in this chapter each made use of a different approach to deal with missing values within these 'major sources of income' question items, creating some level of discrepancy: whereas the UNDP estimate excluded missing values from the calculation, the estimate reported above replaced missing values with the mean reported value by Roma in Romania for each particular source of income – conditional on receiving any income from that particular source. The UNDP estimate stands at 74%.

[5] Share of population living in households lacking at least 4 items out of the following 9 items: i) to pay rent or utility bills, ii) keep home adequately warm, iii) face unexpected expenses, iv) eat meat, fish or a protein equivalent every second day, v) a week holiday away from home, or could not afford (even if wanted to) vi) a car, vii) a washing machine, viii) a colour TV, or ix) a telephone.

[6] The indicator 'persons living in households with low work intensity' is defined as the number of persons living in a household having a work intensity below a threshold set at 0.2. The work intensity of a household is the ratio of the total number of months that all working-age household members have worked during the income reference year and

TABLE 1-1. EU SOCIAL INCLUSION INDICATORS IN ROMANIA

	National, target for 2020	National, actual (2011)	Roma actual	Non-Roma neighbors actual
At Risk of Poverty	21%	22%	84%	31%
Living in Severe Material Deprivation	Unspecified	32%	90%	54%
Living in Household with Very Low Work Intensity	Unspecified	6%	44%	22%
Employment rate	70%	64%	30%	44%
Share of 30-34 year olds having achieved tertiary education	27%	22%	0.40%	7%

Source: EU-SILC (2011) and UNDP/WB/EC regional Roma survey (2011). Authors' calculations.

Even when important background characteristics are held constant, merely 'being a Roma' remains a key determinant of living in poverty. Analysis of household survey data shows that a Romanian individual is 38% more likely to be at risk of poverty if he or she is of Roma origin compared to non-Roma of similar age, education level, household composition, community composition and geographic location. The data also shows that age, rural location, predominant ethnicity in settlement and number of children in household have no impact of a similar magnitude on the individual's chances of being at risk of poverty. The analysis shows that children are 37% more likely to be at risk of poverty if they are ethnic Roma. Education improves one's chances of escaping poverty: the analysis indicates that education significantly correlates with better life chances, with individuals who completed secondary education being 17% less likely to be at risk of poverty. This number jumps to almost 20% in case of Roma, indicating that secondary education can have a considerable poverty reduction impact in the Roma communities. Still, ethnicity outweighs education in terms of predicting risk of poverty in Romania. This maybe a reflection of a myriad of factors, including lower skills of Roma (not captured by the education level), attitudes, and barriers to access labor opportunities including discrimination (which is further discussed in Chapter 6 on antidiscrimination).

Poverty leads to dire circumstances in Roma households. A significant gap persists between Roma and non-Roma households in all key areas of human development. Education outcomes of

---

the total number of months the same household members theoretically could have worked in the same period. A working-age person is a person aged 18-59 years, with the exclusion of students in the age group between 18 and 24 years. Households composed only of children, of students aged less than 25 and/or people aged 60 or more are completely excluded from the indicator calculation. Due to a lack of data on the number of months worked in the previous year, the indicator used here was simplified, and captures whether or not the share of working age individuals per household who are actually working over the total number of household members who could have worked is below 0.2.

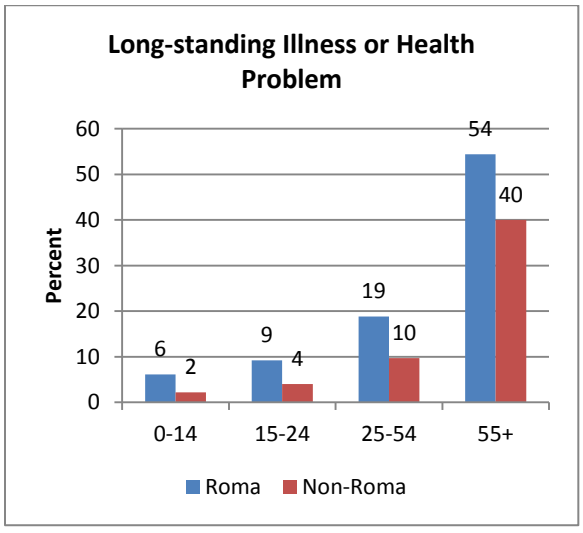
the Roma are considerably worse than those of the non-Roma: only 10% of Roma (ages between 25 and 64 years) have completed secondary education, in stark contrast with 58% of non-Roma living nearby. The education gap starts early: only 32% of Roma children (ages between 3 and 6 years) are enrolled in preschool or kindergarten, against 77% of their non-Roma neighbors. Significantly more Roma live in slum and overcrowded dwellings than non-Roma, and – likely as a result – the health status of Roma individuals is significantly worse than that of the non-Roma (Figure 1-2).

TABLE 1-2. KEY HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDICATORS

	Roma	**Non-Roma Neighbors**
Completed secondary education	Overall, among age group 25-64: 10% 12% for men, 6% for women (age group 25-64)	Overall, among age group. 25-64: 58% 59% for men, 52% for women (age group 25-64)
Preschool enrollment rate (ages 3-6)	32%	77%
Chronic disease rate	See Figure 1.2	See Figure 1.2
Individuals living in slum dwellings	29%	5%
Individuals living in overcrowded dwellings	53%	16%

Source: UNDP/WB/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

FIGURE 1-2: AN EXAMPLE: CHRONIC DISEASE RATES AMONG MEN



Source: UNDP/WB/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

Large gaps persist in labor outcomes between Roma and non-Roma. The vast majority of Roma express a desire for stable jobs, similar to the responses of non-Roma neighbors. Yet, employment rates among Roma continue to lag far behind those of the majority populations, as well as behind the Europe 2020 headline target of 75 percent of the population aged 20–64 to be

employed, and behind the Romania specific 2020 target of 70 percent. While in 2011, 66 percent of men and 53 percent of women of working age (15-64) in the general population were employed, only 42 percent and 19 percent of Roma men and women had jobs – including informal employment.

Labor earnings among Roma are significantly lower than for non-Roma. The surveys show that employed Roma earn only a fraction of the average earnings among the general population. As a result of low employment rates and low wages, the labor income of working age Roma men in Romania is estimated to be only 20 percent of that in the general population (Figure 1-3), and among Roma women, this is even lower: 12 percent (Figure 1-4).

FIGURE 1-3. GAP IN LABOR INCOME (MEN)7

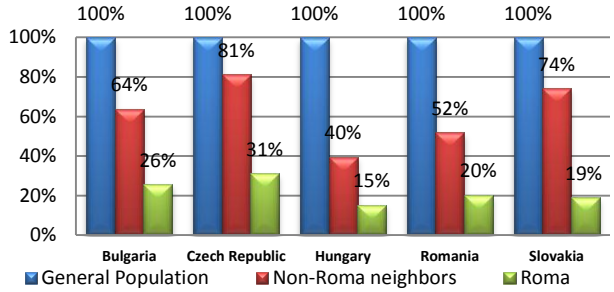
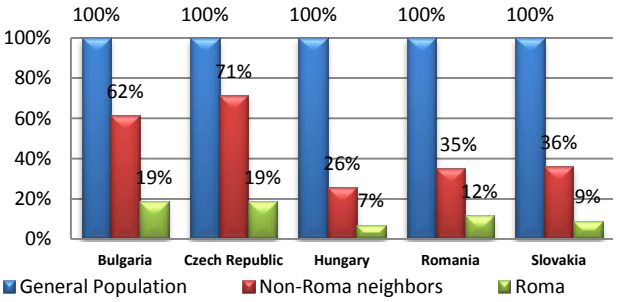


FIGURE 1-4. GAP IN LABOR INCOME (WOMEN)



Source: General Population: EU-SILC (2008) for earnings information. Eurostat (2012) for 2011 Quarter 2. UNDP/WB/EC regional Roma survey (2011)

1.2 MOVING FORWARD: AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO ROMA INCLUSION

Roma inclusion is a macroeconomic necessity. About 17 percent of the general population in Romania is 65 and years or older: by 2040, this is estimated to rise to 28 percent[8]. The working-age populations is projected to fall by 30% by 2050. At the same time, the share of new labor

[7] For each country, labor income rates for the general population are normalized at 100%. The corresponding rates for non-Roma neighbors and Roma are relative to the general populations. Income rates are estimated by multiplying for each country the average employment rates times the average earnings for those who are employed. This gives the average earnings for an individual in the working age population. For comparative purposes, values have been adjusted to 2011 prices using the Harmonized Index of Consumer Prices (Eurostat, 2012).

[8] UN Population Division (2011)

market entrants in Romania that is Roma is large and growing; those aged 0-14 years – the new generation of labor market entrants - make up 36 percent of the total Roma population, compared to 15 percent for the same figure among the general population. Depending on the total size of the Roma population[9], this means that between 6-20 percent of labor market entrants in Romania today are Roma. According to a World Bank estimate on the basis of 2008 data[10], assuming an equal number of working-age Roma men and women and that average wages in the economy remain unchanged, equalizing labor market opportunities for Roma could result in potential economic benefits ranging between 887 million Euro up to 2.9 billion Euro in Romania.

Roma currently do not have the opportunities to improve their own welfare and gain access to the labor market, despite clear and actionable policy entry points. Simple descriptive indicators on Roma's desire to work suggest that the latter is very similar to the same desire among non-Roma neighbors. However, merely being of Roma background increases the chances of living in poverty, likely a reflection of skills gaps and other barriers to jobs (including discrimination). In short, Roma currently live in deprivation, and in the vast majority of circumstances, they do not have access to the tools that could help them escape poverty. However, the analysis suggests clear and actionable entry points for designing policies that could help improve the welfare and labor market opportunities of Roma.

Promoting Roma inclusion in Romania should be based on concerted efforts, following a dual-purpose approach comprising (i) a comprehensive understanding of the 'dimensions of exclusion' faced by Roma; and (ii) improved service delivery within each of, as well as across these dimensions. In an effort to streamline policy recommendations and to focus on the most effective areas of intervention, our main focus in this report is on three of these 'dimensions of exclusion': *education (Chapter 2)*, *earning opportunities for families (Chapter 3 & 4)*, and *basic services and living conditions (Chapter 5 & 7)*. These three dimensions are at the core of improving opportunities for the Roma, with respect to the current generation and, perhaps even more importantly, with respect to the next generation. The report demonstrates that targeted policies and programs across these dimensions can contribute to progress on socio-economic outcomes among the Romanian Roma. At the same time, service delivery gaps particularly affecting the Roma must be addressed for this approach to be effective. In this light, it is also important to examine the role of *ethnic discrimination* experienced by Roma *(Chapter 6)*, as well as the various *policy initiatives and institutional mechanisms* that are currently in place to address Roma inclusion *(Chapter 8)*.

[9] Estimates range from 535,140 (National Census in 2002) to [730,000-970,000] according to a Romanian Government and World Bank 2005 survey called "The Roma Communities Social Map" to 1,850,000, according to the EU Communication "An EU framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020", based on the data from of Council of Europe. Source: Strategy of the Government of Romania for the Inclusion of the Romanian Citizens Belonging to Roma Minority; 2012-2020

[10] Roma Inclusion: An Economic Opportunity for Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Romania and Serbia. (The World Bank, 2010)

1.2.1 EXAMPLES OF RETURN ON INVESTMENT OF AN INTEGRATED APPROACH

Synergies between education and employment policies can help in addressing the intergenerational skills challenge. Facilitating education and improving skills is critical for improving the labor market outlook for the next generation as well as for the current Roma work force. Among other recommendations, the report finds that education policies should involve prioritizing investments in quality early childhood development interventions in communities with Roma population by improving the infrastructure, working with parents and incentivizing participation; addressing school dropout through by scaling up school mediation and making schools more friendly to all students; and improving the quality of education in schools with a high percentage of Roma pupils through training and incentivizing teachers. These measures will contribute to closing the skills gap on the long run. At the same time, study findings point to the need for employment policies to focus on improving skills and employability, e.g. through labor training programs targeting disadvantaged Roma youth out of work and Roma women, as well as improving job search incentives and linking them closely with job creation policies, while improving the efficiency of job search. When designing labor policies, the transformational effect of employment on the individual and family should be considered, including potential intergenerational effects: this may further contribute to improved education outcomes among Roma children.

Access to safety net programs is widespread among Roma households, but these households remain largely below the poverty line. Nine out of ten Roma households have access to at least one social protection program in Romania, but three out of five Roma households still remain in the poorest quintile of the income distribution. While the correlation between high levels of poverty and high participation of the Roma in social protection programs shows that safety net programs are reaching the poorest, it raises the question of the effectiveness of social protection in mitigating poverty in Roma households.

Addressing the health challenges of the Roma is crucial for improving basic living conditions, and requires cross-cutting efforts. Improving the dire health outcomes among the Romanian Roma requires policy measures on a number of fronts, including initiatives in other sectors such as education and housing, and need to be complemented by broader reforms in the healthcare system. The prevention of risky behaviors, including improvement of diets among the Roma deserves priority concern, along with increasing access to, and usage of prenatal and early childhood healthcare. Roma families' health status is likely to benefit from the removal of financial barriers, both with respect to healthy diets and with respect to preventative check-ups and other healthcare visits; as well as a clear policy focus and reliance on the Roma health mediator program to improve service delivery and awareness raising at the local level.

Interventions in the housing sector, of similar importance for improving living conditions, need to take account of the heterogeneity of housing conditions. There is no one-size-fits-all approach, and housing assistance needs to be expanded beyond 'social housing'. By broadening the menu of options with such measures as infrastructure upgrading, legalization of property titles, home improvement and housing microfinance, interventions could be made more cost-efficient, equitable, sustainable, and suitable to the needs of Roma population. By applying an integrated approach which links "hard" (infrastructure) measures with "soft" ones aimed at

improving the livelihood, income generation, and capacity of the residents, greater and more sustainable impacts could be expected through synergies. Additionally, regulations and policies leading to inefficiencies in the overall housing market would need to be addressed to foster development of the housing market at large.

1.2.2 CROSS-CUTTING ISSUES: INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISMS AND DISCRIMINATION

A prerequisite of addressing service delivery gaps is effective institutional mechanisms. A common issue identified across sectors is a lack of coordination, capacity, and resources among the institutions responsible for implementation of Roma inclusion policies and actions. In order to enhance the institutional mechanisms for effective local service delivery and use of EU instruments, the report recommends clarifying institutional responsibilities through more uniform legislation and clear working arrangements. A framework law could be created to spell out the functional relations between various structures as well as budgetary sources. Building capacity of municipalities is essential in accessing EU funds, with broad involvement of NGOs through establishment of a community-based project facilitation unit. Partnerships with Roma communities could be strengthened by formulating a methodology for Roma consultations at the local level, while stakeholder feedback could also be gathered through online platforms. The report also recommends improving targeting of policies by mapping disadvantaged communities at the sub-regional and local levels.

The programs of Roma mediators and counselors could be scaled up to support Roma people in accessing social services, and to enable the delivery of these services in a way that is more suitable to the circumstances of the Roma population. Roma mediators and counsellors have produced positive impacts in education, health, and employment by being a bridge between Roma communities and local facilities, or between the Roma people and public officials. Evidence shows that mediation can play an important role and contribute to better access to local services for Roma, as well as a higher level of trust between municipalities and Roma communities in general. However, the lack of clear implementation arrangements and resources has impeded scaling-up and continuation of their involvement. Clearer mechanisms and standards are needed to secure funding for mediators, and to ensure they have a strong mandate to fulfil their duties. The knowledge and information gathered by mediation could also be more actively used for developing mainstream policies and programmes.

Discrimination is a cross-cutting issue that needs to be addressed at the level of service delivery across sectors, and, more broadly, as a key underlying factor of Roma exclusion. On one hand, discrimination in markets and space prevents Roma from fully participating in society by reducing their opportunities and aspirations; on the other, discrimination in the service domain puts Roma at a significant disadvantage in accessing social services, such as education and healthcare. Discrimination needs to be combated by addressing the drivers of discrimination, such as negative stereotypes, scapegoating, and distrust, along with discriminatory practices at service delivery level.

To effectively address discrimination, the report recommends several practical measures. The application of the law against discrimination could be strengthened by further clarifying how unlawful acts of discrimination will be sanctioned, making the public more aware of the law, and increasing the capacity of the enforcement bodies to consistently apply the law. Prioritizing and

mainstreaming concrete actions to combat discrimination at the national level could be achieved by developing a strategy that define clear objectives, targets, a set of concrete actions, responsibilities, budget and a monitoring framework. Introducing national level programs to combat discrimination in service delivery, such as mandatory cultural competency training for teachers, health care providers etc. along with a system of ombudspersons could also contribute to closing the service delivery gap. Mechanisms that promote interactions and foster mutual understanding between the Roma and non-Roma – such as funding schemes for projects of mutual interest to Roma and non Roma disadvantaged groups – could facilitate collaboration and increased interaction and help foster increased mutual understanding and respect.

1.3 METHODOLOGY AND DATA SOURCES

This report is offering evidence-based policy advice. The assessment relies on three main sources of information. First, it takes advantage of the 2011 UNDP/World Bank/EC Regional Roma Survey (RRS), the most comprehensive survey effort to date to capture the situation of Roma in Central and Eastern Europe. It also includes information from the 2008-2012 Household Budget Surveys (HBS) of Romania (see Box 1), used in the Employment and Social Protection chapters specifically. Second, this report relies on qualitative information, collected through field visits and through interviews with key stakeholders from the Government of Romania, Romanian academics, from civil society and representatives of the Roma communities. Third, each of the chapters highlights relevant international experiences from which policy formulation on Roma integration can benefit. Many of the international examples and best practices from integrating poor and marginalized communities elsewhere provide reasons to be optimistic that R**o**ma integration does not have to be a distant goal for Romania – if discrimination of the Roma can be addressed.

The UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey – the main data source for this report -- is a comprehensive survey that is representative of approximately 89% of the Romanian Roma population, including Roma living in mixed, separated and segregated neighborhoods. The survey questionnaire was designed by the World Bank and UNDP in partnership, and implemented by UNDP through the IPSOS polling agency in May-July 2011 on a random sample of Roma living in communities with concentrated Roma populations in Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic (henceforth: the "regional Roma survey"). The European Commission DG Regional Policy financed the survey. In each of the countries, approximately 750 Roma households (representing over 3,500 individuals) and approximately 350 non-Roma households living in the same neighborhoods or vicinity were interviewed. The sample was purposefully not representative of all Roma in these countries, but rather *focused on those communities where the share of the Roma population equals or is higher than the national share of Roma population*. This covers 88% of the Roma population in Bulgaria, 90% in the Czech Republic, 78% in Hungary, 89% in Romania, and 83% in Slovakia. Once identified, a random sample of these areas was drawn, and households were randomly sampled within these enumeration areas.

The data provide reliable estimates of the conditions in which the vast majority of the Roma in Romania live, and of the conditions of their non-Roma neighbors. Unless otherwise noted, the analysis in this report is based on the 'Roma' and the 'non-Roma nearby' sampled households as they were identified by the survey enumerators. Comparisons with non-Roma living nearby provide a crucial frame of reference, since the sampled non-Roma households live in the same municipalities and thus share local labor markets, community, school, and health

facilities as well as other services and collective infrastructure. Hence, if we observe differences in education, health, housing, and employment between Roma and non-Roma households, *these must reflect particular disadvantages faced by Roma, differences in preferences between Roma and non-Roma, or both.*

For comparison with the general population in Romania, the report uses the EU Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU SILC) survey. The EU SILC does not distinguish between Roma and non-Roma and provides household survey information that is representative of the general Romanian population. Since Roma and non-Roma neighbors face the same local conditions, when gaps are reported between an educational or employment attainment of Roma compared with non-Roma neighbors in the 2011 regional Roma survey, these gaps will generally be smaller than between Roma and the general Romanian population in the EU SILC.

BOX 1-1 – ISSUES WITH DATA COMPARABILITY BETWEEN THE HOUSEHOLD BUDGET SURVEY AND THE UN/WB/EC REGIONAL ROMA SURVEY

Romania's Household Budget Survey (HBS) is a nationally representative household sample conducted every year between January and December among 30,000 households or 70,000 individuals. The HBS questionnaire includes ethnic affiliation that is used to identify "self-declared" Roma individuals. According to HBS 2012, 3.2 percent of the total population in Romania declares itself Roma.

The UNDP/WB/EC regional Roma survey (henceforth RRS) is a comprehensive survey on the living conditions of the Roma. It was implemented between May and July 2011 in six Eastern European countries, including Romania. The sampling framework includes Roma living in mixed, separated and segregated neighborhoods. In each country, approximately 750 Roma and 350 non-Roma households living in the same neighborhoods or vicinity were interviewed. The sample is representative of communities where the share of the Roma population is higher than the national share of Roma population (89 percent of the Roma in Romania). The survey includes third party identification for ethnicity.

RRS Roma households are more rural than HBS Roma households. The main difference between RRS and HBS Roma households lies in their location: RRS Roma live in more rural areas, where the concentration of Roma households is higher (compact neighborhoods). RRS and HBS Roma do not differ that much otherwise: RRS households have worse access to sewerage and electric goods (rural bias), but display similar access to bikes, phones, television, bathroom, toilet, and better access to computers and internet.

	RRS 2011		HBS 2011	
	Mean	**St. Err.**	**Mean**	**St. Err.**
Urban location	0.39	0.49	0.47	0.50
Household size	4.64	2.52	4.16	2.23
Household-head age	45.7	14.9	45.2	14.2
Household-head male	0.74	0.44	0.78	0.42
Household-head secondary education	0.09		0.13	
Radio	0.24	0.43	0.45	0.50
Color TV	0.81	0.39	0.91	0.29
Bicycle/motorbike	0.20	0.40	0.24	0.42
Computer	0.16	0.36	0.08	0.27
Internet connection	0.09	0.29	0.06	0.23
Phone (cell/landline)	0.65	0.48	0.67	0.47
Washing machine	0.33	0.47	0.44	0.50
Number of rooms	2.39	1.26	2.24	1.04
Surface of housing (sqm)	48.7	45.0	36.0	19.3
Sewer connection	0.19	0.39	0.41	0.49
Bathroom inside premise	0.18	0.38	0.17	0.38
Toilet inside	0.18	0.39	0.18	0.38
Electricity connection	0.84	0.37	0.95	0.23

Finally, and because the RRS social protection module is less detailed than that of HBS, access to SP is also likely to be underestimated for Roma households

ANNEX TABLE 1-1PREDICTING AT RISK OF POVERTY

(Percent increase in the risk of being poor)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	All Roma and non-Roma individuals	Roma and non-Roma Children	Roma individuals only	Roma Children only
Roma	0.381***	0.369***		
	(0.022)	(0.040)		
Age	-0.001***	-0.003	-0.001*	-0.004*
	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.002)
Completed secondary education	-0.168***		-0.197***	
	(0.023)		(0.038)	
Number of household members aged 0-15	0.051***	0.048***	0.044***	0.038***
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.004)
Predominant ethnicity in settlement is Roma	-0.008	-0.009	-0.010	-0.010
	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.015)	(0.018)
Rural household	0.081***	0.067***	0.070***	0.058***
	(0.014)	(0.020)	(0.016)	(0.020)
Child is enrolled in school or training		-0.026		-0.027
		(0.020)		(0.020)
Constant	0.340***	0.374***	0.729***	0.791***
	(0.028)	(0.043)	(0.023)	(0.027)
Observations	3,419	1,317	2,562	1,155
R-squared	0.325	0.210	0.085	0.064
F	365.8	44.85	54.53	16.88
DF	6	6	5	5

Source: UNDP/WB/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

2 EDUCATION

Education is one of the three main 'dimensions of exclusion' faced by Roma. This dimension is explored in more concise form in a separate summary report. This chapter provides an analysis of the considerable gap between Roma and the general population in education outcomes, and offers policy recommendations to address it. The study recommends, first and foremost, to ensure universal accessibility of early childhood education, e.g. through prioritizing investments in quality early childhood development interventions, improving the infrastructure, working with parents and incentivizing participation. Further, the study recommends that education policies focus on improving the quality of education in schools with a high percentage of Roma pupils through training and incentivizing teachers. The findings also recommend addressing school dropout through e.g. scaling up school mediation, and closing the gender gap in education outcomes.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

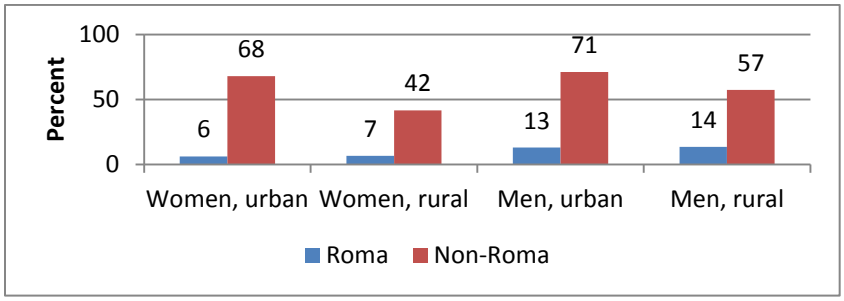
In spite of important reforms in the education sector in recent years, crucial challenges remain (Box 1), and these affect Roma far more than other groups (Figure 2-1)[11]. With respect to Roma, there are still large disparities in access and participation at all education levels between Roma and their non-Roma neighbors, resulting in extremely large gaps in adults' education levels. Inequalities start early with too few Roma children in Romania benefitting from early childhood education and care, despite the evidence that Roma children benefiting from preschool and parental stimulation has significantly higher cognitive outcomes. In rural areas, Roma minorities and children with Special Education Needs[12] (SEN), tend to lag behind in participation and to leave school early. The gender gap in enrolment and participation in education is also significant for all levels of education, Roma females being constantly disadvantaged compared to Roma males.

Quality of education and classroom segregation hinder progress. While there are concerns about the overall quality of education in Romania (as evidenced by the suboptimal performance of Romanian schools in international assessments like PISA), the quality of teaching and learning is of even greater concern in areas with significant share of Roma population. School and classroom level segregation have had negative impact on both teaching and learning and recent studies conducted in 2008 and 2010 suggest that segregation affects between 31 and 60 percent of the schools in areas with higher share of Roma population in Romania. There is also high correlation between segregation and low quality of education arising from the poor school infrastructure and learning resources in the segregated schools, the lower qualification of teachers and their higher turnover. Further, the current policy framework is not conducive to attracting more good teachers to work in schools in disadvantaged areas. The low participation of adults in LLL is another challenge that widens the skills gap. In addition, there is a low correlation between the knowledge and skills provided to students in school, and common socio-economic demands.

[11] The World Bank's Romania 2020 study and the World Bank's analytical advisory services on Early School Leaving examine the broader challenges of the Romanian education system.

Uneven reforms and an inadequate allocation framework contribute to the widening gap. Against the backdrop of insufficient resources allocated to the education system in Romania (3.5 % of GDP compared to EU27 average of 5.4%), the per capita funding of schools appears to have inadequate equity components, thus failing to provide the resources required to address the needs of disadvantaged schools and the students at risk. Curricular reforms were rather fragmented and were not associated with appropriate implementation plans, and as such many of these reforms have not yet been implemented at grassroots schools. Moreover, the reforms in the education sector were not accompanied by relevant reforms in the social assistance sector or health sector to help (i) targeting the poor; (ii) targeting the poor Roma; and (iii) targeting Roma girls.

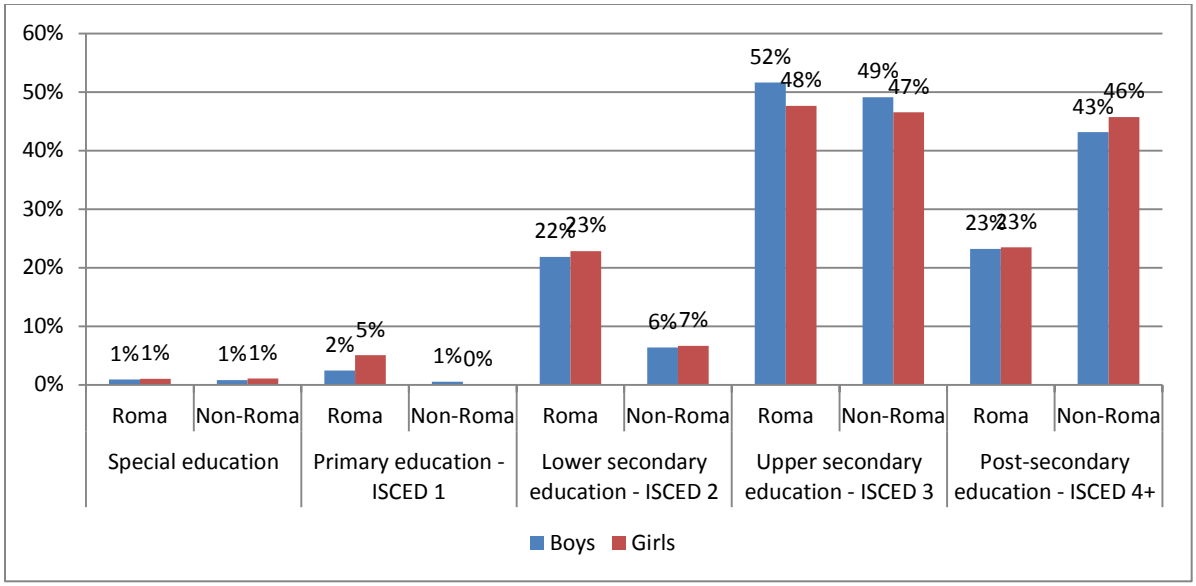
FIGURE 2-1: SHARE OF ADULTS AGED 24-65 HAVING COMPLETED SECONDARY EDUCATION



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

Lower levels of education among Roma do not reflect preferences: generally, Roma parents want to see their children achieve the same levels of education as non-Roma parents. An important share of Roma students and parents report experiencing ethnic discrimination by educational institutions. Thus, research conducted in one of the largest Roma communities shows that 25% of Roma students faced discriminatory remarks at school (ERRC 2013:10), whereas another report signals ethnic prejudice among teachers as one of the main factors opposing school desegregation (Fox 2012:2). A large share of Roma parents (40%) think that a Roma child is usually treated worse than a non-Roma child in school (Surdu 2011:89). In spite of these discouraging signals, Roma parents largely have similar desires regarding their children's' education as non-Roma parents: for both boys and girls, the same share of Roma and non-Roma parents want their children to achieve upper secondary education. At the same time, the share of Roma parents wanting their children to continue on to post-secondary education is lower than among non-Roma. Expectations for boys and girls are also largely similar.

FIGURE 2-2: PARENTS' DESIRED LEVEL OF EDUCATION FOR THEIR CHILDREN



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

When it comes to education, the vulnerability of Roma children and adults is enhanced by 'vicious cycles' in which segregation and discrimination are common. Because lower educational achievements have a negative impact on Roma's social as well as labor market inclusion opportunities, the gap in education between Roma and non-Roma introduces a vicious cycle. Poverty, low access to the labor market for parents, early engagement in the informal labor market of young people less than 16 years old, discrimination and the lack of an inclusive school culture in most of the schools are also major factors contributing to, and perpetuating this gap.

In the context of current demographic trends, with a rapidly aging and shrinking general Romanian population (see Figure 1-1, Chapter 1) and a young and increasing Roma population, the education levels, learning achievements and skills of today's young Roma have a large and growing impact on Romania's society as a whole. Current educational policy should regard targeted measures for increased Roma school participation as an opportunity for increasing the human capital and for developing a more inclusive society in the near future. Moreover, it should be recognized that increasing education levels among Roma will greatly benefit their inclusion on the labor market, with positive impacts for society as a whole, including a positive impact on governmental budgets.

BOX 2-1: THE QUALITY OF ROMANIAN PUBLIC EDUCATION

Quality of education in Romania remains to be a concern. The country's average reading literacy score in PISA 2009 was one of the lowest among the EU member states. Four in ten students (40%) scored below Level 2 on the PISA reading proficiency scale, compared to 21% for the EU25 countries on average. This means that a significant share of students in Romania is functionally illiterate. Low scores in reading literacy, math and sciences in Romania are also based on significant socio-economic discrepancies between rural and urban schools. The relatively low spending per student is also correlated with the low PISA performance in Romania. Quality is further impeded by the dissonance between the fragmented and partial curricular reforms and the teachers' training, while the effectiveness of student assessments is reduced and results distorted by various practices and norms.

2.2 LEGAL, INSTITUTIONAL AND POLICY CONTEXT FOR ROMA EDUCATION IN ROMANIA

National legislation recognizes the rights of the Roma minority, with access to quality education being granted by different policy- and legislative documents. However, education in Romani language is still absent, except for the optional Romani language classes in schools. In August 2000, the Emergency Ordinance 137/2000 for prevention of all forms of discrimination was adopted, and the National Council for Combating Discrimination was established to implement its provisions. A number of provisions in the National Education Law (2011) reaffirm the antidiscrimination aspects and the principle of equal access to all levels and forms of education and LLL by recognizing and ensuring the right of the national minority children to preserve, develop and express their ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity. One particular anti-discrimination measure that stands out in the educational sector is the quota for Roma children (Box 2).

BOX 2: RESERVED PLACES FOR ROMA IN HIGH SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES

During 2000-2006, approximately 10,300[1] Roma students in Romania have benefitted from affirmative measures (reserved places for Roma) for secondary and vocational education, and approximately 1,420 students benefited from the enrolment quota for universities. While the affirmative measures for Roma children and youth were not systematically monitored at the national level to provide evidence for their cost-effectiveness, particular interventions seem to have positive effects on educational achievements of Roma. Still, there is a need to improve the targeting of these programs, strengthening the focus on those pupils/students who are Romani language speakers, come from rural areas and live in compact, homogenous Roma communities. A recent survey reveals that affirmative measures are relatively unknown among the Roma: only 26% of adult Roma are aware of the existence of reserved places for the Roma in high schools, whereas only 21% know that this possibility also exists in the case of post-secondary education (Duminică and Ivasiuc 2013).

In addition, a number of recent measures have targeted segregation in particular. In 2004 the Ministry of Education adopted a desegregation strategy implemented by central and local actors. In 2007, a Memorandum for institutional cooperation in combating segregation was jointly signed by the Ministry of Education and Roma organizations. Ministerial Order no. 1540 of 19.07.2007 on desegregation policy explicitly states that "segregation is a major form of discrimination and has a negative impact on equal access of children to quality education, representing a violation of human and educational rights". The order proposes a methodology and indicators to monitor segregation. While the desegregation strategy monitoring process has not been followed systematically, monitoring reports commissioned by international agencies (such as UNICEF) were prepared by civil society organizations. Unfortunately, the recommendations[13] provided by civil society regarding the desegregation strategy was not timely reflected by the relevant public agencies, resulting in suboptimal implementation mechanisms and quality framework for the desegregation plans developed at the school level.

[13] See also Iulius Rostas, ed., REF & CEU Press, Budapest and New York, 2012, 392 pages *"Ten Years After - A History of Roma School Desegregation in Central and Eastern Europe"*

At the government level, The National Agency for Roma is in charge of coordinating the policies and measures towards improving the situation of the Roma minority in Romania, including measures and policies on education. The Agency also acts to ensure a mechanism for implementation and monitoring of The Decade of Roma Inclusion. In 2007, the Agency elaborated national action plans for the Decade with specific measures targeting the education sector.

The National Action Plan on Education for the Decade of Roma Inclusion has five important objectives, but was never officially adopted by the Romanian government. The five objectives are: increasing Romani participation in preschool education; encouraging Romani participation in primary and secondary education (grades one to twelve); encouraging Romani participation in tertiary education; developing an inclusive educational environment; and preserving Romani cultural heritage. However, this national action plan was not officially adopted and no budgetary allocation has been put in place.

School Mediators have recently gained formal recognition in Romania, but remain small in numbers. In 2000, the Ministry of Education defined the roles and responsibilities of school mediators as auxiliary didactic staff and in 2001 they became a recognized profession in Romania, incorporated in the Romanian Occupational Classification. However, it was only in 2007 that the Ministry of Education regulated the school mediators' activities and their employment through Order no. 1539/19.07.2007. Extensive training of school mediators was implemented through the PHARE RO programs in the period 2003-2007, led by the Ministry of Education with significant support from other international and European projects and civil society organizations. By 2012 the total number of trained school mediators reached 923[14], but only about half of them (437) are actually employed in the educational system.

Whereas in other Eastern European countries Roma children are often disproportionally likely to end up in special schools, this is not the case in Romania[15], which has one of the lowest shares of Roma children enrolled in special education in the region. In spite of a number of outstanding challenges, recent improvements in the inclusion of children with special educational needs (SEN) are remarkable. A major policy reform in 2000 assigned a leading role to the Ministry of Education in regulating the inclusion of children with SEN. Following the adoption of methodology that encourages schools to enroll children with SEN (2004[16]), their number[17] in special schools was reduced by half from about 53.000 (2000) to about 27.000 (2009). Related, the number of children with SEN enrolled in regular schools increased over 14 times to reach above 14.000 children in 2009. Despite the significant progress, inclusive education is hampered by a number of outstanding issues[18].

Measures for *intercultural education* aimed at providing opportunities for Roma children to study the language, history, culture and traditions of Roma have been limited and unsystematic at the policy level, although good practices are implemented through civil

---

[14] Children's Rights References in the Universal Periodic Review (Second Cycle), 2012

[15] According to UNDP/WB/EC Regional Roma Survey Data, e**nrolment into special education attendance among Roma is lower than other countries in the region.** In Romania, 3% of the Roma aged 7-18 go to special schools compared to about 5% for non-Roma living nearby (4% for boys and 5% for girls).

[16] Order no. 5379/25 November 2004

[17] Data provided by the National Institute for Statistics in Annual Yearbook on Special Education, 2004-2010

[18] 2009, Institute of Educational Sciences

society and international initiatives. While there is a specialized Department of Romani Language Education at the Ministry of Education and designated Roma school inspectors responsible for the implementation of intercultural education at the county level, the measures towards intercultural education promoting Roma identity lack coherence and a systematic approach towards implementation[19]. The role and impact of the Romani school inspectors regarding intercultural education is still unclear, and their role varies from county to county, while their overall number has been decreasing over the recent years. Moreover, intercultural education should be addressed not only to Roma children, as a discriminated group, but to all students as a measure to increase the intercultural awareness at the level of the general population in Romania.

In a bid to overcome the systemic challenges of Roma inclusion, significant efforts have been made recently (at both EU and national levels) to design better integrated policies, based on accurate monitoring and data collection systems regarding the most important aspects of Roma inclusion: in particular, education, employment, healthcare and housing. These efforts were further encouraged in EU member states by the adoption of the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies through 2020. The Romanian Government responded to this initiative by adopting its *2012-2020 National Roma Inclusion Strategy (NRIS)* in December 2011. While the strategy includes well defined measures for completion of primary education by all Roma children, important aspects are completely omitted; for example, increasing Roma participation in tertiary education and expanding the use of innovative educational approaches such as ICT-based access to learning and skills. Other weak points of the Strategy include the lack of baseline data related to key indicators, insufficient clarity regarding the roadmap to reaching the objectives and envisioned results, and the lack of gender and youth dimensions.

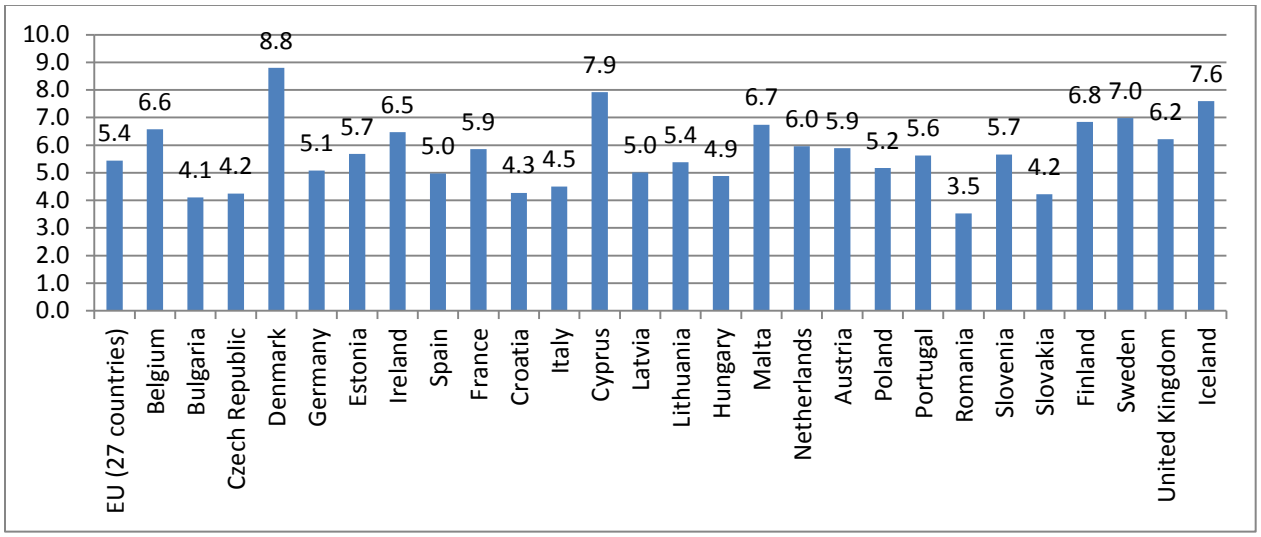
In order to address dropouts and early school leaving, the Romania Ministry of Education has been implementing the "Second Chance" program whereby both children having left school and adults in a situation of early leaving from education and training could enroll into compulsory education. One important limitation of the program, however, is the eligibility, which allows into the program only individuals who have been out of school and education for more than 4 years. Article 68 (6) of the ROFUIP[20] establishes that a person is eligible for enrolling into a „Second Chance" program only after having exceeded by four years the age of the class he / she needs to attend. This definition raises an important question mark regarding the options of a person having dropped out of school but not having completed yet the four-year mark of exceeding the age of the respective class. In practice, this means that a person in this situation does not have any options at all to reintegrate the educational system before the four-year mark stated by the ministerial document (Duminică and Ivasiuc 2011). In turn, this leads to the increase of disengagement from education and, in parallel, the decrease of the likelihood that early school leavers will return to the education system after such a long period of time, thereby reinforcing their exclusion. Modifying the eligibility rules for the Second Chance program as to include early school leavers from the moment they are declared in a dropout situation might be a solution to overcome this issue.

The underfunding of education in Romania remains to be a concern. In 2010, public expenditure on education was at 3.5% of GDP, significantly lower than the EU27 average

[19] 2009, Study by Roma Centre Amare Romentza, supported by UNICEF
[20] Rules and Regulations of Pre-Universitary Education Units.

of 5.4 percent. Research by Hatos (2007) finds that the financing allocated to the primary, secondary and tertiary levels in Romania largely privileges the beneficiaries of the tertiary level, which implies that the system supports to a greater extent students who are already able to reach this level, thus contributing to the social exclusion of the ones with diminished abilities to reach the tertiary level, among whom many Roma families.

FIGURE 2-3: PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION (% OF GDP)



Source: Eurostat, 2010.

The equity component of the per capita based funding of Romanian schools seems to be inadequate to fully overcome the discrepancies between allocations, and the actual needs of schools located in or serving disadvantaged communities. A recent study[21] by the Institute of Educational Sciences and UNICEF Romania reveals that schools in such communities have limited resources and usually fail to implement any activities addressing students at risk of school failure (repetition, absenteeism, dropout, etc.). In 2012, the expenditures of schools in disadvantaged settings were equal to the *core* funding allocation covering the schools' basic needs (administrative costs and teachers' salaries). Per capita funding of schools needs to be consistently monitored, as schools situated near Roma compact settlements tend not to have legal status and be dependent on another – usually larger – neighboring school with legal status, receiving and administering both budgets. This dependency of "Roma" schools from other schools increases the probability that resources are allocated unequally, discriminating "Roma" schools, regardless of the per capita funding rule.

Although there have been various policy initiatives to improve the situation, a comprehensive strategy is still lacking, and further initiatives would be needed to holistically address the education gap between Roma and non-Roma. In order to address those issues, policies, programs and initiatives have been put in place in the last years in Romania, significantly supported by ESF funds (2007-2013) and other external funding. Government agencies, EU and international organizations as well as civil society and Roma organizations in Romania played a major role in designing relevant interventions. The research

[21] Fartușnic, C. at all *Financing pre-university education system based on standards cost. Current evaluation from the equity perspective*. Institute of Educational Sciences, UNICEF Romania *(under publication).*

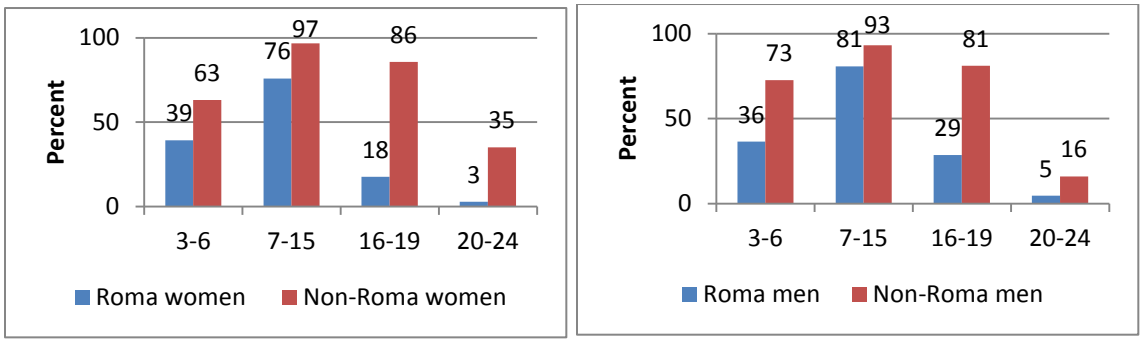
and accumulation of data on the gaps between Roma and non-Roma have increased in the recent years, although the lack of a coherent national strategy for policy monitoring, evaluation and measuring results and impact still persists as a major challenge in designing integrated and holistic approaches to improving Roma education policies in Romania. The next programming period for ESF funding (2014-2020) represents a crucial chance for Romania to overcome the challenges that Roma young people are facing today in their educational achievements. To make best use of the available funding and achieve the most out of it, the administrative capacity of the Romanian public institutions to design evidence based strategies with strong monitoring and evaluated frameworks and effective implementation plans needs to be strengthened.

2.3. MAIN GAPS AND CHALLENGES IN DEVELOPING AN INCLUSIVE EDUCATION SYSTEM FOR ROMA IN ROMANIA

2.3.1 ACCESS AND PARTICIPATION

Enrolment gaps between Roma and non-Roma living nearby are present at all levels of education starting at preschool level. According to the UNDP/WB/EC Regional survey (2011), pre-school enrolment rates among Roma children are close to half of the rates among their non-Roma neighbors. The enrolment gap in compulsory education is slightly lower, but enrolment rates for Roma are still significantly lower as compared to non-Roma children living nearby: in the age group 7-15, the enrolment rate of Roma is 78%, and that of non-Roma living nearby is nearly 95%. At higher levels of education, the gap in enrolment between Roma and non-Roma is dramatically deeper. In upper-secondary education (ages 16-19), the enrolment rate of non-Roma is almost 4 times higher than among Roma.

FIGURE 2-4: ENROLMENT RATES AMONG ROMA AND NON-ROMA NEIGHBORS, BY AGE GROUP



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

Although the state provides free access to education at age 6, a UNDP Report[22] (2012) asserts that only 54% of 6-year-old Roma children attend preschool education, 3% are enrolled in primary education and 43% do not attend any kind of educational institution. The low participation of Roma children in preschool education is particularly challenging in view of the implementation of the new National Education Law, which makes preparatory

[22] Roma education in comparative perspective. Findings from the UNDP/World Bank/EC Regional Roma Survey - http://issuu.com/undp_in_europe_cis/docs/education_web

classes compulsory for all 6-year-olds. The regulation might have a positive effect in the years to come, taking into consideration the transitional role of the preparatory class intended to help children easily adapt to school environment. Specific measures need to be implemented to increase the enrolment of 6-year-old Roma children in preparatory classes.

The average number of years spent in school is twice as low for Roma compared to non-Roma. The share of children having dropped out of compulsory school is also higher for Roma students: a study conducted in 100 of the most destitute Roma communities reported that over three quarters of all dropout students reported by schools were Roma (Duminică and Ivasiuc 2010:77). However, statistics reported by schools should be interpreted with caution due to the ambiguous definition of school dropout in practice, leading to potentially incorrect statistics at the official level. In turn, since incorrect statistics can potentially inform policy action incorrectly, or lead to lack of action on phenomena incorrectly accounted for, there is an urgent necessity to address such issues. Despite signals coming from researchers starting 2010 (Duminică and Ivasiuc 2011[23]), this issue remains currently unaddressed.

As for adults, the share of Roma aged between 25-64 years old with no formal education is considerably higher than among their Non- Roma neighbors. 31% of Roma adults have never been enrolled in school, compared to 2% in case of non-Roma[24]. Gender gaps among Roma related to enrolment and participation are also significant for all level of education, with much lower levels of enrolment and completion among girls and women as compared to boys and men.

Levels of functional illiteracy among the Roma adult population are significantly higher than in the case of the non-Roma population. Thus, the UNDP/WB/EC Regional survey indicates an adult literacy rate of 97% among the non-Roma, compared to 75% among the Roma[25]. Corroborating data regarding the gender gap in education, functional literacy among Roma women is higher than among Roma men (79%, compared to 70%). Among Roma youth (aged 16-24), functional literacy rates are observed to improve compared to the general Roma adult population. Thus, the overall functional literacy rate among Roma youth is 80%, but the 5 percentage points of gap between women and men are preserved, with 83% for men and 78% for women. These findings corroborate data from other research reports (Duminică and Ivasiuc 2013:90) which indicate an improvement of the overall education level of the Roma over the last 15 years. A recent report (Tarnovschi et al 2012:184) underlines the fact that the most vulnerable Roma in a situation of functional illiteracy are adults from compact settlements situated in rural areas, indicating that literacy policies should target this group primarily. Among Roma children, functional illiteracy rates are found to be higher in segregated classes and / or schools (15% of Roma children in segregated settings, compared to 4% of children in non-segregated classes and schools), as well as poverty-ridden households and Romani speaking families (Fleck and Rughiniș 2008:168).

[23] The Romanian edition of the research report was published in 2010.
[24] UNDP/WB/EC Regional survey, 2011
[25] The national census data from 2011 finds significantly less functionally illiterate Roma (a little over 14%), while collecting data on the population aged 10+. At the same time, the census finds among non-Roma aged 10+ that between 0,8% and 1% functionally illiterate.

While functional illiteracy is an important barrier in accessing the job market, as well as other public services, the Romanian NRIS does not include specific measures for reducing illiteracy among the *adult* Roma. However, "Second chance" programs do provide the opportunity to improve the education level for adults. The Ministry of Education's report on the Second Chance program (MECTS 2007:55) indicates an overrepresentation of the Roma population accessing the program, with 74.5% at the primary level and 56,1% at the inferior secondary level, but the coverage of the Second Chance programs could be increased, especially in compact settlements, in a bid to tackle more effectively adult functional illiteracy among the Roma.

Determinants of school dropout and non-enrolment among the Roma are mainly economic in nature. This is confirmed by the data collected within the Roma Observatory initiative of „Împreună" (Duminică and Ivasiuc 2013), which shows that 78,6% of parents with at least one child having dropped out of school mention poverty and material deprivation as the main reason for school dropout. Also, 7,1% of respondents stated that the reason for dropout was the necessity of involving the child in income generating activities.

Research shows clearly that school dropout is not mainly caused by cultural factors, contrary to stereotypes generally held by Romanian public opinion regarding school attendance by Roma. The percentages of parents who state, under different forms, that education is not important for their children, range from 3% (Duminică and Ivasiuc 2011:97) to 6.4% (Surdu 2011:34). Among Roma parents with at least one child in a dropout situation, this percentage raises to 14,3% (Duminică and Ivasiuc 2013:100). However, qualitative research (Dobrică and Jderu 2005; Fleck and Rughiniș 2008) shows that there is, among certain Roma respondents, a certain lack of trust in the long term benefits of the educational system, since the economic hardships since the post-1989 transition, coupled with the lack of correlation between the demands of the labor market and the level of preparation to these demands which the current educational system provides for its graduates accounts for high numbers of unemployed youth, as well as a difficult access to well-paid jobs. This negative development has in turn diminished the value parents attach to the educational system, since a high education level does not necessarily ensure an increase in material and financial capital on the long term. For the disadvantaged segments of society, among which many are Roma, this may induce a rational calculus which concludes that the current investment in the education of the children is not efficient on the long term, thus leading some to prefer a focus on the immediate gains of having the children involved in income generating activities to cover the daily needs of the household (Fleck and Rughiniș 2008:149).

Various social norms influence participation in education, such as the prescription to marry young and to protect the virginity of girls, leading to early school leaving. It is important to add that, contrary to widespread belief, such norms are not typical for the Roma (Surdu 2004:3) but pertain to a traditional family model still widespread in rural Romania. Moreover, social norms have been shown to be influenced by economic constraints (Surdu 2004:4-5), where children are seen as productive resources. In turn, this encourages early marriages and pregnancies as a result of a strategic rational choice to strengthen the capacity of families to gather resources. In this respect, it is important to target the relevant factors of influence on education-related behaviors (the increasingly challenged and evolving rural

traditional family model and poverty), rather than assigning it to a certain rigid Roma „tradition", to which the public discourse often points.

2.3.2 THE GENDER GAP IN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

As demonstrated in the figures above, a considerable gender gap in educational attainment also seems to exist. However, the exact patterns and causes of this phenomenon remain to be difficult to determine. For example, one of the most quoted reasons for girls' school dropout among the Roma is, according to teachers and the public opinion at large, the phenomenon of early marriages. However, qualitative research indicates that this phenomenon is by far less prevalent than it is thought. For instance, even in cases where teachers name it as main reason for dropout, they are often unable to find matching evidence in the numbers of cases experienced recently (Duminică and Ivasiuc 2011:88). Qualitative research has also found that this idea penetrates education curricula, so that Roma girls are taught that the phenomenon of early marriages is very recurrent in Roma culture, against evidence from their own communities (Ivasiuc et al. 2011), which in turn is likely to negatively influence the educational aspirations of girls. At the same time, the reality of early marriages and parents' perceptions of risks associated with participation of teenage girls in education remain of concern in traditional, mostly Romani-speaking communities. Evidence suggests that parents' attitudes in this respect do influence negatively the participation of girls in education, starting the lower secondary level, where teachers report higher school dropout for girls than for boys. Civil society voices have vehiculated the idea of establishing girls-only schools targeting this type of communities, but more research is necessary to prove the usefulness of such a measure. Pilot initiatives are an adequate option in this case.

Although the regional Roma survey data points to a disadvantage of girls in educational attainment, parental expectations for Roma girls either resemble or exceed those for Roma boys (UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey, 2011; Duminică and Ivasiuc 2013). In addition, literacy indicators generally indicate that girls perform slightly better in school than boys do, except when it comes to computer literacy (Duminică and Ivasiuc 2013).

Cultural factors impact the educational attainment of Roma boys and girls differently, and this discrepancy should be kept in mind when designing policy measures. For example, poverty, coupled with traditional gender roles put a higher pressure on boys to privilege income generating activities above education, while at the same time exerting pressure on girls to perform household activities (Kocze 2009:32; Voicu and Popescu 2006:34-35).

Regarding the participation of Roma women in remedial education programs such as Second Chance, lack of consistent data leads to the impossibility of assessing the obstacles preventing them from participating, as well as possible incentives which could foster interest and participation. Since Second Chance is not directed only at the Roma, statistics disaggregated both by gender and ethnicity are unavailable in the only report assessing the impact of this program (MECTS 2007:8). The only available statistics state that 69% of all participants in the program (data from 2007) were Roma, whereas 42% were women of all ethnic backgrounds.

2.3.3 PRESCHOOL EDUCATION

Roma children benefiting from preschool and parental stimulation have significantly higher cognitive outcomes, consistent with the international evidence[26] (Kendall, 2008). Roma children aged 4-6 years old attending preschool in Romania (as in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia and Bulgaria) are more likely to be able to (a) identify ten letters of the alphabet, (b) read four simple popular words, (c) write their own name, (d) recognize numbers from 1-10, and (e) know simple sentences in the national language.[27] For example, about 77% of Romanian Roma children aged 4-6 are reported to know simple sentences in Romanian, but the percentage goes up to approximately 84% among those who are attending pre-school. Similarly, while 5% of 4-6 year old Roma not attending preschool can identify at least ten letters of the alphabet, the percentage goes up to 40% if they attend preschool. Likewise, Roma children whose parents are reported to have taught them letters or how to count in the past three days have significantly higher cognitive outcomes.

International evidence also confirms that, for disadvantaged groups, attending preschool increases one's chance of achieving socio-economic inclusion later in life. "A large body of international evidence underscores the importance of early intervention –from conception to age 8– on child development. Early childhood development programs are particularly beneficial to children from disadvantaged backgrounds. As Nobel laureate economist James Heckman argues, "Investing in disadvantaged young children is a rare public policy with no equity-efficiency trade off". A new review of the scientific literature by The Lancet (October 2011)[28] similarly concludes that "[…] unless governments allocate more resources to quality early child development programs for the poorest people in the population, economic disparities will continue and widen." (Lake, 2011).

Roma children's enrolment in preschool is considerably lower compared to non-Roma living nearby. Poor resources in the family but also limited preschool infrastructure and facilities are considered to be a challenge for increasing participation of Roma children at this level of education. The pre-school enrolment rate of non-Roma children is almost two times as high as for Roma – 37% in case of Roma children and 63% for non-Roma neighbors[29]. Considerable differences[30] between gross enrolment rate of Roma and their direct non-Roma neighbors against national enrolment rates reported by National Institute for Statistics might be explained by the specific methodological approach of the UNDP/WB/EC regional survey and also might suggest that pre-school facilities are underrepresented in localities with higher-than-average shares of Roma inhabitants.

---

[26]Kendall, S et all, Narrowing the gap in outcomes for vulnerable groups. A review of the research evidence, 2008: http://www.nfer.ac.uk/nfer/publications/LNG01/LNG01.pdf

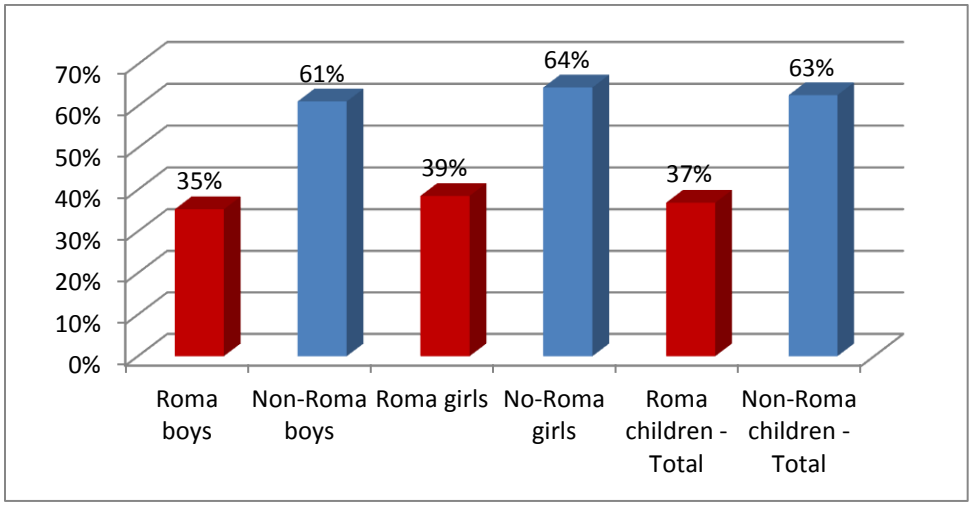
[27] These results are based on OLS estimations whereby cognitive outcomes are the dependent variables. The estimations control for enumeration area fixed effects, which effectively means that the outcomes of Roma children from the same neighborhoods –some participating in the local preschool, while others are not– are compared. The estimations also control for background characteristics such as the child's age, gender, hospital birth, general health states, background characteristics of the child's primary caretaker (age, gender, whether s/he works, attended preschool in the past, and secondary school completion), and quintiles of per capita household income.

[28] Lake, Anthony, Early childhood development—global action is overdue, The Lancet, Volume 378, Issue 9799, Pages 1277 - 1278, 8 October 2011

[29] UNDP/WB/EC Regional Survey, 2011

[30] Roma Education in Comparative Perspective, UNDP, 2012, p.34

FIGURE 2-5: PRE-SCHOOL ENROLMENT RATE (3-6 YEARS OLD) IN ROMANIA – ROMA AND NON-ROMA



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011)

The costs of preschool are not extremely high in Romania, but could still contribute to exclusion: Roma parents with children in preschool report spending €7.5 per month on preschool, with lunch being brought from home in more than three-fifths of the cases. The survey asked parents about the expenses on fees, books, transport, clothes (uniforms), and food. The table below shows the low actual costs in Hungary (on average €1.3 per month) compared with Romania, with the highest expenses reported in the Czech Republic (€ 25.6). The majority of parents in Romania report that children are expected to take their own lunch with them, and in one-third of the cases, food is covered by a fee charged to the parents. Hungary stands out by freely providing food to virtually all children (see Table 1 for details).

TABLE 1: MONTHLY PRESCHOOL EXPENSES BY PARENTS WITH CHILDREN IN PRESCHOOL, AND PROVISION OF FOOD

	Bulgaria	Czech Republic	Hungary	Romania	Slovakia
Monthly cost (mean - Euro)	15.4	25.6	1.3	7.5	7.2
Monthly cost (median - Euro)	17.4	24.7	0.0	2.2	4.0
Provision of food (%)					
Yes, freely provided	23.1	4.9	97.0	33.0	28.0
Covered by fee	75.6	92.2	2.4	2.7	72.0
Children must bring own lunch	1.3	2.9	0.6	64.3	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

Indeed, most Roma households report not sending a child to preschool because home care was available and/or because the kindergarten was too expensive. A large share of parents thought the child was too young. Most parents would consider enrolling their child into preschool if there were no fees involved, if they received food coupons, or if the school had a Roma teacher (assistant): when asked if they would reconsider enrolling their child into

preschool if it were free or if they would receive a food coupon, more than 50% of Romanian Roma parents responded 'yes', and approximately 20% responded 'maybe'.

TABLE 2: REASONS FOR NOT SENDING CHILD (3-6) TO PRESCHOOL (*IN PERCENT)*

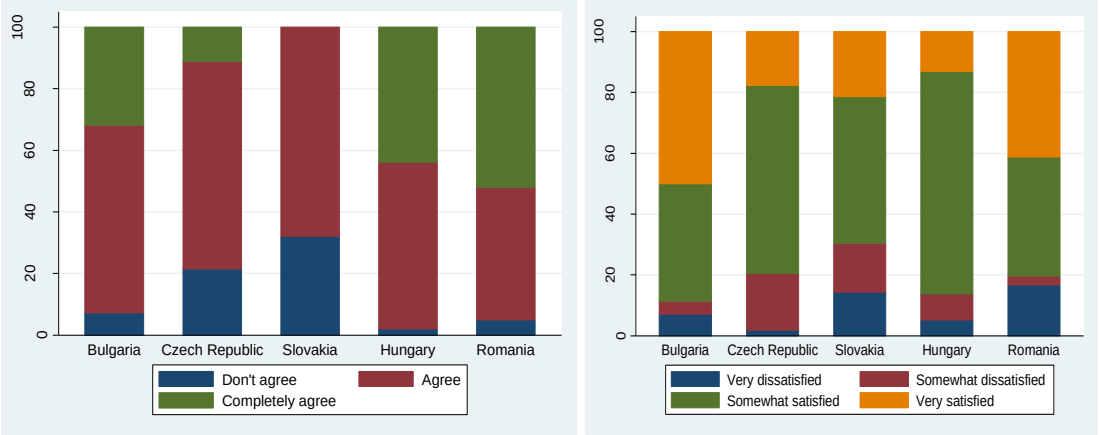
	Bulgaria	Czech Republic	Hungary	Romania	Slovakia
Child is too young	28	26	49	46	23
No need (have home care)	29	40	24	21	37
Too expensive	40	21	4	22	5
Child should stay home	8	13	3	2	7
Too far	4	2	0	6	16
No place	3	5	2	0	3
On the waiting list	1	5	3	1	2
Don't trust teachers	0	2	0	0	1
Language	0	1	0	0	2
Child is ill-treated	1	2	0	0	0

Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

While the majority of Romanian Roma parents with children enrolled in preschool does feel that their children are welcome, Roma children attend more segregated preschools than in neighboring countries. According to the regional Roma survey data (2011), Romania had the second highest share of children attending 'all' or 'nearly all' Roma kindergartens (46%), after Slovakia (48%), indicating a high degree of segregation in early education. In Bulgaria, Czech Republic and Hungary, segregation is much lower (18%, 16% and 21%, respectively). It should be noted that the high degree of segregation results mainly from preschools being located in Roma settlements, as 43% of Romanian Roma children in preschool attend a kindergarten located in the settlement. Although children generally feel welcome at preschool, the rate of parental dissatisfaction is higher in Romania than in Hungary and Bulgaria.

FIGURE 2-6: SATISFACTION WITH PRESCHOOLS AMONG ROMA CHILDREN AND PARENTS

A. Do Roma children feel welcome in preschools? *B. Parental satisfaction*



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

The existing preschool infrastructure is inadequate, especially in communities with higher share of Roma population, which prevents higher participation rates and leads to occurrence of discriminatory practices. A study[31] conducted by UNICEF in 2012 in disadvantaged communities with high share of Roma population revealed that often schools and kindergartens are overcrowded (students go to school in two or three shifts) due to lack of space.

Recent measures regarding rationalization of school infrastructure in Romania based on demographic changes end up in closing schools and kindergarten in communities with lower number of children. In some cases, children have to overcome long distances from home to the nearest kindergarten, which count very often as a barrier accessing the preschool education. According to a 2013 study by Impreuna Agency (Duminică and Ivasiuc 2013), one of the external factors of non-enrolment of Roma children in kindergarten is the lack of an infrastructure which would allow children to travel safely from home to kindergarten. Almost 7% of Roma parents declared that their children are not enrolled in kindergarten because it is too far. Some of the Roma live on the outskirts of the settlements or in areas where the roads are less easily accessible, especially during rain or snow; hence, the distance from home to kindergarten and the lack of transportation facilities, as well as the difficulties to support its associated costs, represent barriers which can lead to a lower percentage of enrolment of pre-school children in the education system, even when education is officially free of charge.

A small number of places in kindergarten against higher demands at the national level was also considered a factor for discriminatory attitudes against Roma children. According to the Impreuna study (Duminică and Ivasiuc 2013), 6% of the Roma state that they have pre-school aged children who were not accepted in kindergarten based on the reason that there are not enough places, which points to the persistence of patterns of ethnic discrimination. According to the study, not accepting children in kindergarten on ethnic grounds may be in some cases formally dissimulated by the lack of available places in kindergarten.

In addition to preschool enrolment, many young Roma children could likely benefit from greater cognitive stimulation at home. Child development depends not just on schooling, but importantly on the home environment. Roma children face multiple disadvantages in this regard. With so many children growing up in deep poverty, infants are at higher risk of malnutrition, and families lack the means to purchase books and other learning tools. Furthermore, the very low education levels among men and especially among women, is a barrier to effective parenting support for cognitive development. The 2011 regional Roma survey asked about access to books at home and several questions on parenting techniques. Indeed, few Roma children aged 3-5 have access to books: a typical Roma child in this age group only has 1 book at home. This is comparable to the situation in Bulgaria and Slovakia, while Roma families in the Czech Republic and in Hungary have more books (5 and 4, for a typical family, respectively). Also, only 1 in 8 Roma children aged 3-5 were taught letters or counting by their caregivers in the past three days, and less than one fifth looked at picture books or read books, or drew or painted with their caregivers (Table 3).

[31] Jigau, M., C. Fartusnic (coord.) *Cohort analysis estimation of the dropout phenomenon*, Institute of Educational Sciences, UNICEF Romania, 2012

TABLE 3: YOUNG ROMA CHILDREN'S HOME ENVIRONMENT

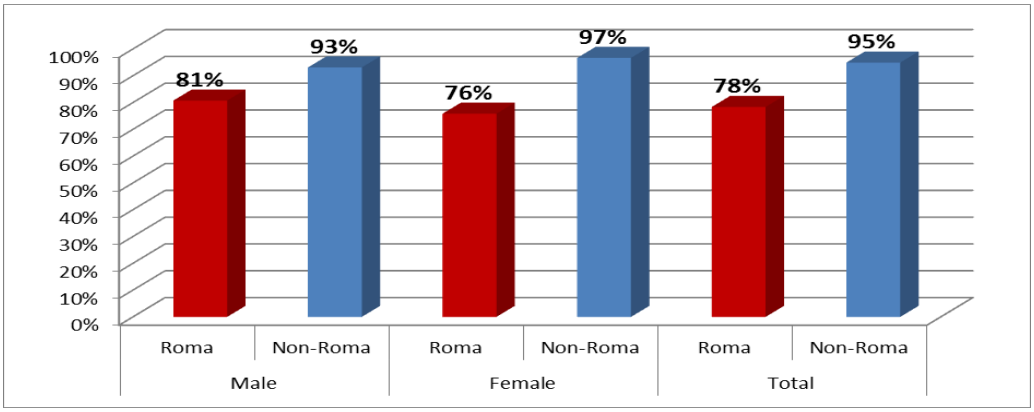
	Bulgaria	Czech Republic	Hungary	Romania	Slovakia
Number of books at home:					
Mean	1.8	7.0	7.2	1.2	2.6
Median	0	5	4	0	1
Activities with children, past 3 days:					
Look at picture books or read books	23%	50%	57%	17%	44%
Draw or paint	21%	51%	42%	19%	45%
Teach letters or count	15%	21%	29%	12%	22%

Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011). [A] Limited to households with children aged 3-5 years old.

2.3.4 COMPULSORY EDUCATION

Roma student's participation to compulsory education is considerably lower compared to their non-Roma neighbors, with a significant gender gap in favor of boys.[32] Enrolment rates in compulsory education are significantly lower for Roma compared to non-Roma children living nearby[33]. In the age group 7-15, the enrolment rate of Roma is 78% and that of non-Roma living nearby is nearly 95%. Significant gender gap can be noticed in case of Roma students: 76% of girls are enrolled, vs. 81% of boys in this age group. This gender gap seems to be specific to Roma: among non-Roma students, girls have higher enrolment rates (97%) than boys (93%).

FIGURE 2-7: GROSS ENROLMENT RATE IN COMPULSORY EDUCATION (AGE GROUP 7-15)



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

[32] It should be noted that other data sources have found a reversed gender gap, in which girls are both enrolled relatively more often than boys, and attend school for a slightly larger total number of years in their life (Duminică and Ivasiuc 2013; Vincze and Harbula 2011:41).
[33] UNDP/World Bank/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011

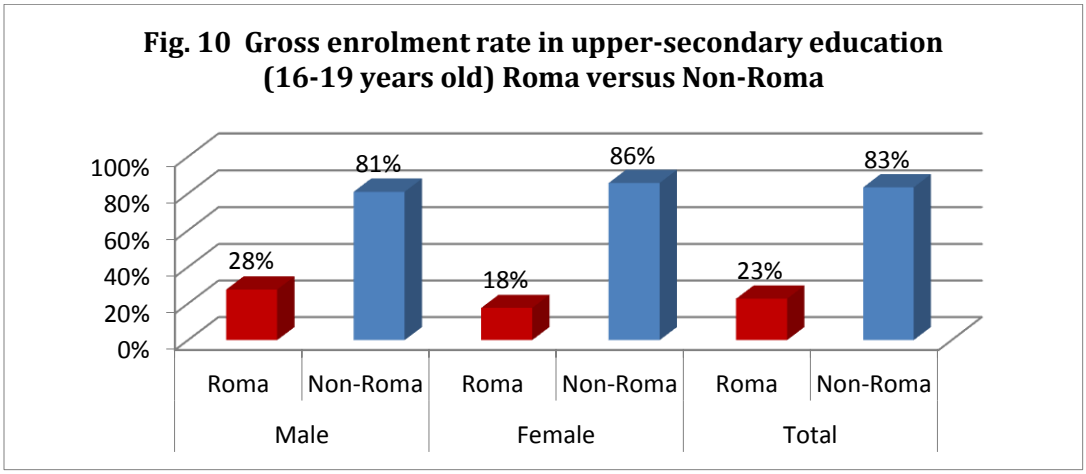
A recent study (Duminică and Ivasiuc 2013:100) found that 6.9% of Roma children aged 6-16 had dropped out of school in 2012. Additionally, the same source finds that the share of Roma children who had never been enrolled in compulsory education amounted, in the same year, to 8,9%. A recent longitudinal study[34] by REF Romania shows that a Roma student in lower secondary education faces a risk of dropping out from school that is six times higher than a non-Roma student with a comparable socio-economic status. This shows that poor Roma children are additionally disadvantaged as compared with the poor non-Roma children. The causes for dropout are related first and foremost to the lack of economic resources to cover the collateral costs of education, as well as the necessity to involve children in income generating activities to support the basic needs of the household.

These findings point to the need for integrated interventions aimed at removing (cost) barriers, e.g. through increasing household incomes, on the one hand, and stimulating school enrolment and improving educational outcomes with a view of decreasing school dropout on the other. As long as economic hardship persists in Roma communities, parents are likely to resort to child labor in order to cover the immediate needs of the household, thereby impacting negatively the educational path of Roma children in the most destitute settlements.

2.3.5 UPPER-SECONDARY EDUCATION

Beyond compulsory schooling, enrolment differences between Roma and Non-Roma become even larger, with a significant enrollment gap in the 16-19 age group, which corresponds to upper secondary school (Figure 2-7). While less than one fourth of Roma 16-19 years old are still enrolled in school, more than three fourths of their non-Roma neighbors are still enrolled.

FIGURE 2-8: GROSS ENROLMENT RATE IN UPPER-SECONDARY EDUCATION (16-19 YEARS OLD): ROMA VS. NON-ROMA



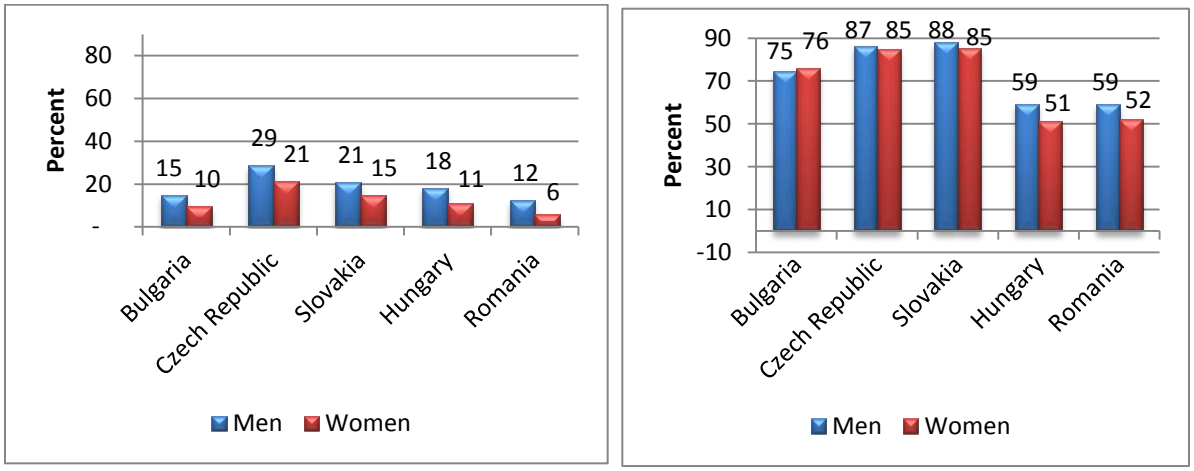
Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

[34] Ivan, C, I. Rostas, (2013) *Equal Opportunities in Education*, REF Romania, not yet published

Compared to other countries in the region, Romania has overall the lowest secondary school completion rates for Roma among those aged 25-64 years old (Figure 2-9). The share of Roma completing secondary school (12% for boys and 6% for girls) is alarmingly low by European standards, and considerably lower than for non-Roma (approx. 47 percentage points lower).

FIGURE 2-9: SECONDARY SCHOOL COMPLETION RATES AMONG ROMA AND NON-ROMA, AGE 25-64

A. Roma *B. Non-Roma*



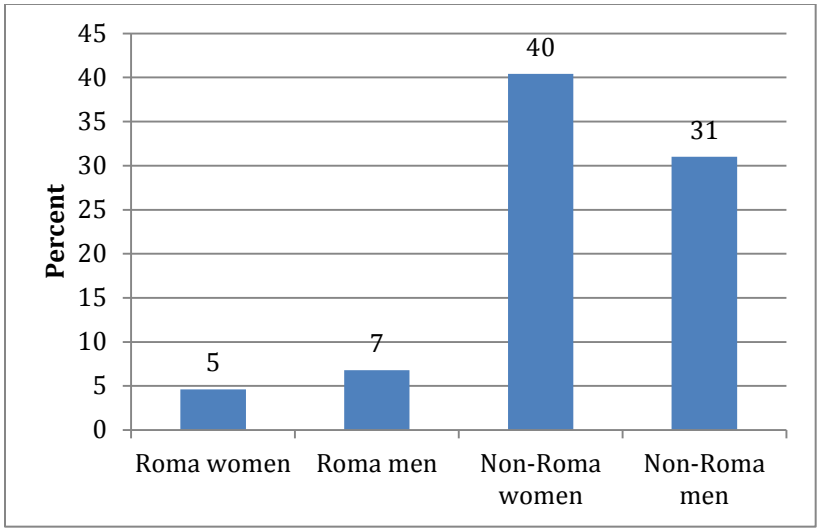
Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011). 'Secondary school completion' is defined as having completed either a vocational/technical or a general secondary school program, or a higher level of education. Sample restricted to age group 25-64.

The early school leaving rates for both Roma and non-Roma 18-25 years old are considerably higher in Romania than its EU counterparts. The UNDP/World Bank/EC Regional Roma survey (2011) shows that early school leaving rate in case of Roma is close to 95%, with little gender difference, while the share of non-Roma early school leavers is almost two times lower, with a significant gender gap in favor of men. Survey data suggests that future measures on reducing early school leavers should be focused on communities with a larger Roma population, targeting not only Roma, but also the Non-Roma population in these localities.

2.3.6 TERTIARY EDUCATION

Among Roma, achievement of tertiary education among those aged 30-34 is about 1%, compared to over 20% in the general population. A recent Impreuna study (Duminică and Ivasiuc 2013) shows that from 1998 to 2012, the share of Roma women with tertiary education more than doubled, from 0,7% to 1,6%, and in case of Roma men it has remained stable at around 1%. Indeed, enrolment rates among Roma men and women aged 18-25 are extremely low, and show a severe gap with non-Roma neighbors in the same age group.

FIGURE 2-10: SHARE OF YOUNG PEOPLE (18-25 YEARS OLD) ENROLLED IN EDUCATION



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011)

As mentioned in the introduction, there are discrepancies between Roma and Non-Roma in terms of aspirations to achieve tertiary education: this aspiration is expressed twice as often among non-Roma as compared to their Roma neighbors. Although additional evidence would be needed on this subject, it is likely that lower educational aspirations among Roma are influenced by discouraging prospects on the job market, as well as by experiences of discrimination (see Chapter 6).

TABLE 4. EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS FOR BOYS AND GIRLS[35]

	Lower secondary education - ISCED 2		Upper secondary education - ISCED 3		Post-secondary education - ISCED 4+	
	Roma	**Non-Roma**	**Roma**	**Non-Roma**	**Roma**	**Non-Roma**
Educational aspiration for boys (16+)*	22%	6%	52%	49%	23%	43%
Educational aspiration for girls (16+)*	23%	7%	48%	47%	23%	46%

Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

2.3.7 PARTICIPATION OF ADULTS IN LIFELONG LEARNING (LLL)

At the national level, the participation rate of adults in LLL[36] presents one of the most important gaps in comparison with EU average. In line with the Strategic framework for

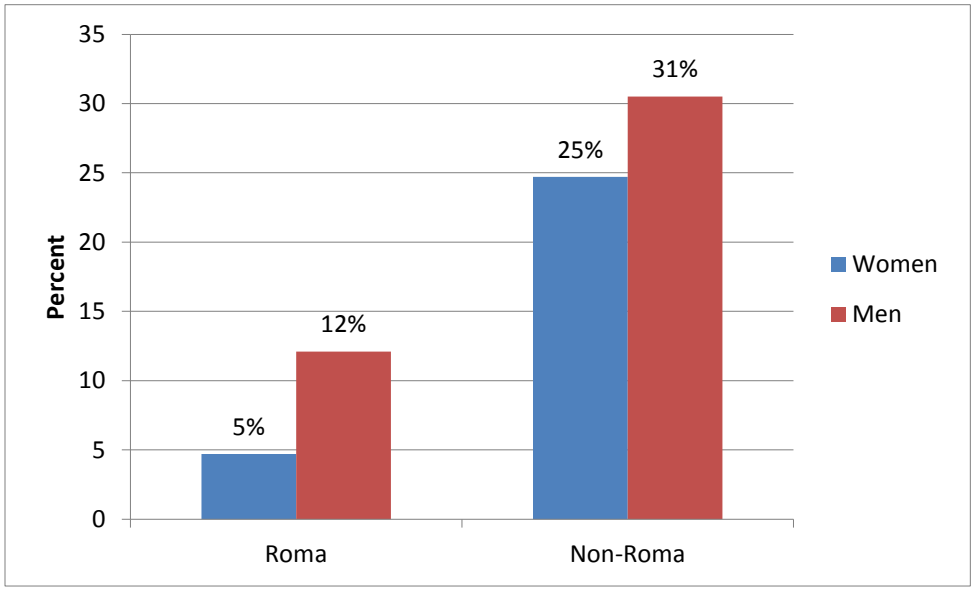
[35] Surveyed population (randomly selected adult person from the households (16+)) by educational level that respondents believe that is sufficient for a boy/girl. This indicator is calculated using the question "What do you believe is a sufficient level of education for a boy/girl?" from the UNDP-WB dataset. Results are displayed according to the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED). The values "secondary vocational/technical/arts" and "general secondary" are summarized as "Upper Secondary Education – ISCED 3". The values "refused" and "don't know" were defined as missing.

[36] Eurostat definition of LLL participation indicator: Percentage of the adult population aged 25 to 64 participating in education and training in the 4 weeks prior to the survey. Life-long learning refers to persons aged 25 to 64 who

European cooperation in education and training (”ET 2020”), the Romanian National Reform Plan sets a 10 percent target for increasing the participation of adults in LLL. Between 2007 and 2011, Romania has not made significant progress in closing this gap, with participation of adults aged 25-64 in LLL reaching 1.6% in 2011, leaving a gap of about 15 % to reach the EU 2020 target. The National Survey on Employees Participation in LLL – carried out in 2011 by the Observatory for Permanent Learning Development – showed that the lowest percentages of participation to training occur among those with low education levels and professional qualifications, among those working in small companies (less than 10 employees) and among those older than 40.

The UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011) shows that LLL participation is five times higher for non-Roma women (25%) than their female Roma neighbors (5%), and almost three times higher in case of non-Roma men, compared Roma men. In both groups, adult women registered significantly lower LLL participation rate compared to men, although at the national level women are more likely to participate in LLL than men. This reverse gap might indicate that in communities with higher number of Roma, women are more likely to miss the LLL opportunities.

FIGURE 2-11: SHARE OF ADULTS AGED 25-64 WHO HAVE EVER RECEIVED ADULT LEARNING COURSES OR PROFESSIONAL APPRENTICESHIP, ROMA VERSUS NON-ROMA



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

stated that they received education or training in the four weeks preceding the survey (numerator). The denominator consists of the total population of the same age group, excluding those who did not answer to the question 'participation to education and training'. Both the numerator and the denominator come from the EU Labour Force Survey. The information collected relates to all education or training whether or not relevant to the respondent's current or possible future job.

2.3.8 SCHOOL INFRASTRUCTURE AND RESOURCES

School infrastructure and resources correlate with the quality of education, and are particularly inadequate in many schools with a high proportion of Roma pupils. Several research reports (OSI 2007:416-420; Duminică and Ivasiuc 2011:49-53; Jigău and Fartușnic 2012) focus on a series of indicators of quality of the educational process, concluding that there are systemic deficiencies in terms of quality of the education process in schools and kindergartens with high percentages of Roma children. Thus, the number of specialized laboratories and facilities and the level of access of students to these facilities decrease with the increase of the share of Roma students in a school. Also, the number of books in the school library as well as the level of access of students to the library decrease in schools with high percentages of Roma students. The research shows there is negative correlation between the share of Roma students in schools and the number of computers, including computers connected to the internet. The research also documents the tendency for schools with over 50% Roma students not to possess the necessary operation permit, attesting their conformity to legal norms of functioning in terms of sanitation, safety and hygiene conditions: there are twice as many schools in this situation with over 50% Roma students than the number of schools in the same category with less than 50% Roma (Duminică and Ivasiuc 2011:55). Thus, there is a lower probability for the so-called 'Gypsy' schools to have an indoor toilet (62,7% versus 77,3% in the case of schools with less than 10% Roma students), as well as a central heating system (60,9% in schools with a high percentage of Roma, compared to 70% in other schools).

2.3.9 TEACHER TRAINING

Quality of education is also related to the share of unqualified and commuting teachers, as well as high teacher turnover. Several recent research reports (Duminică and Ivasiuc 2011; Roma Education Fund 2012) found that schools with a higher percentage of Roma students are more likely to suffer from undertrained and more inexperienced staff, as well as of a high staff turnover and larger shares of commuter teachers. The research points out that among teachers, schools with a high percentage of Roma students are not attractive and that teachers who are allocated to these schools tend not to get involved to a deeper level in the school activities by investing time in their students, since they try to move to „better" schools, where they judge that it is possible to reach performance results with the students. Also, the frequent staff turnover weakens the links between children and the school, impacting negatively the educational development of students. Qualitative research conducted by means of focus groups with Roma children in schools with over 90% Roma concludes that teachers in these schools tend to neglect children, spending less than the stipulated time in class, not providing or verifying homework and conducting lessons rather formally, without concern whether children understand and assimilate teachings. Also, low expectations of teachers regarding educational achievement of Roma children lead to low efforts by teachers. Verbal abuse against Roma children, which has been noted to occur, reinforces their low self-esteem, lack of motivation in school and an overall unfriendly environment, while at the same time leading to the progressive disengagement of children from school, leading in turn to absenteeism and, ultimately, school dropout. The root of these phenomena in which teachers lower their expectations regarding Roma children, and consequently make considerably less effort in their work, are to be found in discriminatory perceptions and attitudes regarding the Roma, as lower expectations of teachers

encourage low achievement of children in education. Educational policies should tackle discriminatory attitudes of teachers regarding the Roma at the level of pedagogic high schools and teacher lifelong training.

Among the human resources devoted to improving the educational outcomes for the Roma population, the school mediator has been identified as an important link within the system. The role of the school mediator was developed as to close the communication gap between schools and Roma communities, to bridge the relationship between the two actors and reach the objective of improving the participation of Roma children in the compulsory education system. Between 2003 and 2013, through various programs, a total number of 1001 school mediators have been trained in Romania. Out of these, the number of currently active mediators is about 400.[37] A recent "Impreuna" study (Duminică and Ivasiuc 2011) shows that 55% of the surveyed schools lack a school mediator, including schools with over 50% of Roma children.

Qualitative research (Duminică and Ivasiuc 2011) shows that school mediators have had a positive impact on a number of issues, among which the decrease of the number of school dropout and non-enrolment cases, improvement of school attainment and academic performance of Roma students, reduction of absenteeism among students, combating the segregation of Roma students in classes and contribution to the desegregation of schools, improvement of the communication between the school and the Roma community, improvement of the attitude of teachers towards the Roma and promoting the overall development of the Roma communities, outside their role in the field of education.

However, the school mediator policy also has important shortcomings, which need to be addressed in future policy-making. Teachers and school administrations from institutions benefitting from the services of a school mediator tend to relegate all activities related to Roma issues to the school mediator, leading to a deeper disengagement of teachers from the Roma communities they serve. Further, the lack of sustainability and security regarding employment has placed some of the mediators in the position of not being able to raise concerns or take effective measures regarding the discrimination of Roma children in the school environment.

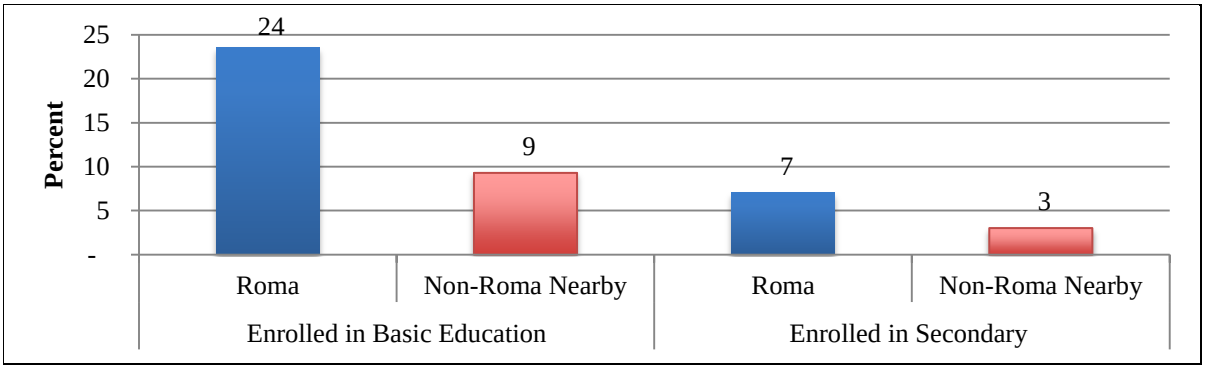
2.3.10 SCHOOL SEGREGATION

The regional UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011) reveals a high level of classroom-level segregation among Roma. The figure below shows that nearly a quarter of Roma children currently attending basic education are in classes where most of the children are Roma. Among their non-Roma neighbors, who were also interviewed, only 9% are in classes with mostly Roma children. Research studies from 2008 and 2010 suggest that school segregation is present in between 31% (Duminică and Ivasiuc 2011) and 67% (Surdu L. 2008) of the studied schools.[38] Both reports confirm the high correlation between segregation and low quality of education arising from the poor school infrastructure and learning resources in the segregated schools, the lower qualification of teachers and their higher turnover. This is in stark

[37] Information received through a yahoo-group message sent by Professor Gheorghe Sarău on August 17th 2013 (Romania_EU_list@yahoogroups.com). Professor Sarău is active within the Ministry of Education and is responsible, among other things, for the training of Roma school mediators and Romani teachers.
[38] Difference in percentages is explained by the different methodologies used in the two studies.

contrast with the findings from international studies[39] suggesting that students in integrated schools achieve gains on standardized reading comprehension tests as well as the development of non-cognitive skills and overall tolerance, both among Roma and non-Roma, disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged.

FIGURE 2-12: SEGREGATION: PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS REPORTING TO BE IN CLASS WITH MOSTLY ROMA PUPILS



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

Evaluation of desegregation interventions suggest that the obstacles to effective desegregation policies in Romania often relate to the lack of commitment by school managers, lack of inter-community solidarity, lack of commitment and barriers to initiating a culture of respect, opposition from non-Roma, but also from Roma parents and the differences of academic achievement between Roma and non-Roma children which hampers the integration of children with low attainment levels (Duminică and Ivasiuc 2011). These barriers call for an integrated approach in the design and implementation of desegregation interventions, and require that desegregation is coupled with the supplementary support of remedial education interventions, that would contain the dropout of Roma children lagging behind in terms of education performance.

2.4 LESSONS LEARNED

The main lessons and best practices from the major Roma education projects and measures implemented in Romania (overview of the projects and programs is included in Annex 1 to this report) have been discussed with educational stakeholders, project managers and civil society representatives with experience in Roma education programs through a qualitative research based on individual and group interviews. The main findings, lessons learned and good practices examples from this qualitative research are presented below. Quality of teaching has a direct impact on children's learning outcomes, either roma or non-roma – the gap between "good schools" and "poor schools"

Several research studies show that schools situated in disadvantaged areas with high number of Roma children have teachers with less professional experience and with lower levels of qualification[40] (Roma Education Fund 2012; Duminică and Ivasiuc 2011). Working

[39] see Kezdi and Suranyi (2009)
[40] Shared opinion expressed by the main stakeholders and project managers of Roma educational projects in Romania during the qualitative research (group interviews), Bucharest, 7.10.2013

with children from disadvantaged socio-cultural backgrounds requires a higher level of pedagogical preparation, an appropriate inclusive approach and a powerful commitment to the teaching profession. In order to increase the quality of teaching in schools, many projects targeting Roma children included major components of teacher training in the areas of interactive didactics, intercultural education, and inclusive education. In order to attract more good teachers to work in schools in disadvantaged areas there is a need for incentives and valorization for teachers choosing to work in schools located in disadvantaged areas. The program "Teach for Romania", inspired from the US program "Teach for America" was initiated in Romania but stalled due to administrative obstacles.

A SCHOOL CAN'T FACE THE EDUCATIONAL CHALLENGES ALONE. THERE IS A CLEAR NEED FOR INTEGRATED ACTION TOWARDS CLOSING THE EDUCATION GAP BETWEEN ROMA AND NON-ROMA CHILDREN

Increasing participation to education of those children in risk to drop-out early was one of the major objectives of most of the projects targeting Roma and non-Roma children in the recent years. Leaving school early is a very complex phenomenon, determined by a complexity of factors such as socio-economic condition, family background and educational expectations, school factors and personal determinants of a child. In the view of most participants in focus group discussions, an integrative approach addressing various determinants of school participation at the same time is far more efficient than singular interventions.

Integrated approaches might take into consideration the following dimensions:

- **Horizontal integration,** i.e. the need for cross-sectoral intervention, meaning that participation in education has multiple determinants, ranging from adequate financial resources to adequate infrastructure in the neighborhood. This requires implementing an integrated approach, through which intervention in complementing areas (employment, housing, health and education) are carried out to achieve a higher impact.
- **Vertical integration –** the need to ensure coherent support along the entire educational path of an individual: from early education to higher level of education, from school to work and from community engagement to wider citizenship.
- **Context integration –** For many indicators related to education**,** the WB/UNDP Regional Survey shows that in communities with higher shares of Roma, children and adults are facing more challenges in participation to education compared to the national average. This reality suggests that some measures to increase school participation should be addressed not only for Roma in particular, but for the entire population in the community.

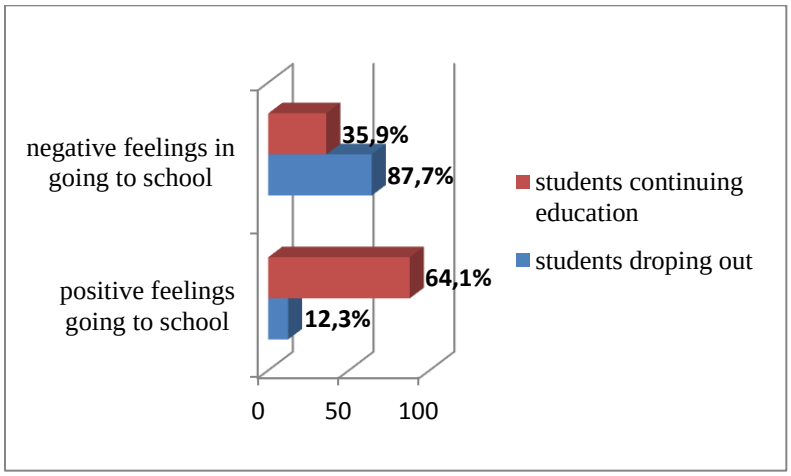
IF CHILDREN FEEL WELCOME AND COMFORTABLE IN SCHOOL, THEY ARE MORE LIKELY TO CONTINUE THEIR EDUCATION. AN INCLUSIVE SCHOOL CLIMATE AND POSITIVE TEACHING PRACTICES COULD MAKE A MAJOR DIFFERENCE

Recent studies[41] on psychological and social well-being of children showed a positive association between a country's educational outcomes and the level of well-being of

Bradshaw, J. and Richardson, D. (2009) An index of child well-being in Europe, *Child Indicators Research*, 2, 3, pp. 319-351.

children. Different reports and projects based in Romania also found a correlation between positive feelings of Roma children in school and their tendency to continue on to education at a higher level. This hypothesis is verified in one recent study conducted by the Roma Education Fund in Romania (Fig. 15). The degree of perceived school attractiveness also makes a difference when it comes to school-drop out. The drop-out from schools where children do not perceive the school as attractive reaches 64.1% while the drop-out from schools where the children do perceive the school as attractive reaches only 12%. (REF Romania, Claudiu Ivan, Iulius Rostas, 2013).

FIGURE 2-13: CORRELATION BETWEEN SCHOOL DROP-OUT AND THE PERCEIVED ATTRACTIVENESS OF GOING TO SCHOOL



Source: Roma Education Fund Romania, 2013.

Where the child sits in the classroom also makes a difference when it comes to school participation. If the child sits in the last or before the last bench, the school drop-out is 28.3%, while if the child does not sit in the last or before the last bench the school drop-out is 15.9% (REF Romania, Claudiu Ivan, Iulius Rostas, 2013). Other studies conducted in Romania on school culture, also pointed out that often, Roma children have difficulties coping with the school environment. Therefore, approaches like *friendly schools* and teacher training programs promoting intercultural education, may be considered.

INVOLVEMENT OF PARENTS IN SCHOOL DIALOGE IS A CRUCIAL FACTOR FOR EDUCATIONAL SUCCESS OF THEIR CHILDREN

Research shows that the role of parents is crucial for children's development in school. Family factors, such as educational expectations, the level of trust in education, parental stimulation at home and also the communication with teachers play an important role in the educational success of children. Often, negative attitudes of parents towards school are based on the dysfunctional and unequal relationship with school staff. Many projects implemented in Romania, targeted at reducing the drop-out of Roma children, had an explicit component on parental counseling, educational programs such as "Parent's school" or making the parents partners in implementing the project. An example of parents' direct involvement in educational process is the Ministry of Education project "Implementation Early Childhood Education alternative community based solution for children from 3 to 6 /7 years old'' (2011). The project

piloted a community based kindergarten where Roma women were trained to become teachers for their neighboring children.

SCHOOL DROPOUT PREVENTIVE MEASURES COULD PRODUCE VISIBLE OUTCOMES IN THE LONG RUN AND THEIR IMPACT COULD BE PROPERLY EVALUATED IF PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION IS EXTENDED

The maximum duration of ESF projects was 3 years. In many cases, this was considered a barrier, especially in the case of affirmative measures that should be provided to students at least during a school cycle in order to be efficient. Additionally, many administrative pressures caused by the delays in reimbursement of cost from the national implementation authorities produced obstacles for the implementation organizations in their effort to support the target group. Moreover, measuring the real impact of the educational interventions usually takes a long time.

CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER MEASURES MIGHT HAVE AN IMPACT ON SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, BUT ENSURING THE SUSTAINABILITY OF THIS INTERVENTION REMAINS A CHALLENGE

International evidence from rigorous impact evaluations of conditional cash transfers (CCT) confirms their positive impact on school attendance among disadvantaged groups. Romania has implemented a number of CCT programs to tackle the issue of low attendance rates among Roma in different stages of education, for example, the OvidiuRo' program to support kindergarten attendance and the Roma Education Fund's scholarship scheme for secondary education. However, none of the Romanian CCT initiatives targeting Roma has been rigorously evaluated to provide conclusive evidence on their impact on attendance, let alone on more ambitious results like improving the learning outcomes of participating Roma students. While the kindergarten attendance CCT program implemented by OvidiuRoconfirms the positive impact on kindergarten attendance rates, the effect of ceasing the CCT once the child reaches the age of compulsory education has not been tracked**.** The REF's scholarships' scheme also does not provide convincing evidence on the CCT impact on attendance, since the scholarships are complemented by provision of tutoring and mentoring, making it impossible to attribute potential positive outcomes to any of the three interventions. Hence, the general opinion of many stakeholders is that caution is needed when using CCT on a large scale, because of the lacking domestic evidence of CCT effectiveness, the lack of sustainability plan and the risk of creating dependency on CCTs as opposed to implementing measures that could potentially increase the non-CCT motivation for school attendance.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IS STILL NEEDED IN ORDER TO CLOSE THE GAPS IN PARTICIPATION BETWEEN ROMA AND NON-ROMA, BUT MORE INCLUSIVE AND INTERCULTURAL MEASURES SHOULD ALSO BE IMPLEMENTED IN SCHOOLS AND IN SOCIETY

In the last years, Roma students in Romania have benefited from affirmative measures (Roma enrollment quota - places reserved for the Roma in high school and university) for secondary and vocational education, and for universities. While the affirmative measures for Roma children and youth were not systematically monitored at the national level to provide evidence on their cost-effectiveness, particular interventions seem to have had positive effects on

educational achievements of Roma. According to the interviewed stakeholders, the affirmative measures should be further supported, but there is an additional need to improve the targeting of these programs, strengthening the focus on those pupils/students who are Romani language speakers, come from rural areas and live in compact, homogenous Roma communities.

NONFORMAL AND INFORMAL LEARNING ACTIVITIES CAN BE A SOURCE OF NEW IDEAS AND INNOVATIVE APPROACHES TOWARDS INCREASING MOTIVATION FOR SCHOOL PARTICIPATION OF ROMA CHILDREN

In recent years, non-formal and informal learning activities for children in disadvantaged areas, including Roma, gained more ground in the Romanian educational system. The role of these activities is particularly important in the case of Roma children, who often "do not feel comfortable at school and do not find opportunities in the classroom for personal expression. After school programs, various summer schools and student clubs are activities where Roma children have the opportunity to experience interesting and valuable activities, including practicing their inner talents and potential. Therefore, non-formal and informal learning activities are a priority for interventions targeting to increase the well-being of Roma children in school.

INCREASING THE ETHNIC SELF ESTEEM AND CULTURAL IDENTITY OF ROMA CHILDREN AND PARENTS ARE A GOOD GROUND FOR EDUCATIONAL INCLUSION AND WELL BEING FEELING IN SCHOOL

Recent studies[42] on the issue of Roma ethnic self-esteem highlighted the role of education in building a positive self-image of Roma children regarding their ethnic identity. The studies recommend the need to introduce in the school curriculum elements of culture, history and language of Roma. Some experiences on bilingual kindergarten in Romania shows an increase of school participation of Roma children. Similarly, highlighting the existence of successful 'role-models' among the Roma contributed to a more positive public image of the Roma ethnic identity.

A COMPREHENSIVE MONITORING AND EVALUATION SYSTEM OF ESF PROGRAMS REGARDING EDUCATIONAL INTERVENTIONS FOR THE ROMA IS CRUCIAL IN ORDER TO CORRECT ERRORS, TO AVOID OVERLAPPING, AND MAINSTREAM APPROACHES FOR THE NEXT PROGRAMMING PERIOD 2014-2020

Monitoring and evaluation of ESF projects implemented in Romania in the period 2007-2013 was based only on partial internal assessment (per project / per type of action / the types of funding) and focused outcomes and numerical indicators, rather than impact and quality evaluation. Moreover, many measures promoted by different projects overlapped, in many cases leading to overrepresentation of some regions in Romania, while other regions lagged behind. Also, not making project results visible to the wider community is a weakness mentioned by the participants.

[42] Grigore, D. at all, *Roma …looking for their self esteem*, Amare Rromentza, UNICEF Romania, 2007

2.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

2.5.1 POLICY GOAL 1: PROVIDE EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION IN COMMUNITIES WITH HIGH ROMA POPULATIONS

Given the high returns to early childhood development and the very large gap that exists between Roma and non-Roma in Romania, closing this gap should be a high policy priority area. Achieving this will require a clear policy on increasing enrolment in early childhood education in communities with a high share of Roma:

POLICY MEASURE 1A: DEVELOPING EARLY CHILDHOOD (0-6 YEARS) INSTITUTIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE IN COMMUNITIES WITH HIGH SHARE OF ROMA

The limited preschool infrastructure and facilities in communities with high share of Roma are obstacles to preschool participation of Roma children. The ESF program for 2014-2020 could play a major role in developing the infrastructure for preschool education, especially in rural areas and in communities with high share of Roma population. Future investments in infrastructure should be seen according with the needs at local level, taking into consideration the demographic trends in school population.

POLICY MEASURE 1B: INVOLVING PARENTS IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION PARTNERSHIPS, INCLUDING ALTERNATIVE PRESCHOOL SYSTEMS

Recent OECD studies[43] on PISA results show an association between higher student performance and the involvement of parents in their daily activities. The support of parents in the first years of childhood development (preschool and primary education) possibly has the highest impact on the future opportunities of children. This is confirmed by several research projects, in Romania as well as internationally. Many ESF projects aimed at decreasing school drop-out implemented different initiatives on parent's involvement such as Parents School, counseling, or even direct assistance of parents in different school activities. The UNICEF National Attendance Campaign in Romania has had strong parents component[44] whereby schools benefited from training for parenting education, with a high emphases on parent-child communication. Further, a program of Ministry of Education in Romania supported by the World Bank stimulated higher involvement of parents in pre-school education in communities without preschool infrastructure, whereby Roma mothers, instead of professional teachers, were recruited and trained to develop learning activities with children below the age of 6.

Although there are no systematic evaluations on the impact of parent's involvement in education on their children at the national level, engaging the parents early on could have a great impact on developing human capital in disadvantaged communities with high share of Roma, and could serve as a means to promote flexible employment of women in community. Involving parents in early childhood education partnerships can takes different forms:

- Organize parent support groups in Roma communities;

[43] What can parents do to help their children succeed in school?, PISA in focus, OECD, 2011 http://www.oecd.org/pisa/49012097.pdf accessed on October 2013
[44] Cojocaru, S., Parental Education in Romania, UNICEF, 2011 http://www.unicef.ro/wp-content/uploads/educatia-parentala-in-romania.pdf accesed on October 2013

- Create opportunities for the participation of Roma parents in school activities daily (in school or after school hours). During those activities parents might engage in observation, support the teacher in preparing activities, or supervise children during activities;
- Educational activities for children lead by parents.

POLICY MEASURE 1C: IMPLEMENTING INCENTIVES FOR EARLY CHILDHOOD PARTICIPATION

Several studies on Roma households show that the lack of financial resources of the family is one of the main barriers to send their children to preschool education. Removing preschool costs barriers for the poorest parents and providing incentives to poor parents to enroll their children into preschool at an early age (as early as 3 years old) conditional on meeting good attendance might be considered as a priority. The incentives may take different forms, according to the real needs of the community and the profile of the population:

- Conditional cash transfers on clothing, food or other basic needs;
- Vocational training and counseling vouchers for parents in the view of employment, based on sending their children to kindergarten regularly;
- Annual subsidies for families, conditional on preschool attendance of children aged 3-4 years, covering the tuition and meal costs of kindergarten for families with multiply disadvantaged children.

2.5.2 POLICY GOAL 2: PREVENTING SCHOOL DROPOUT

Measures on reducing early school leavers should be focused on communities with higher number of Roma population, targeting not only Roma, but also non-Roma population resident in those localities. 2009 research shows that, in Canada, the cost of early school leaving to the government and society as a whole is estimated to be more than $37.1 billion per year. Structural reforms to Romania's education system such as monitoring systems, curriculum changes and improving the school climate to encourage engagement and wellbeing of all students should be considered in this respect. In addition, there are a few specific measures that could help prevent dropouts in Roma communities:

POLICY MEASURE 2A: SETTING UP AN EARLY WARNING SYSTEM OF STUDENTS AT RISK TO DROP OUT

Defining the profile of students at risk of dropping out of school is the first step in view of setting up a warning system. Several research reports identify the symptoms of school dropout as being: an increase in the number of absences, low grades, behavioral difficulties and the lack of motivation to achieve academic results (Hatos 2007; Chipea 2007). Defining school dropout as a progressive disengagement from school, with clear symptoms preceding the event, requires involving school psychologists to much greater extent in identifying which children are at risk, and setting up support mechanisms tailored to the needs of every child. However, the current system allows only for large schools to employ a school psychologist, thereby leaving uncovered large numbers of schools serving compact Roma settlements. Possible steps in developing an early warning system for school dropouts is presented in Annex 2 to this chapter.

POLICY MEASURE 2B: MAKING SCHOOLS MORE FRIENDLY FOR ALL CHILDREN

The concept of child-friendly[45] schools was promoted in the last decades by UNICEF in the view of supporting children all over the world to learn what they need to learn to face the challenges of the new century, to enhance their health and well-being and to guarantee them safe and protective spaces for learning, free from violence and abuse. This principle is making a direct link with the school environment, teacher's morale and motivation, as well as community support for education. According to the child-friendly schools concept, a school should actively identify excluded children to get them enrolled in school and included in learning, acting in the best interests of the child, leading to the realization of the child's full potential in an integrative manner. Moreover, a child-friendly school must reflect an environment of good quality characterized by several aspects: **inclusiveness, effective for learning** (including good quality teaching and learning processes, structured content and good quality materials and resources), a **healthy and protective environment, which is gender-sensitive** and **involved with children, families and communities**.

In order to promote a positive school culture that valorizes full potential of every child, specific measures can be taken in schools with high share of Roma population:

- Teacher training programs on friendly school approaches and practices, with a focus on inclusive education and the history, language and culture of Roma;
- Counseling and mentorship activities addressed to students at risk of drop-out;
- Community learning approaches of the curriculum, as a means of adapting the curriculum to cultural and context-relevant factors;
- Learning activities that promote Roma role-models in order to increase the ethnic self-esteem of children;
- Making the voice of children heard in the school's decision making process, by activating student councils, including representatives of Roma children, in schools.

The European structural funds in the 2014-2020 period may be a great opportunity for Romania in implementing the above type of measures targeted to schools situated in disadvantaged communities.

POLICY MEASURE 2C: DEVELOPING COMPLEMENTARY FORMAL AND NON-FORMAL EDUCATION MEASURES BEYOND SCHOOL HOURS

In the last years, a large set of extracurricular activities were implemented in schools located in disadvantaged areas in Romania, including localities with large Roma populations. While these interventions have not been rigorously evaluated to provide solid evidence for their impact, stakeholders recognize the value of extra-curricular activities for learning as children progress through school. Extra-curricular activities provide compensatory learning stimulation for children from marginalized communities at a significant learning disadvantage relative to their more advantaged peers. Taking into account the budgetary constraints of schools in disadvantaged areas with large Roma populations, these types of extracurricular activities require additional financial support in order to be scaled up and rigorously evaluated.

[45] http://www.unicef.org/lifeskills/index_7260.html, accesed in October, 2013

POLICY MEASURE 2D: SCALING UP THE SCHOOL MEDIATOR PROGRAM, TO INCLUDE ALL SCHOOLS WITH A HIGH PERCENTAGE OF ROMA

A recent "Impreuna" study shows that 55% of the surveyed schools still lack a school mediator, including schools with over 50% of Roma children. According to the data of the Ministry of Education (Sarau, 2013), in Romania there are about 2000 schools with Roma population over 25% that might need a formally employed school mediator. Consequently, in the coming years there is a need for continuation of the training programs for school mediators, but also policy commitments regarding their formal employment in the school should be putting in place. A national awareness campaign addressed to teachers and school managers from institutions with high share of Roma population on the role and responsibilities of mediators would also help to avoid some current practices of schools to relegate all activities related to Roma issues to the school mediator, leading to a deeper disengagement of some teachers from the Roma communities they serve.

POLICY MEASURE 2E: IMPROVING THE TARGETING OF THE AFFIRMATIVE MEASURES FOR ROMA CHILDREN AND YOUTH TO ENSURE THEIR PROGRESSION TO HIGHER EDUCATIONSL LEVELS

To further strengthen the implementation and the results achieved through affirmative measures, the Government may consider the following:

- Improve the targeting of these programs, strengthening the focus on those pupils/students who are Romani language speakers, come from rural areas and live in compact, homogenous Roma communities.
- Making the measures more visible for all Roma children and parents, taking into account that a recent survey reveals that affirmative measures are relatively unknown among the Roma;
- Implementing a systematic monitoring and evaluation methodology in order to accurately measure the real impact of the affirmative measures;
- Additionally, transport subsidies may be provided for those Roma children and youth from rural areas that continue their education in a different locality.

2.5.3 POLICY GOAL 3: INCREASING THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS WITH A HIGH PERCENTAGE OF ROMA[46]

POLICY MEASURE 3A: PROVIDING INCENTIVES FOR EXCELLENT TEACHERS TO WORK IN SCHOOLS WITH A HIGH SHARE OF ROMA CHILDREN

Several countries in Europe have implemented performance-based pay for teachers, and currently, about half of OECD countries reward teacher performance in different ways. For example, in the Czech Republic, England, the Netherlands, Sweden and Turkey, outstanding teaching performance is a criterion for decisions on a teacher's position on the base salary scale. In the Czech Republic, Denmark, England, Estonia, Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland

[46] The World Bank's Romania 2020 study contains in-depth discussion on the quality of education with high share of Roma students

and the Slovak Republic, it is a criterion for deciding on supplemental payments that are paid annually. In Austria, Chile, the Czech Republic, Denmark, England, Estonia, Hungary, the Netherlands, Poland, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Turkey and the United States, outstanding teaching performance is used as a criterion for awarding supplemental incidental payments.

The experiences of countries implementing performance-based pay of teachers shows that if correctly implemented, this might be a viable policy option. The Romanian Agency for Quality Assurance in Pre-university Education (ARACIP) already proposed an evaluation of teachers based on progress improvements in its *Second Declaration of Principles* standards for schools, including teaching standards for schools located in disadvantaged areas with a high share of Roma. These standards may be a starting point for a differentiated pay for teachers.

Another possible model for improving teaching in schools located in disadvantaged areas might be the program Teach For America (TFA): the goal of this program is to make both short-term and long-term impact by allowing students to reach their full potential and to become lifelong leaders for educational equity. The program "Teach for Romania", inspired by the US TFA program, was initiated in Romania but stalled due to administrative obstacles. Several independent studies have shown that the TFA program tends to have a positive effect on student test scores relative to students instructed by non-TFA teachers, including those who are certified in-field. Such effects exceed the impact of additional years of experience and are particularly strong in math and science."[47]

POLICY MEASURE 3B: ADAPTING LEARNING FACILITIES (MATERIALS AND CURRICULUM) AND MAKING IT CULTURALY RELEVANT FOR ROMA CHILDREN AND PILOTING SOCIO-EMOTIONAL LEARNING PROGRAMS IN SCHOOLS,]

Based on recent pilots in training programs for teachers in schools with high share of children in dropout risk (e.g. the UNICEF ZEP project), teacher training may be geared to promote the following principles:

- Establishing achievable learning objectives for each child, according to its own level of skills and competences;
- Communicate the learning objectives to students to increase the awareness of its own progress;
- Provide meaningful learning experiences, close to students real life in family and in community
- Address culturally relevant learning experiences for all children
- Celebrate any learning progress of each student, no matter how small the progress seems at first sight;
- Promote positive approaches in learning and support any child to believe in its potential of school success.
- Promote 'learning to learn' strategies for children. According to OECD studies[48], in most countries, differences in reading performance between advantaged and disadvantaged students can be partly explained by how well students have learned how to learn by the

[47] Urban Institute http://www.urban.org/education/evaluations.cfm?page=2
[48] OECD (2010), PISA 2009 Results: Learning to Learn: Student Engagement, Strategies and Practices, OECD Publishing.

time they are 15 years old. Parents and teachers can help to close this performance gap by ensuring that all students know how best to approach learning.

It is also worth considering the pilot implementation of school programs that improve socio-emotional learning, including self-regulation and social skills[49].

POLICY MEASURE 3C: REVISING THE INITIAL AND CONTINUOUS TRAINING SYSTEM FOR TEACHERS IN THE VIEW OF PROMOTING INCLUSIVE AND INTERACTIVE LEARNING APPROACHES

Currently, the initial training system for teachers in secondary education in Romania is organized in universities, as an optional pedagogical module. Studies[50] on teacher training system in Romania show that the programs are mostly theoretical, with little practical experience of students. Motivation of students engaged in the pedagogical module is also a challenge, as most of them see the teaching career as rather unattractive. Moreover, the curriculum lacks a systematic approach of inclusive education or specific didactical approaches for children coming from disadvantaged socio-economic background.

Continuous training of teachers suffers from the same theoretical approach, and usually no follow-up activities of training are implemented in order to evaluate the real impact of the new skills acquired by teachers in the classroom.

The main revision of the current teacher training system in Romania should be focused on the followings:

- Selection of students based on clear motivation and commitment for a career in teaching;
- Practical and researched approaches to the curriculum;
- Introducing specific modules on inclusive education and interactive teaching approaches in the context of disadvantaged students;
- Introducing specific modules in approaches and practices of reducing school drop-out.

2.5.4 POLICY GOAL 4: PROMOTING INTEGRATED APPROACHES TO INCREASE PARTICIPATION TO EDUCATION AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL

POLICY MEASURE 4A: IMPLEMENTING COMMUNITY GRANTS FOR EDUCATIONAL INTERVENTION

Many countries already promote integrated educational support for communities, changing the role of the school as an active institution open to the real needs of the community. Successful measures that increase the education levels of Roma require large scale integrated interventions that include interventions related to the socio-economic environment, employment and health. Cross-sectoral interventions at the level of the community are more efficient than singular intervention. For example, the concept of **community school** [51] promoted by a coherent policy decision in UK in 1996 was seen as a big promise to overcome educational disadvantages among

[49] See recommendations in the World Bank's Romania 2020 study

[50] Jigau, M. (coord.) Teacher training in Romania, Institute of Educational Sciences, 2011

[51] Blank, M at all, *Making the difference. Research and practice of Community schools*, Coalition for Community Schools, Institute for Educational Leadership, 2003
http://www.communityschools.org/assets/1/Page/CCSFullReport.pdf

different communities: under this approach the school becomes a center of the community, promoting better use of school buildings for providing a larger set of community services, beyond formal education.

POLICY MEASURE 4B: DEVELOPING INTEGRATED AND MULTIFUNCTIONAL COMMUNITY CENTERS

Several countries have opted for equalizing extra-curricular opportunities by using their schools increasingly also as community centers. Many Dutch schools, for example, have been converted into community schools with a variety of enrichment activities after school hours. Similarly, the highest performing school districts in the USA have public schools that are open outside school hours to offer a wide range of sports, arts and other activities, often with the help of volunteers. It should be noted that relying on volunteers for school-based extra-curricular activities is not just a way to save money. In most cases, the volunteers are students' parents or other family members, so these activities become an important way to reach out to families and encourage them to participate in school life. Especially when parents are poorly educated, as is often the case with Roma parents, involving them in non-academic activities may represent the first step to encourage them to take a more active role in their children's education.[52]

The new education law envisions Community Learning Centers as a mean for encouraging the lifelong learning approach at community level. Unfortunately, the methodology to implement Community Learning Centers is not yet approved, although a draft of the document is currently being assessed in public debate.

In Romania, UNICEF and the Step by Step Centre for Education and Professional Development implemented already established 17 Multifunctional Centers[53] for early childhood education and care, benefitting children aged 2-4, which offer integrated services such as education, nutrition, social protection, health and counseling activities for parents. The support of the community and the cooperation between different institution and services at the local level are instrumental for the success of this initiative.

2.5.5 POLICY GOAL 5: CLOSING THE GENDER GAP BETWEEN ROMA BOYS AND GIRLS IN TERMS OF PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION

POLICY MEASURE 5A: INCREASING PARTICIPATION OF ROMA GIRLS AT ALL LEVEL OF EDUCATION

A significant body of research confirms that the increase of Roma girls' participation in education is likely to have a critical impact on future generations. This would require measures that effectively overcome the known obstacles to education for Roma girls, such as the great distance from kindergarten or school to home and / or unsafe traveling conditions; the necessity for girls to partake in income generating activities for the household and / or sibling caregiving; early marriage, stemming from fears of losing virginity in the case of traditional

[52] See for example: Cataluña Secretaría de Acción Ciudadana. 2007. *Good Practice Guide for the Social Inclusion of Roma in Europe*. Barcelona: Secretaria d'Acció Ciutadana.
[53] Anghelescu, C. Multifucntional Centres. Implementation Guide, UNICEF, 2013

communities; teen pregnancies; lack of financial resources to continue at the secondary and tertiary levels in the case of rural areas.

Mainstreaming measures intended to increase the participation of Roma children in pre-school and reduce early school dropout can also be applied in the case of Roma girls. In addition, gender-specific measures also need to be implemented, for example:

- Implementing reproductive and sexual education in schools;
- Piloting all-girls schools in traditional Roma communities;
- Providing childcare facilities to families with girls at risk of dropping out because of sibling caregiving;
- Providing scholarships and material support to Roma girls willing to pursue secondary and tertiary education.

POLICY MEASURE 5B: DEVELOPING HUMAN CAPITAL AMONG ROMA WOMEN

Developing human capital among Roma women is very likely to positively impact educational outcomes of Roma children. Research shows that the participation of women on the labor market increases the likelihood that they partake in the financial decisions regarding the household budget, thereby increasing the likelihood that a larger share of the budget is allocated to the educational needs of girls and boys alike, thereby contributing to reducing the gender gap of future generations in education. Women's presence on the labor market provides girls with positive role-models and increases the educational aspirations of girls, as well as the level of investment in their education, which, in turn, diminishes dependence on men as income providers and helps increasing equality both within and outside the household. Higher levels of education, as well as prospects on the labor market, increase the age of marriage and first pregnancy, which in turn contributes to better maternal and infant health, as well as continuing the demographic transition, with less children per family and thus a larger share of the household budget spent on each child, including in education. Finally, the fact that women participate on the labor market decreases the financial burden on the future generations, as pensioners already have a source of income. Investing in Roma women is thus likely to trigger a virtuous circle of social change, which will also play an important role for the next generations. **Effective policies should first and foremost target women, investing in their education and including and empowering them on the labor market.**

2.5.6 IMPLEMENTATION

Summary Table of Policy Recommendations

Recommendation	Entity(ies) best placed to implement the recommendation	Impact (Critical impact; High impact; Enabling condition)	Time frame Short: < 6 months; Medium: 6-18 months; Long: >18 months	Monitoring indicator
Policy Goal 1: INCREASING EARLY CHILDHOOD PARTICIPATION TO EDUCATION IN COMMUNITIES WITH HIGH NUMBER OF ROMA POPULATION				
Policy Measure 1A: *Develop early childhood (0-6 years) institutional infrastructure in communities with high share of Roma*	- Ministry of Education - Local authorities	Critical impact	Long term	• Number of kindergartens and other educational services for children under 6 years old in poor communities • Number of pupils integrated in kindergarten in poor communities • Annual rate of participation in early childhood education in communities with high number of Roma population • Annual rate of pupils integrated in preparatory class who attended preschool education
Policy Measure 1B: *Involving parents in early childhood education partnerships, including alternative preschool system*	- Schools - County Centers of Resources and Educational Assistance - Parents associations	Enabling condition	Short term	• Annual number of parents participating in educational activities in schools with high number of Roma population • Annual number of educational activities involving Roma parents • Number of hours spent by parents in early educational stimulation of their children • Rate of parent's participation in regular kindergarten activities
Policy Measure 1C: *Implementing incentives for early childhood participation*	- Ministry of Education - Ministry of Finances	High impact	Medium term	• Annual rate of participation in early childhood education in communities with high number of Roma population • Average per capita

				incentives for early childhood participation • Share of Roma families benefiting by different types of incentives
Policy Goal 2: PREVENTING SCHOOL DROPOUT RATHER THAN WAITING FOR COMPENSATION MEASURES				
Policy Measure 2A: *Setting up an early warning system of students in risk to drop out*	- Ministry of Education - National Agency for Roma - Schools - County school inspectorates - Local authorities	High impact	Short term	• Clear definition of drop-out • Methodology for monitoring and evaluation of early signs for dropping out • Number of pupils in risk to drop out at the beginning – at the end of school year, in schools with high number of Roma • Cohort evolution tracking system for a deeper analysis of out-of-school children's characteristics • Annual drop-out rate
Policy Measure 2B: *Making schools more friendly for all children*	- Schools - County school inspectorates - County Centers of Resources and Educational Assistance - Research Institutes	Enabling condition	Medium term	• Students well-being index in communities with high share of Roma • Ethnic self-esteem barometer • Annual rate of participation in schools with high number of Roma
Policy Measure 2C: *Developing complementary formal and non-formal education measures beyond school hours*	- Ministry of Education - County school inspectorates - Schools - Local authorities locale - NGOs	Critical impact	Medium term	• Number of pupils involved in various types of complementary education measures (after school, summer kindergartens, school tutoring etc.) • Number and types of centers (schools, NGOs.) that have implemented complementary education measures, by regions, counties
Policy Measure 2D: *Scaling up school mediators in all schools with high percentage of Roma*	- Ministry of Education - County school inspectorates - Local authorities locale	High impact	Medium term	• Number of school mediators at national level and in communities with high share of Roma (over 25%) • Number of school mediators fully employed

				in school system • Number of school mediators trained trough specific programs
Policy Measure 2E: *Targeting the affirmative measures addressed to Roma children and youth in order to continue their education at the higher levels*	- Ministry of Education - Ministry of Finance - County school inspectorates - Local authorities locale - Universities	High impact	Medium term	• Number of beneficiaries by type of measures • Share of reserved places that are occupied by Roma children and youth • Number of graduate beneficiaries by level of education and education profiles
Policy Goal 3: INCREASING QUALITY OF EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS WITH HIGH PERCENTAGE OF ROMA				
Policy Measure 3A: *Providing incentives for excellent teachers to work in schools with high share of Roma children*	- Ministry of Education - Ministry of Finances - NGO-s	Critical impact	Medium term	• Number of qualified teachers in schools with high number of Roma • Number of teachers trained trough specific programs relevant for Roma education • Level of pupils results at national exams in schools with high number of Roma • Number of teachers by type of incentives
Policy Measure 3B: *Adapting learning facilities (materials and curricular) and making it culturally relevant for Roma children*	- Ministry of Education - Institute of Educational Sciences - County school inspectorates - Training providers - Educational Soft developers	Enabling condition	Medium term	• Relevance of material facilities in schools with high number of Roma • Results of Roma children at the national exams in schools with high number of Roma • Types of specific subjects in the national curriculum relevant for Roma identity • Types of specific subjects in the school based curriculum relevant for Roma identity • Types of specific modules and integrated competencies in the school subjects at national level relevant for inclusive education • Types of school books and other curricular materials relevant for inclusive education

				• Number of teachers attending training courses on inclusive education, language, history and culture of Roma minorities
Policy Measure 3C: *Revising the initial and continuous training system for teachers in the view of promoting inclusive and interactive learning approaches*	- Ministry of Education - National Agency for Quality Assurance in Pre-university and University Education - County school inspectorates - Teacher Houses	Critical impact	Medium term	• The relevance of the curriculum in initial teacher training • Number of graduates of philology faculties, Romani language employed in the system • Number of teachers trained in the field of Roma history and traditions • Number of teachers trained in the field of inclusive education, intercultural education • Number of teachers experiencing exchanges in communities with high number of Roma population
Policy Goal 4: PROMOTING INTEGRATED APPROACHES TO INCREASE PARTICIPATION TO EDUCATION AT THE LEVELs OF THE COMMUNITY				
Policy Measure 4A: *Implementing community grants for educational intervention*	- Ministry of Education - County school inspectorates - Local authorities - NGO-s	Enabling condition	Medium term	• Number of school grants relevant for inclusive education • Number of Roma children and parents benefiting by the measures • Annual participation rate in schools with high number of Roma • Number of community partnerships
Policy Measure 4B: *Developing integrative and multifunctional community centers*	- Ministry of Education - County school inspectorates - Local authorities - NGOs	Enabling condition	Medium term	• Number of community centers in communities with high number of Roma • Number and types of activities developed in the community centers relevant for education of Roma population • Number of Roma community centers beneficiaries
Policy Goal 5: CLOSING THE GENDER GAP BETWEEN ROMA BOYS AND GIRLS IN TERMS OF PARTICIPATION TO EDUCATION				
Policy Measure 5A: *Increasing participation of Roma girls at all*	- Ministry of Education - County school	Critical impact	Long term	• number of Roma girls continuing education at tertiary level

levels of education	inspectorates - Local authorities NGOs			• number of young Roma women entering the formal labor market
Policy Measure 5B: *Developing human capital among Roma women*	- Ministry of Education - Ministry of Labor - Local authorities NGOs	Critical impact	Long term	• number of teen pregnancies • number of early marriages • age at first pregnancy • age at marriage • number of Roma women entering the formal labor market

REFERENCES

Anghelescu, C. (2013). *Multifunctional Centres. Implementation Guide*. Bucharest: UNICEF

Balica, M., Fartușnic, C., Horga, I., Jigău, M., Voinea, L. (2004). *Perspective asupra dimensiunii de gen în educație* [Perspectives on the Gender Dimension in Education]. Bucharest: MarLink

Blank, M at al. (2003). *Making the difference. Research and practice of Community schools*, Coalition for Community Schools, Institute for Educational Leadership, http://www.communityschools.org/assets/1/Page/CCSFullReport.pdf, accesed on Octomber 2013

Bradshaw, J., Richardson, D. (2009). „An index of child well-being in Europe", in *Child Indicators Research*, 2, 3, pp. 319-351

Cataluña Secretaría de Acción Ciudadana (2007). *Good Practice Guide for the Social Inclusion of Roma in Europe*. Barcelona: Secretaria d'Acció Ciutadana

Chipea, F. (2007). „Abandonul şcolar-sursă a marginalizării sociale" [School Dropout – Source of Social Marginalization), in *Cultură, dezvoltare, identitate. Perspective actuale, 10 ani de la înfiinţarea secţiilor de psihologie şi sociologie la Universitatea din Oradea.* Bucharest: Expert

Chirițoiu, A., Ivasiuc, A. (2012). *Despre noi. Douăzeci de răspunsuri la întrebarea „Ce vrei să te faci când vei fi mare?"* [About us. Twenty answers to the question „What do you want to be when you grow up?"]. Buzău: Alpha MDN

Cojocaru, S. (2011). *Parental Education in Romania*, UNICEF, http://www.unicef.ro/wp-content/uploads/educatia-parentala-in-romania.pdf, accesed on October 2013

Council of Europe, *Recommendation No R (2000) 4 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on the education of Roma/Gypsy children in Europe*

Diamond, J.B.,Randolph A.,Spillane J.P.(2004). „Teachers' Expectations and Sense of Responsibility for Student Learning: The Importance of Race, Class, and Organizational Habitus", in *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 35(1):75–98, American Anthropological Association

Dobrică, P., Jderu, G. (coord.) (2005). *Educaţia şcolară a copiilor romi: determinări socioculturale*. [Education of Roma Children: Socio-Cultural Determinants]. Bucharest: Vanemonde

Duminică, G., Ivasiuc, A. (2011). *One School for All? Access to Quality Education for Roma Children*. Buzău: Alpha MDN

Duminică, G., Ivasiuc, A. (coord.) (2013). *The Roma from Romania. From Scapegoat to Development Engine*. Bucharest: Agenția de Dezvoltare Comunitară „Împreună"

EACEA (Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency of the European Commission) (2010). *Gender Differences in Educational Outcomes. Study on the Measures Taken and the Current Situation in Europe*. Brussels: EACEA

European Commission (2010). *Early school leaving - Lessons from research for policy makers*, http://www.youthforum.org/assets/2013/10/0052-08_FINAL_-Early_Education_Leaving.pdf accessed in October 2013

Fartușnic, C. at al. (2013) *Financing pre-university education system based on standards cost. Current evaluation from the equity perspective*. Institute of Educational Sciences, UNICEF Romania (under publication).

Grigore, D., Neacșu, M., Sarău, G. (2009). *Evaluarea Politicilor Publice Educaționale pentru Rromi* [Evaluation of Educational Public Policies for the Roma] . Buzău: Alpha MDN

Grigore, D. at all (2007). *Roma …looking for their self esteem*, Bucharest: Amare Rromentza, UNICEF Romania

Hatos, A. (2007). „Educaţie şi excluziune socială în România" [Education and Social Exclusion in Romania], in *Cultură, dezvoltare, identitate. Perspective actuale, 10 ani de la înfiinţarea secţiilor de psihologie şi sociologie la Universitatea din Oradea*. Bucharest: Editura Expert

Horváth, A. (2007). „Affirmative Action at Babeş-Bolyai University", in *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai*, Sociologia, LII, 1, pp. 36-65

Institutul Intercultural Timişoara [Intercultural Institute Timişoara] (2000). *EURROM. Integrarea culturii romilor în educaţia şcolară şi extraşcolară* [EURROM. The Integration of Roma Culture in the Scholar and Extracurricular Education]. Timişoara: Institutul Intercultural Timişoara

Institutul de Ştiinţe ale Educaţiei [Institute of Educational Sciences] (2008). *Influenţa capitalului cultural al familiei asupra reuşitei şcolare* [The Influence of Family Cultural Capital on School Success]. Bucharest: MarLink

Ivasiuc, A., Koreck M., Kovari, R. (2010). *Educaţia interculturală de la teorie la practică. Implementarea educaţiei interculturale în şcoli multietnice din România* [Intercultural Education from Theory to Practice. The Implementation of Intercultural Education in Multiethnic Schools from Romania]. Online edition available at http://www.agentiaimpreuna.ro/uploads/educatia%20interculturala.pdf

Jigau, M. (coord.) (2011). *Teacher training in Romania*. Bucharest: Institute of Educational Sciences

Jigău, M. (coord.) (2002). *Învăţământul rural din România. Condiţii, probleme şi strategii de dezvoltare* [Rural Education in Romania. Conditions, Problems and Developmet Strategies]. Bucharest: MarLink

Jigău, M., Surdu, M. (coord.) (2002). *Participarea la educaţie a copiilor romi: probleme, soluţii, actori* [Participation to Education of Roma Children. Problems, Solutions, Actors]. Ministerul Educaţiei şi Cercetării, Institutul de Ştiinţe ale Educaţiei, Institutul de Cercetare a Calităţii Vieţii, UNICEF. Bucharest: MarLink

Jigău, M., Fartuşnic, C. (coord.) (2012). *Cohort Analysis Estimation of the Dropout Phenomenon. Subsample of Schools from EPA Network, included in School Attendance Initiative „Hai la şcoală!"*. Buzău: Alpha MDN

Kendall, S., Springate, I. Jones, M. et al. (2008). *Narrowing the gap in outcomes for vulnerable groups. A review of the research evidence*, http://www.nfer.ac.uk/nfer/publications/LNG01/LNG01.pdf, accesed in Octomber 2013

Kezdi, G., Suranyi, E. (2009), Results from a successful school integration program: Evaluation of the OOIH program, Hungary, CEU, http://www.cedu.ro/ro/program/20.html, accessed in August 2013.

Kocze, A. (2009). *Missing Intersectionality. Race / Ethnicity, Gender and Class in Current Research and Policies on Romani Women*. Budapest: Center for Policy Studies, Central European University

Lake, A. (2011). "Early childhood development – global action is overdue", in *The Lancet*, Volume 378, Issue 9799, pp. 1277-1278

Ministry of Education (2005). *Regulamentul de Organizare şi Funcţionare a Unităţilor de Învăţământ Preuniversitar*, available at www.edu.ro

Ministry of Education (2006). *Programul PHARE 2003 005-551.01.02 – Acces la educaţie pentru grupurile dezavantajate – Raport intermediar 4* [Fourth Interim report, EuropeAid/118970/D/SV/RO, Access to Education for Disadvantaged Groups]. Bucharest: WYG International

Ministry of Education (2009). *Programele PHARE Acces la educaţie pentru grupuri dezavantajate. Studiu de impact* [PHARE programmes Access to Education for Disadvantaged Groups. Impact Analysis]. Ulrich C. (coord.). Bucharest: MERI

Ministry of Education (2012). *Rules and Regulations of Pre-Universitary Education Units*
Ministry of Education (2004). *Order* no. 5379/25 November 2004
OECD (2010), *PISA 2009 Results: Learning to Learn: Student Engagement, Strategies and Practices*, OECD Publishing

OECD (2011). „What can parents do to help their children succeed in school? ", in *PISA in focus*, No. 10/2011, http://www.oecd.org/pisa/49012097.pdf, accessed on October 2013

OECD (2012). *"Does performance-based pay improve teaching?",* in *PISA in focus*, No. 5/2012, http://www.oecd.org/pisa/50328990.pdf, accessed on October 2013

Open Society Institute (2007). *Equal Access to Quality Education for Roma, Monitoring Report*. Vol I. Budapest: EUMAP, ESP, RPP

Open Society Foundation (2012). *Review of EU Framework National Roma Integration Strategies*, http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/reports/review-eu-framework-national-roma-integration-strategies, accessed on October 2013

Roma Education Fund (2012). *Inequity and Inequality. Teacher Absenteeism, Romani Pupils and Primary Schools in Romania*. Bucharest: Roma Education Fund

Rus, C. (2006). *La situation des médiateurs et assistants scolaires roms en Europe* [The Situation of Roma School Mediators and Assistants in Europe]. Strasbourg: European Council

Surdu, L. (2008). Monitorizarea aplicării măsurilor împotriva segregării școlare în România [Monitoring the implementation of measures against school segregation in Romania]. UNICEF, Romani CRISS. Bucharest: MarLink

Surdu, L. (coord.) (2011). *Roma School Participation, Non-Attendance and Discrimination in Romania*. Bucharest: Vanemonde

Surdu, M. (2002). *Desegregating Roma Schools. A Cost-Benefit Analysis*. Budapest: Open Society Institute

Surdu, M. (2006). „Segregare școlară și reproducerea socială a inegalităților" [School Segregation and the Social Reproduction of Inequalities], in *O noua provocare: Dezvoltarea Sociala* [A new challenge:

Social Development]. Iași: Polirom

Surdu, M. (2004). *Sarcina și căsătoria timpurie în rândul tinerelor roma* [Teen Pregnancy and Early Marriage Among Young Roma Girls]. CEDU 2000+

Surdu, M., Szira, J. (coord.) (2009). *Analysis of the Impact of Affirmative Action for Roma in High Schools, Vocational Schools and Universities*. Bucharest: Roma Education Fund, Gallup Romania

TFA (2012). *Research*, http://www.teachforamerica.org/our-organization/research accesed ob Octomber 2013

Tufiș, P.A. (2008). „Predictors of School Success in Romania. Family Background, School Factors, Community Factors". Calitatea vieții, XIX, nr. 3–4, pp. 389–405

Ulrich, C. (2009). *Programele PHARE. Acces la educație pentru grupuri dezavantajate. Studiu de impact*. [PHARE Programs. Access to Education for Disadvantaged Groups. Impact Study]. Bucharest: Ministry of Education

UNDP (2002). *The Roma in Central and Eastern Europe. Avoiding the Dependency Trap*. Andrey Ivanov

(coord.). Bratislava: UNDP

UNDP (2012). *Roma Education in Comparative Perspective. Findings from the UNDP/World Bank/EC Regional Roma Survey*, http://issuu.com/undp_in_europe_cis/docs/education_web, accesed on October 2013

UNESCO (2003). *Gender and Education for All. The Leap to Equality. Global Monitoring Report 2003-2004*. Paris: UNESCO

UNESCO (2005). *Education for All. The Quality Imperative. Global Monitoring Report 2005*. Paris: UNESCO

Urban Institute http://www.urban.org/education/evaluations.cfm?page=2, accesed on 2013

Voicu, M., Popescu, R. (2006). Viața de familie și poziția femeii în comunitățile de romi [Family Life and the Position of the Woman in Roma Communities] in *Femeile roma. Ce știm și ce nu știm despre ele*. [Roma Women: What Do We Know and Not Know About Them]. OSF

Vrasmaș, E., T, Vrasmas (2012), *Educația incluzivă în grădiniță: dimensiuni, provocări și soluții*. UNICEF Romania

Walker, A. (2010). „Inclusive Education in Romania: Policies and Practices in Post-Communist Romania." International Journal of Intercultural Education14 (2): 165–181

World Bank (2011). *World Development Report 2012. Gender Equality and Development*. Washington: The World Bank

Children's Rights References in the Universal Periodic Review (Second Cycle), 2012, Child Rights International Network

ANNEX 1

OVERVIEW OF MAIN ROMA EDUCATION PROGRAMS AND PROJECTS IMPLEMENTED IN ROMANIA

In the last decade, Romania implemented a significant number of national, regional and local programs and project supported by the EU and other international organizations. The first large scale projects were implemented by the Ministry of Education under EU pre-accession PHARE RO program between 2002 and 2006. The PHARE Multiannual Project *"Access to education for disadvantaged groups"* is a starting point for building capacity at national and local level for inclusion of Roma in terms of education. The establishment of the school mediators' network and the implementation of the "Second chance" programs are major outcomes of the program.

The total number of students enrolled in primary and secondary "second chance" programs has risen from 3361 students in 2007/2008 to 9108 in 2011/2012, with more students enrolled in the secondary than in the primary second chance programs. The "Second Chance" program began in school year 1999-2000 and was expanded at national level through European Structural Funds projects. Originally the program covered only lower secondary education, but it was subsequently enlarged to include primary education as well. Specific elements of the program include (i) the implementation of a modular curriculum, (ii) assessment and recognition of prior learning (formal, non-formal and informal) in compliance with the curricular standards for basic and vocational education standards, and (iii) providing customized training programs. School inspectorates and schools have benefited from support provided by the Ministry of Education through periodic review of the methodology for implementation of the program. Extensive training was provided to inspectors, county coordinators of the program, school directors and teachers. A number of evaluations of the program emphasized the need for a more flexible learning approach, better adaptation of the program to the learners' needs, continuous methodological support for teachers involved in this program and removal of the constraint that beneficiaries must have been out of school for 4 years.

The **Ministry of Education** coordinated the implementation of significant number of ESF funded projects addressing quality of education, teacher training, school participation and equal chances in education over the period 2007-2013. One such project is "All in the kindergarten, all in first grade!" aimed at increasing the access to education and preventing early school leaving of children aged 5-8 years from disadvantaged communities. The project served 420 disadvantaged communities with high share of Roma population; 8,400 rural children at risk of early school leaving participated in summer kindergartens before entering the first grade in the formal education system and 6000 pupils participated in the " after school" program. An important component of the project was the involvement of over 10,000 parents, out of which 5,000 attended the program "School for parents".

The **Ministry of Education** has also advanced the inclusive early childhood education (ECE) agenda **with World Bank support through the Social Inclusion Project**. Key policy documents were developed including the development of the ECE Curriculum for children ages 3 to 6/7 and associated Good Practices Guide, the ECE Curriculum for children ages 0 to 3 and associated Methodological Guide, Quality standards for ECE programs, Quality standards for

Teaching and Learning Materials, as well as a Normative for Minimal Supplies in Kindergartens. About 2,200 teaching staff working in about 100 kindergartens (from 27 counties) benefited from training mainly focused on inclusive education. Training and counseling for parents was provided in resource centers set up, equipped and endowed in eight counties. Children and teachers in 100 kindergartens are benefiting from new teaching learning materials. At the same time, children in 27 localities with a majority Roma population have access to new or renovated pre-school facilities.

The project *Every child in a kindergarten,* jointly implemented by the **Ministry of Education and OvidiuRo** has piloted since 2010 the provision of preschool attendance conditional cash transfers, complemented by measures to inform, mediate and built partnerships between parents, teachers, local community and companies in Romania. The project has involved 2,100 children in 38 kindergartens in 12 counties and has led to significant growth of regular attendance to 83% – almost double the attendance rates before the program.

In the last three years the **National Agency for Roma** implemented six ESF funded projects at the national level, providing measures to link LLL to job search, preventing early school leaving and promoting social inclusion. The projects were implemented in 541 communities with a significant number of Roma populations, in partnership with 21 institutions and representative organizations, including 4 transnational partners from Italy, Spain and Hungary. The beneficiaries were over 37,000 people belonging to disadvantaged groups, out of which 70% was Roma. These projects provided 2,300 scholarships to students; over 1400 students benefitted from ”school after school” programs; 4,000 students attended "second chance" program; more than 6,000 beneficiaries received qualification and nearly one third of them secured a job; 400 teachers were trained in inclusive education and intercultural approaches.

In view of improving the quality of education in all schools, including those with high percentage of Roma, **National Agency for Quality Assurance in Pre-university Education** introduced recently new standards and criteria for school’s evaluation with specific indicators on inclusive education approaches, intercultural practices and respecting ethnic minorities’ rights to quality education.

In the last decade, **UNICEF Romania** implemented an impressive number of projects for disadvantaged groups, including Roma, promoting desegregation measures, increased participation in education, quality assurance in the education of disadvantaged groups, training for mediators, inclusive education and school management. In 2010 UNICEF Romania launched the *School Attendance Campaign* to assist national and local authorities to get the estimated 300,000-400,000 out of school children back in the classroom. UNICEF Romania contributed also to the evidence based policy formulation, constantly providing expertise and support in conducting relevant research papers, comprehensive studies and policy evaluation with regard to participation of all children to education. **The Institute of Education Sciences and UNICEF** jointly developed several action-research projects focused on children of primary and lower secondary age not attending school or at high risk of dropping out due to a socially and economically disadvantaged background, currently involving more than 240 schools located in disadvantaged areas of Romania and 50,000 students, including Roma.

Roma Education Fund Romania implemented ESF and community grants supported interventions (“after school” programs, scholarship grants, mentoring and tutoring activities,

counseling and guidance services) aimed at expanding the access and participation of Roma in all levels of education, the integration of Roma graduates on the labor market, and developing alternative educational services for Roma children.

A constant support for participation to education of all children was also provided by **Save the Children** organization in Romania, establishing a network of educational centers to prevent school dropout and support social and educational reintegration of children involved in child labor. Save the children developed "second chance" education programs, "school after school" programs and lobby activities promoting children rights, including the right to education for all children.

Another set of projects initiated by Roma civil society addressed the issues of cultural identity of Roma children and aimed to implement measures for increasing ethnical self-esteem of Roma children as a means for a better educational inclusion. **Roma Center "AMARE Romentza"** implemented projects focused on recovering and strengthening the linguistic and cultural identity of Roma and their transmission to the new Roma generations through provision of bilingual education and promotion of intercultural and cultural diversity in pre-schools education. The center evaluated the public education policies for Roma (2009), putting particular emphasis on valuing ethnic identity in formal and informal learning and proposing strategies and policies for Roma.

Civil society organizations (CSO) increasingly promote **non-formal and informal learning activities for children at risk of dropping out the school**. Alternative students clubs, informal remedial activities provided by volunteers, and innovative teaching practices and methodologies meant to support the learning motivation and personal development of students at risk of dropping out of school are just a few examples of interventions implemented by CSOs.

Gender-differentiated projects in the field of education are scarce but have been known to take place. An example is the project „Roma girls go to school too!" implemented by the CEDU association between 2005-2006.[54] The same association also implemented in 2004 the project „Let us build together the image of our daughters!" aiming at fostering school participation among Roma girls aged 12-18.

In the recent years, a great effort of both governmental and nongovernmental organization was put into developing bilingual or Romani language textbooks, didactical guides, video and different learning materials, addressing the issues of history, language and cultural of Roma minority. However, those learning materials are not present in every school and a great share of teachers is not trained to use these in the classroom.

There have been, in recent years, a large numbers of teacher trainings on preventing and tackling discrimination in school. Several large scale programs[55] included anti-discrimination trainings and many non-governmental organizations have also implemented projects in this respect. As a result, the teachers discourse has shown a tendency to shift towards political correctness, while discriminatory attitudes against the Roma persist (Ulrich 2009:38). Class practices reveal the re-enactment of the social distance between Roma and non-Roma, as well as

[54] http://www.cedu.ro/ro/program/20.html, accessed in August 2013.
[55] PHARE RO 01 04.02 „Access to education for disadvantaged groups".

between different social strata found in Romanian society at large (segregation within the class, positioning of children, preferential treatment manifested in subtle or blatant forms etc.).

Other activities implemented through projects addressing Roma were awareness campaigns on the role of education, adult education programs addressed to specific categories of population such as women, young unemployed, imprisoned youth and adults or specific training on intercultural approaches for teachers, public administration employees, medical students and staff.

ANNEX 2

DEVELOPMENT OF A SCHOOL DROP-OUTS EARLY WARNING SYSTEM

The main areas of intervention in building up an early warning system can be (Jigau and Fartusnic, 2012).

- **Clarifying the definition** of school dropout and drawing up guidelines for completing school participation in completing statistical questionnaires (SQs) administered by NIS.
- **Collecting and reporting drop-out data at the school and inspectorates level**. A better training of the school staff holding relevant responsibilities and more efficient monitoring and checking instruments should be in place both at the level of County School Inspectorates and of each school.
- **Developing a school cohort evolution tracking system for a deeper analysis of out-of-school children's characteristics** (for example, family's living conditions, engagement in circulatory or work migration, sibling influence, academic failure record, etc.), a long-term school cohort evolution tracking system needs to be developed and implemented. A national representative sample (of minimum 5,000 children) could be surveyed in various stages of the educational pathway, with research repeated every four school cohorts (Voicu, 2010). Alternatively, an electronic matriculation register could be created allowing for the real-time monitoring of each student's school pathway. In this case, for every child that a school identifies to be most at risk of dropping out basic information on risk factors must be collected.
- **Strict school monitoring of truancy, drop-out and children never attending school.** Public awareness campaigns on the importance of education must equally target parents, the public opinion and all school stakeholders: students, teachers, management, and support staff. Moreover, schools and local authorities also need to be made accountable while local cooperation organizations should be consolidated to also involve school and health mediators, informal community leaders, child protection structures, and representatives of NGO's that run relevant local projects (Sarău, 2011).
- **Monitor the situation of children caught in circulatory migration**. At national level, it is time to introduce a fly grade book/academic passport for those children who often accompany their parents to work in other European countries or in their home countries in order to recognize the grades attended/finished and some courses followed during the respective school year (even marks). With certificates issued to document the school record of the leaving/arriving/returning student, s/he can easily move from one education system to another (Sarău, 2011).

3 EMPLOYMENT

Employment is a crucial enabling component of Earning Opportunities for Families, the second 'dimension of exclusion' (after education) faced by Roma in Romania. This dimension is explored in a more concise form in a separate summary report. This chapter presents the diagnostic of employment opportunities among Roma in Romania, based on the 2011 UNDP/World Bank/EC Roma Regional Survey, the 2008-2012 Household Budget Survey (National Institute of Statistics)[56] and other available datasets, as well as results of a qualitative study carried out in October 2013. The findings confirm a significant labor gap between the Roma and non-Roma, and point to the need for employment policies to focus mainly on improving skills and employability, especially among disadvantaged youth. This includes labor training programs targeting disadvantaged Roma youth and Roma women, as well as training on effective job search. Improving job search incentives and linking them closely with job creation policies, while improving the overall efficiency of job search, is also important.

3.1 PARTICIPATION OF ROMA IN THE LABOR MARKET

Beyond the already low general employment rates in the country[57], Roma men and women are employed even far less often than men and women of other ethnic groups, reflecting a waste of valuable resources to the Romanian economy. As highlighted in the introductory chapter, higher employment rates among Roma would amount to a valuable increase in economic activity, government taxes, and inclusiveness in Romanian society.

Reflecting a combination of barriers, including discouragement regarding the potential to find work, labor force participation[58] of working-age Roma has consistently been lower than that of non-Roma. A large number of studies[59] demonstrate that, in Romania, Roma are most exposed to the risk of poverty and social exclusion, are discriminated against and have unequal access to education, the job market, decent housing, social services and health care. These forms of exclusion tend to reinforce one-another: for example, Roma with low levels of education face more obstacles when entering the labor market. Moreover, Roma may be discouraged from looking for jobs, as many of their peers who embark on this endeavor are unsuccessful. Indeed, for the entire 2008-2012 period, 58 out of every 100 Roma aged 15-64 years were economically active (Annex Table 3-1). By comparison, for every 100 non-Roma of working age, 65 were employed or unemployed.

[56] The HBS datasets for the 5-year period (2008-2012) were merged in a database including 236,441 persons aged 15-64 years, out of which 6,064 Roma and 230,377 non-Roma. In the HBS, ethnicity is self-identified.

[57] According to the Eurostat data for 2012, the employment rate of the working-age population (15-64) was only 59.5%, compared with the EU-27 average of 64.2%. and it is still far from the national target of 70% to be achieved by 2020, declared in the context of the Europe 2020 strategy.

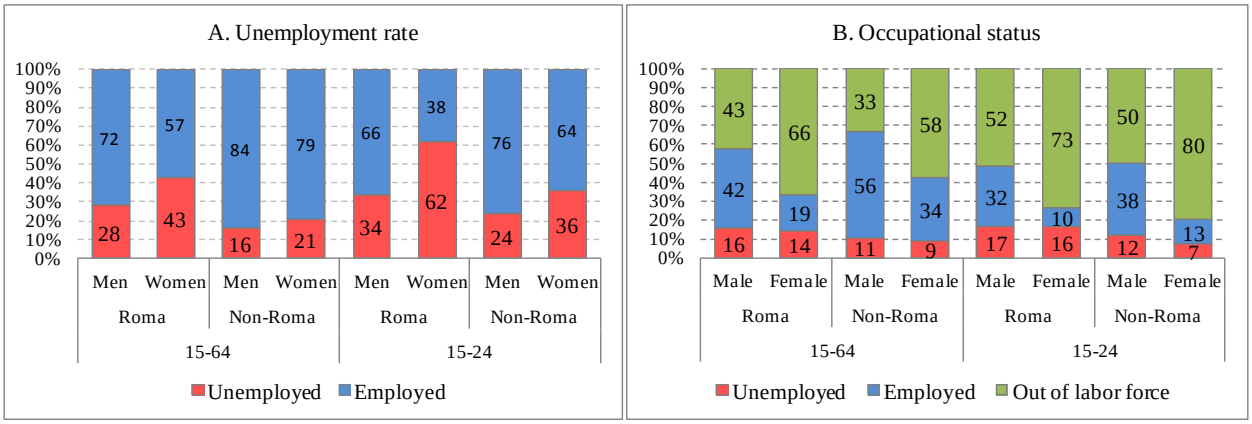
[58] The 'Participation Rate' among a certain population group is defined as: 'the share of the working age population that is either employed or looking for work'. The working age population includes all individuals aged 15-64. Those who are looking for work are also referred to as 'the unemployed'.

[59] E.g. Zamfir and Zamfir (coord.) (1993), Zamfir and Preda (coord.) (2002), Preda and Duminică (2003), Ionescu and Cace (coord.) (2006), Bădescu et al. (2007), ERRC (2007), Fleck and Rughiniş (ed.) (2008), Preoteasa, Cace and Duminică (coord.) (2009), Research Institute for Quality of Life (2010), Vincze (ed.) (2011), Giurcă (coord.) (2012), Soros Foundation (2012), Soros Foundation (2012), FRA, UNDP and EC (2012), World Bank and EC (2012), Duminică and Ivasiuc (coord.) (2013).

The gap in labor force participation between Roma and non-Roma is driven by lower participation rates among Roma who live in urban areas; in rural areas, participation among Roma is similar to that among non-Roma. Labor force participation among Roma is higher in rural areas than in urban environments (63% compared with 52% in urban areas), whereas among non-Roma, participation rates stand at about 65% in both urban and rural areas (HBS, 2008-2012). It is important to mention that in rural areas self-employment in agriculture predominates - 60% of the employed Roma are self-employed in agriculture (particularly working on their own account as daily workers), and only 16% are employees. As such, labor conditions are very poor among employed Roma in rural areas.

Although already high among Roma men, unemployment rates are particularly high among Roma women (Figure 3-1 A). Women in the age group 15-25 have an unemployment rate of 62%, twice as high as among men of the same age group. Overall, working age Roma women also have much higher unemployment rates than men: 43% vs. 28%. This is a strong indication that Roma active women have a particularly hard time finding work. However, it is also important to notice that the overall activity rate is much lower for women than for men both for Roma and Non-Roma[60] (Figure 3-1 B).

FIGURE 3-1: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATE, BY GENDER AND ETHNICITY (%)

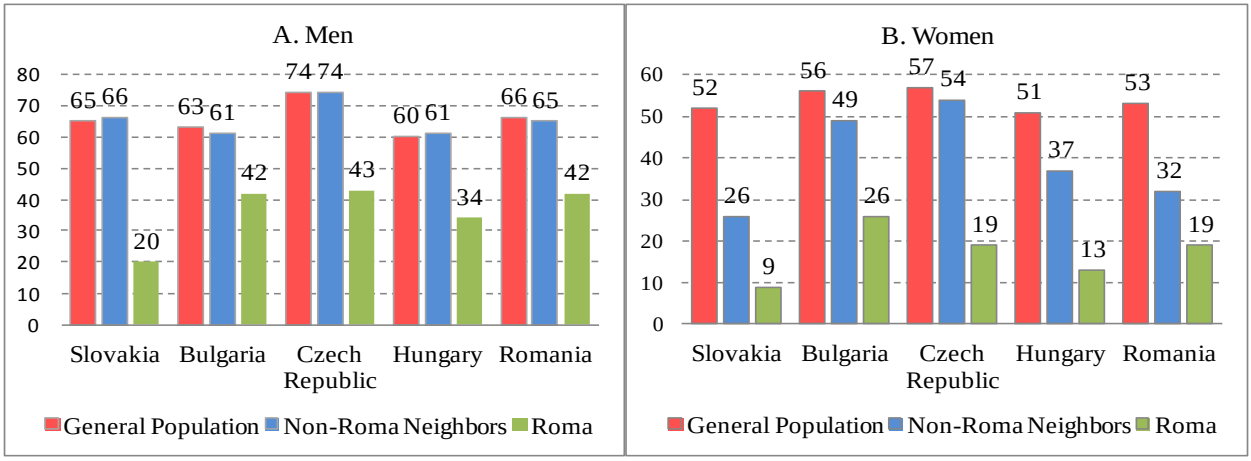


Source: World Bank/UNDP/EC (2011). *Notes*: Occupational status as declared by respondents. Unemployment rate determined by category as the proportion of unemployed of total active persons (employed or unemployed). Non-Roma are living in the same neighborhood with Roma. Activity rate is computed by adding the % of unemployed and of employed in the total population.

Employment rates among Roma are very low (Figure 3-2): 42% of working age Roma men are employed and as little as 19% of working age Roma women. A recent study representative of Roma aged 16 or over[61] confirms that, in 2011, the overall employment rate among Roma was only 36%, while other 36% were looking for a job, and 28% were inactive[62]. Furthermore, employment rates among Roma are especially low in the Western and Central regions, both relative to other regions and relative to non-Roma nearby - Annex Table 3-2.

[60] Still, the gap between the men's activity rate and women's one is much larger for Roma than it is for Non-Roma.
[61] Soros Foundation (2012).
[62] For comparison, at the national level, the employment rate was 58% and the unemployment rate was 7.7% (NIS data for 2011).

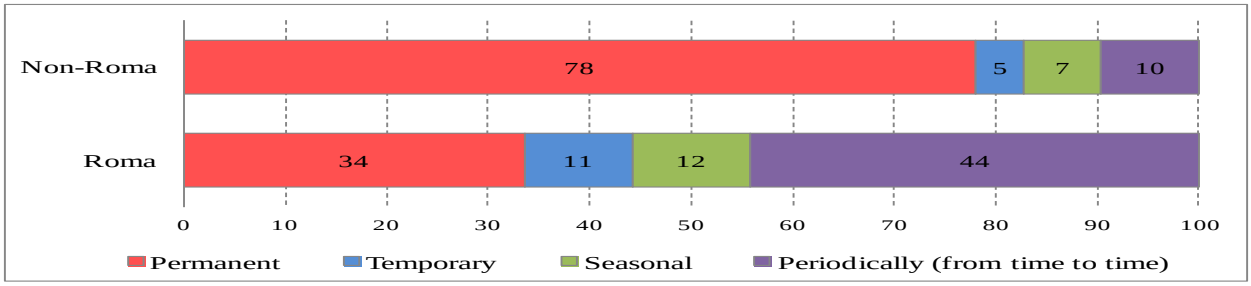
FIGURE 3-2: EMPLOYMENT RATES AMONG ROMA, NON-ROMA NEIGHBORS, AND THE GENERAL POPULATION



Source: General Population: Eurostat 2011 Q2; Non-Roma neighbors and Roma: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011). Individuals are considered employed regardless of the nature of employment; i.e. these figures include informal employment. Age group: 15-64.

Among the employed Roma, jobs are unstable and informality is abundant. Recent EC/UNDP/World Bank data (Regional Roma survey, 2011) show that only about 36% of Roma employment[63] is formal (based on a written contract or legal business documents) and covered by health and pension insurance. In addition, non-Roma who are employed[64] predominantly comprise employees (71%), while the Roma are mainly self-employed, mostly daily workers without a contract, social insurance or health insurance, and often with a very low standard of labor conditions. Overall, between 2008 and 2012, the employed Roma were mainly self-employed in agriculture (39%) and self-employed in non-agricultural activities (33%), while only 28% of them were employees. At the same time, only 34% of Roma employment is permanent, which means that 66% of employed Roma work only a few months during the year or sporadically.

FIGURE 3-3: CONTRACT DURATION AMONG EMPLOYED ROMA AND NON-ROMA NEIGHBORS

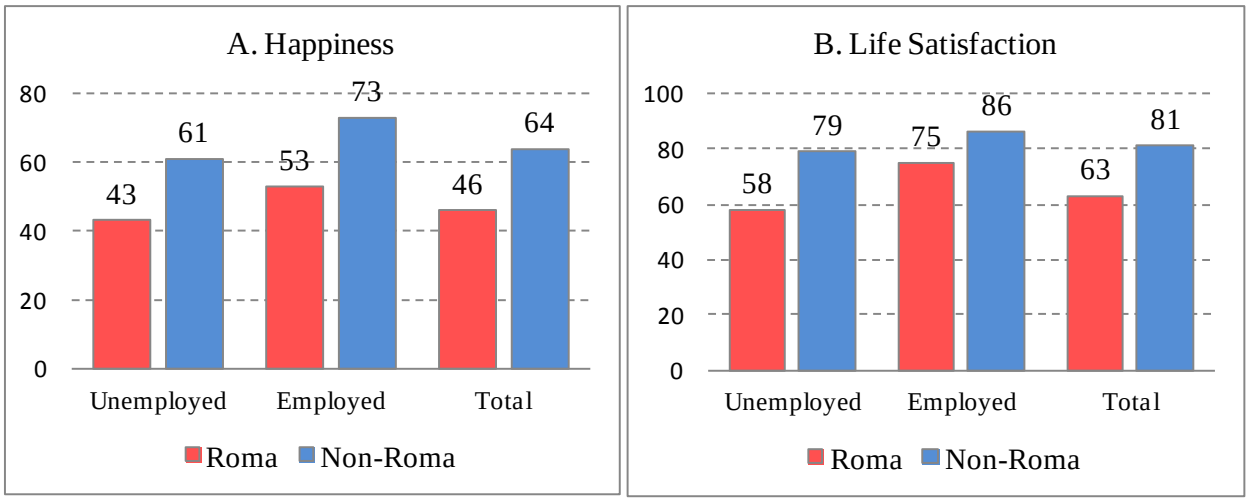


Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011). Sample restricted to employed subjects (age-group: 15-64).

[63] The employed are defined as those who declared that they have worked at least one hour last week (only 36% of the working age population).
[64] Employment includes employees and self-employed (in agriculture or non-agricultural activities).

The high rates of joblessness and unstable employment do not reflect preferences: the vast majority of Roma express a desire for stable jobs, similar to the responses by non-Roma neighbors. Consistent with the finding that Roma with jobs report greater levels of happiness and life satisfaction (Figure 3-4), 74% of Roma men and 76% of women report preferring "Secure employment but low paid" instead of "Having a higher income but insecure and irregular". These responses are similar to the responses by non-Roma neighbors. Comparable majorities of Roma and non-Roma neighbors similarly prefer "Having secure employment but having to be at work 8 hours a day, 5 days a week, and not having the freedom to manage your time" compared with "Having irregular employment but being free to manage your time"[65].

FIGURE 3-4: HAPPINESS AND LIFE SATISFACTION: EMPLOYED ROMA ARE HAPPIER THAN OTHERS OF WORKING AGE, (%)



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011). *Notes*: Figure A. represents: the proportion of working age Roma and non-Roma, respectively, who report that overall, they are 'Quite happy' or 'Very happy'. Percentages were calculated separately for those who work and those who do not work. Figure B. represents: the proportion of working age Roma and non-Roma, respectively, rating their overall life satisfaction as 5 or higher, on a scale from 1-10, with 1 being the lowest and 10 being the highest. Percentages were calculated separately for those who work and those who do not work. Sample restricted to one randomly selected adult (16+) individual per household.

Yet, these trends of low employment rates and unstable jobs among working Roma have existed since the early 1990's. A lack of qualifications, combined with discriminatory stereotyping, has caused a precarious employment situation for Roma since the first years of the '90s. Already in 1992, 47% of Roma over 16 years old were jobless, while only 3% were receiving unemployment benefits. Only 23% were employees (mainly unskilled workers), 1% were employers, 5% were pensioners, and 22% were self-employed[66]. In the following years, the share of employees among the Roma population over 16 years old diminished further to only 13% in 1998 and 15% in 2009[67].

[65] Data for the age-group 16-24 show a very similar pattern.
[66] Zamfir and Zamfir (coord.) (1993).
[67] Data for 1998 from Cace (2002) and for 2009 from Research Institute for Quality of Life (2010).

Low participation and restricted access to stable, gainful employment reinforce precarious incomes and a high risk of poverty and social exclusion among Romanian Roma. In 1992, 63% of the Roma families lived in absolute poverty. Another 18% had a total income bigger than the minimum subsistence, but not enough for a decent life[68] (Zamfir and Zamfir, coord., 1993). Since then, both the incidence and the depth of poverty have remained disproportionally high in the Roma population.[69] High rates of joblessness and job instability not only restrict income and perpetuate poverty among adults, but also take their toll on children (absenteeism and drop-out from school, malnutrition, chronic diseases, etc.), perpetuating the low levels of labor market opportunity that Roma currently face. Due to the low and irregular incomes earned from work, many Roma households end up relying on child allowances and on irregular and low-level informal income streams.

Moreover, working-age Roma tend to belong to households with many children and low-work intensity, and are hence subject to higher pressure to provide for their dependents. Irrespective of age, gender and residency, higher proportions of Roma than non-Roma individuals of working age belong to households with at least one child (0-14 years).Annex Figure 3-1 indicates the early age fertility pattern specific to Roma, but it also shows that considerably more Roma than non-Roma face a significant pressure to provide for children.

Given that Roma desire to work, why are there so many Roma without jobs? The answer to this question can be split up into two main components: First, there are the major gaps in skills, arising from the deficiencies in education analyzed in the Education Chapter. Second, there are structural issues in the Romanian labor market which disproportionally affect Roma as well as additional barriers related to discrimination and cultural norms. The following section treats these components in more detail.

3.2 BARRIERS TO ROMA EMPLOYMENT

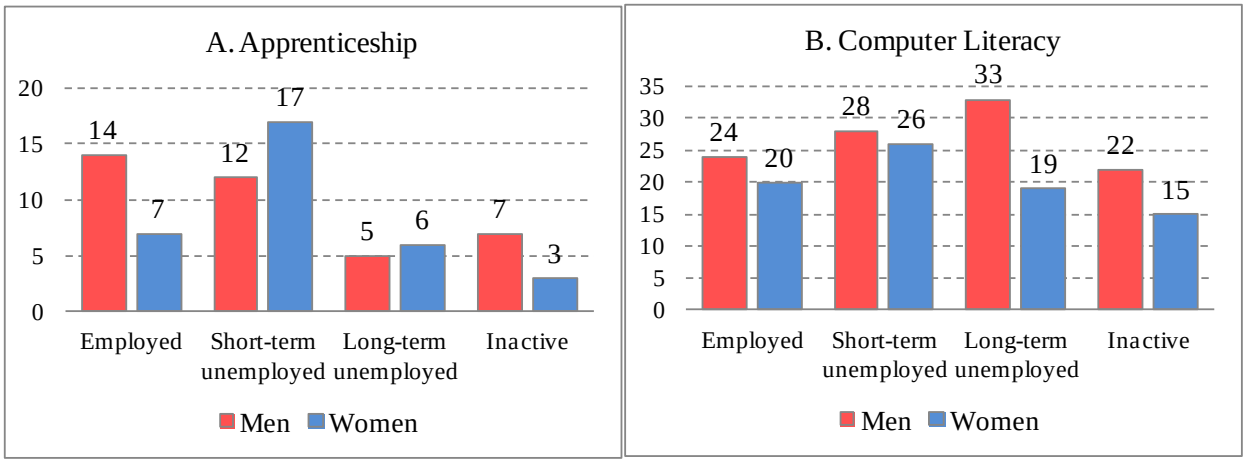
3.2.1 LARGE GAPS IN EDUCATION AND SKILLS

Among Roma, the level of illiteracy is extremely high: about 25% of Roma cannot read or write.[70] At the same time, only 5-10% of Roma adults have attended high school or higher education. As much as 81% of Roma (15-64 years) have little or no formal education[71], compared with only 20% of non-Roma. This proportion is even higher for Roma women (83% for Roma women versus 24% of non-Roma women) and for rural residents (86% among Roma versus 35% among non-Roma living in rural areas). Statistical models show that education is indeed a significant predictor of employment among both Roma and non Roma: individuals who did not complete secondary school are less likely to find employment than those who did, after

[68] The survey respondents mentioned that their incomes were enough only to cover their basic needs but not for living "a decent life".
[69] Their risk of absolute poverty is sevenfold higher, 31.1% of the Roma versus 4.4% nationwide (data from 2009, Ministry of Labor).
[70] Data for 1998 indicate that 18% of adult Roma men and 28% of adult women cannot read (Zamfir and Preda, 2002). A more recent survey shows that the situation has not changed much until 2010, when 25% of Roma could not read or write (Research Institute for Quality of Life, 2010). By comparison, the illiteracy rate of Bulgarian Roma is almost twofold smaller (12%), data for 2011 (Soros Foundation, 2012).
[71] Have no formal schooling or completed at most gymnasium (1-8 grades).

controlling for background characteristics (Annex Table 3-8). What is worrying is that the educational gap does not close for younger generations: only 23% of Roma aged 15-24 years are still in school, compared with 60% of non-Roma. Other indicators of professional qualifications point in the same direction: computer literacy and participation in vocational training are about twice as low as among non-Roma neighbors.[72]

FIGURE 3-5: ADULT LEARNING COURSE / PROFESSIONAL APPRENTICESHIP AND COMPUTER LITERACY AMONG ROMA



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011). *A. Apprenticeship*: "Has s/he ever received adult learning courses or professional apprenticeship (formal or informal of any kind?". *B. Computer Literacy*: "Is s/he able to use a computer word processing program?"

Moreover, the generally low levels of education among Roma disproportionately limit their opportunities to improve employability. Life-long learning is still rare in Romania, which is of particular concern, as current skills tend to become obsolete rapidly because of technological change. The participation of Roma in life-long learning is even smaller. Based on the current legislation (Law on National Education No 1/2011), almost half of the working-age Roma are not eligible for professional qualification courses that would equip them with an official certification, because they have not completed compulsory education. Chapter 2 of this study discusses education outcomes among the Roma in more detail.

3.2.2 STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ROMANIAN LABOR MARKET WITH A DISPROPORTIONATE EFFECT ON ROMA AND OTHER BARRIERS

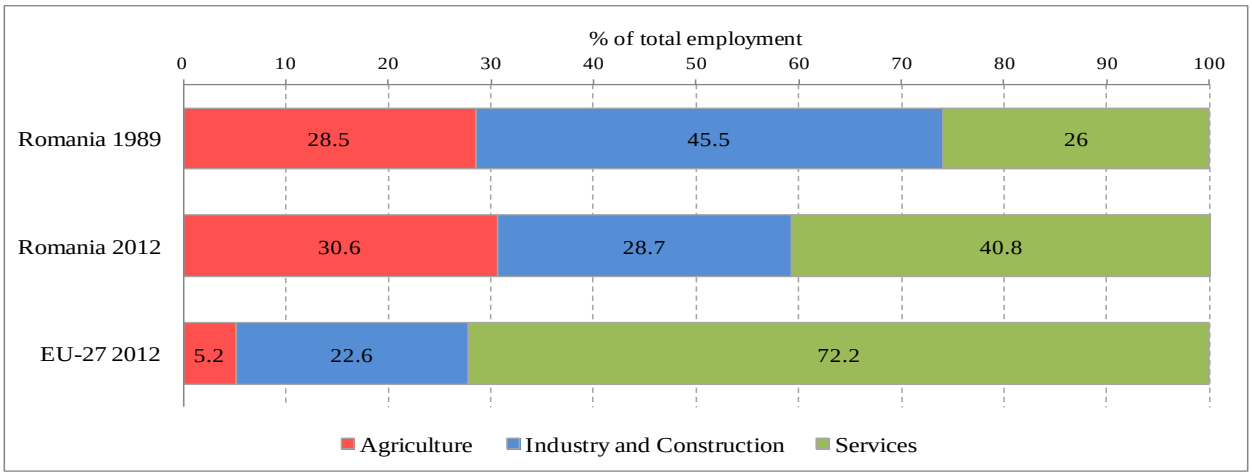
In Romania, labor force participation among youth is significantly lower than that of the other age groups, disproportionally affecting the Roma. As of 2012, the employment rate for youth (15-24 years) in Romania is only 24%, compared with an overall rate of 60%[73]. Even older workers (aged 55-64) are employed much more often than youth, although they, too, lag behind compared to the general percentage (41%). Furthermore, youth and older workers suffered the most significant drop in employment because of the 2008-2011 global crisis. Since Roma have a

[72] A more detailed assessment of the education gap between Roma and non-Roma can be found in the Education chapter of this report.
[73] The highest employment rate (of about 86%) has been constantly registered for men aged 35-44 years.

much younger demographic structure than the overall population in Romania (56% of working age Roma are 15-34 years compared with 42% of non-Roma[74]), low youth employment is likely to disproportionally affect the Roma.

Working-age Roma (15-64 years old) reside in rural areas to a larger extent than other ethnic groups, and are therefore more exposed to structural barriers related to the Romanian rural economy. 51% of working-age Roma live in rural areas, while among non-Roma aged 15-64 years, only 42% reside in rural communities[75]. The Romanian labor market has an oversized agricultural sector and an accentuated seasonal character, limiting the opportunities for Roma in rural areas. Although the share of agriculture in GDP has declined consistently during the last years, employment in agriculture still accounts for about 30.6% of total employment. Additionally, 14% of the employed are active in the sectors of construction, transportation and storage, and in the hospitality industry, all of which results in a pronounced seasonality of the economic activity[76]. Accordingly, overall employment rates are lower in the first and fourth quarters, and higher in the second and third ones. Seasonality and agriculture-related work are found mainly in rural areas. Hence, this structural pattern once again disproportionally affects Roma workers.

FIGURE 3-6: EMPLOYMENT 15 YEARS AND OVER BY SECTOR (% OF TOTAL EMPLOYMENT)



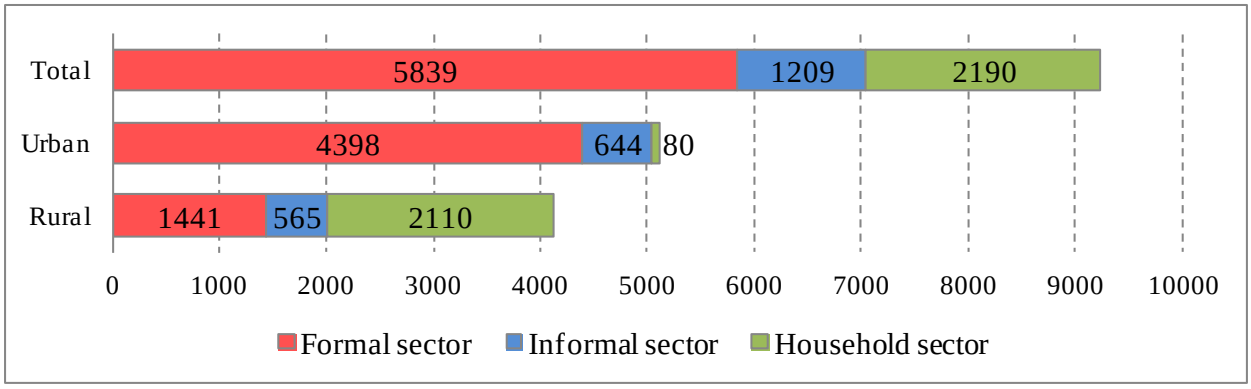
Data: NIS, Statistical Yearbook for 1989. Regarding 2012, Eurostat data downloaded on August 22, 2013; sectors according to the NACE rev 2 definition.

Informal employment is widespread, especially in rural areas and among those with low levels of education, two categories to which many Roma belong. A recent study[77] (Voinea and Albu, 2011) showed that in Romania in general, 63% of the employed work in the formal sector. The other 37% are active either in the household sector (most of them doing subsistence farming) or are working as employees and self-employed without a contract. In total, over 1.2 million people work as employees under a verbal agreement or are engaged in unregistered

[74] Source: Roma: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey, 2011; Non-Roma: HBS, 2011.
[75] Source: Roma: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey, 2011; Non-Roma: HBS, 2011.
[76] By comparison, at the level of EU-27, the employment in the four mentioned sectors with a pronounced seasonal character accounted for only 22% of total employment, in 2012.
[77] SOP HRD project implemented by Blocul Naţional Sindical in collaboration with NIS.

economic units. A substantial proportion of households combine subsistence farming with informal occasional work (mostly agricultural labor). As a consequence, a consistent proportion of the employed have insecure jobs, seasonal or casual, with low and irregular incomes (often in-kind instead of not cash), and are not covered by social- and health insurances or by unemployment benefits. This pattern is characterized by a substantial urban-rural gap: while in urban areas 91% of the employed are employees, in rural areas the percentage is only 38. By contrast, the self-employed account for 35% of total employment in rural areas compared with only 6% in urban areas. At the same time, family workers represent 26% of total employment in rural areas, but only 1% in urban areas. Hence, since the informal- and household sectors are disproportionally large in rural settings, Roma are more likely to have only very limited access to formal and stable employment. In addition, the majority of Roma employees do not have any formal qualifications and work in unskilled jobs such as cleaning personnel, dustmen or green-space workers. As a whole, 38% of Roma workers aged 15 or over work as unskilled workers, 32% have skilled jobs (workers, salespersons, and traders), 9% are farm workers, and 13% have traditional Roma occupations[78].

FIGURE 3-7: DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL EMPLOYMENT BY SECTORS (FORMAL, INFORMAL AND HOUSEHOLDS SECTOR) AND AREAS OF RESIDENCE (THOUSAND PERSONS)



Source: Voinea and Albu (2011), p. 8.

3.2.3 FURTHER BARRIERS TO ROMA EMPLOYMENT: DISCRIMINATION AND CULTURAL BARRIERS

Discrimination is likely to affect many job-seeking Roma: the most recent *Social Inclusion Barometer* (2010)[79] suggests that Roma are ten times more likely to be laid off than the overall population and indicates that 41% of the Roma in search of a job mentioned that they were not hired because of their ethnicity. 72% of the Roma looking for a job indicate that they are prepared to work under harsh working conditions and regardless of contract availability, meaning that they will most likely not contribute to a pension fund and will miss out on benefits from social security in the future. Indeed, many Roma report labor market discrimination, both when they look for work and in the workplace: according to the Roma regional survey, among

[78] Research Institute for Quality of Life (2010). Research conducted in July 2010 on a sample representative for the Roma population of 15 years or over.

[79] Social Observatory, University of Bucharest (2010). Nationally representative survey on employers and employees in Romania.

Roma who looked for work somewhere in the past 5 years, 30% report that they have experienced discrimination because of their ethnicity, while only 11% of non-Roma report the same. Among those who already had a job in the past 5 years, the corresponding figures are 11% and 2% for Roma and non-Roma, respectively[80].

BOX 3-1: QUALITATIVE EVIDENCE ON DISCRIMINATION AMONG ROMA ON THE LABOR MARKET

The qualitative research carried out for this study in October 2013 sheds light on the issue of discrimination from several angles: (1) discrimination on the side of employers and/or co-workers; (2) discrimination regarding the working conditions for Roma; (3) discrimination regarding the wages given to Roma comparing with non-Roma; (4) discrimination during firing procedures. The interviews and focus group discussions mainly reported cases of discrimination on the side of employers, against unemployed Roma who try to find a job. At the workplace, discrimination mainly establishes itself in the form of unpaid wages to Roma employees. Other types of discrimination seem to occur more rarely.

Discrimination against Roma is often not expressed bluntly by employers, but focus group participants and NGO representatives mention that Roma are often rejected by employers based on an alleged 'lack of required skills' or because the position 'has already been filled'. "There is discrimination because you are Roma. It is!" *Have you heard of such cases?* "Yes, yes. If you are Roma you are cannot find work anywhere. [...] It happens. They do not employ you if you are Roma. [...] He [the employer] says he does not need you (the position was occupied). Or he says: we'll call you. And they don't call." (Focus group participants)**.** *Have you encountered difficulties regarding discrimination?* "Specifically, not, because every employer knows the laws and knows that under Article 5 of the Labor Code discrimination it is prohibited based on religion, ethnicity and so on, but to be fully honest, there is a reluctance comparing to other countries as I have seen elsewhere... the employers are reluctant and tell them, when you send them and you know that there is a vacancy, when Roma people get there, they are told that the position was occupied or that they do not meet the professional requirements." (NGO representative)

NGOs do come across cases of discrimination against Roma by employers especially in sectors like food industry and apparel, but remark that it is often hard to find evidence for discriminatory hiring procedures. *When you tried to mediate a meeting between a Roma, who wanted to get a job and the employer, have you encountered discriminatory attitudes?* "Yes, we have met. In one of our centers... a bakery was open in the area and we had qualified persons in the field and my colleagues recommended them and unofficially have been told: yes, but you know, they are Gypsies and people do not buy bread made by Gypsies. It is very difficult to prove a case of discrimination, but people have employment barriers, even if not openly. It's hidden and it's hard to say, yes, there is, because it's hard to find evidence. Everything happens behind closed doors." (NGO representative)**Discrimination in the form of both hiring procedures and unpaid wages have been observed by NGOs.** "An apparel firm from Alba (…) wanted to hire women and we had a group qualified in the field... and my colleagues went there, so the company was opened by an Italian in a commune nearby... so, they go and said: we have 26 women qualified for the job that you need. And he said he does not employ Gypsy. It did not matter that they had qualification for the job and that he actually would have employed them as unqualified... (…) We [also] had 4 florists hired to some greenhouses and they have not been paid, they kept them there and did not pay them. Yes, there is discrimination, especially for women." (NGO

[80] Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011). Sample restricted to one randomly selected adult (16+) individual per household. The share of Roma individuals who have looked for work in the past 5 years is 52%; for non-Roma neighbors, this is 24%. The share of Roma individuals who have had a job in the past 5 years is 25%; for non-Roma neighbors, this is 37%.

representative)

Discrimination does not seem to be decreasing especially for Roma women.. *Is there a change for the better?* "The people I talked with said that it is a change and now the employers are more pragmatic... if someone does his job well it does not matter... When referring to men and to construction sector, yes! When referring to the women and, for example, if it is a woman qualified as cook and wants to get a job, no!" *Yes, we were told at a bakery, as they were trained and were refused...* "They said they do not want to eat bread made by Roma and... or at dairies... we had an accredited course for meat processing... no woman wanted to qualify for this job because they said that, although there are factories in the area, they do not think they can be employed there." (NGO representative)

Roma people have fewer assets for developing an agricultural livelihood. Most Roma own plots of arable land smaller than half a hectare, and in addition, claim that due to the discriminatory restitution procedure, they received land located in unfavorable locations and of lower quality (hence, worthless for cultivation). In turn, according to the local authorities, some Roma people, particularly the poor, sold part of their land and most of them were reluctant to cultivate it (Sandu and Stănculescu, 1999). As a result, most of them face precarious (under)employment either as unpaid family workers or as casual day workers.

Cultural gender norms in many communities where Roma live make Roma women a particularly vulnerable group. In 2012, Romania's female employment rate was 52.6%, compared to 66.5% for men[81]. Moreover, women represent almost three quarters of all unpaid family workers and are significantly underrepresented among employers, and certain categories of self-employed and employees (legislators, senior government officials and corporate managers). Most employed women are concentrated in the public sector and in low-paid economic activities: health and social assistance, education, accommodation and the food industry, trade and other services. In Roma communities, women often marry young, and are at times expected to stay at home and take care of the children: Roma typically have many children and a large dependency rate. Thus, Roma households have an average number of household members approximately twice as high as the total population[82]. At very young ages, most Roma women already have many children they need to take care of. Approximately 10% of Roma girls have their first child when they are 12-15 years old, and 48% at the age of 16-18 years[83]. Moreover, the predominant attitudes related to marriage, early fertility, and gender norms regarding household and childcare responsibilities add additional obstacles to Roma women's participation on labor market. The general gender-discrepancies found in labor market opportunities in Romania add to these cultural norms, and make seeking work more difficult for Roma women in particular.

[81] At the EU-27 level, in 2012, the employment rate for women was 58.6% compared with 69.8% for men.
[82] The average number of persons per household was 6.7 persons at the 1992 Census, 5.6 persons in 1998 (Berevoescu, 2002), and 4.97 in 2012 (Duminică and Ivasiuc, coord., 2013).
[83] Ibidem.

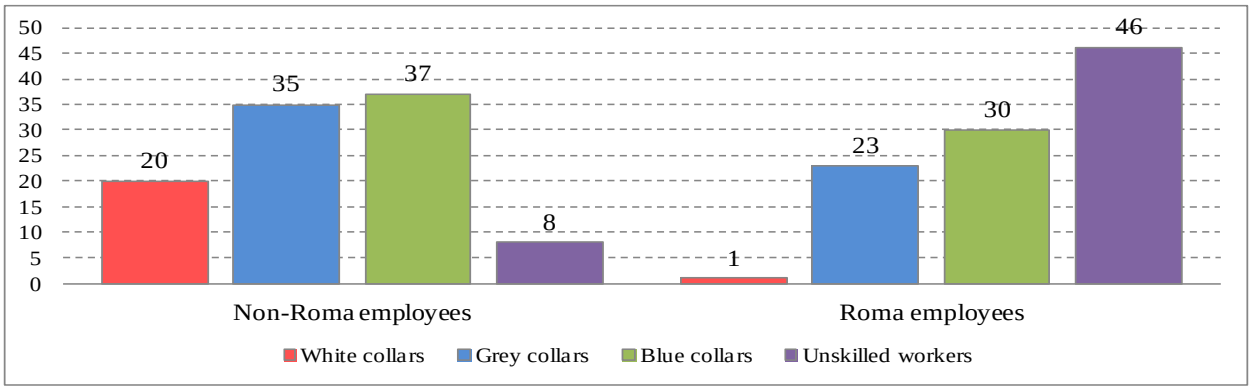
3.3 WORKING ROMA: TYPES OF JOBS AND WAGES

3.3.1 TYPES OF WORK ENGAGED IN BY ROMA EMPLOYEES

During the 2008-2012 period, employees represented only 13% of the total working-age Roma population, while the percentage was 42 among non-Roma[84]. Men, urban residents, and people aged 25-44 have considerably higher probability of being *an employee*, both for Roma and non-Roma[85].

Roma employees tend to be concentrated in manual low skilled or unskilled jobs. Figure 3-8 illustrates the substantial gap between Roma and non-Roma employees with respect to occupation in the main job - unskilled workers represent 46% of Roma employees, compared to only 8% of non-Roma employees. Moreover, according to the HBS 2008-2012 data, skilled Roma employees are primarily divided between three occupational groups: service and sales workers (18%), craft and related trades workers (17%), and plant and machine operators and assemblers (13%)[86].

FIGURE 3-8: OCCUPATION IN THE MAIN JOB, FOR ROMA AND NON-ROMA EMPLOYEES AGED 15-64 YEARS (% OF NON-ROMA OR ROMA)



Data: NIS, HBS 2008-2012. *Notes*: 'White collars' include managers, legislators and professionals. 'Grey collars' refer to non-manual occupations, technicians and associate professionals, clerical support workers, service and sales workers. 'Blue collars' contain skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers, craft and related trades workers, plant and machine operators, and assemblers.

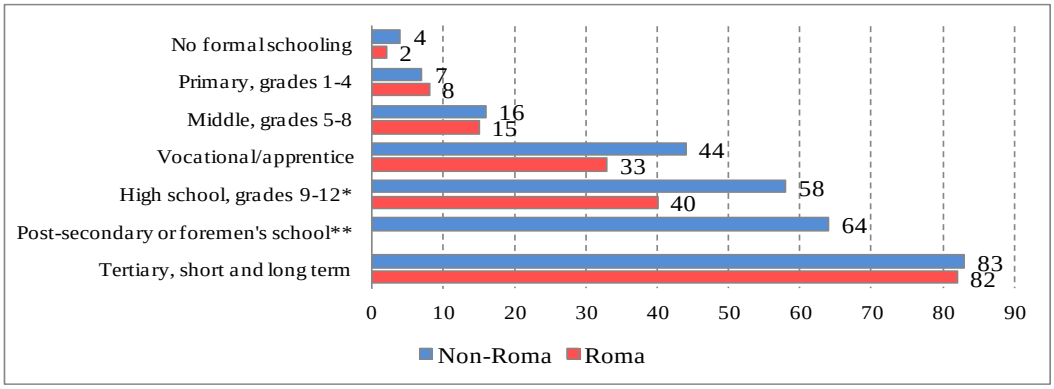
Among working Roma, the probability of being an employee increases significantly with level of education. For both Roma and non-Roma who are 15-64 years old and not in school, the proportion of employees increases steadily from 2-4% among persons with no formal schooling, to 82-83% among graduates having tertiary education. Graduation from primary education increases the probability of being an employee by four times for non-Roma and by almost eight

[85] Annex Table 3-7 presents the profile of employees for the period 2008-2012.

[86] Only 6% of Roma employees are employed in other skilled occupational groups. By comparison, the non-Roma employees distribute by ISCO groups as follows: 3% - managers and senior officials; 16% - professionals; 11% - technicians and associate professionals; 7% - clerical support workers; 17% - service and sales workers; 1% - skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers; 22% - craft and related trades workers; 15% - plant and machine operators, and assemblers; 8% - unskilled workers.

times for Roma. Vocational training increases the probability of being employee by 11 times for non-Roma and by more than 16 times for Roma. Also, Figure 3-9 shows that while Roma and non-Roma have comparable probabilities of being an employee at the low (gymnasium at most) and high (tertiary) levels of education, Roma have a considerably lower probability at the medium levels of education. This might indicate that fewer Roma are employees not only because of their lower levels of education, but also because difference in skills (resulting from varying quality of education experienced by Roma and non-Roma) or labor market discrimination.

FIGURE 3-9: PROPORTION OF EMPLOYEES BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION, FOR ROMA AND NON-ROMA AGED 15-64 YEARS, NOT IN SCHOOL (% OF NON-ROMA OR ROMA)



Data: NIS, HBS 2008-2012. *Notes*: * High school includes also lower high school, grades 9-10. ** Post-secondary or foremen's school not included for Roma due to the low number of cases.

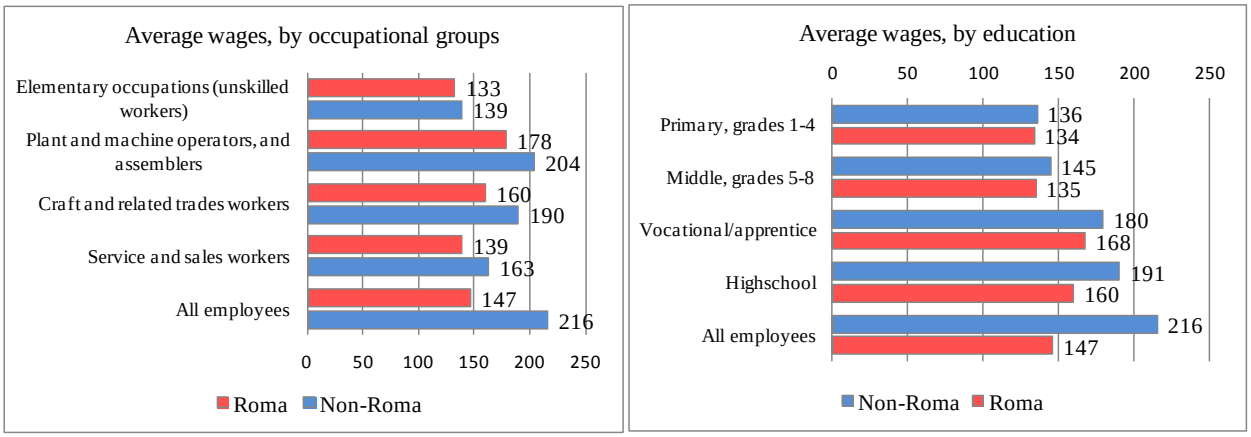
Being an employee or employer seems to be significantly influenced by education, age, residency, gender, ethnicity, and pressure to provide for children. In 2008-2012, the probability of being an employee or employer among working age individuals was 16% for Roma and 58% for non-Roma. A comprehensive statistical model (Annex Table 3-8) shows that all mentioned variables are significant predictors. All other things being equal, the odds of being employee or employer are 2.5 times higher for urban residents, 1.8 times higher for men as compared to women, and 1.7 times higher for non-Roma as compared to Roma. However, *ceteris paribus*, the most influential determinant is education. Thus, the odds of being an employee or employer (as opposed to self-employed or not employed) are 2.3 times higher for people who have completed gymnasium and more than 6 times higher for graduates of vocational training or high school, as compared with the odds of those with only primary education. In other words, the multivariate analysis indicates that investing in the vocational training of Roma may considerably increase their chances of gaining access to jobs with adequate labor conditions, for all age groups, both in rural and urban areas (see Annex Figure 3-2).

Enhancing the level of education significantly increases one's probability of being a skilled worker, both for Roma and non-Roma. For Roma employees, vocational training almost doubles the odds of being a blue collar worker, while the completion of high school increases the chances of being a skilled worker by more than threefold (holding constant all the other significant variables). (see Annex Table 3-9 and Annex Table 3-10).

Roma employees have significantly lower wages than non-Roma. HBS data indicate that average wages among Roma employees are lower than among non-Roma. This is likely to

happen because of a combination of background characteristics, and because Roma are disproportionally likely to end up in low-paying occupations. On average, Roma employees earn less than € 150 per month, with a range between €133 for unskilled workers and €178 for plant and machine operators, and assemblers[87]. The explanatory model presented in Annex Table 3-11 shows that employees' earnings are a combined effect of education, gender, age, residency and ethnicity. Employees with higher levels of education (compared with those having just primary school), men (as compared with women), older workers (thus, with greater work experience), urban residents (as compared with rural residents) and non-Roma (as compared with Roma) have significantly higher chances of earning higher wages. Again, the significant income gap between Roma and non-Roma might be due to various unobserved variables: such as differences in skills (cognitive, socio-emotional skills, or job-specific skills) or discriminatory processes (people with similar characteristics being paid differently because of ethnicity).

TABLE 3-1: AVERAGE WAGES (IN EURO) OF ROMA AND NON-ROMA EMPLOYEES, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS AND EDUCATION



Data: NIS, HBS 2008-2012. *Note*: The table includes only the occupational groups well represented among Roma.

The wages of Roma employees seem to be considerably increased not only by enhancing their level of education, but also by shifting towards occupations that demand higher technical skills. For Roma employees, the specific occupation engaged in at the main job has an additional impact on wages, on top of the effect of training and education. Being a skilled worker predicts a significantly higher wage compared to unskilled workers or service and sales workers (Annex Table 1-10). For example, for an 18-year-old Roma man with primary education working as an unskilled worker in a rural area, the predicted monthly income would be EUR 111. By completing vocational training, his predicted income may increase to EUR 128. His wage might reach EUR 143 if he found a job as a craft worker, or EUR 154 if he is hired as a plant or machine operator in a rural community. Furthermore, by moving to an urban enterprise in the same position of a plant or machine operator, he might achieve a monthly income of EUR 184. Annex Table 3-14 shows that the maximum wage increase could be of 173% from the

[87] National Romanian Bank exchange rate of € 1=lei 4.4287 as at December 2012, available at http://www.cursbnr.ro/arhiva-curs-bnr-2012-12-31

position of a unskilled worker with primary education in rural area to the position of a plant or machine operator with high school education in an urban area.

Roma women face a double disadvantage in the field of employment (O'Higgins 2012:28-30), with lower levels of employment, but also lower wages compared to Roma males and non-Roma females, even when controlling for other influencing factors such as education level. Thus, the median monthly wage for Roma women is 50% of that of non-Roma men, and 88% of that of non-Roma women (Box 2).

BOX 3-2: THE DISCOURAGING IMPACT OF LOW WAGES FOR ROMA

Low wages represent a disincentive for working in the formal sector, especially for women facing a long commute to the work place. "It's very difficult with jobs... I met two situations: people who want to work but cannot find any and people who find work but outside their community. Let me take an example, in Pușcași commune we found women seeking for work. The nearest jobs were available in a garment factory from Vaslui city and so they needed to commute. The money that they would get to that job was about 5 million, while the transportation related costs were almost 2 million, per month. With the remaining 3 million they would have covered the lunch for them and to provide for the family. And some have a small child at home who would have remained unsupervised. They have also a small plot... a household. So, it's a simple cost-benefit analysis to stay at home instead of commuting for a low paid job: better stay and take care of the baby than earning so little money with so much time and effort." (NGO representative, Qualitative study, October 2013)

3.3.2 SELF-EMPLOYED ROMA

During the 2008-2012 period, self-employed represented 35% of the total working-age Roma population, compared with 17% of non-Roma[88]. Roma self-employed are rather evenly distributed between agricultural and non-agricultural activities (19% and 16% of working-age Roma respectively). By contrast, non-Roma self-employed people are concentrated in agriculture (12% of non-Roma aged 15-64 years).

Men aged 25-44 have the highest probability of being non-agricultural self-employed[89]**, both for Roma and non-Roma**. **About 70% of non-agricultural self-employed Roma are unskilled workers with little or no formal education** (gymnasium at most). Out of all Roma men aged 15-64 years, 26% are self-employed in non-agricultural activities - the proportion is considerably lower among Roma women (only 6%)[90]. Non-agricultural self-employment is more widespread in urban areas for Roma, and in rural areas among non-Roma. Annex Table 3-15 presents the profile of non-agricultural self-employed for the period 2008-2012.

Improving levels of education significantly increases the probability of engaging in skilled activities as self-employed, both for Roma and non-Roma. Among non-agricultural self-

[89] Estimated from responses to the 2011Roma household survey, where the respondents self-identified as "self-employed, member of cooperative, family worker – non-agriculture" (not only urban but also rural) and reported to work without a written contract, and where the same group reported that neither them nor their employer were paying social contributions for the job.

[90] The corresponding proportions in the non-Roma population of working age are considerably lower both for men (8%) and for women (2%).

employed Roma, the proportion of unskilled workers declines from 81% (individuals with no formal education), to 41% (those with vocational training) when education levels increase. Correspondingly, the share of craft workers among Roma with no formal schooling is twice as small as the same share among Roma who graduated from vocational or professional education. The probability of performing other skilled services increases even more with education, as Annex Table 3-16 in Annex shows.

Less than one in every ten Roma self-employed in non-agricultural activities have legal business forms or pays social contributions, while the rest are active in the informal sector. According to the regional Roma survey (EC/UNDP/World Bank, 2011), about 90% of Roma in non-agricultural self-employment do not have a written contract and do not contribute to any pension and/or health insurance systems. In addition, only 9% perform their activity on a permanent basis.

The incomes reported from non-agricultural self-employment are also very low, most likely due to the specific occupations of business owners and the informal and periodical character of self-employment. Annex Table 3-17 shows that 42% of unskilled self-employed Roma do not have regular monthly incomes from this activity (the share for non-Roma is 53%). The skilled self-employed are in a better situation, with the proportion of those without a regular monthly income reducing to 8% for Roma and 34% for non-Roma. Accordingly, the average monthly income per non-agricultural self-employed is a mere €50 for unskilled workers, and €105-120, for craft workers[91] .

Rural residents have a considerably higher probability of being *self-employed in agriculture*, which applies to both Roma and non-Roma. **Less than five out of every 100 Roma who are self-employed in agriculture have legal business forms and pay social contributions, while the rest are unregistered.** The urban-rural gap is considerable: 33% of Roma aged 15-64 years from rural areas are self-employed in agriculture, compared with only 5% in urban areas (Annex Table 3-18). Among non-Roma, 27% of rural working-age residents are self-employed in agriculture, but only 1% of urban ones. Roma men are more prone to declare themselves self-employed in agriculture than Roma women. This gender disparity is not registered at for non-Roma. Self-employment in agriculture is associated with lower levels of education for both Roma and non-Roma (Annex Table 3-19). The regional Roma survey (EC/UNDP/World Bank, 2011) indicates that a mere 3-4% of Roma self-employed in agriculture have a written contract and contribute to pension and/or health insurance systems.

Agriculture provides a monthly cash income to only a small part of the self-employed, both because it is a seasonal activity and because most farmers only engage in subsistence agriculture and do not sell the surplus. According to the HBS data, the proportion of self-employed in agriculture without cash income in the previous month is 49% among Roma and 62% among non-Roma (Annex Table 1-18). Among those who do receive cash income, the average monthly amount is only about €40 per person. However, subsistence agriculture does

[91] National Romanian Bank exchange rate of €1=lei 4.4287 as on December 2012, available at http://www.cursbnr.ro/arhiva-curs-bnr-2012-12-31

also provide food essential for poor households' well-being[92]. The monetary estimates of the in-kind income from subsistence agriculture are presented in Annex Table 3-21.

3.3.3 ROMA WORKING ABROAD

Roma migration abroad is predominantly of economic nature, in search for work or income sources, as a study[93] carried out by Soros Foundation showed. The preferred destinations include five European countries: Spain, Italy, France, Germany and Hungary. The proportion of Roma who went abroad after 2007[94] at least one time is 15%, while three quarters never left the country. More than a half of those who have migration experience are young, aged between 18 and 39. The data also shows that Roma migration abroad follows a pattern of frequent departures and returns, rather than periods of long stays. Incomes earned abroad are not high; covering the household's needs for only a few months, but are still considerably higher than earnings that could be obtained in Romania, especially in rural areas. A quarter of Roma aged 16 and over report that they intend to go abroad. 13% are confident that the plan will be translated into action. Roma people who felt discriminated in their home country are almost two times as likely to declare an intention to go abroad compared to their non-discriminated peers.

While abroad, most Roma are unskilled workers in agriculture or construction. Almost one third of the Roma who ever worked abroad declared that they worked in agriculture,[95] while 17% worked in the construction sector. A large variety of other activities are also performed, such as home services, services, occasional work, begging, but by smaller proportions below 5%. The small proportion of Roma working in home services is explained by a lower migration frequency in the case of Roma women. The same study[96] shows that an important share of Roma who worked abroad (35%) did not give any information on the activity performed, which most probably relate to the dominant informal (and sometimes illegal) character of their work abroad.

3.4 DESIGNING TARGETED POLICY MEASURES FOR ROMA

3.4.1 EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS FOR GROUPS AT VARIOUS DISTANCES FROM THE LABOR MARKET

Most Roma without a job are either inactive or very long-term unemployed: precisely the groups that have the lowest chances of getting into employment. Among the entire working

[92] Thus, even the income of households without members who are self-employed in agriculture is enhanced by food received through a kinship network, with an estimated amount of € 30-35 per month, in urban areas, and €50-60 in rural areas.

[93] Study based on a representative survey of 1,109 self-declared Roma persons aged 16 years or over.

[94] The Roma migration increased after Romania became member of the European Union. In the 1990s and early 2000s the Roma migration was much reduced, while between 2002 and 2006 the proportion of those who migrated was 8%. (Soros Foundation, 2012)

[95] The high percentage of those employed in agriculture may be overestimated, as it is more likely that the people working in this sector return home more often (due to the seasonality of this type of work) and therefore had a higher probability to be interviewed.

[96] Research Institute for Quality of Life (2010) Study based on a representative survey of 1,537 self-declared Roma persons aged 15 years or over.

age Roma population, shares of "short-term" unemployment (defined here as <2.5 years[97]) are low: 6% of men and 4% of women. These proportions are similar for Roma and non-Roma neighbors. As many as 10% of all Roma men of working age and 10% of Roma women are very long-term unemployed (>2.5 years). Among non-Roma neighbors, the corresponding rates are 4% for men and 5% for women. In addition to (very) long-term unemployed, there is also a large group of working age Roma outside the labor force, i.e. inactive: 43% of Roma men and 66% of Roma women compared with 33% and 58% among non-Roma men and women. It is fair to say that while 'inactive' could be hard to serve (e.g. given up), they may also be 'closer' to employment than for example long-term unemployed given that the definition is broad.

TABLE 3-2: DISTANCE TO THE LABOR MARKET: ROMA AND NON-ROMA NEIGHBORS (% OF WORKING AGE POPULATION)

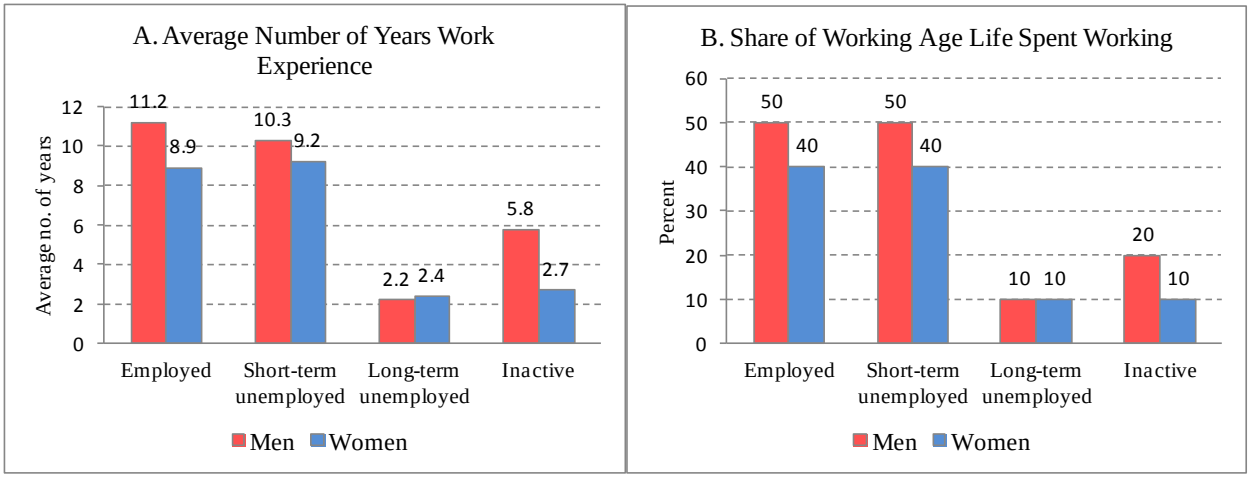
	Men		Women		Total	
	Roma	Non-Roma	Roma	Non-Roma	Roma	Non-Roma
Employed	42	56	19	34	30	44
Short-term Unemployed	6	7	4	4	5	5
Long-term Unemployed	10	4	10	5	10	4
Inactive	43	33	66	58	55	46
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1,032	297	1,042	332	2,074	629

Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011). *Notes*: 'Short-term unemployment' is defined as being unemployed for less than 2.5 years. Within the group of short-term unemployed Roma, the largest group (66%) has been unemployed for between 1.5 and 2.5 years, whereas a minority (9%) has been unemployed for less than 1.5 years.

Roma who are long-term unemployed or inactive have very little work experience. Among short-term unemployed Roma, the average duration of men and women's life-time work experience is approximately 10 and 9 years, respectively. For those who are long-term unemployed, this drops to 2.2 and 2.4 years. For the inactive, rates are at 6 years on average for men and approximately 3 years for women. As such, those who are at a greater distance from the labor market in terms of the duration of their unemployment and their activity status are also the ones with the least work experience, on average. Figure 3-10b corrects these figures for age, showing the proportion of one's working life during which the subject has been employed. This proportion is already low for the employed and short-term unemployed (45% on average), and drops to 10% among men and women among the long-term unemployed, and 20% among men and 10% among women among the inactive. In part this reflects that among these groups, approximately 79% never worked before, compared with 52% among non-Roma neighbors.

[97] The cutoff at 2.5 years rather than more standard cutoffs such as 1 or 2 years was chosen because data were only available on the *year in which a person last worked*, i.e. 2009 or 2010. Since the survey was conducted in May/June, the maximum time duration of unemployment for someone reporting 2009 as the year in which they last worked is 2.5 rather than 2 years. The cutoff was set at 2.5 years rather than 1.5 years because the group of 1.5-2.5 years unemployed was very small, as was the group of 0-1.5 years unemployed.

FIGURE 3-10: WORK EXPERIENCE: ROMA



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

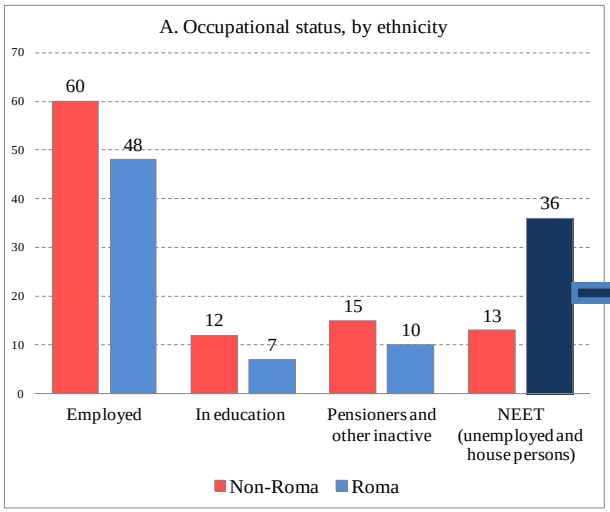
3.4.2 PROFILING OF ROMA NEET (NEITHER IN EMPLOYMENT NOR IN EDUCATION OR TRAINING)

The proportion of people neither in employment nor in education or training (NEET) among Roma aged 15-64 years has consistently been very high and increased during the economic crisis. During the 2008-2012 period, the share of NEETs in the total working-age population was as high as 36% for Roma (10% being unemployed and 26% house persons) and 13% for non-Roma (5% unemployed, and 8% house persons). Moreover, the Roma NEETs' number increased from 34% in 2008 to 39% in 2012 (a similar evolution was registered for non-Roma as well - from 11% in 2008 to 14% in 2012). The 2013 edition of Education at a Glance (OECD)[98] shows that the same increasing trend of NEETs was registered in many other countries around the world. Although the proportion of NEETs among the non-Roma youth (15-24 years old) has remained in line with the EU-27 average (12%), the value of 35% for Roma youth can be considered extremely high.

A statistical clustering method (latent class analysis)[99] indicates that Roma NEETs could be divided into seven separate groups, many of which require tailored policy responses (Annex Table 3-23).

[98] http://www.oecd.org/edu/European%20Union_EAG2013%20Country%20Note.pdf
[99] Latent class analysis is a statistical method that identifies unobservable groups within a population by maximizing the similar characteristics within each group and minimizing the dissimilar characteristics between groups.

FIGURE 3-11: POPULATION AGED 15-64 YEARS BY STATUS AND 7 CLUSTERS OF ROMA NEETS (%)



Clusters of Roma NEETs	%
Urban Roma with professional training, without children, able to start working	4
Young individuals, without children, able to start working	14
Uneducated older Roma, without children, not looking for a job	16
Women, under 45 years old, with children, looking for a job	7
Women only, under 45 years old, with children, not able to start working	39
Old individuals, without children, looking for a job	7
Men, aged 25-44, looking for a job	13

Data: NIS, HBS 2008-2012.

Note: In order to better distinguish the latent characteristics of the unemployed and house persons we did not include in the NEET group the pensioners and "the other inactive" (most of the last group are unable to work because of a disability).

The first two clusters comprise of Roma women, under 45 years, with children. Given the very low employment rate of Roma women in general, a relevant finding of this cluster analysis is that the largest group of Roma in NEET consists of *women only, under 45 years old with children (0-14 years),* who either self-report that they are unable to start working (39%) or report that they are looking for a job (7%).

There are no data on the reasons why many of these women report not to be able to start working: some may be discouraged, others may need child care support and services. However, interviews revealed that in many of these cases, cultural norms need to be considered. According to the representatives of the National Agency for Roma, many of these women belong to traditional Roma communities in which women are not allowed to attend school, participate in labor market and more generally in society, but only exclusively as mothers and wives.

The policy implications of these results are as follows: (a) almost a half of all Roma with labor market difficulties are women, aged 15-44 years, with children; (b) only a small proportion of them are looking for a job, while the majority are either unwilling or unable to enter the labor market; (c) as the clustering procedure classified these two groups of Roma women separately from men, they may require different types of employment and support than their male counterparts.

Older Roma people (mostly 45 years or over), without children, who are not looking for a job, form a third group constituting an estimated 16% of all Roma NEETs.[100] This group includes mostly women, poorly educated, and from urban areas. Given the dominant employment pattern of Roma women in Romania, most probably the majority of these women have never been employed. Their activation has a low chance of success, if any.

One in every five Roma NEETs is unemployed and actively seeking a job. Two groups are included here and they differ in terms of age and gender (and probably in other relevant respects, such as work experience), and hence, they may need different types of activation and employment-support measures. The first group represents 13% of all Roma NEETs and includes mostly men, aged 25-44 years, both from rural and urban areas. The second group accounts for 7% of all Roma NEETs, and comprises men (60%) and women (40%), mostly aged 45-64 years.

The last two clusters refer to individuals who could start work within 15 days but are not necessarily looking for a job. One group of 14% of Roma NEETs consists of youth, mainly aged 15-24 years (95%), who are mostly women without children (65%) from urban areas (60%). Finally, the last group comprises mostly individuals with professional education (70%) from urban areas (100%), both men and women of all ages. These two groups, although different in several characteristics, include individuals who could start working on short notice, but less than half of them are actively looking for a job (in Romania). They may have plans for marriage (in the case of young women) or for leaving for work abroad. For these groups, more data are needed for designing tailored activation measures.

Overall, an estimated 40-45% of all Roma NEETs (around 15% of all working age Roma) may represent the target groups of activation and employment-support measures: women under 45 with children who look for a job, the unemployed jobseekers, and young and skilled individuals ready for work but not necessarily looking for a job in Romania. However, more data are needed for developing effective measures for these groups.

3.5 EXISTING LABOR MARKET POLICIES

Most measures and programs aimed at facilitating labor market access in Romania are channeled through interventions of the public employment services and NGOs.

3.5.1 NATIONAL STRATEGIES FOR ROMA EMPLOYMENT

Actions for increasing Roma access to the formal labor market has been stipulated as a necessity since the first *National Roma Inclusion Strategy (NRIS)*, adopted in 2001. The current *NRIS 2012-2020*, adopted at the end of 2011, includes "*the stimulation of employment growth for persons belonging to Roma minority and increasing investments attractiveness"* as specific objective:. The desired outcome is an increase with 60,000 of the number of employed Roma, out of which 25,000 women. The strategy implementation for the employment sector includes 22 measures out of which two are prioritized: (1) adapting the training programs offered to Roma to the requirements of the labor market and (2) providing professional counseling services, identifying financing sources for initiating independent activities, offering assistance (in

[100] They represent about 6% of all Roma aged 15-64 years.

drafting a CV, in finding a job), facilitating access to social, public, private housing units. The action plan provides a large number of responsible institutions such as the National Agency for Roma (NAR), ministries (of Labor, Economy, Education and Agriculture), decentralized services of NAR and ministries, local public authorities, social partners, and mobile assistance units.

However, the strategy is currently under revision and, four major issues slow down the implementation of the strategy. According to the representatives of NAR these are: (i) the accountability of some involved ministries needs to be enhanced as it has consistently diminished in the last years; (ii) the NAR does not have any leverage to improve the ministries involvement, and the ministries have no leverage over the decentralized services or local authorities; (iii) the envisaged active measures for Roma employment are not budgeted; and (iv) there is no monitoring and evaluation system attached to the implementation of the strategy.

The *National Strategy for Equality of Opportunity between Men and Women 2010-2012*[101] had a very broad agenda in the field of employment, aiming at reducing the pay gap between men and women, as well as implementing measures of conciliation between family life and job. **The document did not make any mention of Roma women**, their issues remaining thus outside mainstream preoccupations on the advancement of women in the labor market.

The NRIS 2012-2020 mentions two measures related to the increase of employment among Roma women. The first measure refers to the „elaboration and implementation of an inclusive program focusing on employing Roma, in particular Roma women"[102]. The second measure aims at creating flexible jobs for Roma women, accompanied by child care facilities. However, in the opinion of NGO representatives, the strategy links Roma women employment more to the traditionally gendered roles, specifying the fields of education or health,[103] and thereby revealing a rather unchallenging and inambitious vision regarding the development of Roma women in the professional field.

3.5.2 PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT SERVICES

In Romania, the main governmental body responsible for activities related to the implementation of labor market policies is the National Agency for Employment (NAE). NAE is an autonomous public institution, which operates under the authority of the Ministry of Labor, Family, Social Protection and Elderly (MLFSPE) and it is managed by a tripartite Governing Body. The legal framework to regulate and coordinate the activities of NAE consists of two laws: i) Law No. 76/2002 on the unemployment insurance system and employment stimulation and ii) Law No. 202/2006 on the organization and functioning of the NAE.

The NAE implements the labor market policies through its network of county and local branches, based on a National Action Plan for Employment, which sets the annual strategic targets to be achieved in the employment area. NAE has a national network including 42 county-

[101] http://www.mmuncii.ro/pub/imagemanager/images/file/Domenii/Egalitate%20de%20sanse/PREZENTARE%20STRATEGIA%20NATIONALA%202010-2012.pdf, retrieved in August 2013.

[102] Among the responsible institutions for this measure, the National Agency for Equal Opportunities for Women and Men was also designated, but without a corresponding budget. Measure E 24 from the Strategy. Government Decision nr. 430/2001, retrieved at http://www.mmuncii.ro/pub/imagemanager/images/file/Legislatie/HOTARARI-DE-GUVERN/HG430-2001.pdf in August 2013.

[103] Fields which have already a strongly feminized workforce at the base of the pyramid, as well as low salaries.

level agencies and a separate agency for Bucharest, as well as eight Regional Adult Training Centers, which have their own budgets and are able to participate in public-private partnerships at the local level. In the latest years, the NAE's activity has become highly decentralized, so all proposals for future activities come from the local level. Thus, the National Action Plan for Employment is drafted based on proposals from the county agencies and submitted for the approval to the NAE's tripartite governing body. The MLFSPE adjusts the annual targets (based on the EU agreements and commitments) and concludes with NAE a contract-commitment based on performance indicators. The actual implementation of the National Action Plan for Employment takes place at the local level.

Following the adoption of the European recommendations[104] regarding social and economic inclusion, the labor market policies have been increasingly targeted at vulnerable groups. **However, during the global crisis, the targets related to Roma have become less and less ambitious.** Employers receive incentives if they hire people from special target groups, such as young graduates of educational institutions, disabled persons, single parents, unemployed aged over 45, and unemployed who have three years until retirement. Also, The National Agency for Employment sets targets for employing people from vulnerable groups (Roma people, disabled persons, young people who leave the child care system and released prisoners, foreign citizens, and refugees) and from vulnerable communities (rural areas, towns with high unemployment rates, and communities with a large number of Roma ethnics). However, Roma women are not considered a distinct group with clearly specified targets associated. What is extremely important is that while in 2008 (before the global crisis hit Romania) the target for Roma was more than 11 thousand, in 2012 it declined to less than five thousand[105].

TABLE 3-3: EMPLOYMENT TARGETS FOR VULNERABLE GROUPS: NUMBER OF EMPLOYED PERSONS THROUGH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NATIONAL ACTION PLAN FOR EMPLOYMENT

	2012		2013	
	Targets	Employed	Targets	Employed*
Roma	4,749	5,274	6,515	978
Disabled persons	592	612	430	147
Young persons who left the child care system	206	80	190	22
Persons released from prison	33	9	15	4
Foreign citizens	25	34	15	8

Source: NAE 2012 and 2013; MLFSPE 2012 and 2013. *Note*: * Employed persons in 2013 as at June 30th.

BOX 3-3: ROMA ACTIVATION TARGETS DISAPPEARED DURING THE CRISIS

During the global crisis, the targets related to Roma have become less relevant for the NAE staff from local branches. "We do not have target to employ Roma in 2013, there is no specific target." *Don't you have one?* "No. There have been in the previous years ... they used to set a national program,

[104] During the pre-accession period and especially after the EU accession in 2007.
[105] Source: Soros Foundation (2012).

divided by county and each county had to follow, to achieve those targets. And we had for Roma ... number of persons included in training, number of people employed... a certain number of those people to be Roma ... we had." *So, until this year (2013) you used to have targets for Roma ...* "No, it is not only this year, since the crisis has begun this matter disappeared, so, I think, 2011 it was the last year when we had these targets." (Representative of a NAE local branch)

The NAE registers the ethnicity[106] of job seekers, but the registration of Roma is limited by a number of factors: (i) the NAE representatives claim that only a small part of Roma self-declare their Roma ethnicity; (ii) the NGO representatives claim that the local and county offices of the NAE do not always collect data on ethnicity and that there are discrepancies between the information management systems the different territorial agencies use, as well as their responsiveness to inquiries on statistic data. Actually, the NAE database includes indicators that would allow a detailed analysis (including profiling for tailored measures) of the Roma unemployed (gender, age, residency, region, education, duration of unemployment, type of unemployment, services provided and outcome, etc.). Nevertheless, the ICT system of NAE includes among the pre-defined regular reports only few data on Roma, a more comprehensive analysis of the available database is not performed in a systematic manner but only on special request or occasions. Therefore, the NAE only partly fulfills its monitoring duties regarding the implementation of the employment measures directed at the Roma and the progress towards the assumed targets of the *NRIS 2012-2020*.

According to the available data, unemployment is much higher among Roma, hence Roma represent about 10% of all registered unemployed: 49,242 Roma of total 492,427 registered unemployed as at the end of March 2013[107]. Similar to the general population, Roma registered unemployed are mostly men, aged 30-49 years, with low levels of education: 32% have no formal schooling, 37% incomplete gymnasium, 22% completed 8 classes (5% did not offer information and only 4% have achieved more than gymnasium). About 58% of them come from three regions: Centre, North-West and South. The majority (88%) are 'unpaid' registered unemployed, ineligible for unemployment benefits, who register only to obtain the documents required for the minimum guaranteed income.

Staff reductions and wage cuts represent a big problem for the successful implementation of active labor market programs, especially those aimed at Roma. The staff caseload within the NEA is excessively high[108]: on average, 228 registered unemployed have access to one staff member, compared with the ILO recommendation of 1:100[109]. Actually the situation is even worse in relation to the active labor market programs, given that out of the 2,162 employees, about 35% provide support services and are not in contact with job seekers and employers. Furthermore, despite the extended training programs which were implemented for NAE staff, the professional level of staff at the local employment offices is not satisfactory. According to the

[106] Ethnicity is a distinct item of the registration form.
[107] Data regarding the end of March 2013, which were provided by NAE representatives.
[108] Data for 2013, provided by NAE representatives.
[109] ILO recommendation has to be used cautiously as the optimal staff/client ratio depends on the composition of the services provided by PES. For example, by including the payment of unemployment benefits, the number of clients increases considerably, which results in a much higher staff/client ratio.

NAE representatives who participated in the qualitative study conducted for this chapter, the local offices lack specialized staff for delivering counseling services, Roma mediators or other employees who know how to deal effectively with unemployed Roma.

3.5.3 LABOR MARKET PROGRAMS IMPLEMENTED IN ROMANIA

The National Agency for Employment (NAE) implements labor market policies including programs aimed at Roma but without a corresponding budget. NAE, through its network of local offices, implements labor market policies - employment services, activation measures and passive measures (Table 3-4), some of them targeted at groups with labor market difficulties. However, there are neither tailored nor affirmative measures for Roma. Thus, Roma unemployed benefit of the same labor market policies as any other group of population. Regarding the financing of labor market policies, "the National Agency for Employment does not have a separate budgetary allocation for programs aimed at Roma, but for all beneficiaries, thus ensuring the non-discriminatory access of all interested persons" (Document provided by NAE). While this non-discriminatory approach is based on the right principles, it results in a lack of budget and capacity at the local level to deal with issues that are specific to poor, unskilled job-seekers, including many Roma. Therefore, this chapter argues for complementing the current approach with an 'explicit but non-exclusive targeting' measure for Roma.

TABLE 3-4: LABOR MARKET POLICIES IMPLEMENTED IN ROMANIA

Labor market policy	Category
Employment services	Services offered to clients (information, counseling, mediation)
	Other services (administration of employment measures, administration of financial support for employment)
Activation measures	Training
	Incentives for employment stimulation
	Direct job creation*
	Start-up incentives*
Passive measures	Unemployment benefits
	Early retirement benefits

Source: NIS (2012). *Note*: * Measures no longer available in 2013.

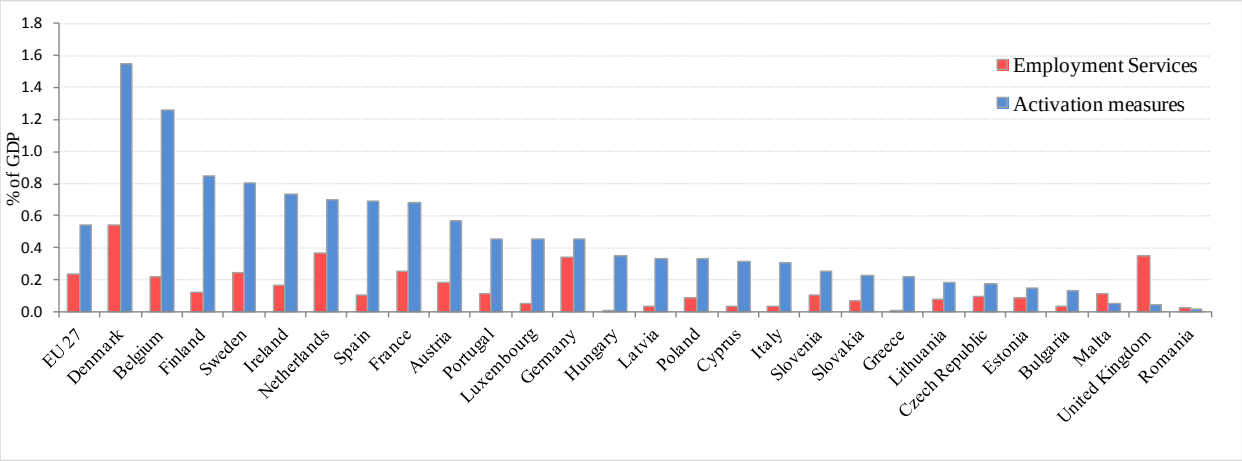
Non-active LMPs dominate the budget allocated to labor market policies; for example, in 2011 they represented 83.8% of the total budget, with the remainder (less than one fifth) being allocated to other types of measures, including activation policies (NIS, 2012). During the economic downturn, the total budget for labor market policies was increased, but only in favor of passive measures, and not for activation measures and services. Actually, a recent evaluation of employment policies during the economic crisis showed that in Romania the government responded with 'weak' policies, focusing on stabilization measures rather than on crisis exit strategies[110]. The report mentions Romania as one of the countries where labor market policies

[110] Metis GmbH & wiiw (2012).

played only a secondary role, as government priorities were centered on restoring economic and financial stability.

Romania has the smallest Active Labor Market Program (ALMP) expenditure in the European Union. The budgetary allocation for employment services and active measures in Romania are small not only by comparison with the expenditures for passive measures, but also when compared with the effort made by other EU members. Among those, Romania has the smallest shares of GDP allocated to expenditure on both employment services and on active measures. In 2011, the expenditure for these two categories of labor market policies were 77 times smaller in Romania than in Denmark (as a percentage of GDP). Also, budgetary expenditure on active labor market policies is especially low when comparing expenditure per registered unemployed person. Thus, in 2011, the ALMP expenditure in Romania was only about US$76 per registered unemployed[111].

FIGURE 3-12: PUBLIC EXPENDITURE IN EU COUNTRIES ON EMPLOYMENT SERVICES AND ACTIVATION MEASURES AS % OF GDP (2011)



Source: Eurostat. *Note*: Data for EU27 and United Kingdom is for 2009; data for Belgium, Greece and Ireland is for 2010.

Employment services receive 9% of the total LMP budget, but only 1.6% (in 2011) of this budget finances the services delivered to clients, namely information, counseling and mediation; the difference covers the administrative services. The service with the largest number of beneficiaries is mediation - for example, in 2011, 908,000 beneficiaries of this service were registered (NIS, 2012). In fact, all jobseekers registered at the employment offices are counted as beneficiaries of the mediation service; this is because, according to law, any person once registered should have an individual mediation plan based on which he/she is to be included in one or more employment measures (active or passive).

The LMP budget allocates only a very small share to ALMPs (7%, in 2011), but there are some indicators of the success of ALMP measures. The structure of the budgetary allocation

[111] For comparison, in 2006, the expenditures with active labor market policies per one registered unemployed were US$ 13 in Serbia, US$ 37 in Macedonia, US$ 93 in Croatia, US$ 1,029 in Czech Republic, US$ 712 in Hungary and over US$ 15,000 in Sweden (Kudo, 2009: 35).

for active labor market policies[112] in 2011 was 56.1% for incentives for employment stimulation, 22% for training, 21.8% for direct job creation, and 0.1% for start-up incentives.[113] In 2011, incentives for employment stimulation had a monthly average of about 24 thousand beneficiaries, and an estimated 48% of those who exited the program became employed. The second ALMP according to the budget allocation, namely (re)qualification training, had a monthly average of more than 15 thousand beneficiaries. The participation in professional training among unemployed increased from 8% (in 2011) to over 10% (in 2012). However, only one in every three beneficiaries of training succeeded in finding employment. No outcome data are available regarding other ALMP measures.

The number of Roma who benefited of ALMPs increased from almost 33 thousand in 2011 to more than 48 thousand in 2012[114]. Out of them 11% were placed in jobs (in 2012). Employment services, especially mediation, had the highest contribution to this positive labor market outcome. The participation of Roma in professional training has been low compared with that of non-Roma, about 3% of registered unemployed. In addition, only 5 in every 100 trained Roma succeeded in finding employment (compared with one in every three non-Roma). Two qualitative studies[115] suggest that the main causes for the low participation of Roma in professional training are: (i) Roma have difficulties in enrolling in training programs, as in most cases the prerequisite is to have graduated 8 classes or more; (ii) The lack of financial compensations for course attendance reduces their interest, as many potential trainees have to financially support their families during the training period; (iii) The qualifications provided by the courses are not correlated with jobs available for Roma; (iv) Many Roma cannot afford the costs related to transportation for obtaining the documents required for enrolment; (v) The intended participants are neither aware nor properly informed about the potential benefits of the qualifications.

BOX 4: ACTIVE MEASURES IN THE VIEW OF ROMA BENEFICIARIES

”They gave us a table [which showed that] (…) there were more jobs for us to choose, as you need a qualification ... And each of us chose what he thought was best for him. For example, we chose in the constructions.’’ (Participant at a focus group with 8 men, ALMP beneficiaries, Oltenita, Calarasi, October 2013)

Have you benefited from any services at the employment agency, counseling, mediation, or other services? “It happened only when they had some training courses, then they came up with offers, courses for waiter, butcher... Yes, yes, they were. And they proposed... and who could do the course, did it, and who could not... because there are among us who receive the Guaranteed Minimum Income and have no education and they were not eligible for courses.’’ (Participants at a focus group with 8 men, ALMP beneficiaries, Oltenita, Calarasi, October 2013)

”When I went to get my paper [for the Guaranteed Minimum Income] they asked me, one morning, (…): do you want to do other course, training course? Well, yes! Look, a gentleman [a representative of the NAE local office] came to us and he needs 7-8 guys... he didn’t need too many, so not many people were announced. Those who were there in that morning were selected. I said that I have friends at

[112] Direct job creation and start-up incentives are no longer available in 2013.
[113] NIS (2012).
[114] Source: NAE (2013) *Annual Activity Report for 2012*.
[115] Mihalache, Preotesei and Doboş (2009); Research Institute for Quality of Life (2010).

home, some cousins... They said: yeah, but the gentleman does not need too many and we cannot do anything else.'' (Participant at a focus group with 8 women and men, ALMP beneficiaries, Oltenita, Calarasi, October 2013).

3.5.4 SPECIAL PROGRAMS AIMED AT ROMA: GAPS, BARRIERS AND EFFICIENCY

The National Agency for Employment has developed few special programs for Roma, including Open Day[116], Job Fairs[117], Employment Caravan, and Program 140. As these programs are not budgeted, they are unevenly implemented at the local level. Each county office may decide to implement one or more of these programs or not, depending on the local conditions and needs. Thus, in some counties some of these programs are available, while they are poorly represented in others. In partnership with civil society organizations, county level agencies have additionally implemented actions directed at Roma women[118].

To the extent that data are available, they suggest that the special programs for Roma have a poor impact on labor market outcomes. Two qualitative studies[119] provide evidence in this sense. At the general level, this poor impact is caused by: (a) a lack of coherence and continuity in implementing employment policies for the Roma by the public services; (b) the insufficient human resources in the local employment services; (c) the lack of monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. The evaluation of Roma labor market integration measures from the perspective of county institutional representatives[120] concludes that: (a) the county employment agency is an institution with reduced awareness and accessibility for potential Roma beneficiaries; (b) the trust in the actual opportunities provided by PES is low (the skills acquired during courses are considered insufficient[121]; the chance of getting one of the jobs advertised by the employment caravan or job fair programs is very low; working methods are considered bureaucratic and inefficient, with many actions taken only formally); (c) the offer of job market inclusion programs is unrealistic, and holding professional training or re-training courses for people who lack basic skills (reading and writing) comes across as a waste of resources; program-advertised jobs do not match the level of education and skills of the target groups.

Employment Caravan and Job Fairs for Roma

BOX 3-4: JOB FAIRS FOR ROMA

The Job Fairs program was initiated in 2001, and since 2003 it has been organized every year. It is based on collaboration protocols signed by ANOFM representatives, Roma experts within the

[116] See for instance http://www.anofm.ro/node/2819: Open Day of the Covasna employment agency, organized in the Roma neighborhood (Örkő).
[117] See for instance http://www.anofm.ro/ajofm-prahova-organizeaz%C4%83-%C3%AEn-data-de-6-septembrie-2013-o-burs%C4%83-a-locurilor-de-munc%C4%83-pentru-persoanel: Prahova county employment agency organizing a Job Fair for Roma beneficiaries.
[118] http://www.anofm.ro/node/3597: Brasov county employment agency organizing a Job Fair for Roma women within the project Barrabarripen.
[119] Mihalache, Preotesei and Doboş (2009); Research Institute for Quality of Life (2010).
[120] Research Institute for Quality of Life (2010). Research conducted in July 2010 based on qualitative methods.
[121] At the moment there are not training courses tailored for and targeted at Roma.

Prefectures, and other organizations addressing Roma issues. In 2012, Job Fairs for Roma were organized in 9 localities from 6 counties (Arges, Botosani, Brasov, Dambovita, Giurgiu and Prahova). Out of the 367 employers contacted, only 58 participated. Roma participation to the fairs was of 306 job seekers, out of which 40 were employed (or 13%). The sectors in which most Roma found a job were: metallic constructions, services, apparel, printing, civil engineering, architecture and engineering, waste collection and treatment, and furniture manufacturing.

"*Personally, I find that to organize a job fair for Roma is a disqualification for other social categories. This could lead to a boycott. So, I prefer to organize regular general job fairs*." (Representative of a County Agency for Employment, October 2013)

Two studies[122] based on qualitative research methods showed that t**he main issues related to the Job Fair for Roma include:** (i) It has been ineffective in increasing the employment rate among Roma as it is perceived as being rather formal; (ii) Even though the participation of the employers and potential employees was higher when the program started, in the last years participation was considerably lower; (iii) Employers are reticent about participating to the fair, because they are reluctant to employ Roma people; (iv) The job description does not match the qualifications of the majority of Roma. Even when the qualification requirements are met, the Roma participants are not employed due to discrimination or other reasons.

BOX 5: EMPLOYMENT CARAVAN FOR ROMA

The first Employment Caravan was organized in 2005 by NAE in collaboration with the National Agency for Roma and other Roma NGOs. This program is focused on communes and towns with large Roma communities. Employment Office specialists, in collaboration with local authorities, go to communities where they offer information about available jobs and qualification courses, and provide counseling. There are no data on the scale of the Employment Caravan activities (how many were organized, location, number of participants, outcome, etc.).

"No, no, this type of caravan should not be made under the impulse of some indicators. If you follow only indicators and some figures, if they are organized only for the sake of organizing... are organized when needed... These programs should look at medium and long term. If you look only at short term, it is already a failure. These caravans have efficiency when there are jobs available, to realize that it is a possibility." (Representative of a County Agency for Employment, October 2013)

The main issues[123] related to the Employment Caravan for Roma are: (i) The positive effect brought about through this program is the registration of Roma (who otherwise would not register) with the employment agencies. In this way, their chances to benefit from counseling services and active measures are enhanced; (ii) The beneficiaries' interest is quite low because they lack confidence that real job opportunities exist; (iii) The success of this program depends

[122] Mihalache, Preotesei and Doboş (2009); Research Institute for Quality of Life (2010).
[123] Idem.

on the cooperation of a Roma leader from the community with the representatives of the employment agencies in organizing the event and mobilizing the community members; (iv) The number of participants depends on the period of the year when the caravan is organized. There are fewer participants in the summer months (especially in May, June, or July) when they can more easily find seasonal jobs.

Program 140[124] for the communities with a large Roma population

This program is focused on information and personalized actions such as mediation and counseling, as well as on the development of the collaboration between NAE and local Roma representatives. For its implementation, NAE established, within the National Action Plan for Employment, a target of 2,000[125] Roma employed in 2012 and 2,100[126] in 2013. In 2012, the target was achieved.

BOX 6: PROGRAM 140 FOR THE COMMUNITIES WITH A LARGE ROMA POPULATION

"There are two aspects: in case of a community included for more years in the program, when the counselor from the agency goes there, he is recognized by the people. And they ask: why does he come again? What on earth does he want to talk with us? To tell us that the water is cold and the air is good? But if you can bring something new, with impact in the community, so they will say: have you seen? The people from the agency came and I got a job! […] When you have a community newly included in the project you have first to gain credibility. And you can do this in two ways: you go with their leader and they listen to you or we discuss with the schools representatives and try to reach the parents through their children." (Representative of a County Agency for Employment, October 2013)

3.5.5 EUROPEAN PROJECTS FOR ROMA INCLUSION IN THE LABOR MARKET

European Structural Funds represent a real opportunity to improve Roma social inclusion, particularly also in the labor market. Unfortunately, Romania's absorption of EU funds remained weak and hence the NAE could not augment its financial resources to support its programs.

To date, the EU funded projects aimed at enhancing Roma's employability have had limited success. For the current programming period (2007-2013), the European Social Fund co-financed 102 projects (in social inclusion, education, and employment) targeting vulnerable groups, including, in some of these projects, Roma beneficiaries[127]. However, the SOP HRD[128] projects that aimed to increase the chances of Roma to obtain qualified jobs have had limited success. According to the SOP HRD Annual Implementation Report, the participation of Roma

[124] In 2010 this program was designed for 150 communities with large numbers of Roma ethnics (Program 150).
[125] About 42% of the 2012 target shown in table 1-4.
[126] About 32% of the 2013 target shown in table 1-4.
[127] World Bank, 2013. Data available in May 2013. See also http://www.anr.gov.ro/. The total budget for these 102 projects is EUR 253 million. Only a relatively small part of this budget benefits Roma, the rest financing the interventions for other vulnerable groups. Budget data disaggregated by group of beneficiaries are not available.
[128] EU funded Sectoral Operational Programme for Human Resources Development.

in qualification and re-qualification courses (target group) has been very low between 2010 and 2012; nevertheless, more than two times larger than the Roma participation in training courses provided by the public employment services (2,635 participants in SOP HRD projects compared with 1,227 in NAE courses, in 2012).

TABLE 3-5 ROMA PARTICIPANTS IN (RE)QUALIFICATION TRAININGS WITHIN SOP HRD PROJECTS

Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Target	12,900	28,000	41,700	56,700	65,000	65,000
Achieved (number)	55	1,542	2,635			
Achieved %	0.43	5.51	6.32			

Source: Ministry of Labor, Family, Social Protection and Elderly, The Managing Authority for the Sectoral Operational Programme Human Resources Development Annual Implementation Report, 2012. *Note*: Data refer to projects from Priority Axis 6 Promoting Social Inclusion.

The need for rigorous impact evaluation of the EU funded projects already implemented is stringent for extracting the lessons learnt in the field of employment. The SOP HRD Annual Implementation Report does not provide explanations of the program results related to Roma. Furthermore, the report does not distinguish the level of intervention - some projects only require participants to fill out a registration sheet, whereas others are much more rigorous and require participants to be trained for 3 weeks. As such, in order to make better use of the EU funds for the benefit of Roma, there is a need to monitor the impacts of these projects, and to base the design of future projects on the lessons learned from these evaluations.

The majority of EU Funded projects implemented from 2007 to 2013 whose primary specific target group have been Roma women are in the field of employment, whether through job creation, campaigning for the promotion of Roma women in the labor market or promoting their interests through institutional mechanisms such as influencing law making or using existing leverages such as trade unions. However, there is no analysis of the impacts or a centralization of the results of these EU projects, and information is often difficult to find[129].

3.6 BEST PRACTICES FOR ROMA COMMUNITIES

The qualitative research conducted for this chapter revealed a possible best practice for Roma communities in the projects that, based on an integrative framework, address the employment issue in interplay with education, health and social inclusion. Thus, in larger Roma communities (rural or urban), a multifunctional center was set up for providing a broad area of services. Mediators and community workers provided tailored services through the center, accompanied by awareness- and information campaigns within the community. For identifying potential beneficiaries, outreach activities or events with children for attracting the parents were used. This type of projects is highly relevant for the community, as well as for

[129] Moreover, there is no public database with the information on where the funded projects were/are implemented. The qualitative research suggest that there are municipalities implementing several similar projects financed from ESF.

individual beneficiaries. This project was implemented by an NGO, local authorities, and public and private institutions in partnership.[130] These projects also used innovative methodologies such as *community monitoring*. Within the community monitoring framework, members of a community affected by a public service or public policy generate demands, suggestions, critiques and data and then provide feedback to the implementing organization or institution. This approach enables communities to be more involved in the local decision making process, to be better informed and more aware of their rights as citizens and human beings. The NGO that has piloted community monitoring has managed to activate and mobilize the community to identify gaps and suggested improvement in the provision of public services[131].

A second type of EU funded projects that proved successful in integrating Roma on the labor market relates to social economy, also known as 'social entrepreneurship'. These projects[132] aim at: (i) assistance for people who already have a business, to formalize it and/or to diversify and extend it; (ii) promoting income generating activities among Roma traditional craftsmen by supporting them in the process of adapting their trade, products and marketing strategies to the current economy; (iii) supporting the creation of social economy units (cooperatives). Roma women are involved in the income generating activities related to traditional crafts (e.g. copper and tin smiting, wood carving, brick lying, etc.), so they are also among the beneficiaries of these projects mainly within the cooperatives. A common problem of these projects is sustainability (e.g. in one project only 10% of the set-up businesses survive after 3 years). According to interviewed NGO- and NAR representatives, the key solution to this is embedded in the Law on social economy, which is currently under review.

The social cooperatives may be a good alternative for social assistance programs (Guaranteed Minimum Income). Even if the income for people employed in such enterprises are subsidized, the beneficiaries are integrated and have higher chances to remain in the formal labor market. Beyond enhanced employability, they also develop abilities to comply with a work program, to follow a certain work discipline, and to manage the financial resources of their household from one month to another and not from one day to the next.

3.7 POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

A more holistic approach may be considered to address unemployment and inactivity among Roma by offering complementary employment services, given the strong correlation between labor market exclusion (mainly among Roma, but also among very poor non-Roma) and low skill levels, atypical demographic behaviors, poor health condition, as well as precarious housing conditions. In Romania, Roma hold a precarious situation on the labor market: the

[130] E.g. SOP HRD projects: *Community Resource Center: strategic tools in improving the situation of vulnerable groups in rural areas*, implemented by The Roma Center for Health Policies – SASTIPEN; *Establishment and operation of support structures focused employment - Centers for Social Inclusion for Roma people*, implemented by Pakiv Association Romania.

[131] Dimitrov and Milosheva-Krushe (2012).

[132] E.g. EU funded projects: *Roma creates social enterprise for recycling packaging waste ROMA-RE*, implemented by PAEM Foundation; *Participation of vulnerable groups in the social economy*, implemented by the NAR; *Romano Cher - Casa Romilor* (Romano ButiQ), implemented by Key Consulting Management and Coordination.

unemployment and inactivity are very high, especially among Roma women, employment is low, jobs are generally unstable, low paid and informality is abundant. The working-age Roma belong to households with many children and low work intensity, hence they face a high risk of in-work poverty.

The following recommendations to improve employment outcomes among the working age Roma population are geared toward five main objectives: (1) improve skills by developing training policies and systems; (2) improve job search incentives and align them with job creation policies; (3) improve efficiency of job search by strengthening the capacity of the National Agency for Employment; (4) invest in monitoring and evaluation of specific activation measures, and systematically share best practices across municipalities; and (5) strengthen the safety nets to protect the poor in combination with targeted measures to promote health and human capital investments, especially for children.

3.7.1 POLICY GOAL 1: IMPROVE SKILLS AND EMPLOYABILITY

POLICY MEASURE 1A: INCREASE ACCESS OF ROMA (ESPECIALLY YOUTH) TO RELEVANT TRAINING

Given the extremely low education levels and lack of work experience among unemployed and inactive Roma, **job search incentives must be combined with programs that build employable skills**. This could be achieved through second-chance education but also through other methods. Second-chance education needs to be continued and expanded further in the Roma communities. The NAE may also increase its efforts in developing and diversifying its traineeship opportunities that can act as a pathway to employment for job seekers with low levels of education (courses of level I and II correlated with jobs available for Roma).The program of certification of skills learned through non-formal means is already available, but need to be further developed for including a broader area of skills relevant for Roma job seekers (including for Roma women). Training opportunities need to be better disseminated (through the same network described under policy measure 2C) and awareness campaign on the potential benefits of qualifications might facilitate access of Roma to the available programs.

The statistical models presented in the report indicate that **the youth are more likely to be unemployed**, housewives or self-employed and not employee or employer, to do unskilled work as employees and to earn less money even when other relevant variables are similar (residential area, education, gender or number of children). Moreover, the clustering analysis of the NEETs indicates that about 14% of them are youth (about half of them women without children, from urban areas), who could start working on short notice but that only less than half of them are actively looking for a job - they may be discouraged, looking for a job in another country, have plans for marriage (all these things negatively also affects their future employability). Given their high vulnerability, it becomes a priority to tailor specific programs for them function of their specific needs: increase the incentives to continue education for the youth who are more likely to drop out of school, to improve the human capital of the individuals who dropped out of school at early ages (through apprenticeship programs or second change education)), or even boost the soft skills for the individuals who have all the other needs already met. The Government may consider developing trainee, internship and placement programs in central

administration, regional and municipal positions (these activities could be complemented by affirmative measures in employment to counteract the possible negative stereotyping related to Roma). Again, such programs could be developed in collaboration with NGOs active on the field of Roma education and employment.

Although a wide range of reports indicate that skills (cognitive, socio-emotional or job-specific skills) matter[133], the evidence shows that their importance in having a 'good' job vary across countries and across different socio-demographic groups. It is therefore **important to further study the importance of different skills in getting a job and having a higher salary** in order to be able to come with more specific recommendations on the particularities of the training programs that might be most efficient for different categories of Roma (youth, women, elderly, rural, with low or high education, etc.).

POLICY MEASURE 1B: PROMOTE EMPLOYMENT FOR ROMA WOMEN

According to the cluster analysis presented above, almost **half of all working age Roma who are in NEET are women aged under 45**. Employment and income generation by women triggers a virtuous circle of positive changes. For instance, it has been researched that women who are income earners have greater leverage in financial household-level decision-making. When women have more influence on the allocation of resources within the household, it has been shown that they privilege, to a greater extent than men, the equal education of girls and boys and investments in the education of children, thereby giving a strong impulse to long term development (European Commission 2010: 137).

To promote employment opportunities for Roma women, **a focus on the social sectors is particularly relevant as it results in benefits both at the individual and the community level**. Providing training, especially to women, to become community health assistants, or (kindergarten) teacher assistants is likely to generate a significantly positive impact on the perception of the Roma among the general population, and of working Roma women among the Roma communities themselves. In addition, future government plans to hire social workers in the areas including marginalized Roma communities can also put an emphasis on hiring from the communities themselves so as to ensure better linkages and communication with community members.

3.7.2 POLICY GOAL 2: IMPROVE JOB SEARCH INCENTIVES AND ALIGN THEM WITH JOB CREATION POLICIES

POLICY MEASURE 2A: INCENTIVIZE JOB SEARCH IN FORMAL LABOR MARKET

The current system of social benefits is not effective in providing incentives to search for work in the formal labor market. Roma out of work have a higher registration rate with employment agencies than non-Roma. However, almost nine of every ten Roma registered as unemployed mainly to obtain the documents required for the minimum guaranteed income. The incentives provided through the minimum guaranteed income discourage job search, since this

[133] The World Bank. 2013. Step Skills Measurement Study; Sondergaard, Lars, Murthi, Mamta. 2012

income support (although small) combined with earnings from informal work provide better livelihood for 'jobless' people compared with people who found work and have access only to low wage, insecure jobs. The final effect may be a reduced potential earned income, a high level of informality, an increase in the number of recipients and in the program costs. In recent years, many countries (i.e. France, the UK, the US) have reformed their social assistance programs following concerns of high costs and work disincentives. The solution adopted by these countries was that instead of fully taking into account the incomes from work when computing the benefit level to use a lower implicit tax rate for them (to disregard a specific percentage of the earned incomes). The available evidence suggests that this sort of welfare-to-work reforms have employment effects and also consistently increase the income of the beneficiaries. However, it is fair to say that it is unclear how this evidence translates to Romania without a proper impact evaluation of such a reform; such an evaluation would allow the policy makers to identify the right combination between the level of the benefit and the percentage of earnings to be disregarded.

POLICY MEASURE 2B: PROMOTE JOB CREATION POLICIES

In order to be effective, **labor market policies need to be accompanied by job creation policies**, which according to the *Global Employment Agenda* (ILO) extend from macroeconomic and fiscal policies, to investment climate, sectoral policies, labor mobility and migration, community-based rehabilitation, use of ICT for productivity, business development services, small and medium size enterprises, corporate social responsibility or strengthening cooperatives.

POLICY MEASURE 2C: INCENTIVIZE JOB SEARCH FOR ROMA WOMEN BY FACILITATING THE ACCESS AND PARTICIPATION OF ROMA CHILDREN IN EARLY EDUCATION AND CHILDCARE FACILITIES

The data shows that family size and inactivity of Roma women are strongly linked. Furthermore, as shown in Chapter 2 on education, enrolment rates of Roma children aged 3-6 in preschool is low, reflecting the preference of Roma mothers to raise children at home. From this perspective, **addressing the gap in preschool participation and in childcare facilities is not only essential to ensure Roma children get an equal start with regards to early learning and succeed in school later on, but also addresses an important barrier to labor force participation among Roma women.**

3.7.3 POLICY GOAL 3: IMPROVE EFFICIENCY OF JOB SEARCH - STRENGTHEN THE CAPACITY OF THE NATIONAL AGENCY FOR EMPLOYMENT (NAE)

POLICY MEASURE 3A: ENSURE THE ADEQUATE NUMBER AND PROFESSIONAL LEVEL OF NAE STAFF

In order to improve efficiency of job search, the capacity of the National Agency for Employment (NAE) need to be strengthened. The data show that the insufficient human resources in the local employment services negatively affect the effectiveness of the special employment program for Roma, which are currently available. The *Functional Review in the Labor Market and Social Policy Sector* (World Bank, 2011) has already highlighted staffing as a major problem for successful implementation of active labor market programs. First, what is

problematic is the high staff caseload for those working with clients. In addition, the county and local employment agencies seem to lack the specialized staff for delivering counseling services or other employees who know to deal effectively with Roma unemployed (i.e. Roma mediators).

POLICY MEASURE 3B: IMPROVE AWARENESS AND TRUST OF POTENTIAL BENEFICIARIES IN THE PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT SERVICES

Low awareness of NAE as well as lack of trust in the actual opportunities provided by its county and local offices reduces further the accessibility for potential Roma beneficiaries. Previous research shows that these are factors that diminish the effectiveness of the special employment programs for Roma currently implemented.

POLICY MEASURE 3C: ALLOCATE MORE BUDGET TO ACTIVE LABOR MARKET PROGRAMS

A World Bank review of evaluations of employment services worldwide concludes that "**employment services are generally the most cost-effective intervention: employment and earnings impacts are usually positive and, compared to other ALMPs, these employment services are inexpensive.**"[134] Moreover, to the extent that ALMP's are successful in matching Roma candidates with jobs, they contribute to a reversal of negative stereotypes, and possibly, a reduction in discrimination more generally.

POLICY MEASURE 3D: DEVELOP TAILORED EMPLOYMENT MEASURES EXPLICITLY ADDRESSED TO ROMA MEN AND WOMEN, WITH CLEARLY SPECIFIED BUDGETS

Currently, Roma unemployed benefit of the same labor market policies as any other group of population. Some special programs aimed at Roma are also available, but without a corresponding budget, implemented unevenly across the country, and with limited effectiveness. Lack of coherence and continuity in implementing employment policies for the Roma by the public services is an additional impeding factor. In order to improve the efficiency of the employment measures a major change in the current approach is needed: **the measures have to be tailored based on an in-depth profiling analysis of Roma job-seekers.** Specifically, the intensity of support needs to be linked to the job seekers needs and to his or her distance to the labor market. For example, in addition to regular counseling and based on the specific needs, the employment office can consider providing soft job search skills such as the ability to write a good CV, to identify potential employment opportunities, write an application letter, and perform well in an interview.

Given that discrimination is a barrier to employment prospects, **the NAE's key bridging role between employers and prospective Roma employees eager and able to work can be improved by reaching out to non-state actors and government entities well known with the local Roma community** so that information about employment – and employee – opportunities reach both employers and Roma job seekers. The actors that can provide a bridging function for

[134] Betcherman et al. 2004

employment services may include municipal authorities, churches, community based organizations, NGOs, social workers, community mediators, Roma mediators etc. The World Bank's *Functional Review* (2011) showed that for increasing efficiency of job search the NAE may entrust specialized providers with services such as vocational information and counseling, job-matching, vocational training and pre-layoff services or consultancy and assistance for starting an independent activity or a business. It is important to set realistic, but ambitious targets for Roma inclusion in the labor market and provide adequate budget for implementation. The NAE's accountability in implementing the *NRIS 2012-2020* needs to be improved.

POLICY MEASURE 3E: SUPPORT THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL ECONOMY

Social economy should be considered as a component of policies seeking to facilitate the inclusion of Roma in the labor market. Several successful projects have already been implemented with good activation results. Although they would need to be improved in terms of sustainability, these types of experiences should be shared much more broadly across the different municipalities and among all the relevant actors.

The law on social economy is currently in the approval process. **In order to enhance sustainability of future social economy initiatives, especially aimed at Roma, the new law needs to fulfill at least the following conditions:** (1) subsidize the start-up capital for social economy units; (2) cover the costs related to the specialized support services for professions in which Roma are underrepresented (such as management, accountancy, ICT, marketing etc.); (3) create fiscal facilities for the social economy units; (4) test, campaign and introduce a "social enterprise label" (similar to the eco label or Made in Romania label) for promoting the commercialization of the products and services of social enterprises; (5) ensure financing of the newly established social enterprises for at least two years. The social cooperatives may be a good alternative for social assistance programs (Guaranteed Minimum Income). Even if the incomes of people employed in such enterprises are subsidized, the beneficiaries are integrated and have higher chances to remain in the formal labor market. Also, social cooperatives offer more opportunities for Roma women to enter the labor market. Besides employment, there are other benefits: increased skills (including new abilities to comply with a work program, to follow a certain work discipline, and to manage the household financial resources), increase in well-being as a result of the work done or of the enlarged social network.

3.7.4 POLICY GOAL 4: INVEST IN MONITORING AND EVALUATION OF SPECIFIC ACTIVATION MEASURES, AND SYSTEMATICALLY SHARE BEST PRACTICES ACROSS MUNICIPALITIES

POLICY MEASURE 4A: SET UP A MONITORING AND EVALUATION SYSTEM FOR EMPLOYMENT RELATED INTERVENTIONS AIMED AT ROMA

Governments, across Europe and elsewhere, are increasingly using rigorous impact evaluations to pilot programs and measure their effectiveness, especially in policy areas designed to address some of the greatest social challenges, such as long-term unemployed, marginalized groups, Roma. The Romanian government can improve the effectiveness of employment related interventions and expand the reach of the most effective ones by

systematically piloting and evaluating promising ideas, and by investing more in knowledge sharing across municipalities. Regarding the employment policies and interventions in Romania, valuable data are already available but, unfortunately, underused. The NAE have collected data about beneficiaries of the public employment policies, while the Management Authority of SOP HRD[135] have developed a database regarding beneficiaries of the EU funded projects focused on employment.[136] The NAE's database includes indicators that would allow a detailed analysis (including profiling for tailored measures) of the Roma unemployed, but the ICT system of NAE includes among the pre-defined regular reports only few data on Roma. So, there is a good base for a monitoring and evaluation system, but data analysis, reporting and procedures for incorporating the results in specific activation measures tailored for different groups of beneficiaries need to be developed. Regular reports on the status and progress on Roma employment would also respond to the *NRIS 2012-2020*.

POLICY MEASURE 4B: ESTABLISH A KNOWLEDGE PORTAL OF "GOOD PRACTICES"

Progress could be facilitated by establishing a knowledge portal of "good practices", including of the municipal and non-governmental activation activities and actively disseminating these among all the relevant actors. As already described in the report there are NGOs which have experience in applying different innovative monitoring methodologies (such as community monitoring). These approaches enable communities and local authorities to be more effective in the local decision making process, to be better informed and more aware of their rights as citizens and human beings, and should be more broadly shared.

3.7.5 POLICY GOAL 5: STRENGTHEN THE SAFETY NET THAT PROTECTS THE MOST VULNERABLE, BUT ALSO ACTIVELY SUPPORT IMPROVEMENTS IN WELFARE

POLICY MEASURE 5A: ENSURE THE INTEGRATIVE NATURE OF INTERVENTIONS IN ROMA COMMUNITIES

As shown above, "good practices" for Roma communities refer to interventions that, based on an integrative framework, address the employment issue in interplay with education, health and social inclusion. One example applicable to larger Roma communities (rural or urban) consists of the multifunctional centers which may be established for providing a broad area of services, including awareness and informing campaigns, tailored to the community conditions and needs. This type of interventions, highly relevant for the whole community, could be developed in collaboration with NGOs active on the field of Roma.

Given the complexity of the causal mechanisms when explaining and trying to change the position of Roma in the labor market, it is vital that **the implementation of employment measures is coordinated with those in the area of education, social protection, health and housing**, presented in the other chapters of this document.

[135] Sectoral Operational Programme for Human Resources Development.
[136] The two databases can be merged.

3.7.6 IMPLEMENTATION

Summary Table of Policy Recommendations

Recommendation	**Entity(ies) best placed to implement the recommendation**	**Impact (Critical impact; High impact; Enabling condition)**	**Time frame** **Short:** < 6 months; **Medium:** 6-18 months; **Long:** >18 months	**Monitoring indicator**
Policy Goal 1: Improve skill and employability				
Policy Measure 1A: Increase access of Roma(especially of youth) to relevant training	National Agency for Employment (NAE) Ministry of Education National Agency for Roma (NAR)	High impact	Long	
Policy Measure 1B: Promote employment for Roma women	Ministry of Labor Ministry of Education Ministry of Health	High impact	Long	
Policy Goal 2: Improve job search incentives and combines it with job creation policies				
Policy Measure 2A: Incentivize job search in formal labor market	Ministry of Labor	High Impact	Long	
Policy Measure 2B: Promote job creation policies	Government	Critical Impact	Long	
Policy Measure 2C: Incentivize job search for Roma women by facilitating the access and participation of Roma children in early education and in childcare facilities	Ministry of Labor Ministry of Education	Enabling condition	Long	
Policy Goal 3: Improve efficiency of job search - strengthen the capacity of the National Agency for Employment (NAE)				
Policy Measure 3A: Ensure the adequate number and professional level of NAE staff	Ministry of Labor	Enabling condition	Medium	

Policy Measure 3B: Improve awareness and trust of potential beneficiaries in the Public Employment Services	National Agency for Employment (NAE) National Agency for Roma (NAR)	Enabling condition	Medium	
Policy Measure 3C: Allocate more budget to active labor market policies	National Agency for Employment (NAE)	Critical Impact	Medium	
Policy Measure 3D: Develop tailored employment measures explicitly addressed to Roma men and women, with clearly specified budgets	National Agency for Employment (NAE) National Agency for Roma (NAR)	Critical Impact	Long	
Policy Measure 3E: Support the development of social economy	Ministry of Labor Ministry of Finance	High impact	Long	
Policy Goal 4: Invest in monitoring and evaluation of specific activation measures, and systematically share best practices across municipalities				
Policy Measure 4A: Set up a monitoring and evaluation system for employment related interventions aimed at Roma	Ministry of Education National Agency for Roma (NAR)	Critical impact	Medium	
Policy Measure 4B: Establish a knowledge portal of "good practice"	Ministry of Education National Agency for Roma (NAR)	Enabling condition	Medium	
Policy Goal 5: Strengthen the safety net that protects the most vulnerable, but also actively support improvements in welfare				
Policy Measure 5A: Ensure the integrative nature of interventions in Roma communities	Government	Critical impact	Long	

REFERENCES

Bădescu, G., Grigoraş, V., Rughiniş, C., Voicu, M. and Voicu, O. (2007) *Roma Inclusion Barometer*, Open Society Foundation, Bucharest.

Berevoescu, I. (2002), "O analiză demografică a populaţiei de romi: familie şi fertilitate" ("A Demographic Analysis of the Roma Population: Family and Fertility"), in Zamfir, C. and Preda, M. (coord.) *Romii in Romania (Roma in Romania)*, p. 39-70, Bucharest: Expert.

Betcherman, Gordon, Karina Olivas, and Amit Dar (2004) *Impact of Active Labor Market Programs: New Evidence from Evaluations with Particular Attention to Developing and transition Countries*, Washington, D.C.: World Bank, Social Protection Discussion Paper Series 0402.

Bodewig, Christian; Hirshleifer, Sarojini. 2011. Advancing Adult Learning in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. Social Protection&Labor. The World Bank

Cace, S. (2002), "Meseriile si ocupatiile populatiei de romi din Romania" ("Trades and Occupations of the Roma Population"), in Zamfir, C. and Preda, M. (coord.) *Romii in Romania (Roma in Romania)*, p. 157-182, Bucharest: Expert.

Dimitrov, D. and Milosheva-Krushe, M. (2012) *Towards Mainstreaming of good practices for Monitoring of Roma Integration Policies*, CREDA Consulting (Creating Development Alternatives), Sofia.

Duminică, G. and Preda, M. (2003) *Roma access on the labor market*, PHARE program RO 0004.02.02, Bucharest: Editura ECA.

Duminică, G., and Ivasiuc, A. (coord.) (2013) *Romii din România De la ţap ispăşitor la motor de dezvoltare*, Report Agenția Împreună, Bucharest.

European Commission (2010) *Employment in Europe 2010*, available online at: http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=738&langId=en&pubId=593

European Commission (2011) *An EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020*, available online at la: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2011:258:0006:0009:RO:PDF

European Roma Rights Centre (2007) *The Glass Box: Exclusion of Roma from Employment*.

FRA, UNDP & EC (2012) *The situation of Roma in 11 EU Member States*.

Gabor Fleck, I. and Rughiniş, C. (ed.) (2008) *Vino mai aproape Incluziunea şi excluziunea romilor în societatea românească de azi,* Bucharest, available online at: http://www.anr.gov.ro/docs/Publicatii/Vino_mai_aproape.pdf

Gheorghe, C. (coord.) (2009) *The unions at the intersection between gender and ethnicity*, Research Report.

Herwig Immervoll (2013) *Profiles of Vulnerable People In Turkey*, World Bank Report.

Ionescu, M. and Cace, S. (coord.) (2006) *Employment Policies for Roma*, Bucharest: Expert Publishing House.

Kluve, J (2006) *The Effectiveness of European Active Labor Market Policy*, IZA Discussion Paper no. 2018, March 2006, Bonn: IZA (Institute for the Study of Labor).

Koning, J. de, and Y. Peers (2007) *Evaluation Active Labor Market Policies Evaluations*, WZB Discussion Paper 2007-112, Berlin, WZB.

Kuddo, A. (2009) *Employment Services and Active Labor Market Programs in Eastern European and Central Asian Countries*, Washington DC: World Bank.

Metis GmbH & wiiw (2012) *Evaluation of the reaction of the ESF to the economic and financial crisis*, Final Report, European Commission report, DG Employment.

Mihalache, C., Preotesei, M., Doboş, C., (2009) *Roma inclusion on the labor market Perceptions of the involved stakeholders*, Soros Foundation Romania.

Ministry of Labor, Family, Social Protection and Elderly (2012) *Statistical Bulletin on Employment, Mobility, Unemployment and Unemployed Social Protection*, available online at: http://www.mmuncii.ro/nou/images/buletin_statistic/somaj%20anul%202012.pdf

Ministry of Labor, Family, Social Protection and Elderly (2013) *Statistical Bulletin on Employment, Mobility, Unemployment and Unemployed Social Protection*, available online at: http://www.mmuncii.ro/nou/images/buletin_statistic/somaj%20trim%20I%202013.pdf

National Agency for Employment (2012) *National Action Plan for Employment for 2012*, available online at: http://fii-informat.ro/sites/fii-informat.ro/files/program_de_ocupare_anofm_2012.pdf

National Agency for Employment (2013) *Annual Activity Report for 2012*, available online at: http://www.anofm.ro/files/raport%20de%20activ%202012.PDF

National Agency for Employment (2013) *National Action Plan for Employment for 2013*, available online at: http://www.anofm.ro/files/po%202013%20propuneri%201%20.PDF

National Agency for Roma (2011) *Together on the labor market. Monitoring Report regarding the integration of Roma population on the labor market and the progress in the employment process*. SOP HRD project, available online at: http://www.anr.gov.ro/docs/1525/Raport_2011.pdf

National Institute for Statistics (2012) *Implementation of the labor market policies in Romania*. Statistics data for 2011.

National Institute for Statistics *Statistical Yearbook* various editions.

Neef, R. and Stănculescu, M. S. (eds.) (2002) *The Social Impact of Informal Economies in Eastern Europe*, London: Ashgate.

Neef, R., and Adair, Ph. (eds.) (2004) Shadow Economies and Social Transformation in Romania, LIT Verlag Munster.

O'Higgins, Niall (2012). *Roma and non-Roma in the Labour Market in Central and South Eastern Europe.* Roma Inclusion Working Paper. UNDP

Preda, M., Dumnică, G. and Moisa, F. (2003) *"Young Roma – looking for a job" Dimensions of the Roma participation on the labor market, Case study on Bucharest*, PHARE program RO 0104.03/4.1/SOU 010.

Preoteasa, A. M., Cace, S. and Duminică, G. (coord.) (200*9) Strategia naţională de îmbunătăţire a situaţiei romilor: vocea comunităţilor*, Bucarest.

Research Institute for Quality of Life (2010) *Legal and equal on the labour market for the Roma communities Diagnosis of the factors influencing the employment rate of the Roma population in Romania*, project "L@EGAL 2 –European investment in Roma's future in Romania" SOP HRD, Bucharest: Editura Expert.

Social Observatory, Bucharest University (2010) *Social Inclusion Barometer.*

Sondergaard, Lars; Murthi, Mamta et al. (2012). Skills, not just Diplomas. Managing Education for Results in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. The World Bank. Soros Foundation Romania (2012) *Roma Inclusion in Romania: Policies, Institutions and Examples*, project „EU INCLUSIVE – data transfer and exchange of good practices regarding the inclusion of Roma population between Romania, Bulgaria, Italy and Spain" SOPHRD/98/6.4/S/63841.

Soros Foundation (2012) *The Situation of Roma in Romania, 2011. Between Social Inclusion and Migration – County Report*. EU INCLUSIVE project – data transfer and exchange of good practices regarding the inclusion of Roma population between Romania, Bulgaria, Italy and Spain SOP HRD/98/6.4/S/63841.

Sandu, D. and Stănculescu, M.S. (1999), *Rebuilding Community Space*, World Bank Report. Bucharest.

Stănculescu, M. S. and Ilie, S. (2001) *Economia informală în România*, UNDP and RIQL, Bucharest.

Stănculescu, M. S and Pop, L. (2009) *"The Transition Process and Changes in Income, Income Inequality and Poverty: The Case of Romania"*, in Stănculescu M.S. and Stanovnik T. (eds.) *Activity, Incomes and Social Welfare. A Comparison across Four New EU Member States*, p. 177-230, European Centre Vienna, Ashgate.

The Romanian Government (2012) *The Strategy of the Romanian Government for the Inclusion of Romanian Citizens Belonging to Roma Minority 2012-2020*, available online at: http://www.gov.ro/strategy-guvernului-romaniei-de-incluziune-a-cetatenilor-romani-apartinand-minoritatii-romilor-pentru-perioada-2012-2020__l1a117977.html. *Referred to in this chapter as the 'NRIS' or 'National Roma Inclusion Strategy'.*

The Romanian Government, the Ministry of Labour, Family, Social Protection and Elderly, The Managing Authority for the Sectoral Operational Programme Human Resources Development (2012) *Annual Implementation Report*, available online at: http://www.fseromania.ro/images/doc2013/rai2012.pdf

Vincze, E. (ed.) (2011) *The access of Roma women and men to decent job. Everyday life, policies and projects*, Cluj: Editura Fundaţiei Desire.

Voinea, L. (2010) *Raport de avertizare timpurie: piaţa muncii, Biroul pentru observarea pieţei muncii şi a calităţii locului de muncă*, SOP HRD project implemented by the National Trade Union Block, Bucharest, available online at: http://www.bns.ro/wps/wcm/connect/6671933d-828a-4217-ae94-55766c865b1f/Raport+de+avertizare+timpurie+privind+piata+muncii.pdf?MOD=AJPERES&CACHEID=6671933d-828a-4217-ae94-55766c865b1f

Voinea, L. and Albu, L. (2011) *Economia informală şi impactul ei asupra pieţei muncii*, SOP HRD project implemented by the National Trade Union Block.

World Bank (2011) *Functional Review. Labor and Social Protection Sector*.

World Bank (2013) *Europe 2020 Romania. Evidence-based Policies for Productivity, Employment and Skills Enhancement*.

World Bank. (2013). STEP Skills Measurement Study. Cross Country Report. June

World Bank and European Commission (2012) *Reducing vulnerability and promoting the self-employment for Roma in Eastern Europe through financial inclusion*.

Zamfir, C. and Preda, M. (coord.) (2002) *Romii în România*, Bucharest: Editura Expert.

Zamfir, E. and Zamfir, C. (coord.) (1993) *Ţiganii între ignorare şi îngrijorare*, Bucharest: Editura Alternative.

Online sources:

http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu

http://www.insse.ro

ANNEX TABLE 3-1: EVOLUTION OF ACTIVE INDIVIDUALS IN THE WORKING AGE POPULATION BETWEEN 2008 AND 2012 (%)

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
ROMA	59	63	64	65	66
NON-ROMA	64	57	57	59	55

Data: Authors' estimations on HBS 2008-2012. *Notes*: Active population determined as percentage of employed and unemployed in total working age population. Inactive population determined as percentage of pupils/students, pensioners, house persons and other dependents (15-64) in total working age population. Data on main occupational status in the last month as declared by respondents.

Annex Table 3-2: Employment Rates, by Region and Gender, Roma and Non-Roma nearby

		Roma	Non-Roma
Bucharest	Men	55	63
	Women	58	38
Central Region	Men	45	75
	Women	14	36
Northern Region	Men	43	50
	Women	24	38
Southern Region	Men	52	50
	Women	15	35
Western Region	Men	37	83
	Women	15	25

Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011). Sample restricted to Roma subjects in the age group 25-64. *Note:* Northern region refers to Nord-Est and Nord-West; Southern Region refers to Sud, Sud-Est, and Sud-West.

ANNEX TABLE 3-3: DISTRIBUTION OF ROMA AND NON-ROMA AGED 15-64 YEARS OLD, BY GENDER, AGE GROUPS AND RESIDENCY

		Roma	Non-Roma
Sample size	**N**	**6,064**	**230,377**
	%	100	100
Area	Urban	49	59
	Rural	51	42
Gender	Men	50	50

	Women	50	50
Age groups	15/24	28	19
	25/34	28	23
	35/44	21	23
	45/54	14	18
	55/64	9	17

Source: NIS, HBS 2008-2012. Note: Highlighted cells indicate visibly larger values.

ANNEX TABLE 3-4: DISTRIBUTION OF ROMA AND NON-ROMA AGED 15-64 YEARS OLD, BY GENDER AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

	Roma			**Non-Roma**		
	Total	Men	Women	**Total**	Men	Women
N	**6,064**	3,032	3,032	**230,377**	112,265	118,112
%	**100**	100	100	**100**	100	100
Still in school	**7**	7	6	**12**	12	12
No formal schooling	**12**	11	13	**1**	1	1
Primary, grades 1-4	**32**	30	33	**3**	2	3
Middle, grades 5-8	**37**	37	37	**17**	14	20
Vocational/apprentice	**8**	10	5	**23**	29	16
High school, grades 9-12*	**5**	5	5	**29**	27	31
Post-secondary or foremen's school	**0**	0	0	**4**	4	4
Tertiary, short and long term	**0**	0	0	**12**	11	13

Source: NIS, HBS 2008-2012. Notes: * High school includes also lower high school, grades 9-10. Highlighted cells indicate visibly larger values.

ANNEX TABLE 3-5: DISTRIBUTION OF ROMA AND NON-ROMA AGED 15-64 YEARS OLD, BY RESIDENCY AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

	Roma			Non-Roma		
	Total	Urban	Rural	**Total**	Urban	Rural
N	**6,064**	2,572	3,492	**230,377**	124,275	106,102
%	**100**	100	100	**100**	100	100
Still in school	**7**	7	6	**12**	12	11
No formal schooling	**12**	11	13	**1**	0	1
Primary, grades 1-4	**32**	29	34	**3**	1	5
Middle, grades 5-8	**37**	35	39	**17**	8	29
Vocational/apprentice	**8**	11	5	**23**	20	26
High school, grades 9-12*	**5**	7	3	**29**	34	23
Post-secondary or foremen's school	**0**	0	0	**4**	6	2
Tertiary, short and long term	**0**	0	0	**12**	18	3

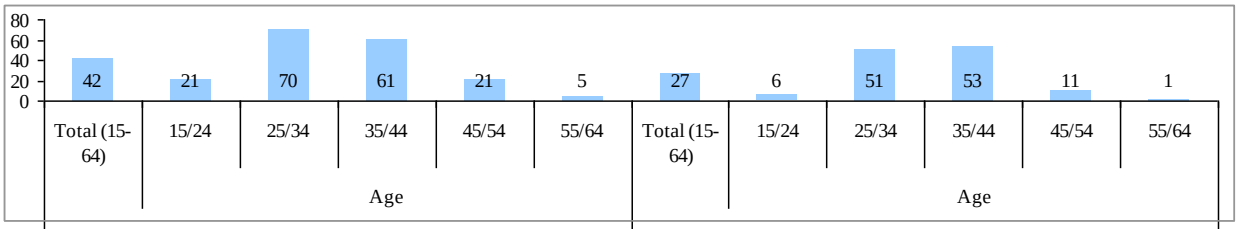
Source: NIS, HBS 2008-2012. Notes: * High school includes also lower high school, grades 9-10. Highlighted cells indicate visibly larger values.

ANNEX TABLE 3-6: DISTRIBUTION OF ROMA AND NON-ROMA 15-64 YEARS OLD, BY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND AGE GROUPS

						NEETs		
	Age groups	Active (%)	Inactive (%)	Still in school (%)	Retirement (%)	Neither in employment nor in education or training (%)	Total (%)	Total (N)
		(A)	(B=B1+B2+B3)	(B1)	(B2)	(B3)	(A+B)	
Non-Roma	15/24	33	67	60	0	7	100	38,611
	25/34	86	14	1	0	12	100	35,353
	35/44	87	13	0	2	11	100	51,400
	45/54	75	26	0	15	11	100	49,772
	55/64	32	68	0	62	7	100	55,241
Roma	15/24	48	52	23	0	29	100	1,556
	25/34	65	36	0	0	36	100	1,350
	35/44	67	33	0	1	32	100	1,353
	45/54	60	40	0	10	30	100	1,035
	55/64	39	61	0	35	26	100	770

Source: NIS, HBS 2008-2012. Notes: Active population determined as percentage of employed and unemployed in total working age population. Inactive population determined as percentage of pupils/students, pensioners, house persons and other dependents (15-64) in total working age population. Data on main occupational status in the last 12 months as declared by respondents. Highlighted cells indicate visibly larger values.

ANNEX FIGURE 3-1: PROPORTION OF ROMA AND NON-ROMA AGED 15-64 YEARS OLD, IN HOUSEHOLDS WITH CHILDREN UNDER 15 YEARS (%)



Source: NIS, HBS 2008-2012.

ANNEX TABLE 3-7: THE PROFILE OF EMPLOYEES

		Non-Roma	Roma
Sample size	**N**	**91,002**	**723**
	%	**100**	**100**
Area	Urban	74	67
	Rural	26	33
Gender	Men	55	63
	Women	45	37
Age groups	15/24	7	11
	25/34	31	36
	35/44	32	32
	45/54	22	15
	55/64	8	7
Education	No formal schooling	0	1
	Primary, grades 1-4	0	20
	Middle, grades 5-8	6	43
	Vocational/apprentice	24	19
	High school, grades 9-12**	40	15
	Post-secondary or foremen's school	6	1
	Tertiary, short and long term	23	2
Occupational group	Managers, legislators	3	*
	Professionals	16	*
	Technicians and associate professionals	11	3

Clerical support workers	7	1
Service and sales workers	17	18
Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	1	*
Craft and related trades workers	22	17
Plant and machine operators, and assemblers	15	13
Unskilled workers	8	46

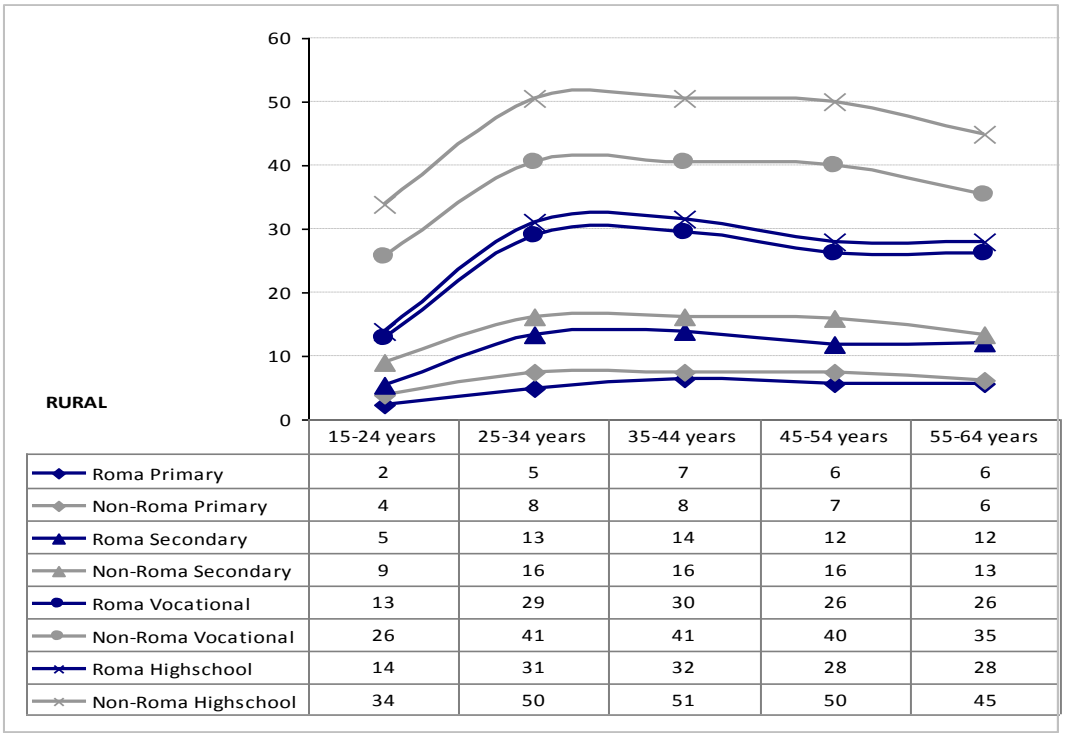
Source: NIS, HBS 2008-2012. Notes: *Less than 5 cases. ** High school includes also lower high school, grades 9-10. Highlighted cells indicate visibly larger values.

ANNEX TABLE 3-8: LOGISTIC REGRESSION PREDICTING "BEING EMPLOYEE OR EMPLOYER" VERSUS "BEING SELF-EMPLOYED, UNEMPLOYED OR HOUSEWIFE"

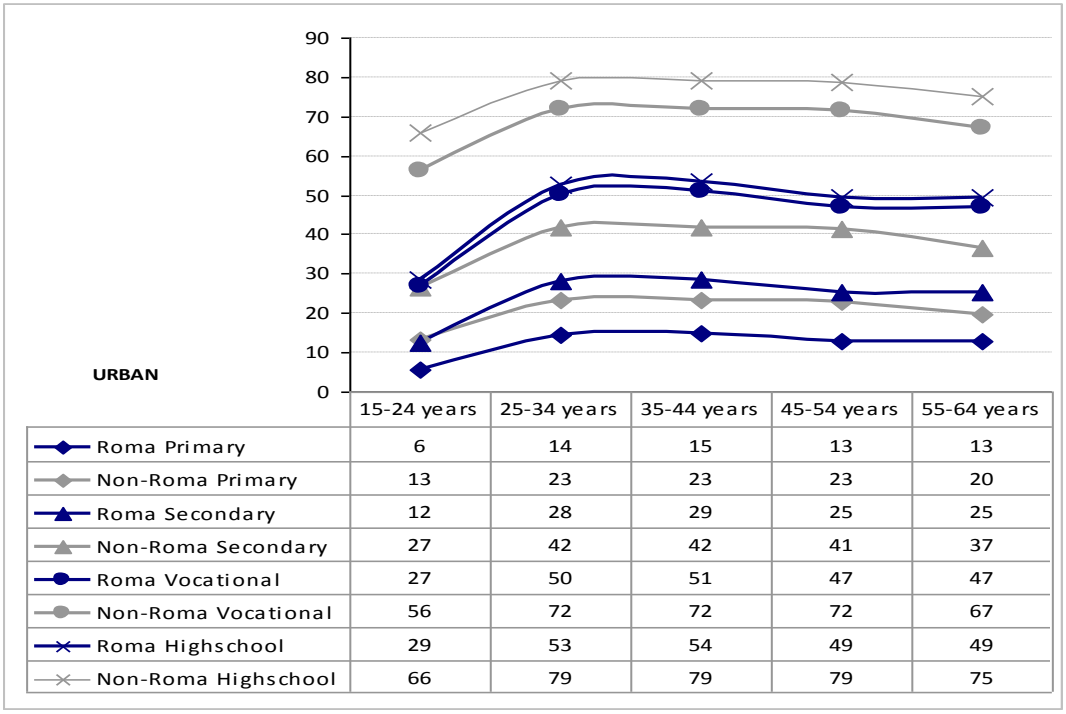
	Odds Ratios			
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Constant	0.19***	0.03***	0.02***	0.02***
Non-Roma versus Roma	5.3***	5.65***	1.89***	1.69***
Urban versus Rural		5.1***	3.72***	2.5***
Men versus Women		1.92***	1.8***	1.8***
Urban * Men		0.87***	0.9***	0.91***
25/34 year olds versus 16/24 year olds		2.06***	2***	2.78***
25/44 year olds versus 16/24 year olds		2.47***	2.01***	2.86***
45/54 year olds versus 16/24 year olds		1.97***	1.97***	2.42***
55/64 year olds versus 16/24 year olds		1.14***	1.6***	2.42***
No of children (<15 year olds)		0.85***	0.87***	0.87***
No of children (<15 year olds) * Men		1.12***	1.13***	1.13***
Secondary school versus Primary school			2.29***	2.31***
Vocational school versus Primary school			8.03***	6.04***
High school versus Primary school			12.02***	6.63***
Secondary school * Non Roma				1.03
Vocational school * Non Roma				1.39**
High school * Non Roma				1.89***
25/34 year olds * Non Roma				0.71**
25/44 year olds * Non Roma				0.69**
45/54 year olds * Non Roma				0.81
55/64 year olds * Non Roma				0.65**
Urban * Roma				1.5***
Pseudo R^2	0.0116	0.1356	0.1947	0.195

Source: NIS, HBS 2008-2012. Notes: The sample consists of individuals aged 15-64 who are or could be in the labor market, but the individuals without education or with higher education were not included in the analysis because only a few Roma people from the sample having no education or higher education were employed. High school includes also lower high school, grades 9-10. * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01.

ANNEX FIGURE 3-2: PREDICTED PROBABILITY OF BEING EMPLOYEE OR EMPLOYER (%)



	15-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years
Roma Primary	2	5	7	6	6
Non-Roma Primary	4	8	8	7	6
Roma Secondary	5	13	14	12	12
Non-Roma Secondary	9	16	16	16	13
Roma Vocational	13	29	30	26	26
Non-Roma Vocational	26	41	41	40	35
Roma Highschool	14	31	32	28	28
Non-Roma Highschool	34	50	51	50	45



	15-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years
Roma Primary	6	14	15	13	13
Non-Roma Primary	13	23	23	23	20
Roma Secondary	12	28	29	25	25
Non-Roma Secondary	27	42	42	41	37
Roma Vocational	27	50	51	47	47
Non-Roma Vocational	56	72	72	72	67
Roma Highschool	29	53	54	49	49
Non-Roma Highschool	66	79	79	79	75

Source: NIS, HBS 2008-2012. Notes: Probabilities predicted with the logistic regression model 4 shown in the previous table. High school includes also lower high school, grades 9-10.

ANNEX TABLE 3-9: DISTRIBUTION OF ROMA AND NON-ROMA EMPLOYEES BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION IN THE MAIN JOB

	Primary school	Secondary school	Vocational/ apprentice	High school
ROMA				
Total - N	136	313	149	100
- %, of which:	100	100	100	100
Service and sales workers	16	16	12	41
Craft and related trades workers	17	12	31	12
Plant and machine operators, and assemblers	1	15	22	12
Other skilled occupations	0	2	6	18
Elementary occupations (unskilled workers)	66	56	28	17
NON-ROMA				
Total - N	392	5,681	22,335	36,949
- % of which:	100	100	100	100
Service and sales workers	18	20	15	26
Craft and related trades workers	21	25	44	23
Plant and machine operators, and assemblers	6	14	25	18
Other skilled occupations	2	3	5	27
Elementary occupations (unskilled workers)	53	38	11	7

Source: NIS, HBS 2008-2012. Note: High school includes also lower high school, grades 9-10.

ANNEX TABLE 3-10: LOGISTIC REGRESSION PREDICTING "SKILLED WORK" VERSUS "ELEMENTARY OCCUPATIONS/UNSKILLED WORK" FOR EMPLOYEES

	Odds ratios						
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Constant	1.12***	0.42***	0.18***	0.26***	0.26***	0.67*	0.9
Non-Roma versus Roma	6.90***	7.15***	2.38***	2.37***	2.17***	1.36**	0.96
Urban versus Rural		2.17***	1.65***	1.47***	0.52***	0.27***	0.26***
Men versus Women		1.36***	1.41***	0.81	0.79	0.78	0.79***
25/34 year olds versus 16/24 year olds		1.44***	1.47***	1.46***	1.46***	1.46***	1.46***
25/34 year olds versus 16/24 year olds		1.56***	1.3***	1.29***	1.3***	1.3***	1.29***
45/54 year olds versus 16/24 year olds		1.41***	1.41***	1.4***	1.41***	1.41***	1.4***
55/64 year olds versus 16/24 year olds		1.17***	1.52***	1.49***	1.5***	1.5***	1.5***
Secondary school versus Primary school			1.7***	1.54***	1.21	1.25	1.01
Vocational school versus Primary school			7.91***	5.16***	3.37***	3.57***	1.72*
High school versus Primary school			14.63***	11.39***	5.64***	5.99***	3.41***
Secondary school * Men				1.15	1.08	1.1	1.09
Vocational school * Men				2.03***	1.98***	2.01***	2***
High school * Men				1.51**	1.55**	1.57**	1.56**
Urban * Men				1.24***	1.31***	1.32***	1.32***
Secondary school * Urban					1.76***	1.54**	1.62**
Vocational school * Urban					2.62***	2.22***	2.35***
High school * Urban					4.07***	3.43***	3.62***
Urban * Non-Roma						2.3***	2.22***
Secondary school * Non-Roma							1.31
Vocational school * Non-Roma							2.22***
High school * Non-Roma							1.87***
Pseudo R^2	0.011	0.035	0.117	0.119	0.123	0.124	0.124

Source: NIS, HBS 2008-2012. Notes: The sample consists of all employees aged 15-64, but the individuals without education or with higher education were not included in the analysis because only a few Roma people from the sample having no education or higher education were employed. High school includes also lower high school, grades 9-10. * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

ANNEX TABLE 3-11: DETERMINANTS OF WAGES FOR ROMA AND NON-ROMA EMPLOYEES: OLS REGRESSION, DEPENDENT VARIABLE: LN(WAGE)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Constant	6.6***	6.25***	5.98***	6.03***	6.03***
Roma versus Non-Roma	-0.2***	-0.2***	-0.06***	-0.06***	0.05*
Urban versus Rural		0.12***	0.09***	0.09***	0.09***
Men versus Women		0.22***	0.23***	0.14***	0.15***
25/34 year olds versus 16/24 year olds		0.1***	0.1***	0.04***	0.04***
25/34 year olds versus 16/24 year olds		0.17***	0.16***	0.09***	0.09***
45/54 year olds versus 16/24 year olds		0.18***	0.18***	0.13***	0.13***
55/64 year olds versus 16/24 year olds		0.18***	0.21***	0.22***	0.22***
Secondary school versus Primary school			0.11***	0.11***	0.11***
Vocational school versus Primary school			0.24***	0.24***	0.24***
High school versus Primary school			0.34***	0.34***	0.34***
25/34 year olds * Men				0.1***	0.1***
35/44 year olds * Men				0.12***	0.12***
45/54 year olds * Men				0.08***	0.08***
55/64 year olds * Men				0.002	0.001
Urban * Rom					-0.09***
Men * Rom					-0.09***
R^2	0.003	0.114	0.150	0.152	0.152

Source: NIS, HBS 2008-2012. Notes: The sample consists of all employees aged 15-64, but the individuals without education or with higher education were not included in the analysis because only a few Roma people from the sample having no education or higher education were employed. High school includes also lower high school, grades 9-10. * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

ANNEX TABLE 3-12: DETERMINANTS OF WAGES FOR ROMA EMPLOYEES: OLS REGRESSION, DEPENDENT VARIABLE: LN(WAGE)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Constant	6.32***	5.85***	5.81***	5.84***
"Craft and related trades workers" versus "Unskilled workers/Service and sales workers"	0.19***	0.17***	0.13***	0.1**
"Plant and machine operators, and assemblers" versus "Unskilled workers/Service and sales workers"	0.28***	0.29***	0.26***	0.19***
Urban versus Rural		0.05*	0.04	0.01
Men versus Women		0.13***	0.12***	0.12***
Age		0.02**	0.02**	0.02**
Age^2		-0.0002*	-0.0002**	-0.0002**
Primary school versus Secondary school			-0.02	-0.03
Vocational school versus Secondary school			0.12***	0.11***
High school versus Secondary school			0.15***	0.16***
"Craft and related trades workers" * Urban				0.06
*Plant and machine operators, and assemblers" * Urban				0.17**
R^2	0.1053	0.1507	0.1869	0.1937

Source: NIS, HBS 2008-2012. Notes: The sample consists of Roma employees aged 15-64, with primary to high school education, and with one of the four following occupations: 1. Service and sales workers, 2. Craft and related trades workers, 3. Plant and machine operators, and assemblers, 4. Elementary occupations (unskilled workers). No of cases: 653. High school includes also lower high school, grades 9-10. * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

ANNEX TABLE 3-13: PREDICTED WAGES FOR ROMA EMPLOYEES BY GENDER (LEI, IN DECEMBER 2012 PRICES)

	Men	Women
18 years old, Rural, Secondary school, Unskilled worker	506	449
18 years old, Rural, Vocational School, Unskilled worker	567	504
18 years old, Rural, High school, Unskilled worker	591	525
18 years old, Rural, Secondary school, Craft worker	560	497
18 years old, Rural, Secondary school, Plant/machine operator	609	541
18 years old, Urban, Secondary school, Unskilled worker	509	452
18 years old, Urban, Secondary school, Plant/machine operator	729	647

Source: NIS, HBS 2008-2012. Notes: Incomes predicted using the coefficients from model 4 shown in Annex Table 1-10. High school includes also lower high school, grades 9-10.

ANNEX TABLE 3-14: PREDICTED INCOME FOR AN 18 YEARS OLD ROMA MAN BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION, OCCUPATION GROUP AND RESIDENCY (LEI, IN DECEMBER 2012 PRICES)

	Primary school	Secondary school	Vocational school	High school
Unskilled Worker, rural	492	506	567	591
Craft Worker, rural	544	560	628	654
Plant/machine operator, rural	592	609	683	712
Plant/machine operator, urban	708	729	817	851

Source: NIS, HBS 2008-2012. Notes: Incomes predicted using the coefficients from model 4 shown in Annex Table 1-10. High school includes also lower high school, grades 9-10.

ANNEX TABLE 3-15: PROFILE OF SELF-EMPLOYED IN NON-AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES

		Non-Roma	Roma
Sample size	**N**	**10,160**	**934**
	%	**100**	**100**
Area	Urban	41	56
	Rural	59	44
Gender	Men	77	82
	Women	23	18
Age groups	15/24	15	24
	25/34	33	30
	35/44	29	26
	45/54	17	15
	55/64	6	6
Education	No formal schooling	0	13
	Primary, grades 1-4	3	34
	Middle, grades 5-8	25	41
	Vocational/apprentice	35	8
	High school, grades 9-12*	31	3
	Post-secondary or foremen's school	1	0
	Tertiary, short and long term	5	0
Occupational group	Service and sales workers	8	6
	Craft and related trades workers	40	20
	Unskilled workers	40	70
	Other occupations	12	4

Source: NIS, HBS 2008-2012. Notes: * High school includes also lower high school, grades 9-10. Highlighted cells show visibly larger values.

ANNEX TABLE 3-16: DISTRIBUTION OF NON-AGRICULTURAL SELF-EMPLOYED ROMA AND NON-ROMA (15-64 YEARS), BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND MAIN OCCUPATION (%)

		Unskilled workers	Craft and related trades workers	Other skilled occupations	Total (%)	Total (N)
Roma	No formal school	81	19	0	100	117
	Primary school	78	14	8	100	352
	Secondary school	68	21	11	100	351
	Vocational/apprentice	41	38	22	100	72
	High school**	49	39	12	100	41
	Post-secondary or higher	*	*	*	*	1
Non-Roma	No formal school	88	*	*	100	44
	Primary school	68	22	10	100	340
	Secondary school	55	34	11	100	2,459
	Vocational/apprentice	33	53	14	100	3,582
	High school**	36	39	25	100	3,139
	Post-secondary or higher	15	14	71	100	596

Data: NIS, HBS 2008-2012. Notes: * Less than 5 cases. ** High school includes also lower high school, grades 9-10.

ANNEX TABLE 3-17: MONTHLY INCOMES OF THE NON-AGRICULTURAL SELF-EMPLOYED ROMA AND NON-ROMA (15-64 YEARS)

	Unskilled workers		**Craft and related trades workers**	
	Non-Roma	Roma	Non-Roma	Roma
Sample size	3,962	659	4,162	193
Percentage of individuals **without** non-agricultural incomes during the last month (%)	53	42	34	8
Percentage of individuals **with** non-agricultural incomes during the last month (%)	47	58	66	92
Average income from non-agricultural independent activities for the persons with such incomes different from zero during the last month, (lei, in December 2012 real terms)	437	395	708	584
Average income from non-agricultural independent activities for all self-employed in non-agriculture (including those with zero incomes during the last month) (lei, in December 2012 real terms)	207	229	467	536

Source: NIS, HBS 2008-2012.

ANNEX TABLE 3-18: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS, BY GENDER, AREA AND ETHNICITY

	Roma				Non-Roma			
	Gender		Area		Gender		Area	
	Men	Women	Urban	Rural	Men	Women	Urban	Rural
Employee	16	10	18	9	47	38	54	26
Self-employed non-agriculture	26	6	18	14	8	2	4	7
Self-employed agriculture	22	15	5	33	13	12	1	27
Unemployed	11	9	12	8	6	4	6	4
Pensioner	5	5	7	3	12	16	15	13
Pupil, student	7	6	7	6	12	12	12	11
Housewife	7	46	29	24	2	15	7	10
Other (dependent, etc.)	5	4	5	4	2	1	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: NIS, HBS 2008-2012.

ANNEX TABLE 3-19: PROFILE OF SELF-EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE ROMA AND NON-ROMA (15-64 YEARS OLD)

		Non-Roma	**Roma**
Sample size	**N**	**29,757**	**1,228**
	%	**100**	**100**
Area	Urban	7	12
	Rural	93	88
Gender	Men	51	60
	Women	49	40
Age groups	15/24	13	25
	25/34	25	30
	35/44	28	21
	45/54	21	15
	55/64	14	7
Education	No formal schooling	1	14
	Primary, grades 1-4	7	39
	Middle, grades 5-8	45	40
	Vocational/apprentice	26	5

High school, grades 9-12*	20	3
Post-secondary or foremen's school	0	0
Tertiary, short and long term	1	0

Source: NIS, HBS 2008-2012. Notes: * High school includes also lower high school, grades 9-10. Highlighted cells show visibly larger values.

ANNEX TABLE 3-20: MONTHLY INCOMES OF SELF-EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE ROMA AND NON-ROMA (15-64 YEARS OLD)

	Non-Roma	Roma
Sample size	29,757	1,228
Percentage of individuals **without** monetary agricultural incomes during the last month (%)	62	49
Percentage of individuals **with** monetary agricultural incomes during the last month (%)	38	51
Average monetary income from agricultural independent activities for the persons with such incomes different from zero during the last month, (lei, in December 2012 real terms)	473	332
Average monetary income from agricultural independent activities for all self-employed in agriculture (including those with zero incomes during the last month) (lei, in December 2012 real terms)	179	171

Source: NIS, HBS 2008-2012.

ANNEX TABLE 3-21: ESTIMATES OF MONTHLY CONSUMPTION FROM OWN HOUSEHOLD (HH) (LEI, IN DECEMBER 2012 PRICES)

		Average per HH		**Average per capita**	
		HH without Roma members	HH Roma members	HH without Roma members	HH Roma members
Urban	Average value for HHs **without** members working as self-employed in agriculture	151	143	61	40
	Average value for HHs **with one** member working as self-employed in agriculture	359	224	112	59
	Average value for HHs **with two or more** members working as self-employed in agriculture	511	415	124	88
Rural	Average value for HHs **without** members working as self-employed in agriculture	267	206	119	62
	Average value for HHs **with one** member working as self-employed in agriculture	367	258	126	76

Average value for HHs **with two or more** members working as self-employed in agriculture	486	288	124	63

Source: NIS, HBS 2008-2012.

ANNEX TABLE 3-22: PROFILE OF THE INDIVIDUALS NEITHER IN EMPLOYMENT NOR IN EDUCATION OR TRAINING (NEET)

		Unemployed		House persons		NEETs	
		Non-Roma	**Roma**	**Non-Roma**	**Roma**	**Non-Roma**	**Roma**
Sample size	**- N**	**10,043**	**594**	**18,737**	**1,566**	**28,780**	**2,160**
	- %	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
Urban		71	59	50	54	58	55
Rural		29	41	50	47	42	45
Men		61	56	13	13	31	25
Women		39	44	87	87	69	75
Age groups							
15/24		25	37	13	23	17	27
25/34		30	29	28	34	29	33
35/44		24	21	26	22	25	22
45/54		16	9	22	13	19	12
55/64		5	4	12	8	10	6
Education							
No formal schooling		1	11	1	17	1	15
Primary, grades 1-4		3	30	5	39	4	36
Middle, grades 5-8		15	44	32	36	25	39
Vocational/apprentice		28	10	23	5	25	6
High school, grades 9-12*		40	5	35	3	36	4
Post-secondary or foremen's school		3	0	1	0	2	0
Tertiary, short and long term		12	0	4	0	7	0

Source: NIS, HBS 2008-2012. Notes: * High school includes also lower high school, grades 9-10.

ANNEX TABLE 3-23: LATENT CLASS ANALYSIS ON THE ROMA PEOPLE NEITHER IN EMPLOYMENT NOR IN EDUCATION OR TRAINING (NEET)

		Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3	Cluster 4	Cluster 5	Cluster 6	Cluster 7
		Women, under 45 years old, with children, not able to start working	**Women, under 45 years old, with children, looking for a job**	**Uneducated older Roma, without children, not looking for a job**	**Young individuals, without children, able to start working**	**Urban Roma, professional training, without children, able to start working**	**Men, aged 25-44 years, looking for a job**	**Old individuals, without children, looking for a job**
	Cluster Size (%)	**40**	**7**	**16**	**14**	**4**	**13**	**7**
Age	15/24	22	20	0	95	7	26	0
	25/34	49	49	4	5	36	50	7
	35/44	25	26	24	0	41	21	30
	45/54	4	4	42	0	14	3	40
	55/64	0	0	30	0	2	0	22
Looking for a job	Looking for a job& could start working within 15 days	1	71	1	47	42	74	67
	Non looking for a job, but could start working without 15 days	5	16	4	21	21	15	17
	Non looking for a job and could not start working without 15 days	95	13	95	32	37	11	15
Gender & children	Men	0	0	8	34	49	97	60
	Women without children<15	11	9	90	65	51	3	40
	Women with children<15	89	91	2	0	0	0	0
Area	Urban	47	67	58	60	100	53	53
	Rural	53	33	42	40	0	47	47
Education	No formal schooling	15	9	27	8	0	12	18

Primary, grades 1-4	38	33	43	31	2	36	40
Middle, grades 5-8	39	46	27	47	28	43	36
Vocational/apprentice	7	12	3	13	70	9	6

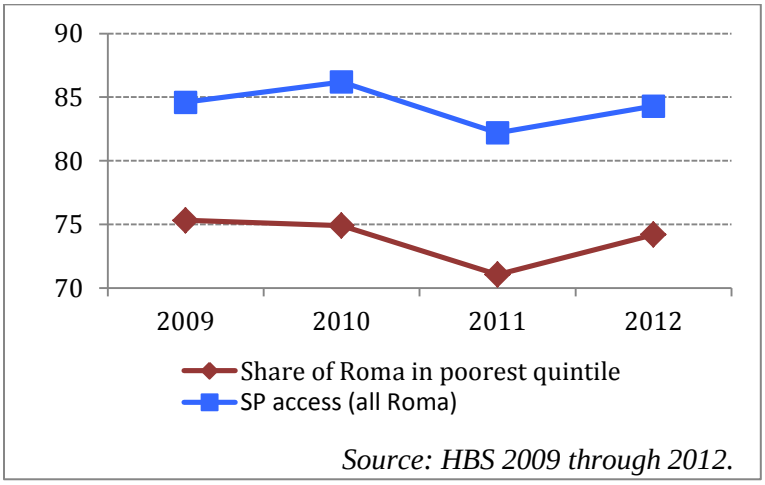
Source: NIS, HBS 2008-2012. Notes: Cluster sizes are percentages in total Roma NEETs (N=2,074).

4 SOCIAL PROTECTION

In addition to Employment, social protection is a second, crucial component of the Earning Opportunities for Families dimension. This chapter examines the extent to which social protection contributes to poverty alleviation in Roma communities. It looks into the coverage of major social insurance and social assistance programs, targeting accuracy and the share of safety nets benefits accruing to the Roma, especially the poorest of the Roma. The poverty reduction impact of the various safety net programs is also investigated, as well as their impact on employment and health. Lastly, institutional and implementation aspects are discussed. The main recommendation with regard to social protection is to facilitate transitions to employment through adequate design of benefits.

Despite widespread access to safety net programs, Roma households remain largely below the poverty line (see Figure 4-1**).** Nine out of ten Roma households have access to at least one social protection program in Romania, but three out of five Roma households still remain in the poorest quintile[137] of the income distribution (HBS 2009 to 2012). While the correlation between high levels of poverty and high participation of the Roma in social protection programs shows that safety net programs are reaching the poorest, it raises the question of the efficiency of social protection in mitigating poverty in Roma households.

FIGURE 4-1: POVERTY RATES AND ACCESS TO SAFETY NETS - 2009/2012



Source: HBS 2009 through 2012.

4.1 PANORAMA OF THE SOCIAL PROTECTION SYSTEM

As most countries in Eastern Europe, Romania operates an extensive Social Protection (SP) system, comprising (i) a contributory Social Insurance (SI) component, (ii) contributory labor market programs, and (iii) noncontributory Social Assistance (SA) benefits. SI benefits refer to pensions, maternity and sick leave, disability and survivor insurance. Labor

[137] Using Romania's Household Budget Survey from 2009 to 2012, and using EUROSTAT's relative poverty line methodology (60 percent of the equivalized median income), the population below the poverty line corresponds exactly to the poorest quintile.

market programs include unemployment insurance and redundancy payments. SA benefits refer to programs mostly targeted at low-income and vulnerable households: Guaranteed Minimum Income (GMI), family allowance (FA), child raising benefit, heating benefits, social pensions, survivor and veterans privileges, and disability allowance; as well as universal child benefit (SCA) and scholarships. 84 percent of the population in Romania has access to social protection, with 45 percent of the households receiving SI benefits, 2 percent receiving labor market transfers, and 62 percent receiving SA benefits[138] (HBS 2012). Because in Romania contributory pensions constitute a key income transfer for the most vulnerable (one fifth of household income in Roma communities), the analysis in this chapter includes not only social safety nets but also social insurance.

TABLE 6: SOCIAL PROTECTION PROGRAMS IN ROMANIA

	Social Insurance	**Labor Market Programs**	**Social Assistance**
Programs	Pension	Unemployment benefit	Guaranteed Minimum Income (GMI)
	Maternity leave	Redundancy payments	State Child Allowance (SCA)
	Sick leave		Family allowance (FA)
	Disability insurance		Child raising benefit
	Survivor insurance		Heating benefits
			Social pension
			Survivor and veterans privileges
			Disability allowance
			Scholarships
Coverage	45 percent	2 percent	62 percent

Source: HBS 2012. Note: Coverage refers to national coverage (Roma and non-Roma households).

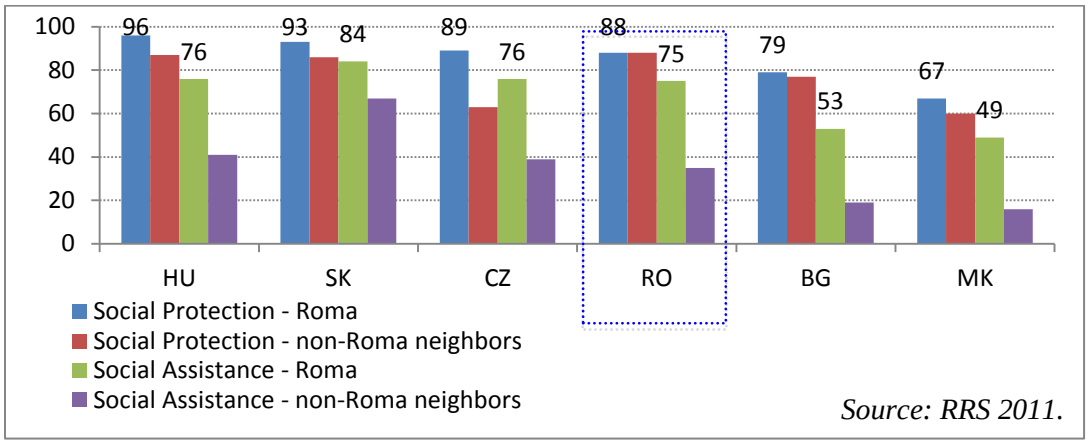
Access to social protection among the Roma in Romania is high: nine out of ten Roma households report one or more social protection transfers[139]. These numbers are driven up by access to social assistance: 75 to 85 percent of Roma families are beneficiaries of social safety nets (compact neighborhoods from RRS and self-declared Roma from HBS, respectively). Both figures – SP and SA[140] – are high and comparable to access rates in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia (see Figure 4-2).

[138] The total of these three shares is larger than 84 because some households receive several types of benefits at the same time.

[139] Access to all lines of social protection programs is extremely similar for segregated and non-segregated settlements (UNDP/WB/EC regional Roma survey, 2011), so we only present statistics for the Roma as a whole.

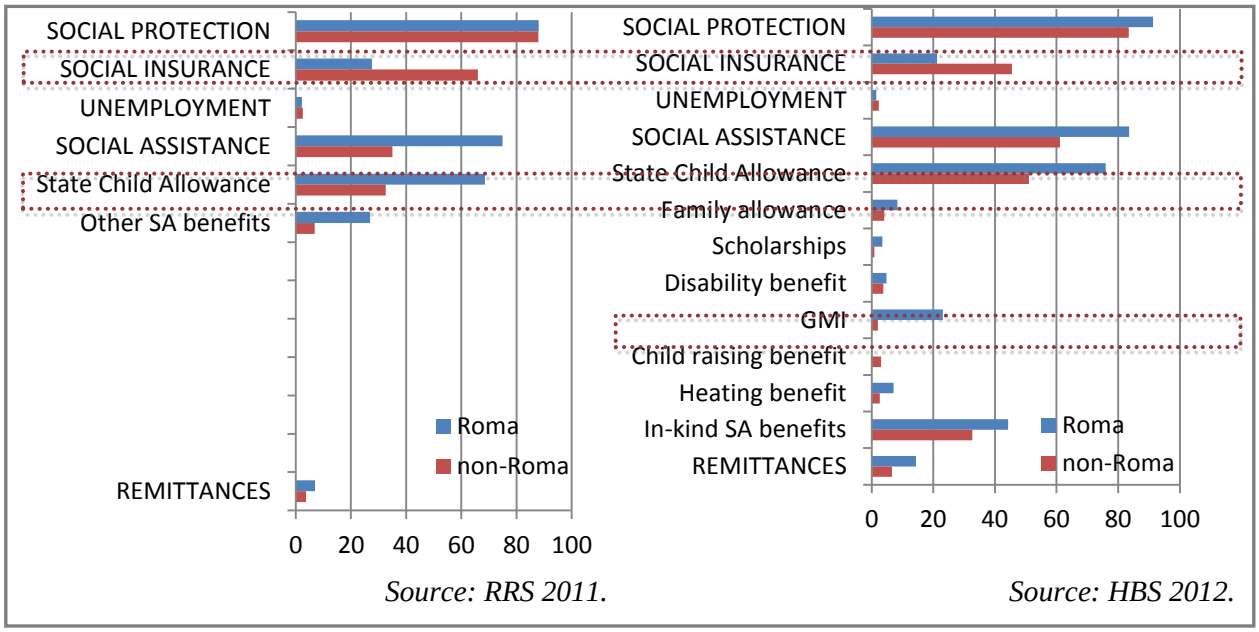
[140] Social Assistance includes universal child benefit and any other social assistance transfers (maternity leave, poverty and local assistance benefits, and stipends and scholarships), while Social Protection includes SA, contributory pension, and unemployment benefits.

Figure 4-2: Main SP programs received by the Roma across countries



While Roma and neighboring non-Roma households display similar access to social protection as a whole (nine households out of ten), they display major differences in access to social insurance and social assistance (see Figure 4-3). Roma households are slightly more likely (6.1 percent) to receive social protection than their non-Roma neighbors (see Table 7 in the Annexes). Roma households show more limited access to social insurance programs, but larger access to social assistance programs. Whereas one in three (28 percent) Roma households living in compact neighborhoods has access to pension benefits, this figure reaches two thirds (66 percent) of neighboring non-Roma families. On the other hand, three in every four Roma households has access to social assistance, and only one third (35 percent) of neighboring non-Roma households do so (RRS 2011). While numbers are slightly different in HBS, the picture remains similar: self-declared Roma households are half as likely to receive social insurance as the rest of the Romanian population (21 versus 46 percent), and the opposite picture appears for social assistance, with respective coverage of 84 and 61 percent (HBS 2012).

FIGURE 4-3: COVERAGE OF SOCIAL PROTECTION PROGRAMS



The State Child Allowance (SCA), contributory pensions, and the Guaranteed Minimum Income (GMI)[141] are the three safety net programs with the highest coverage of Roma households. Two out of three Roma households receive the State Child Allowance (69 percent in compact neighborhoods from RRS and 61 percent in self-declared Roma households from HBS). One in every four Roma households receives contributory pension benefits (28 percent in compact neighborhoods from RRS and 21 percent in self-declared Roma households from HBS).[142] Eventually, GMI records the third largest coverage of Roma households, with 23 percent of the households[143] (HBS 2012).

Roma households receiving social protection programs are rather large families, with low education, and out-of-the-labor-force household heads (see Figure 4-4 and Table 8 in the Annexes). The majority of Roma households receiving SP programs count 1 or 2 children and at least two adults (42 percent), closely followed by families with 3 and more children (33 percent). The respective shares of these two groups rise as we consider only Roma households receiving social assistance programs (47 and 38 percent). Given that the State Child Allowance is the program with the largest coverage, these results come as no surprise. In addition, most household heads of beneficiary families are not working, with labor-force participation rates about 40

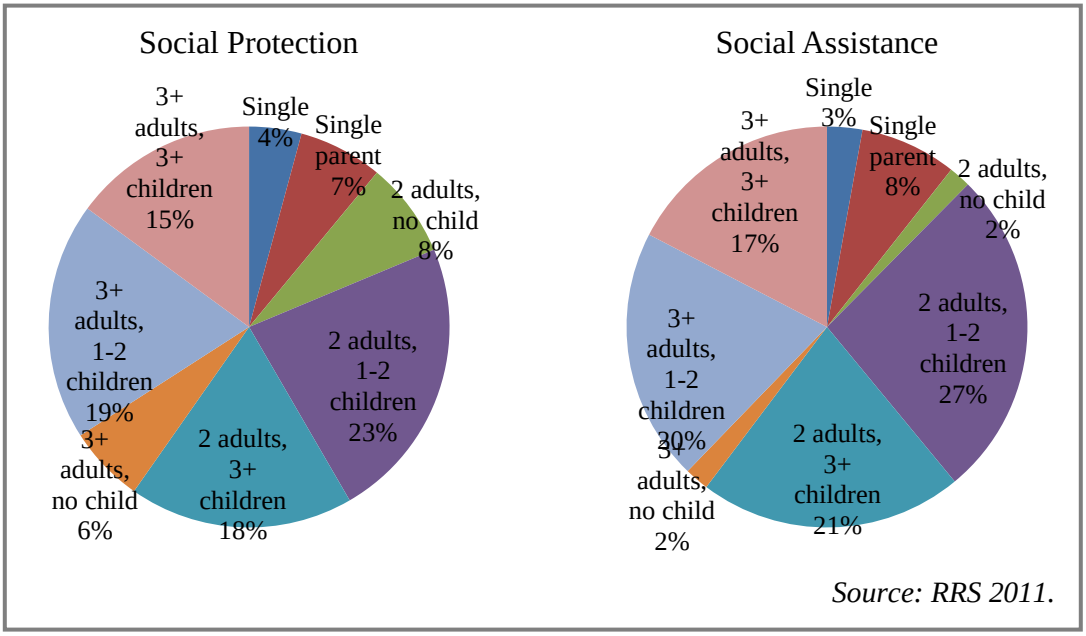
[141] The SCA is a universal cash transfer to all children under 18 (or older if still in school), with differentiated benefit levels for all children under 2 years old, and children with disability. The GMI is a monthly cash transfer that tops up family income to a GMI threshold. Adult family members who can work are subject to a work requirement and an activation requirement.

[142] Old-age allowance (non-contributory pension) has a very low coverage in Romania, both among non-Roma and Roma households (less than 0.2 percent of all households).

[143] RRS does not not permit to identify the coverage of GMI in compact neighborhoods as it lumps all SA programs but the SCA together.

percent. Two thirds of the household head beneficiaries have no education (see Figure 4-4 and Table 8 in the Annexes).

FIGURE 4-4: HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE OF SOCIAL PROTECTION BENEFICIARIES – ROMA FAMILIES



Educational outcomes of Roma households are quite low (see Chapter 2 on education), and Romania's Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) programs have not proven effective so far at improving educational outcomes of the Roma . CCTs are considered to be one of the most effective ways of improving educational outcomes, and represent in many developing countries a substantial share of the safety nets mix. In Romania, education-related social protection transfers are limited, and CCT programs few and far between. Introducing its first Conditional Cash Transfer related to education in 1993, Romania later abandoned this policy as unconstitutional in 2007. Not only is there little evidence to suggest that Romania's first attempt at a CCT brought positive change in the educational outcomes of Roma, but the policy also seems to have negatively affected the economic well-being of some segments of the country's Roma population. On the other hand, Money for High School – a CCT for secondary education introduced in 2004 – appears to exhibit potential to exert a positive effect on Roma's (and others') educational outcomes, but only to the extent that its current shortcomings are addressed adequately from both demand and supply sides.

TABLE 7: EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF SOCIAL PROTECTION BENEFICIARIES

	SP	SA only
Economic activity of household head		
Employed	36.3	41.3
Unemployed	12.0	12.9
Out of labor force	51.7	45.9
Education of household head		
None	63.1	62.4
Primary	28.5	29.3
Secondary	8.1	7.9
Tertiary	0.3	0.4

Source: RRS 2011.

4.2 COVERAGE, TRANSFER AMOUNTS AND TARGETING EFFICIENCY

Social insurance and non-targeted family policy programs display good coverage within the Roma community. The State Child Allowance displays extremely good coverage of its potential beneficiaries: 95 percent of Roma households with children under the age of 2 are beneficiaries, as well as 90 percent of those with children under the age of 18. This take-up is slightly higher than in non-Roma neighboring households (92 and 89 respectively). Similarly, three out of four (74 percent) Roma households with at least one individual beyond compulsory retirement age[144] receive contributory pension benefits. This is however much lower than in nearby non-Roma households, where the proportion reaches 97 percent. This highlights a major gap in the social pension program, which is meant to target low-income pensioners and should cover the difference between their current pension level and a guaranteed minimum: there are no recipients of the social pension[145] in the sampled Roma households, even though 15 percent of Roma households count at least one person in age of retiring.[146]

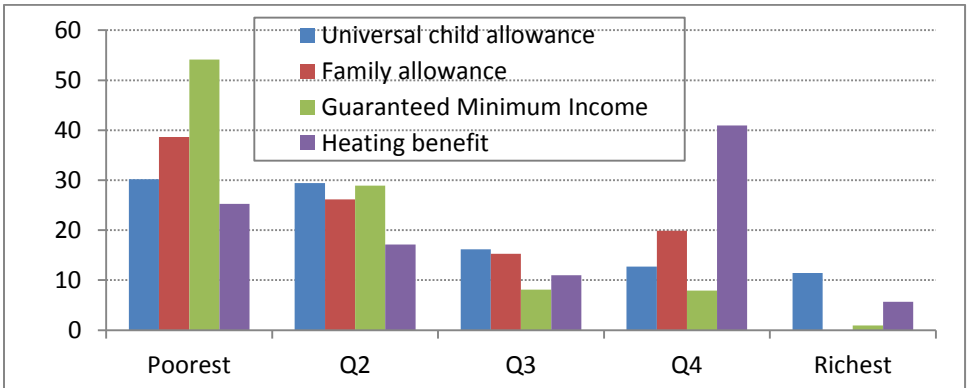
On the other hand and despite lower coverage of Roma households, means-tested programs for low-income families cover Roma households much better than non-Roma (HBS 2012). The Guaranteed Minimum Income, which tops poor families' income up to a given threshold, covers about two fifth of Roma households in the poorest quintile (3 percent of non-Roma). The family allowance, a monthly cash transfer to families with children in the poorest three deciles, reaches 10 percent of the Roma in the poorest quintile, but less than 2 percent of non-Roma

[144] Retirement age individuals are men over 64 and women over 59, as per the Romanian legislation in 2012.
[145] Pension systems are made of two components: (i) contributory pension schemes – employees contributing a share of their income while working receive pension proportional to their contributions, and (ii) means-tested non-contributory pension schemes – also called social or old-age pension – targeted at poor individuals. Data come from HBS 2012.
[146] Ibid. footnote 9.

households from the bottom 20 percent of the income distribution. Similarly, the heating benefit – a seasonal cash transfer program targeted at households in the poorest half of the population – reaches about 8 percent of the Roma, compared to 3 percent of non-Roma households.

The means-tested system scores indeed better on coverage of the poorest Roma and on benefits' incidence. 63 percent of the poorest Roma quintile is covered by the GMI, 16 percent benefit from the family allowance and 11 percent receive the heating benefit. Over half of the GMI budget allocation going to the Roma is received by the poorest quintile, and similarly 39 percent of the family allowance budget and 25 percent of the heating benefit budget for Roma households accrue to the poorest quintile (see Figure 4-5). These findings are corroborated by the share of means-tested transfers received by the Roma which is larger than from programs not specifically targeted at low-income groups: while the Roma represent 9 percent of Romania's poorest income quintile, they receive only 4.5 percent of the total SA envelope, and 6.7 percent of means-tested programs' budget.

FIGURE 4-2: BENEFITS' INCIDENCE AMONG ROMA HOUSEHOLDS



Source: HBS 2012. Note: Benefits' incidence is the transfer amount received by each quintile as a share of total transfers received by the population. Quintiles are constructed before SP transfers.

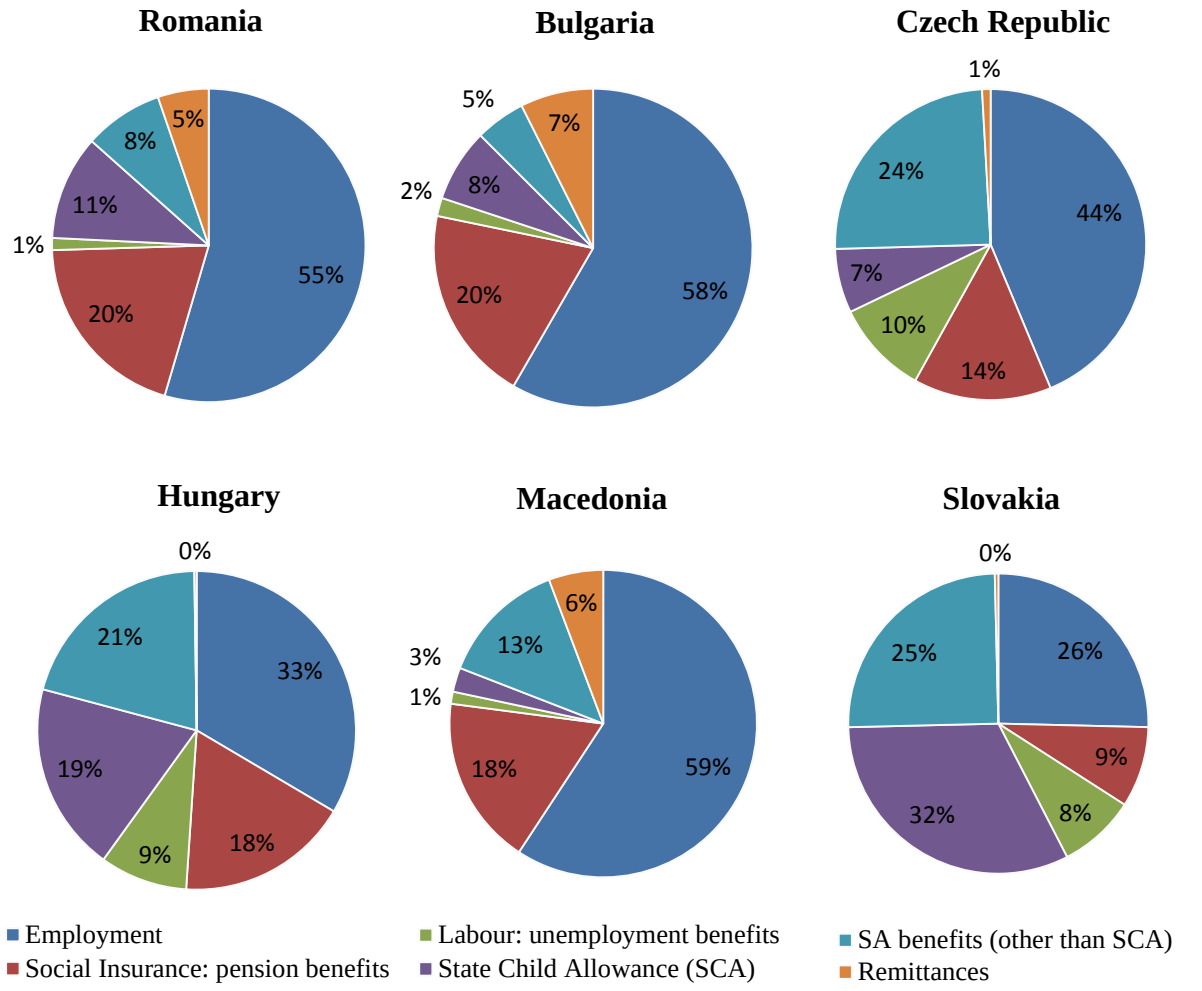
4.3 SAFETY NET TRANSFERS AND INCOME DECOMPOSITION

Romania's Roma derive a relatively large share of their total income from employment when compared to other Eastern European countries (see Figure 4-6). With Bulgaria and Macedonia, Romania's Roma are the only households where income from employment represents over half of total household income. On the other hand, employment represents 44 percent of income for Roma families in the Czech Republic, 33 percent in Hungary and only 26 percent in Slovakia. As in most other countries, the share of income stemming from contributory pensions and unemployment insurance is about one fifth of the total income. Finally, the child benefits represent a small share of household income (11 percent), as in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, and Macedonia. It is much lower when compared to Hungary and Slovakia – respectively 19 and 32 percent.

Social insurance and social assistance contribute to the same extent to household income in Roma families (see Figure 4-7). Both Roma and non-Roma households rely heavily on social

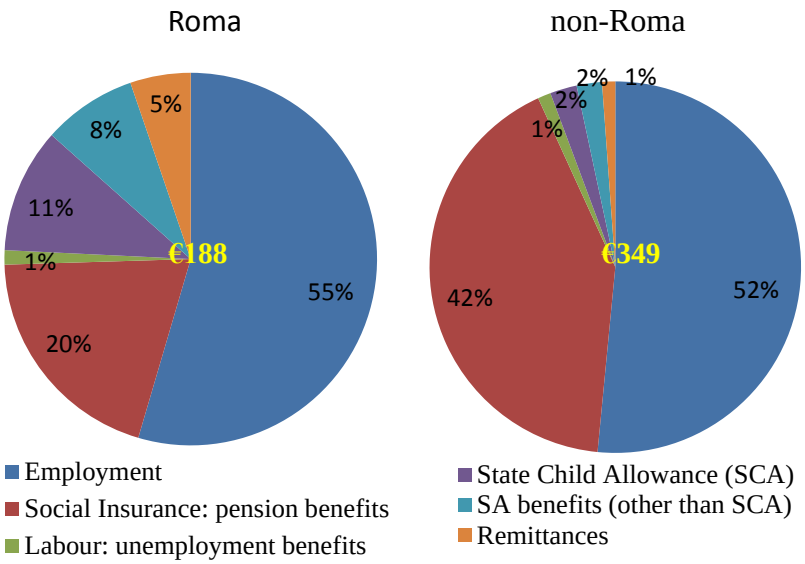
protection as a whole: only just over half of total household income comes from employment activities. Social assistance transfers represent 20 percent of income in the case of Roma households, out of which half – or about €20 per month per household – comes from the State Child Allowance. SCA transfers only make up for 2 percent of non-Roma neighboring households' income. Social insurance transfers also represent 20 percent of household income in Roma families, with contributory pensions amounting to about €40 per month. This is much lower than non-Roma households, where the same share reaches 42 percent, and transfers amount to €146.

FIGURE 4-3: INCOME SOURCE - CROSS-COUNTRY COMPARISON



Source: RRS 2011.

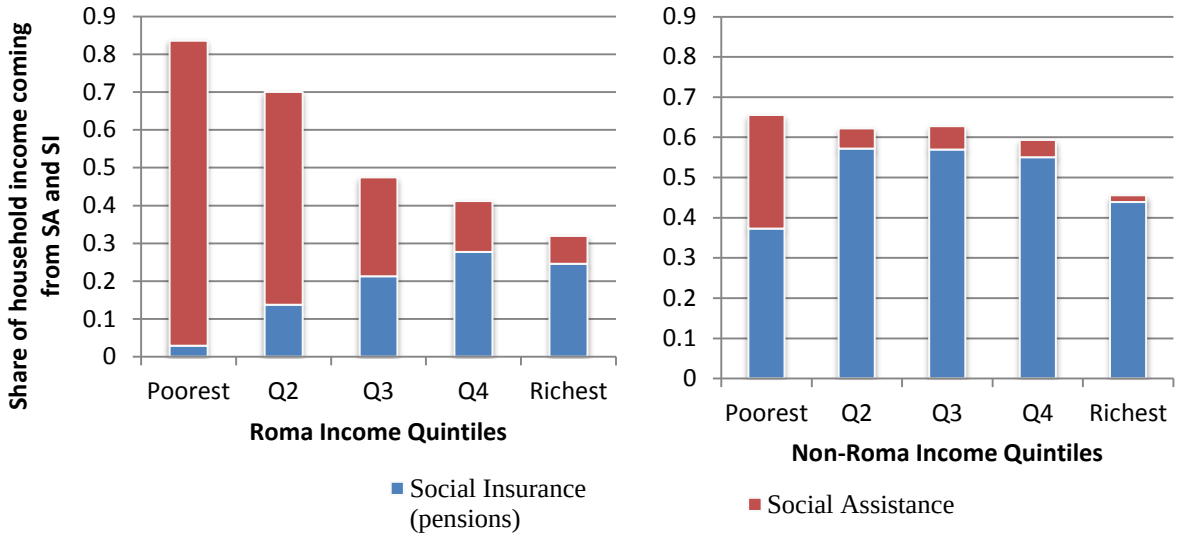
FIGURE 4-4: INCOME DECOMPOSITION



Source: RRS 2011.

The income impact of social protection programs is progressive among Roma households: low-income Roma households depend on social assistance for almost all of their income, while safety nets constitute a small share of richer Roma families' income (see Figure 4-8). Among Roma households, dependency on social protection is very regressive with income, as is social assistance. On the other hand, the share of household income coming from social insurance increases steadily with household income and reaches 25 percent in the richest Roma income quintile. Among non-Roma households nearby, the share of income obtained from social transfers is rather uniform across quintiles, with very limited reliance on social assistance.

FIGURE 4-5: DEPENDENCY ON SOCIAL PROTECTION BY INCOME QUINTILES



Source: RRS 2011.
Income quintiles were constructed separately for Roma and non-Roma populations.

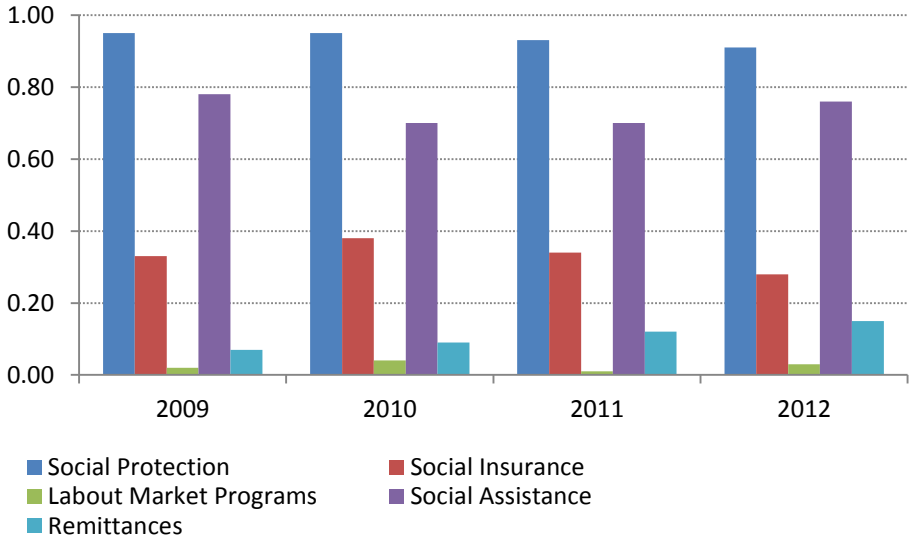
4.4 IMPACT OF SOCIAL PROTECTION PROGRAMS

Social protection contributes to a limited extent to poverty reduction among Roma households. Simulations suggest that safety net transfers reduce the proportion of Roma households in the bottom quintile of the income distribution by 8.6 percentage points (HBS 2012). In the absence of SP transfers, 82 percent of the Roma would be in the bottom quintile (up from 73.2 percent). Social insurance (contributory pensions) contributes most to poverty reduction (6.2 percentage points) followed by social assistance (3.5 percentage points out of which 1.4 percentage points are the State Child Allowance). Transfer amounts are thus inadequate to participate significantly in a poverty reduction effort.

However, there is field evidence that the GMI pays a dual role as last resort income and health insurance, thus reducing vulnerability among Roma households. Due to the restrictive nature of health insurance benefits in Romania, the GMI in fact assumes a dual role: in addition to providing last resort social assistance to vulnerable and chronically poor families, it also serves as a *de facto* health insurance: unemployed individuals who are either not initially eligible for health insurance, or do not have the means to subscribe on their own to health coverage, apply to the GMI to benefit from the health insurance component.

In the aftermath of the 2008 crisis, Romania's Social Protection system had little room to expand its coverage of the poorest Roma (Figure 4-9). The proportion of Roma households in the poorest quintile covered by at last one SP program has remained stable over time, at over 95 percent. The share of households covered by social insurance (pensions) rose slightly in the aftermath of the crisis, when the proportion of households covered by social assistance decreased by 8 percentage points. However, remittances started playing an increasing role as the share of Roma households receiving remittances in the poorest quintile rose from 9 to 16%.

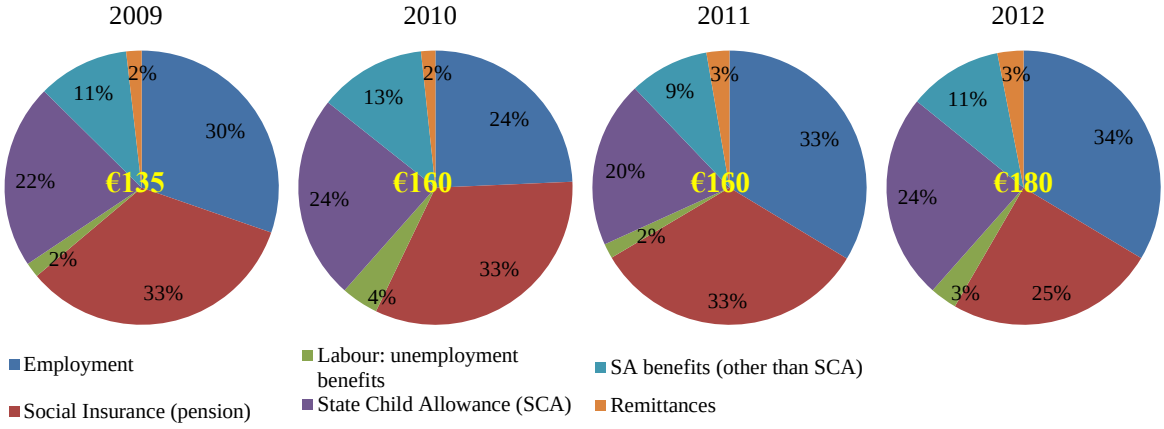
FIGURE 4-6: SOCIAL PROTECTION COVERAGE 2009-2012 – ROMA HOUSEHOLDS IN POOREST QUINTILE



Source: HBS 2012.

Similarly, the income of the poorest Roma was quite resilient to the 2008 crisis. The share of income coming from work activities remained stable at about one fourth to one third of total household income between 2009 and 2012. In addition, total household income did not shrink but steadily increased from 2009 to 2012 in real January 2011 terms (see Figure 4-10).

FIGURE 4-7: INCOME DECOMPOSITION 2009-2012 – ROMA HOUSEHOLDS IN POOREST QUINTILE



Source: HBS 2012.

Finally, there is limited evidence on the impact of the GMI on Roma's employment pattern. Firstly, a Roma household in which the household head is employed is only 5 percent less likely to depend on social assistance than a Roma household where the household head has no job, keeping other background characteristics the same. This finding is based on regression estimates that explore the correlation between social assistance and household background characteristics, including employment. As shown in the Annex, the association is much weaker than among non-

Roma neighbors, for which the chance of depending on social assistance decreases by 13 percent if the household head is employed. Secondly, the average GMI transfer received by Roma households in the poorest quintile is €15 per capita, or 17 percent of the maximum per capita income for this income group, which should not deter recipients from finding a job on the labor market.[147] Thirdly, the poorest households, which are also more likely to hold informal jobs, have fewer disincentives to work, as their total income is difficult to verify: Romania's GMI is a top up income, which takes into account household income from work and social transfers to verify eligibility and set the transfer amount. Because most Roma households, as other non-Roma poor households, are employed in the informal sector, the informal income declared to social welfare is difficult to verify,and despite asset checks, vulnerable households are likely to declare lower income levels than what they really are to qualify for the GMI, while continuing to work.

4.5 INSTITUTIONS AND IMPLEMENTATION

Whereas the Romanian social protection system is governed by a complex and comprehensive package[148] of laws, there is no explicit legislative provision to regulate the targeting based on ethnic considerations. Nevertheless, the Roma are included among the most vulnerable groups social protection measures provide for; therefore, the analysis will tackle the functioning of the system as a whole, from the perspective of definitions, duties and responsibilities, regulatory and interagency mechanisms, and resources allocated to its functioning. Most of the central institutions were created during the EU pre-accession process, often following considerable pressure from the EC. They are also the most developed, regulated and best financed ones, whereas the provision of services at local levels did not benefit from the EC's attention as its development was considered to be a a „natural" next step of the reform process.

The decentralization process of the social protection system remains vague, with increasingly diluted roles, responsibilities and accountability, as one moves from central to local agencies.[149] With more impact on institutional construction, the demarcation of organization and operating rules governing the institutions follows the same trend: any central institution will have a well-defined organizational chart, with clear roles and responsibilities, including the quality of human resources, whereas the functioning of local ones relies on vague provisions for the organizational charts, a mixture of unclear roles and responsibilities, and poor quality of human resources.

[147] This remains slightly below 20 percent, which is the rule of thumb for work disincentives for safety net transfers.
[148] From social assistance framework to social benefits and services provision, from public to private, from programs to policies, from quality standards and accreditation to social inspection, all in favor of a variety of beneficiaries, the package is accessible at http://www.mmuncii.ro/j3/index.php/ro/legislatie/protectie-sociala
[149] Roma specific (National Agency for Roma, regional offices, county and local professionals) and non-Roma social protection institutions (Ministry of Labor, Family, Social Protection and Elderly, Agencies and Central Authorities, County Agencies, particularly for payment of social benefits, Local councils and professionals at local level).

- **From a horizontal view, the inter-institutional cooperation relies mainly on the goodwill of stakeholders at each level of decentralization.** Therefore, cooperation cannot be properly achieved, not because of the segregation of duties and responsibilities, but because of the lack of harmonizing capacity and the lack of institutional linkages explicitly regulated by law.

- **From a vertical perspective, whereas the de-concentration maintains the hierarchy relationships and thereby inter-institutional relations work well between central and county levels, the decentralization principles are different:** county and local authorities are less responsible and accountable in front of central institutions, with the exception of financing. Hence, local authorities are given the money to invest in social protection, but are not monitored on their effectiveness in accomplishing adequate targeting and coverage.

- **Moreover, the number of institutions is disproportionately distributed between decentralization levels:** for each social protection area there is a central and a county institution, whereas at local level an institution alone deals with all the areas. As real leverages between decentralization levels are missing, this could once again make local social policy implementation impossible. Normally, monitoring, evaluation and control should act as leverages, but these systems and procedures are in fact deficient.

- **Additional burdens come from the difficulty in managing the authority and the decision making processes,** which, all combined, hamper the capacity to act properly at almost any local level of the social protection system.

On the organizational side, stakeholders' duties and responsibilities remains complex due to a limited M&E system, lack of accountability and heterogeneous structures. Monitoring appears to be something everybody is aware of and is engaged in, but a closer look shows key risks: in a scheme where little accountability is associated with the process, monitoring becomes an intention rather than a coherent process with the ability to inform policy making in a relevant manner. Central authorities monitor quality standards, principles and rights stipulated by law as well as variations in budgets, number of social benefits' recipients or types of services they receive, but this mechanism is affected by two factors: the lack of strategic and coherent data collection and reporting mechanisms at lower levels, and missing institutional linkages between the levels of decentralization.

- First, local and county councils must set up local needs-adjusted services. Thus far, no system of control was set up to reward best practices or to sanction failure.

- Second, it is impossible to set up a uniform articulated system, since there are no mandatory organizational charts to ensure the required number of services in line with legal provisions.

- Third, the inspection role at the levels of both local decision-makers and specialized entities (e.g. social inspection) is misunderstood or underestimated: the same county agency[150] is in charge of both delivering social benefits and carrying out the social inspection measures. The overlapping of the two functions makes the system vulnerable from the perspective of transparency and accountability, mainly in a context where vertical and horizontal lines of authority are often blurred. Accountability remains to be an informal feature or attribute of institutions as long as there is no regulatory mechanism of positive and negative sanctions.

Local level stakeholders need to ensure appropriate quality of services despite limited resources, both material and financial. There are no clear regulating mechanisms between the levels of decentralization,[151] nor appropriate mechanisms for funds allocation. The legislation, and in particular the framework law on decentralization, is hardly regulating the financing mechanisms. It proposes only general principles and makes references to the law on local public finances and annual budget, which continues to remain very generic. The central and county structures' functioning relies[152] on a detailed description of resources they use and sources they access in implementing their programs, whereas the local stakeholders are given only some guidelines[153] that barely offer a real answer to the questions "from where?" and "how much?" In addition, financial sources are often unavailable[154]. As for the effective provision of social protection measures for the vulnerable, particularly the Roma, the system allocates the necessary funds at central and county level, but apparently 'forgets' a key element: its own functioning relies on an entire system of stakeholders and services at the community level, which has unclear and uncertain allocated funds.

The number of roles assigned to local staff is an everyday burden. There are clear definitions of stakeholders at central, county and local levels.[155] All appears to be a complex set of institutions, where – theoretically – the strategic functions (e.g. social policies) and the operational functions (e.g. implementation, monitoring) are fulfilled by articulated institutions at each level of decentralization. However, a closer look indicates that as the level of decentralization becomes lower, the number of institutions decreases while the number of roles increases, which creates tremendous pressure on local professionals. Local-level professionals carry a heavy burden of roles and responsibilities on their shoulders due to the multitude of legal

[150] County Agency for payments of social benefits and social inspection – de-concentrated stakeholder in charge of provision of all social benefits, with the exception of those for disabled

[151] The current analysis relies on the Law 195 / 25.05.2006 of decentralization which establishes its key principles. In 2013 the Government is expected to take responsibility over the Parliament regarding the decentralization process.

[152] Government Decision 131 / 15.03.2012 on the functioning of National Agency for payment of social benefits and social inspection, including its county bodies.

[153] All relies on the provisions of the law on decentralization.

[154] All the laws stipulate a large list of financing mechanisms (programs, local financing circuits, etc.) but in reality the state budget is the most reliable source. Its availability, together with the appropriate control mechanism appears to be a key guarantee of success for any policy, particularly within the SP system.

[155] Law 292 / 20.12.2011 on Social Assistance Framework.

provisions: in rural areas, a single person carries out all the tasks. Cojocaru (2007) shows that over 65 percent of communes have only one employee in social assistance. This is one of the key factors related to the poor quality of services[156] for those in most need, particularly the Roma. The same pattern applies to the specialization of professionals, which is much higher at the central than at the local level. The professionalization relies on the allocated financial resources, which in the case of local communities are once again poor; therefore, the quality of human resources at local level is poor due to professionals' under-specialization, whereas at the county or national levels[157] the situation is the opposite.

In addition, at the county level other stakeholders deliver social benefits,[158] although the reform was supposed to create a single agency (see above); its professionals are in charge of ensuring effective access to social benefits, but this engenders a 'proximity disadvantage': vulnerable people living in remote areas often (cannot) make considerable efforts to reach these institutions.

4.6 RECOMMENDATIONS

4.6.1 POLICY GOAL 1: REINFORCE MEANS-TESTED SAFETY NET PROGRAMS

While 95 percent of the Roma in the poorest quintile receive at least one social protection transfer, 75 percent of the Roma remain below the poverty line, raising questions about the effect of these social protection measures on poverty reduction. Increasing the equity of the system, especially for the Roma, will be achieved by expanding the principle of granting assistance primarily to those in need.

POLICY MEASURE 1A: CUT BACK ON SOCIAL PROTECTION PROGRAMS THAT DO NOT TARGET THE POOR EXPLICITLY

Social inclusion must be promoted by refocusing social assistance spending on the poorest – and thus the Roma – and making it easier for them to access the assistance programs for which they are eligible. Reforms are underway but efforts need to be sustained.

- Cut back on social protection programs that do not target those in need. This may include the elimination or scaling down of regressive, ineffective programs – e.g. the elimination of the pro-natality cash payments to couples and mothers in July 2010.
- Consolidate program eligibility rules: this will cut down administrative costs, and will simplify a complex system, both on the beneficiaries' and the institutions' side – e.g. the recent law consolidating all means-tested programs (Family Benefits, Heating Benefits, and the GMI) into one single program for low-income households. The new program is larger and more generous than the current GMI and better targeted than the Family or the Heating Benefit.

[156] The term "services" covers both social services as means to support the vulnerable children, disabled, elderly, etc., and the administrative services as means to ensure access to benefits.
[157] Ibid. 72.83% of the human resources in SP work don't hold higher education degrees in social work.
[158] General Directorate for Social Assistance and Child Protection – decentralized stakeholder in charge of social services and provision of social benefits for disabled only.

- Focus on what works: Romania's social assistance system has some strong features to build upon. With the means-tested GMI – which ranks among the best in terms of targeting accuracy in the region and the world – Romania has found a model that is well adapted to country circumstances. This program targeted at low-income households – and thus the Roma – can be used as a platform for other low-income programs.

Such initiatives discarding program lines and consolidating a large number of social assistance programs around the most successful ones were undertaken in Brazil, Chile and Mexico under respectively the Bolsa Escola (now Bolsa Familia), Chile Solidario and Progresa (now Oportunidades) programs.

BOX 4-1: CHILE SOLIDARIO[159]

To address multiple needs of Roma families through the social protection system, Romania can build on international experiences such as the Chile Solidario program. This program focuses on providing complementary services targeting the poorest families that go beyond the main social safety nets available in Chile. The program's main goal is to help households progressively sustain their exit from extreme poverty by improving their human capital assets, housing, and income-generation capacity. Chile Solidario also has a supply-side component, aimed at ensuring coordination among different social protection programs.

The rationale comes from the recognition that an approach with isolated and sectoral programs is not able to address the multiple and interrelated causes of extreme poverty. The long-term objective is to move away from an approach based on single programs toward a system of social protection in which bundles of programs are tailored to meet the specific needs of households that are hard to reach. While the specific target groups are obviously different in the Chile Solidario, the program feature of a dedicated coordinating body providing personalized social protection support to the most vulnerable provides important lessons for the Roma situation, where the social protection system provides not only a crucial backbone for security but provides also opportunities to stimulate targeted investments in employment, (early) education, health, housing, and financial literacy.

POLICY MEASURE 1B: SET CLEAR PROGRAM OBJECTIVES ANGAINST WHICH THEY SHOULD BE EVALUATED

- Evaluate poverty reduction impact of programs: means-tested programs should be the backbone of poverty reduction. However, in Romania, most poverty reduction is achieved through contributory pensions, and not through social safety nets. When compared to neighboring countries, Romania is the country with the largest share of social insurance programs to total household income (20 percent).
- Emphasis should be put on social assistance programs so that they play their role as the main poverty mitigation strategy. By prioritizing programs targeted at low-incomes

[159] See http://www.chilesolidario.gob.cl/en.

households, a greater share of social assistance benefits would shift to those in the poorest quintile, which includes a disproportionate share of the Roma.

- Avoid confusion and evaluate programs against their stated objectives. For instance, many GMI applicants are more interested in the health insurance component of the GMI than in the income support: roles and goals of programs must be though of carefully so as to respond to the Roma community's needs.

4.6.2 POLICY GOAL 2: IMPROVE ACCOUNTABILITY THROUGH M&E

POLICY MEASURE 2A: STRENGTHEN PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT

- Institutionalize M&E: in a context where monitoring, evaluation, control and inspection are not always understood in their true value and meaning, the analysis at this level underlines an inconsistent monitoring doubled by the virtual lack of evaluation and a low capacity in making the control a positive feed-back mechanism to contribute to system's development.
- Train staff in evaluating their work: there is a clear need of training for professionals at all levels in relation to the role and use of an appropriate monitoring and evaluation mechanism. This should rely on a comprehensive ex-ante and ex-post approach, taking into account all technical, material and human related needs. Whereas this could relatively easily happen, the evaluation would require additional intervention: preparing the system in generating its own lessons learnt and striving to achieve progress only based on reliable evidence. With these two desiderata fulfilled, the control and inspection functions of the system could easily fulfill their counseling and regulating role.

POLICY MEASURE 2B: SHARE BEST PRACTICES ACROSS MUNICIPALITIES

- The Romanian government can improve the effectiveness of social protection interventions and expand its reach to the neediest by systematically piloting and evaluating promising ideas, and by investing more in knowledge sharing across municipalities. Governments, also in Europe, are increasingly using rigorous impact evaluations to pilot programs and measure their effectiveness. This is especially important in areas where policy measures are designed to address some of the greatest social challenges, including improving employment prospects for the long-term unemployed. Examples include a program of systemic evaluations of social protection measures in Denmark, the Netherlands, France, and others such as Mexico and Brazil. To implement these evaluations, the Romanian evaluation departments in the Ministries can reach out to academics and policy think tanks in Europe – e.g. the Poverty Action Lab Europe – founded at MIT University, and partner with local Romanian think tanks. The European Commission is promoting (and funding) social policy experiments through its

PROGRESS facility, as was highlighted during the December 2012 conference on monitoring and evaluation in Bratislava.[160]

- Furthermore, the Government of Romania could establish a knowledge portal of good practices of municipal activation activities. Many municipalities are undertaking innovative ideas in the area of employment as well as other areas, sometimes in collaboration with the NGO sector. Creating a platform where mayors and other municipal level authorities can exchange these ideas with one another – even a virtual platform – and creating a regional task force that systematically compiles these practices (including impact evaluation findings) and shares them with municipalities can ensure that good but isolated ideas can benefit all municipalities. Such an initiative is currently being funded in a few Dutch municipalities: a Platform for Roma communities of the VNG is being launched as of December 2013, where municipalities with Roma populations can share their experience of what works and what doesn't.[161]

POLICY MEASURE 2C: SIMPLIFY APPLICATION PROCESSES

Reduction in the cost of applying for beneficiaries and accessing the system would have the greatest impact on poor households, including the Roma.

- Simplifying application procedures would be particularly important for the Roma population as international evidence suggests that complex application and verification procedures can represent an obstacle to Roma inclusion in social programs: . For these reasons, it is expected that the Roma would benefit from simplification of application procedures and improved targeting of social assistance, both in terms of raising welfare and reducing vulnerability.

4.6.3 POLICY GOAL 3: DEVELOP MEASURES THAT GO BEYOND INCOME SUPPORT

Romania's social assistance system should develop program that go beyond mere income support, by increasing its pro-activity and providing incentives for households to invest in the health and education of their children, and for adults to seek and retain work. Thus working hand in hand with the education, health and labor Ministries is highly needed.

POLICY MEASURE 3A: PROMOTE INVESTMENTS IN EDUCATION AND HEALTH

Roma's low level of education has been identified as one of the key obstacles to income generation.

[160] http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTROMA/Resources/6159861325095562445/Diane_Angermueller.ppt

[161] See the report commissioned by the Dutch Ministry of Security and Justice, which offers scientifically validated knowledge on how municipalities tackle the multi-dimensional issues faced by Roma families (integration, unemployment, pollution, crime, women and children rights, etc.):
https://www.politieacademie.nl/overdepolitieacademie/nieuws/Documents/Aanpak%20multi-problematiek.pdf

- Investigate the development of a compelling CCT: a few initiatives related to CCTs exist in Romania (Money for High School or the conditionality of the Family Assistance), but their impact on schooling outcomes is either inconclusive or has not been evaluated. For instance, the evaluation of Money for High School shows it has a potential to induce positive changes in Roma's educational outcomes, but these are limited by benefit levels that are too low to cover the costs of school attendance and, more importantly, the absence of provisions to increase the quality of education, particularly in the rural areas which constitute the policy's main focus. On the other hand, program features, which seem to merit further consideration for reducing the gap in educational outcomes between Roma and non-Roma include targeting of beneficiaries on economic grounds and the attendance conditionality, as well as the absence of per-family benefit ceilings. International experience of such successful programs includes Mexico's Oportunidades and Brazil's Bolsa Familia.
- Early childhood development: similarly, several studies on Roma households show that the lack of financial resources of the family is one of the main barriers to send children to preschool education. Removing preschool costs barriers for the poorest parents and providing incentives to poor parents to enroll their children into preschool at an early age (as early as 3 years old) conditional on meeting good attendance might be considered as a priority. The incentives may take different forms, according to the real needs of the community and the profile of the population – see Chapter 2 on education.
- In the light of decentralization and models of integrated community-based care, MoH, MoE and MoLSP should be working hand in hand.

POLICY MEASURE 3B: COMPLEMENT GMI WITH ADDITIONAL ACTIVATION MEASURES

Social economy may be considered as a path for the inclusion of Roma in the labor market, beyond the activation measures included in the GMI. Several successful projects have already been implemented with good activation results. Although they would need to be improved in terms of sustainability, these types of experiences should be shared much more broadly across the different municipalities and among all the relevant actors – see Chapter 3 on Employment.

4.6.4 POLICY GOAL 4: SIMPLIFY THE SOCIAL ASSISTANCE SYSTEM THROUGH BETTER COORDINATION

The complexity of the current social protection system leads to fragmentation, redundancy, and overlaps. A reorganization of the service delivery chain around the principle of one-beneficiary, one application, one-point-of-service could substantially reduce the administrative and private costs of social assistance.

POLICY MEASURE 4A: DEFINE CLEAR MANDATES

Setting clear program objectives and monitoring their results to improve performance management is key.

- The legislative analysis indicates that not all institutions and their mandates are clearly defined and the cooperation procedures and mechanisms need considerable improvements. Moreover, the resources and the access to them are insufficiently specified. The social control mechanisms are vague and overlapping, requiring systemic adjustments and compulsoriness.
- Programs need to be merged and consolidated: the institutional[162] analysis indicates that deconcentration and decentralization, instead of interacting in a complementary manner are sources of systemic incoherency and/or redundancy both vertically and horizontally. This leads to authority, decision-making and action vacuums. Consolidating the number of benfit programs will reduce fragmentation and will contain spending levels.

The establishment of effective legislative provisions to make institutional cooperation work both vertically and horizontally will result in addressing more effectively the needs of all vulnerable groups, particularly the Roma. Increased access to social protection for all vulnerable implies increased institutional capacity. Whereas the allocation of resources may be a part of the response to the issue, the schemes of responsibility and accountability need to be strengthen at each level of intervention, particularly the local / community one.

POLICY MEASURE 4B: IMPROVE ADMINISTRATIVE EFFICIENCY

The administration of the current SP system is inefficient: harmonization and integration for the different programs need to be designed. That includes the preparation of a legislation to support the change, and modify the supporting the management information and IT systems of the agency responsible for the payment and registry of the majority of social assistance programs (NASB). Staff in town halls and county agencies would need training on the new system.[163]

POLICY MEASURE 4C: EMPHASIZE THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIATORS

A network of trained and certified Experts on Roma exists specifically to provide outreach to Roma populations. Social mediators exist for all communities at risk, but education and sanitary mediators and local Experts exist for communities with a significant Roma ethnic population. These Experts, most of whom are of Roma origin, provide support to their communities by disseminating information and helping individuals deal with their problems at the local council level. In 2010, the position of Expert on Roma was recognized nationally, giving town halls a legal basis for hiring such experts. A national Government Strategy for the Social Inclusion of the Roma called the 'Roma Decade Action Plan' (prepared under the Decade for Social Inclusion of the Roma) is in place and is being implemented reasonably well at the county level.

[162] The institutions ensuring access to social protection are the same for all vulnerable groups, including the Roma. Whereas no explicit measure may be envisaged exclusively for Roma, it seems that a part of low access of Roma to SP measures may be explained by the institutional constraints. This is due to low institutional capacity but also to the reduced responsibility and accountability of stakeholders directly interacting with the vulnerable groups.

[163] Technical assistance for implementing this result area would be have been earmarked in the on-going Romania SIP.

- Human resources need to be allowed to do what they should do (social workers to carry out social work activities not bureaucratic ones) and on the other hand could be better trained. A coordination mechanism between county and local levels could also be envisaged.
- One must ensure that Roma counselors are present in areas where there is a Roma community, as they prove to be the key link between Roma households and social protection programs.

POLICY MEASURE 4D: FOCUS ON LOCAL DELIVERY OF SERVICES

- The analysis of resources indicates that the budgets are inequitably distributed between the various levels and areas. Although an increase of resources may address part of the systemic issues, the practice indicates this is not a universal panacea to all the problems vulnerable groups and particularly Roma are facing. The issues generated by a context of scarce resources require, besides financial, human and material additional support, the use of existing ones in a more effective and efficient manner.
- Financial resources could be regulated by explicit legislative provisions on their use in the benefit of most vulnerable.

4.6.5 IMPLEMENTATION

Summary Table of Policy Recommendations

Recommendation	Entity(ies) best placed to implement the recommendation	Impact (Critical impact; High impact; Enabling condition)	Time frame Short: < 6 months; Medium: 6-18 months; Long: >18 months	Monitoring indicator
Policy Measure 1: Reinforce means-tested safety net programs				
Policy Measure 1A: Cut back on SP not targeting the poorest	MoLFSP	High Impact	Short	Overall and program-specific targeting accuracy
Policy Measure 1B: set clear program objectives against which they should be evaluated	MoLFSP	Critical Impact	Medium	Each SP program has a clear and measurable development objective *(ex: "provide health insurance to the poorest quintile if in the informal sector")*
Policy Measure 2: Strengthen the institutional social welfare system				
Policy Measure 2A: Strengthen performance management	MoLFSP,	High Impact	Short	Standardized OM for all agency levels, M&E enforced, timely reports received from all agency levels
Policy Measure 2B: Share best practices across municipalities	MoLFSP	High Impact	Medium	Existence of a knowledge portal with examples of good practices
Policy Measure 2C: Simplify application procedures	MoLFSP	Critical Impact	Medium	Less paperwork to apply to programs, use of common eligibility criteria when possible
Policy Measure 3: Develop measures that go beyond income support				
Policy Measure 3A: Promote investments in	MoLFSP, MoE, MoH	Critical Impact	Short	Integrated health, education and social

education and health				protection policies
Policy Measure 3B: Complement GMI with additional activation measures	MoLFSP	Critical Impact	Short	Additional activation measures offered with GMI
Policy Measure 4: Simplify social assistance system through better coordination				
Policy Measure 4A: Define clear mandates	MoLFSP	Critical Impact	Short	Unnecessary programs discarded/shrunk, programs merged and consolidated
Policy Measure 4B: Improve administrative efficiency	MoLFSP, NASB	Critical Impact	Short	Management information and IT system updated
Policy Measure 4C: Emphasize the role of Roma social mediators	MoLFSP	Critical Impact	Medium	1 Roma counselor per municipality with share of Roma above national average
Policy Measure 4D: Focus on local delivery of services	MoLFSP	Critical Impact	Medium	Proportion of resources used for low-income targeted programs

Summary Table of Potential Indicators to Monitor Key Policy Objectives in the SP Sector

Indicators	**Purpose**	**Potential Data Source**
Indicator associated with each SP program's development objective	Track progress of each SP program towards its stated development objective	Administrative data (every 6 months), HBS data every year
Coverage and generosity of each SP program (disaggregated by Roma and non-Roma)	Track proportion of Roma covered by each SP program	HBS data every year
M&E indicators	Track functioning of social welfare agencies	Administrative data, M&E reports, yearly

REFERENCES

Cojocaru, Ş., and D. Cojocaru, 2007."Identified Practices in the Area of Child Abuse, Neglect and Child Labour Prevention at PSSA", USAID, ChildNet, Page 88.

Radu, M., 2011. "Romania - Promoting Social Inclusion of Roma", European Commission, DG Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion.

Roma Education Fund, 2009. "Assessing Conditional Cash Transfers A Tool for Reducing the Gap in Educational Outcomes between Roma and non-Roma," Roma Education Fund, Working Paper No 4.

Sollie, H., V. Wijkhuijs, W. Hilhorst, R. van der Wal, N. Kop, 2013. "Aanpak multi-problematiek bij gezinnen met een Roma-achtergrond: Een kennisfundament voor professionals," Boom Lemma Publishers, The Hague.

The World Bank, 2011. "Romania Functional Review – Labor and Social Protection Report", Volume 2, The World Bank, Washington D.C.

The World Bank, 2013a. "Europe 2020 Romania Evidence-based Policies for Productivity, Employment and Skills Enhancement", The World Bank, Washington D.C.

The World Bank, 2013b. "Diagnostics and Policy Advice on the Integration of Roma in the Slovak Republic", The World Bank, Washington D.C.

ANNEX

TABLE 7: PREDICTING SOCIAL PROTECTION AMONG ROMA HOUSEHOLDS

	All households	Roma households	Non-Roma neighbors
Roma	0.061**		
	(0.03)		
Household Age	0.000	0.000	0.001
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Household Male	-0.023	-0.005	-0.079**
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Employed	-0.071***	-0.051**	-0.128***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.04)
Education (omitted: none)			
Primary Education	0.035	0.039	0.031
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.05)
Secondary Education	-0.027	-0.055	0.015
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.05)
Tertiary Education	-0.138**	0.078	-0.128
	(0.07)	(0.21)	(0.08)
Pensioners	0.122***	0.096***	0.135***
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Child <5 y.o.	0.170***	0.158***	0.208***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.05)
Child 6-17 y.o.	0.195***	0.206***	0.168***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.04)
Suffers from hunger	0.051**	0.051**	0.037
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.06)
Speaks Romani at home	-0.049**	-0.055**	-0.038
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.12)
Dominant ethnicity of settlement: Roma	-0.014	-0.020	0.023
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.05)
Region (omitted: Bucharest)			
Transilvania	0.023	-0.023	0.112
	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.08)

Muntenia	-0.003	-0.032	0.059
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.05)
Moldova	0.038	0.010	0.086
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.06)
Constant	0.596***	0.672***	0.689***
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.13)
R2	0.207	0.191	0.283
Degrees of freedom	1,089	740	334
Number of observations	1,106	756	350

*p<0.10, **p<0.05, *** p<0.01*

Source: RRS 2011.

5 HEALTH

The third dimension of exclusion faced by Roma is 'Access to Basic Services and Living Conditions'. A crucial component of this dimension is health. This chapter provides a detailed assessment of the gaps that exist in health outcomes between Romanian Roma, their non-Roma neighbors, and the general population. The assessment is followed by policy recommendations considered to deserve priority concern based on the assessment. The most important recommendation is to ensure adequate early child and maternal health standards, as well as adequate care for these groups.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Romania's health system performs poorly in delivering health services, especially to the rural poor, where most of the Romanian Roma reside (WB Health Sector Review[164]). Due to a combination of a limited number of facilities, shortage of health personnel and fear of high medical costs, a large majority of the poor (85%) do not seek health care when they need it. Romania spends less than 5 percent of its GDP on health, which is low compared to EU member states that spent on average 8.7 percent on health. When accessing health services, Romanians complain about long waiting lines, persistence of informal payments, poor infrastructure maintenance and suffering indignities.

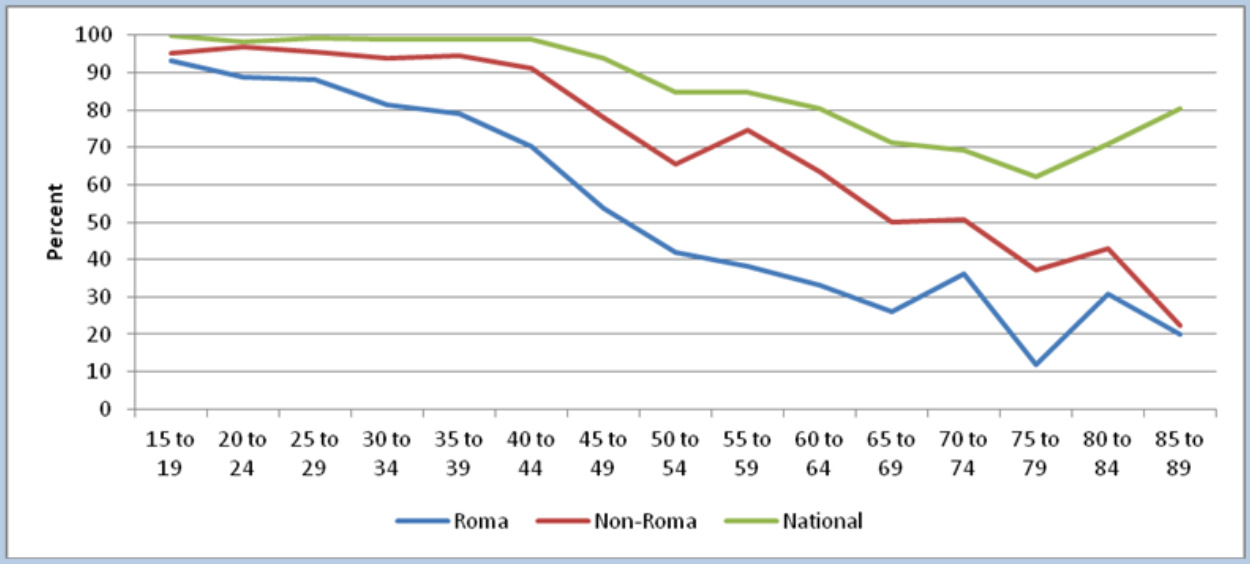
Within this general context, the Roma are particularly affected and their life expectancy is on average 6 years lower than the non-Roma population in Romania. The disparities in life-expectancy are consistent with the regional survey[165] finding that only 2.6% of Romanian Roma are older than 65, as opposed to 18% among the general population.

Roma suffer worse health than the non-Roma population (Box 1). The 2011 Roma survey data on the health status of Roma and the results of the Impreuna Survey point to a higher burden of infectious and chronic disease (UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey, 2011; Impreuna Study 2013; European Roma Rights Centre, 2013[166]). When broken down by age-group, the self-reported health status of Roma is much worse than among non-Roma adults and elderly (figure 5-1, UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey, 2011). This is especially the case for women, who suffer at earlier ages and more often from ill-health (Figure 5-2).

[164] http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2011/05/17056888/romania-functional-review-health-sector
[165] See section 2 on methodology for a description of the Regional Roma Survey.
[166] http://www.errc.org/cms/upload/file/hidden-health-crisis-31-october-2013.pdf

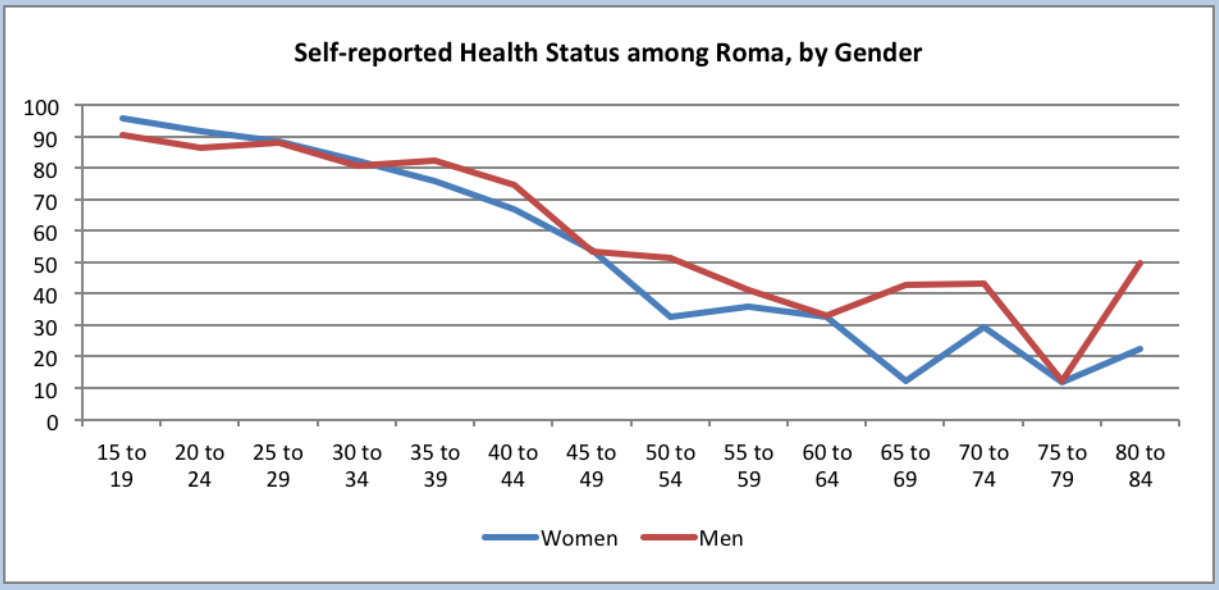
BOX 5-1: THE HEALTH STATUS OF ROMA DECLINES FASTER THAN AMONG NON-ROMA

FIGURE 5-1: FRACTION OF ROMA, NON-ROMA AND NATIONAL ADULTS WHO REPORTED THAT THEIR HEALTH WAS EITHER GOOD / VERY GOOD, OR FAIR, BY AGE GROUP



Source: Roma and non-Roma neighbors: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011); General population (referred to as 'national' in the figure): Eurobarometer (2006).

FIGURE 5-2: FRACTION OF ROMA ADULTS WHO REPORTED THAT THEIR HEALTH WAS EITHER GOOD / VERY GOOD, OR FAIR, BY AGEGROUP AND GENDER



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

Explanatory factors of lower health status include poor living conditions which contribute to infectious disease, diarrhea and respiratory disease, especially among children. About 30% of Roma households live in a ruined house or slum, while only 4% of non-Roma

households do. Only 18% of Roma households have indoor sanitation (toilet, bathroom, sewage connection) while 40% of nearby non-Roma families have these amenities. 35% of Roma households report irregular or no collection of solid waste, versus 20% of non-Roma households nearby. 42% of Roma households use wood for cooking (14% among non-Roma households nearby) and 87% use wood or coal for heating, substantially more than the use by non-Roma comparator households (73%).

Second, a high burden of chronic disease is consistent with high risk behavior such as smoking, both for men and women, poor diet and low levels of physical activity. For example, the analysis shows that almost half of Roma adults smoke regularly and Roma women smoke 2.2 times as much as Romanian women nationally.

Third, poor health outcomes can be caused by ineffective use of the available health services. The regional Roma survey finds that most Roma (over 75%), live within a few kilometers (3 or less) from a health facility. Moreover, most Roma report being satisfied with the health services received. At the same time, 42% of Romanian Roma does not seek health care when they actually need it. Over 80% of those that do not seek needed care say it is because of financial constraints, even though a number of services are free of charge. Lack of insurance and uncertainty about what to pay are major concerns.

Health is one of the six main directions for action in the National Roma Inclusion Strategy (NRIS), however it responds only in a limited way to Roma health needs. The health objective *fostering health promotion measures which would contribute to better access of the Roma citizens to public healthcare services and to an increase in life expectancy* is addressed by two MoH priorities: (i) vaccination campaigns for the unvaccinated Roma children and (ii) health education campaigns on TB prevention which are included in the 2012-2013 Action Plan. However, the fourteen additional directions for action, focusing mainly on health promotion and health education are not yet put into an action plan. Topics like chronic diseases, mother and child health, early childhood nutrition and care, reproductive health, adolescent health, and health threatening behaviors are missing entirely.

The remainder of this chapter presents findings from the recent regional Roma survey on Roma health status and performance of the health system for the Roma population in Romania. Based on the findings of the regional Roma survey and on the review of the current health policies and programs addressing Roma health, specific policy recommendations are suggested at the end. The policy recommendations are consistent with, and broaden, the overall NRIS.

5.2 METHODOLOGY AND KEY DATA SOURCES

The findings in this chapter rely primarily on the Regional Roma Survey (UNDP/World Bank/EC, 2011), and comparisons with data on the general population. Throughout this chapter, two comparison populations are presented: 1) the "general population," which is the national population of each country in the EU Eurobarometer data[167], and 2) “non-Roma,” who

[167] For comparison of Roma's health status and utilization of health services with those of the general population in Romania, use was made of the Eurobarometer instead of EU SILC. Although the latter is used throughout the rest of this report as the main source for comparison data, the EU SILC survey did not include detailed questions on health-

are non-Roma neighbors of the vulnerable Roma sampled in the Regional Survey. The chapter will use these terms to refer to specific comparison populations.

In addition, complementary findings are also presented from a second, recently conducted study on Roma in Romania, conducted by the Impreuna Agency (2013). The sampling method for the survey relied on third-party identification method for determining which households were of Roma background. Data were collected in July 2012. In contrast to the regional Roma survey, which represents Roma living in communities with a concentration of Roma higher than the national average (89% of all Roma), the Impreuna study aims to be representative of all Roma in Romania. At the same time, the sampling method adopted in the Impreuna study decreases the odds of Roma living in concentrated communities to end up in the sample. Since this is precisely the group of Roma that generally has worse welfare outcomes, the numbers cited in the Impreuna study should be interpreted as 'lower bound estimates'. In the current chapter, the Impreuna study is used to complement the regional Roma survey findings, where the latter lacks details on specific subject areas.

Follow up face-to-face interviews were held with Roma and non - Roma NGOs, Roma health mediators and community nurses, general practitioners, as well as with representatives of national and local public institutions (MoH, NAR, county health authorities, Roma experts at county level), WHO and UNICEF representatives to include more in-depth understanding of certain health service utilization behavior and program implementation. Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with hospital nurses have been cross-checked with the findings from FGDs carried out with Roma mothers of inpatients children. Other two FGDs were carried out with Roma and non Roma population living in the same community and insights related health services access and barriers, users and healthcare providers' behaviors are included in the analysis below.

All estimates related to the general population of Romania are based on Eurobarometer survey data collected in either 2006 or 2009. Eurobarometer (2006) is data from the 66.2 round of the Eurobarometer surveys. The survey queried respondents about their general health and quality of life and current or past health problems. Respondents were also asked about treatment for chronic illness, medical tests or health checkups, and recent changes in health behavior. Demographic and other background information includes age, gender, origin of birth (personal and parental), and marital status. In all, Eurobarometer 66.2 interviewed 28,585 citizens aged 15 and over of the 25 countries in the European Union after the 2004 enlargement, remaining Accession Countries (AC) Bulgaria and Romania, Candidate Country (CC) Croatia, and among the Turkish Cypriote Community (TCC). National estimates on smoking and alcohol consumption were based on data from Eurobarometer 72.3, conducted in 2009. This round of the survey interviewed 30,292 citizens in the 27 countries of the European Union.

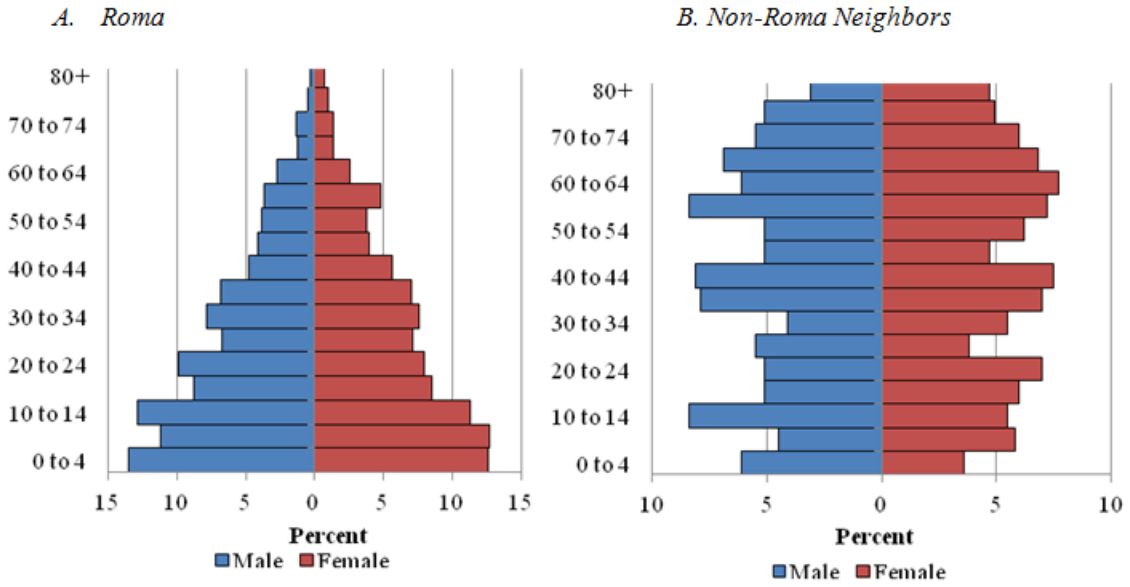
When comparing adult estimates across these populations, the figures are also adjusted for age in order to identify the disparities or gaps between Roma and non-Roma. The Roma population structure is different from that of the general population or non-Roma neighbors – Roma are younger on average and have fewer elderly (Figure 5-3). As a result, comparing simple

---

related behavior, health status and health utilization. Since the Eurobarometer did include these topics, use was made of this comparison survey instead

averages between Roma, non-Roma neighbors and the national population would bias the results obtained for Roma: overall health status figures, for example, would be equal across the three groups, but this would be caused entirely by the fact that Roma are, on average, much younger, and that health problems generally occur at an older age. To prevent this bias, such figures are either disaggregated by age-group – presenting separate estimates for those aged 25-54 and those aged 55 or older – or, when only one estimate for the entire adult population is provided, this is based on an adjusted age structure for Roma.[168]

FIGURE 5-4: POPULATION AGE STRUCTURE FOR ROMA AND NON-ROMA NEIGHBORS IN ROMANIA



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

5.3 POPULATION AND HEALTH OUTCOMES AMONG THE ROMANIAN ROMA

5.3.1 AGE STRUCTURE AND FERTILITY

Roma marry young and have high dependency ratios. About 28% of Roma between the ages of 15 and 19 years are married, as opposed to only 2% in the general Romanian population. About 63% of Roma between the ages of 20 and 24 years are married, compared to 17% in the general population (Regional Roma Survey, 2011). The difference in marital age is driven predominantly by Roma women who get married very early: while 16% of Roma men aged 15-19 are married, among Roma women of this age-group, almost 41% is married. The Roma population also has a higher dependency ratio whereby more community- or family members that are not in the labor-force depend on members in the labor-force with gainful employment, which, coupled with low employment rates, exacerbates poverty levels.

[168] The age structure for Roma is adjusted in these cases in such a way that it 'mimics' the age structure of the national population. This is done in order to prevent a bias in estimates for Roma towards seemingly 'good' health outcomes, caused by the fact that the Roma population is, on average, much younger than the national population in general.

After marrying young, the mean desired age to start having children is 21 years for Roma women, compared to 26 among non-Roma women (Roma Regional Survey 2011). In a household survey across Europe, the fraction of women between the ages of 14-16 years that had given birth for the first time is three times higher among the Roma than among the non-Roma (FSG 2009). Early age pregnancy is linked to low income, likely due to lower levels of education among low income Roma households, as well as to a lack of information on birth control and a lack of financial means to invest in the latter (Impreuna, 2013: 123). According to Impreuna, the average number of children per woman has declined and is 1.74 currently (2.35 in 1992).

5.3.2 LIFE EXPECTANCY

Life expectancy among Roma is considerably lower than among the general population in Romania. Rigorous data on life expectancy gaps between Roma and the general population are rare in most countries because administrative data are not disaggregated by ethnicity. Data that does exist is often estimated or extrapolated from household survey data or official statistics, and may be based on small sample sizes. Table 1 presents Roma life expectancy data for countries in Eastern Europe, available since 2000, including their source and methodology. Although the data are derived from various sources and should be interpreted with caution, the evidence is suggestive of lower life expectancy among Roma. The gap in Romania of an estimated 6 years is average compared to the gaps in other countries, but the data concerns and the year (2003) should be kept in mind. More recent data (ERRC, 2013) mention a 16-year difference in the age of death between Roma and the general population in Romania.[169]

TABLE 1.6: LIFE-EXPECTANCY FOR ROMA AND NON-ROMA IN SELECTED COUNTRIES

Country	Year	Life Exp Gap	Life Exp Roma	Life Exp Gen Pop	Source	Methodology
Moldova	2006	3	65	68	UNDP survey (UNDP-Moldova 2006)	Estimate based on infant deaths from household survey, and correlation between life expectancy and infant mortality.[170]
Serbia	2005	10	63	73 [171]	2005 Mortality Database, Serbian Office of Statistics (Bogdanovic et al. 2007)	No methodology reported. Only reported life expectancy gap.

[169] Hidden Health Crisis - A Report by The European Roma Rights Centre: Health Inequalities and Disaggregated Data, October 2013, p.5

[170] The Roma infant mortality rate was calculated as number of infant deaths (40) over total number of live births (1,386). No reference to the range of years (e.g., births within the last 10 years) over which the births occurred.

[171] Non-Roma life expectancy from WHO European Health for All Database (HFA-DB 2010)

Romania	*2003*	*~6*	*64*	*70*	*UNDP survey (UNDP 2003)*	*Estimated from life expectancy of countries with similar infant mortality rate. Infant mortality rate estimate from separate survey (RHS 1999).*[172]
Hungary	2002	10-15	56-61	71	Unknown (Kovac 2002)	No methodology reported.
Bulgaria	2001	5	67	72	1992 and 2001 census, Bulgaria (UNDP 2003)	No methodology reported. Data only for people who declared ethnic affiliation.
Slovakia	2000	15	59	73 [173]	UNDP 2004, Zoon 2001[174]	Not methodology reported. Only reported life expectancy gap

Source: World Bank

5.3.3 BURDEN OF DISEASE

Evidence from small, local studies indicates that infectious disease prevalence remains high among the Roma. Measles outbreaks have occurred in recent years among Roma communities in Italy, Portugal, Germany, Greece, Croatia, Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia and Poland (Loewenberg 2006; Orlikova et al. 2010; Seguliev et al. 2007).

Romania has the highest Tuberculosis (TB) incidence within the European Union and reported in 2010 the fifth-highest rate TB incidence within the WHO Euro region (after Kazakhstan, Moldova, Georgia and Kirgizstan). The 2013 ERRC survey shows that the rate of diagnosis of TB among Roma respondents is more than double that of the general population, while in the 55 to 64 age group diagnosis is four times higher among Roma respondents[175]. Given the high percentage of resistant forms of diseases, Romania has joined the group of 18 European countries labeled as priority TB control countries due to the high occurrence of TB Multi-Drug-Resistance (MDR).

Self-reported health outcomes suggest that Romanian Roma suffer disproportionately from long-lasting and chronic diseases. Self-reported prevalence of asthma is significantly higher

[172] Unclear which infant mortality rate was used for the calculation. UNDP 2003 cites that the Roma infant mortality rate is "roughly three times higher than the national average" and shows infant mortality rate figures of 27.1 for the Romanian population and 72.8 for the Roma population for children born in the last 5 years, between 1994-1999. The RHS 1999 final report only presents figures for children born in the last 10 years, between 1989-1999, with infant mortality rate figures of 26.9 for the Romanian population and 50.6 for the Roma population.

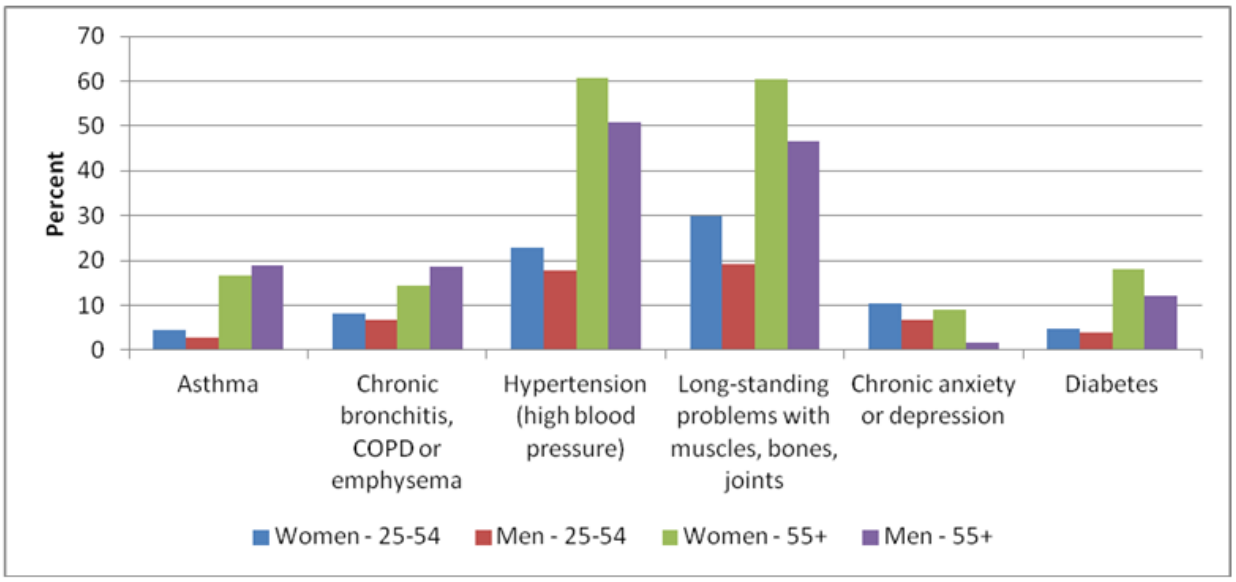
[173] From WHO European Health for All Database (HFA-DB 2010)

[174] Zoon and UNDP only present life expectancy gap for men (13 years) and women (17 years). For overall life expectancy gap, Roma male-to-female ratio was assumed to be the same as for the general population, 95:100 (UN Population Division 2000). Source cited was a report by the International Organization for Migration (2000), which was not found.

[175] Hidden Health Crisis - A Report by The European Roma Rights Centre: Health Inequalities and Disaggregated Data, October 2013, p.6

among adult and elderly Roma. Hypertension and rheumatism/arthritis are among the most prevalent chronic illnesses reported both among the Roma, non-Roma neighbors and (not shown) the general population of Romania. Self-reported prevalence of hypertension and chronic joint/muscular pain is about 50% among elderly Roma. Self-reported prevalence of these six chronic diseases is generally slightly higher among Roma as compared to their non-Roma neighbors, and gaps are particularly large among men (Figure 5-5). Similarly, shares of elderly Roma suffering from a chronic illness and limitation in daily activities (both genders) are much higher than among non-Roma neighbors. These chronic diseases, including mental illness, require regular medical care (and associated expenditures), and their management requires health literacy[176] among both patients and their families. Self-reported, age adjusted prevalence of each chronic disease is often higher among Roma women than among men.

FIGURE 5-5: CHRONIC DISEASE RATES AMONG ROMA MEN AND WOMEN, BY AGEGROUP



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

5.4 DETERMINANTS OF HEALTH OUTCOMES

Why are Roma people dying young and suffering from poor health status? There is evidence suggesting that the socio-economic conditions in which Roma grow up and live expose them to greater risk factors in comparison with their non-Roma neighbors and the general Romanian population. In addition, Roma display unhealthy behaviors such as smoking and early pregnancies. Utilization of health services determines one's health status to some extent, especially for as far as preventive services utilization, seeking timely care when needed and awareness of once health status are concerned. Roma tend to seek care late and they experience barriers and constraints to seeking care to a higher degree than their non Roma neighbors.

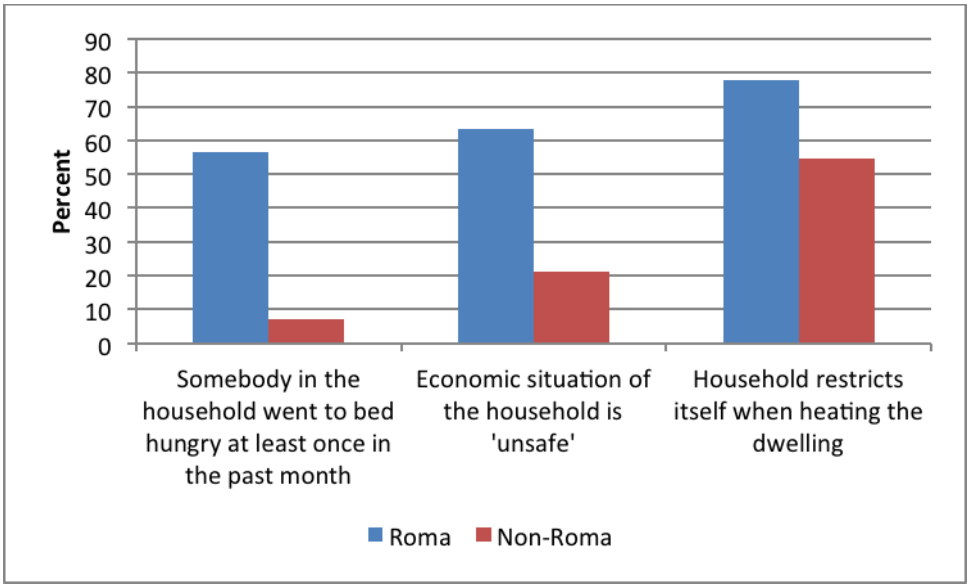
[176] Health literacy is the ability to understand instructions on prescription drug bottles, appointment slips, medical brochures, doctor's directions and consent forms, as well as the ability to negotiate complex health care systems.

5.4.1 SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHALLENGES

High poverty, low education, and low employment rates among the Roma population contribute to poor health. Most Roma of working age do not have jobs: over half is not in the labor force, and among those who are, one third is unemployed. Roma have lower levels of education, with less than 10% of adults aged 25 or older having finished secondary school. Many Roma are subject to very poor living conditions and face financial constraints reducing much needed investments in human capital such as education and health. 40% of Roma children in Romania are not enrolled in school and 30% report this is because school is too costly. Poor health also directly impacts educational outcomes: 6% of children are not enrolled because of illness.

Low socioeconomic status and poor health among the vulnerable Roma go hand in hand with hunger and other measures of hardship. Over 55% of Roma households in Romania surveyed reported that a household member went to bed hungry at least once during the past month. Roma are unable to maintain heating through the winter with three-quarters of Roma households reporting they restrict heating during winter (figure 5-6).

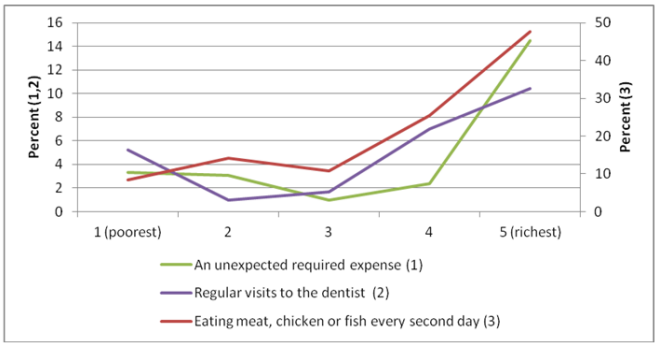
FIGURE 5-6: MEASURES OF ECONOMIC HARDSHIP AMONG ROMA AND NON-ROMA NEIGHBORS



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

Vulnerable Roma households face constraints when making decisions about health investments, including the purchase of nutritious foods. Financial constraints bind Roma and non-Roma households differently, even though these households are located in the same or neighboring communities and experience similar socioeconomic conditions. For example, only a small minority (5%) of Roma households report that they would be able to pay for a large, unexpected expenditure out of the household's own resources – compared to 28% of their non-Roma neighbors. Similarly, only 1 in every 5 Roma households can afford to eat meat every second day (compared to 3 in every 5 non-Roma households).

FIGURE 5-7: AFFORDABILITY OF UNEXPECTED EXPENDITURES, NUTRITIOUS FOOD AND DENTAL VISITS AMONG ROMA, BY INCOME QUINTILE



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011). The figure refers to the Fraction of households reporting the can afford each item.

Approximately 40% of the children in Roma households are undernourished, leading to long term negative health and loss of learning ability (Roma Early Childhood Inclusion Report 2012). UNICEF has drawn attention to the risk of child malnutrition in Romania, estimating that among those suffering from malnutrition 72 percent are children under three. Child anemia prevalence decreased between 2010 and 2004 however, the prevalence of anemia among Roma infants remains very high at 60%. Nevertheless, compared to previous years, there is a declining trend which can be associated with better preventive care actions taken in these communities, including sustained efforts made by community nurses or Roma health mediators.

Exclusive breastfeeding rates in Romania are very low (12,6%) in general and while better, still low among Roma, 20%. In addition to poor breastfeeding rates, diet diversification is inadequate, with mothers feeding their children little meat, eggs and vegetables. Diet diversification is especially poor among the economically disadvantaged population, including Roma, people in rural areas and children of poorly educated mothers[177].

5.4.2 PUBLIC SERVICES INFRASTRUCTURE

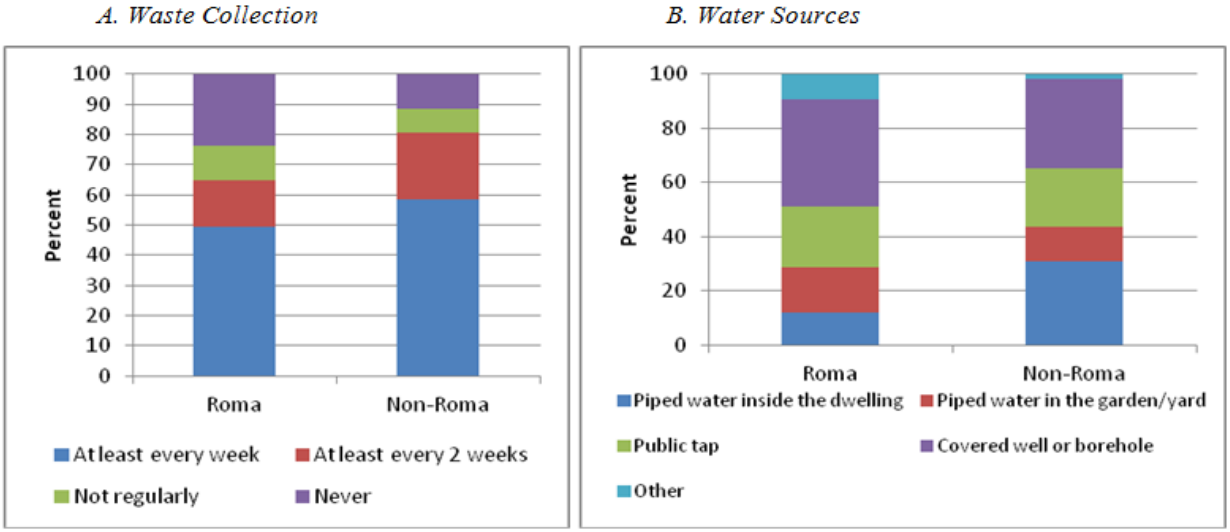
Provision of public infrastructure in vulnerable Roma communities is inadequate. Estimates from the Regional Roma Survey show that while the majority of vulnerable Roma have regular waste collection in their neighborhood, 65% report waste is collected only once every two weeks. Among neighboring non-Roma, 81% reported the same. Only 12% of Romanian Roma households have piped water inside their dwelling and close to three quarters of Roma households access water through a public tap or a source at higher risk of contamination[178]. Compounding the problem, over 80% of vulnerable Roma households in Romania reported their residence was not connected to the public sewerage system, and a similar share did not have showering/bathing facilities inside the dwelling. Each of these factors places Roma at higher risk for contracting infectious disease. The connection problems may be related

[177] (Nanu MI et Co., Evaluarea eficienţei intervenţiilor incluse în programele naţionale privind nutriţia copiilor, IOMC, MS, UNICEF, 2011)

[178] Data on the quality of drinking water that Roma households use has never been collected.

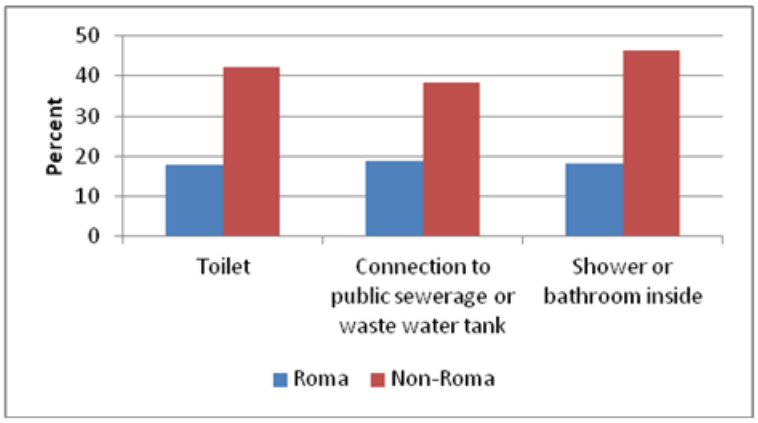
to the fact that connection tends to stop where Roma communities start (see chapter on discrimination).

FIGURE 5-8: WASTE COLLECTION AND WATER SOURCES IN VULNERABLE ROMA COMMUNITIES



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

FIGURE 5-9: FACILITIES WITHIN HOUSEHOLDS



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

5.4.2 DIET, SMOKING AND ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION

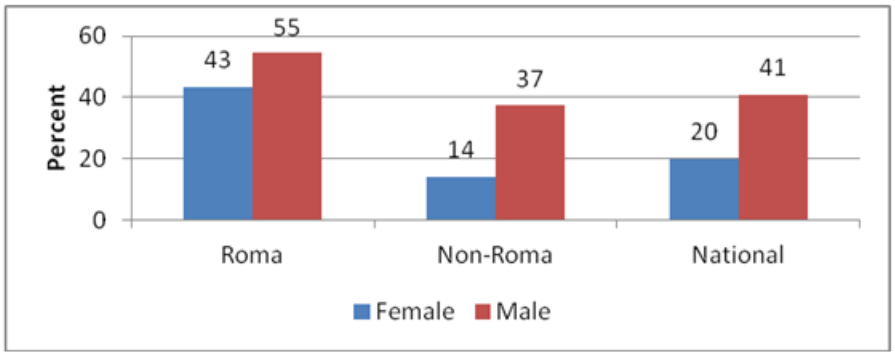
Across Europe, Roma adults and children are poorly nourished, a result of unhealthy diets and nutrition practices reinforced by the low socioeconomic status of the population. Poor diet and nutrition contributes to low immunity, a high incidence of infectious diseases, and poor child growth, reducing education attainment and increasing the risk for cardiovascular disease in later life (WHO, 2003). In Romania, the intake of fruit and vegetables among Roma was found to be much lower than among non-Roma (Impreuna, 2013: 118). Similarly, the intake of meat was much lower among Roma, with almost 90% of non-Roma reporting to be eating meat at

least 2-3 times a week, compared to two thirds of the sampled Roma (ibid.). Only slightly over half of the sampled Roma in this study consume vegetables on a daily basis, compared to 80% among non-Roma.[179]

Related to good nutrition is the condition of teeth. Roma have a high incidence of non-treated cavities and missing teeth and have poor dental check-up records (FSG 2009), which can negatively impact the ability to consume fresh and healthy foods such as fruits and vegetables, whole grains and tubers.

Smoking is very common among Roma. 48% of Roma adults smoke regularly. Non-Roma neighbors smoke as well, but prevalence is significantly lower, at 20%. A very high percentage of Roma women smoke, 43% compared to 14% among non-Roma neighbors.

FIGURE 5-10: PREVALENCE OF SMOKING AMONG ROMA AND NON-ROMA, BY GENDER



Source: Roma and non-Roma neighbors: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).; General population (referred to as 'national' in the figure): Eurobarometer (2006).

By contrast, the evidence on alcohol use is inconclusive. According to the regional Roma survey, about 70% of Roma adults report that they never drink, which is 21 percentage points more than among the general population. Only 8% report drinking regularly: once to several times a week. These differences between the Roma, non-Roma neighbors and the national population are prevalent across both genders: generally, Romanian men in all three groups drink more frequently than women. The 2013 Impreuna study finds less of a gap between Roma and non-Roma, and in that study, alcohol consumption is actually higher among Roma. They also report that there is a correlation between alcohol consumption and smoking: i.e. in households with higher alcohol consumption, respondents are also more likely to smoke (Impreuna 20132:120). Alcohol consumption, smoking and especially drug abuse are reported as not high among Roma adolescents but the low level of awareness among Roma adolescents about HIV should be of most concern (UNICEF report, 2013)[180].

5.4.3 REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH AND INFANT MORTALITY

While most Roma women had visited a gynecologist at least once and gave birth in a hospital, the frequency of reproductive health check-ups is low. About 75% among Roma

[179] These gaps between Roma and non-Roma are likely to be even larger in reality, given that compact Roma communities were underrepresented in this study.
[180] Situatia adolescentilor in Romania, Raport final, septembrie 2013

and non-Roma women visited a gynecologist at least once in their life (Figure 5-11). It remains unclear, however, how frequently or regularly these visits were made and what the quality of the services is. For example, less than a quarter of Roma women had ever undergone a cervical smear examination[181]. As with other examinations, the fraction was slightly higher among the non-Roma neighbors (38%), which is also very low. These results suggest that while women in these vulnerable communities may be receiving care at the time of birth (89% did deliver in a hospital), access and utilization of pre- and postnatal care may still be very inadequate. Roma women participating in the focus group discussions held in the rural area mentioned that although they received information from the community health workers regarding the need to undertake cervical smear examination, the lack of money, health insurance, knowledge on how to access and reluctance to go to the gynecologist were reasons for noncompliance. Non-Roma women revealed better knowledge and higher use of pap smear examination, although financial barriers were also mentioned.

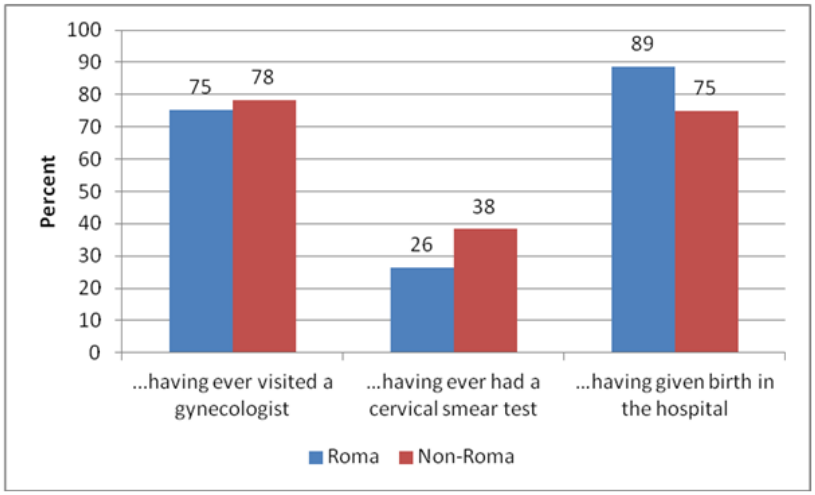
Among pregnant women, Roma reported an average number of three prenatal consultations, non Roma reported five consultations. This was driven, at least in part, by a higher share of Roma women who did not receive any medical check-ups at all, 13% (Impreuna, 2013: 124). More than half the adolescent mothers (aged 15-19) lack counseling during pregnancy and register the highest prevalence of non-users (10%) and under-users (51,4%) of prenatal care services.[182] Poor preventive healthcare among women is not only a Roma issue, but also a broader issue for all women across the region[183]. Mothers participating in the FGDs reported having received both pre and post natal care, through home visits from the family doctors' nurse and from the community nurse; as well checkups provided by the family doctor; some of them have been taken /accompanied to the family doctor by the health mediator, at least for the first visit during pregnancy.

[181] Women of reproductive age are recommended to have annual pap smears. Regular pap smears dramatically reduce the chance of development of invasive cancer.

[182] (Nanu MI et Co., Evaluarea eficienţei intervenţiilor incluse în programele naţionale privind nutriţia copiilori, IOMC, MS, UNICEF, 2011)

[183]Fewer than 50 percent of sexually active women in Moldova and Romania reported ever having had a Pap test; in Azerbaijan and Georgia, fewer than 5 percent of women reported having had the test in 2003 (Population Reference Bureau).

FIGURE 5-11: UTILIZATION OF REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH CARE SERVICES



Source*:* UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

Maternal mortality is over 15 times higher among Roma women than for non-Roma: 0,62%, compared to 0,04% (Vincze 2013:8). Among the structural obstacles Roma women face in the field of health are the exclusion from the health insurance system, caused by their absence from the formal labor market, as well as various discriminatory practices which they face when trying to access healthcare services. Roma women are likely to have a high risk of mental health issues associated to poverty-induced stress and anxiety at the time of pregnancy (Roma Support Group 2012:27).

Abortion rates remain high, especially in the lower income quintiles (Impreuna, 2013). Abortion is regularly used as an anti-conception method among Roma: as much as 17% of Roma women report abortion to be the method of birth control they use (4% among non-Roma women. Repeated induced abortion is not uncommon among some women living in Roma settlements, which poses another risk to their reproductive health. Women are not well informed about methods of birth control, in part related to low education levels and cultural factors that lead to tabooisation of sexuality in traditional Roma communities (UNDP/ILO 2002). According to a qualitative study on Roma women, the use of contraceptives is an important differentiation between communities. In traditional communities modern contraception is not accepted and probably not practiced[184].

The recent Impreuna study reports that the use of contraception among Roma increased (Impreuna, 2013), but remains lower than among non-Roma. Whereas in 1998, 23% of Roma women reported not to use any form of contraception because of a lack of knowledge, the same is only reported by 6.5% in 2012. The share of Roma couples reporting to use contraception has also increased, by a factor of 1.5 over the past 15 years. The response rate to questions on this topic is low (these numbers should be interpreted with caution); contraception is possibly perceived to be a taboo subject in Roma communities. Among those Roma women

[184] Malina Voicu, Raluca Popescu, "Roma women - known and unknown -*Family Life And The Position Of The Woman In The Roma Communities*, RESEARCH REPORT", available at http://www.oportunitatiegale.ro/pdf_files/Femeia_roma.pdf, accessed September 2013

who do not use any method of contraception, the largest share (17%) reports a lack of resources to be the reason (compared to 1% among non-Roma women). Religious reasons are also reported frequently (15% of Roma women considers the use of contraception to be 'sinful', compared to 11% among their non-Roma counterparts).

The risk of infant mortality among Roma infants is reported to be four times greater than among general population in urban areas (Roma Early Childhood Inclusion Report, 2012). Around 45.7% of the Roma children do not receive all the vaccines required by the National Immunization Program even though they are mandatory and free of charge. Roma children living in urban ghettos or in rural settlements are most exposed (RECI 2012)[185]. A very low immunization rate in Roma children is also found in ERRC survey 2013, almost four time as many Roma children (both genders) have never been vaccinated, 6.4%, compared to 1,7 % in the general population.

5.4.4 HEALTH CARE SERVICES

The Romanian Roma population is in much poorer health than the general population, raising the question whether the health system provides adequate services to fulfill the health needs of the Roma population.

Romania has the lowest number of health professionals (physicians, pharmacists and nurses) compared to the EU member states. This is particularly the case in rural or remote areas, where the majority of Roma live. In contrast, the services provided by the community nurses or Roma Health Mediators (RHM) are highly appreciated, where available. The FGD have shown that where they are present in the community, they provide both social support and health education and care. Participants mention a proactive approach of the community workers, who provide counseling and information on social and health related topics. Access to community workers is good; a common example was the community nurse's availability to provide home treatments at any time.

A large fraction (17%) of Roma households in vulnerable communities does not access outpatient care when needed. A higher fraction (25%) reported feeling unsafe with regard to their health needs. While the vast majority of vulnerable Roma *feel* that they have access to doctors when needed, only 28% report having gone to see a doctor on every occasion they needed one in the previous year (Figure 5-12). In contrast, almost 70% of their non-Roma neighbors report seeing a doctor when needed. The large majority of poor Roma are unable to afford needed medicines (Figure 5-13) and even the majority of considered richer Roma cannot afford them either. This is consistent with the findings of the focus-group discussions, Roma reporting the costs of medicines as the main barrier to healthcare. Costs of the ambulatory specialized services and the distances to the outpatient clinic prevent Roma from the rural settings to access outpatient specialized health services.

[185] RECI (Roma Early Childhood Inclusion) Overview Report -2012

FIGURE 5-12: DO RESIDENTS OF VULNERABLE ROMA COMMUNITIES FEEL THAT THEIR HEALTH NEEDS ARE BEING ADEQUATELY MET?

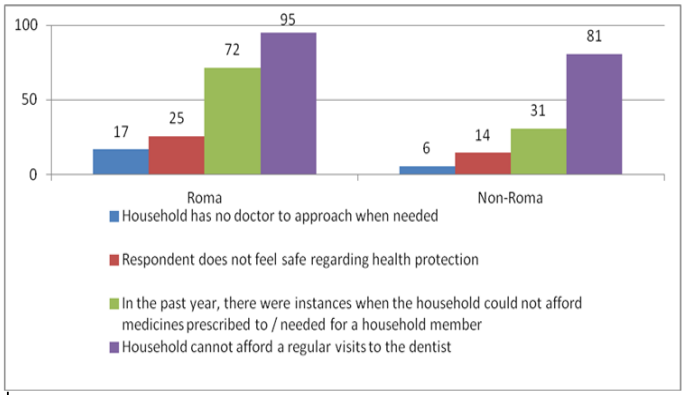
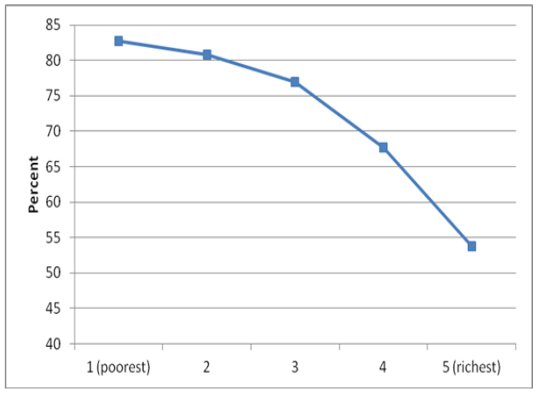


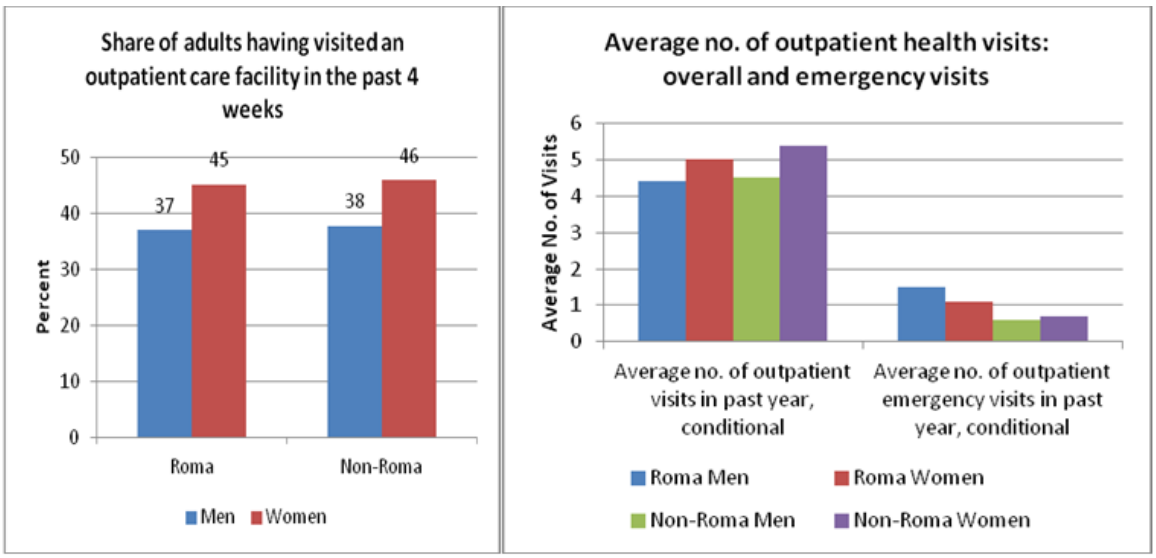
FIGURE 5-13: SHARE OF ROMA HOUSEHOLDS UNABLE TO AFFORD MEDICINE WHEN NEEDED IN THE PAST YEAR, BY QUINTILE



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

Among Roma who do use health service, many rely on emergency services. The FGD show a high appreciation for emergency care; ambulances are timely and first-responders do not demand informal payments. The perception of the FDG-participants is that they either benefit from a free-of-charge home consultation provided by the ambulance medical staff or no-cost transportation to hospitals where the emergency departments provide free-of charge checkups, including blood-tests and other expensive tests. Over 40% of Roma adults and their non-Roma neighbors had accessed outpatient medical services at least once during the month preceding the survey. A Roma adult has on average 4 outpatient visits per year – conditional on use- whereas this number is 5 for both genders among non-Roma neighbors (Figure 5-14). 36% of all outpatient visits were emergency services, whereas this was only 21% among non-Roma neighbors.

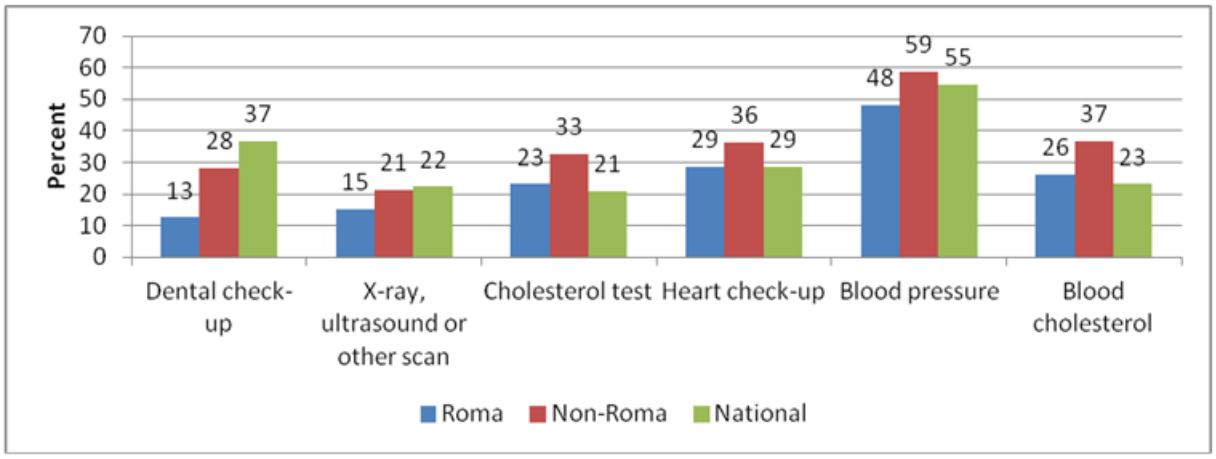
FIGURE 5-14: UTILIZATION OF OUTPATIENT HEALTH SERVICES



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

Roma have less regular health checkups as compared to their non-Roma neighbors and the general population (Figure 5-15)**.** Adjusting for age, the rate of undergoing heart check-ups was equal among Roma as compared to the general population while the use of X-ray or other scans was slightly lower. Blood pressure check-ups over the past year were lower among the Roma (48%) than in the general population (55%). The largest differences can be found in dental check-up. Limited screening coupled with a low utilization of health services and lack of resources to afford medication even when diagnosed paves the way to a high prevalence of undetected and un-treated illness.

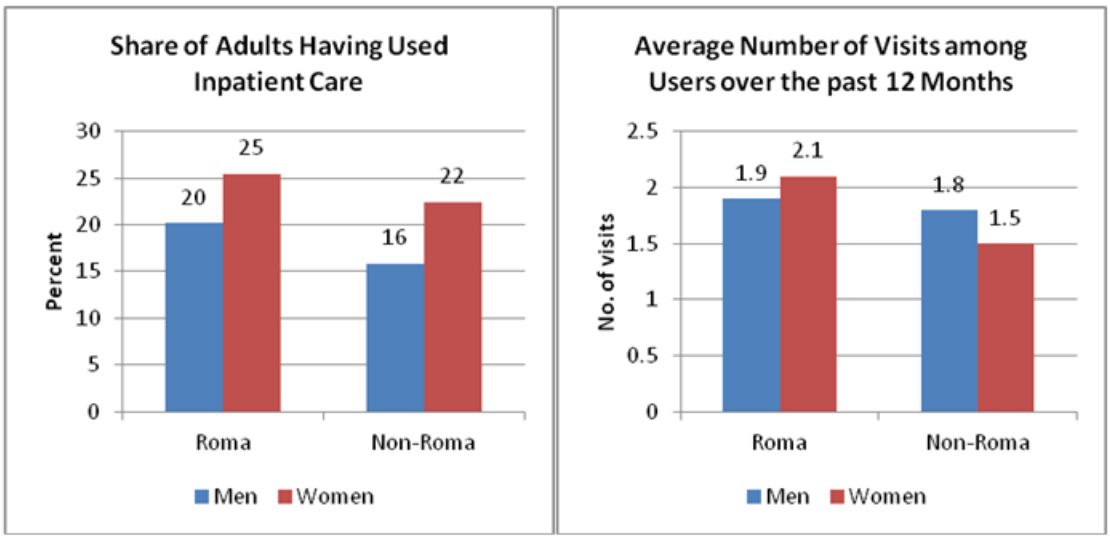
FIGURE 5-15: ROUTINE MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS AND CHECK-UPS – AGE ADJUSTED ([A])



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011); Eurobarometer (2006). [A] The figure refers to age adjusted percentages among the age group 15-70.

Roma and their non-Roma neighbors have similar utilization rates for inpatient care (Figure 5-16). Just over 20% of Roma adults reported having accessed inpatient services at least once in the past year, and among these adults, an average of 2 visits were conducted per adult. The number of visits among the non-Roma was slightly lower, at 1.7 hospital visits per adult in the same period. As discussed above, there is concern among health practitioners that many Roma choose not to seek timely medical care and wait until the health concern has deteriorated significantly before accessing care. It is possible that this may help explain the high use of emergency services and the high rate of hospitalization observed here.

FIGURE 5-16: UTILIZATION OF INPATIENT HEALTH SERVICES



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

Public budgets and public infrastructure tackling HIV/STDs prevention are almost completely absent. NGOs and community health workers like Roma health mediators and community nurses remain the only potential providers. Since NGOs often lack funding and community workers lack training and supervision, the current situation is inadequate. In addition, for various Roma communities, some health services like testing and treatment of STDs is socially stigmatized and therefore avoided or practiced, if affordable, away from the community. Information and counseling services for parents are also lacking. This appears to be an important gap, as many parents do not know how to approach adolescents in order to discourage alcohol, tobacco, drugs and unsafe reproductive health practices.

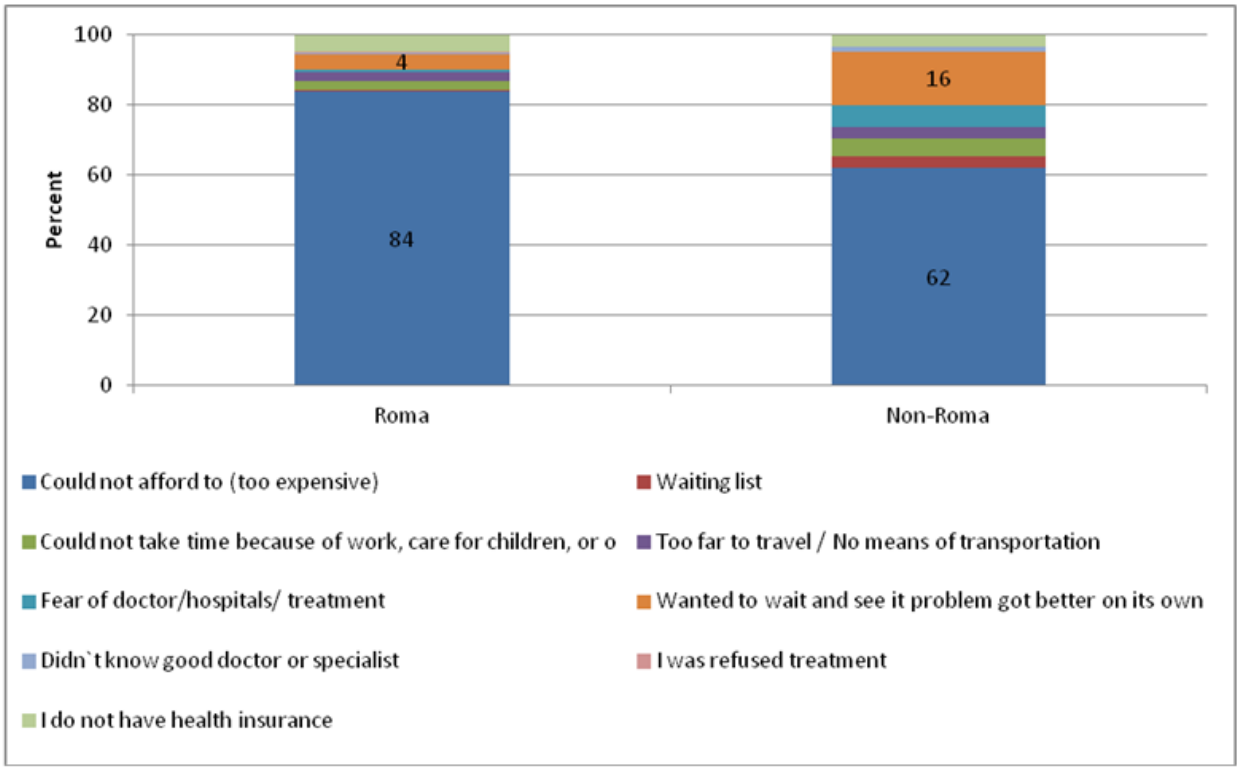
5.4.5 BARRIERS TO ACCESSING HEALTH SERVICES

Why do 42% of Roma choose not to consult a doctor, even when over 80% of Roma do believe that the services are available to them? Lack of knowledge on disease prevention and the right to health service, as well as limited physical access to services are the main barriers to health care for Roma. Many Roma are not registered with a family doctor. This may result from a lack of documents, but also may be attributed to reluctance on the part of health service providers to accept Roma patients. At local level mechanisms of protecting the Roma against the violation of their rights in regards to access to medical services are few and not well known. There are cases where Roma patients who complained about the quality of the medical services offered by their GP were excluded from their lists in retaliation. The National Council for Combatting Discrimination is relatively unknown in the rural areas and there are no institutional mechanisms for town halls to refer discrimination cases to this institution.

The most commonly reported reason, validated also by the FDGs, for not accessing health services is financial (84% of households). Slightly over 60% of neighboring Roma households reported that the direct cost was a barrier and compared to the Roma, a significantly higher fraction (16%) reported they wanted to wait to see if the problem would get better. Monthly per capita household expenditures on health are relatively high: 14 Euro per capita per month among

the Roma, and 25 Euro among the non-Roma neighbors. When expressed as a share of total household income both spend 11% of their total income on health costs. The low utilization is also driven by low coverage of health insurance. In the vulnerable Roma communities surveyed in the Regional Survey, coverage of health insurance is much less widespread than among non-Roma neighbors, 77 versus 51%. Reasons such as distance from services, fear, availability of time, and knowledge about a good doctor played a very small role in a Roma households' decision about whether to seek a consultation or not. This is not uncommon in the region; other countries show similar results.

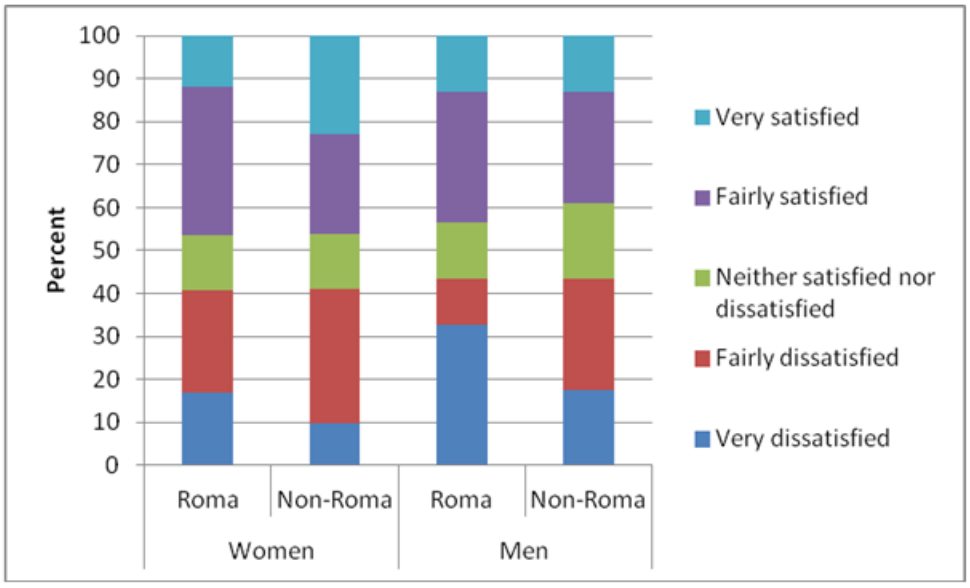
FIGURE 5-17: REASONS FOR NOT SEEKING CARE WHEN NEEDED



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

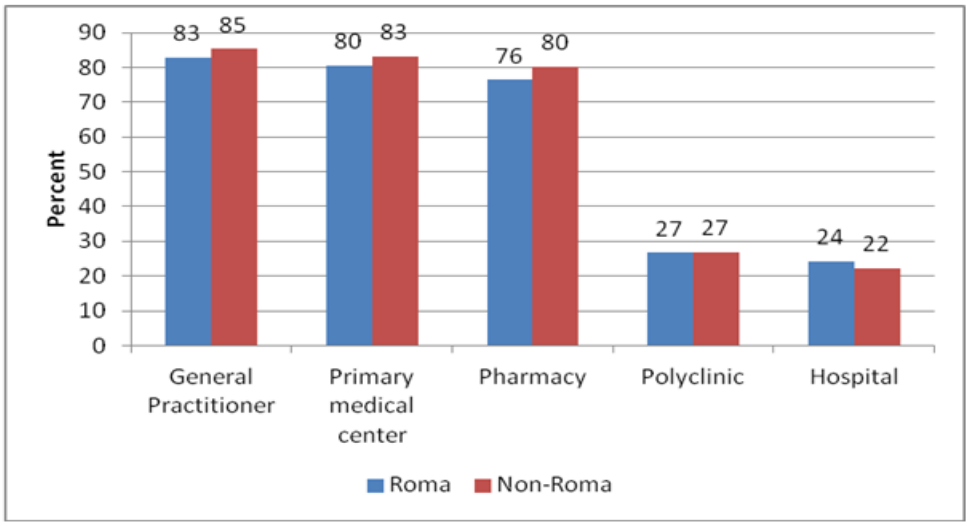
The majority of Roma are satisfied with the quality of outpatient care received and most Roma households are located within 3 km from critical medical care. About 46% of Roma households reported being either fairly or very satisfied with the quality of outpatient services used in the past month, and another 14% report being neutral (Figure 5-18). Dissatisfaction with services is still 40% among households, with more than 30% of Roma men reportedly being very dissatisfied with the quality of services. The FGDs show satisfaction with the received health services with participants ranking ambulance/pre-hospital care, followed by the family doctor, as highest. Inpatient care was linked with informal payment and at times behavior issues of the health personnel while outpatient specialized care was lined with high direct costs. Although the Roma communities surveyed are often in rural, sometimes isolated areas, over 80% of these Roma households were resident within less than 3 kilometers from a GP, primary medical centers and or pharmacies (Figure 5-19).

FIGURE 5-18: SATISFACTION OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH OUTPATIENT SERVICES



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

FIGURE 5-19: DISTANCE OF HOUSEHOLDS FROM ESSENTIAL SERVICES: SHARE OF HOUSEHOLDS HAVING ACCESS TO EACH SERVICE WITHIN A 3KM RADIUS



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011).

Practices of bribery in hospitals occur often and at all levels of medical staff[186] as confirmed in the FGDs. Mothers of in-patient children reported that treatment is often conditioned by bribes, which places the most vulnerable Roma at risk of not receiving due

[186] The amount of bribes has been reported as being differentiated according to the type of staff. Doctors are offered 50 lei (approximately 15 USD), while nurses receive 5 or 10 lei (approximately 1,5 - 3 USD), but prices may vary outside Bucharest, as well as according to social status.

medical care on time. The necessity to bribe medical staff for treatment appears to be generally accepted as a practice, both by Roma and non-Roma irrespective of social status. Patients find themselves in very vulnerable positions of unequal power relation with medical staff, whereby the patients rarely voice their dissatisfaction with the medical staff for fear of life-threatening consequences. Under the circumstances, the stereotype that the Roma are careless and „do not want" to access medical services must be interpreted in the context of a generalized system of bribery likely to exclude de facto a large share of the Roma from medical services, as well as the infringement of patients' rights and a visible lack of care towards the psychological needs and comfort of patients in hospitals.

BOX 5-2: HEALTH AND DISCRIMINATION

Formal and informal exclusion: An explicit classification of exclusion of the Roma population with respect to health services was described in the mid-term assessment of the Romanian Decade of Roma Inclusion Action Plan . Formal exclusion is exclusion due to the lack of identification documents or to the insurance status; and informal exclusion is generated by discrimination, exclusion despite the fact that people fulfill the requirements that make them eligible for medical care. Informal exclusion can be shaped by health workers' behavior, by formal and informal payments, by the inequitable distribution of the health personnel, or insufficient information among the Roma population with regard to their health rights. This may lead to serious health problems, including risk of dying during child birth. Several cases of discrimination of Roma women in the healthcare system have been brought forward by the Center for Health Policies for the Roma – SASTIPEN.

Discrimination in the healthcare system may lead to psychological barriers to accessing health care as Roma women may think such services unattainable to them (EUMC 2003:6). The UN Human Rights Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination noticed in 2010 the presence of racist stereotypes and of racial discrimination against Roma when accessing health services in Romania. The Committee recommended to Roma health mediators and to identify and hold accountable those responsible.

According to a recent survey on discrimination among Roma , one out of ten Roma reports having been denied home visits by their family doctor. Denial of free of charge or partly-subsidized prescriptions is also perceived as discrimination. The same survey noted that three out of ten respondents felt discriminated when using emergency healthcare services or specialized care for check-ups, treatment or surgery (Totem Communication, 2011).

Health mediators are highly appreciated: 47% of those who called upon a health mediator stated appreciation. The social stigma that is associated to accessing reproductive health services, counseling and testing for sexually transmitted infections exposes Roma to increased health risks. Under these circumstances health mediators play an important role as they contribute to changing the social norms.

Occurrence of discrimination and segregation of Roma patients when accessing health services was confirmed in the FGDs with both Roma patients and health personnel. Health workers have prejudgments related to the Roma population. Although there is no evidence that Roma patients are treated differently, access to care is perceived as more limited for the Roma population. Segregation of Roma patients in hospitals takes place both between hospitals with large pediatric hospitals systematically sending a major share of Roma to particular hospitals, as well as within

hospitals, in separate rooms. Stereotypical attitudes of medical staff towards Roma, discriminatory treatment of Roma reported by mothers, as well as recurrent altercations between medical staff and mothers or family members render the hospitalization experience negative. The rights of patients are infringed upon by practices such as lack of informed consent and lack of communication between medical staff and parents regarding diagnostics and treatment.

5.5 CURRENT ROMANIA ROMA HEALTH POLICIES AND PROGRAMS

5.5.1 THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT ON HEALTH AND ROMA HEALTH

Health is a priority area in the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies 2020. Member States are invited to focus their Roma health policies on *access to healthcare, with particular reference to quality healthcare including preventive healthcare and health education*[187]. The EU goal is to reduce the gap in health status between the Roma and the rest of the population.

The health strategic directions for the forthcoming period at EU level imply a shift from institutional care to community based-care. The legislative package for EU Cohesion Policy 2014-2020 reinforces an integrated program approach, allowing the Member States to prepare and implement multi-funded programs. European financial instruments for investing in health focus on: (a) investing in health infrastructure that fosters a transformational change in the health system, in particular reinforcing the shift from a hospital-centered model to community-based care and integrated services; (b) improving access to affordable, sustainable and high-quality healthcare, in particular with a view to reducing health inequalities between regions and giving disadvantaged groups and marginalized communities better access to healthcare; and (c) supporting the adaptation, up-skilling and life-long learning of the health workforce. The Common Strategic Framework 2014-2020 states as general implementation principle that "*the CSF funds may not be used for actions contributing to any form of segregation and discrimination"*.

Health is one of the eight country-specific recommendations issued by the Commission to Romania[188] on its 2013 national reform program and convergence program 2012-2016. In June 2013 the Council endorsed the following statement: *There are major inequalities in the Romanian health sector due to inefficient use of resources and poor management. Romania should put more efforts to increase the cost-effectiveness of the system by reducing excessive use of hospital in-patient care and by strengthening primary care and referral systems. Romania needs comprehensive and inclusive health reform measures.*

5.5.2 NATIONAL ROMA INCLUSION STRATEGY

Health is one of six directions for action in the NRIS 2012-2020. The health objective "*fostering health promotion measures for better access of the Roma citizens to public healthcare services and to an increase in life expectancy*" is addressed by two MoH priorities: vaccination campaigns for the unvaccinated Roma children and health education campaigns on TB prevention. Fourteen additional directions for action, focusing mainly on health promotion and

[187] http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/en/lsa/122100.pdf
[188] European Commission, {COM(2013) 373 final}

health education are included. Attempts to improve access to health services are made through the Roma health mediators, MoH national programs and by identifying solutions to extend health insurance coverage for the Roma people. County- and local action plans targeting Roma health shall be developed and implemented with the MoH and NAR technical support. These are important efforts however the extent to which they have materialized remains to be assessed. According to interviews with local stakeholders, the measures in the county action plans are not linked to budgets and financial sources.

The health section of the Strategy responds in only a limited way to Roma health needs. Topics like water and sanitation, chronic diseases, mother and child health, early childhood nutrition and care, reproductive health, adolescent health, health threatening behaviors are missing. The objective and proposed interventions are poorly formulated compared to the ones in the Decade of Roma Inclusion Action Plan. In the MoH *Sectoral Action Plan*, which implements the above mentioned strategy, the health measures planned for 2012-2013 are exclusively health education campaigns addressing HIV/AIDS, TB, STIs, hygiene, healthy nutrition of Roma population; immunization is added both as part of the MoH National Immunization Program and additional immunization campaigns for unvaccinated Roma children. Better access to healthcare, including financial measures, is insufficiently reflected in the Strategy.

Presently, the Strategy health measures have no targets or budgets and the follow-up is done by descriptive reports collected through the Regional Agencies for Roma. In 2012, the European Commission, assessing the National Roma Strategies of the Member States[189], identified for Romania a key gap: *the proposed actions are welcome but insufficient in size and scope. The gap in access to health care and health outcomes affecting Roma should be addressed more effectively. Detailing a calendar, targets, indicators, and budget are needed to secure the effective implementation. The strategy would benefit from developing concrete measures to increase the health insurance coverage. Registration with local authorities is necessary.* The Strategy is currently under a revision process.

5.5.3 INSTITUTIONS AND COORDINATION

The Ministry of Health is responsible for designing and implementing health policies, while the National Insurance Fund issues regulations within the health insurance system. MoH is therefore accountable for identifying the Roma health gaps and for implementing cost-effective measures. The design of the NRIS 2012-2020 was a group effort of line ministries coordinated by the vice-prime-minster. Each ministry drafted its own priorities and measures, with or without measurable indicators and budgets. Regional and local authorities and a Coalition of civil society representatives have been consulted, although some NGOs later asserted that the Government had only conducted formal consultations and that their opinions had not been reflected. As the Strategy for health interventions covers only two years (2012-2013), MoH has to elaborate before the end of the year its new plan of interventions addressing Roma health. Sofar, except for the transfer of budgets to local authorities covering the salaries of the Roma health mediators, there is no evidence of specific and coordinated interventions addressing Roma health. However, MoH national programs target public health priorities, through prevention and care, addressing the general population, including but not specifically designed for Roma.

[189] National Roma Integration Strategies: a first step in the implementation of the EU Framework - COM(2012) 226

The health social insurance system contracts health providers to provide services for all insured people, including a minimal benefits package for the uninsured. All Romanian people are entitled to benefits including Roma, who as a vulnerable group benefit from free access to medical services. The government subsidizes the minimal benefit package for the uninsured which includes medical emergencies, pre and post-natal care, immunizations, early detection, treatment and care of diseases with endemic potential, family planning counseling and prescriptions. However, during the FGDs financial constraints and lack of health insurance were mentioned as the key barriers to seeking care which may be explained by informal payments and lack of documentation. Without proper ID one cannot access free health care services or register with a family doctor. Many of the poor including Roma remain outside the system[190]. According to National Health Insurance House 2012 Report, the population registered with a family doctor decreased with 10% in 2012, down from 95% in 2011.

5.6 RECOMMENDATIONS

The previous sections illustrate there are important gaps in the health status of Roma compared to non-Roma in Romania. It also demonstrates that improving health outcomes for Roma will require policy measures on a number of fronts, including initiatives in sectors other than health, such as housing, water and sanitation, education and anti-discrimination.

More specifically, the assessment section of this chapter highlights:

- the need for a stronger focus, concrete actions and more budget for health in the various Policies, Policy Documents and Strategies for Roma Inclusion;
- the need to strengthen effective access and use of health services for Roma and ensuring health insurance coverage;
- the need to emphasize women and child health, including reproductive health, pre- and post-natal care, early child health care and early child development;
- the need to increase attention to prevention, early detection and management of non-communicable disease while continue to focus on tuberculosis as well;
- the need to focus on community-based health services, integration with social care, and strengthening of the Roma Health Mediator Program (scope, budget, administration and monitoring);
- the need to build capacity in and monitoring of the trends and impacts of interventions for Roma in the health sector and beyond to inform policy and budgetary decisions.

In addition, there are numerous instances where the challenges faced by Roma reflect problems in the general healthcare system in Romania, which affect other groups as well. Based on the challenges outlined above, this section presents the main policy

[190] In fact, "there is field evidence that the GMI plays a dual role as last resort income and health insurance (…). Due to the restrictive nature of health insurance benefits in Romania, the GMI in fact (…) serves as a *de facto* health insurance: unemployed individuals who are either not initially eligible for health insurance, or do not have the means to subscribe on their own to health coverage, apply to the GMI to benefit from the health insurance component.

recommendations proposed for advancing the Roma health agenda. In doing so, this section will propose a multi-sectoral approach, and pay attention to both challenges that are specific to the Roma, and challenges of a more generic nature.

At present Romania is considering decentralization and is in the process of developing the 2014-2020 National Roma Inclusion Strategy, which is a revision of the original 2012-2020 NRIS. Both processes open up opportunities to build in Roma-focused interventions. The first two policy-measures proposed emphasize these opportunities.

5.6.1 POLICY GOAL 1: IMPROVE, ADAPT AND COMPLEMENT *NRIS 2012-2020* TO RESPOND TO THE KEY CHALLENGE OF EFFECTIVE ACCESS TO HEALTH SERVICES FOR ROMA

The current NRIS does not adequately specify how Roma access to health services will be improved nor are concrete measures or budget allocations are proposed. The Strategy mentions health insurance coverage and the Roma Health Mediator (RHM) programs as being successful and would further support these programs, but does not add details how to strengthen them. Policy suggestions:

- Ensure coverage of all Roma under the health insurance through registration and effective communication about the benefits to Roma and their rights and include this as a measurable target in the Strategy to ensure follow up;
- Eliminate informal payments charged by health workers by addressing discrimination among health practitioners and by establishing a reporting system to the appropriate authorities.
- Extend the professions of Roma Health Mediator and Community Nurse countrywide/in all rural settings;
- Review the functioning of the RHM and propose concrete actions for increased effectiveness (salary structures incentive structures, monitoring and evaluation);
- Increase budget allocation for RHM program in line with recommendations for scaling up and increasing scope of the program;
- Create a fund, attached to the Roma Inclusion Framework, to provide seed funding for innovative Roma Health Actions such as the inclusion of an anti-discrimination component in the medical curriculum (see annex 1);
- Build a transparent and participatory approach, through a consultative process, involving line ministries, NGOs active in the field of Roma health, the academic environment and experts.
- Develop and implement a mechanism to assess the impact on health (positive or negative) of all other interventions included in the RRIS.

5.6.2 POLICY GOAL 2: EMBED ROMA-SPECIFIC CHALLENGES INTO NATIONAL HEALTH POLICIES, IN A TRANSPARANT AND PARTICIPATORY MANNER

The need for a systematic, integrated approach to Roma health, including adequate budget, is a key challenge and requires collaboration with Roma agency and other sectors. At present, communication both within the Ministry, between departments and local bodies and with

other line ministries is poor. As MoH is finalizing its health strategy 2014-2020 this is a good opportunity to review and refocus policies aimed at improving Roma health outcomes in line with the EU recommendations.

- Use the current decentralization/regionalization legislative changes to introduce more focus on vulnerable groups, especially Roma population. Ensure using this process as an opportunity to bring health policy decisions closer to the people and in line with local needs. Moreover, ensure budgetary allocations are linked to needs.
- Pay particular attention in this process to building adequate capacity at the local levels in the areas of health planning, organization and delivery of health services and coordination with other sectors (education, housing, social services, public infrastructure); ensuring the continued role and presence of RHM for example as changes in roles and functions may bring additional confusion among both patients and healthcare providers; consider local training programs for all stakeholders.
- Ensure state institutions remain in charge of public health priorities, and introduce focus on risk factors prevalent among vulnerable groups, including Roma, through the revision of the national programs, clear regulations and a sound system of monitoring of health care services and providers.
- Take advantage of the opportunity to introduce sound interventions addressing the identified gaps, with defined budgets and funding sources, measurable targets with baseline indicators, a systematic review mechanism, a monitoring and evaluation plan, and periodical impact assessment studies.

5.6.3 POLICY GOAL 3: PROMOTE POSTPONEMENT OF EARLY MARRIAGE AND CHILDBEARING

Investing in programs aimed at informing and raising awareness about contraception and its related methods has the probability of positively and sustainably impacting the development of Roma women. The distribution of free contraceptives for the most vulnerable, including Roma women, has significant gaps.

- Strengthen public awareness campaigns adapted to the local situation and beliefs of Roma;
- Ensure provision of free contraceptives and compliance with current policies;
- Pilot incentivizing health providers to provide quality services and free distribution of contraceptives (see box 3);
- Pilot demand-side incentives, (non) monetary incentives to women to seek timely reproductive health care (see box 3);

More attention should be given to youth reproductive health behaviors, reproductive health and HIV/STIs counseling and education in the NRIS's future interventions.

BOX 5-3: PERFORMANCE BASED INCENTIVES SCHEMES

The introduction of performance-based incentives has been shown to have positive effects on child care, increased vaccinations, and other types of care and could be considered for certain interventions which are particularly important to the Roma population. A substantial number of countries is piloting and scaling up results and performance based payments schemes. The

essence of these schemes is to pay directly for results. A result in this case can be to complete the vaccination protocol of Roma infants and to provide specific payments or bonuses for the responsible providers. These would need careful consideration of what type of results and what 'incentive' (to prevent so-called perverse incentives) to provide. There are many international examples available.

Especially incentives for providers in the area of reproductive health need to be very carefully identified to avoid any perverse effects of providing incentives and could be limited to incentives for quality of performance.

Demand-side incentives, (non) monetary incentives to women to seek timely reproductive health care. These been found effective in for example Conditional Cash Transfers programs and in this case could be linked to free extra years of schooling, specific job-training among others. The development of incentives should be conducted with the participation of Roma women themselves to have proper understanding of what type of incentives would influence reproductive behavior, the timing to reward and the location and decision making process around it.

5.6.4 POLICY GOAL 4: ENSURE UNIVERSAL ACCESS TO ADEQUATE, HIGH-QUALITY PRE- AND POSTNATAL AND CHILD CARE

Early childhood nutrition and care with a specific focus on vulnerable children, including Roma, should be considered as a critical priority.

- Re-think and adequately budget the MoH MCH (Mother and Child Health) National Program, with a specific and measurable target on Roma women and children building on the MoH MCH Program's community based approach, networks of community workers/primary care/specialized care and strong partnerships with local authorities and NGOs to improve delivery of services at the local level, including:
- Ensure mother and child check-up services are free of charge and this is known to all, including vulnerable populations such as Roma;
- Eliminate discrimination by medical personnel of Roma and other vulnerable groups, establish a complaint line.
- Revising existing guidelines, protocols on pre- and post natal care using an evidence based approach;
- Piloting innovative incentives for better performance in reaching vulnerable groups, especially Roma.
- Ensuring that preventive health measures reach out to Roma, in particular women and children;
- Add specific targets on service delivery to mothers and children among vulnerable populations to the Strategy to ensure follow up and allocation of budget.

5.6.5 POLICY GOAL 5: REDUCE INFECTIOUS- AND CHRONIC DISEASES AND PREVENT AND DELAY ONSET OF COMPLICATIONS

Infectious diseases, especially TB control and addressing HIV/AIDS should remain high on the agenda as they are particularly prevalent among vulnerable groups including Roma. At the same time, the incidence of non-communicable disease and chronic disease including mental illness, is also very high among Roma, and often early onset as a results of low levels of utilization of health services and follow up even when early detected.

- Continued funding assurances are needed to address TB[191]. In addition to extra funding, MoH should address NTP as a national public health priority and budget it accordingly, while strengthening both the NTP management/coordination and the capacity of the NTP network at county to implement sound interventions addressing TB in the most vulnerable communities. MoH should further consider/look for the Global Fund financial support
- Ensure 100% DOTS implementation involving community stakeholders and health professionals at the local level.
- Strengthen the MoH screening program for the early detection of cervical cancer in rural and remote communities and target high risk women. Roma women fall within the high risk group with high smoking rates. In addition, the screening program needs to be linked to appropriate access to treatment and care. The Roma Mediator Program plays an important role in raising awareness and ensuring women go for screening and follow up. They may need additional training.
- Develop a public awareness campaign regarding healthy lifestyle and adapt messages to vulnerable populations including Roma regarding smoking, diet and physical exercise.
- Address healthy lifestyle from very early ages and repeat messages at pre-natal, post natal and child check-up sessions (see Box 4).

Develop specific messages and channels to reach youth among the vulnerable populations.

BOX 5-4: SUPPLEMENTAL NUTRITION ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

In the US, a pilot among households receiving support through the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), formerly known as 'food stamps', creates incentives for these households to buy fruits, vegetables, and other healthy nutrients, through the build-up of credit: "participants earned an incentive of 30 cents for every SNAP dollar they spent on targeted fruits and vegetables (…) at participating retailers. The incentive was immediately credited to the household SNAP account and could be spent on any SNAP-eligible foods and beverages. The incentive was capped at $60 per household per month." (USDA) An evaluation of the effects of this pilot is currently under way. An evaluation of a similar initiative in the state of Oregon (USA) already exists: see http://www.ophi.org/download/PDF/healthy_planning_pdfs/hefm_nutritionincentives0923.pdf. In addition, these types of programs are now also being linked to local produce thereby stimulating the local agriculture economy as well.

[191] A number of ongoing initiatives continue, with WHO, Global Fund and EU support, but overall the National TB Control Program (NTP) remains underfunded.

5.6.6 POLICY GOAL 6: PUT IN PLACE A COMPREHENSIVE MONITORING AND EVALUATION FRAMEWORK, WITH MEASURABLE INDICATORS AND CLEAR TARGETS

None of these recommendations should be implemented without combining it with a monitoring and evaluation (M&E) system. The benefits of M&E far outweigh the costs of such as system as it allows for rapid assessments of inefficiencies. M&E allows for checks and balances in the system and could serve to measure performance linked to results as a basis for payment for results systems.

- Start with what exists and build on what is available: A large number of local, national and international organizations are involved in designing, implementing and monitoring various programs.
- Ensure the participation of health practitioners and community health workers in any design and monitoring of any program.
- Develop smart measures to collect ethnic disaggregated data, for example with the occasion of the forthcoming *patient electronic record* or developing partnerships/making use of robust statistic systems like the National Institute for Statistics. Another option is to collect disaggregated data at the local level, as data collection by ethnicity is a sensitive issue, that could have unwanted effects.
- Carefully assess the sustainability of interventions; carry on ex-ante and ex-post evaluations on effectiveness and efficiency of different interventions and develop the framework for providing continuous financial support for the most effective ones
- Plan regular assessments and impact studies; assure independent external evaluations of the planned interventions

5.6.7 POLICY GOAL 7: USE A CROSS-SECTORAL APPROACH

Health is for a large part determined by factors outside of the health system. Effective health policies should be integrated with all relevant policy sectors, in particular the social, education and environment policies, Health in All Policies Approach. In particular for the Roma population, improved housing- and infrastructural conditions are also crucial to prevent the spread of infectious diseases.

- Promote the integration of community-based services following the recent MoH initiative to set up community health centers to promote social inclusion;
- Increase awareness of risky behaviors among the Roma through working with the education sector**;**
- Improve communications among institutions and with the beneficiaries.

5.6.8 POLICY GOAL 8: ADDRESS SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION AT ALL LEVELS OF CARE

- Forge and / or strengthen ties between Roma (and non-Roma) civil society and medical institutions by fostering common initiatives regarding the prevention of discrimination of the Roma with regards to medical services;
- Create a functional system of recording complains, for example a "green phone line" at county level. The system may be used for recording all discrimination complains, not only those related to health segregation/discrimination. The Roma experts and the Regional Agencies for Roma could become an integrated part of this system;
- Provide information to all Roma citizens to their legal rights to health, both as insures or not insured people; make information reach the most remote and disadvantaged communities;
- Support awareness raising interventions that are initiated/implemented by the Roma themselves.

6.6.9 IMPLEMENTATION

Summary Table of Policy Recommendations

Recommendation	**Entity(ies) best placed to implement the recommendation**	**Impact** **(Critical impact; High impact; Enabling condition)**	**Time frame** **Short: < 6 months;** **Medium: 6-18 months;** **Long: >18 months**	**Monitoring indicator**
Policy Goal 1: Improve, adapt and complement the NRIS 2012-2020 to respond to the key challenge of effective access to health services for Roma	Ministry of Health	Critical Impact	Medium	Inclusion of the following metrics in the NRIS: 1) Number of Roma reached through outreach campaigns on the benefits of health insurance and on the rights of Romanian citizens 2) Number of Roma registered for health insurance 3) Number of health professionals trained in anti-discrimination programs 4) Establishment of a reporting mechanism for discrimination or informal payments to health officials 5) Official role for Roma Health Mediators in every community where Roma live (including official budget allocation, salary structures, incentive structures, monitoring and evaluation of Roma

				Health Mediators' work) 6) Creation of a fund, attached to the Roma Inclusion Framework, to provide seed funding for innovative Roma Health Actions such as the inclusion of an anti-discrimination component in the medical curriculum (see annex 1) 7) Regular consultations by the Ministry of health with other line ministries, NGOs active in the field of Roma health, the academic environment and experts
Policy Goal 2: Embed Roma-specific challenges into National Health Policies, in a transparant and participatory manner	Ministry of Health	Critical Impact	Short (include inputs in 2014-2020 Health Strategy)	1) Use decentralization legislative changes to introduce focus on vulnerable groups, especially Roma. Oblige Ministry of Health officials to incorporate local feedback into policies. Ensure budgetary allocations. 2) Number of local level health professionals trained in the areas of health planning, organization and delivery of health services, coordinated with other sectors (education, housing, social services, public

				infrastructure), and ensuring the continued role and presence of RHM. 3) Identify critical risk factors prevalent among vulnerable groups, including Roma 4) Introduce sound interventions addressing the identified gaps, with defined budgets and funding sources, measurable targets with baseline indicators, a systematic review mechanism, a monitoring and evaluation plan, and periodical impact assessment studies.
Policy Goal 3: Promote postponement of early marriage and childbearing	Ministry of Health, in collaboration with Roma Health Mediators	High Impact	Medium	1) Number of Roma reached through public awareness campaigns, including awareness-raising on contraception and its related methods (adapted to the local situation and beliefs of Roma) 2) Number of Roma having access to free contraceptives 3) Number of health providers reached through incentive-schemes to provide quality services and free distribution of contraceptives 4) Number of Roma women reached through demand-side incentive-schemes,

				based on (non) monetary incentives to women to seek timely reproductive health care 5) Share of Roma women reporting to use birth control 6) Share of Roma women entering into marriage before turning 18 and before turning 23 7) Share of Roma women having their first child before turning 20 and before turning 25
Policy Goal 4: Ensure universal access to adequate, high-quality pre- and postnatal and child care	Ministry of Health, in collaboration with local health care providers (including Roma Health Mediators)	Critical Impact	Short	1) Introduce specific and measurable target on Roma women and children in the MoH MCH (Mother and Child Health) National Program, building on the community based approach, to improve delivery of services 2) Ensure mother and child check-up services are free of charge 3) Share of Roma aware of existence of free of charge mother and child check-up services 4) Share of Roma mothers experiencing discrimination when seeking care 5) Impact of pilot programs incentivizing better performance in

				reaching vulnerable groups, especially Roma 6) Share of children having received all required vaccinations 7) Share of pregnant women having accessed prenatal care at least 3 times during pregnancy 8) Infant mortality rate among Roma 9) Share of children aged 0-5 having had at least one health check-up per year 10) Results based approach evaluated
Policy Goal 5: Reduce infectious- and chronic diseases and prevent and delay onset of complications	Ministry of Health	High impact	Medium	1) Assure continued funding to address TB. 2) Strengthen both the NTP management/ coordination and the capacity of the NTP network at county level. 3) Assure Global Fund financial support 4) Ensure 100% DOTS implementation involving community stakeholders and health professionals at the local level. 5.1) Share of Roma women screened through MoH screening program for early detection of cervical cancer in

				rural and remote communities; 5.2) Share of high risk women screened. 5.3) Share of Roma women aware of appropriate access to treatment and care, based on information received during the screening. 6) Share of Roma reached through public awareness campaign regarding healthy lifestyle (e.g. smoking, diet and physical exercise). 7) Inclusion of healthy lifestyle awareness campaign in primary school curriculum and in pre-natal, post natal and child check-up sessions. 8) Share of Roma suffering from infectious diseases 9) Share of Roma suffering from chronic illness
Policy Goal 6: Put in place a comprehensive Monitoring and Evaluation framework, with measurable indicators and clear targets	Ministry of Health	Critical impact	Medium	1) Include an implementation plan and budget for Monitoring and Evaluation activities in every policy initiative aimed at addressing the health status of Roma 2) Evaluate the performance of responsible stakeholders based on the outcomes of M&E activities,

				including the indicators mentioned in this table 3) Ensure the participation of health practitioners and community health workers in any design and monitoring of any program 4) Develop smart measures to collect ethnic disaggregated data, for example with the occasion of the forthcoming patient electronic record or developing partnerships/ making use of robust statistic systems like the National Institute for Statistics.
Policy Goal 7: Use a Cross-Sectoral Approach	Ministry of Health	Critical Impact	Medium	1) Number of cross-ministerial programs designed and implemented to address the issues identified in this chapter 2) Use feedback from beneficiaries to further improve cross-sectoral cooperation
Policy Goal 8: Address segregation and discrimination at all levels of care	Ministry of Health	Critical Impact	Medium	1) Number of common initiatives established regarding the prevention of discrimination of Roma with regards to medical services, between Roma (and non-Roma) civil society and medical institutions 2) Number of

				complaints received through functional system, for example a “green phone line” at county level. 3) Share of Roma reporting to be aware of their legal rights to health and health care, especially in the most remote communities 4) Support awareness raising interventions that are initiated/ implemented by the Roma themselves.

REFERENCES

Barker D.J.P. 1998 Mothers, *Babies and Diseases in Later Life*, Churchill Livingstone, London

Bleakley, Hoyt. 2010a. "Health, Human Capital, and Development" *Annual Review of Economics* 2: 283-310.

Bogdanovic, D., D. Nikic, B. Petrovic, B. Kocic, J. Jovanovic, M. Nikolic, and Z. Milosevic. 2007. "Mortality of Roma population in Serbia, 2002-2005." *Croat Med J* 48(5): 720-6.

Currie, Janet. 2009. "Healthy, wealthy, and wise: Socioeconomic status, poor health in childhood, and human capital development." *Journal of Economic Literature* 47(1): 87-122.

Fundación Secretariado Gitano (FSG). 2009. *Health and the Roma community: Analysis of the situation in Europe.* Madrid, Spain.

Fundación Secretariado Gitano (FSG) and Ministry of Health and Consumer Affairs. 2005. *Health and the Roma community: analysis of action proposals.* Madrid, Spain.

Hajioff, S. and M. McKee. 2000. "The health of the Roma people: a review of the published literature." *J Epidemiol Community Health* 54(11): 864-9.

Janevic, T., P. Sripad, E. Bradley. 2011. "Access to Prenatal and Maternity Care among Romani Women in Serbia and Macedonia: Research Brief. Yale Global Health Initiative.

Kremer, Michael and Rachel Glennerster. 2012. "Improving Health in Developing Countries: Evidence from Randomized Evaluations. In *Handbook of health economics*, Mark V. Pauly, Thomas G. Mcguire and Pedro P. Barros (eds.), Oxford, Elsevier Science BV: 201-315.

Parekh, N. and T. Rose. 2011. "Health Inequalities of the Roma in Europe: a Literature Review." *Central european journal of public health* 19(3): 139-42.

Petrova, Dimitrina. 2011. *A Rights-Based Approach to Roma Health*. Manuscript, World Bank.

Schaaf M. 2007. *Confronting a hidden disease: TB in Roma communities*. Open Society Institute (OSI).

Sepkowitz, K. A. 2006. "Health of the world's Roma population." *Lancet* 367(9524): 1707.WHO (2011) MHealth New Horizons for Health Through Mobile Technologies. WHO, Geneva http://www.who.int/goe/publications/goe_mhealth_web.pdf

Singhal, A and Lanigan J, 2007 Breastfeeding, early growth and later obesity. Obesity Reviews 8 (Suppl.1):51-54

Spence M. and M. Lewis (2009). *Health and Growth.* Commission on Growth and Development.

Strauss, John and Duncan Thomas. 2007. "Health over the life course." UC Los Angeles: California Center for Population Research.

United Nations Development Program (UNDP). 2004. *Social assessment of Roma and HIV/AIDS in Central East Europe.* Bucharest, Romania.

United Nations Development Program (UNDP). 2003. *Avoiding the dependency trap: Roma human development challenges and opportunities*.

World Bank. *Gender Dimensions of Roma Inclusion: A Qualitative Study in Bulgaria.* (Forthcoming)

Zeman, C. L., D. E. Depken, and D. S. Senchina. 2003. "Roma health issues: a review of the literature and discussion." *Ethn Health* 8(3): 223-49.

Existing Programs that Address Roma Health

Community-based health workers: Roma health mediators (RHM) and community health nurses (CHN). All reports and studies related to Roma health highlight as example of best practice in Romania the RHM program. Romania was the first country in the region institutionalizing in 2002 a concept introduced in Romania in 1998 by an NGO (Romani Criss) - the Roma mediator - a respected and trustful Roma community member able to connect the community health needs with the appropriate service providers. The RHM service proved effective, and it turned into a public policy built on an NGO's initiative. Therefore, MoH has implemented in 2002 a national program on community workers (RHM and CHN), aimed at improving the access of the vulnerable to basic healthcare services, with a focus on Maternal and Child Health (MCH), and to overcome the lack of health education. From 2002 to mid-2009, 422 RHM and 780 CHN[192] were recruited countrywide, to serve the vulnerable communities. At the time, the new community workers were endowed with appropriate training, guidelines, working procedures, with substantial international support provided by the international organizations and/or bilateral agencies. The institution of community worker (either RHM or CHN) alleviated, to some extent, the access problems confronted by Roma people, while at the same time raising concerns about patient dependency and the confusion of responsibilities between family doctors and community workers.

With the decentralization process in 2009, MoH duties and competencies regarding the community workers were transferred to the local public administration authorities. Since 2009, there is a decline both in the number and in the activity of the community health workers, as proved by many studies and reports. MoH data confirm in January 2013, a number of 389 RHM and 979 CHN. Several local authorities refused to engage with the RHM. If community workers' salaries come from the state budget through MoH, there is no law provision on who covers the other costs related to their activity. MoH has no longer a program, the support and supervision from the County Health Directorates (CHD) is weak, training is provided only by NGOs, with no continuity or evidence on its effectiveness.

The Roma Health Mediators contribute directly to the improvement of the health situation of the Roma; this has been assessed in several research reports (Fărcășanu 2006; Fundación Secretariado Gitano (FSG) 2007; Fleck and Rughiniș 2008; Briciu and Grigoraș 2011) and as confirmed in the focus group discussion undertaken with Roma. From a gender perspective the positive impact of the health mediators' activities is perceived to a greater extent among Roma women than men (Briciu and Grigoraș 2011:30). This may be explained by the fact that the tasks related to reproductive health and contraception. The Health Mediators' interventions have also had a positive impact on Roma women beyond the field of health, in promoting them to the role of professionals and sometimes even community leaders, thereby challenging oppressing gender roles and providing models to communities. The FSG report also stresses the importance and positive impact of the trainers within the program, who acted as role-models for the health mediators, displaying cooperation dynamics between genders and the empowerment of the Roma female trainer (FSG 2007:40-42).

[192] MoH data, February 2013

Despite the positive outcomes of the health mediators' activity, it also has weaknesses which reveal structural issues whose causes are deeply rooted in social perceptions on the Roma. For instance, there have been cases where health mediators fulfill other secondary tasks within the local public authority (Briciu and Grigoraș 2011:27); also, the perception (including oftentimes self-perception) that they are „dispensable" human resources at a higher risk of losing their job than other (non-Roma) staff has impacted negatively their role and possibilities of action within the local public authority.[193] And, following the decentralization process, the social protection component of the RHM daily activity tends to crowd out the health activities. RHM are employed and report to the social protection services/departments of the local authorities/mayor's office and the supervision of the County Health Directorates is weak. Although social and health care are interconnected especially for the Roma population, face to face interviews with Roma health mediators revealed that they would allocate more time for the health information/health care matters of their beneficiaries, but this decision doesn't belong to them. Fear of losing their jobs, lack of coordination and methodological support from the County health Directorates or from any health authority has been commonly mentioned.

The National Agency for Roma (NAR) cooperates with the Council of Europe in implementing the ROMED Program, addressing Roma health and strengthening the Roma health mediators' network. A standardized online training program was delivered and monitored. The collaboration included a NAR financial contribution and in-country training activities. (ROMED 1, 2011-2013). The program will continue with a new phase, starting 2014, providing training for the public institutions and promoting/supporting participation of Roma citizens to the Community Action Groups. A new program called ROMACT has been launched in November by the Council of Europe with EC funding, addressing a number of urban municipalities, aiming at strengthening the local policies related to Roma inclusion through the community mediators (health and school mediators) and integrating the Roma problems into the general public policies.

The European Social Fund (ESF) is by far the biggest funding source for Roma and Roma health projects. According to ESF Management Authority[194], so far more than 250 million Euros have been spent on 120 projects targeting the vulnerable groups, including in some of these projects Roma. The EURoma network has compiled a file of ESF[195] programs in some of the EU countries, including Romania; 11 social inclusion projects developed by five Roma organizations account for more than 32 million Euros. In addition, there are other remarkable programs addressing health, funded from ESF grants (under 500.000 Euros) or strategic projects with a budget up to 5 million Euros. Examples of strategic projects funded under ESF are described below.

The Center for Roma Health Policies – SASTIPEN is implementing sound programs addressing Roma health, with substantial ESF funds. From 2010 to June 2013, in partnership with two other

[193] In this respect, the situation of the health mediator is similar to the one of the school mediator. See the chapter on Education for more details regarding the weaknesses of the school mediation program.
[194] ESF Management Authority is the MLFSP body in charge with EU funds/Sectoral Program on Human Resources Development, called AM POSDRU.
[195] http://www.euromanet.eu/facts/ro/39216.html

NGOs, it has implemented a sustainable project building up community resource centers in 15 rural community, bridging up the provision of social and health services with the increase of the entrepreneurial skills and employment of the most vulnerable and focusing on Roma. Also, the ESF funded project "The Health Mediation Program: Opportunity to increase the employment rate among Roma women", is aiming at fostering the inclusion on the labor market of Roma women. This intervention can be regarded as an example of integrated approach with benefits in several sectors, and with clear benefits for Roma women. Of particular interest will be the assessment of the outcomes of the project regarding two main issues: the setup of a Technical Assistance Unit, Monitoring and Evaluation, and its role regarding gender-sensitive monitoring and evaluation, as well as the outcomes of the lobby and advocacy campaign implemented within the above mentioned project. The aim of the campaign is to expand employment of health mediators within the local public authorities, in line with the decentralization of public health services. This endeavor can prove difficult in times of crisis, when public authorities' budgets are shrinking and employment of new civil servants is put to a halt.

Another innovative initiative, transformed into a structural project funded under ESF is called "Roma professionals in health". It provides mentorship and scholarships to Roma graduates to accede the medical schools, tutoring for Roma medical students and a national campaign aiming at motivating the Roma children to enroll in higher education. The project is implemented by a consortium of local and international NGOs leaded by an NGO named Active Watch Press Monitoring Agency. The risks related to the ESF funded projects are their sustainability if they are not well anchored in the national public policies and the continuity of the best practices and models if the new EU program 2014-2020 has funding gaps, beyond the present bureaucracy and cash flow interruptions.

Community health nurses (CHN) constitute the first line of health services delivery at community level. The second part of the former MoH program on community-based health workers, at least as important as RHM, but ignored by most of the stakeholders active in the Roma health area, is the Community health nurse program. With the same history and present, the CHN is often the only service provider in the Roma communities, providing both social and health preventive services. If a Roma health mediator and/or a social assistant/referent are also present, they team up and deliver better the respective services.

UNICEF is implementing a project called "First priority – no invisible children" in communities from 8 North-East counties. Social workers, community health workers and Roma health mediators are trained and work together in disadvantaged communities, with large Roma populations. The project aims at developing a minimal package of integrated community-based services. There are child preventive services, developed and tested through the project; the final aim is to budget the community services package and to advocate towards the Government to fund it, in line with the Convention for Children's Rights. The project is implemented in partnership with MLFSP and the de-concentrated body on child protection and health.

Under the Swiss-Romanian Cooperation/Thematic Swiss Fund "Reform linked to Health Issues", there is a program called "Widening the access to health and social services: Community integrated health and social services". The program is foreseen for the next five years, starting 2014, with a budget of 5 million Swiss Francs, and the main partner is the

Romanian Ministry of Health. The project aims to develop functional and locally managed models, which increase access to health care through close collaboration between health and social services. Specific attention shall be given to equal access for the entire community and the cost effectiveness of service provision. Pilot regions will be selected amongst others through local development and health indicators. Capacities shall be strengthened with local authorities and service providers to locally manage integrated services. The Program addresses the population of rural communities and small towns with low development indicators, vulnerable groups including Roma and people living below the poverty threshold. The targeted stakeholders are family doctors, community nurses, Roma mediators, social workers, home care providers, local authorities and other relevant groups. It is another opportunity to address Roma health through an integrated approach in the coming years. Integration and coordination at all levels is again necessary, in order to avoid overlaps and to integrate the interventions in multisectoral public policies.

An innovative and sustainable project on ethics and nondiscrimination of vulnerable groups, focusing on Roma is implemented by an NGO, the Association for Development and Social Inclusion – ADIS, with OSI funds. Starting from a study conducted in partnership with Iasi University of Medicine, which revealed that medical students are aware of the fact that discrimination occurs but they are not trained to prevent it and do not know how to address it, the project initiated and conducted a comprehensive campaign for the design and inclusion into the curriculum of the universities of medicine of a course on ethics and non - discrimination against vulnerable groups in the health system in Romania, focusing on the Roma minority. A course curriculum and educational materials have been developed in partnership with faculties from Iasi University of Medicine. Gradually, from 2011 to 2013, the course has been introduced into the regular curriculum of four big universities of medicine (Iasi, Cluj, Bucuresti and Targu Mures). The course is delivered in an interactive way, including presentation of real cases of discrimination and challenging the students to debate; the evaluations show that the course is appreciated by the audience (medical doctors and nurses).

6 ADDRESSING DISCRIMINATION – CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

A cross-cutting theme affecting all three dimensions of exclusion is discrimination. This chapter provides an overview of the situation of discrimination faced by the Roma in Romania, and possible points of intervention from legal and practical perspectives to address this issue. The chapter starts by presenting the nature and levels of discrimination experienced by the Roma, using self-reported data from the 2011 UNDP/EC/WB Regional Roma Survey. Subsequent sections provide an overview of how discrimination manifests itself as a barrier to Roma inclusion. Then the chapter examines the current legal and institutional mechanisms and their current shortcomings, followed by a review of existing initiatives that are combating discrimination in Romania. The chapter concludes by presenting policy recommendations to better address both the sources and acts of discrimination.

6.1 INTRODUCTION: WHY DISCRIMINATION MATTERS FOR ROMA INCLUSION

Being a Roma increases the risk of poverty. Analysis of the RRS data shows that a Romanian individual (including children) is 38% more likely to be at risk of poverty if he or she is of Roma origin, in comparison with a non-Roma of similar age, education level, household composition, community composition and geographic location. Children are 37% more likely to be at risk of poverty if they are Roma. Similarly, 20 percent of the gap in employment between Roma and non-Roma neighbors is unexplained by measured factors, such as age, gender, education level, and geographic location. These disparities reflect 'unmeasured' factors, which may include unobserved skills or factors such as discrimination, norms, and values; and they beg the questions: how does discrimination play a role in Roma exclusion? And what policy strategies can be used to effectively address this?

6.2 EVIDENCE OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST ROMA

Discrimination is the *act* of treating an individual or group unfairly based on preconceived opinions, stereotypes, or prejudicial attitudes towards a group[196]. Unfortunately, due to the subtle and covert nature of discrimination, it is often very difficult to measure and determine its extent and influence. Theorists have tried to measure discrimination concretely using statistical techniques especially in relation to labor market discrimination[197]. However, objective statistical evidence of discrimination is rare, and where such direct evidence exists, corroboration is even rarer. Nonetheless, self-reported experiences and feelings of unfairness and injustice, although unquantifiable, provide an important indication of the level of discrimination that exists in society. This study examined self-reported feelings of non-Roma towards Roma as well as self-

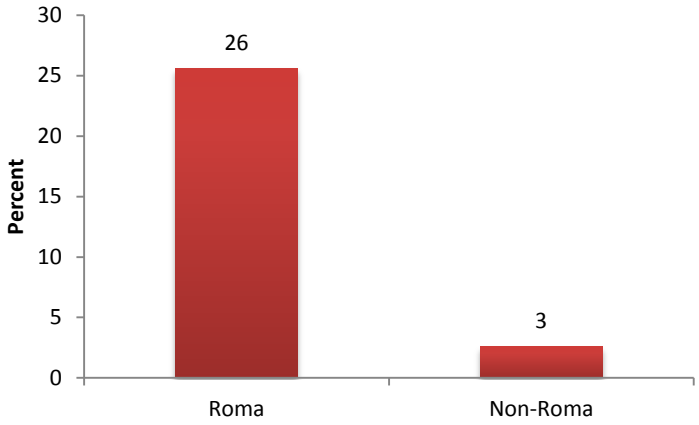
[196] European Commission (2011) Compendium of Practice on Non Discrimination/Equality Mainstreaming.

[197] The two most well known models are the i)"taste model" (Becker 1957) - whereby discrimination arises because employers and workers have a 'distaste' for working with people from different ethnic backgrounds and the ii) "ignorance model" (Arrow 1971) - discrimination arises when the employer through ignorance or prejudice assumes that certain groups of workers are less productive than others and thus is less willing to employ them.

reported experience and feelings of Roma, and how they affect the Roma's motivations in accessing services and how it impacts their wellbeing.

Over a quarter of Roma report to have experienced discrimination because of their ethnicity (see Figure 6-1).[198] These results are further corroborated by a study on perceptions and attitudes of discrimination conducted by the National Council for Combatting Discrimination (NCCD), which found that "48 percent of the Non Roma consider that the Roma are 'a disgrace' for Romania, while 45 percent declared that they are afraid when they meet a group of Roma on the street. 20 percent even maintained that there should be shops or pubs where Roma should be banned."[199]

FIGURE 6-1: PERCENTAGE OF ROMA AND THEIR NON-ROMA NEIGHBORS WHO REPORTED EXPERIENCING DISCRIMINATION OVER THE LAST 12 MONTHS FROM 2011.



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC Regional Roma Survey (2011).

6.2.1 WHICH ROMA ARE THE MOST VULNERABLE TO EXPERIENCING DISCRIMINATION?

Among the Roma, certain groups stand out as being particularly likely to report experiencing discrimination based on their ethnicity. Firstly, discrimination is indicated more

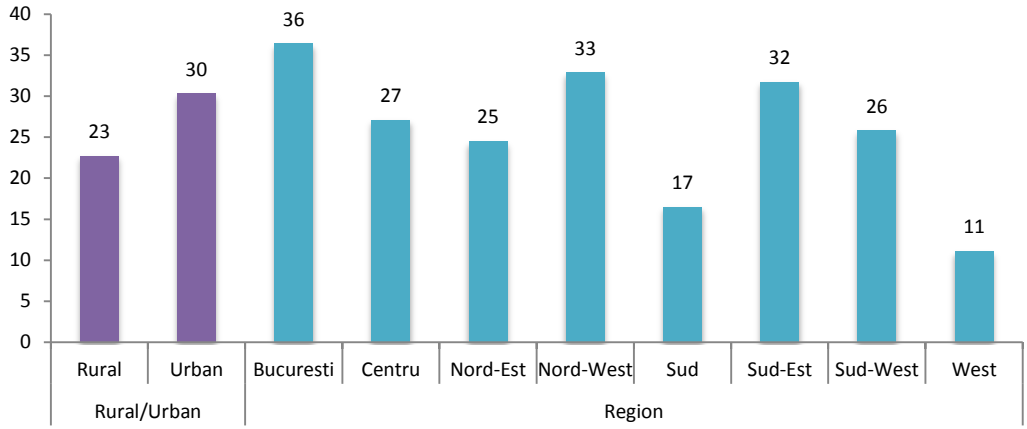
[198] The data used in this chapter is derived from the 2011 UNDP/World Bank/EC Regional Roma Survey, in which Roma and Non Roma respondents are asked about their feelings and experience of discrimination - in a variety of settings. For example, questions were asked on whether people personally felt discriminated against, in Romania, on the basis of their ethnicity / because they are Roma - while looking for paid work, while at work, while looking to rent or buy a house, by people working in private or public health services, or by people working in schools. The sections below elaborate on the results. For questions on discrimination, only one randomly selected adult (15+) individual was sampled per interviewed household. As such, this chapter mainly depends on data gathered from a sample of approximately 750 adult Roma respondents, and 350 non-Roma respondents living close by. For a more detailed description of the methodology used to collect these survey data, see the Methodology chapter in this report.

[199] National Council for Combatting Discrimination (2009) The Phenomenon of Discrimination in Romania - Perceptions and Attitudes.

frequently by Roma *women* than by Roma men. Since 2011, 28 percent of women reported experiencing discrimination in the last 12 months, as compared to 23 percent of men. Secondly, *younger* Roma report feeling discriminated against more frequently than those aged 45 and older. However, whereas young women are less likely to report experiencing discrimination than young men, older women are *more* likely to do so than older men[200]. As may be expected, relatively wealthy Roma are much less likely to indicate experiencing discrimination than relatively *poorer Roma*. In 2011, while 36 percent of Roma in the lowest income quintile indicated feeling discriminated against in the last year, this figure is halved for Roma in the highest income quintile.

Roma living in rural areas are less likely to indicate experiencing discrimination than Roma living in an urban environment (see figure 6-2)**.** In the 12 months preceding the Regional Roma Survey (conducted in 2011), 23 percent of Roma living in rural areas reported experiencing discrimination as opposed to 30 percent of those living in urban areas. This contrast is also reflected in the identification of discrimination by respondents in different regions: the highest levels of positive responses occurred in Bucharest, the capital, while the lowest levels were reported in the South and West of the country, primarily agricultural areas.

FIGURE 6-2: PERCENTAGE OF ROMA WHO REPORTED EXPERIENCING DISCRIMINATION IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS FROM 2011 BY RESIDENCE IN AN URBAN OR RURAL LOCATION, AND REGION



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC Regional Roma Survey (2011).

6.2.2 IN WHICH SECTORS DID ROMA EXPERIENCE DISCRIMINATION THE MOST?

Roma report experiencing the highest levels of discrimination when looking to buy or rent property: As Figure 6-3 shows, 31 percent of Roma who searched for housing over the five years preceding the survey (between 2006 and 2011) experienced discrimination. The Roma reported facing discrimination by people working in a public housing agency or by a private landlord or agency. Women reported this more frequently, 40 percent of whom had experienced

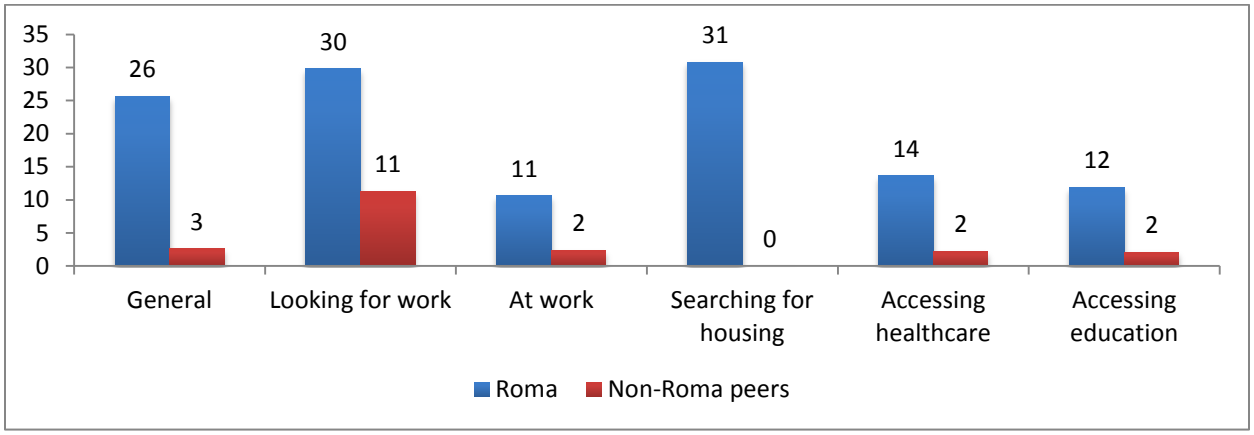
[200] These results were confirmed in the regression models discussed below: Roma women between the ages of 45 to 54 years were found to be 36 percentage points more likely to report feeling discriminated against, as compared to Roma women between the ages of 15 to 24 years. This regression has been omitted from the Annex but is available on request.

discrimination, making it the sector in which women are most likely to feel discriminated against.

Roma also report experiencing high levels of discrimination when looking for paid work. 30 percent of Roma reported that they had experienced ethnicity-based discrimination when looking for work from 2006 to 2011. More women again indicated experiencing discrimination than men (34 percent and 26 percent, respectively).

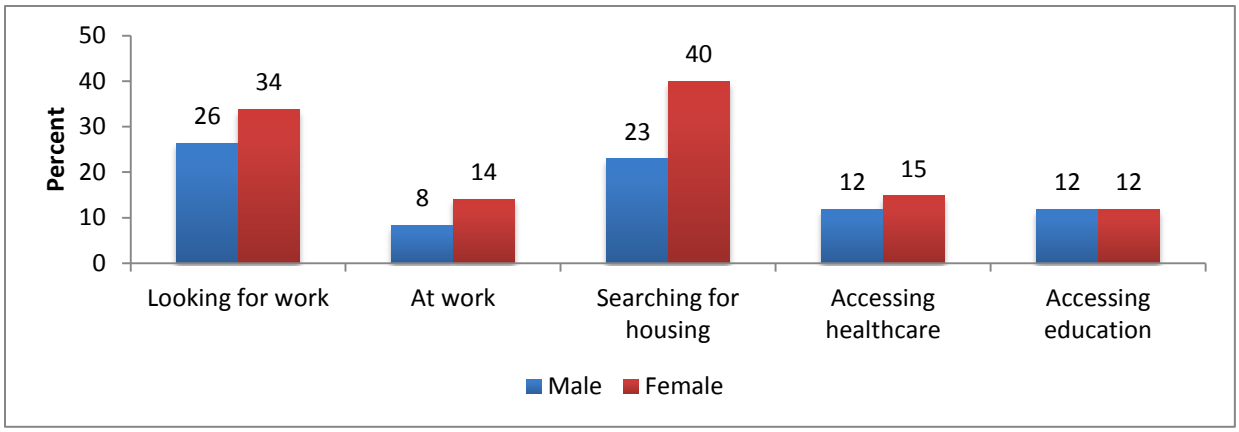
On the other hand, discrimination at work has the lowest self-reported rates of all areas, at 11 percent. Relatively few Roma who have jobs report ethnicity-based discrimination at work by people who they work with or by their supervisors. This is not to suggest that Roma are free from discrimination at work, however. Furthermore, as Figure 6-4 shows, discrimination on the work floor is slightly higher among Roma women than among Roma men.

FIGURE 6-3: INCIDENCE OF DISCRIMINATION WITHIN THE LAST 12 MONTHS (GENERAL DISCRIMINATION) OR THE LAST 5 YEARS FROM 2011 (SECTOR-SPECIFIC DISCRIMINATION)



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC Regional Roma Survey (2011). All sampled Roma and non-Roma were asked whether they experienced discrimination 'in general', over the past 12 months. For the various areas or sectors, only those Roma and non-Roma who engaged in a specific activity, such as 'looking for work', were asked if they experienced discrimination while being engaged in this activity. These sector-specific reports of discrimination refer to the past 5 years from the time of the interview (2011), instead of just the past 12 months.

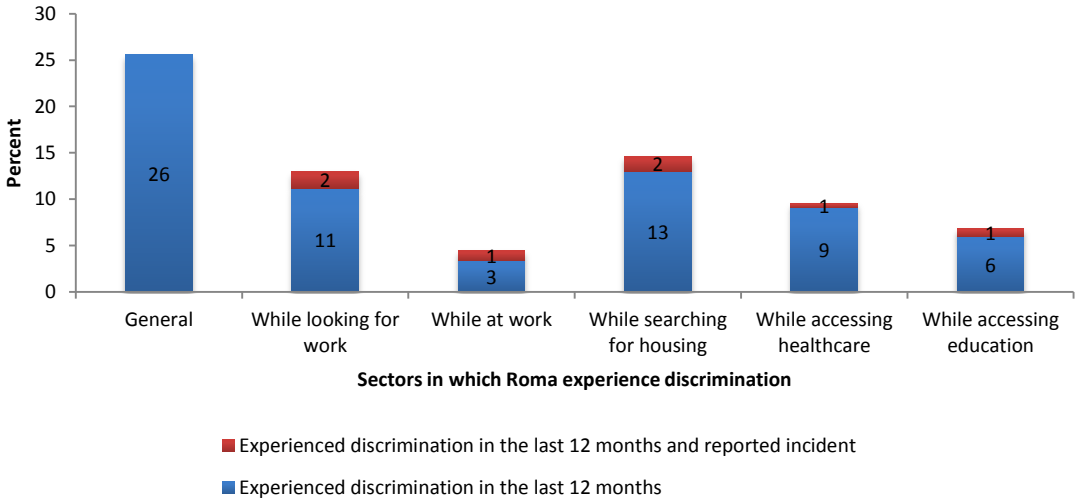
FIGURE 6-4: PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION AMONG ROMA MEN AND WOMEN IN THE LAST 5 YEARS FROM 2011, BY SECTOR



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC Regional Roma Survey (2011). For the various areas or sectors, only those Roma who engaged in a specific activity, such as 'looking for work', were asked if they experienced discrimination while being engaged in this activity. These sector-specific reports of discrimination refer to the past 5 years from the time of the interview (2011).

Generally, Roma who indicated experience of discrimination do not report it to the relevant institutional bodies or civil society organizations. As Figure 6-6 shows, in the area of housing, where discrimination has been most frequently felt by the Roma, only 13 percent reported it to a relevant organization. The highest number of people reporting discrimination to authorities did so while experiencing it at work. However, even this figure is only a quarter of all those who experienced discrimination. Thus 75 percent Roma who felt discriminated against at work remained quiet.

FIGURE 6-5: INCIDENCE OF DISCRIMINATION AND REPORTING OF SUCH DISCRIMINATION AMONG THE ROMA IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS FROM 2011, BY SECTOR



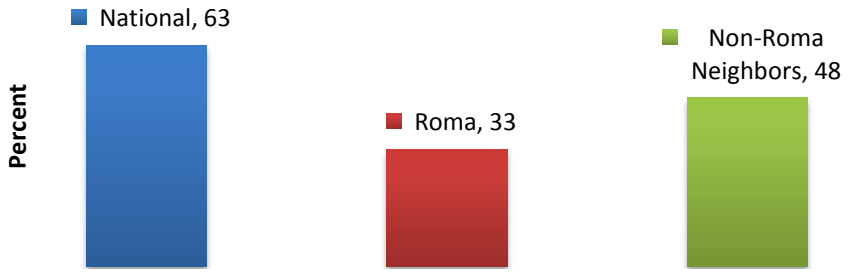
Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC Regional Roma Survey (2011). Blue bars refer to the share of Roma having experienced discrimination, but not having reported the incident.

6.3 DISCRIMINATION AS A BARRIER TO INCLUSION

6.3.1 EXCLUSION FROM EARNING OPPORTUNITIES

Employment rates among both Roma men and women are extremely low in comparison to the national population as highlighted in the chapter on employment, (also Figure 6-6 below), even though the vast majority of Roma indicate to have a preference for stable employment.

FIGURE 6-6: EMPLOYMENT RATES - ROMA, NON ROMA NEIGHBORS AND NATIONAL POPULATION



Source: General Population: Eurostat 2011; Non-Roma neighbors and Roma: UNDP/World Bank/EC regional Roma survey (2011)[201].

When analyzing the gap in employment between Roma and non-Roma neighbors, the largest part of the gap is explained by different endowments in education, however a remaining 20 percent is unexplained by measured endowments. This unexplained portion of the gap could be at least partially attributed to discrimination in the job market (see Annex).

The attitudes and behavior of employers can compound and aggravate the problems of employment discrimination against Roma. For example, an ERRC report found that job vacancies are simply not open to Roma, as many companies practice a total exclusion policy. "In many cases, employers even tell Roma that they are not being hired because they are "gypsies"[202, 203]. Furthermore, employers often resort to the practice of requesting educational qualifications for work that has no relation to the qualifications, or demanding a level of literacy or numeracy that is not directly related to the job, in order to exclude Roma even from basic employment. One Roma respondent described, "*The Social Services representatives from town*

[202] The Employment chapter in this report provides more qualitative evidence on discrimination experienced by Roma in Romania when looking for work, and on the work floor in the form of unequal or with-held salaries.

[203] Among the 402 Roma surveyed in Romania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Czech Republic, and Hungary, 64% of working age Roma indicated experiencing discrimination, and an alarming 49% indicated that employers openly said they were treating them differently because the individuals were Roma, and a further 5% heard the same from labor offices. European Roma Rights Center (2005) The Glass Box – Exclusion of Roma from Employment.

hall told me that my educational level, completion of seven years of classes, is not enough for me to be employed as a street cleaner"[204].

ERRC research has demonstrated that these various types of discrimination in the labor market constrain even the opportunities of qualified Roma. In fact, some types of discrimination constrain them to jobs that are in some way connected to service delivery for other Roma people only. "For example, a university-educated Roma can be a social worker for Roma families, a teacher for Roma children or a Roma advisor in a government office, but they are almost never simply a social worker, a teacher, or a public servant working in mainstream functions that provide services for the majority population"[205].

Even within the explained part of the employment gap, discrimination is likely to play a role, through its impact on the education levels that Roma obtain. In other words, the differences in educational opportunities could also be partly attributable to social exclusion, including discrimination. As shown in section 6.2, in 2011, 12 percent of all Roma who interact with educational institutions experienced discrimination in the preceding five years, and seven percent experienced discrimination in the preceding 12 months. Through this indirect impact, discrimination could in fact be responsible for a larger part of the gap in employment than the model suggests.

Wage differences between Roma and non-Roma are also strongly impacted by ethnicity: monthly wages are significantly lower among Roma than their non-Roma neighbors. In 2011, on average, Roma in Romania earned €80 less than their non-Roma neighbors per month. €48 of this difference was found to be due to differences in characteristics displayed by the Roma and non-Roma, such as differences in level of education and age. However, €32 of the gap between Roma and non-Roma wages remains *unexplained* by differences in the level of education and age. This portion of the gap could be attributed to unobserved skills or factors such as discrimination, norms, and values. Self-reported experiences of discrimination and secondary research[206] provide suggestive evidence that discrimination plays a role in differential outcomes between Roma and Non Roma, although more evidence would be needed to conclusively state to what extent discrimination is causing this gap.

6.3.2 UNEQUAL ACCESS TO SERVICES

Discrimination is manifest at many junctures in the provision of basic needs and services. Results from the focus group discussions carried out with Roma communities[207] confirm that the discriminatory attitudes of service providers are essential barriers to access and quality of

[204] Ibid. The ERRC research in Romania was conducted in six districts, comprising of 78 interviews.
[205] Ibid.
[206] ERRC 2005 "The Glass Box – Exclusion of Roma from Employment".
[207] A qualitative study was carried out in four localities in Romania (Bucharest, Telechiu village/Bihor County, Măieruș village/Brașov County and Oltenița town/Călărași County) to assess how discrimination affects Roma people's motivations in accessing services and how it impacts their wellbeing. The locations were selected to adequately represent socioeconomic and spatial (rural, urban, integrated, segregated) differences among the Roma.

services. Attitudes of discrimination also affects Roma people's motivations in attempting to be proactive in participating in mainstream society - for example, through their decisions on sending children to school, accessing healthcare facilities, or looking for paid employment.

In the area of education, for example, Roma pointed to situations of unequal treatment, of the Roma children in comparison to their peers, by teachers. As a Roma mother from Telechiu/Bihor explained: "*[the situation] is not that good neither with the teachers, nor with the colleagues [i.e. other children in the class]. The teachers are not teaching the Roma children as they teach the non-Roma ones." (Qualitative Research Sept-Oct 2013).* At times, Roma stressed circumstances of direct discrimination and humiliation of their children in school. A Roma father from Măieruș/Brașov stated that *"they used to call my [son] gipsy! Yes! Yes!"* On the similar note, a Roma mother from Telechiu pointed out: *"they are talking meanly to the children and behave badly towards them. And the colleagues call them gipsy; once my daughter came to me crying because the teacher beat her because other colleagues did something during the break, and she thought automatically that it is her fault." (Qualitative Research Sept-Oct 2013).*

Teachers also impact children through their expectations of them and their perception of Roma children's abilities. In a study conducted by the European Commission[208], despite the fact that Roma children expressed high aspirations for their future, teachers viewed them as unmotivated students who are not interested in studying. Furthermore, a general perception among older Roma parents was that the situation has worsened for the current generation of school attending children who have been more exposed to discrimination than they were.*"[There are] big differences regarding the children, the teachers, the director. Before we were getting along with each other, not like how it is happening now. We used to play together, even to eat. Now the teachers and the children are making big differences between Roma and Romanians"* (female participant in focus group in Măieruș/Brașov).

Similarly, in the area of health, discrimination can manifest itself in the segregation of Roma and Non-Roma patients and the lower quality treatment of the Roma. A Romani CRISS report[209] describes cases in which "Roma and non-Roma women are accommodated in different [maternity] wards"[210]. During medical examination, the lack of interest of some medical staff towards Roma patients is translated in "avoiding physical contact with the patients, non-involvement of the patients and of their family in choosing the treatment, omission of the explanations concerning the risks of administering a certain type of treatment, and using aggressive procedures". Other examples of discriminatory practices within the health system are: rejection or redirection of Roma patients to other medical providers; examining Roma patients only after all non Roma patients have been examined regardless of the order of visit, and the use of derogatory language towards Roma patients. These types of differential treatment by health

[208] European Commission (2008) Come Closer – Inclusion and Exclusion of Roma in Present Day Romanian Society
[209] Romani Criss (2012) Roma Health – Perspective of the actors involved in the health system – doctors, health, mediators and patients.
[210] Ibid p16.

providers could partially explain why so few Roma patients visit health practitioners regularly, and instead resort to delaying check-ups until they require emergency services.

The lack of access to services is further compounded by the lack of proper identity documents – an issue linked to the attitude of local authorities and public officials towards the Roma. The lack of identity cards not only prevents many Roma citizens from participating in elections, but also prevents access to basic needs and services. One major hurdle has been the required proof of residence, which many Roma are unable to show because of their informal housing situations. This is aggravated by lack of literacy as well as discriminatory attitudes on the part of authorities. As pointed out by a male focus group participant from Măieruș/Brașov: *"I cannot get my ID paper because I have to pay a fine and the local authority would not provide me with the ID before paying the fine. Now I even have to pay, but before the election all of us had ID papers for free, and in any circumstances" (Qualitative Research Sept-Oct 2013).* The lack of identity documents for registration, coupled with the hesitation to visit health care facilities due to practitioners' attitudes, further increases the incidence of medically unassisted births, aggravating the problem of identity registration.

6.3.3 SPATIAL SEGREGATION

Discrimination also manifests and impacts Roma well-being through *segregation* (of schools and residences)[211], **and *forced evictions*.** Together, these demonstrate the physical manifestation of the social distance between Roma and Non Roma. In many ways, segregation is the result of much more than discrimination. It is in fact the result of historical subjugation in the form of slavery, mass evictions, and the various policies that disadvantaged Roma (described in the chapter on housing). However, we know from research in other countries that "a subculture can be created by dominant groups to implicitly exclude minorities, even when they can afford to buy homes in their neighborhoods"[212]. As a result of historical subjugation and the more covert discriminatory attitudes, neighborhoods have thus become "Roma neighborhoods" as Non-Roma start leaving when clustering of Roma people increases. Similarly, parents move their children out of schools, once more Roma children start attending the school. As evidenced in the chapter on education[213], school segregation has strong implications for the quality of education for Roma. Higher proportions of Roma in a school is associated with lower quality of endowments of the school: computers, specialized labs, sport fields, library, adequate number of books per student, as well as fewer qualified teachers and school advisors. Similarly, segregated Roma

[211] European Roma Rights Center, *Stigmata: Segregated Schooling of Roma in Central and Eastern Europe*, Budapest, 2004; Iulius Rostas(ed) *Ten Years After: a History of Roma School Desegregation in Central and Eastern Europe*, REF and CEU Press: Budapest, 2012; Gabor Kertesi and Gabor Kezdi, *School Segregation, School Choice and Educational Policies in 100 Hungarians Towns*, Roma Education Fund, 2013.

[212] World Bank (2013). Inclusion Matters: The Foundation for Shared Prosperity. Sustainable Development Network. Social Development

[213] 22% of Roma in Romania aged 7 to 15 who attend regular schools with the majority of schoolmates being Roma while the share of Roma aged 7 to 15 who attend regular schools with the majority of classmates being Roma in Romania is 18% in segregated schools and 9% in not segregated schools. Other research indicates even higher figures. Research conducted by experts in 2010213 using survey and focus groups in 56 compact Roma communities and two samples of almost 1000 Roma each reveals that 64.5% of the Roma pupils in primary school (classes I-IV) are studying on segregated classes while in the grades V to VIII 53% of Roma children attend segregated classes.

areas are considered unsafe, unhygienic, and poor, "reflecting at once a judgment on the social and economic character of the neighborhood"[214]. Segregation therefore also solidifies the process of discrimination, as will be discussed in the next section.

The Government of Romania has recognized the issue of school segregation and issued a Notification in April 2004 followed by a Ministerial Order in 2007 banning school segregation of Roma. However, cases of segregation continue to be reported and some[215] do not provide for any specific sanctions. Roma school desegregation was a priority within the PHARE Program, Equal Access to Education for Disadvantaged Groups, implemented by the Ministry of Education in the period 2003-2007. However, no results on the implementation of the program have been published by the Ministry of Education to date. Moreover, in spite of the formal recognition of Roma school segregation as a factor which negatively influences the access to quality education for Roma, the Ministry of Education did not include any provision on school segregation of Roma within the new law on education.[216]

Similarly, the phenomenon of forced evictions also manifests direct forms of discrimination. Human rights groups have often criticized Romania for the way the Government ensures access to housing.[217] A 2011 Amnesty International report on housing shows that the Romanian legal framework regarding housing disadvantages Roma[218]. These reports revealed a tendency among local authorities to forcibly evict Roma families and relocate them next to garbage dumps, sewage treatment plants, or industrial areas on the outskirts of cities that could be hazardous for their health. Moreover, these families find themselves isolated from society and face additional obstacles to enter the labor market or obtain access to education. Such cases have been recently reported in several municipalities - Baia Mare, Cluj Napoca, Miercurea Ciuc, and Piatra Neamt. Though the National Council for Combatting Discrimination (NCCD) has addressed several cases[219] of discriminatory forced evictions, its sanctions have not had any lasting impact on the phenomenon of forced evictions for the Roma.

6.4 STRUCTURAL AND BEHAVIORAL SOURCES OF DISCRIMINATION

A primary *mechanism* of discrimination of Roma in Romania is the belief of mainstream society that the Roma do not want to lift themselves out of poverty. A range of constraints and disadvantages, including the lack of opportunities, resources, and information, experienced

[214] World Bank (2013). Inclusion Matters: The Foundation for Shared Prosperity. Sustainable Development Network. Social Development

[215] Referred to NCCD as Ministerial order no. 1540/2007

[216] Law no. 1/2011 on national education published in the Official Gazette no. 18 of January 10th 2011.

[217] Romani Criss SHADOW REPORT FOR THE COMMITTEE ON THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION On the occasion of report of Romania, Bucharest, July 2010-07-27, available at: http://www.romanicriss.org/PDF/Shadow%20report%20CERD%20Romania%20-2010.pdf; European Roma Rights Center, Written Comments BY THE EUROPEAN ROMA RIGHTS CENTRE CONCERNING ROMANIA For Consideration by the European Commission on the Transposition and Application of the Race Directive and on the Legal Issues Relevant to Roma Integration, Budapest, 2013, available at: http://www.errc.org/cms/upload/file/romania-red-written-comments-5-april-2013.pdf.

[218] Amnesty International, *Mind the legal gap. Roma and the right to housing in Romania*, 2011, available at: http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/EUR39/004/2011

[219] in Cluj Napoca, Miercurea Ciuc and Baia Mare

by the Roma are often reflected in their values (e.g. attitudes, preferences, aspirations) and behavior (e.g. decisions and actions), which might have poverty-perpetuating properties. Some of these values and behaviors make the Roma, as a group, vulnerable to becoming the subject of ethnic stereotyping, which casts them as "having a negative attitude towards work and life, wasting money on unproductive activities, and adopting poor and unhealthy lifestyles with no motivation to break out of the poverty cycle"[220]. Such ethnic stereotyping leads to disapproval and contempt, resulting in disrespectful and discriminatory treatment of Roma. This understanding is shown to be common among local authorities and various types of service providers, as cited in the PHARE Program and National Roma Agency study from 2008[221].

Discrimination is also induced by poverty profiling, or service providers' profiling of Roma through assumptions on their lack of financial resources or high risk of default. Social status and the perception of ability to pay are important factors in the accessibility of health facilities and quality of treatment. Similarly, bankers often perceive slum-dwellers and informal sector workers, particularly the Roma, to be a high-risk group of default and do not provide loans to them. Housing providers often perceive the Roma to be a high-risk group that "does not play by the rules" [222] and therefore do not lease property to them. As discussed in the housing chapter, in the view of local authorities interviewed, Roma's chances of getting access to social housing are minimum, due to: (i) their perceived 'lifestyle' ("the Roma living in slums cannot adjust to life in a multistory building"), (ii) their inability to make utility payments (since a large number of Roma are unemployed and surviving largely on social welfare benefits), and (iii) their large families (often 7-10 members) that would make them 'unfit' to live in the small 10-15 square meter social housing units.

The historical mistrust between Roma and non-Roma people in Romania is argued to be another major source of discrimination. Attempts to encourage non-discrimination have been unsuccessful, because they fail to address meaningfully the animosity and mistrust between Roma and Non-Roma groups deeply rooted in the history of Roma segregation and subjugation. [223] Scapegoating of Roma, for example, is a form in which such historical mistrust is manifested. In Romania, the public and some political authorities have been reported to blame the Roma community for economic and social unrest. [224] According to a recent study conducted by the National Council for Combating Discrimination (CNCD), about one in five Romanians citizens believe that national minorities are a threat to the country, and a third view them to represent problems.[225]

---

[220] European Commission (2008) Come Closer – Inclusion and Exclusion of Roma in Present Day Romanian Society

[221] European Commission (2008) Come Closer – Inclusion and Exclusion of Roma in Present Day Romanian Society. p66.

[222] Interview with Goodbee representative on August 5, 2013

[223] Uzunova Iskra (2012)

[224] Open Letter by Romani Criss. 29th July 2011. And BBC report covered by Active Watch. 19. March 2013.

[225] According to a recent study presented by the National Council for Combating Discrimination (CNCD), mentioned at http://www.romania-insider.com/study-most-romanians-wouldnt-vote-for-a-woman-president-nor-accept-a-gay-relative/111342/.

Mistrust towards Roma by mainstream society is often a result of a popular understanding (or lack of understanding) of elements of Roma culture and "Gypsy law". The cultures and norms of the dominant group in society could often actively disrespect groups they consider subordinate. The dominant group could prevent the subordinate group from fully taking part in society, by harming their dignity through disrespectful treatments, including (intentional and unintentional) stereotyping and contempt for their cultures and practices.[226] For example, according to some authors[227], certain elements of 'Roma culture' and customary laws[228] are interpreted by Non Roma people as a behavioral and cultural shortcoming of the Roma, and are used as justification in discriminating against the Roma. When asked in a survey, Non-Roma people claim that their attitude towards Roma is not prejudice but an outcome of the unacceptable actions and way of life of the Roma[229].

Prejudices, poverty-profiling, and historical mistrust are perpetuated by socialization and the reproduction of negative stereotypes of Roma by the media. For example, parents still scare children by saying: "if you do not behave yourself, the Gypsies will take you away"[230]. The media—including television, movies, and advertising—also perpetuate negative images and stereotypes about the Roma, which has been well documented in research[231]. Articles and images portray the Roma as provoking violence in cases of community riots or behaving aggressively. In one analysis, "Non Roma people of the same community were found quoted (improbably) speaking in grammatically correct Romanian while the Roma were presented as speaking aggressively, vulgarly or incoherently"[232].

In summary, conscious efforts would be required to (a) avoid further diffusion of negative images of Roma by media; (b) increase interaction between Roma and non-Roma to foster mutual understanding and challenge historical mistrust; and (c) make discrimination a notion that is socially unacceptable in Romania.

6.5 LEGAL AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR COMBATTING ROMA DISCRIMINATION

Over the last ten years, considerable progress has been made in putting together a legal and policy framework to tackle the question of Roma exclusion. However this framework is currently not effective in deterring acts of discrimination, due to: issues of interpretation and scope of the law against discrimination, lack of resources and capacity of the implementing body, lack of transparency in internal procedures, ineffective outreach to Roma groups, and

[226] World Bank (2013). Inclusion Matters: The Foundation for Shared Prosperity. Washington, DC: World Bank.
[227] Uzunova Iskra (2012)
[228] Such as a fervent believe in oral legal tradition, the concept of *gaje* (a Roma term encompassing all Non Roma), and notions of purity and impurity of words and actions
[229] Open Society Institute 2005.
[230] ERRC (1999) Cutting edge: the Romanian press and Roma 1990-1994. Article by Cristina Hanganu.
[231] Bernath G and V. Messing (2011), European Commission (2008), ERRC (1999).
[232] ERRC (1999).

problems of coordination with other sectoral agencies whose involvement is necessary to combat discrimination at the service delivery level. The section below discusses these in further detail.

Discrimination is defined by the Romanian law against discrimination – Government Ordinance 137/2000 as: "any difference, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, nationality, ethnic origin, language, religion, social status, beliefs, gender, sexual orientation, age, disability, chronic disease, HIV positive status, belonging to a disadvantaged group or any other criterion, aiming to or resulting in a restriction or prevention of the equal recognition, use or exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social and cultural field or in any other fields of public life." The law also transposes the Race Equality Directive and Employment Equality Directive of the European Union, into national legislation[233]. Furthermore, the law defines the following forms of discrimination: direct discrimination, indirect discrimination, incitement to discrimination, harassment, victimization, and multiple discrimination, and sanctions the breach of the right to *human dignity*. The provisions of the law against discrimination are complemented by numerous general laws in the labor[234], criminal[235] and administrative fields, education[236], healthcare[237], unemployment[238], audiovisual media[239], equal opportunities between men and women[240], persons with disabilities[241], social assistance[242], and combating violence at sport events[243].

However, Romanian law against discrimination could better reflect ground realities in Romania, for example by explicitly addressing racial segregation. The Romanian law against discrimination formally complies with the Race Equality Directive (RED), which has become a standard in assessing domestic laws against discrimination in the European Union. The RED, nonetheless, sets only minimum standards to be transposed into national legislation by the EU member states, and segregation, for example, is not expressly prohibited by the Directive[244]. As a consequence, segregation is not included in the recent series of amendments introduced to the non-discrimination legislation in Romania.

---

[233] Race Equality Directive: 2000/43/EC and Employment Equality Directive: 2000/78/EC.
[234] Law 53 of 24 January 2003, republished and amended, Art 6 (1) and Art. 159 (3).
[235] The Romanian Criminal Code - Law 15/1968 republished and amended, Art. 75 c1), Art 317and Art. 247.
[236] Law No 1 of 5 January 2011 on national education, amended, Art 2 (4), Art 3 (i), Art 3 (j), Art 118 (2), and Art. 50 (3)
[237] Law 95 of 14 April 2006 on reform in healthcare field, amended.
[238] Law no. 76 of 16 January 2002 on unemployment insurance system and employment stimulation, amended.
[239] Law No. 504 of 11 July 2002 on audiovisual, amended.
[240] Law 202 0f 19 April 2002 for Equal Opportunities between Women and Men, republished and amended.
[241] Law 448/2006 regarding the protection and promotion of the rights of disabled persons.
[242] Law 47/2006 establishing the National System of Social Assistance.
[243] Law 4/2008 on preventing and combating violence during sport events.
[244] Lilla Farkas, *Segregation of Romani Children in Education: Addressing Structural Discrimination through the Race Equality Directive*, report prepared for the European Commission, July 2007, pp.24-31, underlining the high potential of the RED to tackle racial segregation of Roma in education shows the difficulties in arguing such cases in courts. For a detailed analysis on how racial segregation in education could be defined as a special form of discrimination see Iulius Rostas, *Judicial Policy-Making: the Role of the Courts in Promoting School Desegregation*, in Iulius Rostas, *Ten Years After: A History of Roma School Desegregation in Central and Eastern Europe*, REF & CEU Press, Budapest, 2012, p 95-99.

The institutional body responsible for applying the law against discrimination is the National Council for Combating Discrimination (NCCD). A quasi-judicial body, consisting of a nine member Steering Committee with the equivalent rank of a deputy-minister, appointed by the Parliament for a five-year mandate, the NCCD has found it challenging to combat discrimination and perform its duties, partly due to its very broad mandate. It is held responsible for implementing the law against discrimination[245] overseeing harmonization of legal provisions of different laws that are not in compliance with nondiscrimination principles, and for acting as a policy-making body as regards non-discrimination[246]. In addition to addressing individual and legal people's complaints, NCCD is also responsible for initiating investigations ex officio, and mediating between parties. Despite this broad mandate of the institution, NCCD is understaffed and underfinanced, as reported by the President of NCCD in different interviews[247].

The NCCD is staffed with decision-makers that may not be formally trained in "judicial interpretation technique", and whose decisions therefore run the risk of restricting fundamental rights like free speech and assembly. The criteria for being nominated as a member of the NCCD Steering Committee do not include the requirement of law studies or judicial expertise[248]. The experience in human rights is often not considered by the political parties when nominating their candidates[249]. Human rights groups have expressed doubts about the capacity of the proposed candidates to apply the law against discrimination due to lack of expertise.[250]

There are no transparent internal procedures to guarantee that the cases are timely and comprehensively addressed, result in a formal report with evidence, and that the cases are resolved within the period prescribed by the law. The procedural non-transparencies make it impossible to assess the standards applied by NCCD in examining cases. There are no clear references to how the decisions were made, how the law applies to particular facts in a specific case, and justification behind their arguments[251]. In addition, NCCD does not publish its decisions on its website regularly. Its website is not updated periodically and no decisions since 2008 have been made available to the public. This has a direct effect on those concerned with such cases, including victims and their defenders, as timely access to NCCD decisions could lead

---

[245] Preventing discrimination, mediating between the parties, investigating, finding and sanctioning discrimination, monitoring discrimination cases, as well as providing legal assistance to victims of discrimination. Government Ordinance 137/2000, Art. 19.

[246] Government Ordinance 137/2000, Art. 18.

[247] Civil Society Monitoring Report on the Implementation of the National Roma Integration Strategy and Decade Action Plan in 2012 in Romania, Budapest, 2013, p.50.

[248] The selection criteria to be nominated as a member of the Steering Board of NCCD are: to have a university degree, no criminal record, experience in human rights and non-cooperation with the repressive communist secret police. Although there is no specific requirement for candidates to be law graduates, there is a requirement that two thirds of the Steering Committee members to be law graduates. Art 27 of the Ordinance 137/2000.

[249] Opinion expressed by civil society organization during a consultative workshop with stakeholders (Bucharest, September 25, 2013)

[250] Romani Criss and Roma Civic Alliance, *Shadow report for the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination On the occasion of report of Romania Bucharest*, July 2010-07-27, p.10-11. Though it is under the authority of the parliament, in practice, the relatively loose criteria for selection make the members of the NCCD Steering Committee dependent on the will of the political party that nominated her/him.

[251] Whereas internationally, discrimination cases typically include such information in case decision files.

to an improvement of the complaints submitted through references to similar cases. Many cases could also be aided by direct references to previous NCCD decisions. But the NCCD has not published to date any investigation reports it conducted, or that was used as a proof in discrimination cases. Thus, by increasing transparency, NCCD could enhance the prevention effect of its decisions and investigations. The spread of such information would also enable active citizenship among the Roma who can learn of such cases.

Data also reveals a need to spread awareness and information that there are formal channels for Roma to air their feelings of injustice. As Figure 6-8 shows, a large majority of the Roma population in Romania (69 percent of all surveyed Roma) is unaware of the existence of any organizations that can offer support or advice to people who have been discriminated against. The knowledge of the possibilities of grievance redress, and examples of successful cases or at least of other Roma who have reached out to public bodies for help, might also induce active citizenship and reduce the feelings of helplessness and resignation that are seen among many Roma caught in a cycle of discrimination and poverty. Data however shows that knowledge of laws against discrimination is slightly better, with only 29 percent respondents thinking that there are no laws against discrimination. However, as the section below demonstrates, the existence of a legal framework has to be supported by equally strong capacity of institutions implementing the law for it to be effective in realizing Roma inclusion. The section below discusses these legal and institutional frameworks and their challenges and limitations.

FIGURE 6-2: RESPONDENTS WHO KNOW OF ORGANISATIONS IN ROMANIA THAT CAN OFFER SUPPORT OR ADVICE TO PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN DISRIMINATED AGAINST.

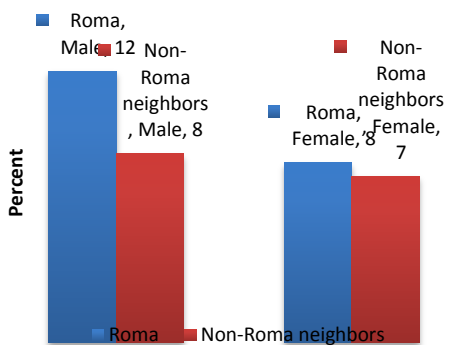
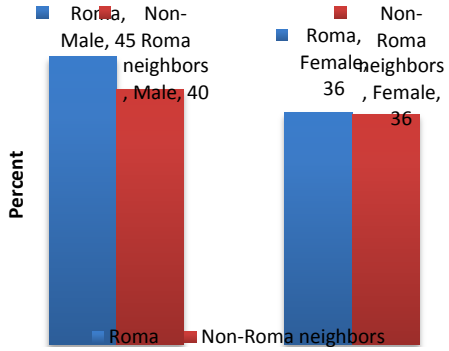


FIGURE 6-3: RESPONDENTS WHO THINK THAT THERE ARE LAWS IN ROMANIA FORBIDDING DISCRIMINATION AGAINST ETHNIC MINORITIES



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC Regional Roma Survey (2011).

The low rates at which NCCD admits and sanctions complaints also reflects the limited access of discrimination victims to remedy. According to NCCD's last annual report, only 16 percent of the received complaints were declared admitted.[252] Moreover, though the law against

[252] National Council for Combating Discrimination, *Report on the implementation of the race directive in Romania, 2003-2010*, p. 29, available at: http://www.cncd.org.ro/files/file/Raport%20D43_2000_CNCD_final.pdf

discrimination requires NCCD to use monetary fines[253], in practice, it also issues warnings or recommendations only - that are not provided for by the law against discrimination. As stated in the last annual report, in 2012 NCCD has issued only 35 fines but 55 recommendations, 58 warnings.[254]

Finally, in spite of being amended in March 2013 at the requests of civil society, the law against discrimination still does not include more adequate remedies as a part of re-establishing status quo antes - equal opportunity plans, diversity management trainings, duty to adopt equality and non-discrimination principles.

6.6 POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR COMBATTING DISCRIMINATION

Two key policy documents are aimed at combating discrimination against Roma in Romania. They are: *National Strategy for Implementing the Measures for Preventing and Combating Discrimination for the Period 2007-2013 Strategy* (hereinafter the NCCD Strategy) adopted by the NCCD, and the National Roma Inclusion Strategy (NRIS). The responsible institutions for implementation and coordination of different institutional activities are NCCD and the National Agency for Roma (NAR).

The National Strategy for Implementing the Measures for Preventing and Combating Discrimination for the Period 2007-2013 (the NCCD strategy) is NCCD's strategy for combatting discrimination, adopted through an order of the President of NCCD[255]. The NCCD strategy, however, falls short of defining clear measures to achieve the priorities and goes only as far as analyzing existing gaps.

NCCD strategy lacks the involvement of other state institutions in preventing and combating discrimination in Romania. The NCCD strategy requires coordination and involvement of other sectoral line agencies for fighting discrimination. However, there is no

---

[253] fines ranging from 1,000 and 30,000 RON (approx. EUR 220 – 6,670) when the victim is an individual; and between 2,000 and 100,000 RON (approx. EUR 450) when the victims of the discrimination are a group. These sanctions were introduced only in March 2013, as Romanian Government amended the law against discrimination in view of the upcoming case before the European Court of Justice and the threat to face legal actions from the side of the European Commission. See Adrian Marin and Ágnes Csonta, *Discrimination of Roma Communities: Romania National Report*, Fundaţia Secretariatul Romilor and Centrul de Resurse Juridice, Bucuresti, 2013, p. 13.

[254] NCCD Annual Report 2012, p. 31, available at: http://www.cncd.org.ro/files/file/Raport%20de%20activitate%20CNCD%202012.pdf. In the past, for the period 2003-2010, NCCD has received 823 complaints of alleged discrimination based on race or ethnicity, found discrimination in 129 cases and issued the following sanctions: 61 warnings, 29 fines, 27 recommendations, in 5 cases it just found discrimination but did nothing further, in 4 cases it applied both a warning and a recommendation, in 2 cases a fine and a warning and in 1 case a fine and a recommendation. NCCD Report on the implementation of the race directive in Romania, 2003-2010, p. 32, available at: http://www.cncd.org.ro/files/file/Raport%20D43_2000_CNCD_final.pdf

[255] The NCCD strategy is organized in four chapters referring to the functions and scope of the strategy, its objectives and priorities, its applications and implementation and financing. The strategy identified five objectives – (1) effective protection and remedies, (2) equal opportunities in employment, (3) access to public services, (4) diversity awareness in media, culture and sport, and (5) zero tolerance policy towards discrimination - each one followed by priorities and some measures to be taken by NCCD in cooperation with other institutions. Order no 286 from 29 of August 2007 regarding the approval of the national strategy for implementing the measures for preventing and combating discrimination for the period 2007-2013, published in Monitorul Oficial, part I, No 674 from 3 October 2007.

formal action plan for NCCD involvement in the decisions of sectoral ministries. The NCCD does not have the power to assign responsibilities to other institutions through an order of its President. Thus, in spite of the NCCD strategy's label as a "national strategy", it is challenging for NCCD to formally involve other institutions in preventing and combating discrimination in Romania by having them commit to the objectives, priorities and measures foreseen in its strategy. This has burdened NCCD to implement the policy on its own.

An analysis conducted by the civil society organizations in Romania in 2013 confirms the limited cooperation between NCCD and other ministries and agencies[256]. The report underlines the fact that there is no cooperation between NCCD and the Ministry of Education in combating school segregation of Roma children or cooperation with other line ministries during policy-making. Reportedly, according to a member of the NCCD Steering Committee, NCCD received no answer from the Ministry of Health when the latter was asked to issue guidelines to hospitals in order to avoid segregation of Roma patients.[257] Moreover, the NCCD President accepts that the institution does not have enough capacity to carry out the screening of the government policies.[258]

The Strategy of the Government of Romania for the Inclusion of Romanian Citizens Belonging to the Roma Minority for the Period 2012-2020 **(hereinafter NRIS) only limitedly address discrimination against Roma.** Discrimination is only generally defined in the NRIS, without a proper analysis of how discrimination manifests itself at the sectoral level. Out of the seven objectives of the NRIS, *only two* refer to discrimination (both in education)[259]. Similarly, the sectoral action plans are of a general character and in areas like health, housing, employment, and culture, no measures that address discrimination against Roma are presented. The state structure in charge with the elaboration and coordination of the strategy is the National Agency for Roma (NAR), set up as a governmental agency in October 2004. NAR is the governmental structure that implements policies and the Government's strategy for Roma inclusion, and cooperates with line ministries and state institutions in carrying out its mandate. To date, NAR has not published any report on the implementation of the NRIS.

The principles of equality and non-discrimination do not appear to be sufficiently mainstreamed in policy-making in Romania. Since the *government standards* on adopting policies (specified by the Government of Romania)[260] oblige all proposed policies to be

---

[256] Civil Society Monitoring Report on the Implementation of the National Roma Integration Strategy and Decade Action Plan in 2012 in Romania, Budapest, 2013, p.50-52.

[257] Civil Society Monitoring Report on the Implementation of the National Roma Integration Strategy and Decade Action Plan in 2012 in Romania, Budapest, 2013, p.50.

[258] Civil Society Monitoring Report on the Implementation of the National Roma Integration Strategy and Decade Action Plan in 2012 in Romania, Budapest, 2013, p.51.

[259] "(1) Ensuring an equal, free and universal access of the Romanian citizens belonging to Roma minority to quality education at all levels in the public education system, in order to support the economic growth and the development of a knowledge-based society. (2) Promoting inclusive education within the education system, including by preventing and eliminating segregation, as well as by fighting against discrimination based on ethnicity, social status, disability or other criteria that affect children and young people from disadvantaged groups, including Roma." These objectives are further copy-pasted as specific objectives in education.

[260] The Government of Romania has specified standards for policy making. These standards refer to the procedures for elaborating, monitoring and evaluation of public policies at central level,[260] the types of policy documents and

accompanied by an assessment of its responsibilities, estimate costs, and estimate impacts, the principles of equality and non-discrimination could be mainstreamed in every policy proposal by assessing whether the policies affect Roma and Non Roma in an equal and non-discriminatory manner.

6.7 EXISTING INITIATIVES

As the legal and policy analyses show, a major part of the challenge in combatting discrimination is the lack of transposition of laws and policies into practical settings at the sectoral level, as well as the commitment of public authorities to effective implementation. Moreover, legislative changes alone cannot easily alter discriminatory attitudes and negative stereotypes and historical mistrust between Roma and Non Roma. Little has been done at the sectoral level to combat discrimination. The lack of national level programs or projects combatting discrimination, especially at the level of service delivery, is a major policy gap. However, a number of smaller scale approaches are worth noting for their goals of tackling some of the causes of discrimination.

One approach to tackling discrimination has been to increase the "cultural competency" of service providers. For example, as the education, health, and social protection chapters describe, Roma mediators and counselors have produced positive impacts by being a bridge between Roma communities and schools/health facilities, or between the Roma people and public officials. Intercultural education and mediation programs serve to close the communication gap and lead to mutual awareness and understanding between different groups. In the area of health, the *"Nondiscrimination in the Universities of Medicine and Pharmacy from Romania"* program, financed by the Open Society Foundation, trains health care providers in four universities - Iasi, Cluj Napoca, Tirgu Mures, and Bucharest – to increase their knowledge, respect, and understanding of Roma health patients. Courses on diversity and sensitivity to minorities are given to students as well as university teachers, and practical training is given to students to promote respect for the Roma minorities. The program also undertakes advocacy to promote teaching courses on ethics and non-discrimination in the health system, and provides technical and monitoring support within the universities. Also, an advocacy campaign is directed at the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Health, to adopt legal instruments to recognize and to recommend the course to other medical education institutions in Romania.

Cultural competency programs aim to dispel the ethnic stereotypes imposed upon Roma people. Although no comprehensive evaluation of the above mentioned program is available, some elements of good practice to take into account based on this program should not be overlooked. Some key principles of similar programs include: buy-in of the health care provider, integration of training into medical courses, continuation of the module through the entire duration of medical education (graduate and postgraduate) – "with the first few years focusing on basic skills (for example, awareness about beliefs of certain groups) and the last few focusing on techniques for reaching specific groups that are more discipline specific, and finally, an in-depth

---

their content[260], the content of the motivation documents accompanying any policy document including impact assessment[260], and procedures for the adoption of policy documents[260].

understanding of the socio-cultural background of minority groups. Randomized control evaluations of [similar] cultural competence training, though rare, show that such training can improve the attitudes of health care providers and improve patient satisfaction"[261].

Another approach in addressing discrimination is the promotion of community level integrated programs. It aims to simultaneously tackle multiple sources of Roma disadvantage, so as to address the lack of trust and negative stereotypes. The Ruhama Foundation's *Early Childhood Education and Care programs* are one such example. The program includes a counseling and support center for both parents and children, motivational programs targeting children who are at risk of school drop-out, the building of Multi- Functional Community Centers to serve as a childcare center, and summer kindergartens for Roma and non-Roma children that have not attended public kindergarten. As part of the early childhood care integrated programs, funds are also allocated to improving living conditions (housing repairs, water connections, etc.), and to the promotion of Roma and Non Roma *interactions* within communities (picnics, social gatherings).

The rationale behind such programs is to simultaneously tackle the multiple sources of discrimination and exclusion - such as poverty and low human capital endowments (constraints leading to behaviors that foster the stereotype of the culture of poverty), as well as lack of cooperation and social interaction between Roma and Non Roma. Programs are based on the understanding that an investment into early childhood education will bring a greater change in the long term for a child when her family also has access to electricity, potable water, and interacts with Non Roma parents. In the longer term, these experiences show the need for integrated public policies and programs for Roma experiencing discrimination and poverty.

A third good practice is the promotion of participatory community level programs to bring together disadvantaged Roma and Non Roma groups so that they can learn to appreciate their common experiences and backgrounds, and work together to solve common problems. The PACT Foundation's program *"Learning, Participation, Trust"* is one example, which is designed to empower marginalized and disadvantaged groups from communities in the south of Romania. The program stimulates the participation of citizens living in small rural and small-medium urban communities (up to 30.000 inhabitants) to associate and collaborate, acting in a collective way inside structured entities at the community level. The program, on the one hand, promotes citizens' participation in public matters, at the benefit of the community as a whole, and, on the other hand, facilitates dialogue between citizens, community groups and various social and political actors, by involving them, together, in different actions for their community.

The promise of such participatory projects is corroborated by evidence from a behavioral experiment using trust games[262]**.** It provides robust evidence that inclusive ground level

[261] ibid. p223

[262] Bracic A (2013) EU Accession, Membership and Human Rights: Discrimination against the Roma in Slovenia and Croatia. Dissertation Working Paper.

activities aimed at improving relations between Roma and non-Roma helped reduce discrimination. In the trust games, the non-Roma subjects were randomly paired with Roma or non-Roma partners, and the goal was to compare the way non-Roma subjects behaved when partnered with a Roma to the way they behaved when partnered with a non-Roma. Such games have proven to be effective in revealing discrimination in a wide variety of field settings. The results suggested that Roma/non-Roma interaction softens the public mood and reduce inter-group anxiety. Events such as concerts, theater and dance classes, and social gatherings could be used to allow Roma and non-Roma to interact.

6.8 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings of the study discussed above, this section presents recommendations for (1) addressing the sources of discrimination; and (2) addressing the acts of discrimination both by Non Roma population against Roma in general and by public service providers. The roots of discrimination, such as negative stereotypes and mistrust need to be combated by reducing negative portrayal of the Roma and increasing interactions between Roma and non-Roma to foster mutual understanding. Acts of discrimination need to be strictly sanctioned on a zero-tolerance basis through effective and consistent application of the law against discrimination. Sources of discrimination at the service delivery level could be reduced by strengthening the cultural competency of public officials (teachers, health care providers, police, mayors) and by increasing the numbers and capacity of mediators who serve as the bridge between Roma and service providers. In this regard, the recommendations are aimed to (a) strengthen the legal and institutional frameworks to enforce the law against discrimination in order to more effectively deter and penalize unlawful acts of discrimination; (b) increase the coordination and capacity of entities responsible for implementing measures combatting discrimination; (c) scale-up promising measures that could address discrimination at the level of service delivery; (d) foster interaction and mutual understanding between Roma and Non Roma; (e) reduce projection of negative images of Roma by media; (f) make discrimination a socially unacceptable notion.

6.8.1 POLICY GOAL 1: STRENGTHEN THE APPLICATION OF THE LAW AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

To foster a culture of zero-tolerance to discrimination, the law against discrimination and the institutional arrangements for its enforcement could be strengthened. It could be done by further clarifying how unlawful acts of discrimination will be sanctioned, making the public more aware of the law, and increasing the capacity of the enforcement bodies to consistently apply the law.

POLICY MEASURE 1A: REVISIT THE LAW AGAINST DISCRIMINATION TO INCREASE ITS APPLICABILITY AND ENFORCEABILITY

The law against discrimination could be strengthened to further clarify (a) penalties corresponding to each type and nature of acts of discrimination (e.g. denial/unequal quality of service provision, exclusion from job openings, unequal pay); and (b) the entities responsible for enforcement. It could also consider including: a definition of racial segregation as a form of

discrimination; explicit provision and effective mechanisms to enforce a law against school segregation; and the procedures on relocation (eviction) to protect affected people.

POLICY MEASURE 1B: AMEND THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF THE NCCD TO INCREASE ITS EFFECTIVENESS

The mandate and capacity of the NCCD could be further clarified and the legal basis for assuming such roles fortified, especially with regard to its roles as (a) an investigator of suspected cases of discrimination and (b) enforcer of penalties. The functioning of the NCCD could also be enhanced by (a) revising the appointment procedure of the Steering Committee to ensure its technical capacity and independence from political influence; (b) revising its reporting procedures to increase the transparency of the decisions it makes; (c) creating channels of effective dissemination at all levels (national, regional and local) in order to increase the public awareness of its functions and the services it provides; and (d) budgeting realistic funds to undertake its functions.

POLICY MEASURE 1C: ESTABLISH AN ASSISTANCE SERVICE SYSTEM FOR VICTIMS OF DISCRIMINATION TO ADDRESS THEIR SITUATIONS

Victims of discrimination are often not aware of the existing framework for addressing such situations. Even in situations when they would be aware, they frequently lack the knowledge and means to make full use of the mechanism to deter and combat discrimination. An assistance service system could be created at county level (equipped with specialized human resources, office, equipment, budget). It could provide victims of discrimination with assistance in addressing instances of discrimination and help them through legal options, including complaints to the NCCD or in civil courts. The assistance service, for example, could be provided in a form of telephone hotline, to which Roma could access at any time to seek guidance on the use of the mechanism to report and address discrimination.

6.8.2 POLICY GOAL 2: PRIORITIZE AND MAINSTREAM CONCRETE ACTIONS TO COMBAT DISCRIMINATION AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

POLICY MEASURE 2A: REVISE THE NATIONAL STRATEGY FOR IMPLEMENTING THE MEASURES FOR PREVENTING AND COMBATING DISCRIMINATION

The current NCCD Strategy could be revised to reflect a comprehensive strategy for combatting discrimination. It will be critical for the strategy to define clear objectives, targets, a set of concrete actions to achieve them, the entities responsible for implementing them, and a monitoring and evaluation framework, all supported by realistic budgetary grounds. Such a strategy would enable scaling-up of promising measures at the national-level. The strategy could be formed as part of the NRIS, or as a new National Strategy for Implementing the Measures for Preventing and Combating Discrimination for a period beyond 2013, and help mainstream measures to combat discrimination across ministries and agencies. It would be important for the strategy to follow the standards of the Romanian government for policy formulation and have an adequate statutory power that implies respective accountability of the entities responsible for its

implementation. Some of the concrete actions to be considered for inclusion in the strategy are presented below.

The Equality Act 2010 from the United Kingdom provides a good practice example of how the responsibility for non-discrimination can be placed in the hands of government authorities and service providers, with a clear monitoring of compliance, so as to foster a proactive approach to promote equality. Under the act, specific obligations are assigned to public bodies, which include, inter alia: (a) eliminating unlawful discrimination, victimization and other conduct prohibited in the Equality Act 2010, (b) removing disadvantages suffered by people in accessing services due to their characteristics, (c) taking steps to meet the needs of discriminated groups, and (d) encouraging people from discriminated groups to participate in public life where it is disproportionately low.

6.8.3 POLICY GOAL 3: CREATE MECHANISMS TO PROMOTE INTERACTION AND FOSTER MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN ROMA AND NON ROMA

POLICY MEASURE 3A: CREATE A NATIONAL-LEVEL IMPLEMENTATION FRAMEWORK TO FUND PROJECTS THAT REQUIRE COLLABORATION AND GENERATE MUTUAL BENEFITS BETWEEN ROMA AND NON-ROMA

A project funding scheme could be established at the national level to fund local-level, integrated, and/or participatory projects of mutual interest to Roma and Non Roma disadvantaged groups, that require collaboration between the two. Such projects will facilitate collaboration and increased interaction between the two groups and could help foster increased mutual understanding and respect, thereby reducing a key source of discrimination. Such a scheme could be established through calls of proposals to be launched under Operational Programs of the EU Funds. The Ruhama Foundation's Early Childhood Education Programs and the PACT participatory programs mentioned above are examples of such projects.

6.8.4 POLICY GOAL 4: STRENGTHEN NATIONAL LEVEL PROGRAMS TO COMBAT DISCRIMINATION IN SERVICE DELIVERY

POLICY MEASURE 4A: INCLUDE CULTURAL COMPETENCY MODULES IN TRAINING CURRICULUMS

Cultural competency modules could be developed and introduced within the mandatory curriculum for the initial and continuous formation of public officials (teachers, health care providers, policemen, public servants, mediators). The module would include materials on diversity and sensitivity to minorities, and provide practical training to students to promote respect for the Roma minorities. The module for health care providers, for example, could build on the module developed through non-discrimination in the Universities of Medicine and Pharmacy from Romania project.

Box 6.1: Potentials of the Role of Roma Mediators and Counsellors

Romania has been a pioneer in involving Roma mediators, introduced by Romani CRISS, a Roma NGO, as early as in 1992 as part of a community conflict mitigation program. Romania was also the first country in the region to institutionalize the Roma health mediator program in 2002.

Roma mediators serve as a bridge between Roma communities and schools or health facilities, or between the Roma families and public officials. Qualitative research conducted for this report suggests that these mediators can play an important role. Local health mediators, for example, can contribute to changing the social norms that have discouraged the uptake of health services by addressing the social stigma associated with accessing services of counseling, reproductive health services, and testing for sexually transmitted infections. Roma school mediators are said to also have had a positive impact on a wide range of areas, including a decrease in the number of school dropouts and non-enrolment cases, improvement of school attainment and academic performance of Roma students, reduction of absenteeism among students, and combating the segregation of Roma and non-Roma students in classes and contributions to the desegregation of schools. Roma mediators are reported to have achieved improvements in the communication between the school and the Roma community, in the attitude of teachers towards the Roma and in promoting the overall development of the Roma communities, outside their role in the field of education.

A regional qualitative review of Roma health mediators of the Open Society Public Health Program conducted by OSF shows that mediators have generally had success in changing the knowledge and attitudes of health care providers.[263] The mediators report reduction in discriminatory behaviors and use of abusive language by doctors with whom they work. They also believe that they have helped physicians to gain better understanding of Roma and enhanced their ability to provide care through more effective interactions with Roma patients.

POLICY MEASURE 4B: INTODUCE A THIRD-PARTY OMBUDSPERSON FUNCTION TO MONITOR OBSERVANCE OF NON-DISCRIMINATION PRINCIPLES IN PUBLIC SERVICE PROVISION

Ombudspersons could be deployed to monitor the observance of non-discrimination principles by public service providers (e.g. healthcare system, social assistance programs, teachers) either on a regular basis or on a demand-basis. In case of non-observance, respective providers could be forwarded to be dealt with by the law against discrimination or re-trained through the aforementioned cultural competency modules (Policy Measure 4A). The function of ombudsperson could be assigned to the NCCD or to another institution.

[263] Open Society Foundations (2011). Roma Health Mediators: Success and Challenges. http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/roma-health-mediators-20111022.pdf

POLICY MEASURE 4C: SCALE-UP ROMA MEDIATOR PROGRAMS

Roma mediators and counselors have produced positive impacts by being a bridge between Roma communities and schools, or between the Roma people and public officials; also serving as a deterrent to discriminatory practices by public service providers. Their numbers could be increased to cover more communities and provide more extensive support to Roma. The Chapter on institutional mechanism provides recommendations on clarifying a mechanism for securing funding for health and education mediators (Policy Measure 3B).

6.8.5 POLICY GOAL 5: SEEK REDUCTION OF THE MEDIA CONTENTS THAT PERPETUATE NEGATIVE STEREOTYPES ABOUT THE ROMA

POLICY MEASURE 5A: INTRODUCE A SURVEILLANCE MECHANISM TO DETECT AND SEEK REDUCTION OF NEGATIVE IMAGES OF THE ROMA IN THE MEDIA

In cooperation with the governing body regulating the national media industry, the contents of TV, movies, and advertisements that perpetuate negative stereotypes about the Roma could be monitored and identified. When identified, the governing body could send an advisory warning (which could be followed by a sanction), to the producer/emitter of the content, raising their awareness of the implications such contents can have to society.

6.8.6 POLICY GOAL 6: MAKE DISCRIMINATION A SOCIALLY UNACCEPTABLE NOTION IN ROMANIA

POLICY MEASURE 6A: LAUNCH A NATION-WIDE CAMPAIGN AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

An intensive nation-wide awareness campaign could be launched to make discrimination a notion that is socially unacceptable in Romania. Role models and opinion leaders could be engaged in the campaign to transmit strong messages to condemn discrimination as a wrong and disgraceful conduct that should not be tolerated by society.

6.8.7 IMPLEMENTATION

Summary Table of Policy Recommendations

Recommendation	**Entity(ies) best placed to implement the recommendation**	**Impact** **(Critical impact; High impact; Enabling condition)**	**Time frame** **Short: < 6 months; Medium: 6-18 months; Long: >18 months**	**Monitoring indicator**
Policy Goal 1: Strengthen the Application of the law against discrimination				
Policy Measure 1A: Revisit the law against discrimination to increase its applicability and enforceability	Ministry of Justice	Critical impact	Medium	The law against discrimination is revised (YES/NO) The law defines specific penalties corresponding to each type of forbidden act of discrimination (YES/NO) The law defines enforcing entities corresponding to each type of forbidden act of discrimination (YES/NO)
Policy Measure 1B: Amend the institutional framework of the NCCD to increase its effectiveness	NCCD (initiate the amendment)	Enabling condition	Medium	The institutional framework of the NCCD is amended (YES/NO). The institutional framework clearly defines the mandate and capacity of NCCD (YES/NO). The appointment procedure of the Steering Committee is revised (YES/NO) % of Steering Committee members selected through the new appointment procedure (technical criteria) Reporting procedures

				of its decisions are revised to increase transparency (YES/NO) % of decisions on reported cases of discrimination disclosed to the public New dissemination channels created to increase the public awareness of its functions and the services it provides (YES/NO) % of (Roma) population aware of the services provided by NCCD
Policy Measure 1C: Establish an assistance service system for victims of discrimination to address their situations	NCCD	Enabling condition	Long	Assistance service system established (YES/NO) # of (Roma) victims of discrimination accessing the assistance service # of cases of discrimination resolved through the support of the assistance service
Policy Goal 2: Prioritize and mainstream concrete actions to combat discrimination at the national level				
Policy Measure 2A: Revise the National Strategy for Implementing the Measures for Preventing and Combating Discrimination	NCCD, NAR, with other relevant ministries.	High impact	Medium	The national strategy is revised (YES/NO) The strategy defines clear objectives, priorities, and targets (YES/NO) The strategy presents a set of concrete actions to achieve the targets (YES/NO) The strategy defines the entities responsible for implementing the concrete actions and provides budgetary

				estimates (YES/NO)
Policy Goal 3: Create mechanisms to promote interaction and foster mutual understanding between Roma and non Roma				
Policy Measure 3A: Create a national level implementation framework to fund projects that require collaboration and generate mutual benefits between Roma and non-Roma	NAR, Managing Authorities of Operational Programs of EU Funds	Enabling condition	Long	The national implementation framework to fund collaboration projects created (YES/NO) # of collaboration projects funded # of Roma and non-Roma participating in /benefitting from collaboration projects
Policy Goal 4: Strengthen national level programs to combat discrimination in service delivery				
Policy Measure 4A: Include cultural competency modules in training curriculums	Ministries of Education, Health, Labor	High impact	Medium	Modules developed (YES/NO) # of public service providers received training on cultural competency
Policy Measure 4B: Introduce a third-party ombudsperson function to monitor observance of non-discrimination principles in public service provision	NCCD	Enabling condition	Medium	# of discrimination cases reviewed by ombudspersons
Policy Measure 4C: Scale-up Roma Mediator Programs	Ministries of Education, Health, Labor	High impact	Medium	# of Roma mediators deployed # of communities supported by Roma mediators
Policy Goal 5: Seek reduction of the media contents that perpetuate negative stereotypes about the Roma				
Policy Measure 5A: Introduce a surveillance mechanism to detect and reduce negative images of the Roma in the media	Ministry of Communications and Information Society	Critical impact	Medium	# of occasions in which media creator/ broadcaster received advisory warning
Policy Goal 6: Make Discrimination a Socially Unacceptable Notion in Romania				
Policy Measure 6A: Launch a Nation-wide Campaign against Discrimination	Ministry of Communications and Information Society,	High impact	Short-Medium-Long	% of population who consider discrimination an unacceptable notion.

	Ministry of Education			

REFERENCES

Amnesty International (2011) Mind the legal gap. Roma and the right to housing in Romania, available at: http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/EUR39/004/2011

Kenneth Arrow (1971) The Theory of Discrimination. Working Papers 403, Princeton University, Department of Economics, Industrial Relations Section

Barbu, Daniel (2011) Roma and the public discourse in Romania: Best practice guidelines, Bucharest: Romani Criss.

Becker Gary (1957) The Economics of Discrimination. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Bernath Gabor and Vera Messing (2011) Pushed to the Edge. Research Report on the Representation of Roma Communities in the Hungarian Majority Media. Budapest: Central European University

Duminica, Gelu & Ivasiuc, Ana (2010) A school for everybody? Access of Roma children to quality education, Bucharest: UNICEF.

European Roma Rights Center (1999) Cutting edge: the Romanian press and Roma 1990-1994. Article by Cristina Hanganu.

European Commission PHARE (2008) Come Closer– Inclusion and Exclusion of Roma in Present Day Romanian Society. Report by Cosima Rughinis.

Center for Legal Resources, Romani CRISS (2011) Press release: Are we all equal before the National Council for Combating Discrimination?, 15 June 2011.

Civil Society Monitoring (2013) Report on the Implementation of the National Roma Integration Strategy and Decade Action Plan in 2012 in Romania, Budapest Decade Secretariat Foundation.

Das M (2013) Discrimination in the Labor Market. Background Paper for the World Development Report 2013. Social Development Department. The World Bank.

European Commission, Country factsheet Romania, available at: http://ec.europa.eu/justice/discrimination/files/country_factsheets_2012/romania_en.pdf

European Commission (2011) Compendium of Practice on Non Discrimination/Equality Mainstreaming. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

European Roma Rights Center (2005) The Glass Box – Exclusion of Roma from Employment.

European Roma Rights Center (2004) Stigmata: Segregated Schooling of Roma in Central and Eastern Europe, Budapest.

European Roma Rights Center (2013) Written Comments By The Europe Roma Rights Centre Concerning Romania For Consideration by the European Commission on the Transposition and Application of the Race Directive and on the Legal Issues Relevant to Roma Integration, Budapest, 2013, available at: http://www.errc.org/cms/upload/file/romania-red-written-comments-5-april-2013.pdf.

Farkas, Lilla (2007) Segregation of Romani Children in Education: Addressing Structural Discrimination through the Race Equality Directive, report prepared for the European Commission, July 2007.

Fundacion Secretariado Gitano (2011) The situation of Roma in Romania, Soros Foundation, available at: http://www.soros.ro/ro/comunicate_detaliu.php?comunicat=195

Fundamental Rights Agency (2009) EU-MIDIS European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey.

Fundamental Rights Agency (2009) Housing conditions of Roma and Travellers in the European Union Comparative report, Vienna, October 2009.

Glick P (2008) – "Scapegoating and the Breakdown of Ethnic Relations" in Explain the Breakdown of Ethnic Relations (eds) Victoria Esses and Richard Vernon. UK: Blackwell Publishers

Guglielmo, Rachel and Waters, Timothy (2005) Migrating Towards Minority Status: Shifting European Policy Towards Roma. Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 43, No. 4, pp. 763-785.

Kertesi, Gabor & Kezdi, Gabor (2013) School Segregation, School Choice and Educational Policies in 100 Hungarians Towns, Budapest: Roma Education Fund.

Marin, Adrian & Csonta, Ágnes (2013) Discrimination of Roma Communities: Romania National Report, Bucuresti: Fundaţia Secretariatul Romilor and Centrul de Resurse Juridice.

National Council for Combating Discrimination, Report on the implementation of the race directive in Romania, 2003-2010, p. 29, available at: http://www.cncd.org.ro/files/file/Raport%20D43_2000_CNCD_final.pdf

National Council for Combating Discrimination , Annual Report 2012, available at: http://www.cncd.org.ro/files/file/Raport%20de%20activitate%20CNCD%202012.pdf.

National Council for Combatting Discrimination (2009) The Phenomenon of Discrimination in Romania - Perceptions and Attitudes.

Romani Criss and Roma Civic Alliance (2010) Shadow report for the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination On the occasion of report of Romania Bucharest, July 2010-07-27, available at: http://www.romanicriss.org/PDF/Shadow%20report%20CERD%20Romania%20-2010.pdf;

Romani CRISS (2011) Study on the Perception of Discrimination Among Roma. available at: http://www.romanicriss.org/PDF/Stereotipuri,%20prejudecati%20%20perspectiva%20romilor%20cercetare%202011.pdf

Romani CRISS (2011) Roma School Participation, Non-Attendance and Discrimination in Romania.

Romani CRISS (2012) Roma Health – Perspective of the actors involved in the health system – doctors, health, mediators and patients. available at: www.romanicriss.org

Rostas, Iulius (ed) (2012) Ten Years After: a History of Roma School Desegregation in Central and Eastern Europe, REF and CEU Press: Budapest,;

Rostas, Iulius (2012 a) Judicial Policy-Making: the Role of the Courts in Promoting School Desegregation, in Iulius Rostas, Ten Years After: A History of Roma School Desegregation in Central and Eastern Europe, REF & CEU Press, Budapest, 2012.

Communication from the European Commission on an EU framework on National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020, available at: http://ec.europa.eu/health/social_determinants/docs/com2011_173_en.pdf

Roma Education Fund Romania (2011) Early School Dropout - Causes and Effects. [original title in Romanian: Părăsirea timpurie a școlii - cauze și efecte, Studiu derulat în școli cu clase V-VIII din regiunile Centru, Nord-Est și Sud-Muntenia unde ponderea elevilor romi este minim 10%]
Summary available at: http://www.oportunitatiegale.ro/pdf_files/Studiu_OE.pdf

Soros Foundation Romania (2010) Equal and legal on the job market [Egal si legal pe piata muncii available at: http://www.soros.ro/ro/program_articol.php?articol=251

Soros Foundation Romania (2007) Roma Inclusion Barometer. Report by Gabriel Bădescu, Vlad Grigoraş, Cosima Rughiniş, Mălina Voicu, Ovidiu Voicu.

The phenomenon of discrimination – perception and attitudes, the National Council for Combating Discrimination (NCCD), 2009, available at: http://www.cncd.org.ro/files/file/Fenomenul%20discriminarii%202009.pdf

World Bank (2013). Inclusion Matters: The Foundation for Shared Prosperity. Sustainable Development Network. Social Development.

LAWS AND REGULATIONS

Directive: 2000/43/EC
Directive: 2000/78/EC
Government Ordinance 137/2000, republished and amended.
Law no. 1/2011 on national education, amended.
Law 53/ 2003, republished and amended.
Law 15/1968 The Romanian Criminal Code - republished and amended.
Law 95/2006 on reform in healthcare field, amended.
Law 76/2002 on unemployment insurance system and employment stimulation, amended.
Law 504/2002 on audiovisual, amended.
Law 202/2002 for Equal Opportunities between Women and Men, republished and amended.
Law 448/2006 regarding the protection and promotion of the rights of disabled persons.
Law 47/2006 establishing the National System of Social Assistance.
Law 4/2008 on preventing and combating violence during sport events.
Ministry of Education, Ministerial order no. 1540/2007
Order no 286/2007 of the President of the National Council for Combating Discrimination.

ANNEX

REGRESSION ANALYSIS

TABLE 6-1: REGRESSION MODELS SHOWING INCIDENCE OF DISCRIMINATION AMONG ROMA AND NON-ROMA

	Model 1: All	Model 2: Roma Only	Model 3: Non-Roma Only
Roma	0.185***		
	(0.022)		
Gender - Female	0.020	0.032	0.008
	(0.022)	(0.033)	(0.023)
Rural household	-0.071***	-0.099***	-0.027
	(0.025)	(0.036)	(0.029)
Age	-0.002***	-0.003***	-0.002**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Income quintile: 2 vs. 1	-0.054*	-0.085*	-0.017
	(0.028)	(0.045)	(0.026)
Income quintile: 3 vs. 1	-0.055**	-0.087*	-0.011
	(0.028)	(0.045)	(0.028)
Income quintile: 4 vs. 1	-0.053*	-0.102**	0.020
	(0.029)	(0.045)	(0.043)
Income quintile: 5 vs. 1	-0.077***	-0.136***	0.013
	(0.027)	(0.043)	(0.046)
Education level: Primary vs. none	-0.082***	-0.122***	-0.012
	(0.022)	(0.034)	(0.030)
Education level: Secondary vs. none	-0.056*	-0.076	-0.029

	(0.030)	(0.051)	(0.033)
Region: Central vs. Bucharest	-0.047	-0.064	-0.021
	(0.037)	(0.061)	(0.029)
Region: North East vs. Bucharest	-0.065*	-0.099	-0.021
	(0.037)	(0.065)	(0.022)
Region: North West vs. Bucharest	-0.024	-0.022	-0.031
	(0.041)	(0.066)	(0.026)
Region: South vs. Bucharest	-0.107***	-0.149***	
	(0.028)	(0.051)	
Region: South East vs. Bucharest	-0.048	-0.065	-0.023
	(0.039)	(0.067)	(0.023)
Region: South West vs. Bucharest	-0.082***	-0.111**	
	(0.031)	(0.056)	
Region: West vs. Bucharest	-0.123***	-0.209***	-0.014
	(0.022)	(0.037)	(0.030)
Observations	1,058	740	203
Pseudo R-squared	0.161	0.0736	0.134

Dprobit estimations. Standard errors in parentheses.
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC Regional Roma Survey (2011).

DECOMPOSITION ANALYSIS

A number of different model specifications used in the decomposition analysis are summarized below. According to some of these models, the gap in employment between Roma and non-Roma is explained entirely by differences in endowments, including differences in age and education level (this applies to the shaded cells in table 1-2). This means that according to these models, if Roma were to have the same endowments as their non-Roma neighbors, there would not be a gap in employment at all. Models 1 and 2 present estimates of the unexplained part of

the gap: these models compare the actual gap in employment to the gap that would be predicted based on a model in which ethnicity as well as the specified background characteristics are taken into account. In these models, about 20% of the gap in employment between Roma and non-Roma remains unexplained, and at least part of this gap could thus be attributed to discrimination in the job market.

TABLE 6-2: DECOMPOSITION OF THE GAP IN EMPLOYMENT BETWEEN ROMA AND NON-ROMA: SHARE OF THE TOTAL GAP THAT IS NOT EXPLAINED BY MEASURED ENDOWMENTS

		Overall	**Women**	**Men**
1	Simple controls, using a pooled model as the reference model	23	0	41
2	Elaborate controls, using a pooled model as the reference model	20	2	37

Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC Regional Roma Survey (2011).
Notes: Simple controls include: gender (only in the overall model), age and education level. Elaborate controls include all of the 'simple controls', as well as living in a rural vs. urban environment, and the region of residence.

Among those Roma and non-Roma neighbors who earn a wage, most model specifications indicate that approximately half of the gap in wages remains unexplained after taking into account different endowment levels. This is particularly striking given that the wage gap is, on average, very large: whereas non-Roma earn an average of €195, Roma only earn an average of €115 in monthly wages. For men, the unexplained part of the gap is particularly big: up to 64% in some model specifications.

TABLE 6-3: DECOMPOSITION OF THE GAP IN WAGES BETWEEN EMPLOYED ROMA AND NON-ROMA: SHARE OF THE TOTAL GAP THAT IS NOT EXPLAINED BY MEASURED ENDOWMENTS

		Overall	**Women**	**Men**
1	Simple controls, using a pooled model as the reference model	45	30	54
2	Elaborate controls, using a pooled model as the reference model	52	35	61

7 HOUSING

As part of the 'Access to Basic Services and Living Conditions' dimension of exclusion, housing is of critical importance. This chapter starts with an overview of the housing conditions of the Romanian Roma and gaps that exist between them and the non-Roma. It then presents the government housing programs and laws, followed by a discussion on how these might be impacting the Roma and other population groups in terms of affording access to decent housing and infrastructure. The last section presents a set of recommendations that address Roma-specific problems in the housing sector, and also some suggestions in the broader housing market that can help make these targeted Roma interventions more sustainable. The most important recommendation is to ensure tailor-made delivery of services and solutions at the local level.

The data analysis presented in this chapter is primarily based on the 2011 EU/UNDP/WB Regional Roma Survey.[264] *Some additional findings are also reported from a recent report by Impreuna,* "The Roma in Romania: From Scapegoat to Development Engine", *2013.*[265]

7.1 INTRODUCTION

A significant proportion of Roma in Romania face challenges in the housing sector – including poor quality houses, inadequate infrastructure, overcrowding, and lack of tenure security. Some 63 percent of the Roma live in rural areas[266] in a traditional village-type setting, where the quality of the housing structure is typically very basic and the infrastructure often inadequate. Of the remaining Roma residing in urban areas, about a quarter live in slum or dilapidated dwellings. This is in sharp contrast to their non-Roma neighbors, less than 5 percent of whom, both urban and rural, live in inadequate housing conditions.

Although there are more Roma in rural areas, housing for the 37 percent of Roma living in urban areas poses a more serious challenge. Given their low incomes – a consequence of widespread unemployment – and inability to afford or access decent quality market-based housing, to have to compete for a very limited stock of government-subsidized social housing. As a result, most urban Roma are relegated to live in overcrowded conditions, in slums, old and poorly-maintained multi-story housing (formerly workers' housing during the communist period), or social housing units with inadequate infrastructure.[267]

---

[264] This Survey was carried out in 6 countries: Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Slovakia, and Romania. In each country, approximately 750 Roma and 350 non-Roma households living in the same neighborhoods or vicinity were interviewed. The sample focused on those communities where the share of the Roma population equals or is higher than the national share of the Roma population. This approach covers 89 percent of Roma population in Romania. See introductory chapter for more details.

[265] The sample used in this report covers Roma and other ethnic communities across Romania, whereas the Regional Survey sample covered only communities where the majority of the residents are Roma.

[266] Toth & Dan, 2011 (p11)
http://www.undp.ro/libraries/projects/Economia_Sociala_si_Comunitatile_de_Romi_Provocari_si_Oportunitati.pdf

[267] Most urban Roma do not live in social housing. The housing stock in Romania is now about 8.5 million units, and the social housing stock is 1.4 percent, or 122,538 units (Census 2011). In rural areas, there are 26,156 social housing units (in fact, State property units) representing 21.34 percent of the total. That implies that in urban areas

Inability to pay rent is another problem attributed to low income levels of the Roma, and is predominant mainly in urban areas. Some 54 percent of urban Roma report to have difficulty paying rent, versus 39 percent of rural Roma, and a higher share of urban Roma face the risk of eviction (Regional Roma Survey, 2011). In this, they are not alone: other poor non-Roma in comparable income brackets also face similar challenges with respect to housing and infrastructure, and the vast majority of the Romanian population, including lower-middle income households, cannot afford market-based housing in urban areas (see Box 1).

BOX 1: ROMANIA'S HOUSING SECTOR: THE BROADER CONTEXT

While Romania fares quantitatively well in terms of the number of housing units for its population – some 8 million dwellings for 20 million people – the health and quality of the housing sector leaves much to be desired. Much of the existing stock is very old – a third is more than 50 years old, 55 percent between 25 and 50 years old, and only about 13 percent built after 1990 – and suffers from poor maintenance and deteriorating infrastructure.

There is currently no national level housing policy, and Government interventions are limited to a handful of programs, the two main ones being social housing and youth housing. The social housing program – intended for those earning below the National Average Gross Income (Euro 477 per month in May 2013) – falls far short of the prevailing demand. The program for youth housing – the government's primary program aimed at households under 35 years of age – is not targeted to the poorest or most needy population groups, and moreover, too small to make a dent in the overall stock. Laws pertaining to the rental market – various forms of taxes including VAT, rent ceiling – have together resulted in fostering a 'hidden' or black market for rental units, and impeded a healthy growth of housing supply. The little new housing that is being constructed is largely by the private sector for the wealthy population.

After the communist era, Roma families which occupied previously 'nationalized' plots—that were then privatized and returned back to the former owners—were often either evicted or decided to leave voluntarily because they could not afford the rent. With little or no access to social housing, many of these households either forcibly occupied buildings that had been abandoned (such as former workers' housing blocks, etc.), or squatted on precarious lands (near garbage dumps, sewage treatment plants, etc.).

The Raxen Report (2009)[268] on Romania points to spatial segregation as one particularly important housing challenge. Spatial segregation is highly correlated with early school-leaving, low labor market participation rates and costly access to other services (public transport, health facilities, etc.). The Regional Roma Survey (2011) finds that the majority of Roma households,

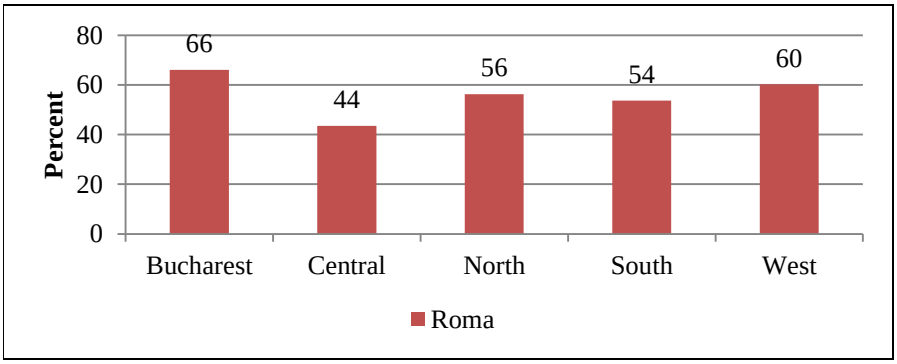
---

there are only 96,382 units. It is also important to note the large variations between the official and unofficial Roma population: according to the 2011 Census, the official/ self-declared Roma population is 619,007 persons. The unofficial estimate is about 3 times that, at 1.8-2.2 million. The share of the Roma living in urban areas (37%) is therefore about 250,000 according to official estimates, and about 800,000 according to unofficial estimates. *"*[in the last few decades there has been a] *decrease in the number of households from the block (32.9% in 1992, 21.3% in 1998 and 8.3% in 2006) and an increase in the number of "court house" type housing occupied by the Rom. Most of these households are in rural areas or improvisations on the outskirts of cities."* (Toth & Dan, 2011, p. 18).

[268] FRA Raxen Report 2009

56 percent, live in a settlement where the dominant ethnicity is Roma, underscoring the high level of spatial segregation.

FIGURE 4: PERCENTAGE OF ROMA HOUSEHOLDS LIVING IN PREDOMINANTLY ROMA COMMUNITIES IN THE THREE REGIONS OF ROMANIA



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC Regional Roma Survey (2011).

The precariousness of the Roma in Romania is underlined by the fact that a disproportionate number of them are poor (84 percent are at-risk-of-poverty[269]) and face the worst social exclusion and living conditions. Furthermore, their poverty is not the result of some short term economic downturn, but rather the outcome of centuries of subjugation and incarceration. Similarly, their current housing conditions are a consequence of policies and events over the past century. The most recent was their forced 'settlement' during the communist era, followed by mass evictions resulting from the restitution of formerly-nationalized housing (see Box 2).

BOX 2: HISTORY OF THE ROMA[270]

The current state of the Roma in Romanian society is attributable to their history, which entailed centuries of slavery, with no rights, including land or property rights. When slavery was abolished in 1864, they were not given any land or financial compensation. This situation caused them to turn to occupations (with low economic potential) that they had done during their period of enslavement, such as woodwork, purchasing and selling empty bottles or marginal operations such as fortune telling and begging. Being dependent on the "masters" for such a long time caused the Roma to have no means by which to earn a living and maintain a standard of living.

During the Communist era, they were forced to drop their 'private' professions and 'assimilate' with the rest of society. Thus, the majority of Roma were employed in agriculture, forestry, building and construction, and food processing, and 'settled' in plots on the outskirts of towns or in rural areas, or in houses that had been nationalized. After 1989, two critical things happened:

[269] Persons with a disposable income below 60% of the national median income equivalent.
[270] Source: Oprean, Oana, *"The Roma of Romania"* (2011).Theses and Dissertations, College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences, DePaul University.

- One, with the collapse of communism and the centralized economy, jobs became scarce and the Roma were the first to be let go. The unemployment rate of Roma skyrocketed. The only jobs available were those that required unskilled labor, such as helping around farms in local villages and street sweeping.
- Two, at the same time, state-owned housing got privatized en masse. Formerly privatized houses were returned to their original owners as part of the restitution process, and the 'tenants' occupying these dwellings were to be accommodated in government-provided social housing. There was neither an adequate social housing stock to accommodate all the former tenants, nor sufficient government resources to take care of all the lower income households and evictees. Moreover, many of the Roma were unable to afford even the basic rent levied in social housing units. As a result, they were once again left to fend for themselves, and many found themselves in the 'slums' and 'ghettos' in the urban centers.

With the politicization of the housing sector and the pressure to address the Roma issue, the tendency of the public sector has been to undertake visible project-based interventions in select areas with poor housing conditions. However, this has been done without understanding or programmatically addressing the underlying causes of poor living conditions. Such standalone projects that occur in 'vacuum' and bear little relationship to the bigger picture – of the past (Roma history) or the present (housing context) – are not sustainable.

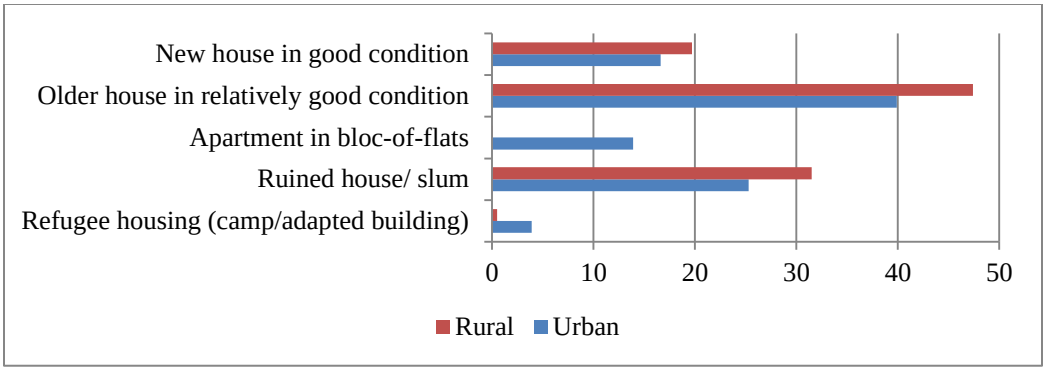
Given that housing conditions are linked to other socio-economic outcomes such as health, labor market participation and education, a focus on housing is particularly important for social inclusion. Slums where poor households live under substandard conditions are logical places to focus multi-dimensional inclusion efforts to reintegrate these places and their residents physically, socially, economically and financially back into the broader Romanian society. Hence, a much more comprehensive approach to housing is needed, one that addresses the deficiencies of the housing market, while effectively targeting the limited public sector resources to assist the poor. It is in this light that this chapter presents the Roma housing story.

7.2 QUANTITATIVE EVIDENCE ON ROMA HOUSING CONDITIONS

Although the socio-economic conditions for Roma and non-Roma households are quite similar at the neighborhood level, the actual housing and infrastructure conditions for Roma households are consistently worse than for the comparator non-Roma households. The Regional Roma Survey finds that 30 percent of Roma households live in a dilapidated house or slum, compared to 5 percent of comparator non-Roma households.[271] Slum conditions and dilapidated housing are especially common among Roma households living in segregated communities, 51 percent of whom live in slum dwellings. Only about half of the Roma households in urban areas have access to relatively decent housing – whether newly constructed, or made of traditional materials in old settlements, or social housing provided by local authorities. The remaining 40-45 percent lives in low-quality multi-story blocks, or 'slums' or temporary camps with poor quality structures and inadequate infrastructure, (compared to 20 percent of the neighboring non-Roma). In rural areas, about a third of Roma households live in poor quality housing houses (Figure 2).

[271] According to the Impreuna study, in comparison to the non-Roma, twice the percentage of Roma live in houses made of poor quality materials; and 50 percent of the Roma live in lower comfort ranking dwellings.

FIGURE 5: PERCENTAGE OF ROMA, BY HOUSING CONDITIONS



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC Regional Roma Survey (2011).

7.2.1 ROOM OCCUPANCY / OVERCROWDING

Roma households in Romania live in more overcrowded conditions than non-Roma households. In general, more than 2 persons per room is considered overcrowded in the European context.[272] Some two thirds of Roma households surveyed live in dwellings with more than 2 people per room; in comparison, only 25 percent of nearby non-Roma households experienced this level of overcrowding. The median number of rooms available to non-Roma households in the lowest income tercile is 2, and is equal to that in the highest income tercile of Roma households. The median number of rooms for non-Roma households is 3. The share of Roma households in Romania with only one or two rooms in the dwelling is as high as 57 percent, whereas among their non-Roma peers, this is 32 percent.

The poorest Roma households in Romania tend to live in smaller dwelling units, and this is especially important when taking into account the size of the household, as Roma households are generally larger. The average dwelling size of a Roma households is 40 m^2 compared to 77 m^2 for a non-Roma household. Roma households in Romania have an average household size of 5.8 (ranging from 6.8 for the poorest Roma quintile to 4.8 for the top quintile), much larger than the 3.8 recorded for non-Roma families (ranging from 4.6 to 2.9). According to the Impreuna report, the average living surface area per person in a Roma household is half that for a non-Roma household. Roma in the lowest income tercile live in the most cramped conditions, with an average of 30 m^2 per dwelling, compared to 50 m^2 for the richest income tercile. Overcrowding is a more serious problem in urban areas compared to rural, particularly those living in housing blocks or flats. Roma have access to 10 square meters per household member on average, whereas among non-Roma, each household member has an average of 25 square meters (UNDP/World Bank/EC Regional Roma Survey, 2011).

[272] This can be considered a rough proxy for EU standards, see the following link for more information. http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/Glossary:Overcrowding_rate

TABLE 4: SIZE OF THE DWELLING

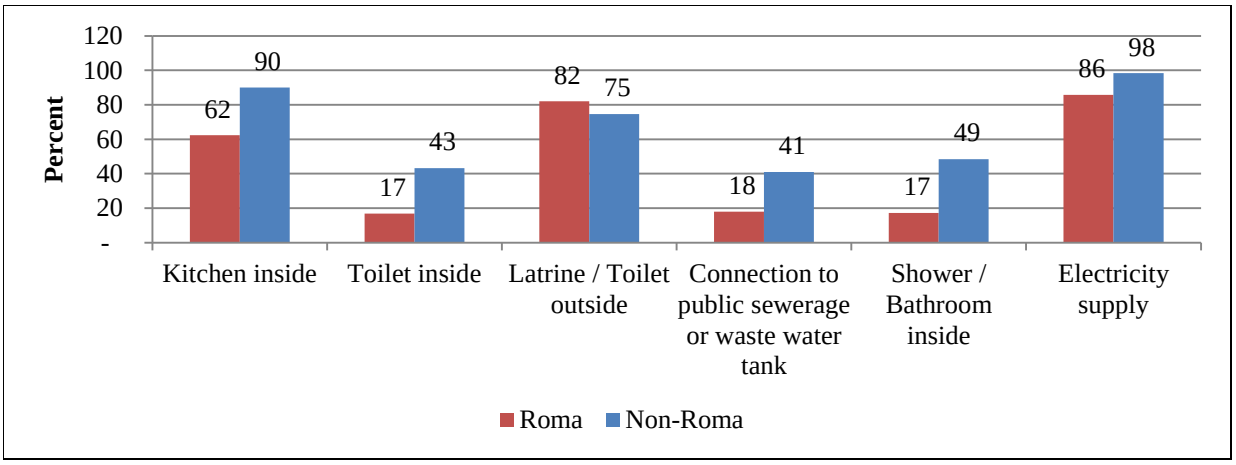
	Roma Income Terciles:			Aggregates:	
	1	2	3	Roma	Non-Roma
Number of rooms available to the household:					
Mean	2.2	2.3	2.9	2.6	3.2
Median	2	2	3	2	3
Square meters in dwelling:					
Mean	41	43	61	54	77
Median	30	32	50	40	60

Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC Regional Roma Survey (2011).

7.2.2 ACCESS TO BASIC AMENITIES

In addition to overcrowding, Roma households are significantly more likely to lack basic amenities such as indoor toilets and kitchens. Only about 17 percent of Roma households in Romania have indoor sanitation (toilet, bathroom, sewage connection) while about 44 percent of nearby non-Roma families have these amenities. The poorest Roma families are least likely to have access to indoor sanitation. Among Roma households in the lowest income tercile, less than 10 percent have toilets inside their homes.

FIGURE 6: PRESENCE OF SANITARY PROVISIONS IN THE HOUSEHOLD (% OF HOUSEHOLDS)



Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC Regional Roma Survey (2011).

About 83 percent of Roma households in Romania do not have access to drinking water indoors, compared to 66 percent of their non-Roma neighbors. More than 70 percent Roma households lack access to indoor piped water while only 52 percent of the non-Roma households nearby do not have access to indoor piped water.[273] Some 10 percent of Roma in urban areas do not have any reliable source of potable water, compared to 4 percent in rural areas. For the non-Roma, this number is less than 2 percent.

[273] When comparing data for Roma in Romania to those for Roma in other countries in the region, Roma in Romania are the worst off in terms of access to drinking water inside their dwelling.

Waste collection is much more problematic in rural areas compared to urban areas. Collection of waste is problematic for Roma households. Some 36 percent of Roma households report irregular or no collection of waste. Among nearby non-Roma comparator households only 18 percent report not having access to regular waste collection. In rural areas, 30 percent of Roma report that the waste is never collected, which is almost twice as high the share among urban Roma.[274]

TABLE 5: URBAN-RURAL DIFFERENCES IN BASIC AMENITIES

	Urban	Rural
Bed for each household member	49	57
Kitchen inside	65	60
Toilet inside	31	9
Connection to public sewerage	36	8
Shower / bathroom inside	29	11

Source: UNDP/World Bank/EC Regional Roma Survey (2011).

7.3 QUALITATIVE EVIDENCE ON ROMA HOUSING CONDITIONS

This section presents the key housing typologies of the Roma, both rural and urban, based on observations from a brief field visit to Romania by the author in August 2013. This is not a statistical or comprehensive representation; the intention, rather, is to qualitatively illustrate the different types of Roma housing, so that policies to improve their living conditions may be better tailored to their specific needs. Accordingly, Roma housing is described below under seven typologies – 2 specific to rural/ peri-urban areas (Traditional Settlements; Peri-urban Informal Settlements), and 5 characteristic in urban areas (New or Improved Housing; Traditional Settlements, Social Housing, Multistory Flats, and Informal Settlements or Slums).

7.3.1 RURAL TRADITIONAL SETTLEMENTS

Some two-thirds of rural Roma houses, mainly located in traditional settlements, are of relatively decent quality, while the remaining third constitute dilapidated structures. Infrastructure (water, sanitation, electricity) in these settlements is very minimal or non-existent.

FIGURE 7: TRADITIONALLY CONSTRUCTED HOUSES IN OLD ROMA SETTLEMENTS

[274] Regionally, only Macedonia has lower waste collection rates than Romania.

7.3.2 RURAL: PERI-URBAN INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

Informal settlements in rural and peri-urban areas constitute relatively smaller communities of 20-30 households. The houses typically have 1-2 rooms, and are of relatively poor structural quality, constructed with adobe, wood, and tin sheets. The sanitation is extremely poor: a single pit latrine may be shared by many households. Similarly, for water, there may be a shared well. These areas are mostly occupied by younger and larger families with several (>3) children each. Most young adults are unemployed, and live on social welfare allowance and sometimes the informal economy (mostly metal/ garbage collection) or as a day laborer.

FIGURE 8: COMMUNITY AT THE OUTSKIRTS OF BUZĂU

This community in the outskirts of Buzău had one well for the entire community, and no toilets. This is a relatively new settlement that has been established next to an old traditional Roma community.

7.3.3 URBAN: NEW OR IMPROVED HOUSING

At the top end of the Roma income spectrum are those who have managed to extricate themselves from the vicious cycle of poverty. Their newly constructed houses are a symbol of (newly acquired) wealth acquired from overseas or from remittance money sent by a family member. Anecdotal evidence suggests that this attempt to integrate with the rest of society has worked for some, but for others it has created more societal cleavages: while still considered 'outsiders' by the non-Roma, they are now despised by their poorer Roma neighbors.

FIGURE 9: ROMA SETTLEMENTS IN OLTENIŢA AND BUZĂU

These photos were taken in various Roma settlements in Olteniţa and Buzău, where new houses -- and some very fancy -- are sprouting up, reportedly with remittance money.

7.3.4 URBAN: TRADITIONAL SETTLEMENTS

Traditional Roma settlements in urban areas are mostly located on the peripheries of cities and towns. The houses are of relatively decent quality: older houses are made of traditional adobe, and the newer or renovated ones of brick/ concrete. The plots are relatively large (400-800 m^2), which some families use for planting fruit trees and vegetables, raising poultry, and keeping their

horses/ carts. Some are entrepreneurs with small metal workshops; many work as collectors of recyclable materials (scrap metal, glass bottles etc.), and sell to recycling centers.

FIGURE 10: TRADITIONAL ROMA SETTLEMENT IN BUZĂU

These photos are from an old Roma settlement in Buzău. The Roma have been living here for many decades now, but often do not have legal property documents. *Left:* A relatively newly constructed house on a roughly 800m^2 plot with a pit latrine and a water point. Many houses are either being constructed here or being improved by the owners. *Center-left, center-right, and right:* This is a beautiful traditional Roma house, built of mud (plastered walls) and wood shingles. The compound is large, divided into three lots, and occupied by three siblings and their families. One of the households works in the public sector (school teacher), and another runs the traditional metal recycling business – collecting waste metal, and smelting and molding it into metal pots for sale. Even in relatively well-off/ established households such as these, it is difficult to expand the business because of limited or no access to finance, and part of this is to do with the absence of land/ property title to use as collateral.

These areas are not connected to the city water/ sanitation network, but there is typically one pit latrine and water point or well on each plot. In the old neighborhoods, most people inherited their houses from parents/grandparents, so have *de facto* rights to the property but often do not have legal property documents. Most of these households are employed or self-employed in the informal sector. Although engaged in productive work, they typically cannot access financing: this is partly because of the banks' low appetite for risk (the Roma are considered a high risk group), and partly because of the absence of the property title as collateral – discussed later in the chapter). This limits their ability to improve their homes or expand their businesses.

7.3.5 URBAN: SOCIAL HOUSING

The social housing units being occupied by the Roma are typically 10-15m^2 units, with a rent of Euro 10-15 per month, plus utilities. Most buildings, particularly the older ones, have common toilets on each floor that are poorly managed. These buildings are often old and dilapidated, or sometimes retrofitted/ upgraded by the local authorities. The Roma compete with many other higher 'priority' groups for a very small stock of social housing; as a result, less than 2 percent of Roma households live in social housing. These are typically the smaller Roma households with 1-4 members, but there are also cases where more than 4-5 people live in a single-room unit (attributed to more children, inter-generational cohabitation, and extended family members).

One of the issues commonly raised by the residents is that the utility fee is linked to the room in the accounting system; when a tenant leaves without paying, the debt associated with the unit is passed onto the next tenant. Cancelling of this 'historical' debt is administratively difficult and, therefore, new tenants often receive the room with a pre-existing debt. This becomes more complicated in buildings with mixed ownership, i.e. partly private and partly (government-owned) social housing. In most of these cases, an accumulation of debt affects not only the 'delinquent' tenant; the entire building runs the risk of getting disconnected from the public utilities due to accumulated debts of one or more households.

FIGURE 11: SOCIAL HOUSING UNITS

Left and center-left: This is a building in Brãila that currently houses orphaned/ abandoned children from public residential care centers. The City has a plan to resettle these children to another place, and convert this into a social housing. The rooms are roughly 22 m², and there are two toilets and two showers on each floor. *Center-right and right:* This is a social housing building in Brãila housing mostly Roma households. It is an old dilapidated building, but the units are relatively bigger with high ceilings. The common toilets reportedly do not work (center-right photo), so many households have resorted to building their own toilets in the units. Some better off residents have undertaken major renovations, including plastering/ painting walls and laminating the floors. Many residents have been living here for over 25 years. They complain about this place but do not want to leave because there is no other place they own or can afford to rent.

Furthermore, criteria for allocation of units are established by local authorities, a process which is not always transparent, and has too much room for discretion. For example, when the poorest households (i.e. those earning less than Euro 150 per month) compete with other poor but relatively better-off households for social housing, the chances are that the more 'livable' social housing units go to the latter, and the smaller (~10-15m^2) units to the former.[275] This means that for the most vulnerable households which typically have larger households (due to more children, inter-generational cohabitation and/ or extended family), the chances of getting excluded are likely even higher. For the Roma at the absolute bottom of the income pyramid (Euro 0-150 income range), the chances of getting access to social housing are even smaller for several reasons attributed by some local authorities, some of which include: (i) their perceived 'lifestyle' ("the Roma living in slums cannot adjust to life in a multistory building"), (ii) their inability to make utility payments (since a large number of Roma are unemployed and surviving largely on social welfare benefits), and (iii) their large families (often 7-10 members) that would make them 'unfit' to live in the small 10-15 m^2 social housing units.

7.3.6 URBAN: MULTISTORY FLATS

These are areas of low-quality blocks of multi-story flats. These buildings were typically built before 1990 for the workers of the former socialist enterprises. In most cases, they served as former hostels for single workers, but also include other types of buildings such as former workers' colonies. They typically accommodate 150-500 inhabitants. Referred to as "ghetto"[276], both by their inhabitants and by other local people, these buildings house mostly ethnically

[275] The Roma and other poor households may in fact be currently living in larger dwellings averaging between 30 and 50 m^2 compared to these social housing units.

[276] This report does not subscribe to the use of the term 'ghetto'. The term has been used to match the locally used terminology and to distinguish it from social housing.

mixed communities, but with Roma people over-represented.[277] The apartments typically have only one room measuring about 9-15 m^2, are overcrowded – often with numerous families, and many children – and lots of furniture. There are only one to two bathrooms per floor which are mostly shared. Common spaces are typically ill-maintained, and sometimes temporarily occupied by homeless people. Nevertheless, from the inside, some units are well organized and clean (as shown in the photos below).

Mostly, residents of these buildings do informal work, and supplement their income with child allowance and other social welfare benefits, MGI (Minimum Guaranteed Income), handicap benefits, illness pensions, and simply living by collecting recyclable materials. Paying for utilities (electricity, water, sewage, garbage) is often a challenge. Typically, the larger the number of apartments with beneficiaries of MGI (Euro 20-65 per month), the larger is the number of rooms with unpaid utility bills - for example, during winter, the electricity bill alone may reach more than Euro 45. Hence, from time to time, the electrical power is cut off for the entire block of flats – due to historical debt, or due to non-payment by some residents.

FIGURE 12: URBAN DILAPIDATED DWELLINGS

Left: Old dilapidated workers' housing block in Oltenița, now occupied by Roma and other poor communities. *Center and right:* The interior of a 12 m^2 unit occupied by a 3-member Roma household – neat and clean from the inside. 'G', the head of the household, is a construction worker; his daughter 'C', is an 8th grader, and wants to become a doctor one day; and his wife is a cleaner. G has thermo-insulated his unit from the exterior, improved the door and window frames, and even added a toilet to his unit. G moved here as a single man 25 years ago, and has lived here since. He says he would like to get a better place since this is a "ghetto" and people do not manage the building, but he has no access to finance to build or buy a house.

7.3.7 URBAN: INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS ("SLUMS")

Most slums in Romania have little or no infrastructure – at most a shared tap and 1-2 pit latrines for the entire community. In others, the infrastructure may be developed along a main street but is not available in the rest of the area. Many are located in hazardous areas, for example, on or near landfills, in flood prone areas, and so on. As a result, many of these areas are insanitary and highly exposed to health and environmental risks.

Most residents of these areas do not possess identity papers or own any property. As discussed earlier, this is attributed largely to their history (inability to own land or property), and also to the restitution process post-1989: many of these households either lost their homes (evicted former-

[277] The Roma became over-represented in the ghettos after 1990, because the households that became better-off moved to better areas, leaving behind the poorest ones, mostly Roma.

tenants) or gave up their dwellings (because they could not afford the rent). These families, being poorer and larger in size, likely did not get past the long waitlist for social housing, and housed themselves in makeshift shelter in these precarious locations.

The households are relatively large, with several children each. Typically, most adults are unemployed, apart from 3-4 months in a year when they cross over to other European countries, to 'make money'. They take their children to 'work' with them, as a result of which many are not enrolled in schools.

FIGURE 13: INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN BUZĂU AND BRĂILA

Left and center: Informal settlements in Buzău: 2-3 pit latrines in the entire settlement, water for drinking is often taken from a dirty stream nearby; many children not attending school, very poor quality houses. *Right:* Informal Settlement in Brăila, located on an old dumpsite.

7.4 BARRIERS TO ACCESSING QUALITY HOUSING AMONG ROMA

Poverty. As already highlighted in other chapters, many Roma are poor: The median household income of the Roma, according to the Regional Survey, is Euro 128, compared to Euro 316 for their non-Roma neighbors. The median per capita monthly income of the Roma is Euro 50, which is a third of the neighboring non-Roma (Euro 155), and the same as the median income for poorest quintile of their non-Roma neighbors. This income does not include money earned from informal sector work, but is useful to present in the context of the National Average (Individual) Net Income of Euro 347 per month.[278] Indeed, nearly half (45 percent) of Roma households report having difficulty making rent or utility payments (19 percent among non-Roma neighbors).

Lack of property documents. According to the National Agency for Cadaster and Land Registration (ANCPI), the estimated proportion of Roma that have property documents is very low in Romania, which has a detrimental effect on security of tenure and access to housing, more generally. While precise data does not exist, ANCPI estimates that in the 50 rural Administrative Territorial Units (UATs) where systematic land registration was planned under a project supported by the World Bank, about two-thirds of Roma households had no property documents for the land and buildings they possessed.[279]

[278] Source: *National Statistics Institute* – Romania: data for May 2013, cited from http://www.romania-insider.com/net-average-income-in-romania-down-in-may/27817/

[279] The Impreuna Study, on the other hand indicates that 12.5 percent of the Roma have no property papers. This is down from 37 percent in 1998, but still high compared to the comparator figure of 1.6 percent for the non-Roma.

Lack of access to building permits. A number of permits and documents are needed to erect or demolish buildings, and these are expensive.[280] The poorest people, including the Roma, often can neither afford these permits, nor the cost of a trial, and without the proper property documentation, are likely to be more vulnerable to actions leading to their displacement (e.g. forced evictions). The absence of a 'legal' property document also limits these households' access to finance, as described below.

Lack of finance. Many lower income households, including the Roma, in urban areas could be eligible borrowers and would like to take a loan and buy or build a house, but have no access to financing because they are informally employed or self-employed and have no property titles to provide as collateral.[281] According to the 2011 Regional Survey, 99.7 percent of the Roma had no access to mortgage loans, and 96 percent had no access to microfinance. Although the microfinance industry in Romania has grown significantly since 2005, the focus has been largely on clients in rural areas (agriculture-related business loans). Bankers perceive slum-dwellers and the informal sector workers, particularly the Roma, to be a high risk group that "does not play by the rules". Currently only one bank (Provident) offers loans for small business in urban areas, but the interest rate is over 90 percent compared to 15 percent in rural areas.[282] NGOs like Habitat for humanity (HfH) offer home improvement loans, but the scale of the operation is very limited. HfH also experimented with a subsidized housing finance / construction schemes, but the performance has been less than satisfactory (see Box 3). In the absence of access to any loans, lower income households lack the ability to start a business or improve their economic situation, which might eventually help them graduate to the level of a housing loan and improve their living conditions.

BOX 3: NGO EXPERIENCE WITH HOUSING FINANCE LOANS FOR ROMA

Habitat for Humanity (HfH) offers home improvement loans in the range of Euro 750-1,500 at zero percent interest; the borrower must cover 24 percent VAT per the contract regulations. HfH also initiated a housing/ finance program called "New Builds" targeted to rural households including the Roma. However, the program did not perform well, and is likely to be terminated soon. It involved the construction of 64 m2 houses for 3-4 member households, costing roughly Euro 25,000 , but 'sold' to the poor households at a subsidized amount of Euro 16,000, supported by zero percent interest loan contracts for 20 years. Loan repayment was about Euro 60 per month. Attributed partly to the way the program was designed and managed, it ended up creating

---

The report states that the desirability effect may induce distortions in how respondents choose to answer, so the percentage might be misleading.

[280] The construction permit is the sum of the following costs: Euro 12 for a permit from the urban planning committee; between Euro 12-115 for other documents (notices and agreements); a construction plan costing between Euro 10-12 /m^2; plus a geotechnical study, amounting to Euro 200; the actual construction permit costs 0.5 percent of the total value of the investment as estimated by local authorities; 0.05% of the total cost of the investment – the house – represents the tax payable to the Association of Architects in Romania. So, for someone poor, including the vast majority of Roma, building a house legally is very expensive, mostly unaffordable. (Source: "*Civil Society Monitoring Report on the Implementation of the National Roma Integration Strategy and Decade Action Plan in 2012 in Romania",* Decade of Roma Inclusion Secretariat Foundation, 2013.

[281] Most MFIs require either a collateral in the form of a property title (for an individual loan), or a group guarantee (in a group loan).

[282] Source: Interview with Goodbee representative on August 5, 2013.

disincentives for repayment, recording a 50 percent default rate. Some of the defaulters were genuine cases of financial distress, but mostly HfH reported a 'perception' issue amongst beneficiaries – of the NGO's inability to take recourse in the event of mass non-payment by the borrowers. This has set a bad record in the industry, and now making it even more challenging to get banks interested to invest in this line of business (microfinance or housing microfinance).

Spatial segregation. Although segregation may obscure this to a certain extent, discrimination is another causal factor for poor quality housing. Segregation potentially minimizes experiences of discrimination in relation to housing, because contact with the majority population is limited. However, many Roma communities are prone to forced eviction, as stated in a report by the European Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA). There have been several instances of abuse where Roma communities have been forcibly evicted (e.g. in Cluj, Baia Mare, Piatra Neamt), or further isolated by building walls to block them from the neighboring settlements (e.g. in Baia Mare). According to a report by the National Council for Combating Discrimination (NCCD), however, the vast majority of cases of discrimination against the Roma that *are* reported are related to employment and personal dignity.[283] Only two Roma housing-related complaints were filed in 2011 – one in Cluj, and the second in Baia Mare, both mentioned in Box 4.

BOX 4: FORCED EVICTIONS AND ACTIONS FOSTERING SEGREGATION

According to a 2013 report by Amnesty International, local authorities continue to forcibly evict and relocate Roma to inadequate and segregated housing.

- About 76, mostly Romani, families, who had been forcibly evicted from the center of the city of Cluj-Napoca in December 2010, continued to live in inadequate housing conditions on the outskirts of the city, close to the city's rubbish dump and a former chemical waste dump. In meetings with the evicted families, the local authorities made a commitment to start moving them from the area in 2013 as part of a project developed with the UN Development Program.
- On 18 April 2013, the court of Cluj-Napoca rejected another request from the National Railway company to remove approximately 450 people, mainly Roma, living in the settlement in Cantonului Street, in the city of Cluj-Napoca thus preventing a possible forced eviction. Many of the residents had been moved to the area by the municipality since 2002.
- In April 2013, a Court of Appeal quashed the decision of the National Council for Combating Discrimination (NCCD) to fine the municipal authorities of Baia Mare for erecting a concrete wall separating blocks of houses inhabited by Roma from the rest of the residential area. The Court held that the wall was a proportionate response to the risk of traffic-related injury and that it did not ethnically segregate the Roma residents. The NCCD announced that it would appeal the decision.
- In May and June 2013, the municipality of Baia Mare forcibly evicted about 120 Romani families from the town's biggest settlement of Craica. The families were moved to buildings that were not adapted for residential use, and equipped with limited infrastructure.
- In August 2013, the municipality of Piatra Neamț relocated about 500 Roma living in housing units on the margins of the town to a completely segregated accommodation 2 km away from the nearest bus stop.

Discrimination. The scale of discrimination in the housing sector remains unclear. In a survey conducted by the FRA on housing discrimination, only 3 percent of Roma respondents in Romania indicated that they had experienced discrimination when looking for housing in the past five years, whereas this was 31 percent among sampled Roma in the EC/World Bank/UNDP Regional Roma Survey (2011). That said, some caution needs to be exercised in interpreting the relatively low levels of discrimination experiences found by FRA, because the Roma may not frequently look for a house or an apartment to rent or buy.[284] Also, there is no data to ascertain the number of housing-related cases that go unreported.[285] Reasons for not reporting discrimination may include a combination of people's lack of awareness of their rights and the ability to organize themselves to demand their rights.[286] These stem from powerlessness and poverty amongst the vast majority of the Roma, which in turn, has roots in the long history of their subjugation and incarceration. The informality of these settlements also means that the residing households cannot access – or are explicitly denied access – to basic infrastructure services such as water and sanitation.

7.5 GENDER ISSUES

According to FRA, gender does not appear to affect experiences of discrimination in relation to housing. However, in terms of the negative impact of poor quality housing and infrastructure, Roma women are likely to suffer more than men in several aspects:

- Women are likely to spend more time at home and are responsible for household-related activities.
- The lack of a source of drinkable water represents a disproportionate burden on women and children to bring water from sources situated far from home.
- There are higher risks of accidents for women who prepare meals in inadequate conditions and who perform household tasks in precarious infrastructure conditions, such as improvised electricity connections.
- Segregated settlements far away from jobs, coupled with a lack of infrastructure and transportation, limits women's ability to participate in the labor market.
- Informal settlements exposed to evictions increase the risk of violence, particularly gender-based violence against Roma women and girls. Further, forced evictions negatively impact Roma women and their access to and use of social networks of neighborhood solidarity.

7.6 HOUSING-RELATED INSTITUTIONS AND PROGRAMS

There are several government institutions / agencies responsible for housing, and many on-going national-level programs intended to expand the reach of formal sector housing and

[284] FRA (European Agency for Fundamental Rights). *Housing discrimination against Roma in selected EU Member States - An analysis of EU-MIDIS data,* 2009.

[285] As mentioned in the Discrimination chapter in this report, by far most of the Roma who experience discrimination do not report this to the authorities.

[286] Only a quarter (24%) of all respondents stated awareness of laws that prohibit discrimination in relation to ethnicity when securing housing. In contrast, 35% did not know of any laws and further 41% of respondents were unsure or had no opinion. (Source: *Housing discrimination against Roma in selected EU Member States - An analysis of EU-MIDIS data,* 2009.)

finance. This section describes some of these institutions and programs that are relevant to Roma housing.

[Note: A more analytical discussion on the impacts and outcomes of these policies and programs will be covered in the next section on Main Findings – both with respect to Roma-specific issues as well as broader housing market issues, including the absence of a housing policy, the decentralization of housing without local capacity or financing, untargeted government subsidies, hidden rental markets, and so on.]

7.6.1 PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

Romania's Ministry of Regional Development and Public Administration (MRDPA) is responsible for the implementation of housing programs, for improving living conditions, and for ensuring access to housing for Romanian citizens. MRDPA has the authority to approve and finance, through the State budget, the construction of social housing for those with low incomes, especially young couples, and provides housing for tenants evicted from property as a result of the re-establishment of property rights for formerly nationalized homes.[287] MRDPA also provides support to young people (up to 35 years old) for building privately-owned housing units by granting plots of land: 250-500 m^2 in urban areas, and up to 1,000 m^2 in rural areas.

The National Housing Agency (*Agentia Nationala pentru Locuinte*, or ANL)[288] operates under the authority of MRDPA, and is responsible for new residential construction on sites provided by the local authorities for this purpose. This includes subsidized rental houses (with option to purchase) for the youth (see Box 5), as well as market-based houses for sale. ANL's budget allocation for 2013 is Euro 17 million, up six-fold from Euro 2-3 million in 2012; this year's allocation is focused solely on Youth Housing.

BOX 5: ANL'S HOUSING INITIATIVES

Youth Housing: Started in 2001 as the responsibility of the ANL, this program involves construction of subsidized rental housing for youth and young professionals. Some 30,800 dwellings have been completed to date, compared to a demand of some 150,000 units by local authorities. The program targets young people who cannot otherwise afford to buy an apartment or rent a privately owned housing unit. The housing units are built on sites provided by local authorities, in accordance to the town planning regulations. The cost of land and supporting infrastructure is borne by the local authorities, who also manage the units: they allocate units to eligible renters, collect rents, and maintain the property. All applications for youth housing are

[287] Source: *Roma Situation in Romania, 2011 – Between social inclusion and migration,* Soros Foundation.

[288] ANL was established under Law 152/1998 in 1999 as a self-financing institution of public interest, a channel through which the State may provide housing assistance to its citizens. ANL has a national network of territorial offices and collaborates with builders, financial institutions, local and central administration authorities, and foreign organizations. The initial mandate of ANL was twofold: a) mortgage lending for various housing-related purposes and the construction of new residential units (subsidized and market-rate); and b) provision of subsidized rental residential units for the youth. After completion of the pilot program on mortgage lending, and a successful public-private partnership with several banks, the Agency stopped its lending activities. Further, in 2005, subsidies for private dwellings were cancelled because of their interference with the private market.

evaluated using criteria pre-established by the ANL; this includes an age limit (<35 years), a job in the city, and no prior ownership of property in the town/ city.[1]

Market-based housing: ANL also builds houses for sale (as a developer) in the Euro 400-600/m^2 range. These are cheaper than housing available in the open market (@ Euro 600-1,000/m^2), but still fetches a target profit of 3 percent for ANL. The banks grant mortgage loans to eligible applicants who are registered in the ANL database and wish to purchase these new residential units.

The Ministry of Labor, Family, Social Protection and Elderly **provides subsidies for energy consumption (heating, electricity) to qualifying low-income families.** According to the Government Emergency Ordinance (OUG) 70 / 2011, state subsidy is provided for low income / vulnerable households[289] to cover the heating expenses (centralized heating, natural gas and wood) during the cold season, i.e. November through March.[290] The percentage of consumed thermal energy that is subsidized by the state budget depends on the income of the individual or the income per capita of the household member.[291]

7.6.2 LOCAL AUTHORITIES

The Local Authority, using its own resources or with financing from the State, is expected to build/ provide subsidized rental housing (social housing) for low-income households[292], i.e. those earning less than the National Average Income per capita (Euro 477 gross, or Euro 347 net per month). These income limits are adjusted annually by Governmental Decision. In addition to the overarching income-based qualification[293], local authorities establish additional

[289] Those with income within the limits stipulated in Article 7 (1), i.e. the net monthly individual income less than 786 lei and household income less than 1,082 lei.

[290] Source: http://www.dreptonline.ro/legislatie/oug_70_2011_masurile_ protectie_sociala_perioada_sezonului_ rece. php#

[291] The subsidy depends on the average net monthly income per family member, as follows:
90% for net average monthly income (NAMI) for the individual or per family member is up to 155 lei; 80% for NAMI between 155.1 lei and 210 lei; 70% for NAMI between 210.1 lei and 260 lei; 60% for NAMI between 260.1 lei and 310 lei; 50 % for NAMI between 310.1 lei and 355 lei; 40 % for NAMI between 355.1 lei and 425 lei; 30% for NAMI between 425.1 lei and 480 lei; 20% for NAMI between 480.1 lei and 540 lei; 10% for NAMI between 540.1 lei and 615 lei. 5% for NAMI between 615.1 lei and 786 lei.
By March 31, 2013 MLFSPE received from municipalities a total of 1,125,349 applications for heating aid. Compared to the winter of 2011-2012, the number was lower by approximately 211,000 (16%) applications. The distribution of the heating aid for 2013-2014 is as follow: 20.2% for centralized heating; 21.4% for natural gas and 58.4% for households that are using wood. (unpublished data, data provided by MLFSPE)

[292] In the housing sector, the Local Council has the responsibility to: (i) develop implement, monitor local policies according to general principles of national policy; (ii) monitor the local housing market by careful evaluation of supply and demand; (iii) facilitate access to housing for specific categories of families and individuals, and establish their own priorities; (iv) secure special funds for new housing for socially disadvantaged individuals and households; (v) provide and develop land for new housing; (vi) allocate land in local government ownership to social housing; (vii) finance the development of social and emergency housing from local budgets; (viii) provide technical assistance, finance, and consultancy for consolidation of the housing stock against seismic damage; (ix) support urban renewal and rehabilitation policies, including housing; and, (x) implement specific programs to support local actions and community management. (Source: *Country Profiles on the Housing Sector: Romania, UNECE, 2001).*

[293] The Housing Law HL 114 / 1996 defines "social housing" as a dwelling which is allocated by a public authority (City Hall) with a small rent (subvention) to individuals or families in a precarious economic situation, i.e. those

criteria for allocating social housing; these could be different per authority, and could include, for example, some assessment of the household's income level to ensure payment of monthly utility bills. The final decision on who receives a social housing unit is taken by the Local Council after considering the proposals of the social commissions that analyze the housing applications at local level. The large investments required for construction of any new social housing, together with the low returns and the high liability in terms of maintenance of these assets, means that local authorities are heavily dependent on the national government, in particular ANL, to finance these projects. As a result, this program is lagging behind the delivery targets.

The social housing stock is owned and managed by the local authorities and is not for sale. Monthly rent for social housing may not exceed 10 percent of the renter's household monthly net income (calculated for the past 12 months), in addition to some nominal maintenance fees. They rarely exceed a tenth of the market prices.

7.6.3 NATIONAL AGENCY FOR ROMA: NEW NATIONAL ROMA INCLUSION STRATEGY

The National Agency for Roma (NAR) works and coordinates with other line ministries to implement programs aimed at improving the living conditions of the Roma. Its programs related to improving housing conditions for the Roma population are reflected in the "Roma Inclusion Decade"[294] and the new National Roma Inclusion Strategy (NRIS) 2013-2020 (see Box 6). However, there is no information available on the status of implementation of the NRIS objectives or on the budgetary allocations or specific actions to be taken by the mandated implementation bodies.

BOX 6: NATIONAL ROMA INCLUSION STRATEGY (NRIS)

One of the main objectives of the NRIS is to ensure decent living conditions and access to infrastructure and public services for disadvantaged Roma communities. This objective is planned to be reached by implementing the following interventions.[1]

- *Measures to increase the sustainability of the inclusion of Romanian Roma minority, increase trust and fight against poverty:* This measure only indirectly deals with housing and affordable access to infrastructure and social services.
- *Measures to improve the quality of housing – modify and complete legislation:* This measure is pending. Discussions and public meetings in which the legislation concerning housing and the quality of dwellings have been held since 2009, but legislative changes have not taken place yet.
- *Developing social housing pilot program "Social dwellings for Romani communities", coordinated by the ANL:* This measure was adopted in 2008 and was considered under

---

who cannot afford to buy or rent a house from the free housing market. Households with an income lower than the national average net income in the preceding 12 months, and meeting the following conditions are eligible to apply for a social house: a) do not own a house; b) have not sold a house after 01.01.1990; c) have not benefited from state support (loans or subsidies) for a house; and d) do not possess, or occupy as tenant, another house.

[294] The Roma Inclusion Decade 2003-2013 set up four core housing objectives but, unfortunately, none have been accomplished.

the Strategy of the Government of Romania for improving the conditions of the Roma (2001-2011). Some 300 homes are planned to be built by MRDPA/ ANL in 9 counties (11 localities) identified by the Local Authorities and the NAR in the 8 development regions of Romania. Local authorities are expected to provide the land and supporting public infrastructure.

- *Construction of social housing for tenants evicted from homes returned to original owners (as part of the restitution process):* There are no data about the ethnic background of those who have access to this program.
- *Construction of social housing*: There are no data about the ethnic background of those who have access to this program.
- *"Revival of the Romanian village – construction of 10 houses for specialists"* is a government program that supports the building of houses for certain categories of people, but meant to bring/ keep young professionals in rural areas. There are no data about the ethnic background of those who have access to this program. Currently, there are requests from some 1,522 local authorities to construct 13,055 dwellings in rural area across Romania.
- *Infrastructure development – 10,000 km of inter-county and local roads.* There is no information about the ethnic composition of the communities that have benefited from this program.

7.6.4 OTHER GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS

Assistance for financing housing (loan guarantees, direct and indirect subsidies): Specific initiatives in this area include the following:

- Lower down payment requirement (5 percent as opposed to 20 percent) on mortgage loans for first time home-buyers, guaranteed by the State (Ministry of Finance).
- Loan guaranty by Government, reduction in VAT (from 24 percent to 5 percent), and an interest rate subsidy of 1-2 percent on Euro loans for first-time home buyers purchasing houses costing less than Lei 380,000 (~ Euro 86,000).
- Subsidy of 30 percent for units completed in previously 'unfinished' buildings: Construction of private housing units through the completion of unfinished residential buildings whose construction commenced before January 1, 1990. MRDPA approves and coordinates the annual programs. Local authorities select the applicants based on social housing criteria.
- Subsidy of up to 30 percent of house value: For all the categories of people who qualify for social housing, the State provides a 'rebate' or subsidy of up to 30 percent (of the house price) but not more than Euro 10,000, if the housing unit is built by an authorized developer/construction company. Local authorities receive the subsidy applications and pay it to the entitled persons after the construction works are finished.

Subsidies for retrofitting and thermo-insulation: Starting in 2006, the Government started programs to retrofit / refurbish existing housing stock to protect against seismic risk and to improve energy efficiency. The project financing is as follows: 34 percent from the State budget; 33 percent from the Local Authority's budget (+ERDF); and 33 percent from funds of the owner

associations (+ERDF). The investment required from private owners is a meager Euro1,000-1,700 for an average 60 m² apartment.

7.7 ANALYSIS: SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS

Housing is an economic issue with a history of segregation. The data presented in this chapter shows that the living conditions of the Roma are worse than their non-Roma neighbors. This may be attributed, at least in part, to the fact that the Roma are poorer than their non-Roma neighbors. However, while this economic argument applies more generally, it is also important to highlight the historical context of the Roma and their poverty, which has persisted for centuries, as well as to acknowledge continued discrimination against Roma. The (mis)perception that all Roma are *'untrustworthy, lazy, uneducated, conniving thieves who make a living from conducting illegal businesses'* is a deep-rooted mentality that has been around for generations and continues to reinforce itself in many ways. The poverty and marginalization of the Roma is a manifestation of these attitudes, and unless these attitudes change, the random acts of disempowerment and discrimination that challenge their dignity will continue to be condoned.

Slum areas in Romania's cities closely resemble slums in developing country cities like Mumbai and Nairobi: improvised housing structures using temporary materials, poor or no sanitation, poor quality or limited water supply, and so on. There is, however, an important distinction between the two: unlike slums in other big cities, which are often used by rural immigrants or other poor people as a 'stepping stone' to prosperity, in the case of Romania these communities seem to be trapped in the vicious cycle of unemployment, poverty, lack of education, poor housing and infrastructure conditions, and so on. In many of these slums, the Roma constitute the vast majority of the population. Given the relatively higher densities in these areas, and the fact that they are often in sub-optimal locations (garbage dumps, etc.), these areas pose serious health and environmental risks, and need to be considered priority areas for government action.

Roma generally face poor housing conditions, but there is a certain level of heterogeneity. As described earlier, the Roma live in a wide range of housing typologies, depending on their income levels and their location – urban, peri-urban, and rural. Improving their living conditions will require a range of interventions, suitably packaged to meet the needs of each specific sub-group. Also, housing needs to be seen as more than mere physical shelter; by definition, it should have adequate physical infrastructure, social services (health, education), and security of tenure (property titles).

In addition to the Roma-specific issues in the housing sector discussed above, there are many inefficiencies in the overall housing market that will need to be addressed in order make the process sustainable. Some of the key issues are presented below.

- **Lack of a comprehensive national housing policy.** Romania does not currently have a national housing policy. There is no document that formulates long-term objectives, priorities, or direction for the housing sector, or evaluates and measures criteria for programs already implemented.
- **Decentralization of the housing sector: An unfunded mandate?** With the decentralization of the housing sector, local authorities are responsible for providing social housing or other forms of housing subsidies to their residents. In cities where technical capacity and political

will exists, efforts are being pursued with local/ city funds or through ANL or State funds: construction of new social housing; renovation of old housing stock; sites-and services projects (mostly in rural or peri-urban areas) where residents of slums are allocated a plot of land free of cost by the government, and they build their own house; on-site upgrading in some cases, with electricity/ water connections, and so on. However, financing capacity of most of these smaller cities is limited. Hence, interventions related to housing – which are typically costly – are often ad hoc and arbitrary, and limited at best.

- **Government subsidies not targeting the poor.** There are several housing subsidies that may be questionable from the equity perspective. One, all first-time home buyers are entitled to a VAT subsidy, so long as the house costs less than Lei 380K or Euro 86,364. With such a high cut-off limit, it appears that this subsidy is not targeting lower income households. Two, ANL's Youth Housing program, as well intended as it is, targets 'young' households, who are not necessarily poor. And three, a government guarantee that is currently offered to all first time home buyers might be intended to spur the mortgage market, but does not target the poor. Furthermore, income based qualifications for subsidies in Romania are also questionable because there is reportedly a large difference between the official and the unofficial incomes in Romania.
- **'Hidden' rental market.** The massive privatization of social housing resulted in an excessively high ownership rate on one hand, and to a degeneration of the rental market on the other. Official figures on housing indicate that 98 percent of the housing is privately owned. This, however, does not translate into 98 percent owner-occupied housing. Unofficial figures suggest that the rental market could be as large as 15-20 percent of the total housing stock in large cities like Bucharest. This might be attributed, at least in part, to the pro-tenant rental regulations and tax liability associated with rental units[295], which has had two unintended effects: (i) 'informalizing' the rental market, denying both the tenant and the landlord any legal protection associated with an official contract; (ii) limiting the supply of rental housing, thereby making it much more expensive, and practically out of the reach of the lower income groups. Furthermore, starting January 1, 2014, the New Fiscal Code makes it obligatory for owners to pay 16 percent tax on rent plus contribution to State Health Insurance System (in 2013 this contribution was 5.5 percent); this new tax could further exacerbate the 'informality' in the rental market.
- **Heavy regulations, even in low-income areas**. Areas with low average income would benefit from lower standards and more simplified / streamlined building permitting systems

[295] (i) Rent can be set no higher than 25 percent of the tenant's household income, or 25 percent of National Average Gross Household Income, whichever is lower For individual tenants of restituted buildings and housing for those provided in Article 26 para (1) Government Emergency Ordinance # 40/1999 whose net monthly income per family member is between average net monthly income in the economy and its double, the maximum rent may not exceed 25% of net monthly income the family. The provisions of Article 31 para. (2) and Article 33 of Government Emergency Ordinance # 40/1999 apply accordingly. (Law 10/ 2001, Article 15, al. 3 http://www.cdep.ro/pls/legis/legis_pck.htp_act_text_?idt=66426) ; (ii) Eviction or contract termination due to disputes resulting from disagreements on rent is not permitted; (iii) Rental income is subject to tax, and rental contracts subject to taxation: The owner is obliged to pay 16% on three-fourths of the value of contract each trimester (every 4 months). For example if you rent a flat for 1000 lei / month, then you have to pay taxes of 16% from 750 lei, which means 120 lei each month or 360 lei every 3 months.

that makes it easier for poorer households to 'legalize' their properties, and possibly leverage it for accessing finance.

7.8 POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

In the housing sector, change can start with the planning and design of housing options that suit the Roma and their lifestyle, not the other way around.[296] In other words, a one-size-fits-all approach is the wrong approach. Instead, housing assistance needs to be expanded beyond 'social housing' to include a menu of options that are not just more appropriate for the recipient households and their lifestyles, but also more 'value-for-money' for the government, more equitable, and more sustainable. And particularly in the case of the Roma, this needs to be done jointly with the affected communities to help regain the trust that has been eroding for centuries.

In all cases, it will be important to adapt the product to meet the needs of different population groups, and not the other way around. This is particularly relevant for the poorer communities, including the Roma - for example, most of these households cook outdoors using charcoal or wood, which is a cheaper option than an electric stove (due to the high cost of electricity). Housing solutions will need to be adapted to factor in these specifics. This is also to say that 'social housing' as conventionally used in Romania is only one of the options amongst a range of housing options that need to be explored for lower income groups (See Box 7).

Accordingly, the following may be considered for the various Roma housing typologies discussed earlier, based on an integrated approach (linking with finance, community participation, income generation, etc.):

rural areas:

- *Traditional settlements:* Infrastructure upgrading (water, sanitation) and legalization (property titles) where possible only – not on hazardous lands, community buildings linked with livelihood development/ income generating activities; home improvement; microfinance / housing microfinance
- *Informal settlements:* Infrastructure upgrading (water, sanitation) and property titles (where possible only, not on hazardous lands), community buildings linked with livelihood development / income generating activities.

In urban areas:

- *Traditional Roma settlements, New or Improved Housing*: Infrastructure upgrading (water, sanitation) and legalization (property titles) where possible only – not on hazardous lands, linked together with microfinance for income generation
- *Informal Settlements ("Slums"), Multistory buildings ("Ghettos")*: Social / subsidized housing (rental or ownership), infrastructure upgrading (water, sanitation) and legalization

[296] To cite a provocative, but real life example, moving a large low-income family with a horse-cart (an essential component of their informal sector work), whether Roma or non-Roma, to live on the n^{th} floor of a social housing block, and expecting them to 'change their behavior and lifestyle' is not just a fallacy, it is the inappropriate solution.

(property titles) where possible only – not on hazardous lands, linked with community organization, education, and job creation.

BOX 7: OPTIONS FOR IMPROVING HOUSING CONDITIONS

- *On-site upgrading:* Appropriate for existing informal / underserviced settlements which are not located in hazardous zones (e.g. landfill sites, flood-prone sites, etc.), where the settlement layout is conducive to infrastructure improvement with minimal displacement. With minimal disturbance to the existing houses, the residents can then improve their structures incrementally over time. This type of program will work better if linked to a financing program for home improvement (housing microfinance).
- *Site and services:* This involves provision of a serviced plot (ideally no larger than 100-250 m^2 in urban areas), sometimes with the core unit (kitchen+bathroom+1 room) built on the plot. This could be linked with a program for housing construction loans or housing microfinance.
- *Social housing:* Social housing can take a single- or multiple-story format. Since it is very expensive to build, particularly in Romania where the construction cost is so high, it might be more prudent for Local Authorities to retain and try to better manage their existing stock, and focus their resources on the other options, i.e. on-site upgrading and site-and-services.
- *Land pooling/*
- *Urban revitalization/ mixed income neighborhoods*

The following policy recommendations provide options for increasing the scale, efficiency, and effectiveness of these interventions.

7.3.1 POLICY GOAL 1: SUPPORT THE DEVELOPMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF INTEGRATED PROJECTS IN THE HOUSING SECTOR THAT ARE AFFORDABLE AND PARTICIPATORY

The range of programs could be broadened to support integrated projects at the community level, as well as facilitate home improvements at the individual household level.

POLICY MEASURE 1A: ESTABLISH A SUPPORT FRAMEWORK TO EXPAND THE MENU OF HOUSING OPTIONS

The support framework could be established (or an existing framework could be strengthened) to specifically facilitate the following actions:

- *Build institutional capacity* of local authorities, and increase awareness amongst communities and civil society organizations about the value and cost-effectiveness of the various potential interventions in housing other than social housing.
- *Provide technical assistance at local levels* to assess priority needs and develop infrastructure upgrading projects (including proposals for EU Structural Funds).
- *Integrate physical investments with sustainability measures that address the root causes of poor living conditions.* These include: (a) income generation support such as vocational training (e.g. involve local population in infrastructure upgrading, which builds ownership, creates job opportunities, and develops skills), job search assistance, apprenticeship facilitation, second chance education; (b) transition and social integration support such as

conflict mediation by social workers, awareness campaigns, community activities to facilitate interaction and understanding; and (c) organizational support, such as facilitation of formation and running of residents' associations / committees and capacity training (accounting, basic financial literacy, community decision-making) .

POLICY MEASURE 1B: ESTABLISH A GUIDING FRAMEWORK FOR A PARTICIPATORY APPROACH

The framework could guide the application of the following elements in the development and implementation of participatory housing projects:

- *Emphasize 'process', not only 'product'.* It is important to understand that often participatory processes are time-consuming on one hand, and slow with respect to up front disbursement. Still, they are critical for success. Local housing improvement programs require a constant – and patient – engagement with the communities to identify the right interventions and to build ownership for the product. The communities must be *drivers of the process*[297], and decisions-makers on the type of housing solution they want and / or need.
- *Encourage inclusive developments, retain the social fabric.* To the extent possible, any housing intervention must ensure that the existing social fabric is retained; this applies especially to the poorest and most vulnerable households. It is important to emphasize that, to the extent possible, there should be no such distinction made on the grounds of ethnicity between Roma- and non-Roma within the same community, i.e. segregation should under no circumstances be encouraged: otherwise the effort can prove to be very divisive and counter-productive.

POLICY MEASURE 1C: PROVIDE FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO FACILITATE HOME IMPROVEMENTS BY INDIVIDUAL HOUSEHOLDS

- *Establish a program to provide training and materials* to permit residents to plan, construct, and/ or improve their homes with particular emphasis on affordable technologies and materials, structural safety, and energy efficiency.
- *Explore potential to extend housing finance to credit-worthy borrowers* through an in-depth feasibility analysis to identify the demand and hurdles for accessing finance for home purchase and improvements. [298] Potential forms of housing finance include: (a) small housing mortgage loans for those who can qualify and can afford market-based housing, (b) construction loans for building or expanding a house or establishing a business (shop,

[297] Martin R., Mathema A. Development Poverty and Politics: Putting Communities in the Driver's Seat, Routledge, NY, 2010.
[298] It must be emphasized that these are loans, and must be given only to credit-worthy borrowers, not the poorest who cannot repay.

workshop), (c) housing microfinance or home improvement loans for renovating or expanding a house.[299]

- *Develop mechanisms for assessing credit-worthiness for informal sector workers*, which are distinctly different from those in the formal banking system but have been tried and tested successfully across the globe.
- *Explore the potential to establish a guaranty fund* to incentivize risk-averse banks and non-banking financial institutions to extend loans (for housing or business development) to creditworthy Roma and other low income households.

7.3.2 POLICY GOAL 2: IMPROVE TENURE SECURITY

POLICY MEASURE 2A: FACILITATE REGULARIZATION OF PROPERTY RIGHTS

- *Fast-track regularization of property rights*. The National Agency for Cadaster and Land Registration of Romania (ANCPI) is planning a systematic property registration activity in 1,000 Territorial Administrative Units (UATs). Since property rights need to be regularized before they can be registered, it would be advisable to consider fast-tracking the regularization of property rights (issuance of land titles or at least certificates of possession as per amendments to Law7/1996)[300]. In addition to providing tenure security, such an intervention will provide the possibility for households to leverage their property as collateral for loans (for home improvement or business development).
- *Systematically apply measures to facilitate inclusion of vulnerable groups including Roma in the systematic land registration process proposed for 1,000 UATs*. Measures include facilitation of regularization of property rights (as per above), and mediation activities to increase their knowledge of and active participation in the process.
- *Provide assistance to low income communities and households to undertake steps toward regularization and tenure security*. For example, support local authorities to incorporate informal areas into city/village plans, formalize a lease, privatize public land, facilitate land purchase from private owner or land swapping among owners, etc.

---

[299] Microfinance, in general, is much more 'formalized' in ECA countries than other world regions, with loans in the range of Euro 25,000. Moreover, microfinance for housing is relatively new in Romania. Hence, this sector will require a more in-depth feasibility analysis to identify the hurdles and more clearly assess the demand for such services. [As mentioned earlier, there is currently only one bank that provides microfinance in urban areas, and that too at very high interest rates.] Mechanisms for assessing credit-worthiness for people working in the informal sector are distinctly different from those in the formal banking system, but have been tried and tested successfully across the globe, and should be developed for the informal sector in Romania.

[300] In Romania, a great majority of land is not registered, even when the titles exist. Therefore, land registration is considered important for both poor and non-poor areas. The issue is when the titles do not exist, it is more difficult to register the land in the systematic registration process. In this context, a law was amended (Law 7/1996) to enable registration of possession (with a certificate of possession). If no one else claims the land against the possessor within five years of the registration of the possession, the possession automatically converts to ownership, and the title could be issued. The certificate of possession is issued by local authorities in the course of the systematic land registration process.

POLICY MEASURE 2B: REASSESS/ REVISE BUILDING STANDARDS AND PERMITTING PROCESSES FOR LOW INCOME HOUSEHOLDS

- *Develop a more realistic set of housing and infrastructure standards for lower income areas*, which encourages and facilitates incremental improvements over time.

7.3.3 POLICY GOAL 3: ADDRESS BROADER HOUSING MARKET ISSUES

In order to make interventions targeted to low income communities, including Roma, more sustainable, inefficiencies in the overall housing market also need to be addressed.

POLICY MEASURE 3A: DEVELOP A NATIONAL HOUSING STRATEGY/POLICY[301]

- Identify priority areas, both where intervention is needed immediately (e.g. slums and ghettos in informal settlements), and where high and quick impact is expected (e.g. in traditional settlements in urban and rural areas where basic infrastructure improvements will be sufficient). In both cases, it is critical to identify communities that show a keen interest to participate actively in the improvement of their neighborhoods. Maps of deprived / marginalized communities being developed by MRDPA with World Bank support could be used to identify priority target communities.
- Propose a program of interventions with robust monitoring and evaluation mechanisms, rather than a list of piecemeal solutions/ projects that cannot be scaled up.
- Clearly define responsible bodies as well as financing sources and allocate realistic budgets for the responsible bodies (including local authorities) to perform their functions in the housing sector. In case the EU Structural Funds are to be accessed to finance their functions, ensure adequate support to the local authorities in accessing these funds (applying the recommendations in Chapter 8).

POLICY MEASURE 3B: RE-ASSESS GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS AND SUBSIDIES

- Re-evaluate regulations in the rental sector to promote the development of more 'affordable' rental options and expand the availability of formal private rentals.
- Revisit government subsidies that are 'leaking' to wealthier groups, and focus government resources on the poor (social housing, infrastructure upgrading etc.).
- De-link the debts of (utility bills of) previous tenants attached to the property, in order to free current and future tenants from debts for which they are not responsible.

[301] The Ministry of Regional Development and Public Administration (MRDPA) is in the process of initiating the development of a national level housing strategy/policy to promote a comprehensive approach to the housing sector.

7.3.4 IMPLEMENTATION

Table 1 below presents the primary implementing agency and time-frame for each of the tasks in the recommendations section.

Recommendation	**Entity(ies) best placed to implement the recommendation**	**Impact**	**Time frame Short: < 6 mths; Medium: 6-18 mths; Long: >18 mths**	**Suggested Monitoring indicators**
POLICY GOAL 1: **SUPPORT THE DEVELOPMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF INTEGRATED PROJECTS THAT ARE AFFORDABLE AND PARTICIPATORY**				
POLICY MEASURE 1A: Establish a support framework to expand the menu of housing options	MRDPA/MLFSPE	Critical Impact	Medium	1. Support framework established (YES/NO) 2. # of Local Authorities, Civil Society and Private sector partners received information/training on a wider range of housing options and integrated housing projects 3. # of Local Authorities, Civil Society and Private sector partners receiving TA to design and implement integrated housing projects 4. Average budgets of integrated housing projects implemented with the help of the support framework 5. # of towns/ cites where integrated housing projects have been or are being implemented
POLICY MEASURE 1B: Establish a guiding framework for a participatory approach	MRDPA/ MLFSPE NAR	Critical Impact	Medium	6. A guiding framework for participatory design and development in the housing sector developed (yes/ no)
POLICY MEASURE 1C: Provide financial and technical assistance to facilitate home improvements by individual households	MRDPA/ NHA + NAR + Ministry of Finance	High Impact	Long	7. Program to provide training and materials for home improvements (yes/no) 8. # low income/ Roma communities (or households) where TA is provided on home construction / improvement 9. Feasibility study on microfinance and housing microfinance completed (yes/no)

				10. Feasibility study for a guarantee fund to provide housing/ microfinance loans to creditworthy informal sector borrowers (yes/ no) 11. % of households with access to microfinance/ housing microfinance: (i) Roma; (ii) all 'low-income' households
POLICY GOAL 2: **IMPROVE TENURE SECURITY**				
POLICY MEASURE 2A: Facilitate regularization of property rights	ANCPI + NAR + Local Authorities	High Impact	Medium	12. # of property rights regularized (to Roma) 13. # of property rights (by Roma) registered 14. # of informal (Roma) settlements regularized
POLICY MEASURE 2B: Reassess/ revise building standards and permitting processes for low income households	MRDPA/ NHA	High Impact	Medium	15. A more relaxed set of building standards and regulations for low income areas developed (yes/ no)
POLICY GOAL 3: **ADDRESS BROADER HOUSING MARKET ISSUES**				
POLICY MEASURE 3A: Develop a national housing strategy/policy	MRDPA/ NHA	Critical	Medium	Indicators to measure the implementation of the Policy Measure 3A: 16. Priority areas, both where intervention is needed immediately and where high and quick impact is expected are identified (Yes/No). 17. A program of interventions with robust monitoring and evaluation mechanisms proposed (Yes/No). 18. Responsible bodies and financial resources are identified (Yes/No). Possible Indicators to measure the implementation of the national housing strategy/policy: 19. Ratio of households earning less than 60% of national average HH income benefiting from government assistance in the housing sector

				20. Number of cities / counties with on-going housing initiatives for low income households, including the Roma 21. Government expenditure for housing: (i) Average per qualifying household (Euro); (ii) average per qualifying Roma household (Euro) 22. Average % of local housing budget coming from transfers from State budget
POLICY MEASURE 3B: Re-assess government regulations and subsidies	MRDPA/NHA / MoF	High Impact	Medium	23. Existing regulations/ policies: (i) rental housing; (ii) VAT for housing re-evaluated (Yes/No) 24. Existing subsidies and programs, e.g. youth housing, first-time home buyers re-evaluated to better target them to low income households (YES/No)

REFERENCES

Bădescu Gabriel, Grigoraş Vlad, Rughiniş Cosima, Voicu Mălina, Voicu Ovidiu, 2007, *Barometrul Incluziunii Romilor*, Bucuresti: Fundaţia pentru o Societate Deschisă http://www.edrc.ro/docs/docs/cercetari/Barometrul-incluziunii-romilor.pdf

Dan Adrian-Nicolae, (1999). *România şi politica de locuire,* în Cătălin Zamfir (coord.), Politici Sociale în România 90-98, Bucuresti: Expert
Dan Adrian-Nicolae (coord.), (2004), „*Diagnoza locuirii: lipsa unei locuinţe şi locuirea în condiţii precare*", ICCV/ CASPIS (http://www.iccv.ro/index.php/ro/download?task=view.download&cid=27)

Dan Adrian-Nicolae, (2006), *Politici de locuire: România încotro? O analiză comparativă a României în contextul ECE şi UE*, Bucureşti: Editura Universităţii din Bucureşti

Dan Adrian-Nicolae, (2011), *Locuinta si serviciile de locuire*, in M. Preda (coord.), Riscuri şi inechităţi sociale în România, Bucuresti: Polirom

Dumincã Gelu & Ivasiuc Ana (coord.), 2013, *Romii din Romania. De la ţap ispăşitor la motor de dezvoltare*, Bucuresti: Agentia Impreuna

Grigoraş Vlad, 2007, *Condiţii de locuit şi probleme financiare la populaţia de romi*, in G. Bădescu, V. Grigoraş, C. Rughiniş, M. Voicu, O. Voicu, "Barometrul Incluziunii Romilor", Bucuresti: Fundaţia pentru o Societate Deschisă, http://www.edrc.ro/docs/docs/cercetari/Barometrul-incluziunii-romilor.pdf

Martin R., Mathema A., 2010, *Development Poverty and Politics: Putting Communities in the Driver's Seat*, Routledge, NY

Moisă Florin, Rostas Iulius Albert, Tarnovschi Daniela, Stoian Iulian, Rădulescu Daniel, Andersen Tania-Ştefania, 2013, *Civil Society Monitoring Report on the Implementation of the National Roma Integration Strategy and Decade Action Plan in 2012 in Romania,* Budapest: Decade of Roma Inclusion Secretariat Foundation, http://www.romadecade.org/cms/upload/file/9270_file24_ro_civil-society-monitoring-report_en.pdf

Niţă Delia Luiza, 2009, *Housing Conditions of Roma and Travellers*, Romania RAXEN National Focal Point, http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/591-RAXEN-Roma%20Housing-Romania_en.pdf

Oprean Oana, (2011), *"The Roma of Romania"*. Theses and Dissertations, College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences, DePaul University

Zamfir Cătălin şi Zamfir Elena (Coord.) (1993). *Tiganii intre ignorare şi ingrijorare*. Bucureşti: Alternative

Zamfir Cătălin şi Preda Marian (Coord.) (2002). *Romii în România*. Bucureşti: Expert
Toth Alexandru; Dan Adrian-Nicolae si Briciu Cosmin, 2011, Economia socială şi comunităţile de romi. Provocări şi oportunităţi, Bucuresti: UNDP Romania http://www.undp.ro/libraries/projects/Economia_Sociala_si_Comunitatile_de_Romi_Provocari_si_Oportunitati.pdf

* * * Amnesty International, 2013, *Annual Report 2013. The state of the world's human rights – Romania*, http://www.amnesty.org/en/region/romania/report-2013#section-122-3

* * * Economic Commission for Europe, 2001, *Country Profiles on the Housing Sector: Romania*, http://www.unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/hlm/prgm/cph/countries/romania/cp.romania.pdf, UNECE

* * * European Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2009, *Housing discrimination against Roma in selected EU Member States - An analysis of EU-MIDIS data*, http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/607-Roma-Housing-Analysis-EU-MIDIS_en.pdf

* * * European Agency for Fundamental Rights / UNDP, 2012, *The situation of Roma in 11 EU Member States. Survey results at a glance*, http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/2099-FRA-2012-Roma-at-a-glance_EN.pdf

* * * Fundaţia pentru o Societate Deschisă, 2006, *Barometrul Incluziunii Romilor 2006 – baza de date*, Bucuresti: Fundaţia pentru o Societate Deschisă

* * * Institute for Real Estate Construction and Housing Ltd., 2008, *Implementation of European Standards in Romanian Housing Legislation*, for Romanian Ministry of Development, Public Works and Housing, Austria, http://www.rabo.org.ro/wp-content/uploads/RHL-Final-Report-080129-en.pdf

* * * Institutul National de Statistica, 2012, *Recensamantul Populatiei si Locuintelor 2011 – date preliminare*, Bucuresti, INS
http://www.insse.ro/cms/files/statistici/comunicate/alte/2012/RPL_rezultate%20preliminare.pdf

* * * National Statistics Institute – Romania: data for May 2013, cited from

http://www.romania-insider.com/net-average-income-in-romania-down-in-may/27817/

* * * Institutul National de Statistica, 2013, *Câştigul salarial mediu în luna mai 2013*, http://www.insse.ro/cms/files/statistici/comunicate/castiguri/a13/cs05r13.pdf

* * * Institutul National de Statistica, 2002, *Anuarul Statistic al Romaniei 2000*, INSSE, Bucuresti http://www.insse.ro/cms/files/pdf/ro/cap5.pdf

* * * Institutul National de Statistică, 2013, *Anuarul Statistic al Romaniei 2012*, INSSE, Bucuresti

* * * Ministerul Dezvoltarii Regionale si Administratiei Publice, http://www.mdrt.ro/

* * * National Agency for Housing– Romanian Government, http://www.anl.ro/

* * * National Agency for Roma – Romanian Government, http://www.anr.gov.ro/

* * * Romanian Government / National Agency for Roma, 2012, *Strategy of the Government of Romania for the Inclusion of the Romanian Citizens belonging to Roma Minority 2012-2020*, Bucharest http://ec.europa.eu/justice/discrimination/files/roma_romania_strategy_en.pdf

* * * Romanian Government, Law 114 / 1996 (Housing Law), Romanian Government – Official Monitor M.Of. nr. 254/21 oct. 1996 and republished in M.Of. nr. 393/31 dec. 1997 http://www.cdep.ro/pls/legis/legis_pck.htp_act_text?idt=1614

* * * Romanian Government, Law 152 / 1998 (National Housing Agency), Romanian Government – (republished in Official Monitor nr. 744 from 2.11.2009) http://www.anl.ro/userfiles/files/statice/33/LEGEAnr.152din1998.pdf

* * * Romanian Government, Law 10 / 2001 privind regimul juridic al unor imobile preluate in mod abuziv in perioada 6 martie 1945 - 22 decembrie 1989, http://www.cdep.ro/pls/legis/legis_pck.htp_act_text?idt=66426

* * * Romanian Government, 2013, *LEGE pentru modificarea şi completarea Legii nr. 571/2003 privind Codul fiscal*, http://media.hotnews.ro/media_server1/document-2013-09-16-15589832-0-proiect-legeforfetar-imm-13092013.pdf

* * * Romanian Government, 2011, *Ordonanţă de Urgenţă Nr. 70 din 31 august 2011 privind măsurile de protecţie socială în perioada sezonului rece*, http://www.mmuncii.ro/pub/imagemanager/images/file/Legislatie/ORDONANTE-DE-GUVERN/OUG%2070-2011.pdf

* * * Romanian Government, *Ordonanţă de Urgenţă* # 40/1999 privind protectia chiriasilor si stabilirea chiriei pentru spatiile cu destinatia de locuinte, http://www.anrp.gov.ro/uploads/pdf/ORDONANTA%20DE%20URGENTA%20Nr40-99%20PROT%20CHIRIASI.pdf

* * * Soros Foundation , 2012, *Roma Situation in Romania, 2011 – Between social inclusion and migration*, Bucharest: Soros Foundation http://www.soros.ro/en/comunicate_detaliu.php?comunicat=195#

* * * The Roma Inclusion Decade 2003-2013, http://www.romadecade.org/

8 INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISMS FOR EFFECTIVE LOCAL SERVICE DELIVERY AND USE OF EU INSTRUMENTS

Like Discrimination, Institutional Mechanisms is another cross-sectoral topic that affects all thee dimensions of exclusion. 'Institutional Mechanisms' includes anything from laws to policy frameworks to local implementation mechanisms. This chapter discusses such issues. The main recommendation in this crosscutting area is to increase accountability, with quality of local service delivery being a key evaluation metric for those held accountable.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents diagnostics and policy advice for tackling institutional constraints for local service delivery for effective Roma inclusion. It also assesses what can be done in this regard to make government planning and budgeting systems more responsive to needs of local Roma communities. Similarly, it reviews past use of European funds for Roma integration, identifies shortcomings, and proposes measures to enable the government to improve the take-up of these funds.

This chapter is structured as follows: section 8.2 presents the institutional set-up for the implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy (NRIS); section 8.3 then assesses issues with its operationalization; finally section 8.4 discusses measures for addressing the main constraints;.

A number of key sources are used in this chapter. This chapter makes use of available documents (see reference list at the end of this chapter), information presented in the other chapters and field work. The latter included conversations held from 10 - 23 October 2013 with local Roma experts in Giurgiu, Teleorman, Calarasi and Prahova county. Representatives of the Romanian Association of Communes (ACOR), Association of Romanian Towns (AOR) and National Union of County Councils of Romania (UNCJR) were also interviewed.

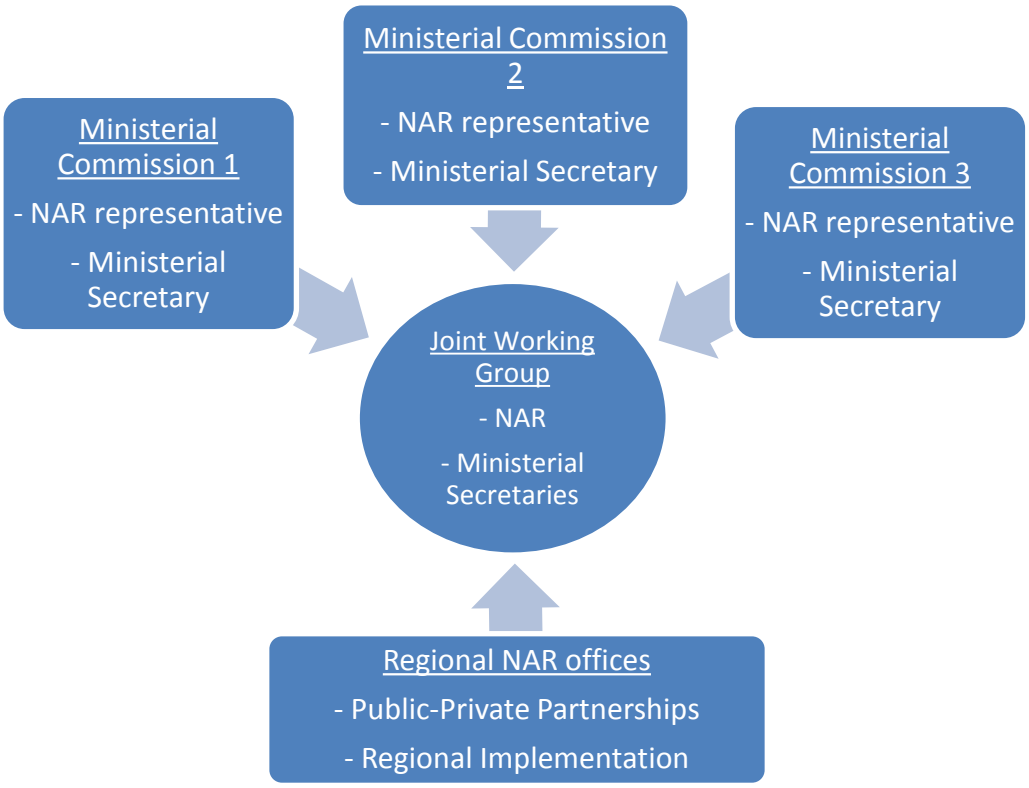
8.2 INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISMS FOR ROMA INCLUSION

Two institutions mainly coordinate Roma inclusion efforts at the national level. In Romania, the Ministry of Labor, Family, Social Protection and the Elderly (MMFPSPV –from here on referred to as Ministry of Labor) is in charge of public policies and programs for social inclusion. The National Agency for Roma (NAR) is tasked with promoting social inclusion of the Roma through developing the NRIS and coordinating its implementation. It is a subordinated body of the government. Two NRISs have been produced to date, each for a ten year period. They are accompanied by a number of sectoral action plans and are implemented through the various government ministries and NGOs. Monitoring of the NRIS is the responsibility of both the NAR and the Ministry of Labor through a Joint Working Group.

The goals of the NRIS 2001-2010 were to improve the condition of the Roma in Romania. The strategy aimed, among other things, to (1) improve service delivery to Roma, (2) remove stereotypes, prejudices and discriminatory practices of civil servants, (3) create a positive change in public opinion on Roma based on tolerance and social solidarity principles, and (4) stimulate

Roma participation in the economic, social, educational, cultural and political life. The NRIS 2001-2010 covered a broad range of sectors and sub-sectors, varying from community development and administration to housing, health care, justice and public order, child welfare, education, communication and civic involvement. The strategy allocated responsibilities for implementation to a variety of stakeholders.

To implement the NRIS 2001-2010, two institutional structures were formed at the national level: the Joint Working Group on Roma Policies and the Ministerial Commissions on Roma. The joint working group was in charge of the coordination and implementation of the public policies for Roma. It included the state secretaries in the ministries responsible for the application of the strategy. The NAR was in charge of coordinating this joint working group, while also presenting the opinions of the NGOs. The Ministerial Commissions on Roma were established within each of the ministries in charge of implementing the strategy. The president of each Commission was one of the secretaries of state within the respective ministry. Each Commission consisted of 4-5 members that were working on specific activities. The NAR was also represented in these commissions. Regional Offices (RO) of the National Agency for Roma were also established to support efforts at the regional level for implementing initiatives for the Roma minority and to strengthen partnerships among public and private organizations.



To support the implementation at the County level, County Roma Offices were formed in addition to local Roma experts and mediators in social services such as health and education at the municipality level. The County Roma Offices were structures within the

prefect's offices and subordinated to the Ministry of Administration and Interior[302]. Technically, the activities of the County Offices on Roma were coordinated by the NAR. The Offices' main responsibilities included the organization, planning and coordination of the activities in line with the NRIS. The Roma County Offices included 3-4 experts, one of whom had to be a member of the Roma community. The Roma County Offices established Joint Working Groups, members of which included deputy-prefects, representatives from the Regional Offices of the NAR, representatives of local public services, health and education mediators, Roma inspectors and teachers, and NGO representatives and representatives nominated by Roma communities.

Local Roma Experts were appointed at the municipality level. These served to mediate between the public authorities and the Roma communities. They were responsible for promoting activities for Roma inclusion at the municipality level. They were employed and funded by the local city hall, and were subordinated to the County Offices on Roma and to the Mayor. The local Roma experts were required to be familiar with Roma issues and had to be recommended by the Roma community.

The NRIS 2012-2020 was drafted during 2011 and is currently being updated. However, the new strategy does not address lessons learned from the previous strategy in a systematic way as no comprehensive evaluation of the 2001-2010 strategy was conducted. The NRIS 2012-2020 was produced through a group effort of line ministries coordinated at the highest level by the vice-prime minster. Each ministry drafted its own priorities and measures. Regional and local authorities and a coalition of civil society representatives were consulted, although this appears to have been largely a formal process with little evidence that their suggestions were considered. Overall the scope of the strategy is similar to its 2001-2010predecessor, and a number of activities implemented under the previous strategy, such as the Roma health mediators program, are continued. The stated aim of the new strategy is to "ensure the social and economic inclusion of Romanian citizens belonging to the Roma minority, by implementing integrated policies in the fields of education, employment, health, housing, culture and social infrastructure".

[302] Presently the Ministry of Internal Affairs

The proposed institutional set-up is not very different from the one proposed under the previous strategy. At the central level the Inter-ministerial Working Group is coordinated by the Vice Prime Minister and headed by the NAR president, in collaboration with two state secretaries from the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Administration and Interior. Under the previous strategy, the Ministerial Commissions for Roma (MCR)[303] included only representatives from the NAR, whereas this time, representatives from non-governmental Roma organizations with relevant expertise can also be represented if this is seen as appropriate. The implementation of the strategy will take place through the on-going decentralisation process of government and relevant competencies will be shared between local and central public authorities.

At the county level, Joint Working Groups (JWG) are set up under the auspices of the County Offices for Roma. They are composed of representatives from local decentralized bodies of ministries, county counsellors, delegates from Roma communities and Roma NGOs. The JWGs are established by order of the Prefect. Their role is to prepare the County's Roma Inclusion Plan based on needs of local Roma, and ensuring that Roma issues are adequately addressed in the County's development plans. The JWGs are also expected to support the implementation of these measures by advising sectoral service providers and facilitating their access to Roma communities.

As under the previous strategy, at the municipality level, Local Roma Experts are the main interface between public authorities and Roma communities. The main activities of local experts on Roma are further specified in the new strategy. They include establishing, at the local level, local initiative groups (LIGs) and local working groups (LWGs). The LIGs are made up of representatives of Roma communities and their role is to determine the main needs and priorities of these communities. The LWGs are made up of the local Roma experts, representatives of local public institutions, members of the Local Council, members of nongovernmental organizations and a delegate of the local Roma community from the LIG. The LWG is in charge of developing the Local Roma Action Plan inclusion to be endorsed by the Local Council through the local development strategy.

8.3 IMPLEMENTATION CHALLENGES OF THE NATIONAL ROMA INCLUSION STRATEGY

The implementation of the NRIS 2001-2010 has led to a number of initiatives that appear to be successful. The health and school mediators, for example, are felt to have led to positive change (see the chapters on health and education). However, EU and NGO reports, as well as our interviews with Romanian officials, demonstrate that implementation was affected by a number of shortcomings. These relate to the operationalization of the institutional set-up, and to the implementation of EU supported programs. These limitations will be discussed in this section.

[303] Established under Prime Minister's Decision No 36/24.03.2011, published in OG No. 210/25.03.2011

8.3.1 POOR COORDINATION, CAUSED BY A LACK OF UNIFORM LEGISLATION AND WORKING INSTRUMENTS

The operationalization of the institutional mechanisms outlined in the previous section has been hampered, first of all, by the lack of legal provisions and working instruments that spell out how the various institutional actors are expected to work in a coherent, functional and efficient manner. Legal provisions for addressing the needs of Roma are spread across a range of different instruments. A quick legislative inventory conducted as a background for this study demonstrates how complex the legal framework for service delivery is, especially at the local level. A total of 58 laws, decisions and ordinances that relate to local service delivery were identified, many of which cover multiple layers of government. Aligning all these different existing legal arrangements and policies provides a challenge for authorities, especially at the local level where institutional capacity is often low. Some measures proposed under the NRIS are not always well grounded in the existing legal framework. Some did not fall under the legal competence of a local authority, making implementation impossible. Also, the legal status of important components of the mechanism, such as the local Roma experts, has been unclear.

There is a lack of coordination among the institutions responsible for implementation of the NRIS 2012-2020. While such coordination appears to be the responsibility of the NAR, it does not have a clear mandate and sufficient institutional leverage over sector ministries to make that possible. Many measures to tackle Roma exclusion that are part of the NRIS need to be mainstreamed in sectoral policies, such as activities by the Ministry of Education to prevent school segregation of Roma. This requires effective coordination among sectoral ministries and with the NAR. However, effective coordination between the NAR, the Ministry of Labor and other ministries, based on well-defined procedures, is currently missing. The Ministry of Labor is in charge of the implementation of policies in the areas of labour, family, social protection and elderly, including the population belonging to the Roma minority, is the Ministry of Labor. Under the Ministry of Labor, there are two directorates with responsibilities in the field of social inclusion[304]. In addition, there is the Directorate General of the Managing Authority of the Operational Programme Human Resources Development (MA SOP HRD), which is in charge of managing European Social Funds (ESF). The role of the NAR in the implementation of the policies and programs of the Ministry of Labor, or other line ministries referred to in the NRIS is not well defined**.** The European Commission staff working document accompanying the NRIS 2012-2020[305] states that "*The strategy does not reflect an integrated approach. The strategy would benefit from…. clear targets, responsibilities, budget allocations. Effective coordination of implementation must be ensured"*. This is also the conclusion of the Civil Society Report on the

[304]Directorate for Social Services and Social Inclusion and Directorate for Public Policies and Communication, according to GD no. 10/2013

[305] The Commission staff working document accompanying the document National Roma Integration Strategies: a first step in the implementation of the EU Framework SWD (2012) 133, 21 May 2012

implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy, and this issue is also mentioned in the Romanian Action Plan for the Decade of Roma inclusion 2005-2015[306].

There are several operational programs responsible for using EU structural and cohesion funds to support projects that are relevant for Roma, but the extent to which these reach Roma or marginalised communities is not tracked. In order to achieve the objectives set out in the National Strategic Reference Framework (CNSR) 2007-2013, which lays out the priority areas to be financed by the EU Structural and Cohesion Funds, seven operational programmes were established. Each programme was managed by a managing authority. However, no monitoring system that enabled a systematic assessment of whether marginalised communities are benefiting from these programs has been in place.

The current division of responsibilities and legal competences of local and national authorities does not easily accommodate the institutional set-up for the implementation of the NRIS. For example, the provisions of Government Decision no.1217/2006 on the establishment of a national mechanism to promote social inclusion in Romania does not make any specific references to the County Offices for Roma or even local Roma experts. Sectoral measures for social inclusion of Roma are often expected to be carried out by local authorities, without providing extra budgetary resources. This makes their successful implementation very difficult. Moreover, local governments have often not been consulted in any depth on these measures[307]. Vice versa, if the responsibility for implementing and funding a measure lies with local authorities, national authorities have limited influence on decisions around these. This affects, in particular, the County Offices for Roma, which have been created as part of the strategy. These are working under the authority of the Prefect as well as under technical coordination of the NAR. In practice, this means that they are often constrained to fulfil the responsibilities given to them by the NAR. Roma experts of the County Office, for example, are not invited to be part of the County social inclusion commission if the Prefect believes this is not necessary. Similarly, Roma representatives at the municipality level are hired by local public administrations (city halls) and are responsible for the development of actions for improving the situation of Roma. They report to the County Roma Offices and to the Mayor, but are selected and contracted by the city halls. The city halls can hire personnel according to their own criteria and needs, depending on available financial resources, leaving the NAR and the County Roma Office experts with little to say over who is hired. This undermines the independence of the local Roma experts and their ability to fulfil their responsibilities, such as promoting the interests of local Roma communities and making sure these are well reflected in local development plans. It makes local Roma experts vulnerable to becoming political instruments for the re-election of Mayors. Overall there is a lack of clarity on how local and national responsibilities are divided and through what mechanisms local and national authorities could work together.

---

306 Roma Decade Inclusion Secretariat Foundation, 2013. Fundația Centrul de Resurse pentru Comunitățile de Romi (coordinateur), Fundația Soros România, Fundația pentru Dezvoltarea Societății Civile n Centrul Romilor pentru Politici de Sănătate – SASTIPEN.

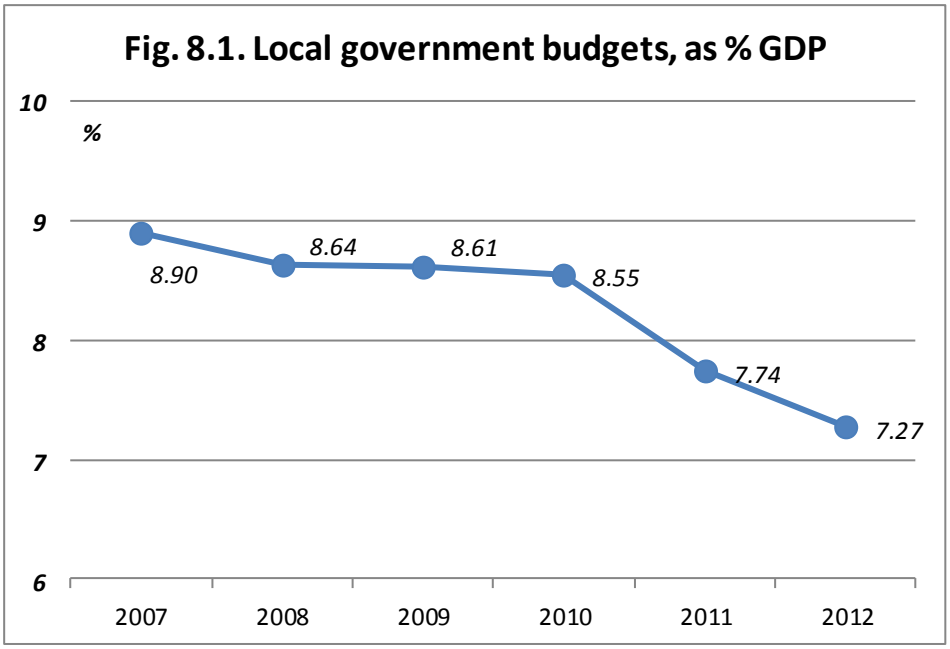
307 According to the Substantiation Note of GD 1221/2011, section 6 point 3, available on the website http://www.gov.ro/nota-de-fundamentare-hg-nr-1221-14-12-2011__l1a115600.html, link http://www.gov.ro/upload/articles/115600/nf-hg-1221-2011.pdf

Existing budgetary processes do not facilitate cross-sectoral integration. At the national level, the division of work between the ministries favors a predominantly sectoral approach to development and social policy, with each national ministry making efforts to spend their budget allocation for meeting their output targets. The same logic is reproduced at the sub-national level, either by the local offices of line ministries, or by local governments. On paper the latter do have the authority to adopt and pursue integrated strategies, but a large part of their budgetary allocations come in the form of earmarked transfers. In the words of a local decision-maker that was interviewed as part of this study: *"those who know the problems best have relatively little power (and money) to act on them, and those with power and resources do not have direct responsibilities and a direct interest to take part in such efforts to coordinate strategies across sectors*". The agenda for negotiating and drafting integration strategies for these domains at the sub-national level is therefore severely constrained.

Local implementation is difficult to monitor under the current circumstances. At the local level, the National Roma Inclusion Strategy emphasises the importance of Local Roma Action Plans. It is the responsibility of the Local Roma Expert to introduce the Local Roma Action Plan in the municipal strategies and development plans. However, given the lack of influence of NAR on local public decision-making and the existing budget allocation mechanisms, with a large proportion of funds earmarked for other purposes, this cannot easily be enforced by the NAR. Our field work shows that the effectiveness of the Local Roma Expert highly depends on the quality of the relationship between the Local Roma Expert and the Mayor. The mechanism for consulting with Roma communities on this is also not clear.

8.3.2 INSUFFICIENT RESOURCES AND LIMITED LINKS BETWEEN PLANS AND BUDGETS

During the five years preceding this study, budgets of local authorities were affected by the economic crisis and subsequent fiscal tightening. Concerns about aggregate public deficits and spending in the short term triggered a drive towards centrally imposed spending cuts and micro-management of local budgets, which seriously affected the budgetary autonomy of local governments. Local budgets have decreased substantially in relative terms (Fig 8.1). This has also affected the ability of local governments to co-finance EU funded projects. Under these budget constraints and their unpredictability, the local development strategies, including the NRIS component, became no longer a reference document guiding decisions.



Source: Ministry of Finance data

Policy measures proposed in the National Roma Inclusion Strategy are often not accompanied by financial resources. This reflects a broader problem in Romania where policies and plans tend to be disconnected from the budget process. The devolvement of decision-making authority to the local level has often not been accompanied by a corresponding decentralization of the budget. As a consequence, links between these plans and strategies, often mandatory in the process of EU funds programming, and annual local budgets is weak. Often there seems to be no relationship between these "hard tools" of decision making and the myriad of "soft", progressive strategies promoted by the upper tiers of governance, including the EU and the NAR.

The NRIS suggests that additional measures for Roma inclusion at the local level could be funded from "local budgets". This does not follow the budgetary rules[9]. According to officials interviewed, it is necessary that this strategy indicates the exact funding sources for taking the stated measures, such as increasing a local service fee or tax, or in cases where funds other than from the local budget are to be used, where this additional money could come from. The local public finance act states that: *After approval of local budgets, normative acts with involvement thereof can be approved, but only with the specification of the sources for covering the diminishing of revenues or the increase of budget expenditures pertaining to the budget year for which those local budgets were approved*"[308].

The financing of local Roma experts serves as an example worth noting. Under an EU funded project (by SOP HRD), 210 Roma individuals were trained and employed as local Roma experts at the town halls. However, as soon as the project ended, and the salaries and the

[308] Law no. 273/2006 on local public finances, as subsequently amended and supplemented, art. 14, para. (5)

provision of utilities for functioning of the offices were no longer paid from the project budget, many of the local Roma experts were laid off. By the time the project was completed in 2011 only 35 of the 210 town halls had agreed to hire local Roma experts that were trained under the project. Interviews conducted as part of the field research for this chapter showed that the main obstacles in hiring these experts are: lack of financial resources and the hiring freeze in the public sector in 2009. This was reconsidered in 2013, when the hiring of experts was allowed. However, approval is needed from national authorities. The hiring of Roma health mediators and school mediators is another example. They are promoted by the Ministries of Health and Education, but they must be hired by the local public administration authorities. Local public authorities were made responsible for ensuring financial means for hiring these mediators.

The limited alignment of plans and budgets has been pointed out by NGOs and Romanian think tanks. In their comments on the draft NRIS 2012-2020 a large number of NGOs stated that: "*The strategy should include specific references to financial resources planned to implement the action plans from the state budget"*[309]. Inconsistencies between the responsibilities delegated to local public authorities and the financial resources available to carry on their responsibilities, are also mentioned in the Study of local budgets between theory and practice by the Institute for Public Policy in Romania (IPP)[310]

8.3.3 LIMITED PUBLIC CONSULTATION AND LACK OF POLITICAL WILL

Consultation around policies related to social inclusion of Roma tends to be limited and very formal, with little genuine debate about local issues. In practice, the consultation process sometimes starts when a proposal of a law is already submitted by the initiator to the Parliament. Most of the time there is no time for the consultation process because of the large number of proposals. Representatives of local authorities, for example, have only been consulted on the NRIS to a limited extent. This is a missed opportunity for making sure that measures to tackle Roma inclusion better reflect current institutional responsibilities.

Officials of the Romanian Association of Cities (AOR) are not consulted on Roma issues. Interviews with officials of the Romanian Association of Cities (AOR) indicated that they have periodic consultations with the Ministry of Labor on different topics, such as social assistance, children protection, disabled people, employment and salaries level. However, they claimed no consultations are held related to Roma issues. The NAR has thus far not asked the AOR for discussions or consultations on Roma matters. They also conveyed that because 30-40% of current city mayors are elected for the first time, many are not familiar with specific approaches to Roma inclusion. In that context, AOR officials interviewed appreciated the debates and experience exchanges organized by the Open Society Foundation through the 'Mayors Making the Most of EU Funds for Roma Inclusion' (MERI) project.

[309] The report was issued by a coalition of NGOs: Fundaţia Centrul de Resurse pentru Comunităţile de Romi (coordinateur), Fundaţia Soros România, Fundaţia pentru Dezvoltarea Societăţii Civile n Centrul Romilor pentru Politici de Sănătate – SASTIPEN, published by Decade of Roma Inclusion Secretariat Foundation, 2013, p. 52.
[310] Idem Page 34 and 63

There is a lack of political will among authorities to conduct open consultations with targeted groups. According to a study by the Resource Centre for Public Participation (CeRe)[311] authorities in Romania treat legislation on public consultation on policies as a formality.[312] Moreover, CeRe mentioned that "*It is clear that legislation is a necessary condition for citizen participation, but (...) it is not a sufficient condition for ensuring a quality consultation processes. The lack of political will on the part of the authorities to communicate proactively and in a genuine manner with the public, has generally led to formal consultations, organized too late in the decision-making process, in which 'gate keepers' always monopolize the central role and in which citizens inevitably have little real impact*." Unwillingness to consult the Roma more specifically reflects the broader problem that for many politicians promoting Roma inclusion is seen as 'political suicide'.

8.3.4 LACK OF DEFINITIONS OF PROGRAM TARGET GROUPS

While strategies exist for promoting the social inclusion of Roma, Roma are often not explicitly targeted in social inclusion programs. Social exclusion affects a range of different population groups, including Roma and non-Roma. However, as highlighted in this report, Roma often do form a particularly excluded group. Currently, specific social policies, programs and investments are often targeted at disadvantaged population groups without specific methodologies for measuring the disadvantage. Often reference is made to 'vulnerable groups', 'person/family/group/community found in difficulty' or 'disadvantaged person/family/group'. While there is not always a need to target Roma exclusively, the absence of specific criteria for identifying these groups and the lack of clear methodology to measure these criteria makes targeting of social programs at the local level difficult**.** The national system of indicators for social inclusion[313] only has indicators related to the poverty rate. The lack of a clear definition and criteria makes it difficult for those responsible at the local level to understand what specific groups the programs are aimed at, understand their needs, and design adequate measures.

There are unclear definitions of marginalized communities and they are not specifically targeted in EU funded operational programs that could be highly relevant for them. In the OP Environment for example, poverty criteria are used for targeting, but there are none on Roma, in contrast to the OP Regional Development and OP Human Resources, which has specific criteria for Roma. The Rural Development Fund instead uses World Bank poverty mapping criteria for targeting. These issues makes it difficult to identify what part of the European Structural Funds is directly aimed at reaching the Roma population (except, perhaps, for the OPon Human Resources).

---

[311] The publication "Local Public Participation in Europe – Case Studies from Romania, Poland, Slovakia and Belgium" is part of the project "Action and Reflection for Engaged Citizens", Resource Centre for Public Participation – CeRe, Unit for Social Innovation and Research – Shipyard, Centre for Community Organizing – CKO, Forum Community Organizing – FOCO, European Think Tank Pour la Solidarite, Central and Eastern Europe Citizens Network - CEECN

[312] Idem, page 14

[313] GD no. 488/2005 on the approval of the national system of social inclusion indicators

The NRIS explicitly targets Roma, but data on the ethnicity of program beneficiaries are not collected systematically to monitor progress. The Ministry of Labor does not collect data on, for example, how many of the beneficiaries of its social assistance programs or labor market activation programs are Roma, except through some of its ESF funded programs. In response to a number of questions posed to Ministry officials as part of the research for this chapter, officials stated that *"given the fact that the legislation in the field of social assistance and employment provides for the principle of non-discrimination on grounds of ethnicity, gender, religion, etc., MMFPSPV (Ministry of Labor) does not collect data on ethnicity."*[314]

8.3.5 LOW LEVELS OF ACCESS TO STRUCTURAL-, COHESION AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT FUNDS BY MARGINALIZED COMMUNITIES.

The overall absorption rate of Romania of EU structural and cohesion funds during 2007-2013 was low. As of 30 June 2013, absorption stood at 26% of the EU allocation for 2007-2013, that is, 5 billion euros, of the 19 billion euros allocated to Romania. The overall low level of use of EU funds is caused by a few key factors. These are, among others:

- Lack of alignment between the legislation regulating the implementation of Structural Instruments and other pertinent national laws"[315].
- The lack of administrative capacity both within managing authorities and among beneficiaries, partly caused by migration of skilled labor to large cities[316].
- Lack of co-financing capability[317].
- Unclear distribution of tasks at the national level.

The complementarity between the different OPs in terms of hard and soft measures has been weak, according to the Annual Implementation Reports 2012[318] (AIRs) submitted to the European Commission by Managing Authorities. This complementarity is needed for making sure infrastructure investments are complemented with adequate human resource development so that service delivery can improve. The distribution of the soft or hard actions across the seven operational programmes (Fig 8.1) made it difficult for applicants to combine these in order to design integrated programs.

[314] Answers given by the officials from MMFPSPV to the questions formulated in writing

[315] Source http://www.fonduri-ue.ro/realizarea-de-evaluri-pentru-perioada-2009-2010-240-a2, accessed on October 05, 2011

[316] see "Strategic Report 2010 on the Implementation of the Programs 2007-2013

[317] see Annual Implementation Report of the Managing Authorities of Operational Programs 2012

[318] It is the obligation of each Managing AuthorityManaging Authority according to the provisions of the GD no. 457/2008 regarding the institutional framework for structural instruments coordination and management, subsequently amended and supplemented to submit to the European Commission, until 1 July an Annual Implementation Report.

Table 8.1. Sources of hard and soft finance of European Structural and Cohesion Funds, by Operational Program and funding source.

EU SCF	POR ROP	POS DRU OP HRD	POS CCE OP IEC	POS T OP T	POS M OP Env.	PO DCA OP DAC
ERDF (hard)						
ESF (soft)						
CF (hard)						

The low access of marginalized groups (Roma and non-Roma) to these EU funds is exacerbated by the lack of priority given to social inclusion of such groups by public authorities. This is partly due to the lack of political priority given to social inclusion, and to equality of opportunity more broadly. The application guidelines for European Structural and Cohesion Funds did not give special attention to Roma issues and there were no indicators to demonstrate during the implementation stage how the project contributes to social inclusion of Roma.

Regulations around European structural and cohesion funds have put much emphasis on the system of management and control. This has left little time to program managers for ensuring policies and programs actually lead to results in the field. This is one of the most debated topics within the EU Structural and Cohesion Funds. In 2011, the European Parliament concluded that special emphasis should be placed on aspects relating to delivery of results and achievement of objectives, without distraction from the constant need for checking inputs and control and payment systems. It was concluded that a better balance should be found between, on the one hand, the rules and procedures required for ensuring the legality and regularity of EU expenditure and, on the other, making cohesion policy more performance-oriented and cost-efficient.[319] A study by the Soros Foundation Romania in 2010 concluded that "*European funds are relatively difficult to access and especially to implement; [..] there are no coherent strategies for placement of funds according to the real needs of a community, area or region*"[320]. However, the 2013 Strategic Report on Cohesion Policy and Program implementation 2007-2013[321] acknowledges the need for better monitoring evaluation: "*The 2007-2013 programmes have strong mechanisms for tracking the flow of money and absorption, but weaker ones for setting, monitoring and evaluating objectives*". Proposals for regulating funding during the 2014-2020 period put more emphasis on results, impact and performance.

8.4 PROPOSED MEASURES TO ADDRESS THE MAIN CONSTRAINTS

Successful implementation of the NRIS 2012-2020 requires an institutional mechanism that takes into account the lessons learned during the past period and addresses the problems

[319] Report on absorption of Structural and Cohesion Funds: lessons learnt for the future cohesion policy of the EU (2010/2305(INI))., A7-0287/2011, page 8
[320] Idem Page 29
[321] COM(2013) 210 final

identified in the previous section. Below, we identify a number of concrete suggestions for tackling the most important problems.

8.4.1 POLICY GOAL 1. CLARIFY INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES THROUGH MORE UNIFORM LEGISLATION AND CLEAR WORKING ARRANGEMENTS.

Institutional arrangements for implementing the NRIS need to be aligned with legal frameworks, at both the national and local level. Roma exclusion is a problem that cuts across many different areas of intervention and tackling it requires simultaneous action on multiple fronts. The NRIS identifies a set of priority measures and establishes a number of institutional arrangements (see section 8.2). These measures have to reflect the legal competences of national, regional and local institutions as established by current law. It is thus important that the institutional arrangements for implementing the NRIS are aligned with the legal framework that governs local public administration as well as with the specific legislation that applies for local public services.

POLICY MEASURE 1A: ISSUE A FRAMEWORK LAW THAT ENSURES THE UNIFORMITY OF RELEVANT LEGISLATION AND DESCRIBES THE COMPETENCIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF KEY AGENCIES FOR ROMA INCLUSION

The new and previous Roma Inclusion Strategies provide additional tasks to sectoral ministries as well as to national, regional and local authorities. In addition to that, the strategy spells out the roles of the NAR, the Regional Roma Offices, the County Offices for Roma as well as the local Roma experts. A framework law is important to spell out the functional relations between these various institutions and players as well as the budgetary sources for their financing. An inventory of all laws, government ordinances, government decisions or ministry orders related to Roma inclusion could provide a good start. A coherent legislative package could then be initiated which includes the framework law.

The current mandate of the NAR to coordinate and monitor Roma inclusion in Romania could be strengthened and enforced to enable it to hold ministries to account for implementing the NRIS and making progress on Roma inclusion. This requires that the NAR operates in a more independent manner and that its capacity to design, plan, and monitor NRIS implementation - in close consultation with other stakeholders - is strengthened.

POLICY MEASURE 1B: CREATE WORKING INSTRUMENTS THAT SPELL OUT HOW THE VARIOUS PLAYERS WILL WORK TOGETHER ON ROMA INCLUSION AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NRIS.

The instrument would allow the institutional mechanism to be more comprehensive, coherent, functional and efficient. Such working instruments would ensure effective arrangements among national and local institutions sharing competencies into the areas covered by the NRIS.

8.4.2 POLICY GOAL 2. STRENGTHEN THE LINK BETWEEN THE NRIS STRATEGY AND BUDGET

For the NRIS to be truly meaningful a much stronger link is needed with the annual budget process, at all tiers of governance.

POLICY MEASURE 2A: PRODUCE A BUDGET ESTIMATE OF NRIS IMPLEMENTATION

It is important that the NRIS spells out for each of the objectives, what outputs needs to be put in place to achieve each of its objectives, what activities should be implemented for that and what financing is needed to realise these, and where this financing should come from (including through EU Funds). This could then be mainstreamed or translated into clear sectoral action plans that spell out what each of the Ministries will deliver and when, what financing is needed for that, and through what budget items that financing will be made available.

8.4.3 POLICY GOAL 3. STRENGTHEN PARTNERSHIPS AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

POLICY MEASURE 3A: STRENGTHEN THE METHODOLOGY FOR ROMA CONSULTATIONS

The NAR needs to ensure that more substantial feedback from Roma, as well as Roma experts and local authorities, is incorporated into social inclusion policies and plans of the NRIS. The NAR could work more closely with the Romanian Association of Cities (AOR) and the Romanian Association of Communes (ACOR) on issues related to Roma inclusion, and consult them on the institutional mechanism for building true partnerships at the local level. Representatives of local authorities including County Councils and Roma communities themselves could also be more intensively consulted in the discussions around the institutional mechanism for the implementation of the NRIS.

Feedback from stakeholders on proposed policies and ideas for Roma inclusion can also be gathered through online platforms. Such technologies would allow people to submit comments through the internet or via mobile phones. The growing global experience shows that this approach can be effective and is relatively inexpensive (see Box 8.1). An essential element of this is that policy makers provide feedback to these comments and are held accountable for following through.

BOX 8-1: MOSCOW'S ROADS CROWDSOURCING CITIZEN REPORTING PLATFORM WWW.DOROGA.MOS.RU

The *Moscow's Roads* portal aims at improving public service related to road maintenance through citizen monitoring of the roads' situation. This will inform the respective agencies about people's views which will serve as a basis for performance measurement. It was launched in 2011 the by Municipal administration.

This is how it works. As tax payers, people have the right to know how the budget allocated for the road maintenance is spent. At the same time, the public service providers must be accountable for the work they undertake. So every person should be able to monitor the works' quality and complain/suggest improvements through the following steps:

1. Access the portal, register as a user or apply through the mobile phone application
2. Report the complaint into one of the three sections available: road maintenance, traffic light, street light
3. Find the street or road on the Moscow's map by either the portal's web search or through spotting it on the interactive map.
4. A window will open to fill in the information on the street address, the issue reported, upload a photo reflecting the situation.
5. Within 24 hours the issue will be published on the website.
6. With 8 days, the responsible local service providers or government agency issue a response which is published to the website and also sent to the person who reported the issue.
7. The portal indicates if the issue was resolved or is in the process of being resolved
8. All complaints/suggestion are published on the web so that people can see what other peoplehave suggested or are concerned about.

The project has a strong commitment from city administration. The City Mayor instructed the agencies responsible for street maintenance, all local mayor and district administration to very closely monitor people's inputs on the portal and act on them. Local authorities verify the information and apply monetary sanctions for officials who have responded in an inadequate manner on a monthly basis. Fines of up to 30% of a salary can be charged if an irregularity was found. As of October 11, 2013, the site has been accessed by 27.394 people, who have submitted 932 comments or complaints.

POLICY MEASURE 3B: CLARIFY MECHANISMS TO SECURE FUNDING OF HEALTH AND SCHOOL MEDIATORS

Building trust and cooperation between municipalities, their mainstream local service providers and Roma communities could be an integral element of all relevant municipalities. Evidence shows that mediation can play an important role and contribute to better access to local services for Roma communities, as well as a higher level of trust between municipalities and Roma communities in general. However, clearer mechanisms are needed to secure funding for such activities, and to ensure mediators have a strong mandate to fulfil their duties with dual reporting lines to sectors and local governments and setting standards for mediation in the whole country. The knowledge and information gathered by mediation could be more actively used for developing mainstream policies and programmes.

The mechanisms could be clarified to ensure they have a strong mandate to fulfill their duties with dual reporting lines to sectors and local governments. Standards could be be set for mediation in the whole country.

8.4.4 POLICY GOAL 4. IMPROVE TARGETING OF MARGINALIZED COMMUNITIES

POLICY MEASURE 4A: ISSUE A NORMATIVE ACT – A LAW OF POOR COMMUNITIES –TO SPECIFY THE METHODOLOGY FOR IDENTIFYING MARGINALIZED COMMUNITIES.

Such a law could reflect the following targeting methodology.

The poverty maps that are currently being created by the World Bank using small area estimation techniques could be used for targeting geographical areas. These maps combine the depth of the EU-SILC household survey with the breath of the 2011 population census. In order to ensure that EU funds contribute to closing development gaps, as a minimum target, those geographical areas that are most affected by poverty, as defined in the World Bank's poverty mapping exercise, could receive per capita EU funding of at least 50% above the national average. It is recommended that the Ministry of European Funds monitors this regularly. To reach this target, organisations operating in geographical areas most affected by poverty could also be eligible for specific calls for these areas. These can be justified especially in the area of human development (early childhood development, education, employment, health care). This would also enable the application of the principle of 'explicit but not exclusive' targeting of Roma.

At the neighbourhood level, targeting could possibly be based on city maps that identify the geographical location of marginalised communities, using data from the population census that are verified locally, as currently developed by the Ministry of Regional Development in collaboration with the World Bank. For EU funded projects for the period 2014-2020, a financial instrument can be established to ensure co-financing of the projects for these communities, or co-financing could be waived.

POLICY MEASURE 4B: ISSUE SPECIFIC CALLS FOR PROPOSALS FOR INTEGRATED PROGRAMMES FOR DISADVANTAGED COMMUNITIES

Specific calls for proposals could be made for integrated programmes for disadvantaged communities. Financial allocation of the integrated programme, that is, a program that tackles the multiple dimensions of these communities simultaneously, can be broken down for each locality, and local stakeholders including municipalities, NGOs and Roma communities can develop a common set of project ideas best reflecting local needs. Such an integrated programme offers numerous benefits: e.g. local needs can be reflected, explicit but not exclusive targeting of Roma can be ensured, synergies between projects can be exploited, partnership between local stakeholders can be strengthened, etc. For urban areas this can be done through the Community Led Local Development (CLLD) approach using ERDF funds, combined with proposals related to human capital development using ESF funding. However, integrated programmes could be launched only if guarantees for effective support for community engagement are provided, for

example by including a network of experts (Policy Measure 5A). This could be done through a unit at the Regional Development Agencies equipped with expertise and with power for coordination to help local stakeholders develop their of project ideas, and facilitate strong community involvement in design and implementation.

8.4.5 POLICY GOAL 5. BUILD CAPACITIES OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES TO ACCESS EU FUNDS

POLICY MEASURE 5A: INCREASE THE SUPPORT TO LOCAL COMMUNITIES

Stronger support is needed to help local communities in designing and implementing individual EU funded projects. Assistance is most needed for sharing experiences and innovative practices of other communities facing similar challenges – covering expertise regarding both inclusion and EU funding, and facilitating partnership between the municipality and the Roma community. Community mobilisation and experts in inclusion project currently involved with the Romanian Social Development Fund (RSDF) could play a central role. Two options could be considered for their deployment:

(1) Expand the mandate of the Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) to support project design, screening and implementation of the OP Human Capital and its ESF funded programs. A Community Mobilisation and Social Inclusion Unit could be established within the RDAs to provide adequate support to help local communities design and implement social inclusion proposals. Staff of this unit could be trained by RSDF experts through a training of trainers approach, with RSDF experts continuing to play mentoring role.

(2) Mobilize the RSDF experts on community mobilisation and social inclusion to provide project planning and community mobilisation support directly to communities across the country. The RSDF could perhaps establish regional offices to provide their support to communities in an effective manner.

More intensive, long term service can be offered to areas with larger or more marginalised Roma communities. Capacity building and technical assistance service could be offered to communities for free, if costs can be covered directly by the managing authority from ESF funds.

In addition, the OSI supported ‘Making the Most of EU Funds for Roma’ (the MERI project), where mayors from different countries exchange good practices on using EU money for Roma Inclusion, could be expanded to further strengthen learning.

POLICY MEASURE 5B: ALLOW SMALL PROJECTS TO BE ADMINISTERED BY NGOS THROUGH GLOBAL GRANTS

Smaller projects implemented by local NGOs or communities can be best administered by NGOs through global grants. This has already been tested in Romania with global grants (see EEA/Norway Grant in Romania) and also with EU funds in older EU member states. NGOs (or global grant administrators) could be selected through an open procedure. Development of the

global grants and selection of NGO takes time, so it could be started in parallel to planning the operational programmes. NGOs could get as much freedom as possible in developing their tools (e.g. information requirements, control and support procedures) for managing the risks of NGO beneficiaries or communities, as this is how they can keep their tools simple.

8.4.6 POLICY GOAL 6. RAISE POLICY MAKERS' AWARENESS OF PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY AND ROMA INCLUSION

POLICY MEASURE 6A: ESTABLISH AN EQUALITY POLICY UNIT IN THE MINISTRY OF EU FUNDS.

Experience shows that without strong institutional mechanisms at the national level, EU funding favours the more competitive social groups and localities. Principles of equality of opportunity, non-discrimination and diversity are generally poorly understood by EU funding units of line ministries, managing authorities, intermediate bodies, etc. Equality bodies contribute to mainstreaming equality in general, but specific equality units within the EU funding institutions can contribute more effectively to mainstreaming equality within the specific area of development. Building such capacities is an on-going process that needs to be facilitated by an equality policy unit within the Ministry of EU funds.

The equality policy unit could be responsible for:

- Organising training for staff of national and local authorities, and equipping them with an understanding of the importance of non-discrimination, equal opportunities and Roma inclusion.
- Providing guidance for staff of national authorities on how equality of opportunity can be promoted in various calls for proposals and projects and in various stages of the cycle from designing calls to selecting and monitoring projects.
- Facilitating partnership with external experts (e.g. regular working groups, ad-hoc consultations on specific issues).

It is also important that the staff of relevant Ministries includes a growing number of Roma employees, working partly on tasks linked to Roma inclusion but partly on other tasks. Recruitment of senior Roma employees needs pro-active steps from the employers, which can be assisted also by the equality policy unit. Setting up and operating the equality policy unit and its trainings can be financed by ESF.

8.4.7 POLICY GOAL 7: STRENGTHEN MONITORING AND EVALUATION OF SOCIAL INCLUSION PROGRAMS

Monitoring and evaluation (M&E) is critical for results on Roma inclusion. Adequate attention to its design and implementation are essential for adequate performance measurement of inclusion interventions. This in turn will help enhance transparency and accountability of service providers. Results-based M&E can ensure that stakeholders and partners provide

continuous feedback on interventions for adjustments and that lessons of what works best are captured in time and disseminated to all. Results-based M&E is also the cornerstone of demonstrating results of inclusion programs and maintaining a domestic as well as international (EU) support base for these. The Romanian National Reform Programme (NRP) 2011-2013 also highlights the importance of monitoring and evaluation. It leaves the institutions responsible for implementing the NRP measures to establish their own M&E measures. At EU level, the April 2011 EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies[322] calls upon EU member states to include strong monitoring and evaluation components. This section will discuss some concrete M&E tools to strengthen the outcomes of Roma inclusion efforts. This list is not an exhaustive list of all M&E tools, but a selection of tools already being considered by the Romanian government and being promoted at EU level.

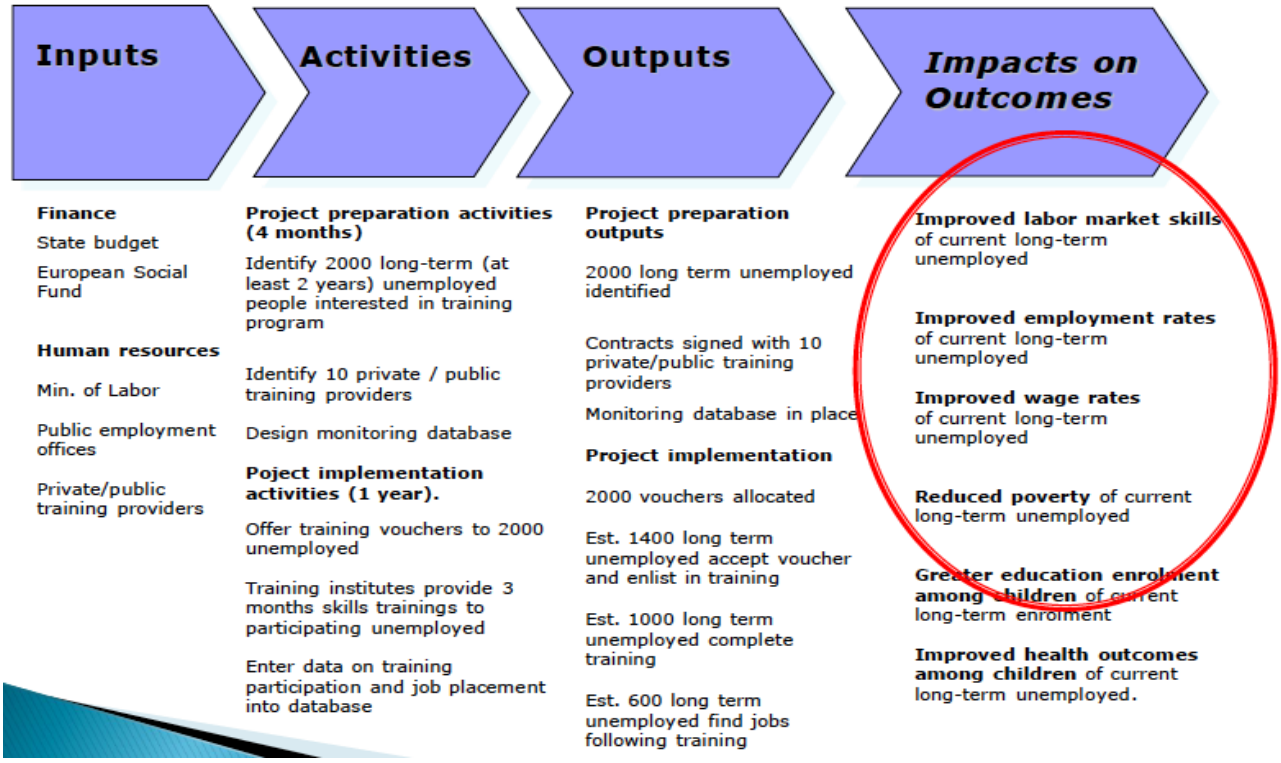
POLICY MEASURE 7A: ENSURE THE NRIS HAS A CLEAR RESULTS FRAMEWORKS IN PLACE.

The National Roma Inclusion Strategy (NRIS) needs a clear results chain. The results chain would consist of the overall goal, followed by a set of clear outcomes that need to be met to meet that overall goal. Each of these outcomes should in turn be translated into outputs that need to be delivered to realise each of the objectives. And for each of the outputs, the activities for delivering these outputs should be spelled out. Matrices can be used to show the connections that exist between the list of Roma inclusion objectives and Roma inclusion measures, between the list of measures/ programs and a list of budget categories, and between the list of objectives in the NRIS and the objectives of sectoral strategies and plans.

Once this is done, a **results framework can be put together for communication and planning purposes,** Fig 8.3. Provides concrete example of a results framework for a labor market activation program.

[322] COM(2011) 173 Final: *An EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020.* http://ec.europa.eu/justice/policies/discrimination/docs/com_2011_173_en.pdf

Figure 8.3: Example of a Results Framework



Once a results frame is developed, indicators should be attached to each of the outputs and outcomes. Data sources should be identified for each of these indicators. Outcome data are typically collected through surveys while output data are normally compiled through administrative systems. This will enable the collection of baseline data to describe the situation before the intervention and systematic reporting with qualitative and quantitative information on the progress towards outcomes. Rather than focusing on reporting of inputs, this enables a stronger focus on change that is generated by the intervention, including perceptions of change by beneficiaries.

Result frames should be linked to a clear monitoring plan that includes indicators and data sources and spells out the institutional responsibilities regarding data collection, data analysis, reporting and use for decision-making.

POLICY MEASURE 7B: DESIGN AND IMPLEMENT AN NRIS MONITORING SYSTEM INCLUDING THE ASSIGNMENT OF INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES

The design process of the NRIS monitoring system should ensure that stakeholder buy-in is obtained. To achieve that, the design process could include: (1) a map of existing monitoring arrangements that identifies the main stakeholders and analyses strengths and weaknesses; (2) a clear statement of political commitment to effective NRIS monitoring; (3) champions who are

able to advocate the value of a shared NRIS monitoring system across the government administration; and (4) a structure for consultation and facilitation to assist NRIS stakeholders in articulating their needs and expectations.

The following institutional design could be considered provided its implementation is enforced and overseen by a political champion of Roma Inclusion: (a) a high level steering committee – this could be similar to the Inter-ministerial Working Group as proposed in the NRIS 2012-2020- to provide political support and oversight and supply a formal link to the cabinet, e.g. for setting priorities and approving annual NRIS progress reports; (b) a unit responsible for coordination throughout the system. This unit could be housed at the NAR and act as the secretariat for the inter-ministerial working group; it could compile data and draft progress reports; (c) an interagency committee or working group that facilitates interagency cooperation and dialogue. This could be similar to the Central Department for Monitoring and Assessment as proposed in the NRIS 2012-2020. It could be responsible for defining indicator sets and monitoring priorities, for the production and delivery of sectoral data, and for preparing reports and advising policy makers. Sector ministries could nominate a contact person for NRIS monitoring. This could be a person or a dedicated M&E or statistical unit. Representatives could include those from civil society; responsible for the national institute of statistics (NIS) is a key actor in the system as it is an important data producer; it may also be responsible for setting overall standards, developing information technology platforms and compiling data from sector ministries.

POLICY MEASURE 7C: STRENGTHEN THE DEMAND SIDE OF NRIS MONITORING DATA SPELLING OUT HOW THE DATA WILL BE USED IN PERFORMANCE ASSESSMENTS OF NRIS MEASURES AND THE BUDGET PROCESS

Ideally the NRIS monitoring system spells out who will use the monitoring information and for what purpose. It could promote an evidence-based dialogue between the government, civil society, the EC and other donors on the NRIS policies and programs and their impact on Roma poverty and exclusion. Possible entry points for the NRIS monitoring information to be used for decision-making could be mapped. These could include: linking the NRIS monitoring information to the budget process whereby information on the performance of NRIS measures/ program components is available when annual budget discussions are taken. At the very least NRIS monitoring could be made available to CSOs, the media and the wider public in order to strengthen the evidence base of the public debate on the performance of NRIS policies and programs and how to make these more successful. Capacity strengthening of the monitoring unit in the analysis and dissemination of NRIS monitoring data would be very important.

POLICY MEASURE 7D: INCLUDE A BOOSTER SAMPLE FROM THE POOREST COMMUNITIES IN THE COUNTRY TO COLLECT OUTCOME DATA FROM A MUCH LARGER PART OF MARGINALISED POPULATION

Romanian household surveys could include a booster sample from the poorest communities in the country, to collect data from a much larger part of marginalised population groups. In addition to data on expenditure and incomes, employment, education, housing, health, finance,

discrimination, etc., information on ethnicity could also be collected but the reliability of these data could be strengthened through third party identification or the use of Roma enumerators. This is particularly important for measuring progress in anti-discrimination. Such a booster sample would enable better tracking of progress in social outcomes for Roma and non-Roma communities, and enable a much deeper analysis of determinants of poverty. This could be done for the EU-SILC, Household Budget Survey (HBS), and Labor Market Survey (LFS). The new poverty map for Romania developed by the World Bank can be used as the sampling frame from which to draw these extra households. The government can allocate EU structural funds to implement this sampling booster. These questionnaires can also be used to add questions on particular social inclusion policy issues and/or important indicators related to subjective well-being.

POLICY MEASURE 7E: GIVE ROMA COMMUNITIES AND NGOS WORKING IN THE FIELD A STRONGER ROLE IN MONITORING AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

The best monitoring is often done by communities themselves. Community-based monitoring is both a form of public supervision of project implementation, and an efficient way to mobilize the community. Communities often know best what is happening to households in their areas. They could be actively engaged in monitoring progresss in their own communities, using quantitative and qualitative data. Community members can identify mistakes, make suggestions for improvement, and provide feedback to the project coordinators. This can help increase the efficiency and effectiveness of investments and other measures. At the same time, people will be better informed and able to exercise their rights as citizens.

POLICY MEASURE 7F. CREATE AN ONLINE PLATFORM FOR CITIZEN FEEDBACK

The Romanian government or NGOs could consider building an inexpensive online platform that enables Roma and other citizens to provide feedback on NRIS policies and programs including the service quality that they encounter. This will provide them with the opportunity to send real-time feedback e.g. by SMS messaging. These platforms can be combined with online maps of interventions and projects that show their location and perhaps funding flows, so that comments on quality of these interventions can be directly put into context. There is growing global evidence that this form of electronic feedback can enhance transparency and strengthen accountability of service providers. This platform can also highlight good practices and promote learning. In order to enable people without access to computers or internet to provide feedback, the platform could be complemented by a telephone-based interface.

POLICY MEASURE 7G. UNDERTAKE SELECTED RIGOROUS IMPACT EVALUATIONS TO LEARN WHICH PROGRAMS ARE SUCCESSFUL AND COST-EFFECTIVE

The different chapters on education, employment, housing, etc. in the report provide policy recommendations that can benefit from rigorous evaluations. Governments and academics

around the world are increasingly using rigorous impact evaluations to pilot programs and measure their effectiveness. Impact valuations can:

- Help provide answers to what measures work best for addressing some of the most difficult challenges;
- By demonstrating what works, they can build public support for proven programs;
- Encourage program designers, including governments and NGOs, to focus more on program results (outputs and impact);
- Help involve academic researchers and focus energies on acute social issues.

At EU level, impact evaluations are promoted through the EU PROGRESS facility. The World Bank has integrated impact evaluations in many of its programs, and promotes them through, for example, the Development Impact Evaluation Initiative (www.worldbank.org/dime) and the Strategic Impact Evaluation Fund (www.worldbank.org/sief).

Prospective randomized evaluations - social policy experiments – are often considered to provide the most rigorous evidence on project impacts. In these evaluations, a subset of potential beneficiaries is randomly selected to receive the pilot program. Randomly selected recipients and non-recipients are then followed over time and outcomes – e.g. employment or education outcomes - are compared. Randomization ensures the two groups have identical characteristics at the start of the program. Any differences that subsequently arise between the two groups – for example in education or labor market outcomes – can, when assessed through the appropriate methodology, be attributed to the intervention.

In some cases, there may be different ways of implementing the same policy. For example, what is the appropriate amount for a cash transfer that seeks to encourage parents to enrol their children into preschool? Or, is job counselling as cost effective as a subsidized traineeship? In these, and many other cases, there are different policy options that can part of a social policy experiment to assess their effectiveness. In addition, use can be made on the global expertise that exists on these topics, as many such policies have already been tested, using randomized evaluations, in other countries (Box 8-2).

BOX 8-2: RIGOROUS IMPACT EVALUATIONS BY THE DANISH LABOR MARKET AUTHORITY

The Danish Labor Market Authority (LMA) has taken a very proactive approach towards building up evidence on its employment policies, including for vulnerable groups. Its strategy consists of three complementary activities: (1) collecting existing evidence from research reviews on comparable active labor market programs; (2) developing new evidence through randomized control trials of selected LMA projects; and, (3) disseminate evidence to its affiliated job centers, the Ministry of Employment, and the public at large. Information about job center output is available for everyone on the internet[323].

[323] www.ams.dk and www.jobindsats.dk

In designing and carrying out these evaluations, the LMA works closely with external evaluators – Danish academics – and a selection of its affiliated job centers. So far it has completed 4 randomized control trials, 2 evaluations are ongoing, and a new one started in August 2012 serving particularly vulnerable groups. In each evaluation, the comparison group is offered the regular package of employment services, while the treatment group receives something 'extra'. For example, the first evaluation consisted of an intervention whereby job seekers were offered bi-weekly counseling as opposed to regular counseling every three months. In an upcoming evaluation, a 'social mentoring' pilot will be evaluated.

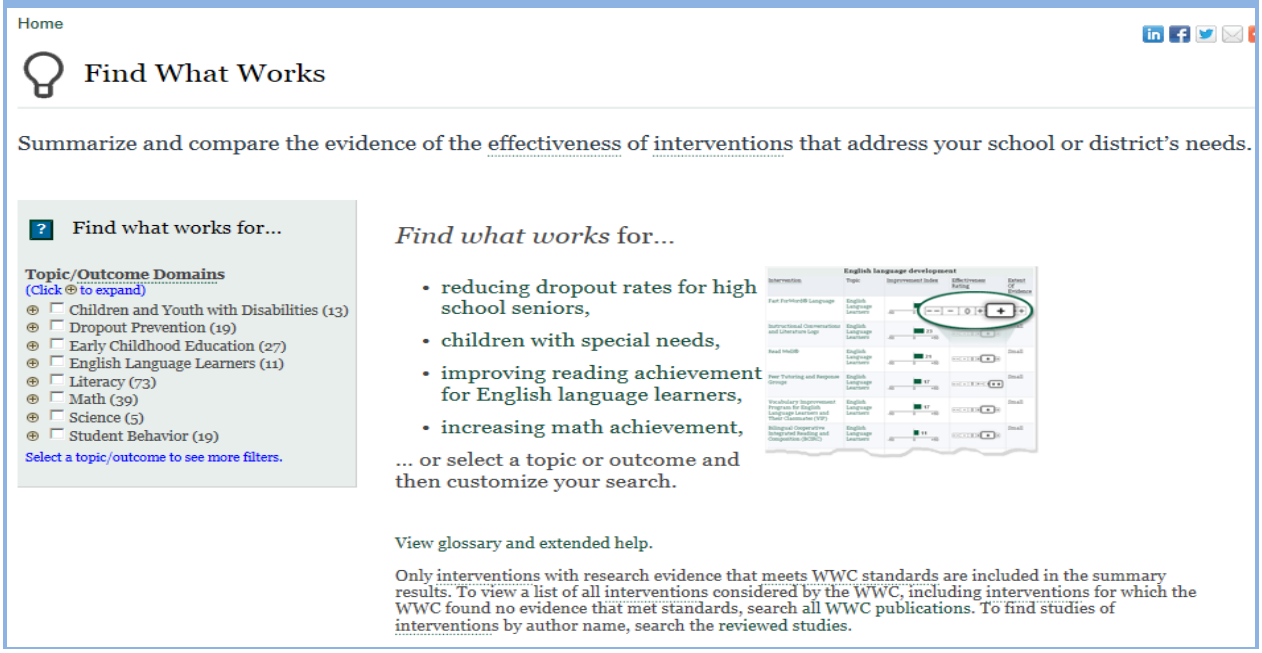
POLICY MEASURE 7H. COMPILE RIGOROUS EVIDENCE ON 'WHAT WORKS' AND MAKE IT READILY AVAILABLE.

Systematically and selectively undertaking rigorous evaluations will uncover important lessons on what works to address school participation, learning, job search, training, etc. Knowledge dissemination is equally important. The knowledge portal set up by the Danish Labor Market Authority is a good example of knowledge sharing on 'what works'. Another good example is the 'What Works Clearinghouse (WWC)", set up in 2002 by the U.S. Department of Education's Institute of Education Sciences (box below). The Romanian government can build on these experiences. Key ministries can foster knowledge portals on 'what works', in close collaboration with leading Romanian academic institutes and universities. The knowledge could also be shared at the Council of Europe's Good Practice for Roma Integaration Portal (http://goodpracticeroma.ppa.coe.int/en).

BOX 8-3: EVIDENCE FOR WHAT WORKS IN EDUCATION: THE "WHAT WORKS CLEARINGHOUSE (WWC)"

In 2002, the U.S. Department of Education's Institute of Education Sciences (IES) created the "What Works Clearinghouse (WWC)" (http://ies.ed.gov/ncee/wwc). The goal was to have one central source providing scientific evidence on the impact of different education initiatives. The WWC reviews the research on the impacts of programs, practices, and policies in education and identifies what works in education to allow educators to make evidence-based decisions. For example, an educator interested in the effectiveness of interventions addressing Dropout Prevention can get a quick overview – score card – and more detailed information from a single webpage.

Currently, it covers evidence on the impacts of programs aimed at: Children and Youth with Disabilities; Dropout Prevention; Early Childhood Education; English Language Learners; Literacy; Math; Science; Student Behavior.



8.5 IMPLEMENTATION

Summary Table of Policy Recommendations

Recommendation	Entity(ies) best placed to implement the recommendation	Impact (Critical impact; High impact; Enabling condition)	Time frame Short: < 6 months; Medium: 6-18 months; Long: >18 months	Monitoring indicator
Policy Measure 1: Clarify institutional responsibilities through more uniform legislation and clear working arrangements				
Policy Measure 1A: Issue a Framework Law that ensures the uniformity of relevant legislation and describes the competencies and responsibilities of key agencies for Roma inclusion	General Secretariat of the Government	Enabling condition	Medium	Law issued and clarifies institutional responsibilities (YES/NO)
Policy Measure 1B: Create working instruments that spell out how institutions work together on Roma inclusion and NRIS implementation.	General Secretariat of the Government	Enabling condition	Short	Working instrument drafted, consulted on and issued (YES/NO)
Policy Measure 2: Strengthen the link between NRIS strategy and budget				
Policy measure 2A Initiate a clear budget estimate for NRIS implementation	NAR, MoF. Sector ministries	High impact	Short	Budget estimate issued and adopted (YES/NO)
Policy Measure 3: Strengthen partnerships at the local level, build trust and tackle discrimination (to be considered in conjunction with the recommendations presented in the chapter on addressing discrimination)				
Policy Measure 3A: Strengthen the methodology for Roma consultations	General Secretariat of the Government and NAR, Min of Health, Min of Education	Enabling condition	Short	Regulation widely consulted and discussed (YES/NO)
Policy Measure 3B: Clarify mechanisms to secure funding of health and school mediators	Ministry of Labor, Ministry of regional Development and Public Administration, National Agency for Roma	High impact	Short	Budgetary allocation made for mediators in budget of MoH and MoE (YES/NO) Amount of budget allocated for

Recommendation	Entity(ies) best placed to implement the recommendation	Impact (Critical impact; High impact; Enabling condition)	Time frame Short: < 6 months; Medium: 6-18 months; Long: >18 months	Monitoring indicator
				mediators
Policy Measure 4: Improve targeting of marginalized communities				
Policy Measure 4A: Issue a normative act – a Law of Poor Communities –to specify the methodology for identifying marginalised communities.	Ministry of Labor, NAR, MoF	Enabling condition	medium	Law discussed and issued (YES/NO)
Policy Measure 4B: Issue specific calls for proposals for integrated projects for disadvantaged communities	Ministry of EU funds and Ministry of Labor,	High impact	long	# of calls for proposals for projects on marginalized communities issued
Policy Measure 5: Build capacities of local communities to access EU funds, and to ensure community engagement				
Policy Measure 5A: Increase the support to local communities	Ministry of EU funds, Ministry of Regional Development, Ministry of Labor	High impact	Medium	Unit established (YES/NO) # of communities assisted by the central unit # of projects developed through the assistance of the central unit
Policy Measure 5B: Allow small projects to be administered by NGO with global grants	Ministry of EU funds	Enabling condition	Short	# of small grants administered by NGOs
Policy Measure 6: Raise policy makers' awareness of principles of equality of opportunity and Roma inclusion				
Policy Measure 6A. Establish an equality policy unit within the central coordinating authority of EU funds.	Min of EU Funds	Enabling condition	Medium	Unit established and operational (YES/NO)
Policy Measure 7: Strengthen monitoring and evaluation of the NRIS measures and programs @				
Policy measure 7A. Ensure the NRIS and its measures	NAR	Enabling	Long	Result frames of key inclusion

Recommendation	Entity(ies) best placed to implement the recommendation	Impact (Critical impact; High impact; Enabling condition)	Time frame Short: < 6 months; Medium: 6-18 months; Long: >18 months	Monitoring indicator
have clear results frameworks in place.		condition		programs issued spelling out how results will be achieved (YES/NO) # (%) of inclusion programs with a results framework
Policy measure 7B. Design and implement a NRIS monitoring system including the assignment of institutional responsibilities	NAR with sector ministries and National Institute of Statistics		Medium	Clear institutional responsibilities assigned
Policy measure 7C. Strengthen the demand side of NRIS monitoring data by spelling out how the data will be used in performance assessments of NRIS programs and the budget process	MoF	High Impact	Medium	Regulation issued that spells out how NRIS monitoring data (as well as monitoring data of other programs) will be used for budget allocation.
Policy measure 7D. Include a booster sample from the poorest communities in the country to collect outcome data from a much larger part of marginalised population	National Institute of Statistics	High Impact	Medium	Sampling fame adapted (YES/NO)
Policy measure 7E. Give Roma communities and NGOs working in the field a stronger role in monitoring	NAR	Enabling condition	Long	Regulations for monitoring in OP program for marginalized communities include communities monitoring themselves (YES/NO)
Policy measure 7F. Create an online platform for	NGOs	Enabling	Medium	Online platforms active and used

Recommendation	Entity(ies) best placed to implement the recommendation	Impact (Critical impact; High impact; Enabling condition)	Time frame Short: < 6 months; Medium: 6-18 months; Long: >18 months	Monitoring indicator
citizen feedback		condition		and generating attention from decision makers (YES/NO) # of citizen feedback received
Policy measure 7GC. Undertake selected rigorous impact evaluations to learn which programs are successful and cost-effective	Min of Labor, Min of EU funds	Enabling condition	Long	Guidelines issued and selected impact evaluations designed and conducted (YES/NO) # of rigorous impact evaluations conducted
Policy Measure 7H. Compile rigorous evidence on 'what works' and make it readily available	Min of Labor, ANR	High impact	Long	Website opened where info on 'what works' is made available # of evidence collected and published

REFERENCES

Centre for Industrial Studies - Italy (2009), Leeds Metropolitan University (UK), Study „An analysis of the Added Value of European Structural Funding" requested by the European Parliament's Committee on Regional Development

CeRe (2012) "Local Public Participation in Europe – Case Studies from Romania, Poland, Slovakia and Belgium", 2012,,
Civil Society Report on the implementation of the National Strategy for the Integration of Roma, Decade of Roma Inclusion Secretariat Foundation, 2013

COM (2010) Cohesion policy: Strategic Report 2010 on the implementation of the programmes 2007-2013, COM(2010)110 final

COM (2013) Cohesion policy: Strategic report 2013 on programme implementation 2007-2013, COM (2013) 210 final

EU (2012). Social economy and Roma communities - challenges and opportunities", study published in 2012 and drafted within the project "Social economy as a development solution for Romanian Roma communities" co-financed by the European Social Fund through the Sectoral Operational Programme Human Resources Development 2007 – 2013
European Parliament (2010) Report on absorption of Structural and Cohesion Funds: lessons learnt for the future cohesion policy of the EU (2010/2305(INI)), A7-0287/2011,

EU (2012). The Commission staff working document accompanying the document National Roma Integration Strategies: a first step in the implementation of the EU Framework SWD (2012) 133, 21 May 2012

Fabrizio Barca (2009) An agenda for a reformed cohesion policy - A place-based approach to meeting European Union challenges and expectations, (April 2009), Independent Report prepared at the request of Danuta Hübner, Commissioner for Regional Policy

Institute for Policy Public Romania - IPP (2009) Study of local budgets between theory and practice for the Pro Democracy Association (APD) in the project "Efficient management through public participation"
National Rural Development Programme 2007-2013, Annual Implementation Report (A.I.R) 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012

Operational Programme Administrative Capacity Development 2007 – 2013, Annual Implementation Report (A.I.R) 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011

Regional Operational Programme 2007 – 2013, Annual Implementation Report (A.I.R) 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012

Roma Decade Inclusion Secretariat Foundation, 2013. Fundaţia Centrul de Resurse pentru Comunităţile de Romi (coordinateur), Fundaţia Soros România, Fundaţia pentru Dezvoltarea Societăţii Civile n Centrul Romilor pentru Politici de Sănătate – SASTIPEN. Report was issued by a coalition of NGOs

Report „A Formative Evaluation of Structural Instruments in Romania", made for Ministry of European Funds (former Authority for the Coordination of Structural Instruments)

Romanian Government (2009) National Strategic Report 2009 on the implementation of the Structural and Cohesion Funds

Romanian Government (2013) National Strategic Report 2013 on the implementation of the Structural and Cohesion Funds

Sectoral Operational Programme Human Resources Development 2007 – 2013, Annual Implementation Report (A.I.R) 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011

Sectoral Operational Programme Increase of Economic Competitiveness 2007 – 2013, Annual Implementation Report (A.I.R) 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010

Sectoral Operational Programme Environment 2007-2013, Annual Implementation Report (A.I.R) 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011

Soros Foundation Romania (2012), "Roma Inclusion in Romania: Policies, Institutions and Examples", 2012

Soros Foundation Romania (2010), "Local authorities face to face with European funds", 2010