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OIRPOSDRU NORD-VEST



Centrul de
Resurse
pentru
Comunitățile
de Romi



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 co-financed from the Social European Fund "Investing in people!"
through the Sectoral Operational Program for Human Resources
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Summary

Introduction.....	5
I. Methodology	7
II. Analysis of the public policies with impact on the Roma population from Romania	9
II.1. Internal regulations	10
II. 2 Analysis of the national public policies.....	11
II. 3. Socio-economic problems of the Roma people	23
II. 4. The Roma on the labour market	24
II. 5. Perceptions of the institutional representatives about the employment programs for the Roma.....	27
II. 6 Conclusions	29
II. 7 Recommendations.....	31
III. Employment and unemployment. Behaviours on the labour market	33
III.1.General situation.....	33
III.2. Occupation. Professions and qualifications	36
III.3. Start in work and years of work.....	44
III.4. Satisfaction with the job	46
III. 5. Specificity of inoccupation and attitudes	49
IV. Factors determining the access to the labour market.....	55
IV.1. Education and education values	55
IV.2 Health state of the Roma population	59
IV.3. Work values	60
IV.4. Standard of living.....	62
IV.5. Dwelling.....	65
IV.6. Ethnic discrimination	67
IV.7 Political representation	68
IV.8. Alternative strategies. Mobility and immigration	72
V. Employment in Roma communities. Qualitative study	80
V1. Level and profile of employment in the surveyed communities	80
V2. Types of opportunities to facilitate employment within the community	85
V3. County programs for the inclusion of the Roma people in the labour market	93
V5. Perception of BJR (County Bureau for the Roma) representatives about the programs of inclusion on the labour market.....	100
V6. Knowledge of AJOFM programs by the Roma from the surveyed communities	101
V7. Conclusions.....	103

V8. Solutions to efficientise the programs of inclusion into the labour market	104
V.9. Life stories	107
VI. Conclusions and recommendations	119
Employment of the Roma	119
Education and level of aspirations	120
Health state	120
Family pattern and solidarity networks.....	121
Dwelling	121
Migration.....	122
At the level of institutions and employers.....	122
Problems with the programs facilitating the employment of the Roma people.....	124
Recommendations	125
References	129

In a state of the legal right, the principle must function, according to which all citizens, the Roma included, must benefit of the same rights, LEGALLY and EQUALLY

Introduction

Radu Lăcătuș,
project manager

The project „L@EGAL 2 – European investment for the future of the Roma from Romania”, POSDRU/70/6.2./S/30873 is an initiative of the Foundation Centre of Resources for the Roma Communities (CRCR) in partnership with the Association Centre for Resources and Formation in Social Professions (CRFPS) “PRO VOCAȚIE” and the Soros Foundation Romania. The project runs between September 2009 to August 2011 and is cofinanced from the European Social Fund, “Invest in people”, through the Sectoral Operational Program, Human Resources Development 2007-2013.

The purpose of the project is to support the social inclusion of the Roma population from Romania by consolidating the formal system of representation of the Roma communities at the level of the local public administrations.

Within the project, the Foundation Centre of Resources for the Roma Communities (Main partner) and the Centre for Resources and Formation in Social Professions (CRFPS) “PRO VOCAȚIE” run training courses and courses for the evaluation of the professional competencies for 250 local Roma experts.

The Soros Foundation Romania coordinated the accomplishment of a sociological research at national level, which aimed to identify the factors which influence (positively and negatively) the employment level in the Roma population from Romania. The analysis included the following factors: educational level and the level of professional formation; discrimination; work culture; occupational status of the origin family; immigration; education culture; health state; dwelling conditions; type of community (context of the ethnic group culture); economic and financial context; distance from the opportunities of employment/occupation; distance from the access to education; distance from the access to professional formation; public policies of employment and social inclusion for the Roma and the institutional capacity to implement them.

The research provides answers and documented support for the endeavours to achieve the social inclusion of the Roma and helps finding solutions for the employment of the Roma population from Romania. The project aimed to identify the real problems confronting the Roma communities and the operation of the system of public institutions implementing the public policies of employment. The analysis of the two areas (problems of the Roma and system of the public institutions) provides guidelines for the improvement of the public

employment system at the local, county and national level, by adapting it to the necessities and specificity of the Roma communities.

The research comes in support to the fundamentation of the public employment policies of the Roma population from Romania by evaluating the employment programs run so far by the public institutions implementing the public employment policies.

According to governmental documents, such as HG 870/2006 concerning the approval of the “Strategy for the improvement of the system of public policies development, coordination and planning at the level of the central public administration”, the production of documents on public policies presumes the execution of ex-ante evaluations which will act as points of reference for the quantity and quality of the changes produced by the implementation of the public policies.

The national survey of the employment problems affecting the Roma communities and the recommendations developed on the basis of the existing reality, prepare and provide the grounds for public policies decisions regarding the Roma communities. The research outputs will be disseminated ant the national and European level.

I. Methodology

The general objective of the study was to make a diagnosis of the factors which influence the employment rate of the Roma population in Romania. Consequently, we analysed several aspects that might explain the specificity of Roma participation on the labour market, both at the individual level (education and professional formation, professional values and aspirations, family pattern, dwelling conditions, mobility and the immigration strategies, work culture, occupational status of the family of origin, health state) and at the level of the authorities or employers (public policies of employment and inclusion for the Roma, institutional capacity to implement these public policies, discrimination and representation of the Roma in the politics).

The research had three distinct components: analysis of public policies, quantitative research and qualitative research.

The analysis of public policies included the analysis of the main regulations impacting on the situation of the Roma, adopted at the international level, including by the European Union, as well as the national framework of sectoral public policies in the fields of employment, health, education and dwelling. The analysis of the national public policies monitored, on the one hand, the general framework of public policies, and on the other hand, the analysis of the sectoral public policies for employment, health, education and dwelling.

The quantitative research used a stratified, two-stage, probabilistic sample which was designed using the principles of the research project Barometer of Roma inclusion. The sample amounted to 1537 self-identified Roma persons, with the age over 15. The sample had $\pm 2.5\%$ error of sampling for an interval of trust of $\pm 95\%$.

The questionnaire approached several thematic sections, it took some 50-60 minutes to go through and it was applied by face-to-face interviews. The questionnaire included about 10% open questions. The Questionnaires included 501 variables grouped under 13 thematic sections:

1. ethnic affiliation
2. work – values
3. occupations
4. reintegration on the labour market
5. participation in the labour market
6. income-generating traditional activities
7. education
8. dwelling and standard of living
9. ethnic discrimination / perception of discrimination
10. health state
11. political representation of the Roma
12. immigration
13. community / ethnic

The collection of qualitative data for the community survey included in-depth interviews, focus-groups and case studies, with the purpose to analyse the occupation of the Roma people from that community, of the factors determining the rate and profile of employment, as well as to analyse the measures taken to employ the Roman workforce. The methodology included in-depth interviews at the county and local level with officialities (representatives of the County and Local Employment Agencies, the Regional Centre for the Professional Formation of the Adults, local public authorities), local and county Roma experts and leaders of the Roma communities, focus-groups with the Roma from the community and case studies, life stories of some Roma from the community.

The qualitative data were collected in July 2010 from 12 communities located in 6 counties: Cluj, Vaslui, Mureş, Teleorman, Brăila, Ilfov. The approach was qualitative, without claiming to have exhausted the typology of situations concerning Roma employment and without covering entirely the heterogeneity of the Roma community.

The case studies were conducted with Roma people who were representative for the typical situations of (non)insertion on the labour market of the Roma from that particular community. The case studies were conducted on the basis of an in-depth interview, by visit at the residence of the respondent and by observing the life conditions of the respondent.

II. Analysis of the public policies with impact on the Roma population from Romania

The Roma problem raises the general interest and there are regulations impacting on this ethnic group, which are adopted at the international level, within the European Union (EU) and at the national level.

The chapter includes: the analysis of the main regulations, the analysis of the national framework of public policies, the impact of these measures in Romania, conclusions and recommendations. The main international and EU measures impacting on the Roma, as well as the national framework of public policies for the Roma were analysed and conclusions and recommendations were formulated.

The regulations analysed in this chapter are:

- at the international level: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the Millennium Development Goals and the Decade for Roma Inclusion,
- at the European level: the Lisbon Strategy launched in 2000 and the Europe 2020 Strategy, launched in 2010,
- at the national level: the Strategy of the Romanian Government for the Improvement of Roma Situation, the National Plan of Development (PND) 2007-2013, The national reference framework 2007-2013 (CNSR), and the Governance Program 2009-2012. We also analysed the: Joint Memorandum for Social Inclusion (JIM 2005), the national progress report: Joint Memorandum for Social Inclusion (June 2006), the National Strategic Report on Social protection and Social Inclusion 2006–2008, the National Plan of Action on Social Inclusion 2006 – 2008, the second National Strategic Report on Social protection and Social Inclusion 2008–2010, the National Plan of Action for Social Inclusion 2008–2010, the Joint Report for Social Protection and Social Inclusion 2009 and the Sectoral Operational Program – Human Resources Development (POS DRU).

The national public policies have been analysed both in terms of the general framework, and in terms of the sectoral public policies in the fields of employment, health care, education and dwelling. We also examined the provisions of the National Employment Plans (PNAO) the National Employment Strategy 2004-2010, The Short-term and the Medium-term Strategy for Professional Formation 2005-2010 and the Employment Program 2010. Other documents that were analysed: in the field of health care: the Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Public Health 2008-2010; in the field of education: the Governance program 2009-2012; in the field of dwelling: the Program of Social Dwellings Construction run by the Ministry of Regional Development and Tourism, in agreement with law 114/1996 concerning the dwellings.

II.1. Internal regulations

The right to work of each person is recognized internationally. According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations document adopted in 1948): “Any person has the right to work, to the free choice of his work, to equitable and satisfactory work conditions, and protection against unemployment”¹. According to the subsequent modifications, the UN member states are committed to „forbid and eliminate the racial discrimination under all forms”, to guarantee economic, social and cultural rights among which „the right to work, to the free choice of his work, to equitable and satisfactory work conditions, and protection against unemployment, to equal wage for equal work, to an equitable and satisfactory remuneration”² and „to take all necessary measures to eliminate the employment discrimination of women”³ Romania signed the Declaration of Human Rights in 1955.

The Millennium Declaration adopted in 2000 by 191 countries among which Romania, is the „only global agenda on development where there is top level agreement between most states of the world”⁴. The first of the **Millennium Development Goals**, reduction of the severe poverty has the goal of „full and productive employment and decent jobs for all, women and young included”.⁵

The Decade for Roma Inclusion initiated in 2003 by the World Bank and by the Institute for an Open Society, was launched at Bucharest in 2005, as strategic document for the period 2005–2015. By „Decade” the signatory governments⁶ proposed to accelerate the efforts to improve the situation of Roma by involving them in the decision-making, and by evaluating the efforts in a quantifiable manner. The areas of action are: education, dwelling, employment and health state.

Among the common initiatives in the field of employment in the EU we mention the Lisbon Strategy (adopted in 2000, for the period 2000-2010). The intermediary evaluation of the Lisbon Strategy (2005) has revealed the difficulties of accomplishing the proposed 70% employment rate by 2010 (of which women employment rate in excess of 60%). The Lisbon Strategy has been reviewed and relaunched in 2005 and it set the grounds for the Europe 2020 Strategy, launched in 2010. It mentions the Roma among the groups running high risk, for which the member states must define and implement specific measures⁷.

According to these regulations, the member states undertook to promote anti-discriminatory measures, particularly on the labour market, and to finance⁸ the necessary activities. The

1 Art. 23, (1), Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted and proclaimed by the United Nations Assembly on December 10, 1948,

2 Art. 5 of the International Convention for the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, adopted by UN General Assembly on December 21, 1965,

3 Art. 11 of the Convention for the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women, adopted by UN General Assembly on December 18, 1979.

4 <http://www.onuinfo.ro/odm/>

5 Millennium Development Goals, adopted in 2000, reviewed in 2007,

6 Founding governments: Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Czech Republic, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia and Hungary. Any other government may join in by the development and adoption of national plans of action.

7 Europe 2020 – an European strategy for a smart, sustainable and inclusive growth, European Commission communication, 2010, p. 23

8 The EQUAL Program financed through the European Social Fund (2001 – 2008) supported EU strategy for job creation and aimed to fight labour market discrimination and PROGRESS Program (2007 – 2013) which replaced the previous programs and which covers the fields of employment, social inclusion and social protection, working conditions, non-discrimination and gender equality

adopted documents⁹ were followed by an ample campaign of information and awareness rising during the Year 2007, European year of equal opportunity for all. Special attention was paid to the improvement of the Roma situation by the involvement of the relevant actors, the ONG particularly. After the organisation of the first European Summit for the Roma (2008), the bases for the European Platform of the Inclusion of Roma have been set and it consists of over 70 Roma representatives. The Platform aims to consolidate the coherence and efficiency of the national, European and international regulations. During the second meeting organised in April 2010 in Spain, the host country proposed a map corresponding to the urging of the Council of Europe towards the member states, to *“create synergies between the co-existing policies and supply in-depth information on the national policies impacting on Roma inclusion”*¹⁰. In terms of employment, the keywords for the platform are: transition from education to social insertion (professional training, individualised help, access on the market of formal work); micro-lending for the entrepreneurs and self-employed, promote the partnership in job creation; vocational training for the adults and quality of employment. Adding to these are the anti-discriminatory measures and the promotion of the actions of awareness rising in the field of education, dwelling, health and employment.¹¹

The guidance for the member states on the employment policies, as reflected by the Europe 2020 Strategy, includes the recommendation for an improved insertion on the labour market, particularly of those with a poor level of the professional skill.¹²

II. 2 Analysis of the national public policies

II. 2. a. General framework of public policies

The **Strategy of the Romanian Government for the Improvement of Roma Situation** is the main document reflecting the commitment of the Romanian authorities to solve the problems of the Roma. The strategy was adopted in 2001 and is valid for the period 2001–2010. The Strategy includes a medium-term plan of measures (2001–2004) and a general plan of measures (2006–2008). The following are included among the directions of action in economy and social security: *“increase the efficiency of the active measures aiming to include the Roma on the labour market”* and *“regulation and promotion of active measures for the beneficiaries of minimal guaranteed income, by facilitating the access to courses for professional reconversion”*.¹³ The following parties are responsible for the implementation of the Strategy: the working groups for the public policies for the Roma, the ministerial commissions for the Roma, the County Bureaus for the Roma (BJR) and the local experts for Roma problems.

9 Art. 3 (c) of Council Directive 2000 / 43/ EC from 29.06.2000 to implement the principle of equal opportunity irrespective of racial or ethnic origin and art. 4 of Council Directive 2000 / 78/ EC of 27.11.2000 to establish a general framework for equal opportunity for employment and trades

10 EU Council, par. 28, Council Conclusions adopted by the Council for Employment, Social Policy, Health and Consumption (EPSCO) on 07.06.2010 on the „progress of Roma inclusion,

11 Integrated European Platform for Roma Inclusion, Road Map (30 June 2010), p. 4

12 Guideline 7 „improve the participation of the workforce and reduction of the structural unemployment”, Proposal for Council Decision on the guidelines for employment policies in the member states, part II of the integrated lines, Europe 2020, 2010, p. 4 and 9

13 HG no. 522 / 2006 updating HG no. 430 of 25.04.2001 which approved the Strategy of the Romanian Government to Improve the Situation of the Roma (text in force as of 28.04.2006), p. 4

The general framework of public policies for the Roma population was set by the **Governance Program 2009-2012**. Chapter 25 *Policies for the national minorities*, includes as objective of principle „*improving Roma situation and continuing the policies to reduce the gaps between the Roma population and the overall society*”. In this Program of Governance (2009-2012), The Government of Romania admits that the problem of the Roma is a special area which requires an internal framework of policies and the correlation with the general directions to control poverty and social exclusion agreed by the EU. The objective can be reached by efficientizing the national strategy to improve the situation of the Roma and by redirecting it through specific programs on the following coordinates:

- *decentralization*: consolidate the local structures for strategy implementation;
- *social dialogue*: viable partnership between the structures of the public administration and the Roma communities;
- *dwelling and ownership rights*: solve the problems of the ownership rights on the land on which Roma houses are built and on the houses themselves, and implementation of rehabilitation programs for Roma dwellings by ensuring the access to utilities (electric power, tap water, sewage, methane gas and salubrity);
- *efficientise the measures aiming sectoral aspects*: access on the labour market, promotion of income-generating activities, access to health care services, reduce school drop-out, promotion of the artistic values, development of programs of civic education and crime prevention.

Some of these sectoral measures are also included in the chapters on the social policies from the Governance program (2009-2012). Chapter 5 *Education*, mentions as main directions of action: decentralisation of the pre-university education; increase school autonomy and a special funding design for the minority groups. For the school year 2010-2011, the financing available to the education units includes: the core funding composed of the standard cost per pupil / pre-school child + correction coefficients (for the *disadvantaged minority groups*, the children with special educational requirements); complementary funding from the local council, complementary funding from the County council and self-financing.

Chapter 6 *Healthcare* from the **Governance Program 2009-2012** include within the objective of public healthcare development, the “*stimulation of improving the quality of the healthcare system through Roma mediators and community nurses*”. Therefore, the national healthcare programs of the Ministry of Health will continue to include the component of development of a network of Roma medical mediators.

The correlation of the national policies with the European policies for social inclusion was done during the process of accession to the EU. The successful conclusion of the accession negotiations also meant the adoption by the Romanian state of some documents of social public policies. The European commission provided technical assistance to strengthen the institutional capacity in the social field by consultancy, expertise and exchange of experience. The European funding programs (PHARE) also had the role to support the development of the capacity of absorbing and managing the post-accession structural funds.

The policies promoting social inclusion of the Roma are included in several documents of national policies which assumed European elements:

- documents of policies regarding the social situation and the priorities of action of the Government of Romania, in agreement with the objectives of the European policies of social inclusion promoted by the European Commission by the open method of coordination:
 - The Joint Memorandum for Social Inclusion (JIM, 2005);
 - The national progress report: Joint Memorandum for Social Inclusion (2006);
 - The National Strategic Report on Social protection and Social Inclusion 2006 – 2008
 - the National Strategic Report on Social protection and Social Inclusion 2008 – 2010.

The Joint Report for Social Protection and Social 2009, is relevant within this category, document of analysis and evaluation elaborated by the European Commission and by another European Body: the Council of the national reports on the strategies for social protection and social inclusion adopted by the member states.

Among the programmatic documents concerning the absorption and management of the European funds which contain funding lines for social inclusion, we mention:

- The National Plan for Development 2007-2013 (PND);
- The national strategic reference framework 2007-2013, objective Convergence;
- The Sectoral Operational program – Human Resources Development 2007-2013.

The **Joint Memorandum for Social Inclusion (JIM)** is a document of public policies developed in 2005 by the Government of Romania and the European Commission in agreement with the provisions of the Partnership for Accession. JIM contains the analysis if the economic conditions and of the social situation in Romania, in the early 2000 years. The social problems identified for the Roma population are:

- employment
 - just a small proportion of the Roma were registered as unemployed (0.5%), many didn't state any occupation (13.2%) in 1998;
 - significantly lower employment rate compared to the national rate; only 27.5% were employed in 1998;
- poverty rates: 3 times higher than the national average in 2003
 - over 75% of the Roma children were living in households below the line of absolute poverty and more than 40% were living in extreme poverty;
- access to healthcare services
 - infant mortality was 4 times higher than the national average in the interval 1994-1999;
 - increased vulnerability: 37% of the children belong to mothers aged under 18, the trend decreasing, however, compared to 1992;
 - the quasi-majority of the 2.5 million persons not enlisted in 2003 with the family doctors are rural people and Roma people;
 - limited access for the Roma population living in rural areas and in remote localities with insufficient connections to infrastructure and public utilities, limited access to water and heating and to healthcare services;

- access to education
 - attendance: four time lower than for the global majority population; at the elementary and secondary level, the participation of the Roma pupils is 25% and 30% lower, respectively, than that of the global population, in 2002;
 - rate of repeating the school year: in the schools with preponderant number of Roma pupils, the rate of repeating the school year was 11.3% in 2002, almost 3 times higher than the similar indicator for the entire educational system.
- dwelling
 - ownership of the dwelling: 21% are not owners of their dwelling, compared to just 3% at the national level;
 - lack of ownership papers: a quarter do not have ownership papers for the land where their house is built; they are at risk of being evicted;
 - overcrowding: over 80% of Roma households are above the national average in terms of the number of persons living in a room;
 - precarious dwelling conditions: severely deficient in terms of endowment with utilities and household appliances.

Taking into consideration their social situation, JIM included as one of the key challenges for the social area of Romania for the pre-accession and post-accession period, the *support for the development and inclusion of the Roma people*. The following priorities of action have been identified for the social protection of the Roma:

- a *national program aiming to identify a solution for the Roma people with no identity documents* and to solve this problem;
- *provide the large school attendance of the Roma children in the compulsory pre-school, elementary and vocational education, and stimulation of their participation in the higher education cycles;*
- develop the capacity and motivation for the Roma families and communities to support actively the *social development of their children by integration within a modern society;*
- *stimulate employment by:*
 - improving the professional training and increasing the proportion of the active employment measures;
 - stimulate the interest and motivation to participate in the activity of the formal economy;
 - curb the discriminatory attitudes against the Roma on the labour market and increase the receptiveness of the employers to hire Roma people;
 - relaunching the crafts/professions specific to the Roma people;
 - increase the employment in activities which allow on-the-job training and qualification;
 - support the project of economic development in the Roma communities.
- Development of a *system of services of social and medical assistance*, focusing on the *access of the Roma people to primary healthcare services*, to the information on reproduction health and on the social and medical care for the mother and child;

- Development of a *system of medical mediators* as temporary solution until the connection between the system of assistance and the community is functional again;
- Support for the development of community infrastructure in the deficient areas and *support to modernize and build houses*;
- Amplify the forms of inclusion on all dimensions and in all sectors of the social life (school, job, mass-media), *support the effort of the Roma to integrate within a modern society*;
- *Strengthen the partnership* between the public institutions and the representative Roma groups;
- Implement public campaigns for awareness rising to promote a collective supportive attitude towards the Roma.

The importance of JIM results from the coordinates set for the policies for social inclusion until the end of the pre-accession and post-accession period, preparing thus the participation of Romania in its quality of member state to the open method of coordination in the field of social inclusion. The subsequent programmatic documents relate to the directions of action included in JIM.

The national progress report: Joint Memorandum for Social Inclusion, published in June 2006, contains an evaluation of the measures assumed by JIM one year after the document was signed and a few months before the accession of Romania to the EU. The section for the protection of the vulnerable groups analysed the following dictions of action:

- Consolidate the institutional capacity of the National Agency for the Roma (ANR);
 - Increase the number of the staff to 48, most of them young Roma, higher education graduates, a significant proportion being females;
 - Agreement with the World Bank (concluded in September 2005) to fund a grant of 350,000 USD for the development of the central and local authorities' capacity to implement the Program for the Social Inclusion of the Roma,
 - Finance ANR with 1 million USD for the Program for the social inclusion of the vulnerable groups;
- inter-sectoral coordination;
 - Establishment of the permanent inter-ministerial councils "Working group for the public policies for the Roma", the Consultative Council for the implementation of the Strategy to improve the situation of Roma (2001), ministerial commissions for the Roma within the ministries with attributions in implementing the Strategy. Other partnerships or memoranda of collaboration concluded by ANR with social institutions and partners;
- access to the labour market;
 - The special ANOFM programs for the Roma managed to employ 0,079 people in 2004, 10,366 people in 2005 and 4,564 in the first four months of 2006;
 - The job exchange programs for the Roma people allowed the employment of 2,57 people in 2004 and 1,126 in 2005;
 - Protocols concluded between the County Employment Agencies (AJOFM) and the BJR;

- The caravan of employment in 2005: the first edition organised between 15-19 August was attended by 14,630 Roma people, of which 5,754 women. In November-December, the total number of participants was 11,408 people, of which 4,875 women. 1,496 people of which 330 women have been employed in 2005. According to these data, 5.7% of the people who attended the Employment caravan were employed. The proportion of employed Roma women is even lower: just 3.1%.
- The caravan of employment in 2006: in the first quarter, the total number of participants was 24,156 people, of which 1,182 were hired, which means 4.9% of the participants;
- Lack of identification documents:
 - Marriage documents have been issued for 11,376 people and identity papers have been issued for 105,071 people;
- Access to education:
 - Special places for the Roma candidates at the admission examination for high school and vocational education: 1,900 places in the school year 2003/2004 and about 2,500 in the school year 2004/2005;
 - Subsidised places for the Roma candidates (422 in the university year 2003/2004, of which 67% were occupied; 399 in the university year 2004/2005);
 - Stimulate the formation of staff knowing Romani:
 - o formation of Roma educators / institutors by establishing classes / groups within the normal schools and the pedagogical colleges;
 - o courses of Romani language for the Roma and non-Roma, qualified and non-qualified teaching staff, IDD for institutors;
 - o activity of the section of Romani language and literature within the Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures of the Bucharest University;
 - Organise the study in Romani as maternal language;
 - Encourage the schools to employ trained teaching staff to teach Romani or, if they lack, employ people who graduated high school, or at least 10 grades;
 - Establish the first school teaching in Romani;
 - Development of curricula, books and auxiliary materials for Romani language and for the history and traditions of the Roma minority;
 - Employ in each school inspectorate, one Roma inspector, who to monitor the participation of the young Roma and of the Roma children to the educational activity.
- Access to healthcare services:
 - Roma medical mediators have been employed within the annual programs of public health;
 - Non-governmental organisations, such as Romani CRISS, initiated projects for the formation of the medical mediators.

The National Strategic Report on Social Protection and Social Inclusion 2006 – 2008, launched in September 2006, includes a National Plan of Action for Social Inclusion in 2006 – 2008.

Priority 3, *Improvement of the life conditions for the Roma* includes the following measures:

- Ensure the participation of the Roma children in forms of pre-school education and to the compulsory and vocational education;
- Development of programs for the formation of the social mediators among the young Roma for the local communities with a significant number of Roma inhabitants;
- Continue the national program to solve the lack of identity documents and of civil status documents;
- Stimulate the participation of the Roma women to campaigns of information and awareness rising to improve the access to public services;
- Development of economic opportunities and creation of paid jobs;
- Elaboration and development of programs of community development stressing on the dwelling policies; development of the entrepreneurial capacity of the Roma and restoration of the traditional professions demanded on the labour market
- promote campaigns of awareness rising with the view to promote the positive attitude towards the Roma;
- optimise the inter-institutional dialogue and cooperation at the central and local level, between the institutions which plan, coordinate and implement public policies for the Roma of Romania;
- support the intercultural research and education projects.

Unlike the previous programmatic documents, the Plan for 2006 – 2008 includes indicators to measure the outcomes:

- increase the rate of school attendance by the Roma children throughout all the educational cycles;
- number of Roma people employed through the employment programs implemented by ANOFM;
- increase the number of employed Roma persons, women particularly;
- increase the number of professional Roma medical mediators and formators;
- issuing identity documents for 80% of the Roma population;
- number of strategic partnerships concluded by ANR with the ministries and institutions having responsibilities for the implementation of the measures for the social inclusion of the Roma;
- number of activities, actions, projects, programs

The second **National Strategic Report on Social Protection and Social Inclusion 2008–2010** has been published in September 2008 and it is a sequel of the **National Plan of Action for Social Inclusion in 2008–2010**. Unlike the 2006 Report, whose part of evaluation has been included in the Progress Report 2006, the 2008 report also includes an analysis of the progresses obtained during the previous period, 2006 – 2008. Only part of the indicators mentioned in 2006, are still present in the 2008 report, particularly those regarding ANOFM programs. The 2007 data on the jobs taken by Roma people showed the following situation:

15,987 jobs taken by special measures; 1,187 jobs taken by the job exchange program, of 6,496 people which participated, which is a rate of 18.27% and 3,753 jobs taken by the employment caravan, of which 1,199 women; the total number of participants was 46,545 Roma people, of which 19,637 women; the employment rate through the program was 8.1% per total and 6.1% for women.

On the educational component, the report mentioned the expansion of the Roma resource used within the system, but no actual data were supplied. 250,000 Roma children were enlisted in various forms of education in the school year 2006-2007, compared to 158,128 children in the previous school year. No explanation is given for this 58% increase, but we just suppose it is either the result of the activities included in the Plan for 2006-2008, or the result of a change in the statistical methodology of the Ministry of Education, or there may have been other causes.

The **National Plan of Action for Social Inclusion in 2008–2010** maintains as primary goal “continuation of the efforts to improve the life conditions of the Roma people”. As basis for the policies in this field, a study was conducted, *„Come closer: inclusion and exclusion of the Roma in the contemporary Romanian society”*¹⁴. Most of the plan shows some of the outcomes of this study. The following priorities are stated:

- favour the access to primary healthcare services by increasing the number of Roma people enlisted with the family doctors;
- continue the programs of formation and training of the medical and school mediators;
- improve the school attendance of the Roma people, decrease illiteracy and school dropout;
- develop the national programs for employment in the formal economy by creating paid jobs and by increasing the professional abilities;
- promote anti-discriminating policies by conducting national awareness rising programs.

The **Joint Report for social protection and social inclusion 2009** is a document of analysis and evaluation of the results obtained by the member states from the assumed objectives. The report has been developed by the European Commission and by the Council of the national reports on the strategies for social protection and social inclusion adopted by the member states, using the open method of coordination. The evaluation of objective 3, *Improvement of Roma situation*, from the National Strategic Report 2006-2008 states that: “the information from the section regarding the progress make very little reference to the strategy. There are some information regarding the organisation of joint events for open jobs, but the outcomes are rather modest. The report doesn’t mention the evolutions regarding the problem of the identify documents, an important source of social exclusion for this category of people. Similar to the situation with the previous objectives, the information is not enough to evaluate the efficacy of the undertaken programs.”

The measures stipulated in the most recent document, the **National Strategic Report on Social Protection and Social Inclusion 2008 – 2010** are also analysed in the Commission

¹⁴ The report was produced by the research *Inclusion and exclusion of the Roma in the present day Romanian society*, run under 2004 Phare project *Consolidation of the institutional capacity and improvement of the perception and conditions of the Roma*, implemented by the General Secretariat of the Government

Report for 2009. Concerning objective 3, *Improvement of Roma situation* the report states that „there is some confusion between the objectives and stipulated measures.” Although the commitment to put into operation a monitoring and evaluation system for the Roma programs is seen as a positive element, the measurable targets lack, which is a weakness. Also, the situation of the Roma women is too little considered. Concerning objective 3, the authors of the report conclude that “the objectives and measures seem to be realistic and correspond to the needs, but in the absence of quantified objectives, there is a great risk to remain at the state of a mere declaration of goodwill, at a rather general level, which can not be evaluated properly”.

The **National Plan of Development 2007-2013**, launched in December 2005, is a document of strategic planning and multiannual financial programming which states the priorities of the public investments for development of the Government of Romania, in relation with the areas of intervention of the EU structural and cohesion funds, Chapter 6, *Social inclusion*, also has a presentation of the Roma population as one of the groups disadvantaged on the labour market. The report presents the main social problems, particularly the employment gender and education behaviour, citing academic studies and governmental reports, but no objectives, targets or measures are mentioned.

The **Strategic Framework of Reference 2007-2013 (CNSR)** published in 2007, has been elaborated on the basis of the priorities stated in the PND and it is an instrument for the financial programming of the framework for structural funds implementation. CNSR states the strategic directions of the Sectoral Operational Programs included in the objective of convergence, which are the directions financed through the European Social Fund and the Cohesion Fund. The social problems confronting the Roma population are presented in the section on the human capital. JIM and other programmatic documents existing at that moment are presented as policies of answer in the fields of employment, education and social inclusion.

The **Sectoral Operational Program – Human Resources Development (POS DRU)** sets the structural framework of intervention in the field of human resources through the European Social Fund. The general objective of POS DRU is the development of the human capital and increase of its competitiveness by correlating the life-long education and learning with the labour market and by ensuring more opportunities for the participation of 1,560,000 people on a modern, flexible and inclusive labour market. POS DRU is structured on the following priority axes: education and professional formation in support of economic growth and development of the knowledge-based society; connection of life-long learning to the labour market; increased adaptability of the work force and enterprises; modernization of the public employment service; promotion of the active employment measures; promotion of social inclusion and technical assistance.

The priority axis 2, 5 and particularly 6, support measures specific to the policies of social inclusion for the vulnerable groups, among which the Roma population. Axis 6, *Promotion of social inclusion*, has a budget of about 540 million euro, community contribution, plus the national contribution, which amounts to a total of 644 million euro for the period 2007-2013. These funds come in continuation of previous PHARE 2004-2006 programs. POS DRU includes a general presentation of the situation of the Roma population and of the social problems specific to it, particularly in terms of employment and Roma children education. Particular importance is bestowed on the promotion of (re)integration of the persons running the risk of social exclusion, with the view to facilitate their reinsertion and participation on

the labour market. Over 70% of the Roma population doesn't have qualification or perform activities which don't require professional formation. Unlike other programmatic documents, POS DRU has several targets subordinated to the objectives, measurable within a set time frame, as follows: 65,000 Roma participants in the qualification/requalification programs for the vulnerable groups, of which 60% obtain certification.

II. 2. b. Analysis of sectoral public policies

Policies promoting the social inclusion for the Roma people also exist at the sectoral level in the fields of employment, healthcare, education and dwelling.

Employment

The reference programmatic document in the field of employment is the **National Employment Plan (PNAO)**, but it has not been updated, the last version being for the period 2006-2008. The document made reference to the following items regarding the vulnerable persons on the labour market:

- PHARE 2003-2004 projects, running at that time, regarding the access of the vulnerable groups to education and professional formation:
- The measures for insertion on the labour market promoted by ANOFM:
- 10 programs of community development, focusing on employment actions, run through ANR.

The documents of sectoral policies whose time frame includes the year 2010, are: the **National Employment Strategy 2004-2010** and the **Short-term and medium-term strategy for professional formation 2005-2010**. Both documents rely on former governance programs (2000-2004, and 2004-2007), in which the Roma were simply mentioned as one of the disadvantaged groups. It is not clear whether these two documents remain valid under the social and economic context of the crisis.

ANOFM continued in 2009-2010 the programs stated in PNAO for insertion of the Roma people on the labour market. They are joined within Program 150, particularly for the communities with a large number of Roma. In order to implement the employment measures for the Roma population, ANOFM started the Program 150 the communities with a large number of Roma¹⁵. According to the **Employment program 2010**, a kind of report-type document which gathers the annual activities proposed by ANOFM. Program 150 includes: the employment caravan; the job-exchange for the Roma and the development of collaboration with the Roma representatives.

The target proposed by Program 150 is of 3,115 employed people, which is about 42% of the proposed total of 7,479 employed Roma people for 2010. The focus is on mediation and on the temporary occupation in the works of local development. Appendix 11 of the *Employment Program 2010* details the territorial distribution, by localities, of the employed targets. In addition to the *Employment Program 2010*, ANOFM has initiated an *Employment Program for the socially marginalised people in 2010*, whose target is the employment of 1.170 young people, countrywide.

15 Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Protection, Response to the interpellation of the Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Protection, addressed by Deputy Ioan Stan, regarding „ MMFPS strategy to control unemployment”, 2010, p. 4

Healthcare

The Strategic Plan of the Ministry of public health 2008-2010 continues the development of the network of Roma medical mediators, stipulated in JIM (2005) on the following coordinated:

- Hire Roma medical mediators (50 people / year);
- Form the community medical assistants in public health and in education for health (courses for the community medical assistants already working and courses for the newly employed ones));
- Design and produce the information materials specific to the activities of community healthcare assistance;
- Development of a system of indicators for evaluation;
- Evaluation and monitoring the project and expansion of the project while observing the map of the disadvantaged groups.

The component of budget programming contains result indicators. The number of Roma medical mediators related to 100,000 inhabitants is forecast to increase, as follows:

Table 1:
Number of Roma medical mediators to 100,000 inhabitants, according to the budget programming 2008 – 2010

Year	2007	2008	2009	2010
Number to 100,000 inhabitants	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.8

Source: *Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Public Health, 2008-2010 / Component of budget programming*, p. 13

By the decentralization of the healthcare system, the Roma medical mediators will be transferred into the subordination of the local authorities. According to the appendix of budget programming, in 2007 there were 498 active Roma medical mediators, of which 319 medical mediators with special training, covering 339 Roma communities with a total of about 167,000 Roma people. Although the evolution of the number of Roma medical mediators is forecast to increase, the target for 2009 was also of 498 jobs; no targets were presented for 2008 and 2010.

The normative papers for 2009 and 2010 covering the national healthcare programs¹⁶ (including the program of community medical assistance and actions for health, which support the operation of the system of Roma medical mediators) makes no reference, though, to the Roma social mediators. The programs for 2008, approved by HG 357/2008, specified quarterly targets expressed clearly by indicators on the number of the Roma community medical mediators that were formed and the costs of formation and employment. Within the context of the crisis, the intention to increase the number of the Roma medical mediators, in agreement with the *Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Public Health, 2008-2010*, will be pending on the situation of the available budget resources.

¹⁶ HG 367 and 493/2009, HG 261/2010 and Order of the Ministry of Health 264/2010

Education

There no sectoral document of policy for the running period, although the **Governance program 2009-2012** stipulated structural reforms and the decentralisation of the pre-university educational system. There have been strategies for decentralisation in 2005-2007, but none exists currently. The funding component from the World Bank, from the package of international financial assistance International Monetary Fund – the World Bank – EU, granted to Romania in 2009-2010, amounting to almost 20 billion euro, meant an agreement of Development Policy Loan, ratified by OUG 98/2009¹⁷ approved by Law 390/2009. This agreement stipulates the start of 2010/2011 school year with per student funding system in eight counties, accounting for at least 20% of the pre-university school population. This will put pressure on the schools with few pupils, particularly those from the rural areas. Therefore, it is forecast that the average number of pupil per classroom will increase. However, the Ministry of Education didn't publish any impact analysis on the vulnerable groups, among which the Roma children, particularly in the rural areas. The Ministry of Education continues to run social programs such as the purchase of school stationery (according to the Order of the Ministry of Education no. 3281/2010), but these are general, and don't have the Roma children as target group.

Dwelling

The **Program for the construction of social dwellings**, stipulated by Law 114/1996 on dwelling, is run by the Ministry of Regional Development and Tourism and it is addressed to the local councils. The purpose of the program is to construct social dwellings for categories of persons whose income doesn't allow them the access to ownership or renting under market conditions.

- The dwellings are assigned by the local councils following the proposals made by the social commissions which analyse the local requests for dwellings;
- The families or persons with an average monthly net income over the past 12 months, below the average national monthly net income communicated by the National Institute of Statistics (INS) in the Statistic Bulletin previous to the month in which the dwelling is assigned, have access to the social dwellings
- The nominal rent is subsidized from the local budgets, the maximal level of the rent for social dwellings being 10% of the monthly net income of the family;
- The social dwellings belong to the public domain of the administrative-territorial units and can not be sold;
- The social dwellings can be either constructed as new building, or existing buildings can be rehabilitated.

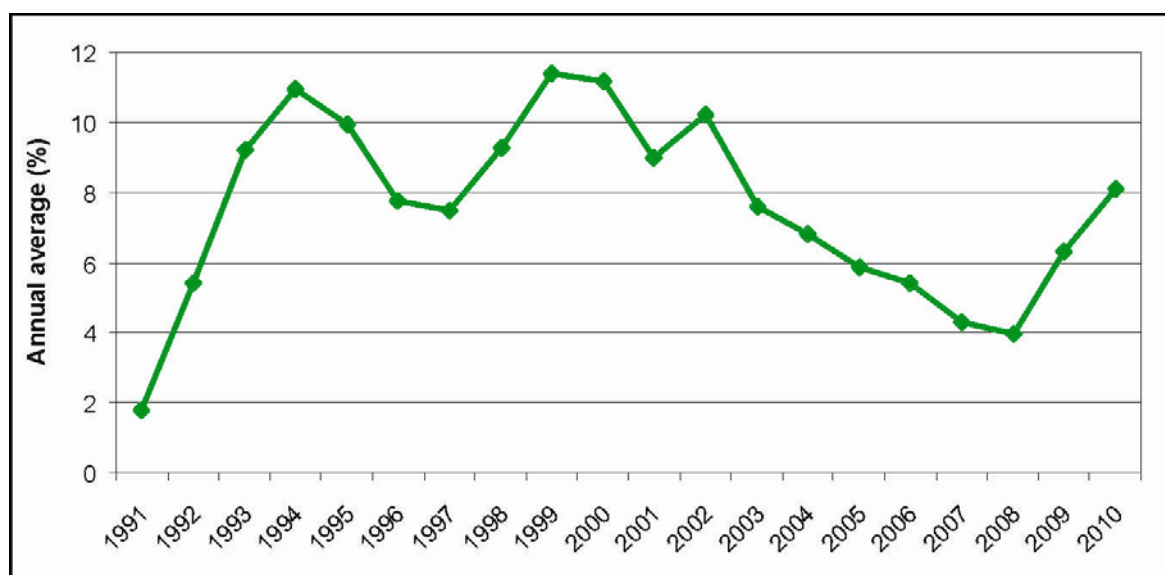
According to the Law of the State Budget for 2010, the Ministry of Regional Development and Tourism has initiated a pilot program for social dwellings for the Roma communities, with a fund of 6.5 million lei.

17 OUG 98 / 2009 for the ratification of the Loan Agreement (first development policy loan) between Romanian and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, signed at Bucharest on September 1, 2009.

II. 3. Socio-economic problems of the Roma people

Besides the difficulties of evaluating the total number of the Roma population in Europe (** OSI, 2010; ** European Parliament, 2006), this minority is also confronted with generalized problems arising from the lack of official documents of identity (birth certificate or identity card), discrimination, unemployment, lack of education, precarious health state, precarious dwelling conditions and segregation (Ionescu and Cace, 2006; Preda and Duminičă, 2003). Despite the intense European actions and research to promote the social inclusion of the Roma over the past 10-15 years and despite their acknowledgement as minority in some European countries, the Roma are still regarded through the prism of stereotypes and are discriminated (** Foundation for an Open Society, 2007), although one can speak of an improvement of their situation at the European level, in terms of the public policies that have been adopted (** European Parliament, 2006). According to ANOFM information, INS data show that the general unemployment rate has increased in Romania during the last year (Chart 1).

Chart 1:
Evolution of the unemployment rate - %



Source: ANOFM (2010), using INS data

However, according to 2002 census¹⁸ data, 41% of the declared Roma were workers qualified in agriculture, fish farming and forestry, while 31% were unskilled workers, foremen, technicians and similar, compared to 25% and 7, 8% for the Romanian and Magyars. At the same time, while the Magyars are more proportionally represented in most groups of occupations, the Roma are underrepresented, particularly among the legislators, the specialists with intellectual professions, technicians and clerks. This situation is supported both by the precarious situation of the illiteracy among the Roma, and to the low level of schooling.

18 Available at <http://www.anr.gov.ro/html/Statistici.html> or at www.insse.ro

Mariea Ionescu and Sorin Cace (2006) highlight, however, the importance of the cultural values of the Roma people and of their family values (family structure, networks of social solidarity). They also depict aspects related to the trap of dependence and to the strong inequality between the Roma women and men, as well as other conjectural situations such as the lack of ethnic patterns of success through education. The effects of this situation are observed in all the other areas of life in the Roma communities: from the type of the most frequent occupations, to the high rate of unemployment or illiteracy (25.4% compared to 1.4% in the Magyar minority or 5.7% in the Ukrainian minority), to the health state and dwelling conditions. At the same time, the low educational level of the Roma compared to the Romanians or to other ethnic minorities is one of the main obstacles to the insertion of the Roma on the labour market, next to discrimination and segregation. According to 2002 census data, 34.2% of the Roma didn't graduate any level of schooling, while 35.8% graduated the elementary education and 23.3% graduated the middle school.

Irrespective whether it is about looking for a job or even about a job, the ethnic discrimination on the labour market has the strongest impact on EU population. 38% of the people looking for a job have been discriminated during the past 12 months. On the first place of the top ten cases of in-work discrimination are the Romanians from Italy.¹⁹ Compared to the situation at the European level, the Roma from Romania have one of the lowest rates of participation on the labour market, but they have a proactive behaviour of insertion on the labour market: 30% had remunerated work in the last 5 years²⁰ and 35% of them looked for a job during the past 5 years. The labour market gender status of the Roma from Romania is as follows: 25% of the men and 12% of the women work or are self-employed; 13% of the men and 1% of the women are unemployed; 14% of the men and 71% of the women are household workers / unpaid work; 48% of the men and 17% of the women are non-active.²¹

II. 4. The Roma on the labour market²²

he Roma belong to the vulnerable groups on the labour market and ANOFM aims to reduce their unemployment. According to ANOFM activity reports:²³ the number of the Roma people included in professional programs organised by ANOFM decreased constantly over the recent years: 2,283 (in 2006²⁴), 1,613 (in 2007²⁵), 1,109 (in 2008²⁶) and 775 (in 2009²⁷). The Roma people have been constantly included in the programs of temporary employment but their number decrease constantly in time:

- 5,570 persons in 2006²⁸ representing the equivalent of 32% of the total number of persons with real difficulties of insertion on the labour market;

19 EU-MIDIS, European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey, „Main results report”, European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2009, p. 9, 10

20 Exceeded only by the Polish Roma, by 28% idem. p. 38

21 Idem p. 41

22 This part used the analyses from ANOFM Activity Reports from 2006, 2007, 2008 and 2009

23 *** ANOFM, „Activity Report for 2006”,

24 *** ANOFM, „Activity Report for 2006”,

25 *** ANOFM, „Activity Report for 2007”, p. 15

26 *** ANOFM, „Activity Report for 2008”, p. 14

27 *** ANOFM, „Activity Report for 2009”, p. 14

28 *** ANOFM, „Activity Report for 2006”,

- 4,846 persons in 2007 representing 46% of the persons with real difficulties of insertion on the labour market²⁹;
- 3,660 persons in 2008 representing the equivalent of 61% of the total number of persons with real difficulties of insertion on the labour market³⁰,
- 2,322 persons in 2009 representing 54% of the persons with real difficulties of insertion on the labour market³¹.

One of the measures taken by ANOFM which addresses directly the Roma people is the **Employment caravan for the Roma**. The program has been implemented since 2005 by ANOFM in collaboration with ANR and it consists in travels to the Roma communities, where the people are informed on their rights and duties and on the services provided by ANOFM to facilitate the insertion on the labour market. The actions are therefore of information, entry in the database and counselling.

In 2006, 38% of the participating persons have been included in the database and 4,219 persons were employed, which represent 6%, of which 2% were women. The annual, 2006 Activity Report of ANOFM, the section regarding the Employment Caravan for the Roma, doesn't give, however, a full image of what has happened with the participating Roma population. There are no reports on the number of counselled persons.

The same section shows an improvement of figures. However, some problems do persist. The relation between counselling and employment is not clear. Under the conditions in which 9,995 persons have been counselled, 17,196 persons have been included in the database and 3,753 persons have been employed, we wonder how many counselled persons have been employed and what plan is prepared for the enlisted people who were not counselled and who didn't get a job.

According to the 2008 ANOFM report, 33% of the participating persons have been included in the database, 63% of the people were counselled and 7% of them were employed, 3% being women.

According to the 2009 ANOFM Report, section Employment caravan, 27% of the participating persons have been included in the database, 68% of the people were counselled and 5% of them were employed, less than 2% being women

The number of Roma people who attended the activities around the Employment caravan was 70,971 people in 2006³², 46,545 people in 2007 including 42% women, 31,234 people in 2008 including 43% women, 19,412 people in 2009 including 41% women.

The number of persons employed as consequence of the Employment caravan for the Roma decreased constantly during the recent years, but the proportion of women varied: 4,216 people in 2006 of which 28% women, 3,753 people in 2007 of which 32% women, 2,259 people in 2008 of which 37% women, 953 people in 2009 of which 34% women.

It is interesting that 23% of the persons enlisted in the database of the *Employment caravan for the Roma in the rural area* were Roma people in 2006. The reports for the subsequent years

29 *** ANOFM, „ Activity Report for 2007”, pp. 18 - 19

30 *** ANOFM, „ Activity Report for 2008”, p. 17

31 *** ANOFM, „ Activity Report for 2009”, p. 18

32 There are no data on the number of women who attended

don't include anymore such data, so we can not evaluate the impact of this measure on the Roma population.

The number of Roma people who were employed following the job-exchange programs decreased constantly during the recent years: 1771 in 2007³³ representing 7% of the people employed due to the job-exchange program, 1044 in 2008³⁴ representing 6% of the people employed due to the job-exchange program, 113 in 2009³⁵ representing less than 1% of the people employed due to the job-exchange program. It is not clear whether these statistics refer exclusively to the number of the persons employed due to all forms of job-exchange programs, or they refer just to the Roma people. It is possible that the job-exchange for the Roma is regarded as stigmatizing, so the Roma prefer not to participate in it, or they prefer to participate in other types of job-exchange where their presence is not statistically obvious. It would also be interesting to make a separate evaluation of the job-exchange programs for the Roma, particularly the ratio of the participants to the employed, the characteristics of the employers and of the demanded professional profiles versus the professional competencies of the candidates.

According to the annual ANOFM reports, in terms of the measures to stimulate the employment funded from the budget of the social insurance for unemployment, no Roma person benefited of activities of information and counselling (2006), of activities of information and counselling to start an independent activity (2006, 2007, 2008, 2009) or to conclude a contract o apprentice (2006³⁶). No favourable crediting conditions were granted for the creation of jobs for the Roma (2006, 2007, 2008, 2009). No Roma unemployed were employed before their period of unemployment benefit expired (2006, 2007, 2008, 2009). The Roma population was not employed by the stimulation of the work force mobility (2006, 2007, 2008, 2009).

There is no evidence for the participation of the Roma population to the measures which granted subsidies to stimulate the employment of higher education graduates (2007, 2008, 2009), of the persons aged over 45 or of the unemployed who are the single supporters in monoparental families (2007, 2008, 2009), of the handicapped persons (2007, 2008, 2009) or for the participation to the program of personalized social accompaniment for the young Roma running the risk of social marginalization (2007, 2008, 2009).

In 2008, 40,891 persons belonging to the group of the people with special needs benefited of professional activities of information and counselling, but it is not clear how many of these people were Roma³⁷.

We are not excluding the hypothesis that this situation is due to the way in which the Roma population is registered and evaluated by ANOFM statistics.

It is a good thing that the 2009 ANOFM Report of activity shows that 65,468 of the enlisted persons are Roma people³⁸. The Report mentions for the first time the result of monitoring ANOFM engagements to accomplish its duties to implement the Governmental Strategy to

33 *** ANOFM, „ Activity Report for 2007”, p 19

34 *** ANOFM, „ Activity Report for 2008”, p 18

35 *** ANOFM, „ Activity Report for 2009”, p 18

36 As of 2007 these contracts are no longer mentioned in the reports, although Law no. 279 / 5 October 2005 concerning on-the-job apprentice training has not been abrogated or modified

37 *** ANOFM, „ Activity Report for 2008”, p 11

38 *** ANOFM, „ Activity Report for 2009”, p 8

improve the situation of the Roma people: ANOFM: „made efforts to identify and include in training courses as many Roma people as possible”³⁹.

ANOFM reports don't include methodological aspects of employment with the view to quantify the people running multiple social risks. For instance, it would be interesting to know how is included in the statistical reports a handicapped long-term unemployed Roma, or a post-institutionalized Roma person, single supporter in a monoparental family⁴⁰.

II. 5. Perceptions of the institutional representatives about the employment programs for the Roma

The data from this sub-chapter are a synthesis of the perceptions collected for the qualitative study through interviews with AJOFM representatives and with representatives of the Regional Centres for the Professional Formation of Adults (CRPFA) and of BJR. There is a communality of the perceptions on AJOFM programs for the Roma. First, the low efficiency of the measures for the insertion of the Roma on the labour market and the low number of Roma actually integrated in work through these programs.

There is a series of factors involved in the low rate of success of these programs, factors which have to be reevaluated by the competent authorities responsible for the employment programs for the Roma. Among the most important factors that have been mentioned by the interviewed persons are: the low motivation of the Roma already working on the informal labour market to shift to the formal market for a minimal wage of the national economy; the low educational level of the Roma population which doesn't entitle them to attend training courses; the generally low availability and interest of the Roma for these programs.

Among AJOFM programs are the Employment caravan in the rural areas and the Job-exchange, trainings courses for qualification and requalification in various professions addressing the population in general, but also special programs intended for the insertion of the Roma on the labour market: Employment caravan for the Roma and Job-exchange for the Roma.

The *Caravan* involves the travel of AJOFM representatives to rural localities in communities with the largest number of unemployed people. These caravans are intended for all the rural people, Roma included. AJOFM representatives organise meetings with the interested population, with the assistance of the town hall of each commune, offering information on the available jobs, on the qualification courses (period, conditions for enlisting) and on the offer of AJOFM programs; they also provide counselling and support for bureaucratic procedures that must be fulfilled for being employed.

The *Employment caravan for the Roma* is a similar program, directed with priority towards the communities with large numbers of Roma ethnics, and to the Roma communities living in towns. The places are selected in the basis of the official statistics on the number of Roma people and on the number of unemployed; another way is counselling with BJR representatives who announce them “where are the places with problems” (*AJOFM representative). The Caravans take place regularly, throughout the year.

39 *** ANOFM, „ Activity Report for 2009”, p 14

40 The Activity Reports of ANOFM monitor the following vulnerable groups: long-term unemployed, young people coming from institutions of social protection, people aged over 45 or unemployed persons who are the single supporter in monoparental families, Roma people; young graduates; people with disabilities etc;

The *Job-exchange for the Roma* is a program developed in partnership with the employers, in which AJOFM facilitates the encounter between employers and the people looking for a job. All Romanian citizens looking for a job can benefit of this program. As of 2007, a job-exchange for abroad jobs is also organised, through EURES program.

The *Job-exchange for the Roma* addresses only to the Roma people looking for a job. AJOFM facilitates the encounter between Roma and non-Roma employers and the Roma people looking for a job. AJOFM representatives highlighted the higher efficiency of the general job-exchange than that of the job-exchange for the Roma. The employment caravans have been designed as opportunities of direct meeting with the rural people who are not enlisted with the AJOFM, but who want to work, and as opportunities of information on the forms of support which the unemployed may use in order to get employed.

The outcomes expected by AJOFM are as follows:

- Identification of the jobless people which are not registered with AJOFM , but who want to be registered on the labour market;
- Record the people without a job and who want to be employed on the labour market;
- Information and professional counselling of the people looking for a job; dissemination of information on the specific rights and services available to the people registered with the territorial employment offices.

Another objective is the identification of the problems and obstacles confronting the rural people and the Roma people looking for a job. The analysis is done with the purpose to determine and initiate measures in response to the needs of the unemployed and to establish collaboration links between the community factors which are interested to increase the local employment rate.

The data supplied by AJOFM within the qualitative research show that the number of participants in these programs is low. There are cases in which the Roma participants in the Caravans can not be enlisted in the database either because they don't have identity documents, or because they refuse registration. Their refusal signifies the distrust in state programs and in authorities, the lack of information, or the lack of interest.

The Roma working on the informal market are not interested in employment on the formal market as long as the monthly income they get from working by the day or informally, is higher than the income from the minimal national wage corresponding to low qualification. On the other hand, in the case of a job available on the formal market, but located outside the village, therefore at distance from the community, the interest of the local people, Roma or non-Roma, decreases. The payment for unskilled work is low, many times being the equivalent of the minimal national wage. If the cost of commuting is high, the motivation decreases. Recently, the subsidies for transportation expenses have been introduced as active measure in support of the people commuting to training courses for qualification. Despite these benefits, the inclusion of the Roma in the training courses for qualification is rather low. The main problems are related to the low educational level which doesn't make them eligible for such training courses. Under these conditions, AJOFM had the possibility to include people with just 4 grades in the programs of training courses, who can graduate just specific modules of that particular profession. The second solution used by AJOFM to stimulate the attendance of these training courses is taking that course within the community, provided

there are a minimal number of participants. Despite these advantages created by AJOFM, the number of groups of Roma people formed so far is low. The duration of the training course is another demotivating factor. The head of the Roma family is often the only one supporting financially the large family by his work. Under these conditions, he has no spare time to attend the course. One of AJOFM proposals is to provide an indemnity for participation in the training course, throughout the period of the qualification, to that the unemployed persons who receive no benefits.

In consequence, the general evaluation seems to demand a rethinking of the philosophy of the programs for insertion on the labour market. The job-exchange-type or caravan-type programs need a better promotion and actual job offers adequate to the low qualification of the Roma people. The Roma caravan should provide jobs fitting their needs and low training, the Roma say. Another idea was the establishment of craftsmen associations similar to the old “*guilds*”, in which the Roma can perform their traditional professions.

The general solution identified by the Roma leaders for the training programs is the promise of jobs. The state institutions should seek together the mechanisms which may draw the employers to offer punctual jobs. For instance, they may hire a number of people among those who graduate a qualification course. The possibilities of the state to make the employers co-interested in such approaches are limited, though. Another proposal was a legislative modification to enable offering a sum of money to the participants throughout the duration of the training course; this sum would compensate the money lost by not working, money necessary to support the family.

II. 6 Conclusions

Almost 10 years after the start of the Strategy of the Government of Romania to improve the situation of the Roma and 5 years after the start of the Decade of Roma Inclusion, the results of their implementation in our country are modest. The main progresses refer to the establishment of the institutional framework, to the allocation of seats for the Roma in universities, organisation of the employment caravans for the Roma, establishment of the medical mediators and issuing identity papers for part of the Roma population.

Among the actions aiming to improve the situation of the Roma on the labour market we can mention the acknowledgement of the employment barriers on ethnic criteria. This leads automatically to the adoption of initiatives aiming to decrease the discrimination concerning the opportunities of access to programs of educational training and professional training.⁴¹ Although there are programs of subsidies to employ the jobless people, they are too little known and underfinanced probably, taking into account the budgetary constraints. The Roma population is at least as vulnerable to unemployment and there is a risk to cancel the progresses in integrating the Roma on the labour market, accomplished in 2004-2008; other types of programs are required, considering that there is no demand for labour on the labour market in times of crisis. The solutions might be subsidizing for maximum 18 months the jobs for the registered unemployed and programs of professional qualification.

41 EU-MIDIS, European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey, „Main results report”, European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2009, p. 10

The analysis of the framework of public policies at the national level yielded the following conclusions:

- *The importance of the process of accession to the EU.* The most important documents of public policies on the situation of the Roma from Romania, the Strategy of the Government of Romania to improve the situation of the Roma (adopted in 2001, reviewed in 2006) and JIM (2005, have been stipulated in the Partnership for accession from 2001. After the accession of Romania to the EU, the only programmatic documents are those which stipulate the duties of Romania as member state within the open method of coordination of the policies for social inclusion. Essentially, the support policies for the Roma are the result of negotiations during the accession process. Since the accession has passed, we wonder whether we have reached now an inertial moment, when we are doing strictly what is mandatory, namely the participation in the open method of coordination, but with no pro-active attitude at the national level;
- *The lack of a programmatic document in relation with the new socio-economic situation.* Starting from November 2008, the economy of Romania has been affected by the world economic crisis. In 2009, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) decreased by 7.1%⁴². The economic prognoses for 2010 show another year of recession⁴³. At the same time, the rate of unemployment and the absolute poverty are rising, phenomena to which the vulnerable Roma people run high risks⁴⁴. The Strategy of the Government of Romania to improve the situation of the Roma has no answer to this social context.
- *The need to increase the institutional capacity to develop and implement public policies documents;* although efforts have been done to increase the institutional level of competency in the development of programmatic documents, there is room for improvement. As the European Commission experts noticed in the *Joint Report on social protection and social inclusion 2009* (see above)⁴⁵, sometimes there is confusion between the objectives and the activities (measures). Most objectives do not have measurable targets, with a clearly stated desired level of an indicator at a specific moment. Exceptions are the clear targets assumed by POS DRU.

The main conclusions regarding the sectoral public policies for the Roma are as follows:

- **Employment:** under full blown unemployment crisis, there is no sectoral programmatic document to articulate the policies of answer for the insertion of the vulnerable groups on the labour market.
- **Healthcare:** although the Ministry of Health undertook to expand the network of Roma medical mediators, the documents which approved the national programs for public health for 2009-2010 do not include information on the increase of the existing 498 positions. By decentralisation – passing the medical mediators to the local public

42 Monthly Bulletin NBR 06 / 2010

43 Letter on intention of the Romanian Government towards the International Monetary Fund, 16 June 2010, document available at <http://www.imf.org/external/country/ROU/index.htm>, accessed on 20 July 2010

44 Institute for Quality of Life Research – Romanian Academy, *After 20 years, options for Romania*, Bucharest, 2010, document available at <http://www.iccv.ro>

45 European Commission, *Joint report on the social protection and social inclusion 2009*, available at <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=757&langId=en>

authorities, the continuation of some positions is problematic, as well as the expansion and nationwide coverage of the network. The communities with important proportions of Roma population also are poorer, therefore the financial resources to employ medical mediators are even more precarious. In many cases, even in the wealthy localities because of the shrinking budget and because of the lack of interest of the mayors for problems of the Roma, the medical mediator will disappear. They continue to exist because they are paid from the budget of the Ministry of Health. Because the activity of the medical mediators is not monitored by competent bodies (Directorate of health), if they will continue to function, employed by the town hall, their activity will probably be more that of social worker.

- Education: same as in the field of occupation, there is no sectoral framework document, although the changes within the system are structured. There are no policies to answer problems such as school dropout, particularly among the vulnerable groups, where the Roma children are counted, as well as the phenomenon of segregation in some schools. It is an open question, which will be the impact of decentralization, which puts the rural schools under risk of closure, in favour of the urban schools. Within this context, the presence of the school mediator within the communities will be affected.
- Dwelling: excepting the pilot program, the precariousness of dwelling is expected to aggravate under conditions of economic crisis.

II. 7 Recommendations

- Critical evaluation of the Strategy of the Government of Romania to improve the situation of the Roma, highlighting particularly the main reasons which failed its implementation;
- Revision of the Strategy in agreement with the European initiatives included in Europe 2020 Strategy (particularly “*Youth on the move*”, “*An Agenda for new skills and jobs*”, “*European platform against poverty*”)
- Elaboration of a plan of action afferent to the Strategy, taking into account the measurable targets launched by Europe 2020, among which reduction the rate of the school dropout among the Roma children, improve the insertion of Roma on the labour market and reduction of the number of people living in poverty;
- Strengthening the institutional capacity of ANR;
- Improve the educational level corroborated with the improvement of the health state, of the employment rate and of the dwelling conditions. The public policies should focus more on the access to education and on the professional (re)orientation in order to solve the problems of Roma employment;
- Update the collaboration agreement between ANR and ANOFM. The development of the public-private partnership is an efficient solution to the complex community problems. The basic principles for a successful partnership include voluntary cooperation, sharing the same values, norms and rules, activity coordination, a proper legal framework;

- Running a national campaign of information for the employers, to inform and sensitize them to employ Roma people;
- Adjust the legislative framework with impact on the professional insertion of the disfavoured groups in general, of the Roma in particular;
- Include a more detailed and better fundamented presentation of the problematic of the vulnerable groups, and separately of the Roma problematic, in the new PND;
- Regulation of the social enterprises status in Romania and granting specific subsidies for the professional insertion of the vulnerable groups, which would promote a proper framework for the entrepreneurial spirit;
- Impact evaluation of the programs of information and professional counselling of the pupils from the terminal years of the pre-university education: „From school to the professional life, towards a career (started in 2005);
- Impact monitoring of the Employment caravan to identify the success factors which allowed the Roma people to be employed on the labour market and to identify the main causes which prevents them getting hired. It is also necessary to analyse on-the-job quality and satisfaction of the employed people, particularly when subsidies have been granted (young graduates, people with disabilities, unemployed persons hired before the end of the period of receiving unemployment benefit, people with the age over 45, unemployed persons who are the single supporters of their family);
- Review the working manner used to collect statistic data on the Roma population, as means to provide an instrument for public policies adjustment and for the adjustment of funding towards the directions with the highest problems.

III. Employment and unemployment. Behaviours on the labour market

The concept of employment is complex and it may include any kind of productive activity: work for a wage, independent work, work as hired hand, informal work, work in the household, voluntary work and even activities outside the labour market (Christiansen 1999). The employment of Roma has been studied during the recent years primarily because of the importance of the access of the Roma population on the labour market, for its social inclusion. Having in view the specificity of our study, we delimited in our analysis between different types of activity and we were mainly interested by the formal employment, as contractual form of activity which, besides current income also provides the social security. We have thus oriented towards the study of behaviours and choices which characterize the Roma population on the labour market, monitoring the specific indicators for the employed population and for the unemployed population.

III.1. General situation

In 2010, in Romania, the main factors of employment of the overall population show a decrease of the labour market due mainly to the economic crisis. The unemployment rate⁴⁶ increased from 4.4% in 2008 to 7.8%, while the employment rate decreased from 66% to 64.6%. The occupational structure⁴⁷ by areas of activity show an important proportion of the people employed in agriculture (28%), industry (22%) and trade-tourism (13%). The subjective data (Mărginean, Precupețu (coord.)) show that during the last year the people displayed a tendency to appreciate positively their working conditions, but they evaluate poorly the odds to get a job.

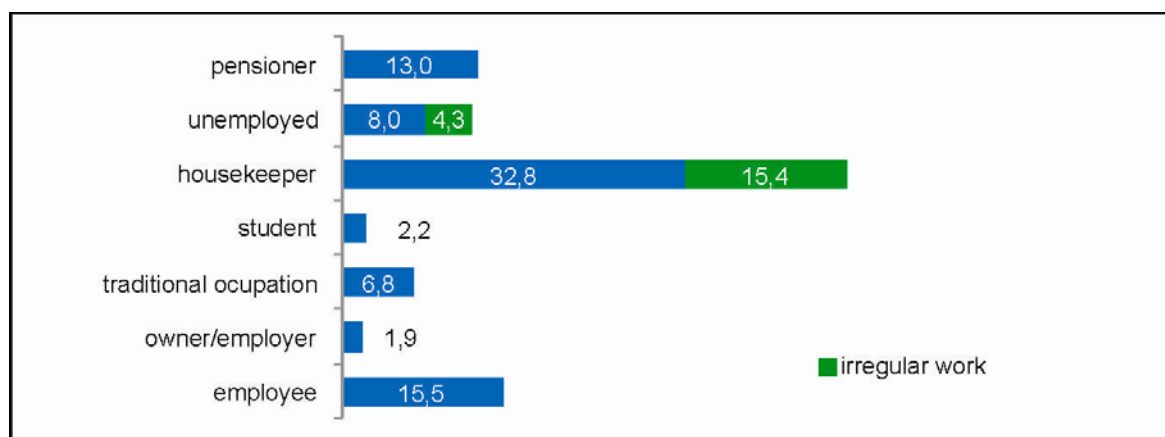
The research included two distinct sections in the questionnaire: one for the employed population and one for the unemployed population. The first section for the employed population included indicators regarding the characteristics of the place of work (area of activity, form of contract, years of work), conditions of work, as well as specific conditions for the people with traditional occupations.

The employed Roma population having stable jobs (employed or occupied in traditional professions) represents about 27% of the total sample of people of active age (16-54). 13% of the sample consisted of students, 12.3% are unemployed and 2.2% are students/school pupils. A specific element of the Roma population is the proportion of those stating that they are working in the household. We can not speak, however, of a complete lack of activity in the case of this occupation, rather of a non-formalized active component, either in the household, or in the informal economy. About 20% of the population (who initially declared that they have no occupation or that are working in the household) perform occasional economic activities.

⁴⁶ INSSE 2010

⁴⁷ 2008 data (INSSE 2010)

Chart 1
Occupational structure%



The analysis of the socio-demographic characteristics function of the occupational profiles can be synthesized as follows (Table 1):

- Overall, the status of employed is associated mostly to men. Inactivity and the activity in traditional professions is rather associated to the lack of studies, while employment is more probable after professional studies or higher education.
- Almost 2/3 of the total occupied population (63.3%) are employed persons, the balance being involved in traditional professions, entrepreneurship, or being self-employed.
- The area of residence, as well as the compact or dispersed type of the locality do not induce significant differences in the active occupational status, unlike the dimension of the locality: this is the case of the town with 30 to 100 thousands inhabitants and of the village which favour the employment of the Roma.
- The pattern of the basic family is very important. There are significant differences between occupation and the education or occupation of the parents. About 40% of the employed persons have fathers with at least middle-school education, while 76% of the employed Roma come from families where at least one of the parents works.
- The individual competencies are essential for employment: 86% of the employees know to read and write and 27.8% know how to use the internet.

Table 1
Socio-demographic and educational occupations / characteristics (%)

		Employed	Traditional occupation	School pupil/ student	House worker	Unemployed / no occupation	Pensioner	Total
Area of residence	Urban	39.7	37.1	52.9	35.0	52.4	48.5	40.2
	Rural	60.3	62.9	47.1	65.0	47.6	51.5	59.8
Gender	Male	65.8	65.7	44.1	27.3	66.1	49.0	45.0
	Female	34.2	34.3	55.9	72.7	33.9	51.0	55.0

		Employed	Traditional occupation	School pupil/ student	House worker	Unemployed / no occupation	Pensioner	Total
Level of education	Elementary school	31.6	64.8	5.9	54.0	45.5	55.0	48.7
	Middle school	37.1	28.6	55.9	33.4	29.6	28.0	32.9
	Vocational and apprentice school	14.8	1.9	5.9	6.4	11.6	11.5	8.8
	High school	12.2	4.8	26.5	5.8	12.2	5.0	8.3
	Post high school	1.3						0.2
	Higher education	3.0		5.9	0.1	0.5	0.5	0.8
	NS/NR				0.3	0.5		0.2
Occupation of the mother	Employee	49.8	15.2	41.2	34.0	37.6	43.0	37.3
	Owner	0.4	1.0		0.3		0.5	0.3
	Traditional occupation	3.4	30.5	5.9	6.0	5.3	6.0	7.1
	Inactive/no occupation	41.8	50.5	52.9	56.8	54.0	43.5	51.5
	NS/NR	4.6	3.0		3.0	3.2	7.0	1.2
Occupation of the father	Employee	76.4	30.5	64.7	58.7	63.0	65.0	61.3
	Owner	2.1	1.0	5.9	1.5	0.5	1.5	1.6
	Traditional occupation	8.4	50.5	5.9	12.9	15.9	13.5	14.9
	Inactive/no occupation	8.9	13.3	17.6	22.5	13.8	12.5	17.0
	NS/NR	4.1	4.9	5.9	4.4	4.9	7.5	2.8
Level of education of the mother	Elementary school	60.8	82.9	50.0	71.3	75.7	87.0	72.2
	Middle school	21.1	8.6	29.4	14.2	14.8	4.5	14.4
	Vocational and apprentice school	4.2	1.0	8.8	1.6	1.6	1.0	2.1
	High school	3.4		8.8	3.0	2.6		2.5
	Higher education	0.8						0.1
	NS/NR	9.7	7.6	2.9	9.8	5.2	7.5	5.6
Level of education of the father	Elementary school	51.5	71.4	23.5	62.0	69.8	79.5	63.3
	Middle school	23.6	13.3	35.3	16.4	14.3	7.5	16.4
	Vocational and apprentice school	7.2	1.9	20.6	5.1	1.6	3.0	4.8
	High school	5.9	2.9	11.8	3.9	6.9	1.5	4.4
	Post high school	0.4		2.9	0.4		0.5	0.4
	Higher education				0.3	0.5	0.5	0.3
	NS/NR	11.4	10.5	5.8	11.9	6.8	7.5	10.3
Competencies / Abilities	Knows to write	86.1	69.5	100.0	69.6	76.7	73.5	74.5
	Knows to read	86.1	69.5	100.0	69.7	77.2	75.0	74.8
	Knows to use the internet	27.8	7.6	73.5	13.0	19.0	7.0	16.5
	Has driving licence	17.3	10.5	5.9	4.3	8.5	9.5	8.7

III.2. Occupation. Professions and qualifications

We grouped the occupied population in three large categories: employees, people with traditional professions and owners/entrepreneurs. The analysis of their activity on the labour market took into consideration: the area of activity, the form of contract, the necessary professions and qualifications, the years of work.

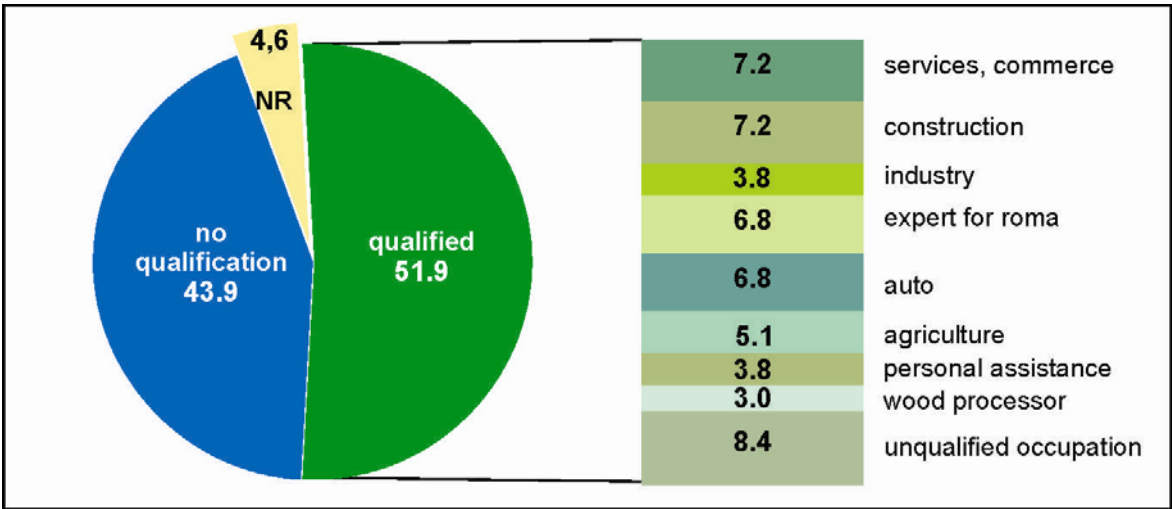
Employees

From the total number of people who said to be employed (15.4% of the sample), **43.6%** declared that they **have no qualification**. Next to the unskilled people, as shown in Chart 1, among the declared professions, there still are 8.4% people who are doing professions which require no qualification: steward, janitor, garbage worker, “unskilled worker for the public administration” or maintaining the green areas.

A short observation on the educational level shows that 73.7% have no formal qualification. Based on this information and, marginally, on the basis of the occupational status declared as professions specific to the Roma people⁴⁸ we have reconstituted the qualifications of the employed people. The professions declared function of the qualification thus reconstituted are shown in Chart 1 and Table 2. The gender and the area of residence do not induce differences in the qualification thus determined.

Table 2 shows additionally the distribution of qualification by profession. Among the unskilled people there are 9.6 who declared that they have never attended a form of education which would allow them to access a qualified profession (the apprentice school, vocational school, finished high school, post high school, higher education).

Chart 2.
Qualifications, % of the total number of employed people



Among the most often mentioned professions, are those in the field of constructions, services and trade, followed by vehicle mechanics and specialities related to the Roma population.

48 Professions such as school mediator, medical mediator, social worker, local Roma expert, can not be exercised without specific qualification, at least as training courses or formation schools; irrespective of the stated educational level, these people have been considered as being qualified.

Observed in correlation with the qualification, the professions of the employed Roma tend to differentiate as follows:

Table 2
Areas of activity and qualification

AREA	Occupation / work	
	Unskilled	Skilled
	salubrity agriculture, wood processing taking care of people	Services and trade Specialisations from constructions and industry Roma expert
	constructions vehicle-related professions	driver

We will notice from Table 3 that there are professions which the respondents declare without proving any qualification in that field: this is the case of the work in agriculture, wood processing, and most of those working in constructions. Some of the professions related to constructions and vehicles need qualification, other don't (the qualification is informal and it comes from practice or tradition).

The distribution of the paid work by branch of activity sets agriculture as the main area of activity, much over the corresponding segment of qualified people (Chart 2): 64.4% of the unskilled people declared that they work in agriculture.

Most of the people with high school education and higher education work in trade and services, education and public administration. If the agriculture is specific to the rural areas, the occupation in education, public administration and cleaning seem to belong to the urban area. If in the rural areas the agriculture is a solution for the unskilled people (91.5% of the people active in agriculture have graduated forms of education which don't ensure them formal qualifications), in the urban areas, this role goes to the services of cleaning and salubrity (96.2%). The only field of activity belonging exclusively to the people with formal qualifications is the education. According to the gender, constructions tend to be men's area, while healthcare/social work, and cleaning too, seem to be women's area.

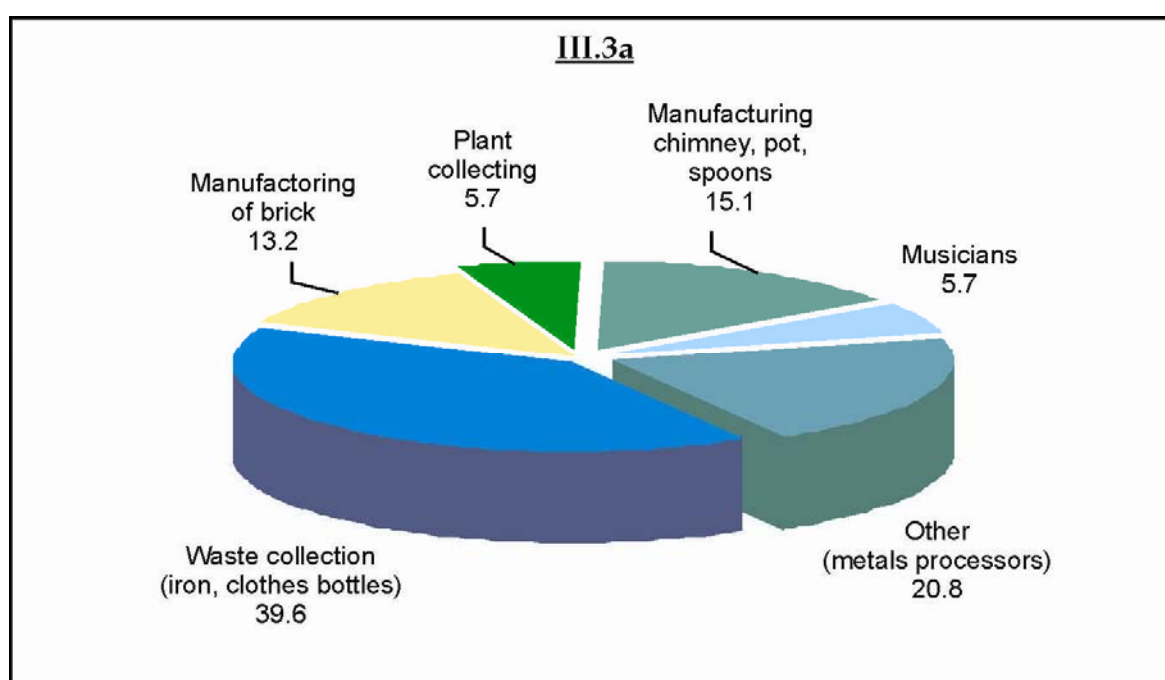
Table 3.1
Qualifications of the Roma people

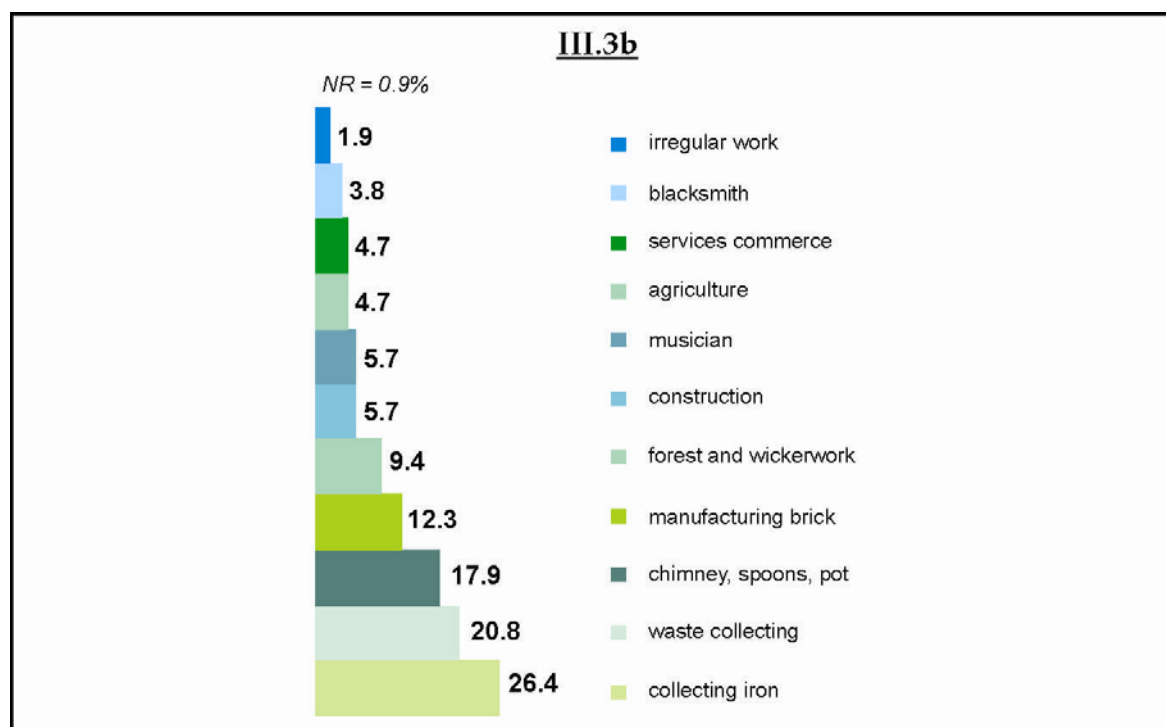
Specialisation/profession		Correlated with the studies		total
		unskilled	skilled	
Unskilled	"no skill"	94	10	104
	steward/ janitor/ buildings, sweeper	7	0	7
	Garbage worker, salubrity	3	0	3
	operator/preparer (flow line), sorter	4	1	5
	Unskilled worker/AL/green areas, loader	3	2	5
Agriculture	Agricultural worker, hired hand in agriculture	8	0	8
	Stockman/zoo, animal husbandry	3	1	4

Specialisation/profession		Correlated with the studies		total
		unskilled	skilled	
Wood	Wood processing, chainsaw operator, carpenter	7	0	7
Taking care of people	maternal assistant, taking care of handicapped people	6	1	7
	nurse, day-care of children	1	1	2
Constructions	mason, painter, constructor, worksite worker, road worker	11	6	17
Specialities industry/constructions	Iron worker, steelworker, welder, preparation varnish-dyes	0	4	4
	electrician, electro-mechanic, cables worker	3	2	5
	tinsmith, painter, tire vulcanizer	2	1	3
Auto/mechanics	auto/ agricultural mechanic, railroads worker / mechanical worker, locksmith	3	3	6
	Driver	2	4	6
Services/trade	dispatcher, mailman, technician in transportation, sales assistant, footballer	0	5	5
	barman, baker, cook, waiter	2	3	5
	shoemaker, tailor	1	2	3
	guardian, security officer	3	1	4
Expert/higher education	local expert, town hall inspector, communication-negotiation, social referent Roma people	0	4	4
	School mediator/expert, teacher	0	7	7
	medical/social mediator/assistant	0	5	5
NR		7	4	11

Traditional professions

Chart 3a, 3b
Traditional professions of the Roma population,
% of the population thus occupied

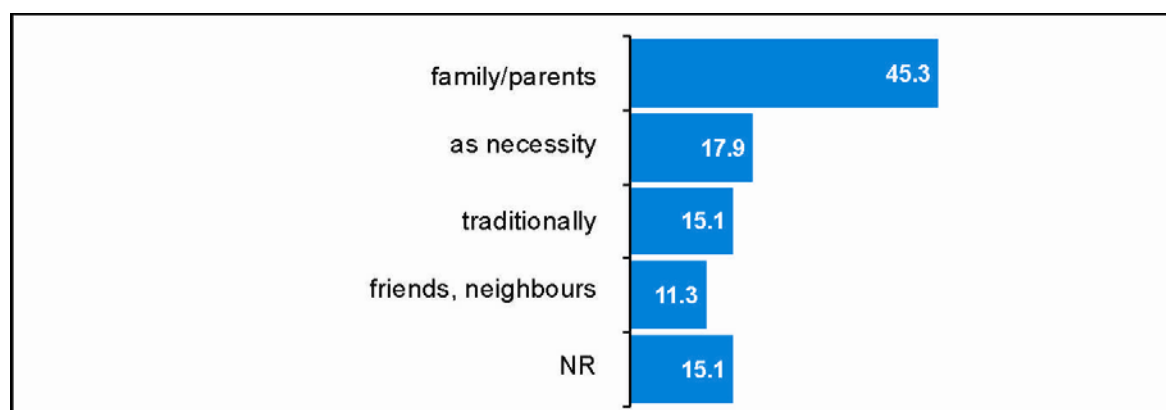




The population which declared to be occupied in traditional professions indicated activities from the fields shown in Chart 3a. The most frequent occupation (40%) is collecting wastes and reusable materials (iron, clothes, glassware, paper or “the materials which the boss buys”). The other activities which presume an occupation traditionally associated to the Roma people, brick making, iron working and fiddling, together, have a lower proportion.

Observed in detail, in Chart 3b, we note that the activity of gathering wastes is dominated by the collection (probably followed by the sale) of iron. The category “other traditional professions” consists of activities such as constructions, agriculture, ironsmith (casting, horse shoes, drain pipes), Roma tailoring and sales. The collection of plants (medicinal herbs, forest fruits, mushrooms, osiers) is completed by wickerwork (baskets, fences, other products on demand).

Chart 4.
Where did you learn this profession,
% of the total number of persons active in traditional professions



A segment of 12.3% of the traditional qualifications declared to be employed (constructions, agriculture and unskilled work⁴⁹): The traditional professions are learnt in the family, „you grow up with them”: in 60.4% of the cases, the specialisations in Roma professions perpetuated.

It is noteworthy that almost 18% of the Roma practicing traditional professions have learnt it as necessity. Observing the type of activities practiced by those who have learnt “from the life”, we notice that they are, so to say, the traditional unskilled professions, as well as professions that we may place as well in the modern space.

Spreading and potential of the traditional activities

The most often traditional professions are fiddling, peddling, craftsmanship and artisan works. These also are potential sources of income for their practitioners. This observation draws the attention more so as their presence among the traditional professions is, nevertheless, low. Possible explanations in this direction can be:

- The respondents mentioned the professions which bring the highest incomes to them; therefore, it is possible that these professions are not practiced in the most favourable context, their transformation into profitable activities requiring different conditions;
- Peddling may be mistaken for the actual trade, and this – as we will see – forms the majority of the entrepreneurial activities. The authentic peddling is a secondary activity in most cases, which shows that it is marginally profitable.

Activities related to the natural medicine or fortune telling are marginally practiced in our days in the Roma communities. The ratio between its extension within the community and its potentiality as source of income, makes the craftsmanship to appear as the most lucrative traditional activity. Craftsmanship includes any form of materials and metals processing, while artisan works include wickerwork, textile knitting and clay objects.

The category “other traditional activities” is marginal in this review of the Roma traditions, but we bring it to your attention because, as it results from Table 4, it refers to collecting scrap iron, to brick making, sofa making, working by the day (in agriculture, “at people” or in constructions) and gathering wild plants in the forest, which bring income to our respondents.

⁴⁹ In the case of the people active in services, it is predominantly the case of tailoring specific to the Roma, next to trade.

Chart 5.
Spreading and potential of the traditional activities, % total sample

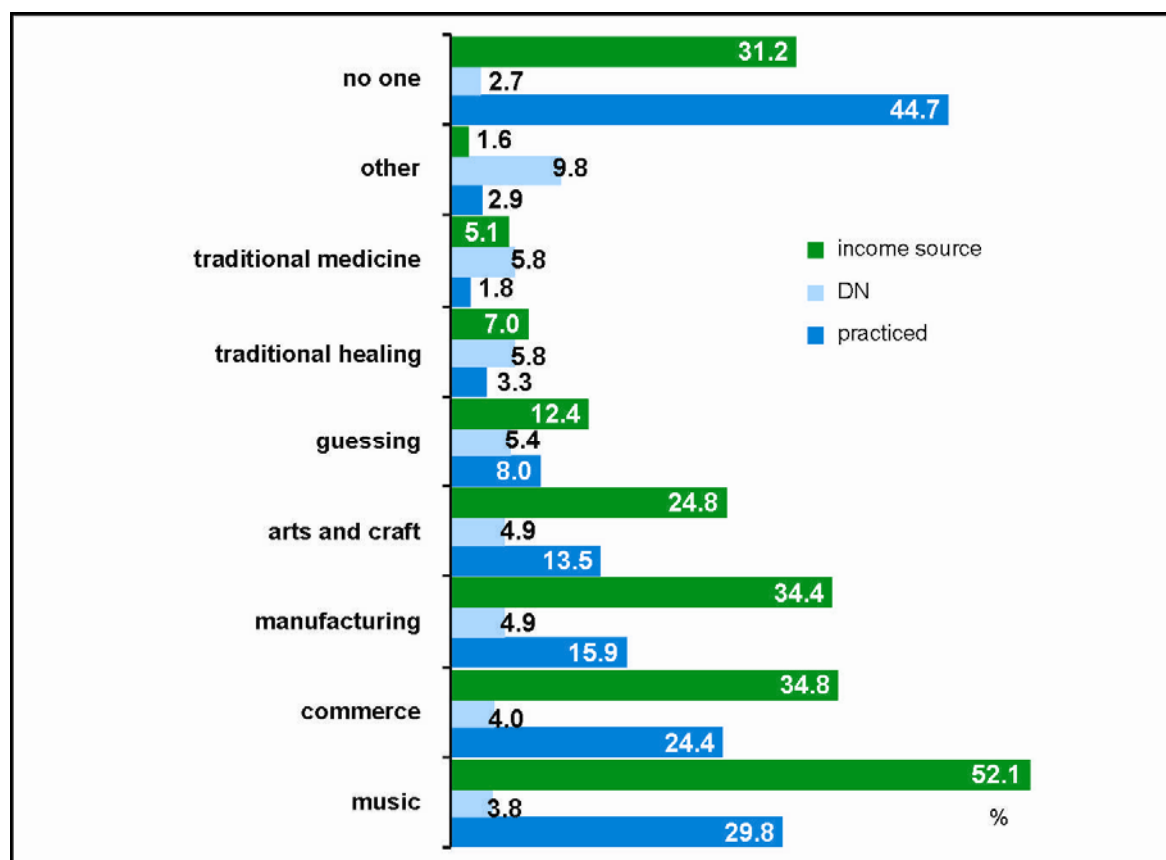


Table 4.
Other types of traditional activities, % of those who mentioned other activities

Type of activity	Practiced in the community	Source of income
Collecting iron	34.1	48.0
Making sofas	22.7	4.0
Brick making	9.1	12.0
Working by the day, for other people, in agriculture	6.8	8.0
Mason work	4.5	8.0
Collecting mushrooms	2.3	8.0
Beggary	2.3	0.0
Tailoring, Bootmaking	0.0	4.0
NR	25.0	8.0
<i>Total cases</i>	44.0	25.0

We might conclude that the traditional activities of the Roma people tend to change: from the stereotypic images related to fortune telling, curing, or ironsmith, to unskilled activities and niche activities which the predominant population doesn't practice:

- The collection of scrap iron is less traditional and more an economic opportunity;

- Seeking in the garbage for any kind of reusable materials is specific not so much to the Roma, but to the people in severe poverty, who have no other alternative and which the “need/life” taught to capitalise on any opportunity in order to survive („when the garbage trucks come, we are searching in the garbage [in the dump]”): they are not searching for food, but for anything that somebody might pay for;
- Collecting medicinal herbs, forest fruits and mushrooms is as useful, as it is lacking any hope to be valorised industrially, given the quality control conditions imposed to the licensed producers and sellers of medicinal and bio products;
- The hand-made brick still has a large market in the rural and small urban areas of Romania.

Entrepreneurial work

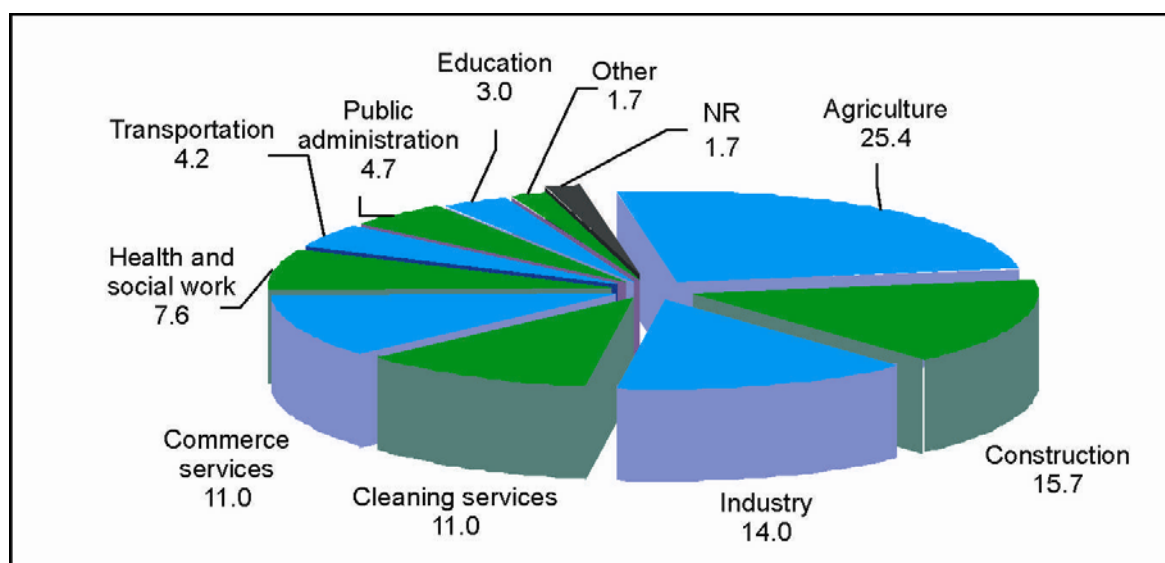
In the case of many specialisations/professions there is an alternative for the entrepreneurial activity. As we have seen, this form of occupation was an option for 1.9% of the Roma population (0.3% owners; 1.6% self-employed, from the total sample).

The limit between an individual activity and an entrepreneurial activity is quite blurred, as long as, by comparison with the declared status, when asked whether they are associated or whether they have property over a private enterprise or business, the percentage of the owners increases from 0.3% to 1.4%.

Next to them there also are 1.1% families which have among their members owners/associates to private businesses/enterprises. The option to start a business appears to 6.6% of the respondents. Predictably, this is mostly a project of the young people under 25, more tempting for those with higher education, but also for the people in the urban areas, and for the men.

The distribution of employment by branches of the economy expresses clearly the potentially accessible directions for the Roma: agriculture, constructions and industry.

Chart 6.
Branches of activity, % of the total



Almost 40% of the employed work in a private company, while nearly the same proportion work without contract. This supports the hypothesis of job vulnerability due primarily to the lack of qualification, and it also bestows an atypical character to employment because the employment without contract doesn't lead to the regular character of the activity, and therefore, of the payment.

The vulnerability of the Roma population on the labour market is reconfirmed by the contractual form of the work relations of the former employees, currently unemployed: only 44.1% had a work contract, the other working by the day (39%) or with other arrangements (16.4^), with no contractual bases.

Both the type of contract and the form of property display significant associations in correlation with the demographic-educational indicators.

- 25% and 17% of the Roma working on the basis of a contract for a limited time have vocational or at least high school education; 18.7% are from urban areas and 19.7% are women, compared to 13% for the total number of employed Roma;
- 53% of the Roma people working on the basis of a non-significant contract are unskilled workers, 57.3% come from the rural area; 49.3% are men, compared to 43.7% for the total number of employed Roma;
- The contract on a limited time is significantly associated only to the area of residence, the people living in urban areas being employed rather on the basis of a contract for a determined period (57.1% compare to 43.2%) than under other forms. They are most probably employed by public institutions (43.3% compared to 26.2%);
- In the public institution we also largely find women (39.5%) and people having at least high school education (50.0%);
- The informal work is predictable associated to employment by a private person/ family association: 92.6% of those employed for such jobs don't have work book.

Chart 7.
Type of contract, % of the total

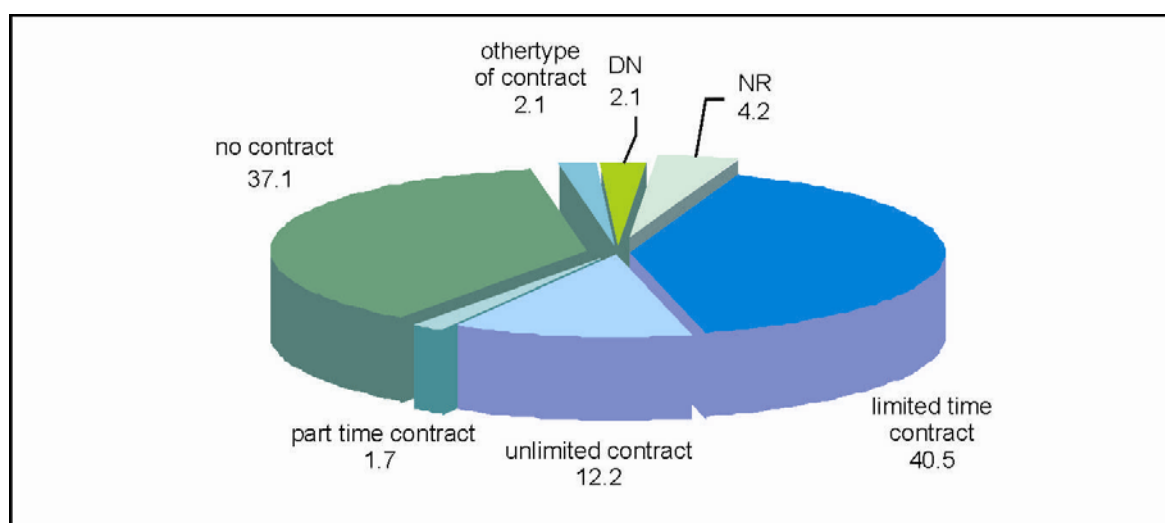
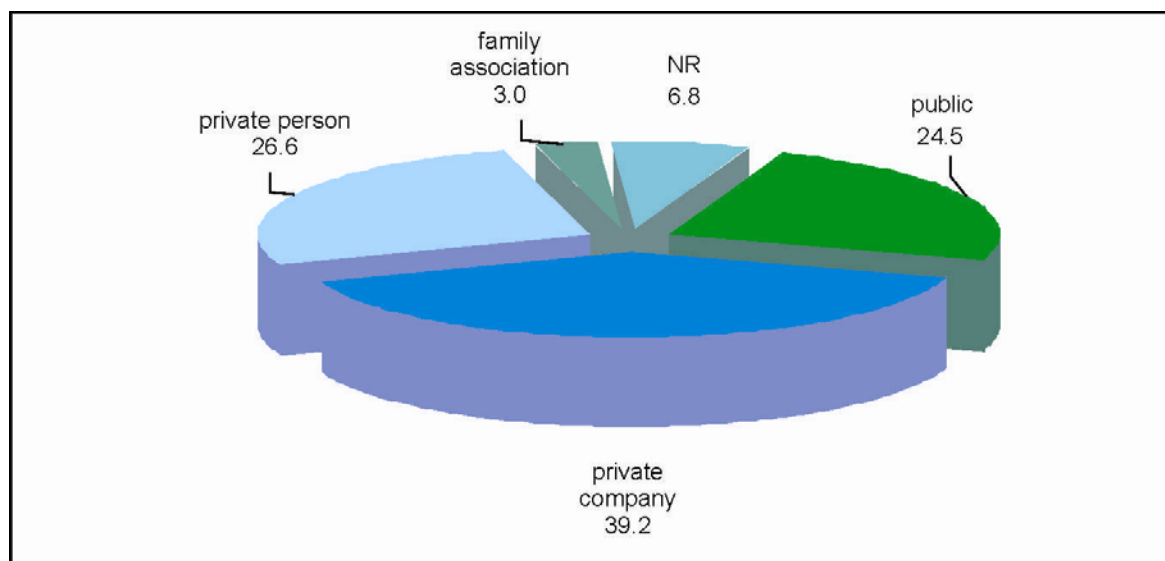


Chart 8.
Employer, form of property, % of the total



III.3. Start in work and years of work

The average age of the start in work differs significantly according with the occupational category. The median age, the limit below which half of the active people and with work experience have started their work experience, is almost one year less.

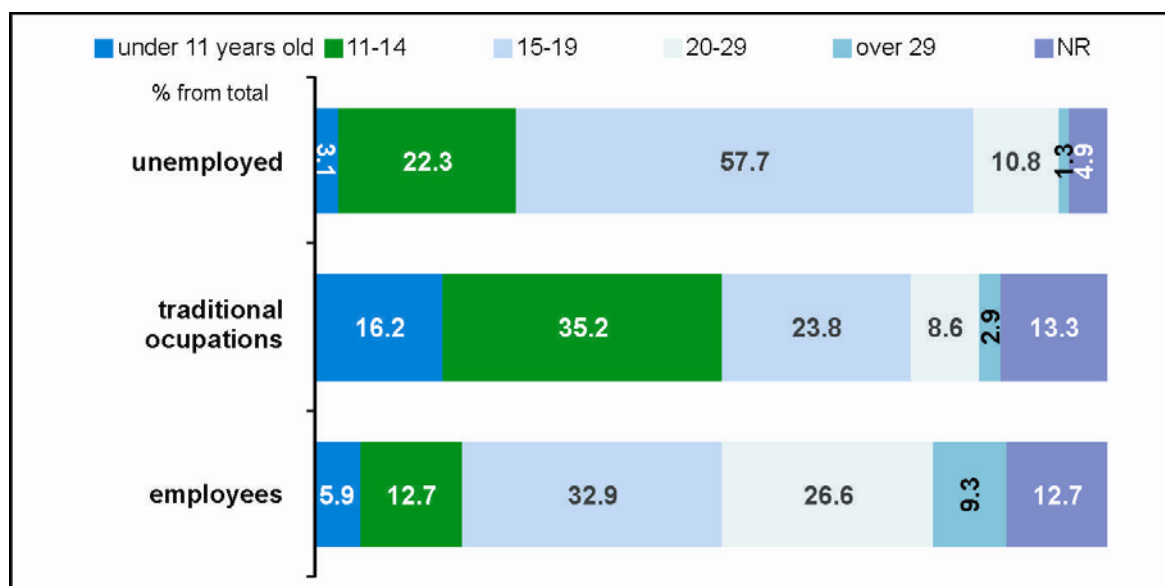
	Employed	Unemployed, but with employment experience	Traditional professions
Average age at their start in work, years	19.6	16.3	14.1
Median age at their start in work, years	18	16	13
Don't know/ Non-answer ⁵⁰ , %	12.3	4.9	14.2

The youngest ages for the start of work are similar: **4-5 years-old**, irrespective of the current occupational status. In the case of the employees or of those with a previous work experience, we do not know what kind of duties they had at such ages, so that they are perceived as work, but we may presume that they involved work by the day or occasional work. A 2001 research on the working Roma children⁵¹ showed that the work of the children under 14 are the “help” to clean and help “madams” to shop, tailoring and small trade for the girls; help to unload merchandise, helping the parents or relatives in the market, cleaning small shops or working by the day to gather fruits, for the boys. The work as hired hand in constructions starts after the age of 11, and so does the unskilled work “at the owner” in more or less legal productive units.

50 For the year of start of work/at the current place of work, or for the year since they practice the current traditional profession, the questionnaire also offered the possibility for “don’t know” answer. When calculating the average age, these answers were counted next to non-answers.

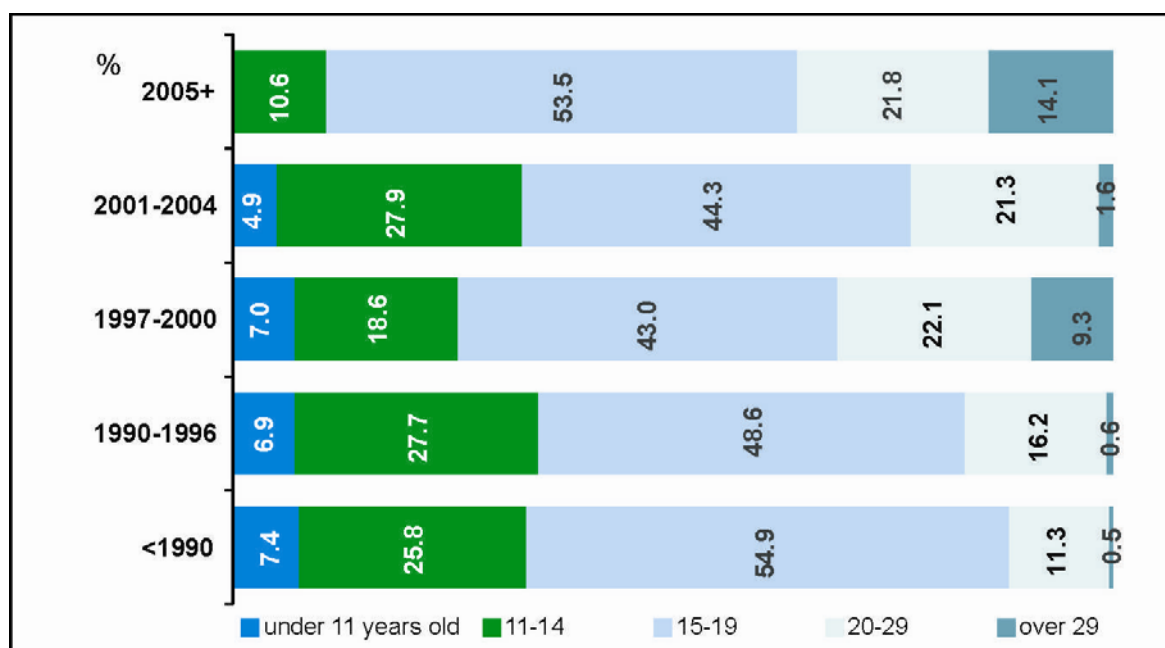
51 ECHOSOC – The working Roma children and their families, RO-Media, 2002.

Chart 9.
Age at the start in work



For the employed work, the average age of start in work is 1964, while for the traditional professions, the most remote year for start of the activity is 1946, and 1935 for the currently unemployed. About 20% of those employed before 1989 continued to keep the job until the present time. At least half of the people who started to work in each time sequence kept their job until the present time, except for the past 2 years. It appears thus the hypothesis that the difficulty of employment for the Roma people is located at the moment of entry on the labour market.

Chart 10.
Age of star in work, % of the total employed and unemployed



The data show that the work at very young ages (under 11) seems to disappear, just like the specificity of the recent years is the start in work of the people aged 20+. For the currently unemployed, the *premature start* (below 11) and the *delayed start* (29+) are rather exceptions. For the other surveyed segments, we might say that the premature start was specific (particularly in the case of the traditional professions) for the period before 1996, being subsequently replaced by the delayed start. After 1996, 46% to 58% of the interviewed people started in work at the age of 20+.

The economic growth after 2000 reverberates not only in opportunities for late start, but also in opportunities for early start: 57% of the start in traditional professions between 2001-2004 was in the segment of age 11-14 (most likely to help the family). Even though it is decreasing, the start in work during the teen ages (11-14) remains, nevertheless, at high rates.

The average daily number of working hours⁵² is 9.1, increasing for those employed by a natural person or by other forms (10.1 hours), compared to the state or private institutions. The daily work program is set by the employer in 67% of the situations, while in 20% of the situations the employee having complete or limited influence on this aspect of the life at work (11.0% complete; 9.3% within specific limits⁵³).

By comparison with the other occupational categories, for the active population, those employed work more (the daily average of those occupied in traditional professions decreases to 7 hours) and have a work history as long as that of the unemployed, but shorter than those occupied in traditional professions (14-15 years compared to about 23 years for the people practicing traditional professions). The average work history of those formerly employed in formal/modern activities (as written in their work books) decreases to 8.9 years, while for the unoccupied people it is of just 4.4 years, due to the prevalence of the forms of employment without work contract, which we already mentioned previously. Thus, 35.6% of the people with work experience report zero working years written in a work book, while 25% don't answers or can not say how long their work history is in the work book.

The average work history at the current job of the employed people is 8.3 years, compared to 15.2 years the average duration of the employment. While the total work history doesn't differ with the gender, area of residence, type of qualification or forms of occupation, the work history at the current job increases to 11.9 years for the people employed informally, and to 13.5 years in the case of the people employed by natural persons. The rural area, with an average work history of 9/3 years, is not significantly different from the urban areas (7.2 years), just like the gender or qualification don't induce significant differences in the work history at the current job. The work history written in the work book is an important indicator which shows again the social vulnerability of the Roma population.

III.4. Satisfaction with the job

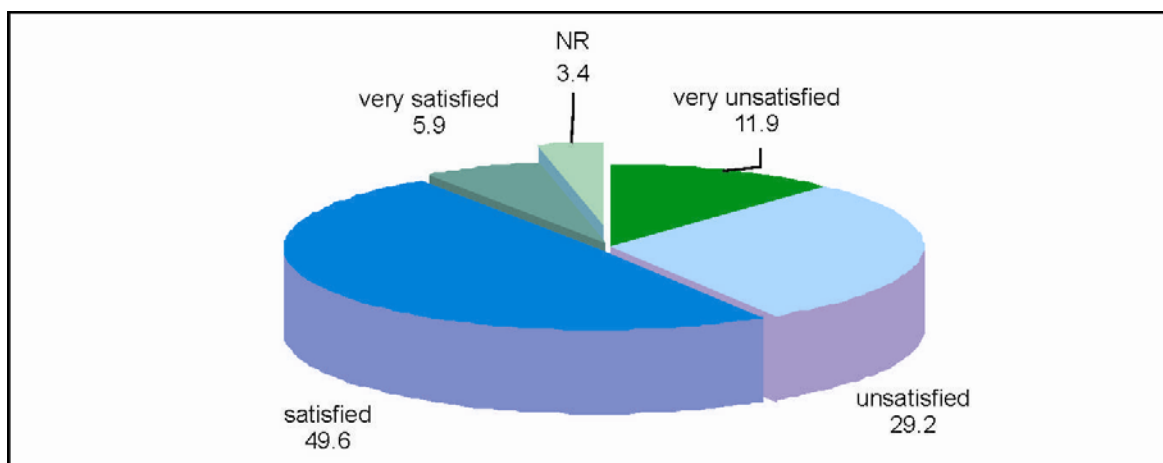
Generally, the satisfaction with the job of the employed people tends to be positive, 56% being satisfied or very satisfied. However, there also is a very high percentage of the people dissatisfied with their job.

52 The answer variants "don't know" and „non-answer" have been skipped from the analysis.

53 The difference is accounted by "don't know" and „non-answers".

Chart 11.

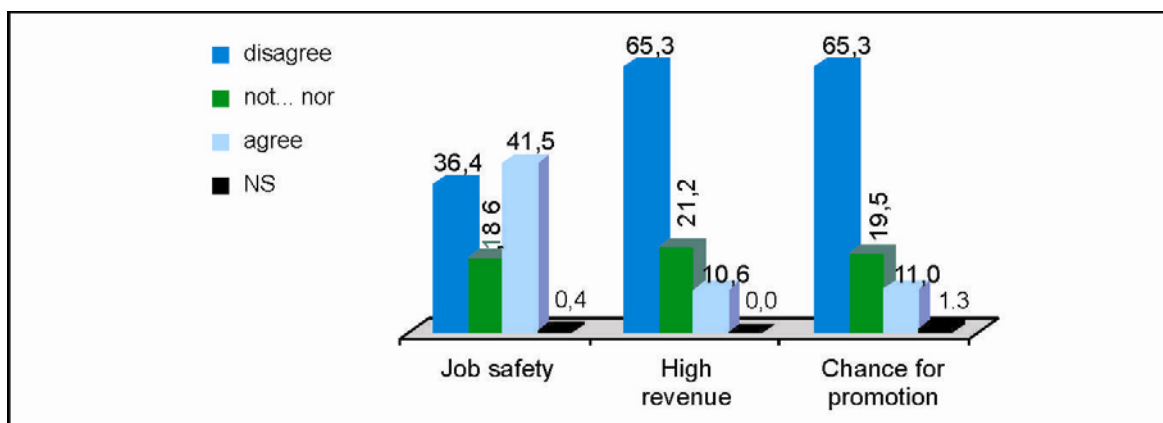
Satisfaction with the job, % of the total number of employed people



The quality of the job was measured using three questions regarding the safety, the incomes and the odds for promotion. Job safety seems to be evaluated rather negatively, unlike the income or the odds for promotion. The people employed in skilled professions most likely agree with the 3 statements, while the unskilled ones most likely disagree with them. Job safety worries significantly more the rural people, the agreement being predominantly observed in the people from small urban areas (under 100,000 inhabitants). Gender and age don't induce differences in these matters.

Chart 12.

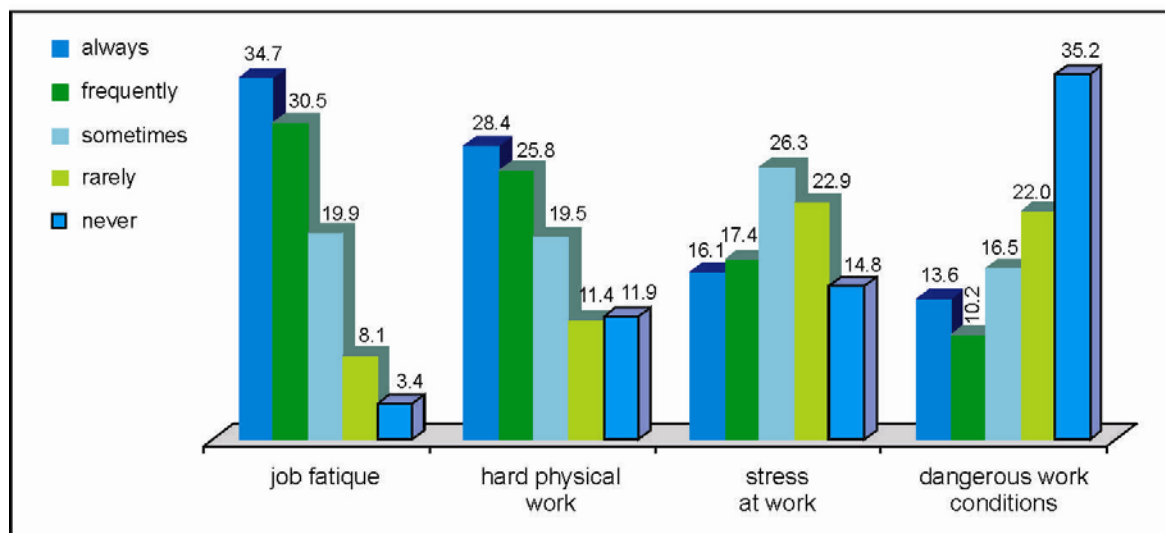
How much do you agree, % of the total number of employed people



The working conditions were evaluated by four questions regarding: the fatigue after a day's work, involvement in hard labour, stress and hazard. On-the-job activities are felt as tiresome, result of hard physical work (over 50% appreciate them as characteristic for their work).

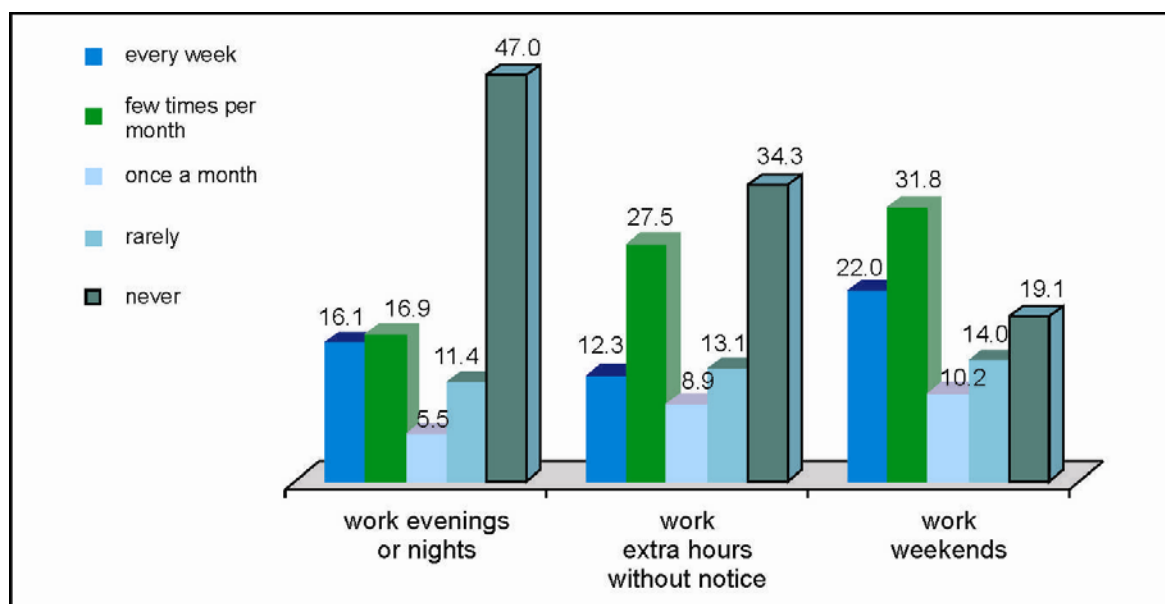
The frequent fatigue and the hard physical work are mostly claimed by the unskilled people. Night work is not a coordinate of the employed Roma people, unlike the weekend work, which occurs frequently for more than half of them.

Chart 13.
Working conditions, % of the total number of employed people



Despite the somehow inherent dissatisfactions with the job, the employed Roma manages to delimit the two major aspects of life – family and job. We might say that their interface is a coordinate of modernity in the urban area, while the separation is more intense in the compact rural areas; the dispersed community and the urban feel more intensely these interferences.

Chart 14.
How often do you....% the total number of employed people



III. 5. Specificity of inoccupation and attitudes

The delimitation between the occupied and unoccupied⁵⁴ or inactive population is useful for an analysis of the main factors that make the population to be included in one category or another.

Active population	Inactive population
Occupied	Pensioners
Unemployed	School pupils/students
With no occupation	Housewife/househusband

The questionnaire included a section for the people without occupation, targeting some essential indicators for the description of inoccupation: years of work history, reasons why they don't have a job, job seeking strategies; alternative strategies.

Specifically for the Roma population is the high proportion of people without formal occupations and particularly the proportion of the people declaring that they are occupied in their household and who are not looking for a job (housewife / househusband)

The analysis took into consideration the unoccupied population – the unemployed, the people without an occupation (unregistered unemployed) and the persons declared to be housewife / househusband. We have decided to include this last category too because it has a distinct specificity for the Roma population, being at the boundary between activity and inactivity, and because of the large number of people declaring to be in this situation. 43% of the housewives / househusbands said to have looked for jobs during the past year, which largely takes them out from the category of inactive people. 40% of the housewives / househusbands had in the past contract-less economic occupations (workers by the day and informal work), while 30% of the unoccupied people said to have been working without a formal contract at their last place of work.

Characteristics and behaviours of the unoccupied population

This category of population included the housewives / househusbands (48.1%), the unregistered unemployed (10.5%), the school pupils or students (2.2%) and the registered unemployed on unemployment benefits (1.8 %)⁵⁵.

Of all the unoccupied people, 49% worked in the past (22% with labour contract, 8% informally, with no contract and 19% as workers by the day), the other half having no work experience.

The main reasons for losing their job concern mainly collective sacking (36%), firing (12%), ending the contract with the agreement of the sides (11%), resignation (7%), end of the contract for a determined period (1%), etc.

The proportion of the people that have never worked amounts to about 40%, while 33% worked without a work contract (informally).

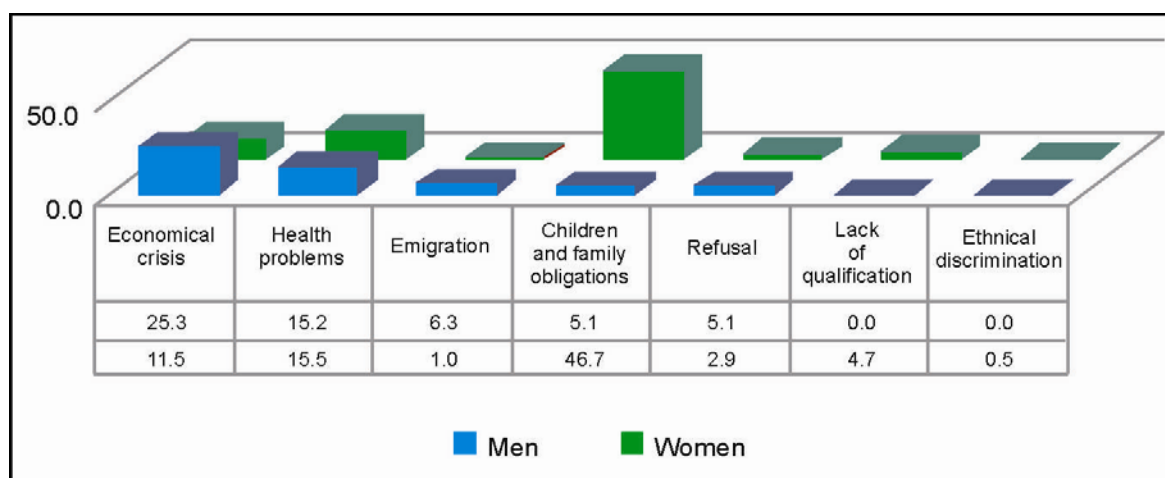
⁵⁴ According to INS, the unoccupied population is the population of active age which has not a place of work and is actively looking for a job, while the inactive persons are defined by the fact that they don't look for a job.

⁵⁵ The percentages are calculated for the sample.

Most of the people who never worked are women, with a low educational level and rather young (under 34).

50% of the unoccupied didn't look for a job during the last year. The reasons for not seeking a job are related mainly to the family duties (raising children, 39%), to health problems (15%), to the economic situation in the country and lack of jobs (13.8%). 83% of the people who didn't look for a job are women. The reasons mentioned by the women differ significantly from the reasons mentioned by the men: for the women the main obstacle to looking for a job was child raising, while for the men it was the lack of jobs.

Chart 15
Reasons for not looking for a job, by gender



The bad health state was a factor which also prevented the people to search jobs, which together with child raising (for the women) may be important elements which increase the vulnerability of this category.

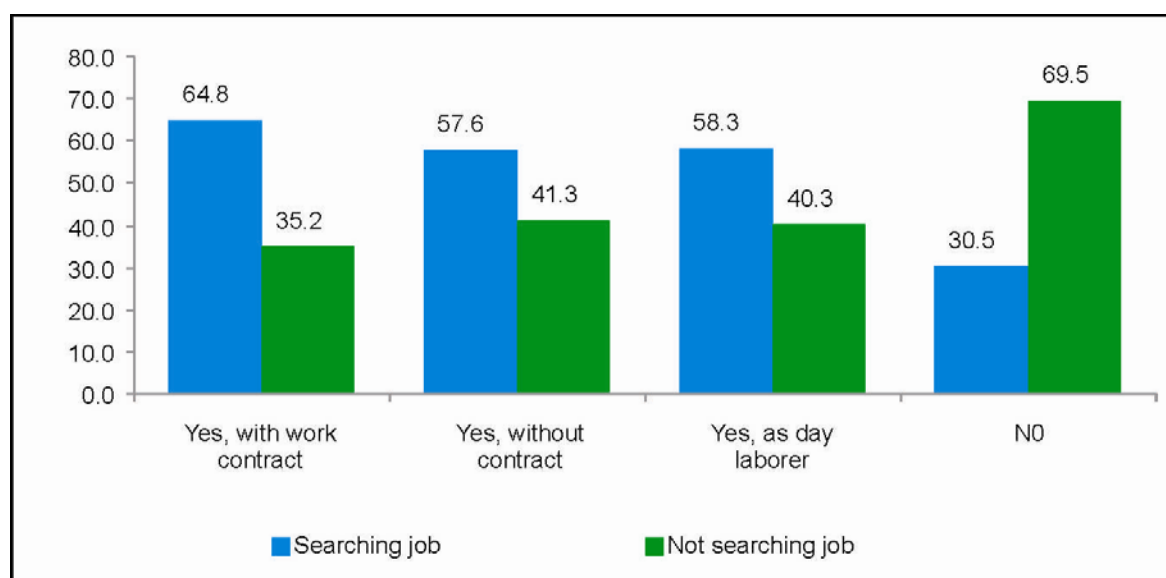
Among the socio-demographic variables, age is a differentiator for the motivation of passivity in job searching. Child raising is mentioned more frequently at younger ages, while the health problems are mentioned more frequently as the age advances.

Table III.5
Previous work experience and job searching (%)

	Previous work experience of the unoccupied people				Did you look for a job during the past year?	
	Yes, with work contract	Yes, employed informally (no work contract)t	Yes, informally, work by the day	No	Yes	No
TOTAL	26.7	10.1	23.7	39.5	48.4	50.1
OCCUPATION						
Housewife/househusband	23.3	9.3	23.8	43.6	43.0	55.6
Unemployed	63.0	3.7	7.4	25.9	50.0	50.0
Unregistered unemployed	36.5	14.7	25.6	23.1	72.7	24.8

	Previous work experience of the unoccupied people				Did you look for a job during the past year?	
	Yes, with work contract	Yes, employed informally (no work contract)t	Yes, informally, work by the day	No	Yes	No
GENDER						
Male	40.6	13.4	26.9	19.1	73.4	24.8
Female	19.2	8.3	21.9	50.6	34.8	63.9
AREA OF RESIDENCE						
Urban	35.1	10.3	15.2	39.4	50.8	46.6
Rural	21.6	9.9	28.8	39.6	46.8	52.3
EDUCATION						
Elementary school	18.8	11.0	24.8	45.4	42.3	56.3
Middle school	27.4	8.5	24.9	39.1	50.8	47.5
Vocational or apprentice school	54.3	10.0	8.6	27.1	65.2	31.9
High school	38.7	6.7	16.0	38.7	63.6	36.4
Higher education	33.3	33.3		33.3	100.0	
AGE						
15-17	0.0	1.5	13.2	85.3	20.0	80.0
18-24	14.2	12.1	22.6	51.1	55.6	42.8
25-34	17.1	8.7	26.6	47.6	45.7	52.8
35-44	37.3	11.6	23.1	28.0	61.3	37.0
45-54	46.9	10.2	21.1	21.9	48.5	50.8
55-64	43.3	11.7	21.7	23.3	30.6	67.7
65+	20.0	4.0	24.0	52.0	3.7	92.6
TYPE OF COMMUNITY						
Compact	26.6	9.5	22.4	41.6	46.4	52.4
Dispersed	27.3	11.8	27.7	33.2	54.4	42.9

Chart 16
Job searching and work experience

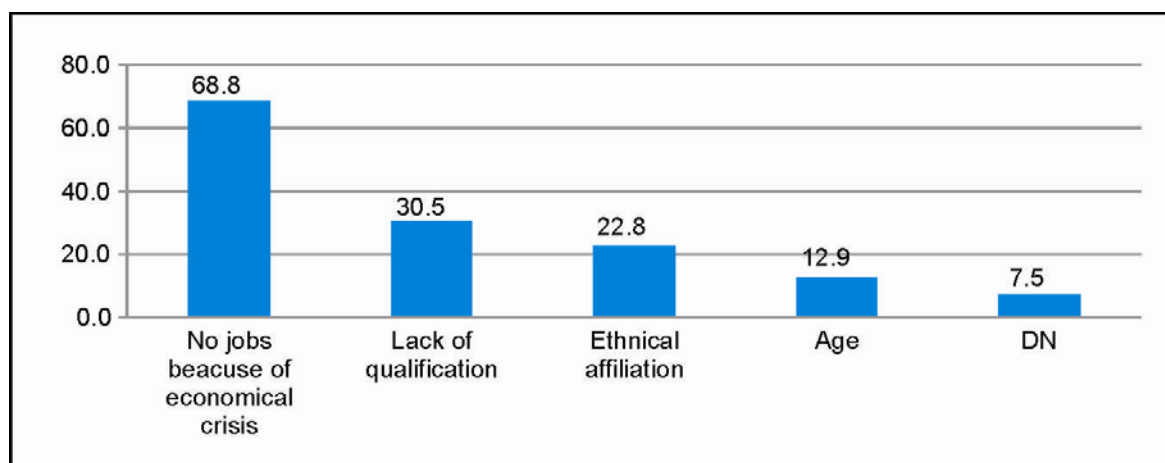


A higher ratio of the people who worked previously said that they were looking for a job, the highest proportion being among the people who worked on the basis of a formal work

contract (see Chart 16). In terms of job searching manner, most people mentioned the direct methods, not mediated by institutions or organizations (directly to the employers, 57.3%, through friends and people they know, 49.8%); following is the mediation of AJOFM/ALOFM (29%) the advertisements in papers (13.2%) and last, through non-governmental organizations (1.4%). The people with a previous formal experience solicit more the state institutions, compared to the people with work experience in the informal economy; this is explainable by the fact that the relation with AJOFM is encouraged in the case of the people who worked previously on the basis of a work contract (49% of the people who went to AJOFM) and in the case of the people who benefit or benefited of specific rights (unemployment benefit, free training courses etc.). More than 57% of the people who solicited employment offices are aged 35+ and 56% of them are men.

The people who searched jobs explain their failure primarily by the economic situation in the country, and then by personal factors (lack of professional training, ethnic affiliation or age).

Chart 17
Explanations for the failure to get a job



At the question whether it is possible that they find a job within the close future, over 80% were pessimistic and just 2.4% considered that it is highly possible that they will find a job. The alternative solutions to finding a job are generally those of compromise: 25% of the subjects would take jobs that require lower qualification; 43% would take jobs in the informal sector; 15% would work far from home; 19% would take badly paid jobs; 21% would take temporary jobs; 16%, would accept difficult work conditions; only 5.5% of the subjects looking for a job considered to do something on their own account; 12% prefer to stay unemployed (with no occupation) and 2.1% chose to retire.

The preferences for a specific place of work go most frequently towards the state sector (28%) and just 6.5% towards the private environment; the balance of respondents didn't express a clear option (65% don't have any particular preference). Chart 18 shows a significant difference between the choices of the young (for the private firms) and of the elder ones, who would chose the state as employer.

Chart 18.

Preference for the place of work according to age

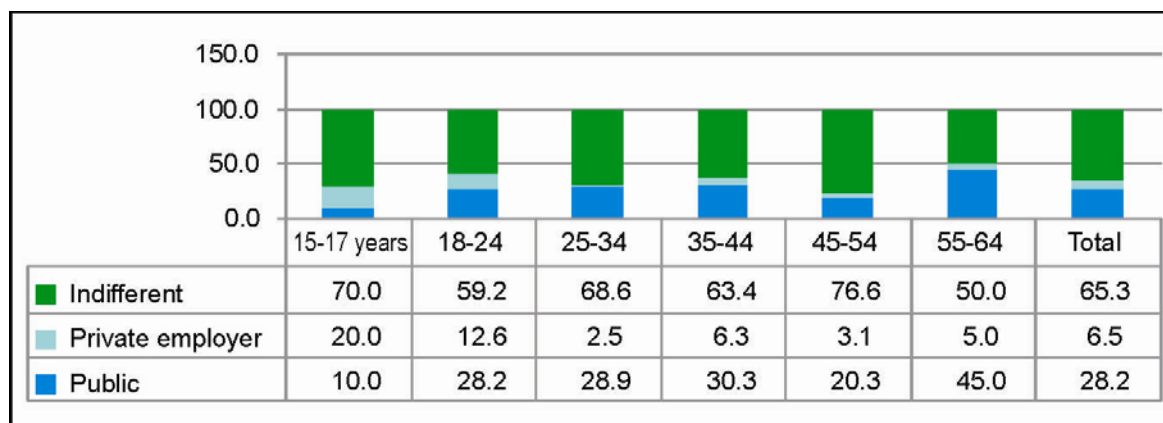
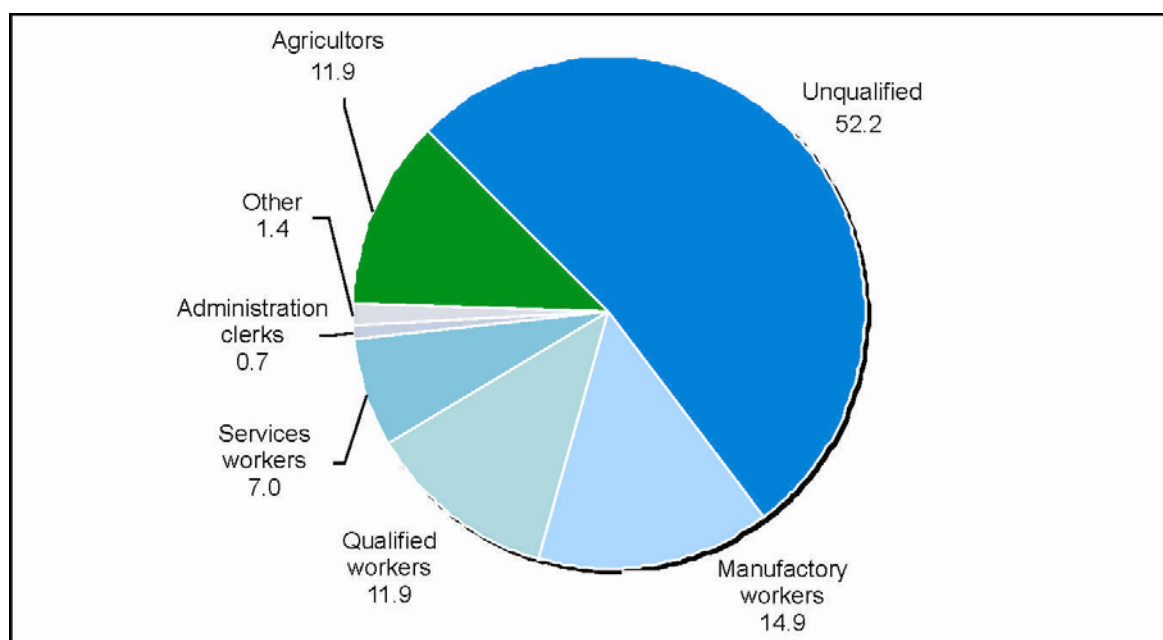


Chart 19.

Economic fields of activity and occupations

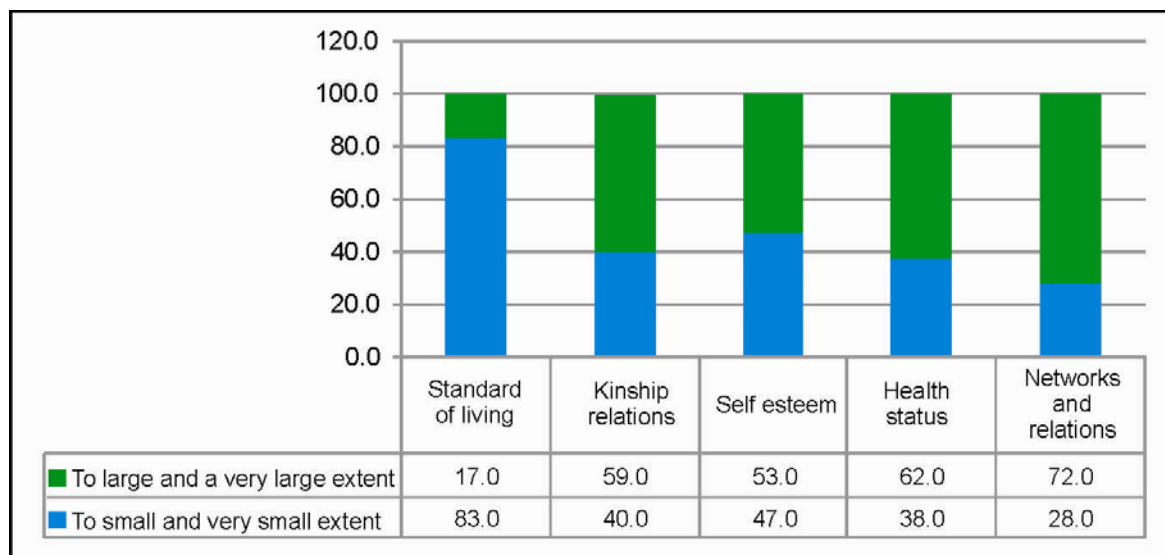


In terms of the economic areas where they would like to work, the results are as follows:

- The most frequent answer is “whatever, any of them”, which might show the lack of qualification, specialisation, but also the emergency/necessity to get a job.
- The agriculture, constructions and cleaning are the areas most frequently mentioned.
- There are significant gender-related differences: the women chose most often agriculture (13.8%), trade and services (7.4%) and cleaning (15%), while the men select constructions (25.7%), agriculture (9.1%), industry (6.6%) and transportation (4.1%). In terms of non-option (indifference) the women seem more determined to work in any field than the men (58.5% versus 48.5%).
- The people with higher education (83% have at least middle school) would work in the industry. The people with lower education would work in agriculture and cleaning.

Another question referred to the jobs the subjects would apply for, and the results show that most of them would want jobs which don't require high qualification. The average desirable wage (for those who would take a job) is 820 lei and the median value is 750 lei (which shows that most of them mentioned wages lower than the average).

Chart 20
Perception of the consequence of not having a job



The perception on the consequences of not having a job show primarily the depression of the standard of living, followed by the decrease of the trust in own force and by the straining of the family relations. The last two positions are taken by the influence on the health state and on the relations with the friends.

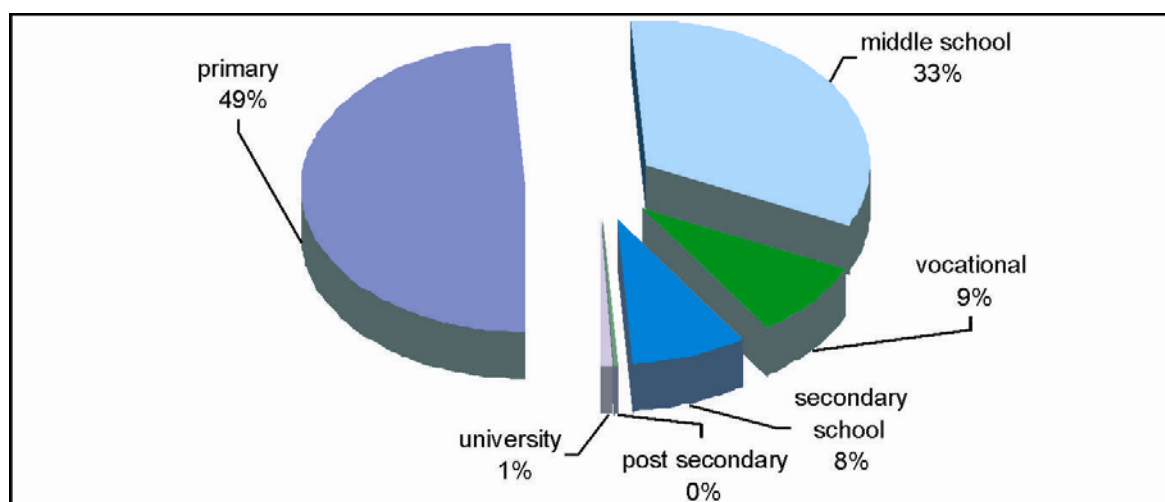
IV. Factors determining the access to the labour market

Besides the unfavourable general economic context, the position of relative exclusion of the Roma from the labour market has many causes which influence one another, both at the individual level – low level of educations and aspirations, bad health state, precarious dwelling, large family, very low standard of living – and at the level of the responsible institutions or employers – low interest of the employers to hire Roma people, the negative stereotypes associated to the Roma people, informal work, discrimination of low involvement in life community. In this chapter we will analyse the main factors which influence the access to employment of the Roma people, as it resulted from the quantitative research.

IV.1. Education and education values

Many studies and reports have been published during the past two decades about the Roma ethnics from Romania, whose conclusion, at least in terms of education, is that the level of school and professional education of the Roma is very low. This study included an important section on education and education culture, whose outcomes will be presented subsequently highlighting the relation between education and employment.

Chart 1.
Educational level of the Roma people



As it can be seen, about half of the population has the primary level of education and a third have graduated middle school. The lack of education is also reflected in the very limited level of competencies of the Roma population.

Table 1.
Abilities, competencies and skills (%)

	Do you know to write?	Do you know to read?	Can you navigate on the Internet?
yes	74.5	74.8	16.5
no	25.3	25	82.2
NS/NR	0.2	0.2	1.4

If the use of the modern means of communication is still a problem for a large share of the Romanian population, not just for a specific ethnic minority, the elementary abilities such as writing and reading are major obstacles for the Roma population (Table 5). A quarter of the Roma population declared that they don't know to read or to write.

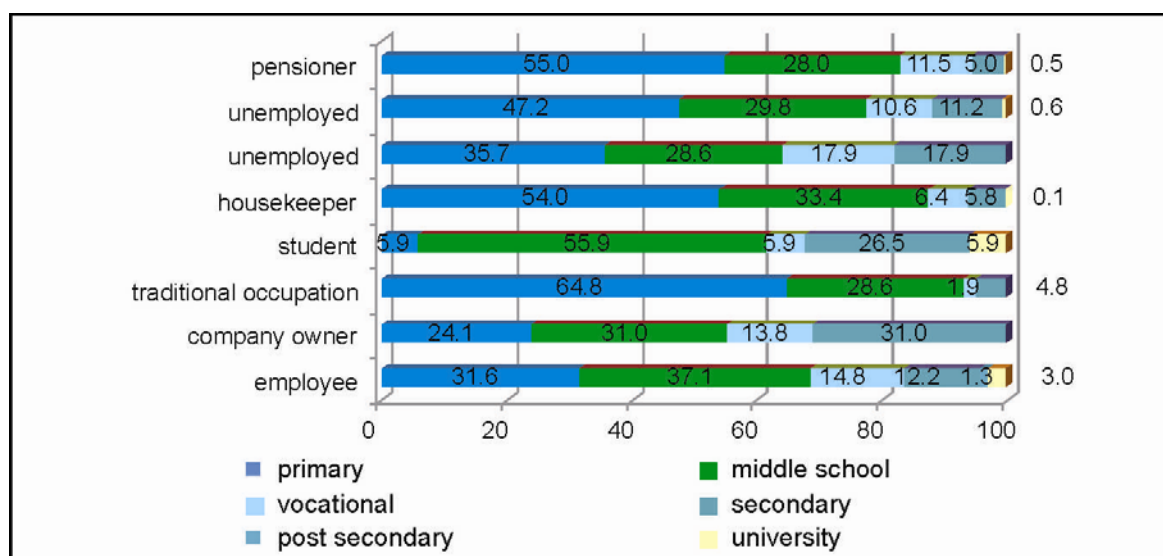
Culture and culture values

In general terms, perceptions are a subjective reflection of the objective reality with which the individual gets into direct contact. Speaking strictly in the terms of this study, we may say that the perceptions on education of the population, whatever its ethnic affiliation, generally are the result of its contact with the educational system.

In this case we are interested whether the Roma population, characterized by a limited access to education and by a lower level of education, has a favourable perception on education, whether education is among the factors which they regard as determinant for the success in life. Education is no among the main three conditions for life success, more important being the health, work and luck.

About 65% of the subjects evaluated as satisfactorily or even poorer the Romanian system of education, while the proportion of the people with positive evaluation is 28.9% (1.9% very good and 27% good).

Chart 2
Level of education and occupation of the respondents (%)



For the Roma population, as well as for the dominant population, the level of school and professional education correlates well with the occupational status: a high level of education puts the individuals at the top of the professional hierarchy and vice versa, a low level of education and professional training, result in positions at the foot of the hierarchy.

The family plays an important role in achieving a higher or lower level of education: the children from the families whose parents have a higher level of education display a tendency to remain for a longer period within the educational system.

In most cases, a higher level of education of the parents is correlated with a better paid and more stable job, with a lower number of children, a higher standard of living, a better health state etc. The existence of socio-professional and material stability allows the families to build long-term strategies and to be able to cover the costs involved by such objectives.

Table 2
Relation between the social origin and the educational level of the respondent (%)

Respondent's education	Father's education					
	Elementary school	Middle school	Apprentice or vocational school	High school	Post high school	Higher education
Elementary school;	69.8	17.5	2.1	0.4	0	0.2
Middle school	39.4	39.9	6.5	2.2	0.6	0.1
Apprentice or vocational school	25.1	46.4	15.6	5.2	0	0.5
High school	11.5	51.9	13.5	11.5	0	0
Post high school	42.9	14.3	28.6	0	14.3	0
Higher education	0	50.4	25	0	0	12.5

A simple correlation between the level of education of the respondent and that of his/her father, shows that the situation of the Roma population is not all different from that of the majority population: a person coming from a family whose parents (usually the relation is set with father's level of education) have a higher level of education, is most likely to have a similar level of education, while the low level of education of the parents leads to a low level of education of the children.

The research data show that father's level of education has a very important role in the educational path of the Roma children too: a low or high level of education of the father leads to a low or high level of education of the sons/daughters. The measures applied to the educational system only managed to increase by one step the schooling level of the children compared to that of their parents.

Although in the Roma minority, men are those who have a decisive role in the household, when it comes to children education, we must not overlook the impact which the women have on their children. The early years of life, when the bases of the psycho-physical development of the individual are set, on which their subsequent development as individual depends, are under the influence of the mother and of her capacity and availability to take care of the children.

The Romanian society in its whole is traditionalist and the studies on the Roma population confirm the fact that here the observance of rules and regulations concerning the place and role of the woman within the society are much stricter. This reflects on the evolution of the child as individual, irrespective of the ethnic affiliation: the reduction of women's authority to the private environment may lead to the decrease of its authority in her relation with the school, with her children. Although the women in Romania take more often contact with the school, when their children are attending school, the decisions on the future of the children seem to be taken rather by the men. The children observe that their mothers have more responsibility towards them, but the fathers enjoy more authority and the behaviour is inherited from one generation to another, hardly making place for modernity within the private family environment.

Table 3
Relation between respondent's education and his/her mother's education (%)

Respondent's education	Mother's education					
	Elementary school	Middle school	Apprentice or vocational school	High school	Post high school	Higher education
Elementary school;	77.8	12.9	0.6	0.6	0	0
Middle school	49.1	36.6	3.2	1.3	0	0.1
Apprentice or vocational school	39.3	45	9	1.4	0	0
High school	28.8	50	7.7	3.8	0	0
Post high school	0	0	0	0	0	0
Higher education	12.5	62.5	12.5	0	0	0

The analysis of the relation between the level of respondent's education and the level of mother's education, shows that mother's education has a stronger influence on the educational path of the children, than father's influence (Table 7).

A particularly of the Roma households is that they have many children, with very small age difference between them. Besides the fact that a large number of children increase family poverty in Romania irrespective of the ethnic affiliation, the possibility that the parents, the mother particularly, pays sufficient attention to each child is decreasing. In the large and very poor families, the elder children often take care of the younger household members, a situation which affects adversely the education of the elder ones. Most studies conducted during the recent years in Romania on the Roma population have shown that the children start working within the household or outside it at about the age of 11-12, which puts school outside their scope.

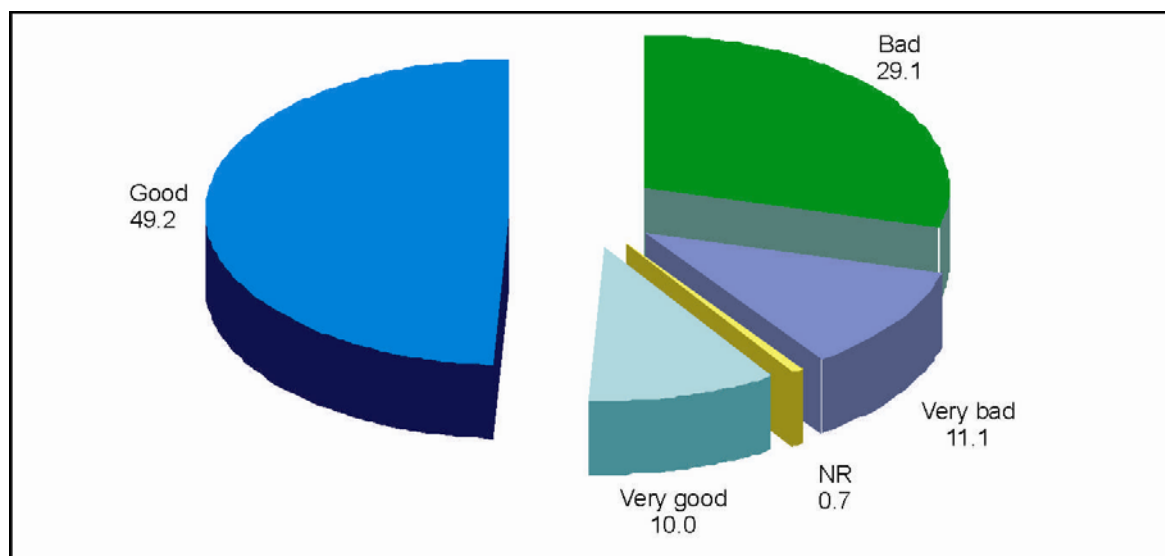
IV.2. Health state of the Roma population

The health state is an essential element for the individual welfare of the person and it has important consequences for the other aspects of life: standard of living, employment, education, family etc. The research included indicators for the evaluation of the health state, healthcare system and medical behaviour.

59.2% of the Roma population considers it has a good and very good health state, while 40.2% consider it bad and very bad. 65% of the Roma men appreciate they have a good and very good health, while only 54% of the women share this evaluation. The data reflect largely the real state of a more precarious health state of the women who beget and raise a considerable number of children; this may affect their health and health care.

Both in the urban, and in the rural areas, 59% of the people consider that their health state is good and very good.

Chart 3
Evaluation of the health status



90.9% of the Roma have family doctor. The healthcare system still is open to the people who don't pay insurances by the contribution extracted from their own income, being an underfinanced system burdened by the low rate of contribution. Thus, access to the family doctors have the persons who have the minimal guaranteed income, unemployment benefit, the pensioners, the children and the women whose family supporter is working. The coverage of the general population with family doctor is thus very good, reaching 95%. The coverage of the Roma population with family doctors also is very good, although slightly below the national average.

80.5% of the respondents have the family doctor in the same town or village in which they live. The problem resides in the rural environment, where there is not a full coverage with family doctors. On the other hand, Roma pensioner respondents, category who visited more the doctor during the past year than the other categories, affirmed more than the average value of the sample that there is doctor in the locality of residence. The conclusion may be that part of the Roma population who didn't visit the family doctor from the locality, doesn't

know that there is a family doctor. Also, there may be a confusion of the Roma between the idea of family doctor and another type of doctor. The specialist doctors are always outside the locality in the rural environment. The data show that there is a predisposition of the general population to appeal to the secondary and tertiary healthcare system, despite the primary system, that there is a poor preventive behaviour of the general population and an overcrowding towards the healthcare units.

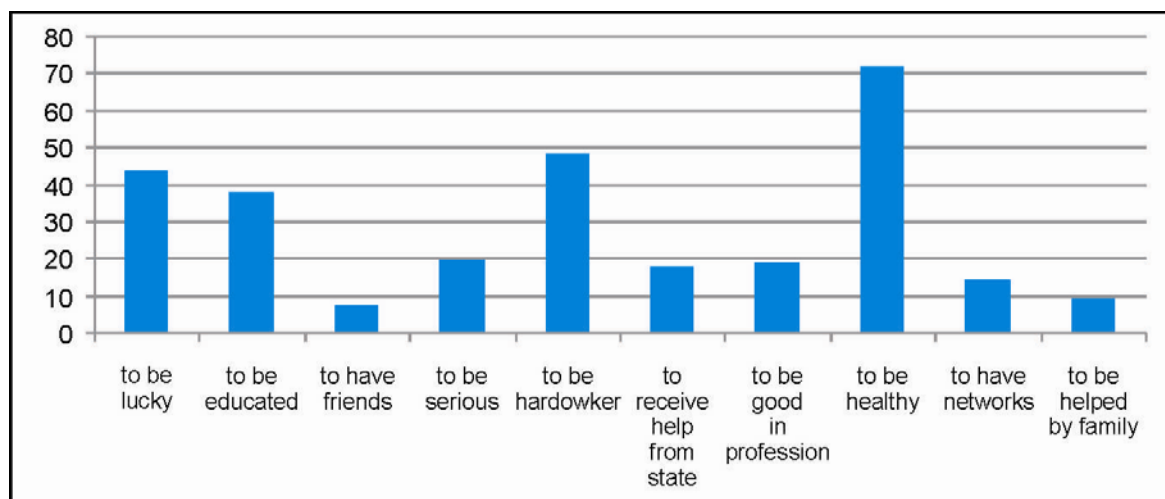
54.7% of the Roma visited the family doctor or the specialist doctor in 2010. The women visited more the family doctor than men (62% versus 46%). The explanation may reside in the high birth rate of the Roma population. However, 10% more women than men appreciate their health state as poor and very poor. Regarding the area of residence of the people who visited the doctor over the past year, the proportions are equivalent: 56% in urban and 54% in rural have been to the doctor.

Most Roma appreciate that the healthcare system is bad and very bad. 60% of the interviewed persons appreciate that the healthcare system is bad and very bad, 20.8% consider that it is satisfactory, 15.2% consider it is good and just 1.1% consider it is very good. The lack of financial resources may be an obstacle to the Roma in accessing a system where there is the custom of informal payments in exchange for the services.

IV.3. Work values

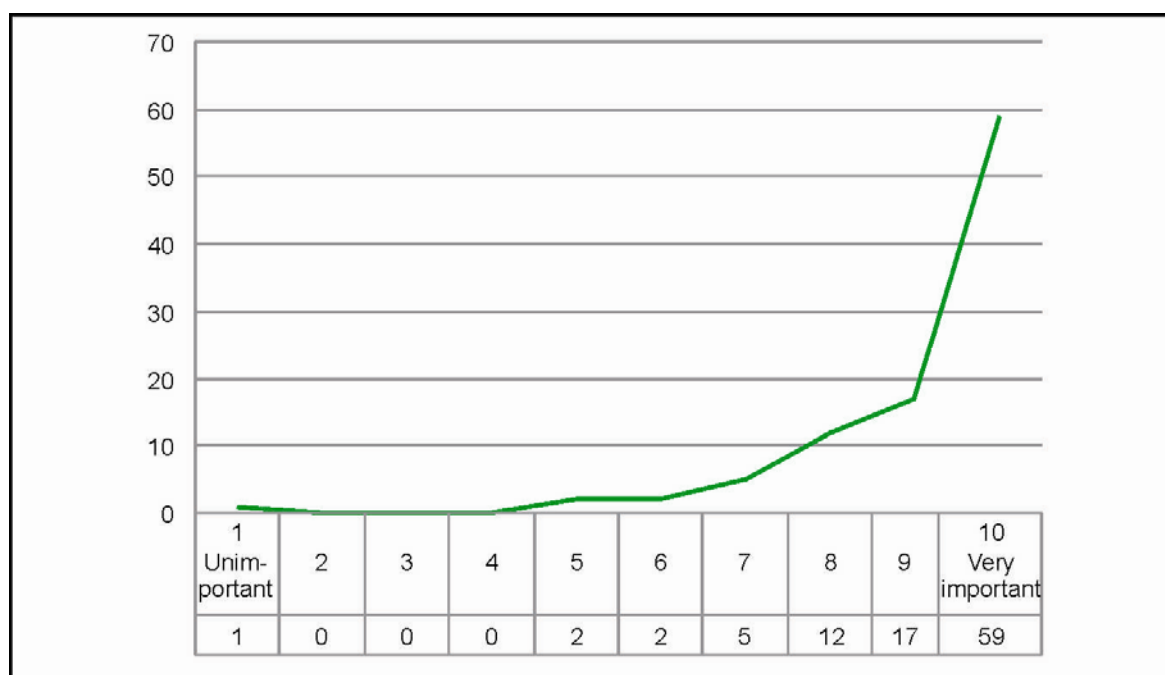
The values are desirable purposes which don't vary with the context and which guide people's lives (Rokeach, 1973). At the social level, values are regarded rather as "agreements between the social actors about what is desirable or undesirable in the social life" (Ibrahim, 1991, 28). This analysis tries to observe how the Roma treasure the values of work. The pattern of success in life is one which appreciates the health condition (71.8%), followed by work (48.5%) and luck (43.6%). Thus, working a lot is one of the main conditions of success. The values of the Roma for the work support rather a quantitative orientation (a lot of work), than a qualitative one (be good in your profession).

Chart 4
**The most important three conditions
to succeed in life %**



The importance of luck can show the trend to externalise the responsibility for own success. Thus, success also includes this element which is difficult to control and identify: the luck. The significance of work is also taken into consideration when the respondents are demanded to identify how important is work to succeed in life. Thus, most of the people appreciate work as very important (59%).

Chart 5
Importance of work to succeed in life%



Those who consider that the work is very important are rather Roma people with more education (post high school and higher education), mean rather more than women and the people from compact communities. The explanation may be that a higher educational level produces changes in the perception of the professional route (of the profession) in the level of expectations and in the working conditions. Traditionally, the representations about the gender roles emphasize the importance of work more in male roles than in female roles. The Roma from the compact communities generally appreciate more that work is important for the success in life than the Roma from the dispersed communities that work is important for success in life. We may explain this by the higher homogeneity of the values in these types of communities.

The importance of the different aspects of work shows a rather securitizing orientation, focusing on the importance of the personal elements. Thus, a nice family (61.3% answered it is important), happy children (67.7%), health (76.8%) and personal safety (56%) are among the elements of high importance. The value pattern shows a structure focusing on family values. It is less important in life to be rich, to have fun and to be boss.

The option for a specific type of job shows that work is at the core of the daily activity. Most of the respondents (75.1%) would work full time and less would choose a job with part time (8.1%). This pattern is not surprising if we compare it to the options of other categories of

population from Romania; the alternative model to the 8 hours program not being generalized.

The option for the 8 hours work program is explained by many respondents rather by material constraints. Thus the most numerous justifications of the choice are “for a better pay” (50%), for the “safety of tomorrow” (12.7%), constraints due to the family situation (5.5%). There also is the normative explanation, “this is the way it has to be/this is normal” (6.7%). The type of preferred work contract overlaps the options on the daily time of work. Thus, most would select a contract of work for undetermined period (68.6%), followed by a contract on a determined period (4.6%). The informal work (7.5%) and the civil convention follow in the order of preferences.

A high percentage of respondents affirmed that they don’t know what kind of contract they would choose, if they would have this option, which shows the lack of awareness on the legal forms in which they can work. The reasons why the contract on undetermined period is preferred by most people are similar with those for the daily hours of work: “for the safety of tomorrow/to have whatever I need” (46.3%), “for future pension” (12.5%), “for more money” (5.9%).

The values of the Roma show a pattern focused on the importance of the family, personal security and work. The importance of work resides particularly in the financial aspect, less in aspirations as leadership or performance. This financial aspect is associated with the preference for 8 hours of work per day and with the preference for work contract on undetermined period.

IV.4. Standard of living

In order to analyse the standard of living and its relation with occupation, we took into consideration both objective indicators (individual incomes, household income and sources of income) and subjective indicators (evaluation of the income). We considered this dimension of the standard of living both as an indirect factor by to the importance for the access to the labour market, and as result of occupation.

Observed retrospectively, compared to 1998⁵⁶, the per capita⁵⁷ monetary incomes of the Roma families didn’t change: the average income per capita presently is 12% of the average net wage in the national economy, compared to 15% in 1998. A similar proportion of Roma (4.2% compared to 4.5% in 1998) declared that they had zero income in the last month. Another similitude is the proportion of the people who earned no income in the month of reference: 39.1% in 2010 compared to 41.9% in 2008⁵⁸. The expectations are less and less accomplished by incomes.

A possible explanation is the constant and progressive impoverishment by the erosion of the wealth accumulated between 1992 and 2010. In such hypothesis, the reverse direction of the dynamics of population’s income takes us to the conclusion that the Roma population didn’t

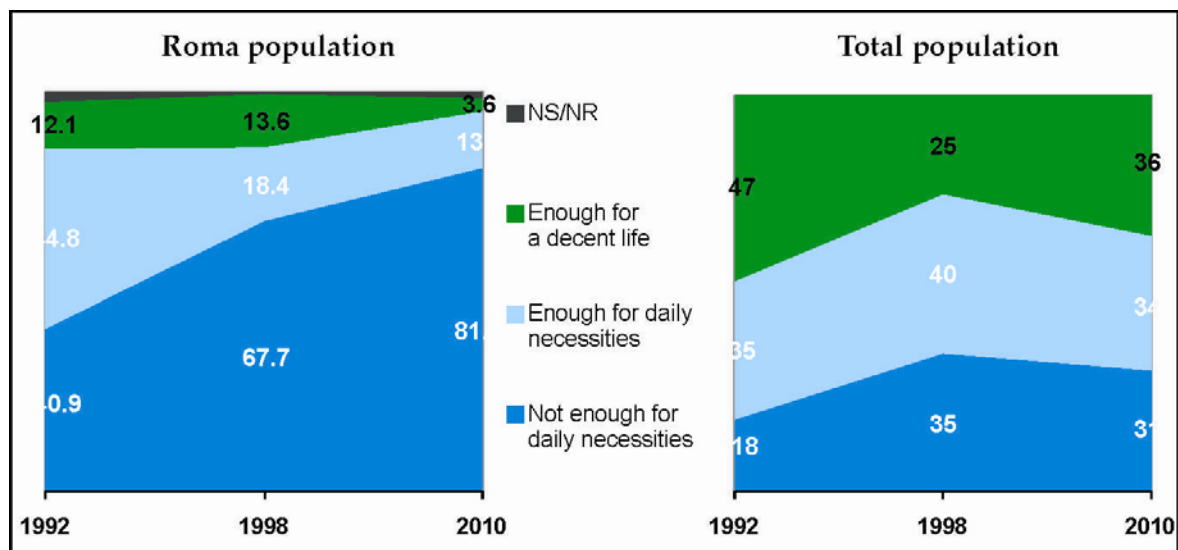
56 Project of the Centre of Resources for Social Action, done by IQLR/Foundation for an Open Society, whose results have been published in „The Roma in Romania” C. Zamfir, M. Preda (c), Expert, 2002

57 The size of the household was determined taking into account only the members living in Romania.

58 Come closer. Inclusion and exclusion of the Roma in the present day Romanian society, Fleck, G; Ruginiş, C. (ed.), Human Dynamics, Bucharest, 2008

experience the same process of accumulation during the periods of economic growth, as the non-Roma population did.

Chart 6.
Evaluation of household incomes: dynamics



Source: *The Roma population: 1992 – Gypsies, between ignoring and worrying*, C. Zamfir, E. Zamfir, 1993; 1998 - *The Roma in Romania* - C. Zamfir, M. Preda (c), Expert, 2002 and the present research; *Total population: Annual diagnosis of the quality of life*, Mărginean, I: Precupețu, I. (coord), CIDE /Expert, Bucharest, 2010; *Quality of life in Romania, 2010*, Mărginean, I: Precupețu, I. (coord), ICCV (Romanian Academy), 2010

The evaluation of the income level is sensitive to the occupational status, so that among those occupied in formal activities (employees or self-employed) there are about three time more people who consider that the household incomes cover their necessities for a decent living⁵⁹. The people occupied in traditional professions are quite close to the profile of the inactive people. Dissatisfaction is somehow lower in the large urban areas and among the young people below 34, who have a wider access to formal occupations.

Predictably, there are differences in the level earned according to the occupational status of the respondent, and in the total per capita level in the households between the urban and the rural areas (197 Ron per capita in urban areas, versus 147 in rural areas). The highest incomes are in the families of the entrepreneurs (326 Ron) of the employees (239 Ron) and of the pensioners (250 Ron), significantly higher than in the families of the respondents performing a traditional profession (126) or of the people that are currently unoccupied (123), or who have never worked (142). The extended dimension of the family puts the family of the group of the people engaged in traditional professions, next to the group of poor Roma, while the families of the pensioners (although are classified in the group of the people with high incomes) display a level of dissatisfaction towards the income which is comparable to that expressed by the currently unemployed people or by the people who have never been employed.

⁵⁹ The category „enough for a decent living, with or without efforts” gathers the answer variants „ enough for a decent living, but we can not afford to buy more expensive things”, „we manage to buy more expensive things, but limiting other expenditures” and „we have all that we need, without any limitation, anywhere”, which in our research account for 2.%, 0.5%, and 0.3%, respectively

Chart 7.
Evaluation of incomes, % of the total segment

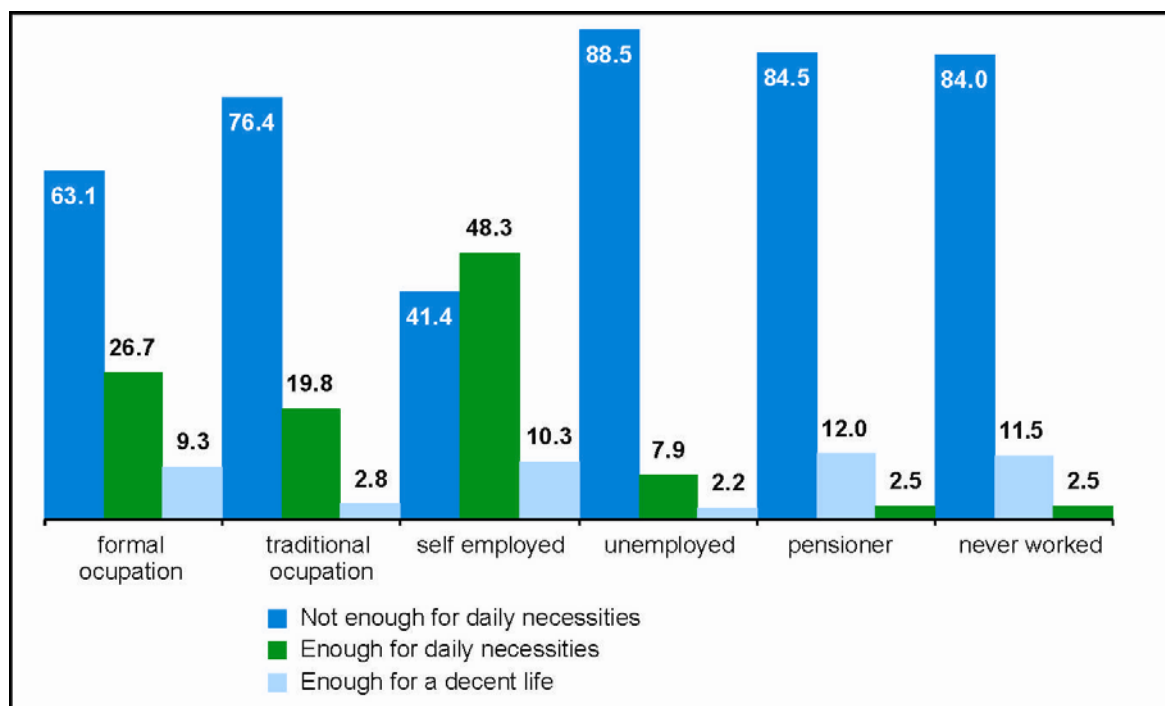


Table 4.
Differences of income function of the form of occupation

Form of occupation	Average personal income	Per capita average in the household	Approximate volume of the segment	Average household dimension
Employees	530	239	220	4.9
Traditional occupations	301	126	82	6.3
Self-employed	943	326	23	5.2
Unoccupied	118	123	520	5.0
Pensioner	400	250	190	3.9
Never worked	80	142	370	5.6
Overall sample	234 Ron	167 Ron	*	5.1 persons

The differences of income originate less from the negotiated amount, than from the sources of the household income.

Table 5.**Frequency of the sources of income by household function of the occupational status of the respondent, %**

Sources of income	Employees	Traditional professions	Self-employed	Unoccupied	Pensioners	Never worked	Total
Alimony, maternal benefit, state allocation for the children, other social benefits for the large families, indemnity for raising children	41.9	36.8	31.0	42.6	22.5	57.2	43.2
Income from occasional work (with no legal forms, for instance working by the day)	28.4	51.9	34.5	29.9	10.0	29.0	28.4
Social benefit (minimal guaranteed income, Law 416)	11.4	13.2	13.8	32.7	5.5	29.2	23.2
Wage	61.0	7.5	20.7	12.4	10.0	12.5	19.4
Pension for age limit/CAP/anticipated	4.7	1.9	6.9	6.3	40.0	4.2	9.6
Money received from abroad	0.8	4.7	0.0	3.4	1.0	4.4	3.0
Unemployment benefit	0.8	0.9	0.0	4.7	1.0	2.2	2.6
Income from traditional activities (sales of goods manufactured within the household, fortune telling, fiddling, etc.)	0.4	19.8	0.0	0.5	0.5	3.4	2.6
Other social benefits (aid for heating, social scholarships, school scholarship)	2.1	2.8	3.4	2.0	2.0	2.2	2.1
Profit from own business	0.8	3.8	48.3	0.7	0.5	1.5	2.0
Other sources, sales of agricultural products	1.7	5.7	0.0	2.0	2.0	2.2	2.2

The main sources of income, as frequency in the Roma households, are the incomes associated to children, followed at a great distance behind by the income from occasional work and the social aid.

The incomes from traditional professions and from self-employed activities tend to be less frequent than the income received from abroad.

Even in the households of the most active in traditional professions, the incidence of these incomes was increased by the incidence of the incomes associated to children or of the incomes from occasional work, which dominates their budget.

The traditional activities do not compete with the income from occasional work much less so with the income from employee-type activities. Even if they may be higher as amount than the occasional incomes, the fact that they are not permanent brings the households active in the traditional professions into the poor area of the Roma population.

IV.5. Dwelling

This research included a section dedicated to dwelling: objective factual data (type of property on the dwelling, type of house, construction materials, age of the building, number of rooms, area), as well as subjective evaluations regarding the dwelling, the services present in the area where they live, regarding the safety of the area as well as the general level of satisfaction with the dwelling.

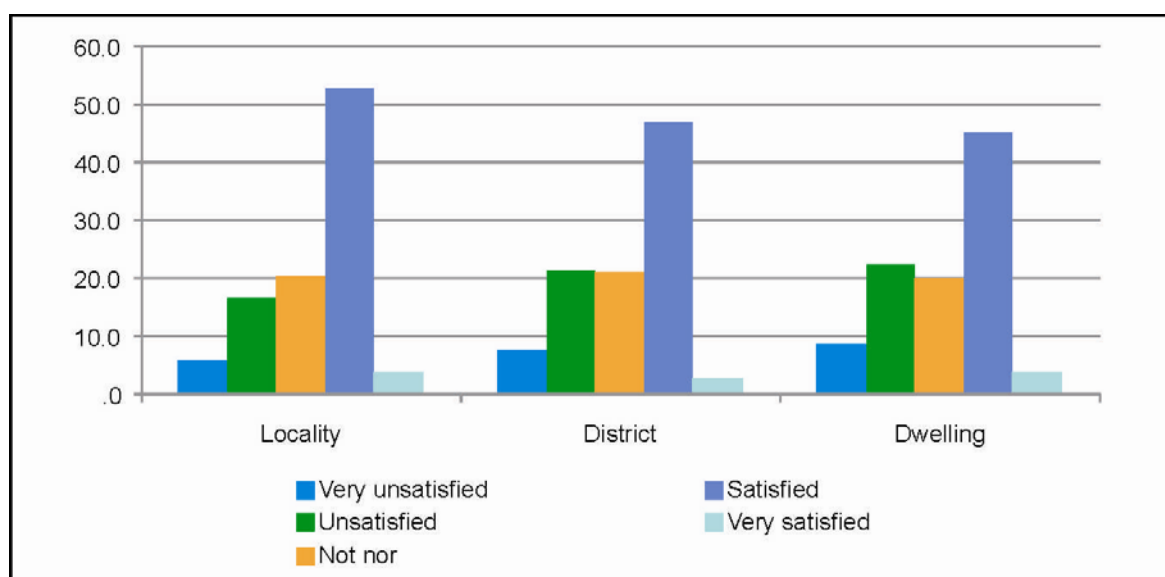
Most of the Roma live at the periphery of the localities (83%), in compact communities (77%). 40% of the Roma own a dwelling and quarter live in houses owned by their parents. The dwelling in the ownership of the subject or of its family is, as expected, more frequent in the rural areas. In urban, 14.2% rented dwellings from the state and 1.2% have social dwellings, situations which don't exist in villages.

Three quarters of the subjects use a dwelling on the basis of a contract (66% legally valid and 4% with expired contract). Quite a high proportion, 30%, doesn't have any kind of contract of the dwelling they are living in. The problem of the lack of ownership papers is more serious than at first sight. The lack of papers for houses and for the land means that the new generations too, will not have these papers, which, on the long-term, leads to social exclusion, blocking the access to social assistance services, medical assistance or education, generally to all the rights of a citizen.

The great majority (both in urban and in rural areas) live in a house with a yard (88.6%) and a significant percentage – 2.7% - live in makeshift dwellings. About half of the dwellings are made from resistant materials – concrete, stone, brick, BCA. However, there are many cases, 38% overall, and 42% in the rural, where the houses are vulnerable, are treillage houses or adobe houses.

The level of satisfaction with the dwelling is high. Most of the surveyed Roma are satisfied and very satisfied with the locality and district in which they live and with the dwelling they have.

Chart 8.
Satisfaction with...



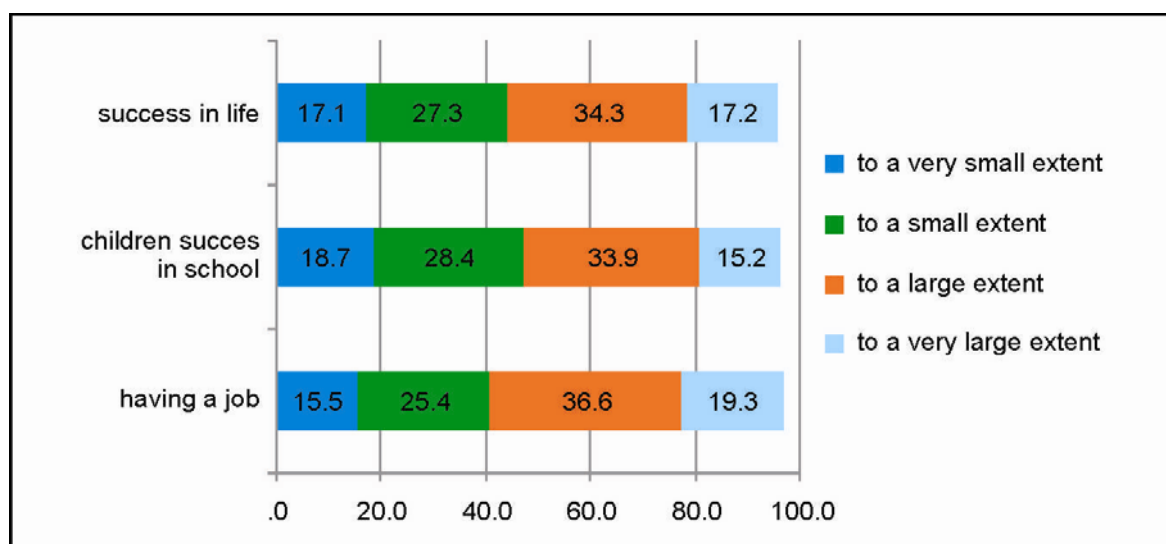
There are objective explanations for the higher dissatisfaction with the district in which they live. Most investigated subjects – 83% - live at the periphery of the locality. As expected, the individuals living in the central area are significantly more satisfied with the district in which they live. The satisfaction with the locality or dwelling is not influenced by the area of residence.

In terms of infrastructure and access to services, the largest problem in the areas inhabited by the Roma is the state of roads. The access to education – the kindergartens nurseries and schools, is appraised best, adding together the largest proportion of positive evaluation.

IV.6. Ethnic discrimination

Mălina Voicu (2007) shows that although the prejudices towards the Roma population have decreased a lot during the recent years, the Roma still feel themselves discriminated in everyday life and they consider that the ethnic affiliation is an important element for the success in life. The Roma consider that the ethnic affiliation is important for the success in life and in school, but discrimination seems to be the strongest in the field of employment, when you “feel the presence of prejudices when it comes to jobs.”

Chart 8
Importance of the ethnic affiliation/nationality for...

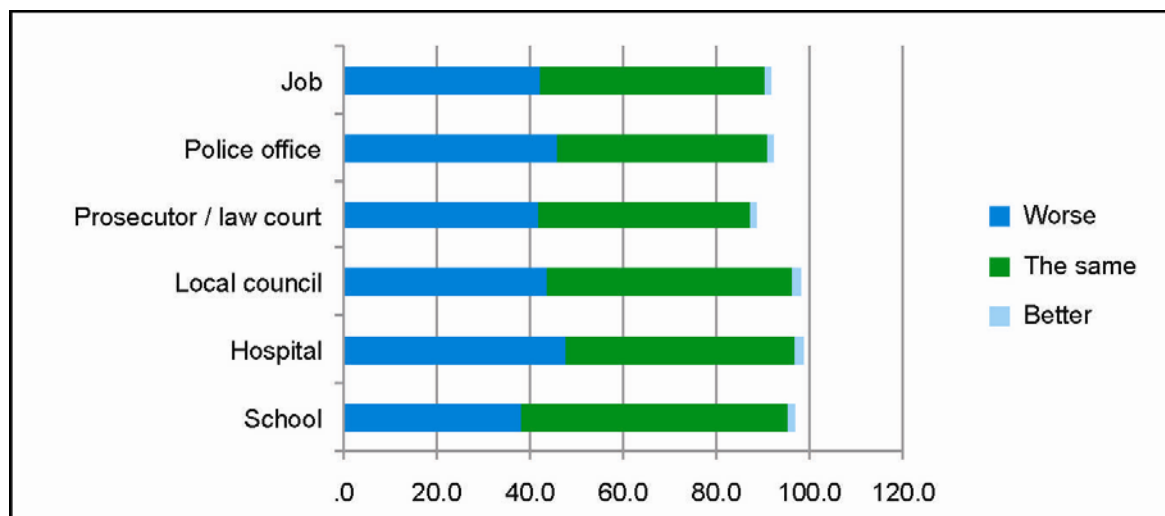


The Roma feel discriminated in the relation with the public institutions too, where most times they consider that they were treated *worse* or *similarly* in comparison with the persons of other ethnic affiliation and, only in very few cases, that they might be treated *better* than the non-Roma. Irrespective of the occupational status of the Roma ethnics, school is considered the least discriminatory public institution.

The unoccupied persons give more importance to the ethnic affiliation when it comes to employment (61%) compared to the Roma belonging to other occupational categories, most probably because of the personal experience acquired in the process of job searching. The ethnic affiliation is indicated in 45% of the cases as one of the main reasons why the respondents (unoccupied persons) can not find a job.

The type of contacts (visits, kinship, colleagues) which the Roma have with people of other ethnic affiliation influence their perception of discrimination: for instance, the people with formal occupations which pay reciprocal visits with non-Roma people consider that they are treated similarly or even better than the non-Roma in the public institutions, while those who have/had Roma colleagues have the same opinion regarding the treatment at work.

Chart 9
Perception of discrimination compared to other ethnic groups
(Romanians, Magyars) at... %



The pensioners trust most the public institutions, considering them to be more egalitarian in a greater proportion than the Roma of all surveyed occupational categories. The inter-group tolerance is the same for all the interviewed Roma, irrespective of their occupational status: the homosexuals are the category least tolerated, while the Roma are the best tolerated category in all four instances (neighbours, school colleagues, work colleagues or family members).

Table 5.
Groups of persons that you would not like to be your....

	Moslems	Immigrants	Homosexuals	Roma	Magyars	Hebrews
Neighbours	23.7%	19.9%	35.8%	15.6%	19.9%	20.2%
School colleagues	3.2%	2.2%	11.8%	0.6%	2.6%	3.3%
Work colleagues	3.8%	3.3%	12.2%	0.8%	3.1%	4.3%
Family members	6.2%	4.0%	17.2%	1.7%	4.2%	5.7%
Wouldn't mind	63.2%	70.6%	22.9%	81.3%	70.2%	66.5%

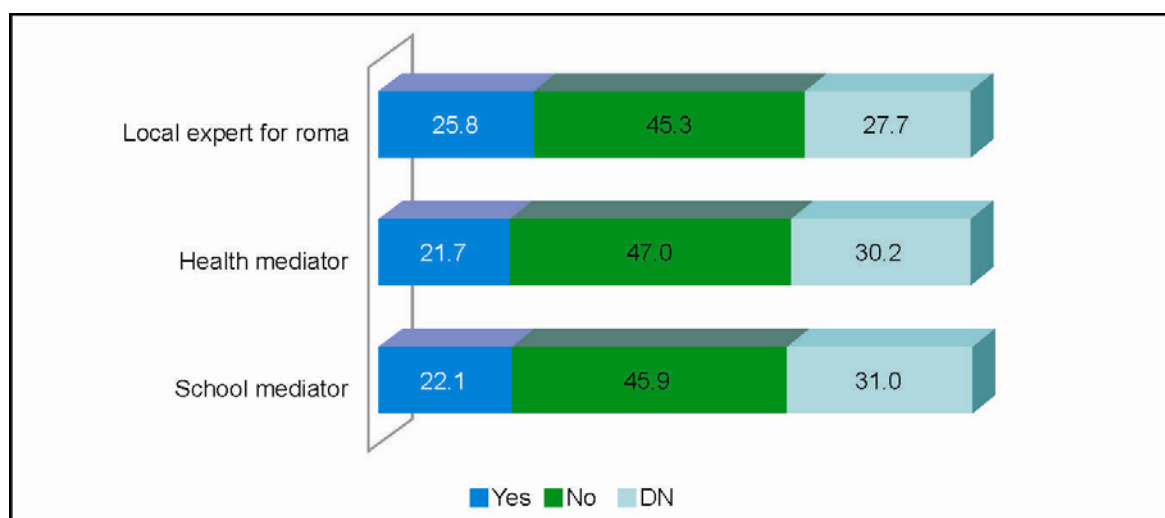
IV.7 Political representation

The political representation and participation of the minorities is a benefit both for those particular minorities, and for the rest of society (Rauws et al, 2009). The mechanisms which determine these benefits pertain to the fact that by the political participation of the minorities, which reflects their structure, there are higher odds that the adopted policies observe more the needs and diversity of the population (*idem*).

In this section we will approach the political representation of the Roma at the community level, having as indicators both the behaviour at elections (as political participation), and their image on leadership and on the appeal to acknowledged authorities to solve community of personal problems.

The key pattern to answer the questions presuming either the identification of the different actors from the locality (mayor, school mediator, medical mediator, Roma expert), or the evaluation of their activity, is given by a distribution with high values of the answer “I don’t know”. This low level of knowledge is explained by the low educational level of the Roma population. The high percentage of “I don’t know” answers regarding the existence of these actors may show a poor connection with community life and, implicitly, the lack of an adequate access to the potential resources for social inclusion.

Chart 9
Existence within the community



At the individual level, the lack of such awareness may show, on the one hand, the low insertion in community life, which may potentially deepen the occupational problems when the individual doesn’t update the connections that would be helpful to get the resources. At the community level, this low level of awareness may have rather objective causes, such as the lack of visibility and/or transparency of the Roma experts’ and mediators’ (school and medical) activity. As we have seen, those who know of the existence of the three actors within the community (the mediators and the Roma expert) may evaluate their activity, evaluation which is mostly positive.

Therefore, their activity reaches a rather narrow group which benefits of their services. Direct information and higher transparency of their activity may be a solution to reduce the lack of civic competence of the Roma population.

Passing from information to active participation, we will analyse now the participation to ballots, indicator for the political involvement. 74.2% of the interviewed people aged over 18 declared to have voted in the 2009 presidential elections.

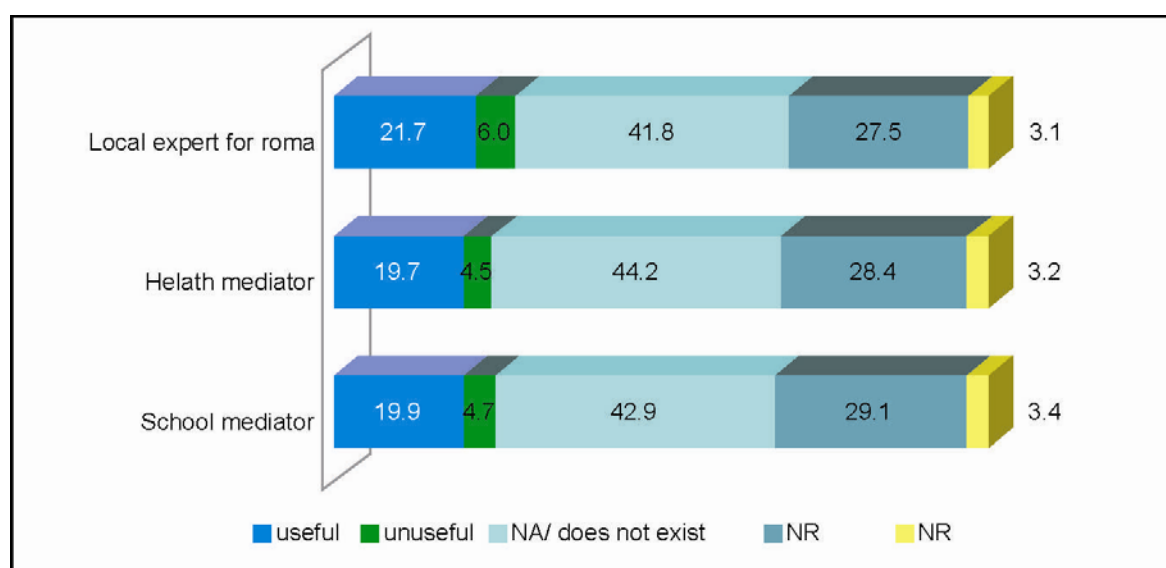
The most popular Roma leaders are Mădălin Voicu, Nicolae Păun, King Cioabă (in this order). The respondents nominated other people too, the most frequently mentioned ones being Ilie Dincă, Nicolae Guță, Florin Salam and the mayor of district 5 from Bucharest, Marian Vanghelie. Mădălin Voicu, Nicolae Păun and King Cioabă are, in the same order, on the top positions of the Roma leaders as reported in the 2007 Barometer of Roma Inclusion (O. Voicu, 2007, 29).

The respondents who could nominate at least one Roma leader (first option) display a significant relation between their capacity to identify the Roma leader and the area of residence, on the one hand, and with the consumption of culture, on the other hand (how often they read the papers/journals, listen to the radio, read books or watch TV).

The evaluation of the activity of the mediators and of the Roma expert may be an indicator of the civic competency of the Roma, as well as of their effort to become responsible in front of possible resources.

Chart 10

Evaluation of the activity of the local mediators and of the Roma expert %



The data show that we can not speak of an evaluation of the activity of the three types of actors with intervention role at the local level, because the proportion of those not answering to the question or of those who can not give own evaluation, for each of the two mediators and for the expert, exceeds 50% of the answers.

The evaluation of the mediators and of the Roma expert differs with the education of the respondents. Thus, the people with more education (vocational school or high school) consider in a higher proportion that the activity of the school mediators, of the medical mediator and of the Roma expert is useful in the locality.

The distribution of the “I don’t know” answers decreases with the increase of the educational level (up to vocational school or high school). None of the few people with post high-school, university or post-university education responded “I don’t know” when they evaluated the activity of the mediators and of the Roma expert. Thus, we can say that the people with a low educational level show very little cognitive availability to evaluate the activity of these local actors, particularly since it is very probable that the information on the activity of these mediators and of the Roma expert do not reach the social categories with low educational level.

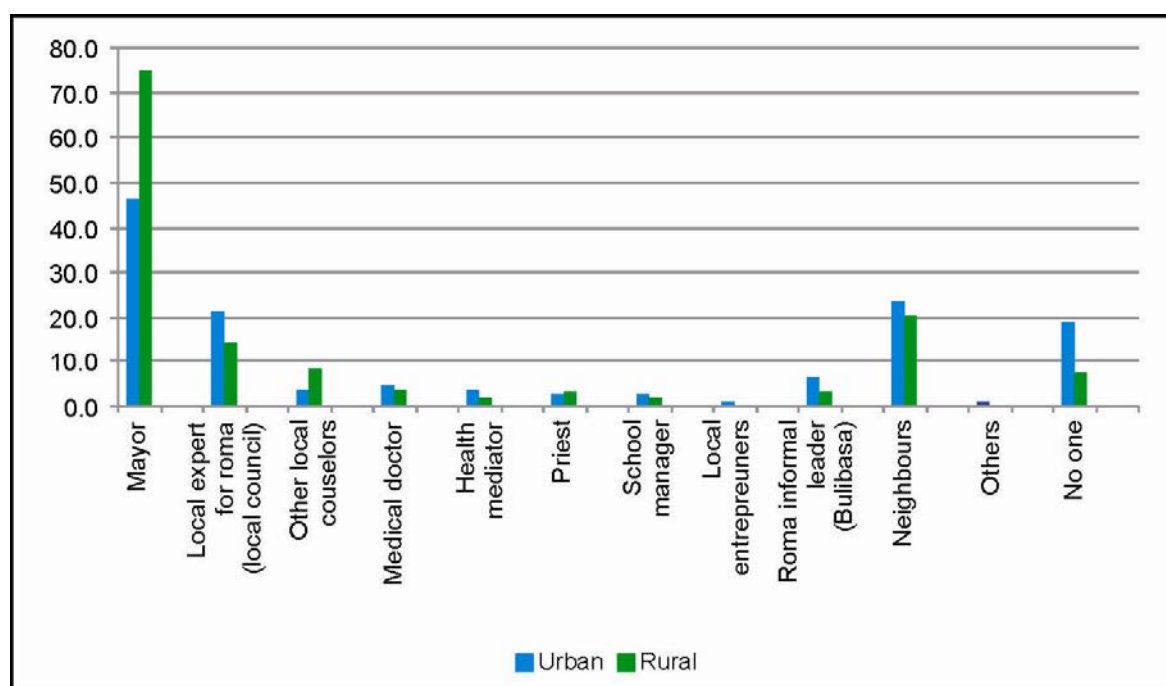
The gender differences in the evaluation of these local actors do not seem to be significant, the distribution of answers being similar for the two groups; even for the different answers there is a trend of similitude of answers. There also is a trend of polarization between two extremes: useful activity versus the impossibility to give an evaluation of the activity (“I

don't know"). For instance, in the case of the school mediator, 38.5% of the men consider that his/her activity is useful, 9.4% consider it useless and 50% can not tell. On the one hand there may be a desirability of the answer giving a positive evaluation, and on the other hand, we may speak of the lack of visibility of the activity of these mediators and of the Roma expert, which makes it impossible for the respondents to give an answer.

The question which required the respondents to point out where would they seek help for a problem or where would they make a proposition is a measure of their representations about the local leaders or about the individual authorities, also showing a wider or more focused network of actors who should make the life easier for the respondents, giving them a narrower or larger social capital.

From the research data we notice that the appeal to individual actors to solve problems is focused on a few options from the list (Chart 11). The mayor holds the monopoly in Roma options, followed at a great length by the local counsellor for Roma problems and by the neighbours. The top three options show a mix used to solve the problems officially and unofficially.

Chart 11.
Support to solve problems



The mediators do not appear among the first answer options of the respondents; the institutional representatives such as the priest, the school principal and the teachers also play a supportive role in problem solving, the priest more than the school representatives, while the family appears somewhere in between. Thus, the pattern of the appeal for support to an authority is rather narrow, focused primarily on the officially acknowledged authorities, then on the informal authorities such as the priest and the school representatives.

The level of education doesn't yields significantly different patterns of appeal to these authorities; most probably, it is the nature of relations within the community which determines the pattern of interaction. The orientation towards different actors to solve a

problem differs with the area of residence (Chart 11). Thus, the rural people go more to the mayor/deputy mayor (74.7%), than the urban people (44%)⁶⁰. On the other hand, the urban people go more to the local counsellor on Roma problems (21%) than the rural people do (14%). The explanation might be the inexistence of a local counsellor for the Roma in some rural areas, and a higher influence of the mayor/deputy mayor in the rural areas, which might drive more the people to them. The mediators are pointed out more by the urban people than by the rural people, same as NGOs representatives. However, the appeal to the neighbours seems to be significantly higher in the rural communities.

IV.8. Alternative strategies. Mobility and immigration

At the region level, the international migration can be “read” from the indirect information on those who went abroad and from the past migration experience of those present. The first part of the section shows such information. We will try to characterise the travels abroad of the Roma population based on the declared purpose of the mobility (work – other purposes); then, we will investigate the migration experience to work abroad at household level and at the individual level. The second section investigates the intentions to travel abroad during the immediately following period (12 months).

Experience of international immigration of the Roma population

The experience of mobility abroad of the Roma population is most an experience of work⁶¹. The questionnaire recorded the travels abroad in the hypothesis of a high diversity of the types of travel according to their purposes. Such strategy is used successfully (a large number of cases recorded) for the overall population of Romania. In the case of the Roma population, however, going abroad has a clear meaning: it is the place where you can make money. The limited resources of a poor population in comparison with the dominant population, explains largely this situation. Table 8 tries to illustrate this assertion with survey data: the percentage of the people who reported a travel abroad for other purposes than to work is half of the percentage of those reporting a working experience. The situation is similar for other people from the household.

The predominance of the travels for work within the total travels abroad becomes clearer when the people travelling abroad are identified by reference to the experience of the migration for work: 40% of the respondents who travelled abroad for other purposes than working, also have an experience of migration for work abroad. At the household level, the pattern is even clearer: 73% of the households which have at least one member who travelled abroad also include at least one member who worked abroad. We can not make any assertion on the succession of the two types of experience: we do not know whether the migration for work increases the chances to travel for other purposes; or whether the travels are those who stress the migration for work. It is important, nevertheless, that the two types of travels are connected. Again, the experience of going abroad seems to be essentially linked to work. Starting from this conclusion, the investigation of travelling abroad will be approached exclusively at the level of the mobility abroad with the purpose to work.

⁶⁰ The significance test that we used is the z test to compare the proportions with adjusted values using Bonferroni's method (to allow multiple comparisons), for a significance level of $p=0.05$

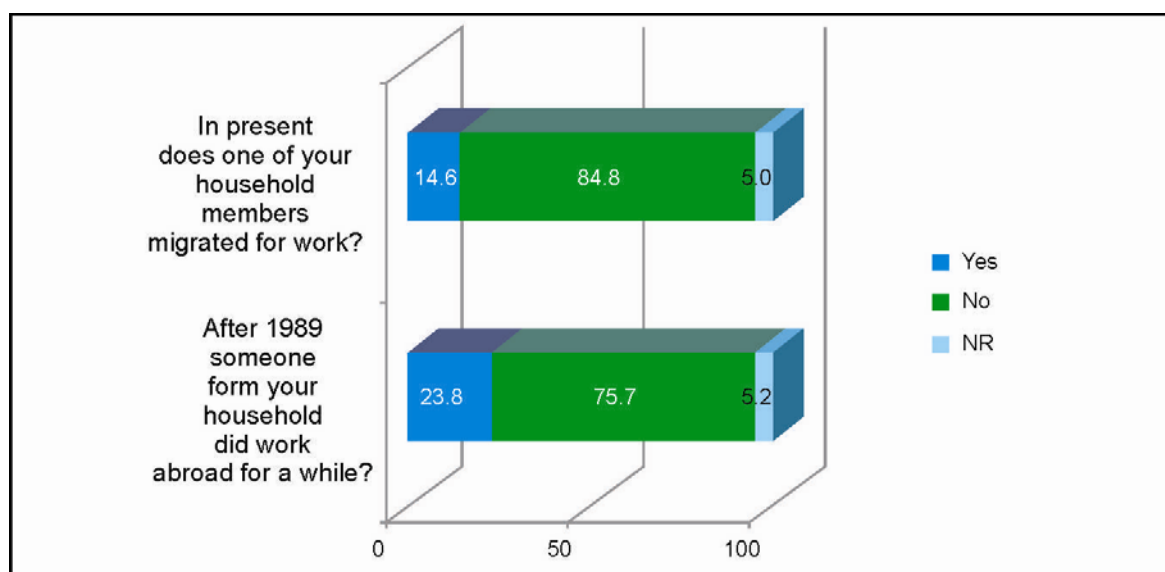
Table 6:
Experience of travelling abroad function of the stated purpose (%)

	Respondent	Another household member
Travelling abroad after 1989 <i>to work</i>	16.3	23.8
Travelling abroad after 1989 for purposes other than work	8.4	7.8

Experience of migration abroad to work at household level

About 15% of the respondents said that at least one member of their household works abroad (Chart 8). If we expand the estimation for the post-1989 period up to the moment of the survey and we sum up the answers, the percentage of the household which *had* or *have* at least one member working abroad after 1989 (irrespective whether it is the respondent or another household member), the proportion reaches about a third of the total number of households. The comparisons that might display the differences between the Roma population and other ethnic populations, or the Romanian population, are difficult to make. At a highly general level, we might say that the percentages don't seem to show an increased mobility of the Roma population in comparison with the total population (see Box 1, for details on the difficulties of comparison).

Chart 12:
Experience of migration at the individual and household level



The estimations must be treated with caution, however: the survey doesn't cover the households which are entirely abroad at the moment of the survey, which is why the real percentage of the people with working experience abroad may be undervalued.

Box 1. Precautions in comparing the data

Percentages such as those mentioned in the text, read by themselves, are not intended to answer adequately a question such as: are the Roma as mobile internationally, by relation to the total population of Romania? Little estimation is available for comparison, and any such operation need increased caution, on the one hand because the international migration (particularly in Romania) is a highly dynamic process and, on the other hand, because the formulation of the questions from the questionnaires can be highly different. Furthermore, we do not know how much similar are the mobility patterns of the Roma population with the mobility patterns of the rest of population. Even if the methodological problems would be surmounted by the formulation of identical questions, the high dynamics of migration induces difficulties when comparing the estimations from different years, even if these years are close in time. There have been at least two events in the recent migration of the Romanians that might have influenced significantly the development of the process: the accession of Romania to the European Union (2007), which gave the Romanian citizens more rights for the international circulation within the EU, and surmounting (2009) the first segment from the package of the restrictive measures limiting the access of the Romanian citizens on different labour markets. The lack of information on the specific mobility patterns⁶² of the Roma population hinders the possibility to make comparisons. A simple counting of the households including a member who worked abroad might lead to highly different results for a population which uses a migration based on a intense circulation (short-time departures), in relation with a population which uses long(er) periods of work abroad, even if migration may equally be a circulatory one.

Individual experience of migration for work

Of the total number of interviewed persons, 16% declared a direct experience of working abroad after 1989 (see Chart 11). The increase of the international geographic mobility during the recent period is reflected by the high percentage (14%), by comparison, of the people who went abroad to work during the last 5 years⁶³.

The pattern of mobility, at least for the recent period, seems to one dominated by short periods of staying abroad: only 6% of the total interviewed population lived abroad more than 6 month during the last 5 years (Chart 9). The experience of going abroad is not consistent in time: only 38% of the people who worked abroad lived there for more than 6 months. If the pattern of migration shows temporality/circularity, then the rather high percentage of the households which include at least one person who worked or who works abroad is partially explained here.

The types of activity performed by the people who went abroad “to make money” during the last 5 years are, overall, within the general patterns of migration of the Romanian citizens.

62 There are arguments to take into calculation the hypothesis of highly different mobility patterns of the Roma population compared to other ethnic groups (see, Reyniers, 2003).

63 The formulation of questions which yielded the two percentages is slightly different ("After 1989, did you work abroad for some time?" and "During the past five years, have you been abroad to make money?"). Making money is not necessarily associative with working; therefore, it is possible that the two categories don't overlap perfectly. If we take into consideration the fact that the percentage of the people who went abroad for other purposes than to work, then, it is very likely that the assertion from the text is correct.

Unlike the other questions regarding the experience of going abroad, the question on the type of activity performed while being out of Romania yielded a consistent share of non-answers: 35% (see Chart 14). Of course, the high percentage of the people who didn't answer may raise a question as to the legality of the money earning activities. However, we can not interpret univocally such distribution of the answers. The last 5 years (the year of reference becomes 2005) include a period previous to the EU accession and a period of two years in which the most important countries of destination of the Romanian migration imposed restrictions of access to the internal labour markets for the Romanian citizens. The employment in informal activities rather defines the post-1989 migration of the Romanians. Therefore, interpreting this figure exclusively as "hiding" illegal activities is a risky business.

Chart 13:
Individual experience of migration

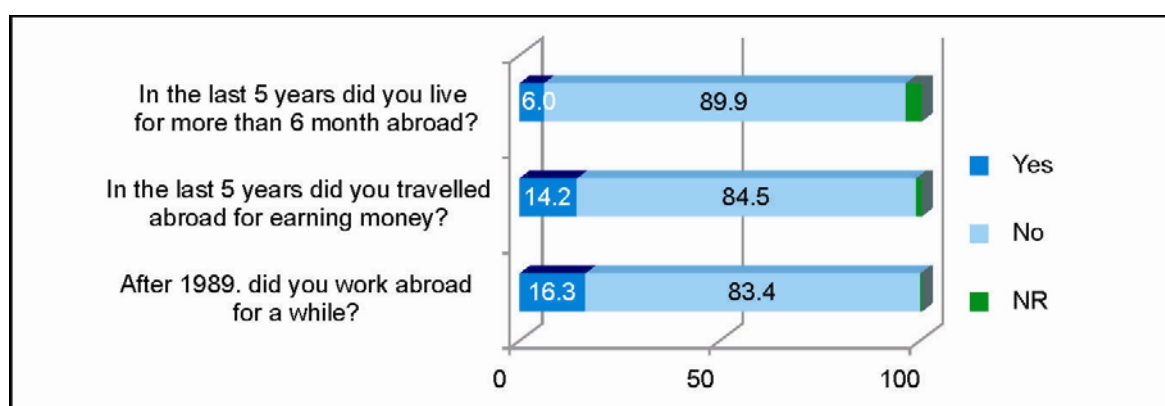
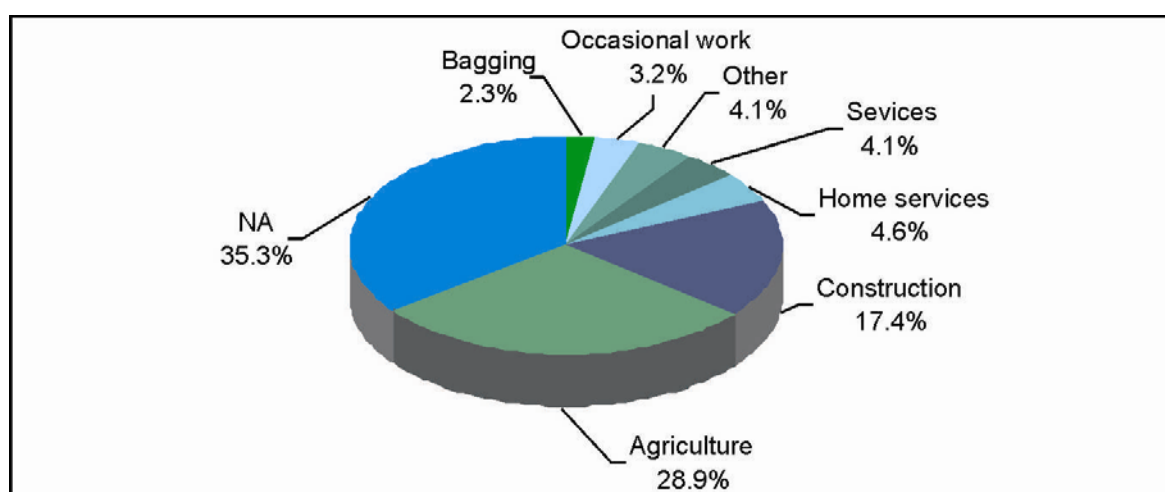


Chart 14:
Individual experience of migration abroad, income earning%

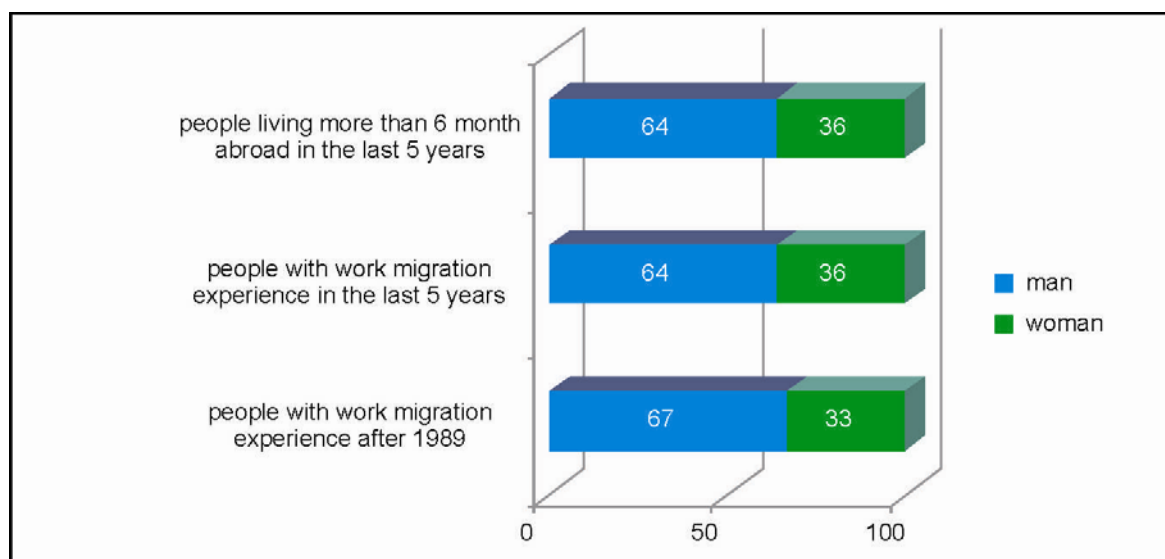


The distribution of answers suggests a stronger orientation of the Roma towards agriculture, in relation with the total migrating Romanian population. It is possible that the higher proportion of the people who worked in agriculture is overestimated due to the selection of the return migration: agriculture presumes seasonal work. It is logical to assume that the work in agriculture was more frequent among the people who returned, than among the

total Roma population which migrated. If at the level of the total Romanian migration we are accustomed with a family consisting of a constructor and a house cleaner (Sandu, 2010) the pattern seems to be slightly different for the Roma.

Unlike the general migration of the Romanians, the Roma population declares a consistently reduced involvement in household activities. The situation is probably the result of a lower consistent migration of the Roma women (the house cleaning sector is associated with a strong feminization) (see Chart 14). Unlike the general trend of the migration for work of the Romanian citizens, the migration of the Roma population seems to be marked by a gender misbalance. The slight decrease of the proportion of men for the recent period (last 5 years) seems to suggest a trend of increasing involvement of women in migration. The period of time (5 years) is rather long and the change of percentage rather small, to allow clear-cut conclusions.

Chart 15:
Involvement of women in migration %



Intentions of the Roma population to leave for foreign countries

The questions regarding the future marked, obsessively, we might say, the interest for the phenomenon of international migration in Romania (particularly the immigration variant) over the past 2 decades. The fall of the communist regimes within a short period of time suddenly opened up the whole world (with a consistent population). The fear, soon after 1989, of the Western Europe capitals for a possible (if not imminent) invasion by migration from east, persisted for a while. The signs about “what will be” in terms of migration continued to remain important and formed the basis for restrictive measures on people mobility in most European countries (EU member states mainly). The obsession of invasion is much more prominent in the case of a population such as the Roma.

The intention to travel abroad may be rather considered among the weak signs as clues for a possible future behaviour. The intention to travel abroad shows mainly a category of people dissatisfied with the present situation, who consider the possibility of changing the place of residence in search of a quite vaguely defined “better” (see the pattern of the decision to

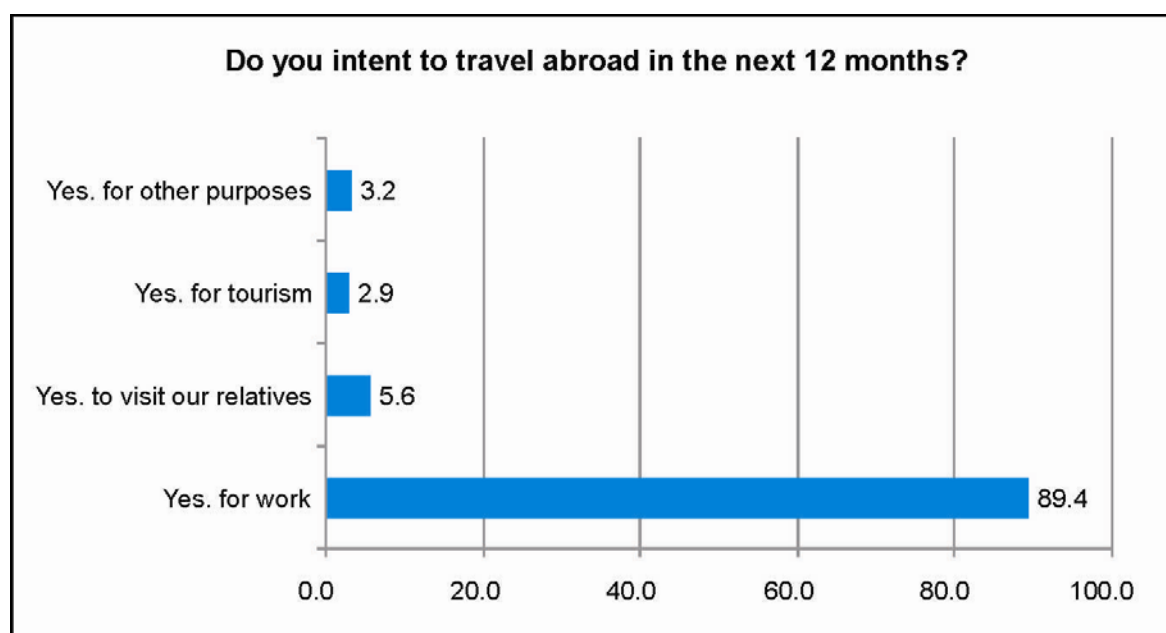
migrate proposed by Hugo, 1981). Taking into calculation the possibility to go abroad is much so probable as the individual belongs to a social environment impregnated with information on the opportunities available abroad. From intention to the migration behaviour there is often a long road and, many times, marked by giving up: either there are no resources needed to make the intention come true, or other opportunities appear until the intention to migrate becomes firm (see Sandu, 2006, 2010). The form in which the information was gathered (intention to leave abroad), without collecting details on how much structured is the intention, doesn't allow, in our opinion, an alternative interpretation of the data (on the importance of how much structured the intention to migrate is, see Sandu, 2010).

The question on the intention to go abroad in the immediately following period shows clear options: only a very low percentage of the interviewed persons didn't answer (1% of the sample) and a low percentage doesn't know whether they will go abroad or not (4%). As expected, the great majority of the population displays an option of stability: 73% of the interviewed people don't consider the possibility of going abroad during the next 12 months, irrespective of the purpose, while 22% declare that they will travel abroad.

The minority which includes in its plans for the near future a travel abroad, does it with a specific purpose: less than 1% of the interviewed people declared several purposes of their possible travels. Work is the main attraction associated to going abroad (almost 90% of the people expressing an intention to go abroad want to work there) (see Chart 16). Although the Romanian migration can be fundamentally characterized by social networks within which the kinship relations play an important role, only 6% of those intending to go abroad, would do it to visit his/her relatives. However, the information can be interpreted only indirectly and with caution as indicator of a poor incorporation in a network migration which preserves the link origin-destination.

For a population with low income level, tourism abroad is a marginal strategy to spend the free time (about 3% of those intending to go abroad would do it with tourist purposes).

Chart 16:
Intention to travel abroad function of the anticipated purpose %



Going abroad is therefore strongly associated to the opportunity of making money from work. The job abroad seems to be particularly the option of the employed and of the unoccupied population (including the school pupils and students), clearly dominated by the latter category (70% of those intending to go abroad).

At the level of the occupational categories (excepting the pensioners), working abroad seems to be equally capitalized by employees, entrepreneurs or self-employed people, by the population involved in traditional professions and by the unoccupied population (the percentage of the people intending to go abroad in the following 12 months ranges between 22% for the inactive persons and 28% for the entrepreneurs and the licensed self-employed people). If there doesn't seem to be major differences between the manner of capitalization (by intention) of the act of working abroad, the resources or the pressure to migrate are the factors which shape the occupational profile of those intending to go abroad.

Function of the area of residence, those intending to work abroad represent in similar proportions the rural and the urban, with a slight "advantage" for the rural people.

The gender brings considerable differentiations among the population intending to go abroad to work: 60% of them are men, displaying a similar percentage to work abroad. As expected, the wish to work abroad is marked by age differences: those wanted to leave are younger than those not interested by such option (the age difference is about 10 years between the two categories – 32 for those wanting to go, 42 for those not wanting). If we work with age categories, it becomes even clearer the idea that those intending to leave belong, in great majority, to the young population: 70% of them are aged 18 to 30.

Internal migration at the Roma population

Migration during the recent period

In migration, a period of 6 months spent outside the place of residence is one of the thresholds used to consider the person as migrant. The collected information allows a discussion of the internal migration during the past 5 years (taking the moment of survey as the reference point), with specifications concerning the destination – type of the arrival locality (rural/urban) and the distance travelled (migration within the same county/migration to another county).

The data reveal a rather low level of domestic migration: from the total sample, only 5% of the respondents lived during the last 5 years, for at least 6 months outside their locality of residence. The great majority of these people practiced a migration oriented towards a single type of locality (either rural, or urban, from the same county, from a different county). Although the questionnaire doesn't record the number of migration events, just the typology of their occurrence in the terms specified previously (in other words, if a person lived repeatedly for a period longer than 6 months outside the locality of residence, but in the same type of locality, on the same distance – for instance another rural locality from the same county – only one record is done), the fact that the people only declare, the great majority of them, one type of travel, may be regarded as indicator of a low domestic mobility, probably oriented by a clearly defined project. If the way of defining migration decreases the length from which the travel can be considered migration to 3 months, the image that we have just described might change. It is also possible that such a manner of measuring migration (travels longer than 6 months) is unable to capture the travels associated to the practice of traditional professions (for instance, the people making boilers/alembics, who travel for variable periods with the purpose to sell their products).

The low number of the situations of domestic migration for periods longer than 6 months doesn't allow detailed analyses regarding the type of travel or the characteristics of the people taking them. It is worthy mentioning that, unlike the situation of the travels abroad, in the situation of the domestic travels, women form the majority (almost 70% of the persons who lived outside the locality of residence more than 6 months are women). Under the conditions of a low general migration it is possible that migration is especially the result of travelling due to marriage.

Lifelong migration

From a demographic perspective, unlike other events, migration can be a repetitive event. The people can change several times during their lifetime the locality of residence. Lifelong migration describes the difference between the place of birth and the place of residence, recorded at a specific moment in time. Between the two residences, people can change domicile several times, or they may return to the point of departure. The reading indications for such data are rather in terms of migrants, not migrations (on the way to interpret lifelong migration, see Rotariu and Mezei, 1999).

At the sample level, about 57% of the people were born in the locality where they presently live. We may possibly discuss about people who have never left their locality of residence, or of people who, after one or several migration experiences, returned to the place of their birth. Of those who have changed their place of residence at least once, the most frequent travel is in-county: more than 72% of the persons who changed residence, have chosen a locality from the same county, with a slight preference for the urban localities (38% compared to 34% who preferred rural localities).

Those who have at least one event of domestic migration in their lifetime are rather women (60%) and people living now in rural areas (68%).

Using the same information from a different perspective, we might say that the residential stability (or the return to the same locality) are rather specific to the urban environment (66% of the urban residents are born in the same locality, while only 54% of the rural residents are born in the same locality) and to men (61% of the men have the same place of domicile as their place of birth, while only 53% of the women have this situation). If town people stability might be explained by the wider choice of opportunities available in the urban environment, the movement of women is rather related to a marriage and change of residence towards the husband's place, in a higher proportion than the reverse situation. In terms of destination, the urban population seems to be oriented mostly to the rural areas from the same county and towards the urban areas from the neighbouring counties. The rural population focuses its movement particularly towards the same county, especially towards the urban areas. Men and women prefer the short distance routes, focused within the same county.

V. Employment in Roma communities.

Qualitative study

V1. Level and profile of employment in the surveyed communities

The interviewed persons pointed to some common elements which characterise the situation of the Roma people in terms of employment in all the surveyed communities:

- Low employment rates of the Roma on the formal labour market;
- High proportion of the Roma working as hired hands and in the informal economy, with no labour book and without access to social insurance;
- Lower educational capital compared to the dominant population;
- An important part of the Roma are assisted socially by the MGI, which is disapproved in some communes by the dominant Romanian population;
- Low efficiency, until now, of the programs for integration on the labour market, run by the county and central authorities for the Roma population.

The communist policy improved the situation of the Roma through education and by employing them. Part of the Roma worked during the communist period in State-owned agricultural enterprises (IAS) or in Agricultural production cooperatives (CAP), while others worked in industry. The stimulation of school attendance during the same period contributed to the increase of the intergenerational social mobility and to the increase of the educational capital of the Roma. Part of the Roma people was qualified on the job and used the work experience within an organized framework. Presently, part of the Roma who worked before 1989 are pensioners, beneficiary of social insurances; even if the amount they receive is very low, it provides a basic income and access to the health care system.

The marginal position on the labour market rendered vulnerable the Roma people who were employed in 1989, as the Agricultural production cooperatives and the State-owned agricultural enterprises were cancelled. Their capacity for reconversion or shifting to other activities, was low. On the background of shrinking industry and cancellation of the organised forms of agriculture, the Roma were left outside of employment. The scarcity of jobs was strongly felt by most of the population which was previously employed in factories or plants. The dominant population turned to forms of survival such as subsistence agriculture, for the rural people, early retirement and reconversion and shifting towards the services area. The Roma from the rural areas were exposed most to falling into extreme poverty because the job offer in the rural areas decreased dramatically, and the subsistence agriculture and animal rearing in the households were not activities that characterized many Roma people. The financial problems of the Roma drove them to sell the land they received in the 90s, so they could/t afford to buy and raise animals.

The low educational capital, compared to the dominant population, is relevant to the current employment situation of the Roma. Most Roma people don't have enough education to

access the qualified jobs existing on the formal market, and the number of unskilled jobs is limited and badly paid. Under the conditions in which a large number of Roma women are working in the household, and the families have a large number of children, and the husband often is the only one earning money, the income he can bring from unskilled work is not enough to support the family.

The interviewed authorities noted that the Roma join the labour market much sooner than the Romanians do, and that there is inequality in terms of access to education between the Roma boys and girls and the traditional ethnics.

The Roma are aware of the low odds and they understand the mechanisms pushing them to this problematic situation. They often expressed hope that their children will be able to break this vicious circle of lack of education and of integration on the labour market. For the elder generation, integration is less probable, the Roma people said, because “we don’t have education”, but for the younger generation the impact of the programs of school integration or of qualification, may have a decisive impact.

„At least for the children to be better; for us it is too late; they should go to school, so they can get hired in some place, not like us” (woman, 32)

„There have been all kinds of programs to get the children to school, even these elder ones; and it is good this way, otherwise they end up like us. Its better to have more..[grades]” (man, 52)

The employment perspectives were perceived adversely by the interviewed persons, the worries for the employment perspectives being higher on the background of the economic crisis. The jobs are few and they often require at least a medium level of qualification, the Roma people said. The poor education and qualification level of the Roma has been invoked by them as the main factor pushing them towards working in the informal economy, towards living just for the present day, with no perspectives and plans on the long term.

„The local employers... don’t you see what is going on? People are sacked by the dozen. Will you fire a Romanian just to keep a Gypsy? ...no way...if even the Romanians don’t have jobs, what shall I say about us...” (informal Roma leader)

„We would like to do any work, but nobody needs us, because we don’t know to do anything. We only know to work with our hands, cleaning, hauling. And how much demand for this kind of work?” (woman, 30)

„We don’t know to write, read, ... nothing. Nobody needs people to haul or to dig. ..for us, only the scrap metal is the single source of earning” (man, 46)

The main actors who should support them and enlarge the range of opportunities are the local authorities and the Roma Party, as the Roma say. The lack of support from the political leaders of the RP was frequently mentioned in part of the interviews or focus- groups with Roma people.

„The main problems of the Roma are here ... the job, we don’t have a job; these are the main problems, nobody gives us a job, at least on behalf of the Roma Party, we don’t have any support. If they don’t help us, then what can we claim from the others? The Town Hall did for us more than the Roma Party did.” (informal Roma leader)

„Nobody supports us. From the Town Hall, what can I say..? they don’t have enough for them, where from give to the Gypsies too? But why doesn’t the party do something, the Party, because after all,

they have our votes. There are two counsellors for the first time in the history of this town. When does a Roma get to be counsellor?" (informal Roma leader 2)

The lack of jobs on the formal labour market is a structural problem in some counties. The predominant agricultural profile of some counties, such as Teleorman, for instance, emphasized by the disappearance of the local industry, generates an employment profile with a predominantly seasonal character, reflected in poorly paid activities in the surveyed communities from this County. Furthermore, the economic crisis affected the offer of jobs for the people commuting to towns where they working in some areas where there was still need for people, such as the constructions.

The preponderantly informal employment of the Roma was mentioned by all the interviewed authorities: *"informal work is much more frequent than it is at the Romanians, ... if out of four people, one is working legally, then it is good"* (local authority).

The perception of the institutional representatives is that the Roma have less opportunities to get a job on the formal labour market because of their poor education and skills, ad because they are not motivated enough to come on the formal labour market, some of them being involved in he informal labour. The combination of income from working as hired hand in *"spring-summer season"*, is completed with the package of social benefits, either social benefit or, less, unemployment indemnity, aid for heating, during the *"autumn-winter season"*.

This combination of incomes allows them to survive, at a minimal level for part of the Roma population with poor qualifications, being a context which generates a poor motivation to get integrated into the formal labour market, where the wages a low but whose demands, according to the representatives of the County Employment Office (AJOFM), the Roma people are not willing to observe, at least not for those low wages. The same rigours may be deterring factors to participate in training for qualification.

„Because, probably, it is difficult to get up in the morning every day (...). They don't have the habit of an ordered working style. This is something they have to get accustomed as early as from the kindergarten, from school". (public institution representative)

At the same time, however, according to County Bureau for the Roma (BJR) representatives, and to the local experts in the Roma people, who were interviewed, there is a part of the Roma who only succeed to accesses social benefits, sometimes not even that, because if reasons such as the lack of ID papers. These are the most vulnerable and those who would need the most programs to facilitate their access to the labour market but, unfortunately, they are institutionally *"invisible"*. Such as case of extreme social marginalization is the Roma community from Hărânglab, Mica commune, Mureş County.

The people said that the employment of low-skilled people is not just the problem of the Roma people, but it is a general problem for the people with low educational standards. The labour market is segmented: a sector of formal jobs, on the long term, but which required qualification, properly paid and with numerous benefits; and there also is a sector with temporary jobs, which demand poor qualification, are improperly paid and most often are in the informal economy. Being poorly skilled, the Roma population is employed mostly in this second sector. We can not speak of ethnic discrimination on the labour market, although isolated cases existed; rather there is de facto discrimination, resulting from this segmentation of the jobs.

On the other hand, there is a low interest of the employers to hire Roma ethnics. There have been cases when the employment of Roma people was supported, but these were exceptions. For instance, in Jilava, a tailoring company employed a large group of Roma people and even facilitated their transportation to the place of work in a mini bus. The case of the employer from Jilava is rather singular.

The explanation resides, mainly, in the poor qualification of the Roma and only thereafter in the ethnic stereotypes and in the associated negative labels:

„Many employers have this conception that the Roma don't work, that they don't do their job properly, that you can not trust them, that they steal. These are mentalities enrooted in the course of generations, and it is difficult to change them” (Ilfov AJOFM representative).

„If today, when I get up, I don't feel like working, there is no problem, they won't fire me. If I am employed legally and I miss a day from work, there are sanctions (Teleorman AJOFM representative). „Today I work, and today I get my money, I don't have to wait one month.” (idem).

The perception that the Roma don't want to work, don't want to get employed legally, also exists among the authorities which should facilitate their relation with the formal labour market.

“It is not that the employer doesn't want them, it is they who don't want the employer (Ilfov AJOFM representative), statement justified by the fact that for more than 2 months there is in Pantelimon an offer of an employer for 20 unskilled workers, and the jobs are not yet taken: “In principle, they don't quite want to work, I mean they don't quite like going to work. Although we tried, we would like to help them, but they don't want. This is my opinion. They prefer to make money in the street, then receiving a job”. (AJOFM representative).

Another problem is the practice of employers to offer jobs just from “formalism”: the free jobs are posted just to in agreement with the legislation, but actually those jobs are already “taken”: *„The informal system works better than the formal one. We got to know how to “read” the jobs. The employer fulfils its duty to offer the job, but often already has the person for that job” (AJOFM representative).*

The low motivation for integration in the labour market, under the conditions of modest wages equivalent for the unskilled work, favours the option for the informal work and for the combination of the income resources from social benefits (MGI) with the formal incomes from working by the day or during the season. The pay by the day can be advantageous sometimes for a person with no legal certification, some interviewed people said. A Roma working in constructions as hired hand, earns in a month more than the minimal wage on economy which he would receive for unskilled work on the formal labour market, the only job available according to the level of formal education. On the other hand, the working program can be less strict as hired hand.

Therefore, part of the Roma who are working in the informal sector and find such work regularly, may not be interested in AJOFM offer for jobs paid with the minimal wage in economy. The informal work offers to some of the Roma people the possibility to benefit concomitantly of the social aid too, which triggered adverse reactions from the authorities in some communities.

The minimal guaranteed income, awarded most often to the Roma people from a community, is a sensitive subject for the public opinion in some of the surveyed communities. The

relevant law is subject of dispute even by one of the interviewed Roma leaders: „it was observed that the people receiving this aid remained year by year in this situation, with *minimal guarantee incomes, and wee not interested, co-interested, to get a job. There were no levers, pressures, telling them: well, we gave you this social aid for one year, for two, three years... it is time for you to do something!*” (Roma leader). There also are opinions which support the necessity of such aid. Taking into consideration the low standard of living, the lack of such aid would only make some social tensions even more stressed. Furthermore, in order to receive this social aid, those people have to work for the community, which serves as education of the civic spirit and support to the idea of community.

In some areas, the local authorities know very well the occupational situation of the local Roma people and decided to cut the minimal guaranteed income for the persons working by the day. In several surveyed localities, this happens particularly during the summer months when the offer of jobs is larger. This measure increased the vulnerability of the Roma people taking into consideration that the income as hired hand is uncertain and occasional. The dissatisfaction of the beneficiaries increased, the measure being perceived as an injustice. The use of the minimal guaranteed income as main source of income by part of the Roma communities has an indirect social implication: community despise for the people living on social aid.

The crisis accentuated the problem of employment by affecting the sectors which employed people on a daily work basis. There are no data on the impact of the crisis on the employment of Roma people on the informal market in Romania or on the labour market in foreign countries, but the interviewed people were speaking of the decrease in the demand for work.

For instance, in Teișoru village, Pușcași commune (Vaslui County) the local authorities declared: „*until 2008, we hardly met the demands for work force in agriculture, while as of 2009, only seldom a truck comes to take people from Pușcași and from other places in the county, or from the neighbouring counties. Those who have land prefer to help mutually – collective work, just to avoid the additional costs with agriculture.*” (local leader)

Given their picturesque specificity, the Roma draw both supporters and contenders. The people working directly with them (town hall experts, Roma leaders) are most inclined to help them, understand them and, of course, be more tolerant „*the Roma want to work anywhere, but they can not, people don't accept them*”. These actors collaborate well with other local institutions as well: the police, the church or the dispensary. In contrast, the authorities from the local employment offices are vehement: “*they don't quite like to work, they don't want to go someplace to work, although we tried and we would like to help them, they don't want it; at least this is my opinion*”. Some local authorities have a neutral opinion, meaning that they don't consider that the Roma population raise special problems in their current activity.

The different standard of living and the different conditions of living are influenced not only by the educational level, but also by the mentality and traditions of the Roma, as the interviewed people said. The originally nomadic character of this population may be an argument in supporting their local „*carpe diem*” behaviour. The people live anchored in the present and are often looking for opportunities. Unlike the Romanians, who also use to practice a self-consumption economy – by cultivating their gardens – the Roma have always been predisposed to work in trade – sell and resell products.

„The Roma are rather interested by a daily income which to cover their daily necessities, tomorrow ... is another. I don't see them waiting 15 days to get paid or to be hired in a job paid once a month. It is something about our traditions and customs” (Roma expert).

The traditions also model the living space, which would seem full of contradictions in the eyes of a stranger. Often, in the case of the wealthy Roma, the luxury combines with elements which for a Romanian would show lack of civilization.

A redundant element in the explanations on the stage of Roma employment on the formal labour market is their level of education. Unfortunately, it is very low, many of the Roma having just the elementary education of the middle school. Few are those who graduated the high school. It is worrying that the most affected lately seem to be the young, their majority having no skills, unlike the Roma aged 40-50 who got their skills during the communist regime.

After 1990, school dropout increased, as the local authorities said, due to a strong decrease of the incomes of the Roma population (massive layoffs in the local industry). Within this context, some parents changed priorities. The investment in education was replaced by directing the children towards the chores required by the daily living. The implications of this process are visible comparatively to the average of the dominant population and forms the main obstacle to getting a job *“Most employers don't hire them because of their education; this would be the first criterion, so to say. Not having education, how can they be hired?”* (AJOFM representative).

V2. Types of opportunities to facilitate employment within the community

Depending on the community, the employment strategy shows local specificities according to the economic context of the area, to the implementation of programs addressing the local Roma people, on the educational stock of the community and on other strategies such as migration for work, requalification, etc.

Pantelimon and Jilava- communities adjacent to Bucharest

The location near a large city is an advantage for any community in getting a job and for the access to education. As expected, the Roma from the communities nearby Bucharest, such as the communities from Jilava or Pantelimon, which were included in the survey, have behaviours close to those of the dominant population: a larger proportion of them work, a larger share of the children go to school beyond the elementary grades, the number of children per family is lower. The contact with the large urban area, with the legal forms of work, the access to information and education, they all contributed to the emancipation of the communities nearby Bucharest. In these communities we meet some Roma entrepreneurs but, at the opposite pole, we also meet very poor Roma living on the scrap metal which they collect and sell. The social polarization of the Roma is high in these communities.

The Romanized Roma population nearby Bucharest also adopted family planning, so that the number of children decreased, closing to that of the dominant population. In these communities there is a sense of the importance of school for the children and of the effort the Roma are doing so that the next generation has access to a better life and to a better place of work on the formal labour market. The average age at wedding in these communities also tends to get closer the average age at wedding of the dominant population.

Several occupational typologies have been identified in the communes of Pantelimon and Jilava:

- Type 1 – the people doing unskilled works, in constructions (preponderantly the men), in factories (particularly women) or work by the day. This is probably the most widespread type.
- Type 2 – those who usually collect scrap metal or who collect things in the garbage dump; they are poorest people living a day at a time: “They go collect, all of them go, all the family, with children... 20 kilos of iron and all the family earns 500 thousands per day”
- Type 3 – young people with some education and who are working in the capital
- Type 4 – the successful Roma: generally, those who have own businesses
- Type 5 – those working outside Romania (Germany, France, Italy, Spain were the main destinations). This type is not widespread and it is not characteristic to these communes.

The main occupations in Pantelimon commune, are: hired hands (work by the day), brick layers, carpenters in constructions, janitors (cleaning), workers in the factories around, collection and sorting recyclable materials (ferrous, nonferrous), salesmen, ironing. Besides the mentioned incomes, the Roma also use other sources such as: small credits „buy food on credit”, „beggary” (only outside Romania) and children allocations. Another category of occupations, much smaller, but with higher incomes, are the entrepreneurship businesses (own business) in areas such as: real estate, recycling waste materials, trade – butcher shop, grocery. These are the successful:

„We have one at the butcher shop, hired there his daughter in law and his daughter, almost all of them are there, where they sell meat, where there are the private ones, so to say”.....„Another one dealt in real estate and now his sons, each of them have a vegetables, fruits stand in Obor... each with his house, big house for each. They had bamboo parquet, tailor-made furniture, curtains, drapes ... and what drapes (community medical assistant)

Many of the Roma interviewed in these two communities consider that the important changes can only be done by someone from the outside, intervening or offering help. Such an external impulse is necessary to get a job: *“they should ask as to do what we know to do, if we don't have education, we can only work with our hands ... cleaning, anything, hauling, digging, anything”* (Roma woman). However, there are people observing that changes have occurred in the occupational field, which require more involvement of the people looking for a job: *„The employers no longer seek work force, the work force is looking now for the employer and under the present conditions on the labour market, it is very difficult to draw the employer and tell him, come to Pantelimon”* (local expert). Furthermore, the involvement becomes even more vital in the case of an increased competition, cheap work force in most communities neighbouring Bucharest. Despite the competition, the market is far from being saturated and represents one of the most advantageous places to sell petty products *„people are managing how they can.. they knock on doors, at the blocks of flats, they sell a carpet”* (Roma woman).

We can therefore say that the Roma manage to make a living much easier in the communities neighbouring large towns, such as Bucharest, where the offer of income sources is much wider.

Teișoru village, Pușcași commune – a poor and isolated community

On the other hand, Pușcași village, Vaslui County, is one of the poorest communities surveyed during our study. In Pușcași commune there are two Roma communities, very different in terms of socio-economic conditions, life style, qualifications, mobility.

The Roma community from Pușcași village, known as “modoreni” and “lingurari”, is wealthier. Kindreds of the “modoreni”, constructors of clay houses and “lingurari”, making household appliances from wood, the Roma from Pușcași, because of the activities they do and because of the vicinity of the town, always had more sources of income, which allowed them to live better. Starting with the 90s, the members of this community were among the first ones to immigrate to Spain and Italy in search of a job, and these aspects are reflected in the living conditions (big, nice houses, properly endowed and equipped), educational level (their children go to school after the compulsory education ends, to the high schools and vocational schools from Vaslui town), social integration (many mixed marriages between the minority and dominant population, involvement on the communal life).

The Roma community from Teișoru village, Pușcaș commune, is very poor. Located far away from Vaslui town and from the Pușcași commune centre (4-5km), with roads which were difficult to travel on until some years ago – *the population of the village was isolated from November until March* – the Roma community from Teișoru has many socio-economic problems.

In the community from Teișoru, most of the population gets income from social assistance. Both the population and the representatives of the population or the Roma leaders say that the income is insufficient for the basic needs for food, medicines and utility fees.

The main cause for the lack of occupation: if most elderly people graduated no more than 2-3 grades, the younger ones had finished the compulsory education, but this is not enough to find a job in an economy which offers less and less jobs but demands increasingly elaborated competencies. Many would want to continue their studies, but only the cost of transportation from their village to Vaslui town exceeds their possibilities and schooling remains most times in the stage of wish.

An income source for the villagers, extremely fluctuant, is selling wild forest fruits on the market. The lack of documents attesting their quality of traders, the quality and safety of the merchandise they sell, makes it a difficult enterprise.

The Roma from Schinași, Negrești village – traditional occupation of brick makers

The Roma from Schinași, Negrești village, gradually stop doing their traditional occupation of brick makers, because they don't have market for their products, despite the recent implementation of a local project for the revival of the traditional local trade. The project managed, for a short while, to ensure incomes to the Roma people, but it was dropped because there were no buyers.

The Roma from Schinași, Negrești village are very poor people, with large families (11 children on the average). Their houses have no water, sewage and electric power. Few are those earning an income, even from social aid and, although the number of children is quite high, and in the community there is a school, the educational level of many remains at 3-4 grades.

Part of the community members produce “ecological bricks” or mud bricks, even if there is no buyer or order for these products. What they can’t sell dries out, or is destroyed by the rain. Through the program – “Factory of ecological bricks” – the Roma had for 8 months a stable and satisfying income, the program being one of the few activities/actions done by the Roma and with Roma. The program ended, however, and the Roma leader considers that it is little probable that such a program will be run again successfully: people don’t buy mud bricks anymore, so there is no more demand on the market, which to bring incomes.

The authorities also appreciated the project “Factory of ecological bricks”, but they say that most of the 30 Roma people included in the project abandoned it before the program was finished, sign of lack of seriousness.

The Roma from Schinași, in the opinion of the authorities, are satisfied with the social aid, they don’t have perspectives of medium and long-term plans. It all comes down to here and now. This was seen, according to the authorities, in the case of the benefits received through the Social canteen and in the case of the emergency aids: the Roma don’t take the food home to their children, but sell them for little cash, which they spend in pubs. This draws criticism from the local majority population. In Negrești there is a true black market for the foods the Roma receive in aid. The same behaviour was observed when the Roma received construction materials for houses within a program run by the town hall: *„many Roma from Schinași received construction materials, but too few used them to build a house, because most sold them.”* The poverty, lack of jobs, of education and information, caused the deterioration of the relations between the Roma community and the authorities. The accusations flow on both sides: the Roma claim that the authorities don’t get involved, while the authorities speak of disinterest and lack of seriousness.

Băgaciu, Deaj - experience of the work abroad

Working abroad is a solution for some communities. This is the case of the Băgaciu and Deaj communities in Mureș County. Part of the same commune with Geaj, the Roma community from Hărânciab, didn’t have the opportunity to migrate as the others and it is in a state of deep poverty.

On the background of the lack of jobs in the Mures area, penury generated by the closure of reorganisation of some vital economic enterprises, such as plants and by the purposeful cancellation of the former State agricultural units which supplied jobs in agriculture, the different manner in which the Roma communities from that area reacted, was influenced by the opportunities which could be exploited and by the internal resources which could be involved in exploiting these opportunities.

The Roma people from Băgaciu, Mureș County, benefited of extra opportunities, by the easy access to some networks of temporary migration for work in Germany, where the work is better paid than in Slovenia, the country of destination for most seasonal immigrants from another surveyed commune, Deaj, Mica commune. The difference of salaries is seen from the difference between their houses, as well as from the difference between their expectations for a job regarded as desirable in Romania. If at Băgaciu, a wage of 500 lei would not be of real interest, in Deaj, the participants in the focus-group, as well as the other interviewed said they would be satisfied with a job on the formal job market paid with the minimal wage of economy.

The local perception is that the Roma from Băgaciu are better workers and more emancipated than the Roma from other places, even compared to the Romanians from other places, because they have lived for some many centuries next to the Saxons, who were the model they followed in life and work, model which they consider “successful” in relation with others.

The average educational level in the Roma community from Băgaciu also is above the average level from the Roma communities. The elders, the generation of the people aged 45-50, generally have 10 grades, were trained in a skill during the communist regime, while a significant part of the young below 30, according to the institutional representatives, would have more than 10 grades, some graduating the high school or the vocational school.

On the other hand, most Roma from Băgaciu had the experience of the work in agriculture, viticulture, crops, animal rearing. This poly-qualification was due to the former State agricultural enterprise which has agricultural, zootechnical and viticulture units. The people between two ages also had the experience of the industrial work. During the past eight years, a rather stable source of income for about 70% of the Roma people from Băgaciu was the seasonal work abroad in agriculture, the average annual income for three-months work abroad being 2000-3000 euro, money which the people save for the winter, but on which they live half an year and which were used to „fix their houses a little” (Roma, participant in the focus group, Băgaciu).

„For 10 millions reason to go to work, no. I tell you frankly. To be paid with 500 per day and calculate for 24 days (...) 12 millions, to have a decent living” „Irrespective, if I work a day from 7 in the morning, to 4, I don’t work for 5 million. I’d rather stay at the street corner.”

The explanation of the refusal to work for such wage is as follows: *„I smoke 2 packs of cigarettes per day, a bread is 20 thousands, I take it to the job, another 50 thousands the salami, I can’t eat just 2 slices! – I have a wife and kid at home, they can live on 250... then I go to work”* In consequence, not having offers with 12 million per month, the solution is: *„I take the allocation and I stay in the shade, and if I stay in the shade, this doesn’t ask for food. And in the winter we slaughter a pig in Băgaciu. We also receive social benefits.”*

Even if we can not generalize, not even at the level of the participants in the focus group, this attitude and, particularly this inadequacy of the expected level of the wage in relation to the paid one, is symptomatic not just for the Roma from Băgaciu, but for all the communities in which the current informal opportunities for earning, cumulated with the social benefits, exceed the level of the wage which the formal labour market could offer. On the other hand, it seems similarly symptomatic the fact that none of the interviewed people received an offer for a job for undetermined period, which he/she could turn down because of the too low wage. On the other hand, there are nuances in the attitude of the interviewed people, meaning that the acceptance of a job with a specific salary also depends on the type of work, and also meaning that if a concrete offer would appear, which didn’t appear for the time being, given the advantages of a safe job with a constant source of income, the demands would probably decrease significantly.

Over 60% of the Roma from Deaj receive social aid, most of them, besides working the number of hours required to receive the social benefit, also working as hired hands or on a seasonal basis in agriculture. The receipt of social aid is discontinued, however, for the period when they are abroad to work. On the other hand, the fact that every three months

they have to go to Tărnăveni, to ALOFM (Local Employment Office), to get stamps on the notifications required to continue receiving the social benefit, due to the financial costs and due to the time requirement, as well due to the number of hours they have to work for the community, makes some of them give up this social aid. The local Roma counsellor considers this is a mistake which considers that not so much the money are important, much so as until this year has never been paid in full because of the lack of funds, but the medical insurance which they benefit of in agreement with the provisions of Law 416, as recipient of social benefit. Therefore, the Roma community from Deaj improved its standard of living during the past 3-4 years, since the Roma started to go abroad in larger numbers to work, particularly in Slovenia, at least two-three months per year. The 500-600 euro per year which come from this source, allow the survival of the family, at least during summer, also allowing investments to improve the housing conditions.

The community from Hărânglab – extreme poverty due to the lack of opportunities or resources

On the other hand, the Roma from Hărânglab, part of Mica commune, same as Deaj, Mureș County, didn't benefit of opportunities or resources. The work abroad was not an option for some people with no ID papers, with no culture and experience for work, outside occasional experiences. The lack of identity papers makes them institutionally "invisible" in Romania and undesirable to work outside. The Roma from Hărânglab are so poor, that they eat leftovers from garbage containers. One of the local Roma leaders said, sadly, about them, being honestly affected by their situation, that they are "*some savages*".

The community from Hărânglab is represented by some 30 houses, bigger or smaller, all of them overcrowded, not cared for and they have nothing from the comfort of the modern living. According to the local Roma counsellor, they sometimes live 20 in a room in which, during the winter, make a hole in the floor, where they lit a fire, with no stoves or chimneys. The people look worse than their houses, because "*they don't wash for months*" (local counsellor, Roma expert). About 75% of them don't have identity papers and are not eligible for social benefit, although they have no source of income. They constantly eat garbage and "*they travel on foot 10 km, over the hill, each day, to eat in Tărnăveni, from the garbage containers*" (idem) – these are the garbage containers from a supermarket where they dump the stumps from salami and from other, more or less edible, products. In this community there are very many children, living in totally improper conditions, many of them with more or less important physical or psychic handicaps.

In connection with such picture which describes a community with multiple and cumulated problems, the sincere concern and the devotion with which the local Roma counsellor tries to help them, seems with an unequal fight, doomed to fail. However, there still are other people who think that something can be done to change to the better the life of these people. They are the teachers from the village school, where they manage to bring these children for which they created a special class, where the fact that they all look alike makes them feel normally, which could not have happened, were they put next to the village children. The local counsellor considers that irrespective of the claimed principles, no matter how correct they are, theoretically, within the given context, the only reasonable solution is this segregation which, for the time being, seems to have positive results, next to other programs, such as an additional snack for these children, with the help of a Dutch foundation, besides the croissant and milk which they receive from the school. Although the school has been claimed

at CEDO for segregation on ethnical criteria, the counsellor says that he hopes that the people will ultimately understand which is best for the good of these children, who have to stand a chance, no matter what principles, no matter how theoretically correct they are, but impossible to apply, given the existing context.

The “rudari” from Zimnicea and the practice of the seasonal work in agriculture

Most of the population of “rudari” from Zimnicea has the experience of work in agriculture, the middle aged people also having the experience of the industrial work in plants. Before 1990, the rudari who were working in agriculture were making nice money; besides the pay in cash, they also received cereal grains, and the amounts of cereals which they were entitled to receive as payment, were coming from Constanta County, and they were impressive.

“What I want to tell you, actually, we, years ago, in the time of Ceașcă, we, the rudari, were the wealthiest. And I will tell you why, because each end of year, in autumn, starting with October, November, 10 trains were arriving here in Zimnicea, full of wheat and corn, this means that 250 wagons were coming to our neighbourhood (...). All the community was going to work somewhere in Constanța, they were going to work, all the family, and they came back loaded with wheat, corn, beans(...). They were selling these products and...we were very wealthy, we were doing very fine” (local counsellor, former, local expert for the Roma).

After 1990, the rudari worked either in agriculture or, particularly during the years of economic growth between 2004-2008, in constructions, commuting to Bucharest. Over the past three years, a rather constant source of income was the seasonal work abroad, for about a fifth of the rudari. They are working in agriculture, the average annual income for working one-two months abroad being 700-800 euro, money used to „fix their houses” (rudar leader from Zimnicea).

Overall, making an average of the evaluations made by the rudari leaders who were interviewed, the employment percentage was around 35% of the active population, but with work book are just about 5% of them. Through the *Special employment program for the communities with larger shares of Roma people in Teleorman County*, 36 people received jobs in Zimnicea, of which 16 on undetermined period of time, under the conditions in which, according to the local counsellor, the program stipulated initially the employment of 108 people, 100 of which rudari; however, the project stopped due to the lack of funds, but the reasons seem to be political and not financial.

Over 80% of the rudari households received or receive social benefit, the number fluctuating function of the period when they are working abroad or seasonally, at the tobacco crops or at the mill, at Interagro, during these periods the payment of these aids being suspended. There were not tensions observed in relation with the dominant population due to the large share of Roma people benefiting of social aid. This aid presumes a certain number of hours which the apt households members have to work for the community, generally for garbage disposal and green areas and flower maintenance in the town.

The people accept to work even with no work book and for poor wages because they don't have other alternatives. There are current and long-term vulnerabilities in the Roma community. On the one hand, the educational level and the level of professional qualification, lower than that of the dominant population, makes them to stand poor chances to get a job on the labour market given the current shortage of jobs and they are compelled to accept the jobs with the poorest wages. On the other hand, there are two categories of people which are

very vulnerable within the rudari community: the elder who worked their traditional profession of “lingurari” and in agriculture, with no work book, and therefore have no pension, and the young who already are 25-30 years old and didn’t yet enter the formal labour market, vulnerability stressed by their low educational level.

Conclusions

The general explanation given by the authorities, Roma leaders or individuals concerning the employment, is related to the low educational level which generates a vicious circle of poverty and culture of poverty: lack of qualifications, limited possibilities of employment, temporary and poorly paid jobs in the informal sector, which yield long-term disadvantages. At the same time, due to the low educational level, the aspirations remain low, oriented towards short-term material advantages.

The community analysis revealed several types of income sources which the Roma manage to access:

- Working by the day, sporadically, in the yards of the people, or in agriculture during the season
- Working mainly in the informal economy, unskilled jobs, with modest earnings
- Collecting scrap metal or other wastes, products, in the garbage
- Children allocations and the minimal guaranteed income,
- Working on the formal labour market usually involving Roma young people with more education
- Entrepreneurship: trade, recycling, real estate, pawn shops
- Traditional jobs. The Roma people trying to sell things on a market where they compete with industrial products: “ceaunari” (pot makers), “lingurari” (spoon makers), “cărămidari” (bricks makers)
- Working abroad, in activities on the formal or informal market, or practices at the limit of legality: beggary, fortune-telling etc
- Incomes from selling wild natural products: forest fruits, wood, fish etc

Most of the Roma met in the surveyed communities are working sporadically in the informal economy, or they work by the day, or have no income at all, collect scrap iron or other waste from the garbage, are receiving the minimal guaranteed income, having a vulnerable situation and living in poverty. The life stories obtained during the community studies show many situations of poor Roma, but there also are Roma which surpassed the poverty line and can be considered successful Roma.

The problem of the low level of Roma employment has, therefore, a double determination. On the one hand, the low offer of jobs with no demands for qualification, on the other hand, factors pertaining to the precariousness of their resources, on several domains: economic, social, educational and information; this combination of disadvantages decreases their odds of integration on the labour market.

V3. County programs for the inclusion of the Roma people in the labour market

The county Employment Offices have the following goals of their activity:

- Recording the unemployed
- Identification of the job offer at the county level and in surrounding areas, plus identification of the job offer abroad, since 2007, through EURES program
- Information of the potential beneficiaries on the programs of the Employment Office and on the job offer
- Support the inclusion on the labour market by active measures such as the organisation of qualification training courses, professional counselling and guidance
- Support by special programs of wage subsidies for disfavoured categories in terms of access to the labour market: the Roma, the fresh graduates of education units, people with three years to the retirement age, handicapped persons, parent from monoparental families.

The entire Romanian population can benefit of these measures, the Roma included: *„The active measures implemented by AJOFM (County Employment Office) addresses all the people coming to AJOFM, the Roma included; any person coming into contact with AJOFM officials benefits of active measures, in terms of professional information and counselling, work mediation, professional formation, according to their aptitudes”* (AJOFM representative).

Another level of ANOFM (National Employment Office) intervention is represented by the vulnerable groups defined within AJOFM programs: the Roma, the youth under 25, the women, the handicapped, the people over 45, the monoparental families. The Employment Offices developed special programs targeting particularly these vulnerable groups, besides the programs pertaining to their current activity. Those programs which grant subsidies to the employers hiring people from the disadvantaged groups are considered of particular importance.

„In terms of programs, the Office has, first of all, the subsidies granted for the jobs given to the disfavoured people, for graduates, for the people over 45, for the monoparental families (...). We are paying for a period of one year, for instance, the value of a social indicator of reference (...) And they have the obligation, it is preserved, for instance, for the people over 45, they are kept in activity for one year, the people with handicap, the people who are the single supporters of their family, monoparental families, thus, and for the graduates. The graduates, they have to keep them on the job for three years.” (AJOFM, Mureş County).

Of all the programs run by the AJOFM Employment Offices, a self-evaluation run by the authorities, show that the subsidies granted to the employers are seen as being the most efficient and producing the largest number of concrete results, as the Employment Office representatives stated *“The subsidies are a successful program because the employers are also interested, and thyme receive money* (ALOFGM - Local Employment Office - representative).

Among the special programs dedicated to the integration of the Roma people are the *Caravan of Roma employment* and the *Job exchange for the Roma*.

The *Caravan of Roma employment* which run in the rural environment, is a program which started in 2005. The program consists in the displacement of a number of the Local

Employment Office representatives in the rural areas, the selected communities being those with high numbers of unemployed. All the rural people can benefit of these caravans, the Roma included. The Employment Office representatives organise, with the support of the town hall from each commune, meetings in each commune, offering information on the available jobs, about the qualification courses that organised (period, conditions for enlisting) and the offer of programs from the Employment Office; also provided are counselling and support in passing through the bureaucratic procedures that have to be performed before employment.

The *Caravan of Roma employment* is a similar program which focuses, however, of the localities with high numbers of Roma ethnics, and on the Roma communities from towns. The localities are selected based on the official statistics concerning the number of Roma people and the number of the unemployed, by locality, and also by counselling with BJR representatives which announces them *"where are the localities with problems"* (AJOFM representative). These caravans run all the year long, but they do not have a regular schedule.

The *Job exchange* is a program conducted in partnership with the employers, in which the Employment Office facilitates the meeting between the employers and the people looking for a job. All the Romanian citizens in search of a job can participate. As of 2007, a job exchange for the jobs in foreign countries is also organized, through the program EURS. These job exchange operations are organised each year.

The *Job exchange for the Roma* addresses only the Roma people looking for a job. The Office facilitates the meeting between Roma and non-Roma employers and the Roma looking for a job.

One of the problems encountered when evaluating the employment programs for the Roma people is the formal assumption of the Roma identity. The interviewed AJOFM representatives reported that only lately, and following the endeavour of the Employment Office and of the local working units, did the Roma start to state their ethnic affiliation.

"It has been a huge effort for the Employment Office to convince them to declare that they are Roma. We had to explain them that there a lot of advantages if they do it. So, we managed to gather about 150 people who stated they are Roma ethnics; it is not much, but it is a success; until one and a half years ago we had zero in the database" (Ilfov AJOFM representative).

The attitude of the representatives from the various AJOFM was contradictory when it came to data segregation by ethnic affiliation, meaning that there are directories by ethnic affiliation, as demanded by the special programs targeting the Roma people, although generally, said they, this segregation is not desirable.

"Now, we don't have lists with the unemployed, by ethnic affiliation. We don't have lists by ethnic affiliation because, you can realize, it would be discrimination. For instance, take the Job exchange for the Roma, anybody can come. Well, there have been comments... why do we discriminate, because we have this job exchange for the Roma." (Târgu Mureş AJOFM representative).

All the interviewed people speak of the low efficiency of the programs for Roma inclusion run by AJOFM. The low efficiency is due to the disinterest of the beneficiaries, as the institutional representatives said. Even when they participate in programs organised by AJOFM, such as the programs for counselling and mediation, many times the Roma give up quickly and they even don't know to say quite clear, in which programs they participated

and which is the institution running them. Second, few of the Roma enlisted in the programs, actually get a job.

„Well, they always say that they never know, even if they came to us and we have them on the records for years ... they still don't know. They didn't know that this is the institution, didn't know which its name was. About 70% say this, although they came (...) Well, they participate, but do you know how? Particularly the first time, but they don't continue...” (Mureş County AJOFM representative)

They stressed the importance of a functional link between the Roma communities and institutions such as AJOFM which to mediate the relation of the individuals with the institution; it is difficult to accomplish under the conditions in which the Roma don't have the habit, or the minimal competency to get informed about the programs for them, at least concerning the active measures for employment. Where this link exists and is functional, by the mediation of a Roma leader, most times there are the premises for a good intervention in the community.

The Roma leaders, experts in Roma problems, and AJOFM representatives admit that the impact of the programs of integration on the labour market is low, as shown by the number of Roma people integrated in labour or requalified using these measures. The reports are consistent in terms of efficacy, although the causes are different: while the representatives of the authorities perceive the Roma as a group which doesn't want to take the unskilled jobs offered by the formal labour market, the Roma representatives speak of the complexity of factors which claim the low success of the programs run by AJOFM.

It is acknowledged that employment depends on a complex of factors related to the level of education, standard of living of the persons looking for a job, the access to information, the way in which the person gets into touch with the employer. The low standard of living and the low level of utilities make the Roma come to the interviews in ragged clothes, with improper hygiene, or in traditional clothes, in the case of the traditional Roma, which make the employers to reject them. Some employers have stereotypes concerning the Roma, such as the fact that they are not serious, don't work as well as the Romanians do, may steal things on the job. The Roma leaders and the plain Roma people highlighted the existence of discrimination phenomena on the side of the employers, and about the work by the day which is the only variant to which they have access, while the Romanian leaders speak of the fact that the Roma are used to be assisted by the state and that they chose the variant of the work by the day as an easier variant of work.

At the macro level, the problematic aspects of Roma employment, which the authorities identified are associated with the work in the informal economy, the low interest of the employers for the Roma (low participation of the employers in the Job exchange for the Roma) and the rather formal participation, without a real involvement of the employers in the programs for integration in the labour market.

The idea was that many actions remain purely formal. The offer of the programs for integration on the labour market is unrealistic, the impact being limited. The jobs offered by the caravan-type programs, as well as many of the training courses, don't fit the educational level and the abilities of the Roma people. Problems also occurred with the formal recognition, in the case of the Ilfov AJOFM, for instance, of the qualification acquired from the organised training courses in partnership with AJOFM, because of the lack of collaboration between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labour.

The lack of subsequent monitoring of the impact of such projects and programs is an important fault, which contributes to the perpetuation of the inefficient interventions. Consequently, the general appreciations seem to claim that the philosophy of the programs for integration on the labour market has to be rethought.

The solutions proposed for the caravan or exchange-type programs aim to a better promotion of these programs and to the actual job offer which must fit the qualifications of the Roma people. The Caravan for Roma employment should offer jobs fitting their needs and low education, not skilled jobs, from which most Roma are excluded. The idea of the establishment of craftsman associations similar to the old “guilds” was also discussed, in which the Roma can practice their traditional occupations; however, the measure was considered by some people as inadequate to the current economy because of the lack of a real market for these products.

The general solution for the qualification programs would be the promise of actual jobs. The state institutions should seek the mechanisms by which the employers might be drawn to offer punctual jobs for the people graduating the training courses. The Roma say that they don't attend the courses because they have no guarantee that the time spent with these training courses will materialize in something. The number of people employed after graduating such courses is too low, to present some successful stories. The possibilities of the state institutions to make the employers show interest in such endeavours are limited. Another (legislative) proposal was to give money for the people attending the training courses, in compensation for the money lost by not working, money which would provide a living for those persons and their families.

The high involvement of the Roma on the informal labour market, corroborated with the precariousness of their economic resources, is a combination of factors which make it difficult the translation towards the formal labour market, which presumes costs which may Roma don't want, or can't afford. The lack of financial compensation for the period of the training courses is a deterring factor for the would-be attendants.

A concrete example, often called by the institutional representatives in the communities, and by part of the interviewed Roma, is the fact that the money from the work by the day come every day and they are necessary for the daily survival of the family, while the employment or the participation in training courses presume a break when, due to the lack of accumulations, the families can not survive. At the same time, some of the interviewed people, from both mentioned categories, consider that this also is a problem of mentality, which generates a *carpe diem* approach, largely specific to the Roma people, attitude whose effect is exactly the lack of accumulations and the low financial capacity to see the investment which gives immediate yield as a perspective for the future.

Caravan for Roma employment

The main problem with the Caravan, as seen from the discussions with AJOFM representatives, is the disinterest of the beneficiaries of this program, disinterest generated, among other, by the poor AJOFM job offer, both in terms of job quality, and in terms of payment, for these communities.

An analysis of the data supplied by AJOFM on the results of this program, gives an interesting picture of the interest/disinterest for this program in each of the surveyed localities. An interesting correlation, validated by the discussions with the Roma who

benefited of this program, is the fact that the success of the program depends largely on the period when these caravans for employment take place. Generally, the number of participants decreases with the increasing proximity of the summer months, particularly in May, June, July. The explanation pertains to the seasonal character of the employment on the informal labour market, particularly in agriculture and abroad, also in agriculture. From October to March, the employment on the informal labour market decreases and the people are largely present in the community and have time to attend these meetings.

On the other hand, where few people participate, one can observe an increase efficiency of the program, meaning that a more important proportion of these participants are newcomers into AJOFM database, they participate in the counselling program and are included in the program with active measures. This shows a higher interest of the few attending these meetings in the spring-summer months when few are those available and willing to attend these meetings.

According to AJOFM representatives, *“the participation of the Roma in our caravans depends very much on the leader of the Roma community”*, on the way in which he, together with the local authorities manage to mobilise the people. This connecting link between AJOFM and the Roma communities is regarded as very important, both by the interviewed institutional representatives, and by the Roma, most of whom don't have the habit or the minimal competency to get informed on the programs targeting them, at least concerning the active measures of employment.

These programs run in partnership with the town halls from the localities where there are important numbers of Roma people, with the local Employment Offices and work points of AJOFM. The County Employment Office concluded collaboration agreements with the County Bureau for the Roma within the County Prefecture and with the National Agency for the Roma.

Training courses

The jobs offered by the caravan-type programs, and many of the training courses do not correspond to the educational level and to the abilities of the Roma people. This problem was raised by all the interviewed authorities, by AJOFM, by the town halls and communities included in the survey.

“The caravans had a fairly good outcome, but the problem is that many times they came with offers which didn't fit their training. For instance, they came with cook jobs, when our people are trained in constructions, locksmith, things like that, unskilled”. (local authority)

The lack of financial compensation for the period of the training courses is another deterring factor for the would-be participants. This is a poor population, with large families which have to be supported most times by a single household member; it is easy to understand why the interest for qualification is so low, because the trainee can not study and work at the same time.

„if he comes three months to the training courses, what will he do with the family? He can no longer work by the day and the family will have nothing to eat” (AJOFM representative)

„And they tell me: what will my family eat these 3-4 months? These courses require that you attend them, regularly, and that you don't get paid during that period. Few are the organisers who can pay the participants...and nobody guarantees that they will be hired afterwards. And they tell me, “do

something for free, and with no beneficial effects for my family? I am skilled, but what's the use?"
(Roma expert)

At Vaslui AJOFM, it was noticed that job offers for temporary positions had the highest success because they were mainly addressed to unskilled people, they didn't require any school and/or vocational education, they were on determined periods, and after the end of the period, the people were receiving unemployment aid. On the side of the suppliers, the reasons are the very low job offer in Vaslui County, particularly during the last year and the limited odds for social-professional integration. The number of Roma women looking for a job was much lower than the number of male Roma looking for a job through Vaslui AJOFM.

In some places – such as Negrești town and Pușcași commune, Vaslui County – training courses were set up with the purpose to complete the school education of the Roma people, thus facilitating their access to the qualification courses and thereafter to the labour market. The success of such courses was very low, however. The reason – participating in such training courses means giving up the activities producing income: agriculture, trade etc. Another reason is the place for these training courses. The local AJOFM representative from Negrești town gave as example situations in which the training courses were attended by many people – such as in Oșești – while running the course in another area, even if it is in the same locality, just 2-3 km away from the community – was a failure in terms of participation. The Roma excused their non-participation by the lack of money for food, clothes, etc.

Regional Centres for Professional Formation (CRFPA)

Currently, CRFPA centres are accredited for professional formation by the organization of qualification courses in various trades, the most usual being: *commercial worker, waiter, sales person in public feeding units, financial administrator assistant, agricultural mechanic, accountant, computer operator, human resources inspector (referent)*. The minimal requirement for these training courses is to have graduated 8 classes or more, which is one of the reasons why the Roma qualify with more difficulty.

CRFPA is an institution with a very low visibility. Not even the county expert for the Roma population didn't know about it. Only AJOFM representative knew this institutional structure and had information on some programs which it was running in Ilfov County.

Currently, the Centres are accredited for professional formation by training courses on three levels.

Level 1 courses, with a duration of 45 days, which can be attended even by people who don't have 8 grades. Initially, this level too had as eligibility condition, the graduation of the compulsory education, but the National Council for the Professional Formation of the Adults released a norm which specified that the level 1 training courses can also be attended by people who didn't graduate the compulsory education. *"There was a nomenclature of qualifications and this nomenclature states the level of qualification. We focused on level 1 because we kept observing in the territory situations when the people could not attend the course...although he had maybe 7 grades finished...good worker (...) It disappears ... thus the barrier of eligibility for level 1. Here we indeed had a lot of Roma people"* (CRFPA Director Teleorman County).

The trades corresponding to level 1, for which training courses were organised in some counties are: *workers in structures for constructions and plant crops workers and animal husbandry worker*.

Level 2 courses, with a duration of 90 days, which require the graduation of at least 10 grades. The level 2 courses train in trades such as *brick layer – worker in stone – plaster worker, painter – gypsum worker – tapestry worker – painter, tile worker and carpenter – parquet worker*. There also is the trade of *universal carpenter*.

Level 3 courses take 135 days and require high school graduation. The trades covered by this level include *secretary – steno-typist – IT operator*.

Among the beneficiaries of CRFPA training courses, officially many times there were no Roma people. The explanation is that although Roma people attended such training courses, for instance *plant crops workers* and *animal husbandry workers*, they were not registered as Roma. The reason why such statistics don't exist is that, „ *generally, this statistic should be avoided ... it should be kept just like that, for ... the statistics about the Roma should be avoided because we had harsh discussions with them. When we met with them at the Council at the Prefecture and we tried to impose some programs, they said we can not force them (...) We didn't record statistics for our training courses because we generally tried to mix our trainees, because we tried to make special groups for the Roma and they said "No! this means something else, it means our isolation, our discrimination."*

CRFPA Teleorman, for instance, mentions a program for the Roma, which would have generated these discussions on the segregation by ethnic affiliation of the programs and data on the participation in CRFPA activities. This was the program which CRFPA run in 2008-2009 in Giurgiu penitentiary, a program for the Roma inmates which included 84 Roma people; they benefited in all of 6 training courses which run in the penitentiary.

Because in the penitentiary there were people from Teleorman County who benefited of these professional formation courses, the data on them were disseminated by Teleorman ALOFM (Local Employment Office) and communicated to Teleorman Prefecture, implicitly, to Teleorman BJR (County Bureau for the Roma), and from here started the discussion about discrimination in the case of the special groups for the Roma and of the segregated dissemination of the results, by ethnic affiliation. The main problem doesn't seem to be data segregation, rather Roma segregation by including them in special groups. In support of the alternative of organizing special groups for the Roma, CRFPA director cites a successful story of such manner of work from Hungary.

„It was not that they didn't agree to have data segregated by ethnic affiliation; they didn't agree to organise special groups for them, because I gave them an example of what I have seen in Hungary: so identical centres exist in Hungary. There have been 22, too many I should say, because Hungary is not a big country...and remained, while we were visiting...remained just 10. But it is not this, the essence. The essence is how they were conducting the programs for the Roma. They tried to make teams of lumbermen, forest workers; teams of 14-15, the number set by the Hungarian law, and of course that some took the chainsaws home, after they received the protection gear and the chainsaws they took them home. When the instructor was teaching them, writing on the table, nobody paid attention. And they called in a psychologist. And the psychologist said: "Sir, you know, the Roma have specific perceptions for specific colours. Those graphs they don't see in black and white. Make them fire red, green, they like this stuff. We were told they have more success now. After that, they still didn't have the success they expected...and then the psychologist came again and said: "fellows, there is one more thing: you come dressed in suit and tie and they are dressed like a nightmare, you are Hungarian, they are Hungarian Gypsies." And then, they took one of them, brighter mind, and turned him into a formatter. And things solved out, speaking both Hungarian and the Romani, things worked out much

better. This is what I tried to explain to the Roma representatives. And he said: "no, this means to take my people and separate them from the rest of the collective".

In terms of the qualification programs, the authorities should solve the problem of the Roma who get their qualifications on the job, as brick layers, painters or other types of workers. Although some of them are doing a profession they have learnt since their youth by actually working in the informal economy, they have no kind of formal education which to prove their abilities as workers so they are still working in the informal sector, with no access to social insurances and to a stable and safe source of income. They should be integrated in a special program, concentrated, for a short period, which to give them the legal certification for the qualification they had already acquired informally.

In the lack of certificate for qualification, the person who learnt the job (brick layer, painter, etc.) can only work in the informal sector. We must not forget either, the employers' strategies to take advantage of these groups of vulnerable population and not to employ them legally. On the other hand, the life strategy of the poor, focused on "here and now" drives the Roma living in poverty and having a poor educational stock, to a behaviour focused on the immediate material benefit, offered on the short-term, but which yields long-term vulnerability because there is no health and social insurance.

V.5. Perception of BJR (County Bureau for the Roma) representatives about the programs of inclusion on the labour market

The general perception of BJR experts about the programs of inclusion on the labour market is generally critical. The working manner is purely bureaucratic, and most actions are purely formal. Overall, the offer of the programs of inclusion on the labour market is unrealistic, the impact being limited. Many of the jobs offered by the job exchange programs require qualification, which the Roma don't have. At the same time, the qualification programs don't correspond to the real requirements of the labour market.

„Unfortunately, all these actions are purely formal, they have no value, they don't have any...they don't have any advantage afterwards. These actions are done, just to check one more item.

This partnership is purely formal... Their job exchange is formal, and this caravan for the Roma has no practical value. Their style of work is bureaucratic and lacks efficiency. And this happens year by year. Frankly speaking, at the last meetings of the Caravan for the Roma, there in the community, they people didn't even show up. Why? Because there is no positive finality. Maybe the working philosophy should be rethought." (Roma expert).

"Because of this orientation on the short-term, they are not very interested for requalification, and unfortunately there are no consistent offers from the employers.

Unfortunately there were no programs matching the actual reality. Everybody came up with phantasmagorical ideas which didn't tempt our people... The professions they have been qualified for are caduceus. They have no use. We are speaking of reconversion, we are speaking of re-qualification. But what criteria shall I use to guide them? Not according to the requirements of the labour market? (Roma expert).

These programs didn't succeed to make the Roma interested. The programs don't take into account their specific needs and don't rely on the abilities or resources which the Roma people have, or can be developed.

Unfortunately, we didn't succeed to catch their interest. If the two of us will make a survey now, and we go along this street and we tell them: do you want a training course for brick layers, for instance? They will all say, forget it! But if we will tell them: come with us to Glina, to the garbage dump...there are 10 trucks full of soil and constructions waste...you can be sure that in 10 minutes we will round up a team and go there top speed. They are thinking of present opportunities, something sure, which will give them the certitude that today they earned 300 thousands. (Roma expert).

Another problem was about the "empty" jobs, posted just to observe the legal stipulations; this problem was raised both by the Roma leaders, and by the people who attended the focus groups. *"What do I think? The job exchange came with two jobs of night guard, and they had already been taken before. Well ... why did they come, anyhow? (informal leader).*

"AJOFM programs are not applied with seriousness, most jobs are already taken, and the offer is anyhow too little compared to the demand (informal leader 2).

The success of the programs of social inclusion of the Roma on the labour market depends largely on the collaboration with Roma representatives, at the county level and at the local level; the necessity of this collaboration was mentioned by all the interviewed institutional representatives.

In Mureş County, for instance, there are 13 counsellors (or local experts) on Roma problems, covering thus many of the localities with large Roma populations. There also are 8 school mediators, 22 teachers of Romani language, 44 sanitary mediators and 21 community assistants.

„In the places where there is local office for the Roma, it is much easier to collaborate because the law says that the local office for the Roma subordinates both to the mayor, and to BJR (County Bureau for the Roma). It has thus double subordination. Although it is seen rather as a relation of collaboration, because as long as I don't pay him, I can't say he is my subordinate. It is rather a friendly subordination. And where there is no local office, there are mayors who are more open, and mayors who are more reserved." (BJR representative)

BJR has institutional relations with these representatives of the Roma. However, if we speak strictly of the improvement of Roma access on the labour market, BJR representatives say that, at this moment, on this subject, in the lack of an offer, consistent as it is, of jobs, this collaboration has no object.

„Regarding the relations between institutions...let us say that when we have something in common, we collaborate, we discuss...if we don't have anything in common...Thus, if there would be jobs, there might be collaboration between institutions and collaboration would make sense. But, as long as you don't have anything, there is no basis for collaboration." (BJR representative)

V6. Knowledge of AJOFM programs by the Roma from the surveyed communities

The relation with county authorities is poorly represented in the collective mental of many Roma who were interviewed in the surveyed communities, AJOFM being just another institution where the recipients of social aid have to go and get a stamp.

AJOFM is an institution with low visibility among the potential Roma beneficiaries, while CRFPA is altogether unknown.

Among the participants in the interviews and focus groups, very few knew of the running employment programs, except for the people who participated in them. For instance, the residents of Băgaciului had heard of the *Employment caravan* or *Job exchange for the Roma* programs. The people knew of the training courses which had taken place in 2010 for the profession of viticulturist, which had been attended by some 40 Roma from Băgaciului, without knowing, however, exactly, who had organised them. Two of the focus groups participants recalled that, also in Băgaciului, in 2008, there had been training courses for masons attended by 16 local Roma, of which 11 finished the course and got certificates.

Although most of the Roma from Dej have to go once every three months to Târnăveni, to AJOFM, to get the certificates they need for the social aid, the interviewed people admitted they never ask anything about AJOFM programs, nor have they great expectations that they could be aided in any way. None of the interviewed people had heard of programs such as *Employment caravan* or *Job exchange for the Roma* or of any training courses for qualification.

In Jilava community, there were some Roma who attended training courses, but impact evaluation shows the low efficiency of the program.

„I attended a training course for butchers...there were several of us, three months, twice a week, Tuesdays and Thursdays. Then a lady came, also with a qualification project, but they got paid during the training course, we got no payment at all. After it was over, they sent me to look for a job...where to go? I went to the railway, to Progresu, to get hired as butcher and they can not...they can't fire that guy who has been working there for the past 5-6 years and take me instead...” (man, 37).

The trust in the real opportunities offered by such programs is low. Most of the interviewed people from Jilava appreciated that the competency acquired during the training courses is not enough, and the odds to take the jobs offered by the caravan-type or job exchange-type programs is very low.

„Can you learn a profession in one month? All these training courses are done just for the sake of doing something...gave them the certificates and it is all right. I don't see anyone who graduated these courses able to practice that profession...a mason isn't just plastering, you need to know how to lay bricks, how to make the house resistant, know how to connect the reinforcement” (informal Roma leader).

The qualification programs have been criticised by the respondents from most communities as something which gives them a certificate and that's all. Some problems have been identified: the lack of actual employment opportunities, qualifications which are not in agreement with labour market demands, or the low educational level of the Roma, which doesn't qualify them for those training courses. The suggestions prompted finding actual jobs and qualify people for them. The training courses should be accompanied by the guarantee of employment, or at least by fair odds.

„If you take the people to train them, they say that they lose months with this qualification. If I stay home, I can earn 500 thousands, maybe 300-400 thousands. But so, what do I do? They give me that piece of paper and then, where? If it would be something, someone to tell you...well, you get trained and the next month I send you to an employer...then, they would have all the time in the world. I go there even if I lose money, because I earn them back afterwards. But so, if I have no need for that piece of paper...(man, 42).

The programs for inclusion on the labour market by training courses are practically unknown by most potential beneficiaries and even by the Roma leaders from Pantelimon commune. Asked if they have heard of the training programs in Pantelimon community, the most frequent answer of the Roma was something like *“Never heard of it. No such training courses, no”*. In very few cases they were known, but rather as failed attempts, than as successful activities.

„There has been an attempt here, just an attempt. It was the second chance for them; to finish learning, qualify in another profession...nothing was done. It was all like a rumour...”(Roma leader, Pantelimon)

The caravan-type programs are better known but most people see them as an activity that has to be checked. The trust of the Roma in the chances offered by the programs of inclusion on the labour market is extremely low: *„There has been once, some two years ago, if I remember well. They called them to some place, and they didn’t go and those people went away. Nobody gave them no job, obviously.* (informal leader)

Requalification, so, what requalification? Nobody came to say, concretely. Well, I am Vasile and I came to tell you, you who graduated 8 grades, or 4 grades, come to training courses to Brănești, or some other place, wherever they are.” (Roma leader)

V7. Conclusions

The analysis conducted on the basis of the data provided by the County Employment Offices (AJOFM) from the surveyed counties, reveals a commonality of perception on AJOFM programs for the Roma. Both the promoters, and the beneficiaries, reported a low efficiency of the employment programs for the Roma. The analyses have also revealed the low interest of the potential beneficiaries for these programs, which is caused by a range of causes as shown in detail in the study.

Several factors are involved in the success or failure of these measures, factors which must be reevaluated by the authorities responsible for the employment programs for the Roma. Among these factors are:

- Inclusion in the informal labour market of some of the Roma officially recorded as unemployed, as well as the very spread practice of working by the day,
- Low educational level of the Roma population, which don’t qualify them for the training courses,
- The spatial location of the Roma community, which puts a long distance between them and the location of the training centre or to a formal job outside the locality,
- The limited spare time of the people working in the informal labour market, to attend information or training programs,
- Local influence of the formal and informal leaders on the Roma community and on the stimulation of the local solidarity or activism,
- Mentalities and stereotypes of the Roma regarding the employers,
- Stereotypes of the Romanian authorities regarding the fact that the Roma don’t want to work,

- Availability and interest of the Roma for these programs,
- Communication between different social actors: AJOFM, local authorities, Roma representatives, Roma community.

V8. Solutions to efficientise the programs of inclusion into the labour market

If regarding the problems, most of the interviewed people managed to have a common view, noticing the lack of jobs for the Roma, when it comes to finding or implementing solutions, the directions of action diversify. Thus, a few measures which the future interventions should adopt should be:

- Speedup the process of issuing identification documents for the people who don't have them – the lack of ID is the main reason blocking their inclusion and access to benefits
- Intermediation of the discussion between the employee and the employer by the “top people” – mainly the members of the Roma Party
- Concrete and real job offers, adequate to an, often, low educational level – the jobs should be accessible in the range of their location
- Establishment of craftsmen associations, similar to the old “guilds”, in which the Roma can practice their traditional professions – other people see this measure as inadequate because of the lack of a real market for these products
- Reconversion training courses, paid and adequate to market requirements – guarantee a job when the courses are finished.

A vital factor to accomplish real improvement would be to convince all the stakeholders to assume more responsibility:

“Come with ideas, come with projects, come with what ever you can...I am at your disposal..., let's try to lock on directly to the employer and to the owner. They all say, let's do something, get involved, do something good...give something for Pantelimon” (Roma expert).

The lack of further monitoring the impact of such projects and programs is an important lack of the policies. Program efficiency has been questioned even by AJOFM representatives and by the other investigated formal leaders. Actually, only few people get jobs after job exchange-type programs. The impact of the training courses is even lower. They get the certificate, but few of them manage to get a job in that field.

„If you want a certificate – you can get it, but if you want a job in that field, this is more difficult. Now they are trained, qualified formally, but don't use it. After one year nobody was hired for that profession...they had jobs, but for different professions, and most of them are still working informally” (AJOFM representative)

„For instance, we finally managed to form a group of people which we trained and certified as butchers. From these 10 people we certified...we forced them to come to the courses...I don't know if two of them got hired, temporarily...and then, they gave up. These are our real problems. Now, if we dream idealistically, to come with opportunities...we qualify many of them, and the people are tempted to get involved, go to that job for which they trained...I think we are little naïve” (Roma expert)

The training courses organised by projects are not monitored subsequently and their real impact is little known.

„The training courses organised through projects, not through the permanent programs of the Employment Office, are not monitored subsequently, so we don't know whether they got hire or not” (AJOFM representative)

„I don't know what example of successful story I can give you, because it depends on how we interpret and measure the success. If I think of how many persons attended the training courses and were qualified, all the training courses I mentioned were a success. But if I think of how many people got hired afterwards, none of them is successful anymore” AJOFM representative)

The solutions proposed for the job-exchange-type programs refer to their better promotion and to the actual job offer, which must fit their level of qualification. The Roma caravan should offer jobs proper for their needs and low education, not qualified jobs, from which most Roma are excluded: *„Let us create concretely various job offers, of which they can benefit temporarily” (Roma expert)*

The general solution for the training programs should be the promise of concrete jobs. The state institutions should search together the mechanisms by which the employers might be drawn to make punctual job offers: a number of persons which graduate that training course. In this way, the motivation to participate would be higher, and the odds for inclusion would be real; this would also create competition between the trainees for those jobs, which would improve the quality of their involvement. There is need for actual connection between the training courses and getting a real job.

On the other hand, the state has limited possibilities to influence the employers to participate. The stakeholders recognised the difficulty to identify the mechanisms by which the employers can be co-interested in such an approach.

They should make it sure, somehow, that the people get hired after graduating the training course...But this is more delicate, under the conditions in which they are private employers and you don't have the right levers to say: hire them there!

The state should create the premises by which the employer is interested to come to the Roma community and tell them” I am employer Gheorghe from the slipper manufacturing company Vişinica. I need badly 20 people from you” under the conditions in which I had a discussion with the state enterprise doing this, AJOFM...these people recommended him the community where to go, and what he might find there, and he considered it beneficial to do this. (Roma expert)

Also regarding the training courses, there was a proposal to provide financial compensation throughout the training period. As shown before, most Roma are deterred to attend training courses, because while they are studying, they lose the money they would have earned working by the day and which provides the living for them and their families.

„The solution would be to give him the possibility to make a living during that period, make him a financial offer, otherwise he will not come to these training courses.” (Roma expert)

In conclusion, it is necessary to rethink the philosophy of the programs for inclusion on the labour market. The facilities given at employment must be revised.

“There should really be facilities for the employer under the conditions of this crisis. These state institutions should really work it out with the employers. Make him an offer which to draw him, tempt

him. What happened until now? The state said: I give you 75% of the minimal wage on economy for one year, but you must keep him for two years...well, it didn't work out. This is a proof that the law didn't have effects, not even at the lowest level. This means it wasn't efficient. This philosophy must be rethought. Oh God! There should be levers which to make the employer believe he really needs us." (Roma expert)

A basic solution would be to increase the job offer, as the economic crisis ends and the economic activity reanimates. Another solution would be changing Roma mentality by making them aware of the need to participate actively to solving own problems, not just to wait for the state authorities to assist them.

They should be made aware of the importance of the active measures for inclusion on the labour market, first the importance of a safe job, allowing them to get insurance for health and old age. This means that *„when you want to look for a job and get a qualification, you got to get involved. So, they have to make a balance between their working activities, family and I don't know what, this is their problems. We can counsel them, we can help them.* (AJOFM Mureş representative)

Also, the mentality of some employers must be changed; they tend to generalize some negative experiences which they had with the Roma, or which they had heard of in the mass-media, and then they discriminate the Roma at employment, even if not "overtly", according to the institutional representatives, *„such mentalities do exist."* (AJOFM Mureş representative)

The adaptation of the offer for professional formation to Roma education and specificity, might play an important role in getting past the educational obstacle in getting a job and in having higher chances to get a job -*„The barriers also exist because of their educational level. In vain do they want to attend a level III course...they will never get there, unless they graduate the high school first (...). The vicious circle breaks by learning professions which fit their education"* (CRFPA Telorman Director).

Another solution would be to change Roma mentality, by making them aware that they have to get involved actively in solving their problems, not just wait the state authorities to help them. Also, the mentality of some employers must be changed, who have the tendency to generalize certain negative experiences which they had with the Roma, or which they only heard of in the mass-media.

„It will seem to be the eternal story to you, but I still think we have to work on the mentality, ours and theirs. I think they are passive and they want to be offered, this is my opinion (...). At their mentality, I don't think we should generalize. If something negative happened to a person, we shouldn't generalize...this, from the employers, so if they had a bad experience with a Roma employee, it doesn't mean that they don't have to employ another Roma, being afraid it will happen as the first time." (AJOFM Teleorman representative).

A concrete solution to this problem, of the costs involved by the participation to a training course, would be, according to CRFPA representatives, the simplification of the procedures increasing CRFPA competencies in the field of evaluation, by shortening the terms of licensing and by increasing the period of validity of these licenses.

Currently, CRFPA applied to become a Centre competency evaluation too, the procedure of evaluation being much faster and less restrictive for the people knowing a profession, but they can not get a diploma because they either don't qualify for the condition of studies, or

are not willing to spare the time for the training courses. In the case of evaluation, that diploma can be obtained by evaluating the competencies, the only solution being the practically attested knowledge for that specific profession.

„Professional formation is done in several ways. On the formal way, as it is done in the regular education and as we are doing and the non-formal and informal, which means abilities and competencies acquired in the family, acquired simply because you have affinities for that profession, and they can evaluate there these competencies which you acquired otherwise than in the formal way...non-formal and informal. We have applied and we will work together with CNFPA to get licensed, but given the financial conditions I don't know if we will make it, because the license is valid for just one year. We have to get a new licence, every year, for every training course, for each profession.” (CRFPA Teleorman Director).

Among the solutions to improve Roma employment is the organisation of training courses during the winter months when they can not work as hired hands; doing a market survey which to analyse the perspectives of development so as to know the directions in which it is efficient to invest in increasing the educational level of the Roma, in order to improve their competitiveness on the labour market, to support the development of businesses from their start to selling the products and to ensure a better dissemination of the programs concerning the Roma communities.

V.9. Life stories

The employment opportunities for the Roma whom we visited during the community studies, are different. They depend on the individual educational capital and on the social capital, on the acquired life experience, on type of community they belong to, on the social and economic life of the locality and region. Following are some life stories of the Roma we discussed with, stories which reveal different mechanisms and strategies of survival. Most cases are those of poor Roma. Part of them, who were employed before 1989, failed to access jobs on the formal labour market after 1990. Other life stories are marked by unfortunate events, such as the case of Pandeale, who can't get a job because he has police records, but who is appreciated and sought every year by one of the farmers to work his land. This shows his seriousness as employee, but his low educational level and his police records are unsurpassable barriers to get on the formal labour market. We will also meet some successful Roma, who managed to go past the critical line of poverty by using their educational capital, such as Mirela did, or through social and material capital, essential to start a business, such as Marian. Another successful story is that of Florica. From a housewife, she ended to be employed by the town hall and she resumed her educational studies.

Ionică, from Ianca village, Braila County

Ionică is 50 and unemployed. He finished 6 grades at the school in Ianca, plus the training course in the profession of asphalt worker. After he finished the training course, he worked 4 months, 2 in Ianca and 2 in Viziru, then he was told the company no longer needs his service, so he returned to the initial state. Before 1989 he worked in the sugar factory from the town, one of the permanent workers. After the sugar factory was closed and he was sacked, Ionică started to work in agriculture because he couldn't find another job. His problems started when he got sacked, as he had a wife and three children to support. The family received

social benefit, and after the period when he and his wife were unemployed, his wife was employed at the town salubrity system. In the autumn of 2008 he started the training course of asphalt worker, and then in the spring of the next year he got employed.

Ionică's parents were agricultural workers; his father finished 6 grades, and his mother just 2, being housewife, and their standard of living was quite low. The same happens to him and to some other few people from the community. The only sure income is the wife's minimal wage on the national economy, who supports them. In his opinion, the children should go to school to learn. Of his three children, the elder son and the daughter have finished 2 grades, and the younger son has finished 8 grades. None of the children wanted to go on studying. He considers that school is very important and that now the young Roma has easy access to the school. The difficulty is that they have no material means to send the children to school. The state allocation for the children is not a basic aid, because it is not enough to buy the necessary things for a child.

„ Here, at school, there is access to school, but only if you have the money to send them to school, to dress them, to take them to school. There is access to school. There are children to learn, it is sports now. But it is expensive to take a child to school. 400 lei per month. 400 thousands is the state allocation. Can you support the child? You can't. What if you have 3-4, what will you do? You don't even have a job...”

The standard of living, the precarious material status, the lack of education, all are seen as effects of the same factor: lack of jobs. Ionică considers that only the man should work to support the family in a traditional Roma family, because the woman does a lot of work in the house. If the family has no children, then both husbands should work because every income matters. The idea of working abroad was rejected, on the one hand because there is very little information about the labour market abroad, and on the other hand, Ionică doesn't believe he'll find work abroad. In this case, the educational level is a hinder to getting a job.

„I thought of going abroad, but where to go, and if I go, what shall I do there, sleep on the road, in bushes? Where to go there? Do you think it is better there than in Romania? It is hard for them too.”

An important argument was the fact that he discussed with people from the community who returned home after failing to get a job. This fact determined him to stay in the country, particularly since the travel would have cost a lot, money which he couldn't afford: *„ They found, some found here and there, some came home penniless.”*

Florica, Vișani village, Brăila County

Florica is 39, employee of town hall, for the last 4 years; she is married and mother of 4 girls. Until she was 35 she only worked in agriculture, as hired hand and in her household, and her husband was the only employee of the family. Although she doesn't come from the traditional Roma community, she married when she was 16, with no papers, and at 18 she married officially. She gave birth to the first child when she was 16, then 3 other children followed. She comes from a family where the father, besides the occupation in agriculture, had one more traditional profession: he was the hairdresser of the village. Florica finished 8 grades and for the past 2 years she is attending the high school in Brăila and now she is considering going to college.

The eldest of the children is already in faculty, the middle one is in the 12th grade and is getting ready for college, while the other 2 daughters are in the 7th and 8th grades. Upon the

demand of her children she decided to go on with her studies, because as she admitted herself “you got book, you got bread”. Until the age of 35 she didn’t have a job and the situation of the family was very difficult – they had only one income, that of the husband, needed to support both the household and the children who were at school in Brăila. When the town hall needed to employ a Roma person, which to take care of the community, she took her husband’s advice and enlisted and graduated the examination. This was a surprise even for herself, because she didn’t know what she should do, how to behave, how to dress. Now she says she likes what she is doing, although she passed “from the pan to the office”. She was in turn school mediator, health mediator, then referent for the town hall.

„When did I start working?...Well, after a period while I was in charge with the pans, when I stood no chance, I never thought I would ever get there...at 35.”

Her perception on education changes since she started working, because she understood the importance of the education for the children. Although she doesn’t come from a traditional family, she finished 8 grades and then she dropped school. She needed a training course in order to take the job with the town hall; she learnt there the basics, then she learnt very much in actual practice. The importance of qualification is very high, in her opinion – the difference between the skilled and unskilled people is the difference between an employee and an unemployed, even if both people have the same profession.

„Very well ..get a qualification. You never know what life has for you. I told you, I would have never thought I will have a job. I was walking with rubber shoes in my feet, I was working by the day. It was a miracle for me, a Godly change.”

The level of education in the Roma community from her village is “slightly higher” than in other communities, because there is no discrimination in the school, at the doctor, or at the town hall. An example are her daughters who go regularly to all school competitions and who are learning very well.

Pandele, Poiana community, Turda town, Cluj County

Pandele is 52, has five children, fourteen grandchildren and he works as hired hand either in constructions, or in agriculture. He is the only household member bringing income. At the moment of our survey he was employed as hired hand at the Hygiene Centre which is going to be built in Poiana, with FRDS financing. The Hygiene Centre will include a doctor’s office, a food store and a washing unit, all these for the community members. Although he works as hired hand and he doesn’t always has work to do, he receives no social aid because he doesn’t know what papers he needs, and he has not the money to pay for them.: *“Constructions, in the field, agriculture, anywhere. Where it was work to be done, I went there.”....“Didn’t like, haven’t been, I worked as hired hand, didn’t do me social aid. Never knew they should. I don’t have the money to draw the papers. I have to pay taxes. The Roma Party helped us sometimes”*

On the average, he works a week, maybe 10 days, and he earns 30-40 lei per day, which are not enough to support the whole family. *“How much can we earn, because we are not working every day. When there is work, not every day. A week, ten days... 3-4 hundreds per day, what they give me. The rest is enough for 2-3 days.”* The money is not enough to support the family because her wife is ill and she needs medicines. During the communist regime he worked at IMC Turda (Enterprise for Construction Materials) where he was trained and licensed as welder-machinist. He was sacked because of an error of manipulation which caused damage

and he was sent to jail. Because he has criminal records, it is very difficult for him to get hired again. He has 20 years of work on his work book: *"I was in jail. Thereafter didn't find anything ...after the revolution, I didn't find much to work ... Worked mostly by the day, and in agriculture, digging, stuff like that"*

After the 1989 revolution he worked as hired hand in programs of the Roma Party or for the town hall (cleaning program): *"They hired us sometimes from the party, Roma, for these programs. They kept us as long as the program functioned...then they hired us again...we also found some other work, because there are firms which don't take you. Only with help from the counsellors, as it is with Mr. Mitică."* He looked for a job and he wanted to work even for Behtel, making the highway, to have a constant income; but because he had criminal records, even after 20 years, prevented him to get a job.

"Madam, I went to Behtel and I needed a police record. And I, after 20 and... 22 years I still got criminal record. And they didn't take me because of the criminal record. Sent me to Cluj, I had criminal record. Oh God, we can not hire you because you have criminal record."

The people he worked for still look for him and there even is a farmer who asks him every year at harvest time. For this employer, he gathers other people from the community (about 20 people) and they all work for about two months harvesting. They work about 10 hours a day, Monday through Friday: *"Some people knew me, worked for them several years and they took me to work. I was taking with me people from here, from the community, 20 women, boys, there during that period, just for the campaign. I am waiting for their call this year. They call me, when they need I get the men ready, go there, work, where we find. Well, if it lasts 2-3 months, month and a half, it depends on the time and how much work is to be done."*

In terms of education, he finished the middle school, then he went directly to the factory to work. His parents had 4 grades and also worked for IMC Turda. He was hired at IMC Turda because his parents worked there. His brother too, also worked for IMC Turda. *"We all had jobs at that time, my brother and me, my mother, we were all working together at IMC."*

Sile, from Sărata village, Panticeu commune, Cluj County

Sile is 28, unemployed and lives in concubinage with a young girl from the community; they have 4 children. At the moment of the survey he was at home, because the night before he had transported some wood for a villager from Panticeu. He is working informally wherever he can, to make some money. He also worked informally as village herdsman, then he didn't find any work for a longer period of time. During the past year he worked as hired hand in agriculture and he transported now and then wood for the villagers. The working day in agriculture had 12 hours on the average and it was paid with 40 lei. After the season is over he will lose this income as well, because there is no other work in the area: *"He is working by the household, where he is needed, the neighbours, the people from the new village. Well, how he can, one day after another, where it is work, we are working, where it is not, we don't. Not much work"*.

He is earning best with the transports of wood, because if the ticket from the ranger costs 120 lei and he sells the wood for 200-250 lei then he earns about 100 lei. He says he looked for work in the neighbouring villages, but didn't find, and he has money to commute to Turda or Cluj, so he can't go there to look for a job. Furthermore, the wage he would get would be too low to pay the rent, the transportation and something for the family. He would have liked to work abroad, but he needs money for the travel, which he hasn't.

"I thought of going, but with what? For some it worked out. There are people who went up a little, they went abroad, those who can't stay, come back home. I would also go, work and

have work book, when there is work, we are working...we are not stuck here and we know that we work for us and our family and the children."

He finished 4 grades at the school from Sărata, then the lack of money prevented him to study further. The middle school was in another village, the central village of the commune, Panticeu, and the road was long and very bad. There was no transportation, like now, when the school bus comes and takes the children. The road to the central village of the commune is been repaired for the last 20 years and they didn't finish it. His concubine didn't go to school, she learnt to write and write at home. His father had finished 6 grades, the mother never went to school. Both parents worked at the local Agricultural Cooperative. Until 1989, all the Roma were working at the CAP and had safe incomes.

He has social aid from the town hall, but they suspended it because they found out he was working as hired hand. He is sorrow that the town hall doesn't help the Roma. He also feels discriminated at the local dispensary and at the town hall: *"I was receiving social aid and they cut it because they said I had incomes...didn't have any incomes, just that social aid...and they cut it too...to several people, here. No social. If you go to the dispensary, nobody pays attention to you, with a sick child, injured old man, nobody pays attention to you. Same at the town hall, change the identity card, or ask for a certificate, they don't even look at you. They see you are Roma, they see you are so miserable, and they don't pay attention to you."*

He sees nothing good for the future, and he is afraid that he can lose even what he has. He doesn't understand why don't the Roma have a counsellor at the town hall and why can't they be united, to change for the better the life of their community.

Marian, from Jilava, Ilfov County

Marian 32, is a successful businessmen in Jilava. Although he only finished 10 grades he managed to adapt to he requirements of the free market, so that he now own a food store and a company recycling non-ferrous materials. His entrepreneurial spirit has been encouraged and developed from his teen years because he originates from a family of merchants. At the age of 12, immediately after the fall of the communism, his parents opened a food store. Properly managed, the business developed subsequently by opening a new store in another area of the locality.

The family offered then the boy a real business pattern and a specific life style, elements which influenced subsequently his mentality and way of relating to the current realities. Furthermore, he was supported all along by his family.

„It was all right for me, among other, because my family supported me, I was lucky. Now, you see, this also depends on the status of the family, what they had, the education...you know how it is, to take them as model. My people have been merchants, I mean they have the brains and orientation towards business".

Using the advantages he had, Marian succeeded to make a decent living not just for him but also for his family, counting 2 children so far. The main source of income is the recycling company, even though he also owns a food store: *„the consistent incomes come from this firm trading in wastes...the store is for current expenditure".* Taking into account the large volume of work of the recycling company, the food store remained in the care of his wife, medical nurse.

It took him 4 years to actually start making proper profit with the recycling company. The legal procedures for its registration and all the necessary licences were facilitated, in terms of

time requirement, by the connections he had. Furthermore he received additional facilities compared to the large town, where the competition is tougher, the justification relying on the size of the project, seen as a necessary investment for that area. Marian had a previous experience with a smaller similar company.

Marian doesn't have a rigorous training in this field of activity (never attended a specialised course). His company is a small-size company, registered as micro-enterprise with just one employee – the owner.

"I am universal ...I... do everything. I adapt quickly to the situation. Unfortunately, there are not many like me, be inventive, be able to orient to market demands. If someone comes to me with a business plan...I study it a little to see if it is profitable"

Next to the entrepreneurial spirit of Marian, which was cultivated within the family, there seems to coexist a flexible mentality, easily adaptable, the lack of benchmarks. Thus, despite his concern for his business, the external environment seems impossible to predict „you can realize that from one year to the other, where from so much scrap metal...where from so much waste". Therefore, we can not speak of an internal development of the business, the concept of "reinvestment" being more a displacement of the current pattern to other areas. Therefore, there is no discussion of long-term professional plans, but such plans seem to be in the family area. The investments in this area seem to be the most desirable:

„I also have other priorities... I have a large house and all the income, monthly, weekly, I invest in that house".

Katalin, from Pantelimon, Ilfov County

In Pantelimon there are eight different Roma kindreds, Katalin being a typical case for the "gabori". Born in Târgul Mureş she settled in Pantelimon 14 years ago together with her family. The traditional occupation of the women used to be carpet weaving and sales. In time, carpet weaving in the house has been dropped out and they started to buy carpets and other objects from large commercial units and then reselling them for a profit. We may thus say that the traditional occupation has changed. Katalin buys the merchandise at low price in Europe and resells it.

The same year that she moved to Pantelimon, she also married; 16 years have passed since then and Katalin is now 30. She married out of love (the "gabori" don't have marriages arranged by the families, or an imposed age for marriage) and she has now 3 children. Despite the everyday hardships (very low incomes, the lack of external financial aids, precarious conditions of living) the atmosphere of unity, understanding and love maintained within their family. Between the spouses there is openness and an equal status of the partners:

„We both decide on the important things, there is no difference, when he has money he buys, when I have money, I buy, the money is not separate", „As to the household chores, I do...my man also does".

Although Katalin doesn't have school education, she keeps trying to make her children have proper education. Although she has always to find solutions to the obstacles, Katalin really considers that education is a means of assertion, accomplishment: „so they can get somewhere, so that they don't worry like us, have a job, get hired.

Passing over the troubles and lacks of all kinds and looking towards the future through the mind of Katalin, we discover simple dreams: *„have a house...I don't want anything else. I don't want to be rich, have diamonds, have...I don't know what...have a house, where to live. In rest I don't need anything else, to have two blankets, in the house, and 2 beds, because we are 5... and 2 rooms. Not one*

Mirela, from Pantelimon, Ilfov County

Mirela is a young Roma of 20 from Pantelimon commune, who can be regarded as a successful pattern at her age, being among the few Roma who manage to mix the qualified work with going to a state university. Born in a mixed family, her father is Romanian and her mother is Roma, she is a “lucky” case because she was supported by a large and quite wealthy family and with a higher level of education. An important figure in her life is the uncle from the father's side, who is currently working in Germany in an airplane factory and who supported her both financially and morally to continue her studies.

After finishing the high school, she enlisted at the faculty, initially at the Faculty of Public Administration, but after the first year she decided to move to another faculty from the Bucharest University to specialise in pedagogy. Because she works, she is studying at the distance, generally going in the weekends.

One of the reasons which made her change her specialisation after the first year of faculty was her current job – educator at a kindergarten from the commune. Initially, after finishing the high school, she was dreaming of a completely different job, manicurist, which is why she also attended a training course for which she paid 6 million. The problem was that she couldn't find a job according to her qualification, somewhere near the house, the only ones being in Bucharest. Thus, the initial dream turned into an alternative source of income, a modest one, having some clients who visit her at home from time to time. The current plans for the future presume achieving a proper qualification for her position of educator at the commune kindergarten, which might help her get a stable job, without annual examinations. *„At the kindergarten I am working in two shifts. From eight to one and from one to five. One week I am in the morning, the next one, in the afternoon. I have inspections over inspections, projects, the pedagogic circle. I like it and so far it was everything all right, didn't have problems”.*

Her life style is that of any 20 years old girl. The friends are important particularly when you can start enjoying holidays on your own money. Going into town or in the surrounding communes, either to drink a coffee, or for a dance in the evening are some of the leisure activities. Living in a free and Romanised environment, changed part of the mentalities usual to the Roma girls, for instance the mentality of marriage. This is no longer a priority now; on the contrary, she wants to enjoy freedom and she wants a job. Having a higher level of education, she starts to see differently not just a relation, but she also relates differently with the different competitors – she became more selective. She thinks that it might be possible not to fin here that someone. Being pretentious is not necessarily a band thing, and the fact that you know things and you can help others gives you satisfaction and contentedness.

“I am proud of myself. My neighbour, she is in the 11th, comes to me to help her to Romanian and she is happy that her grades are higher now and that she never had such big marks because I like literature and I help her”.

Marinică, from Băgaciu village, Mureș County

Marinică was born and raised in the Roma community from Băgaciu; he is 47 now. He was born in a family of “agricultural Roma”, speaking Romani, language which he also learned, but which he doesn’t know to what kindred belongs. His parents had little education, but were working people and could afford a decent standard of living for their 5 children who, however, had to work very early. Marinică finished just 8 grades and at the age of 16 worked for the first time at Mediaș, at Gaz Metan.

After just 6 months at Gaz Metan, Marinică took a carpentry training course and then he got a job in Mediaș, as carpenter, where he works for 7 years. He was enrolled in the army, and after he finished his time in the army, he was hired, at the age of 27, at Gostat, the agricultural-animal-viticulture farm from Băgaciu, where he will work for 16 years in animal husbandry, until 2006, when the farm was discontinued for good (he says he was the last to leave, under the conditions in which the reorganisation had started in 2002, when the IAS was privatized). Starting with 2003, he took 2-3 months of vacation, during the summer, and he works as seasonal agricultural worker in Hungary. In 2008, he was hired by a construction company from Cluj, together with his son, where he was very well paid (1,200,000 old lei per day), but the company goes bankrupt and he gets unemployed; he still is unemployed and received an indemnity (probably with suspension, for the months he worked abroad, so that the period of indemnity prolonged). From 2008 he goes to Germany two months per year, wherefrom he returns with 2700 euro, after deducting the expenses.

He didn’t attend any other training course outside the training course in carpentry, , although he was planned for a mason training course in Cluj. He would like to take a course, to get a diploma of skilled worker, which would help him in Germany, to get a better job.

Marinică is married and he has three children, two girls and a boy, all over 21. His wife finished 8 grades and she has been working for the past 5 years as seasonal worker, with labour contract in Spain.

He considers that work is very important in life, value which he inherited from his parents and which he transmitted over to his children: *„With no work you die. If one day I don’t work even in the courtyard, I don’t know how...I don’t sleep well at night. I see the bugs every minute. I need (???) to move...something logical, if even Jesus was praying on the ground...I can’t! Who stays in the shade and...he will never had anything, ever!”*(case study, Băgaciu)

He would have liked his children to study more, but it was not possible, although some of them would have wanted, because he couldn’t afford the money at that time, to keep them more in school. Although in principle he thinks that the school is important in life, given the present situation in Romania, he fails to see the advantages of a higher educational level and he is pessimistic because he doesn’t think the situation will improve too soon.

Fane, from Deaj village, Mureș County

Fane is born in Deaj and comes from a family of brick making Roma, with no education. His parents had little education, 2-3 grades, he managed to finish 6 grades, He couldn’t learn more because as of the age of 12-13 he was more in the country with his parents, who were making bricks for state farms throughout the country, wherever it was work to be done. He started to work when he was 12, next to his parents, making bricks and cords to tie the vineyards. We got married when he was 18, by 21 he had the first child and by 30 already had 4 children.

Fane worked together with his parents until he got married, then, after a break of several years, which he spent mostly at home, after the age of 22 we worked alone making bricks for the state agricultural farms, with which he concluded some kind of contract, but never worked with workbook. From what he said, that was about all the Roma from Deaj who wanted to earn more, could do, because at the chemical plant from Târnăveni it was much more difficult for them to get hired because they didn't have enough education, while the payment for working the vineyards was bad. He was somehow forced to choose this solution to earn more, because he was 30 and had to raise 4 children.

Fane perpetuated, through his own children, his own pattern of educational and professional route; when his children turned 10, he was taking them across the country to help him with his work, according to their powers. This gave them the opportunity to learn the traditional professions of brick makers and producers of vineyards rods, and hops harvester as of 77-78, experience used decades later, when working in Slovenia.

The consequence of this migration for work from the age of 10, was that these children could only finish 4-5 grades. In 1990 he had an infarct and since that day he never worked a day again. He can not have pension for disease because, even though he worked for more than 20 years during the communist period, he never worked one single day with work book. Fane lives now in the house, still without plaster on the walls, whose construction (no finishes) he managed to end before getting ill, with his wife, one of his boys and his wife, their only income being the social aid. Even though he has not much education, not even related to the Roma community from Deaj, and even though he stopped working at 40, he is respected in the Roma community for what the Roma counsellor named „*informal social education*”.

The standard of living of his family which lives presently from the allocations for children, the social aid and the 300 euro, more or less, which come no more than 2 times a year from hop harvesting in Slovenia (his son and daughter in law), is rather modest, but he places himself at the average level of the Roma community from Deaj in terms of the standard of life. The fact that most families have such combination of incomes with similar levels, seems to show he is right about his evaluations. He worked as a child and he treasures work, value which he had passed on to his children. Although he considers education to be important, he didn't manage to surpass the educational barriers through his children, but he hopes to do it through his nephews, whom he expects to finish at least 10 grades.

Vasilică, from Zimnicea, Teleorman County

Vasilică was born and raised in the community of Rudari Roma from Zimnicea. He is now 46 and works as hired hand in constructions, as mason or tile worker, Although he declared that he liked school, he dropped it when he was 16, in the 10 grade, when he got married for the first time and when he got his first job art UGTC, heavy equipment department. He took a 6 months training in mechanics on the job. He married young, because „*this is the law, tradition, the mind of the old ones. Marry him at 16, because later you will not get him married at all*”. His parents had little education, just two grades and they hardly wrote or read: „*We were going to a movie, and I had to read the lines to mum, we were disturbing the others*”

His parents were doing the traditional profession of spoon makers; they were also making wooden troughs, chairs and other objects, which they were selling in the village, on celebration days. In the early years after the 90s, the Heavy Equipment Plant where he worked got reorganised and he was sacked. It was the last year when he found work with

work book. Thereafter he worked seasonally and informally, at IPL, vegetables, where he was working during the summers and wherefrom he benefited of a plot of land where he could plant corn. With what he was making from “vegetables” he and his family managed to live, because there also were other employees in the family. He worked for IPL until it was discontinued in 96-96, and thereafter *“I took my chance in constructions”*; he worked in Bucharest for a period, informally; he was living in wooden cottages and he was coming home every three weeks. He was making nice money which allowed him to raise his children.

He worked thus, in constructions, in Bucharest, sometimes better, sometimes worse, always informally; now he is working by the day, when he finds something to do, painting, tiles. He tried to go abroad, once, and it was an unfortunate experience which he never tried to repeat. This experience was compressed synthetically in a few words - *“I tried, went there and returned on foot, took me 12 days”*.

Vasilică is now married for the fourth time and he has five children from the previous marriages *„everyone at his house”*. The present wife is slightly older than he and she graduated 8 classes.

His house looks rather nice, related to a decent standard, but modest, classical for the houses from *“rudărie”*. He also has seven acres of land on which he grows *„a tomato, an onion, for the winter”*

Vasilică left any hope to get a job with workbook, so he can complete the minimal compulsory period of paying taxes required to get a pension and he hopes to save some money for old ages *„Whatever the Almighty wants... If I can't save, spare something..”* Vasilică works by the day *„here and there... in the morning I plaster a room, lay some wall tiles, floor tiles”*. He considers that his standard of living is below the average standard, but comparable with the standard of life of the community of *“rudari”* where he lives.

He considers that work is very important in life, value which he transmitted to his children too, who started to work when they were 12-13, at home, in the household. He would have wanted his children to study more, but it was not possible, even though some of them might have wanted to, but it was financially impossible to keep them more at school. Three of his five children have finished 10 grades, one of the girls finished 8 grades and one of the girls had stopped in the 7th form, when she went to school one day with the school bag and never returned...he says he practically had to marry her at 14. The other girls married at 18 and managed to finish 10 grades. He is very sorry that he couldn't afford to keep one of his daughters in the spoors high school; she was very gifted.

Costel from Pietroșani, Teleorman County

Costel comes from a family with nine children and, although his parents worked in the time of Ceaușescu and managed to survive with their nine children, they had to work since young to subsist. The parents had little education and he also, hardly finished three grades, enough to know to write and read. He got married when he was 20 with a girl of 14 and she had their first child before she was 15.

Costel worked since young, since the age of 12, raising sheep, *“for the people”*, than in animal husbandry, together with his parents, at an IAS, where from his parents retired, and they proposed him to fill in for his parents, but he only worked there three years because immediately after 1990, the IAS was discontinued. After 1990 he never worked again with

workbook, only as hired hand, in agriculture, and once, in 2007, he tried to work in Spain. He was not successful and returned less than two months after leaving. He lived the, together with his family, from the 200 lei allocation of each of two children, and from the 400 lei allocation of the other five children, as permanent income, supplemented by occasional income as hired hand. After three years he filed again for social aid and doesn't want to work by the day, not to miss the social aid.

He didn't know of the training courses organised in the commune, because „*nobody let him know*”, and when he went again to AJOFM, after three years, with the new file for social aid, we presented a medical certificate „*to be exempt of work*” (hours of working for the community). He didn't ask for jobs because he knows that for people like him, with 3 grades, there are no jobs.

He says he can not participate in the program The second chance and in any training course because „*If I go to school and don't go to work, who is going to feed my babies?*”

Costel has seven children now and he lives, at the limit of subsistence, in a room, with his children and wife. He considers that his standard of life is lower than of the other Roma from the community and he thinks he is entitled to be helped. He thinks that some people, who wouldn't deserve being helped, are helped nevertheless, but they are not as miserable as he is.

Although he worked since a child, during the past few years he seems to avoid working, preferring to live “on state money”. On the one hand, he says, for the people with little education and unskilled, as he is, there are no jobs and there is no point in looking for. On the other hand, there is a risk to miss the social benefits which he receives now, the aid for heating, in winter, plus the social aid, plus food aids from the European Union (this is the “standard package” of social benefits described by the mayor as being accessed by the Roma during the autumn-winter period, when they have no place to work as hired hands).

He would prefer his children to learn more, but this seems impossible in his situation, and the only possibility he sees to improve his situation is “to be helped”. Another solution would be the *reestablishment of the collective* as in the times of Ceaușescu, the only period which him, and other Roma from Pietroșani, similarly resigned, see as the best period of their life.

About the local institutions he has a rather bad opinion, meaning that they should help the people but they don't. He is discontent because he lost the social aid when he went to Spain, that he is not helped to make papers for his house and that he is not helped to get connected to the power line.

Gheorghiță, from Teișoru, Vaslui County

Gheorghiță lives with his wife, the three children and one of the parents, in Teișoru. None of them has a job, but the man is carpenter and he makes various wooden objects for the villagers and not only. This helps them increase the income and makes them say that „*one over the other, they are better than many of the community*”. The wife graduated 8 classes, and he graduated a vocational school. None comes from a family with education, but they want more education for their children, particularly, hoping they will lead a different life, have other opportunities. Most of all, they want to have a job, no matter what. Overall, both spouses are disappointed and pessimistic that they will ever find a job: „*Where? I would certainly go...Vasluiul is number one as unemployment....Nothing goes, not anymore....*”

After finishing the vocational school, Gheorghiuță worked in a steel factory from Reșița, and after he finished his compulsory time in the army, he went abroad. The household they have was built with the money earned abroad. He said that he heard once of some training courses organised by AJOFM within the school from Pușcași, but that is all. He thinks that these training courses, whatever they are and whoever might organise them, should end with the employment of the people who graduated them, otherwise he sees no point. In this way, the people would be more interested and would participate in greater numbers. Otherwise there is no point in organising these training courses, just for the sake of doing something. The main qualification should be in constructions because, he thinks, this is the only field of activity where there is still action. The population would find jobs not just in the country, but abroad too, would they have such qualification. The reason why the population refuses sometimes the job openings announced by the authorities is the poor salary which can not cover the expenses with the transportation, food for the family, other household costs: *„Only commuting from Teișoru to Vaslui raises to 2-3 million old lei...if he is paid 5-6 million...what remains for a living...what can he do...?”*

Gheorghiuță is often asked to transport in his personal car, old people, children to the hospital or for other needs of the people; he gets involved in the community life and hopes that some time, not too far away, things will get better for everybody.

Romică, from Schinași, Vaslui County

For a local leader, Romică has quite a difficult situation: no place of work, a very poor house, with many children – 5 from this marriage and 5 more from the first marriage. The lack of school education and of a qualification prevented Romică to have a job and, actually, he is not even interested any more to get one. He thinks that the Roma from Schinași need jobs for unskilled people, not *„those asking you to surf on the Internet and speak French....because we, poor us, hardly know to write our names”* In his opinion, many people gave up looking for a job because they don't trust the employers any more, all of them being thieves trying to cheat you.

The eldest child, a girl, should be in the 6th grade, but she has been withdrawn from the school in the third grade. The reason is the lack of money for clothes and food, the need for a person whom to help raising the younger brothers and with the household chores. The house is poor, untidy, lacking the bare necessities for living, without animals, or a plot of land to grow something – this is all his wealth.

Similarly to the other inhabitants of the community from Schinași, Romică too is dissatisfied of the town hall activity and by the activity of the other local authorities. He considers that nobody does anything for them, they are discriminated, lacking any representation at the local level. Our respondent considers that a Roma leader within the local structures would represent their interests better and would help them improve their standard of life and work. This is difficult to accomplish, however, as long as, because of the poverty, the Roma are very easily convinced to vote with other leaders against a bag of corn meal or sugar. He had heard of training courses, but he was not interested because he has not the education required to enlist, or the age which to help him use what he learns, as he said.

VI. Conclusions and recommendations

Employment of the Roma

The Roma population is confronted with a vulnerable situation in terms of employment, compared to the total population. The situation of Roma employment is difficult to capture primarily due to their low involvement in the formal economy and of the large proportion of people working in the informal economy. The most accessible economic areas for the Roma are the agriculture, constructions and industry. The main characteristics of Roma employment are: low rate of formal employment (low proportion of employees with work contract, no working years recorded on the work book), high rate of employment in the informal economy or in the subsistence agriculture, low qualification or non-formal qualification based on experience or tradition. The unoccupied people explain their failure on the labour market either by the general economic situation, by the lack of competency or qualifications, ethnic discrimination, or by the family duties (raising children).

The most frequent occupation for the people engaged in traditional professions is collecting wastes and reusable materials (iron, clothes, bottles, paper etc.). The other activities considered to be traditional such as brick making, metal working and fiddling account for a lower proportion.

Summing up the quantitative and qualitative data collected during the research, we have identified several distinct occupational types:

- *The Roma working preponderantly in the informal economy, in unskilled jobs on modest benefits,*
- *The very poor Roma who are working wherever they can, being involved mainly in collecting scrap iron or wastes,*
- *The Roma who say they are house wives/house husbands, but who either work in the household, or have different informal occasional activities,*
- *The Roma involved in traditional activities, the most frequent ones being craftsmanship, artisan works and fiddling,*
- *The Roma who learned, emancipated, who work on the formal labour market and who are usually younger,*
- *The successful Roma, with own businesses, in trade, real estate, recycling etc.,*
- *The Roma working abroad, preponderantly men, mostly employed in agriculture.*

Despite the successful cases, which are additional arguments in favour of including the Roma on the labour market, most respondents belong to the first two occupational types, having a vulnerable situation and a modest life, often in extreme poverty. The main sources of income come from the social sphere (children allocations or social aids) followed by the earnings from occasional activities.

The employment difficulties are only part of the overall problematic situation they are confronting with on all the dimensions of their life: poverty, precarious dwelling conditions, vulnerable health state, lack of education and qualification, large families, discrimination, poor involvement in the life of community, deficient political representation etc.

Besides the adverse general economic context, the position of relative exclusion of the Roma from the labour market has many causes, which influence mutually both at the individual level – low level of education and aspirations, bad health state, precarious dwelling conditions, large families, very low standard of living – and at the level of the responsible institutions or of the employers – low interest of the employers to hire Roma people, the associated negative stereotypes, the informal work, the discrimination or low involvement within the community life.

Education and level of aspirations

The Roma are less educated compared to the members of the dominant population, which limits their access to the labour market, under the conditions in which the demand for unskilled work decreased dramatically with the post-1990 economic transformations.

Valid for all generations, the school performance of most individuals is much below the current demands of the labour market. A third of the population barely has the elementary level of education and about half graduated middle school. A quarter of the Roma population declared that they don't know to read or write. It is worrying that particularly the younger generations don't have qualification, while the elder generations managed to get trained and get a qualification in the time of the communist regime.

The low educational level is the essential link in the chain which explains the lack of occupation among the Roma, which generates a vicious circle of poverty and poverty culture, of the orientation towards the immediate outcomes. The lack of education implies the lack of qualification; it leads to limited possibilities of employment, preponderantly in temporary jobs, badly paid, in the informal economy, which create other disadvantages in the long run.

At the same time, due to the lack of education, the aspirations remain low, anchored in the present, oriented towards short-term material advantages. Education is not among the main three conditions that lead to accomplishment in life. The pattern of success in life relies on the condition of health (72%), followed by work (49%) and fortune (44%). Related to the aspirations of the majority population, who most often aim at the higher education, the Roma have lower aspirations, usually stopping at the vocational level. The importance of work resides particularly in the financial aspect, less in aspirations such as management or performance.

Health state

The Roma appreciate their state of health as being poor in a higher proportion than the general population: 40% consider their health state is bad or very bad, compared to just 25% for the total population of Romania; this perception may show a more precarious health state of the Roma population compared to the general population.

The health state is explained by a complex of factors: the low standard of life, the precarious dwelling conditions, the limited access to utilities, the deficient feeding, the lack of concern for a healthy life style, the limited access to quality healthcare services.

Family pattern and solidarity networks

The limited efforts of the Roma to participate on the labour market also are a consequence of the family structure, which is the result of an adaptation to an environment of risk in which the social system fails to accomplish its function of support.

The Roma manage to develop and maintain solidarity networks within the extended families. Because the poor Roma have no means to save money which they can thereafter use in times of need, the mutual aid is a common practice. Economically, these networks supply an informal insurance against the temporary fluctuations of the income and against many other hazards challenging the poor families.

The Roma households are large, often comprising several generation, with a large number of children. Besides the fact that a large number of children increases the poverty of a family irrespective of the ethnic affiliation, the parents have less and less opportunities to pay sufficient attention to each child. In the families with many children and which are very poor, the elder children often have the responsibility to take care of the youngest members of the family, which causes deficiencies in their education and decrease their odds for professional accomplishment in the future. Starting with the age of 11-12, the children start working either in the household, or outside it, which leaves the school out of their preoccupations. The pattern of the family of origin explains partly the low educational level: the children whose parents have a higher level of education, tend to remain for a longer period in school.

Dwelling

Compared to the overall population of Romania, the Roma population has much worse dwelling conditions: precarious dwellings built of poor quality materials, often without a legal status, overcrowding, deficient endowment with utilities and household appliances.

The main factors which influence the quality of dwelling at the Roma people are specific individual characteristics such as the income, education, occupational status; there also are community characteristics: area of residence, location of the house within the locality, type of community etc. Thus, the Roma people live in a higher proportion in the peripheral areas and in rural localities, with bad infrastructure and limited access to services. They are overrepresented in the ghetto-type areas of extreme poverty or near the garbage dumps. Typically, if the Roma move to a new location, they don't do it for a better job, rather because they lost the dwelling. This is why the move to areas with poor economic development because dwelling are more handy there, but the jobs are fewer.

The explanation of this situation belong, on the one hand, to the unfavourable economic circumstances and to the type of post-1989 policy and, on the other hand, on the way if life based on a pattern of extended families, a culture of deprivation and a relative ethnic autarchy, which turned into marginalization and exclusion.

According to research data, the Roma own their dwelling in a low proportion; quite a large proportion of them don't have any legal documents for the dwelling they are living in; there is a high proportion of the Roma living in makeshift dwellings and in homes for single people; they have a higher proportion of the dwellings made of vulnerable materials and have a significantly higher density of people.

Migration

The research data show an international migration of the Roma people oriented particularly towards work, strongly differentiated by gender, with a pattern of short-term travels. Unlike the migration of the Romanian people as a whole, the Roma population declared a low involvement in house cleaning activities. This situation is most likely the result of a less consistent participation of the women to the migration (the household cleaning sector is generally associated to an intense feminization).

Agriculture seems to be the sector of activity drawing the bulk of migrants, mostly the young ones. The analytical results don't reveal any element in support for a higher foreign mobility of the Roma population than of the rest of population.

The domestic migration seems to have remained at a low level during the last 5 years: just 5% of the interviewed people spent more than 6 months in a locality other than the locality of residence. Unlike the international migration, most travels are done by women. Lifelong migration patterns are quite different: over 40% of the interviewed people live today in another locality than the place of birth, most of them moving on short distances (localities within the same county). Most people living in another locality than the place of birth are women, probably as consequence of their marriage.

At the level of institutions and employers

Informal employment

This problem is not specific to the Roma, but to the poorly qualified population. The claimed causes pertained particularly to formalities, high taxes and dues, which deter the employer. A vicious circle of the informal work forms thus, with which even the employee often agrees.

The labour market is segmented: a sector of formal jobs, on the long term, which require qualification, which are well paid and have many benefits; and another sector with temporary jobs, poorly skilled, poorly paid and most often in the informal sector.

Being poorly skilled, the Roma population is employed mainly in this second sector. We can hardly speak of ethnic discrimination on the labour market, rather *de facto* discrimination, most often, which results from this *job segmentation*.

On-the-job qualification is not acknowledged

Among the Roma, there is a large segment of people with many years of work, usually in the informal sector, who have no formal qualification in their profession. Take the example of an adult person working on a construction site since the age of 14-16; he already has formed abilities in his field of work, but he can hardly be sent at this age to a training course in

constructions, so he can get a diploma. Without a diploma, he will have to keep working in the informal sector, for low wages, with no health and social insurance which only the work book can get and without a legal work contract.

Low interest of the employers for the Roma people

The explanation of the low interest of the employers for the Roma people is mainly due to their poor qualification and only thereafter to the ethnic stereotypes under the shape of the associated negative labels.

Cases were reported when the employer refused to employ Roma people due to xenophobic reasons, but most times, the individual reasons and reasoning predominate.

Negative stereotype regarding the work of Roma people

The image of the Roma who don't want to work, who don't want to get employed legally is predominant even among those who should facilitate their relation with the formal labour market: AJOFM representatives and the local authorities.

The general perception is that the Roma have the poorest qualities, behaviour at work, etc. The danger of such statistic discrimination is that it catches very fast. Cases were mentioned when the employment of Roma people was supported, but these situations were rather exceptional.

Discrimination

The Roma population continues to feel discriminated and to judge the ethnic affiliation as being important for success in life, for the success of the children at school, to get a job. The Roma also feel discriminated in their relation with the public institutions where most times they are treated *worse* or *similarly* with the people of other ethnic affiliation; only seldom they are treated *better* than the non-Roma. Irrespective of the occupational status of the Roma people, school is considered the most egalitarian public institution.

The unoccupied people bestow a higher importance on the ethnic affiliation in taking a job, than the occupied Roma do, most probably because of the personal experience acquired in the job seeking process. The ethnic affiliation is indicated by 45% of the interviewed people as one of the main reasons why they (unoccupied people) can not get a job.

Because the Roma people expect future discrimination, this decreases a lot their determination to acquire work abilities or the habit to work; this only strengthens the negative perception of the employers about them.

Political representation

Most often, the Roma don't have information on their representation in the local institutions or about the Roma leaders from their community and they can not evaluate their activity. Those who know of the existence of the three community actors (the medical mediator, the school mediator and the Roma expert) usually evaluated positively their activity.

At the individual level, the lack of such awareness shows the low insertion within the community life, which may turn into a potential factor worsening the employment problems, if the person doesn't update the knowledge that might be of help to acquire the necessary resources.

At the community level, this low level of awareness may rather have objective causes, i.e. the lack of visibility and/or of transparency of the activity of the Roma experts and of the mediators (school and medical). Their activity reaches a rather narrow group of people benefiting of their services.

Problems with the programs facilitating the employment of the Roma people

The programs of inclusion on the labour market have been most often evaluated negatively during the survey. The working manner was evaluated as bureaucratic, inefficient, most actions remaining purely formal. The offer of the programs of inclusion on the labour market is unrealistic and its impact is limited. The interest of the employers is limited, their participation in such programs also being rather formal.

The qualitative research showed that the Roma are aware of their poor chances, they understand the mechanisms which push them to this adverse situation, which they assume. Outstandingly, they often mentioned the children as those who might break this vicious circle of the lack of education and inclusion on the labour market. The initiatives of inclusion on the market labour have less chances of success for the older generation, but the programs of school inclusion and the training programs may have a decisive impact for the younger generation.

Knowledge of the programs

Very few of the people who participated in interviews and focus groups knew of the employment programs in progress and even less had participated in them.

AJOFM is an institution with low visibility among the potential beneficiaries; it is known as an institution which gives the unemployment benefit to those who had a job, so most times it is not for them. However, there were cases when Roma people attended training courses, but the evaluation of the impact was negative.

Evaluation of the programs

There is a low trust in the real opportunities which such programs of inclusion on the labour market may offer. Most of the interviewed people said that the competencies acquired after the training course were insufficient, and that there are very low odds to take the jobs offered by programs such as the employment caravan and the job exchange. The manner of work is seen bureaucratic, inefficient, most actions being purely formal.

Unrealistic offer of jobs and training courses

Overall, the offer of the programs of inclusion on the labour market is unrealistic, with limited impact. The problem has been raised by all interviewed authorities, AJOFM and town halls. At the same time, the organisation of courses for professional qualification or requalification for people lacking the elementary skills – reading and writing – is useless.

The jobs offered by programs such as the employment caravan, as well as many of the organised training courses do not fit:

- *The educational level* of the Roma people: many of the jobs offered by the job exchange program required qualification, which the Roma don't have.

- *Their needs and abilities:* they don't take into account the specific needs of the Roma and don't rely on the abilities and resources which the Roma can develop.
- *generally the real requirements of the labour market.*

The "formal" jobs

According to the interviews and the focus groups, both the Roma people and the authorities showed that the jobs offered by the employment caravan for the Roma or by similar programs are offered just for the sake of complying with the legal duties, but actually those jobs are already "taken" by other people.

Lack of financial compensation during then training courses

The lack of financial compensation during the training courses is another factor deterring the would-be participants. Because they are a poor population, with large families which have to be cared for most times by a single member, it is easily understandable why the interest for qualification is so low, because the trainee can not work and go to classes, at the same time.

There is the possibility of remuneration for the period of study, from the programs with European financing, but this is not possible for the training courses organised by AJOFM.

Lack of concrete job opportunities

The training courses do not have a concrete outcome, they are done to get a diploma and that's it. The motivation to participate is therefore low, and the odds of inclusion on the labour market are almost null. Moreover, most of the interviewed people said that the competencies acquired from these training courses are insufficient.

No subsequent monitoring of the impact of programs

The lack of monitoring such projects and programs is an important deficiency. The statistic reports on the people attending the programs or about how much they enjoyed the programs are not clear and enough to evaluate the real impact of the programs. Furthermore, there is no concern to analyse the quality and satisfaction of the job for those few who managed to be employed.

The efficiency of the programs was questioned even by AJOFM representatives, as well as by the other formal leaders that were interviewed. According to the evaluation of the interviewed authorities, very few people get employed from job exchange-type programs. The impact of the training courses is even lower: the participants only get a diploma and nothing else, only a handful manage to get employed in the field which they were trained for. The training courses organised within projects are not monitored subsequently and their real impact is practically unknown.

Recommendations

Punctual solutions to facilitate the access to the labour market

The general evaluations, both by the Roma people and by the investigated authorities, seem to support the idea that the philosophy of the programs of inclusion on the labour market has to be rethought. The most important areas on intervention are the **education** and the

relation with the employer. Because the reason for the high Roma employment vulnerability is the lack of education, the future initiatives should start from here. The employer must be con-interested in this endeavour: *“Levers have to be created, which to make the employer really believe that he needs us”*. (Roma expert). The involved actors should assume more responsibility, and only in this way improvements may appear.

Among the potential factors of success are:

- higher involvement of the local and county Roma experts, of the school, medical and community mediators to mediate the relation between the Roman and the labour market;
- higher involvement of the mediators to mediate the relation between the Roman and the connected areas, with impact on employment: educational system, healthcare system, dwelling, participation to community life;
- higher involvement of the formal and informal Roma leaders to mediate the dialogue between the employee and the employer;
- organise working groups with the participation of the employers and of the Roma seeking jobs, to identify concrete and real job offers, adequate to the level of education and qualification of the Roma;
- evaluation and monitoring, at the local and county level, of the current ANOFM programs for the Roma, particularly of the “Employment caravan for the Roma people”;
- dissemination of good practice examples.

Following are punctual recommendations for local actions which to facilitate the access of the Roma to the labour market, recommendations which might be assigned to the Roma experts.

Employment

Identified problem	Solutions/recommendations
Informal work	Information of the Roma population on the risks and consequences of this type of "employment" <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Campaigns of information within the community • Campaigns to sensitize the employers
Work by the day, temporary jobs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Campaigns of information on the advantages of the social insurances • Campaigns to sensitize the employers • Draw local lists with the people working by the day
Non-formal traditional professions – a form of work without employment contract	Stimulate the people to obtain licences for specific activities (craftsmanship, artisan work, etc)
No formal registration of the unemployed, thus the difficulty to include them in active employment programs	Information and stimulation of the unregistered people to get registered <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop an instrument to monitor these people at the local level
Specific traditional occupational pattern, particularly for the women	Identification of employment opportunities based on flexicurity (jobs with flexible hours, but with paid social insurance)

Family, education, health, dwelling conditions or civic competencies

Identified problem	Solutions/recommendations
Family educational pattern	Inform the families on the need for education and qualification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support and mediation in the relation of the family with the school
Vulnerability of the women, particularly of the mothers with little children	Support for access to services of education and care: nurseries and kindergartens, after school
Illiteracy	Facilitate the access of the Roma population to the educational system, to graduate middle school. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Socio-economic stimulation of the adults involved in "Second chance"-type courses, which should always precede the offer of training courses • Stimulate the school inclusion of the Roma children • Prevent school dropout (by after school programs)
No acknowledgement of qualification for the people having professional abilities, particularly for the traditional professions	Apprentice or tutorship programs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initiate the dialogue between the involved parties, to start the process • Identification of the financial resources • Active involvement in the development of such projects
Precarious health state	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Campaigns of information of the population, preventive health education with the collaboration of the medical mediator
Family doctors for the Roma population	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support the unlisted population to register with the family doctor (collaboration of the medical mediator) • Identification of possibilities to offer stimulants for the family doctors having many Roma families on their lists
Precarious dwelling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facilitate the access to a dwelling for the homeless, mediation of the relation with the authorities • Identification of support mechanisms – subsidies, compensation for the utilities • Support to get papers for the dwellings (ownership or rental documents)
Lack of civic competency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Direct information on the activity of the local Roma expert, of the school mediator, or of the medical mediator • Higher transparency of their activity

Support programs

Identified problem	Solutions/recommendations
Low interest of the employers for Roma people	Local facilities for the employers (such as the identification of possibilities for local punctual benefits for the entrepreneurs employing Rom people)
Negative stereotypes concerning Roma work	Campaigns to increase the tolerance (such as present successful stories in the community – Roma people who got employed on the formal labor market and which are very appreciated by the employers, etc.)
The programs of inclusion on the labour market are not known by the Roma communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Better promotion among the Roma communities of the programs of inclusion on the labour market (for instance, campaigns of information, organisation of informative discussions in the community with the potential beneficiaries (in the field)) • Development by the state institutions of the employment agent institution
Unrealistic offer of jobs by the support programs	<p>Job offer according to the qualification of the possible beneficiaries</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identification of jobs suitable to the needs and low training, not of skilled jobs, from which most Roma are excluded • Support the development of jobs fitting some abilities which the Roma people already have <p><i>For instance:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Support the development of craftsmen associations similar to the old “guilds” in which the Roma can perform their traditional professions, provided markets are identified for those products <p>Efficientise the partnership with the employers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Draw all the relevant local actors within this process: local authorities, employers, school mediators, medical mediators, community facilitators, formal and informal Roma leaders • Identify, in partnership with them, the mechanisms by which the employers are co-interested in this process – identification of possible facilities at the local level
No concrete job opportunities after the training courses	<p>Promise of concrete jobs</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identification of punctual jobs for a number of people who will graduate that training course <p>Efficientise the partnership with the employers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Draw all the relevant local actors within this process • Identify, in partnership with them, the mechanisms by which the employers are co-interested in this process – identification of possible facilities at the local level <p>Programs of professional counselling (through the employment agents)</p>
No financial compensation during the training courses	<p>Provide a financial compensation during the training courses</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identification of opportunities (sponsorship, projects, partnerships) which may provide a financial compensation for the participants
No impact monitoring of the programs of inclusion on the labour market for the Roma communities	<p>Develop and instrument to monitor the local, county and national programs</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monitoring the meetings, the offered jobs, the employed people etc. • Monitoring the quality of employment and of the subsequent satisfaction with the job

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