

REPORT ON THE LIVING
CONDITIONS
OF ROMA IN SLOVAKIA

Report on the Living Conditions of Roma in Slovakia

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Foreword

The fight against poverty and social exclusion is one of the priorities of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). At the Millennium Summit in September 2000, the member states of the United Nations reaffirmed their commitment to work towards a world in which sustaining development and eliminating poverty would have the highest priorities. The result of this initiative is the acceptance of the Millennium Development Goals which build on agreements and resolutions made by the UN in the last decade.

In Slovakia too there are vulnerable, excluded and marginalised groups, who have no opportunity for equal participation in economic and social development. In some groups, exclusion is a long-term phenomenon, while other groups have “fallen” into poverty as a result of the transformation in society. The national report on the Millennium Development Goals for Slovakia in 2004 stated that “In Slovakia there continue to be sharp regional differences in the rate of poverty, unemployment, the average wage and indicators for education and health ... and ... it is possible to find pockets of deep poverty within a relatively wealthy society. Conditions in isolated Roma settlements indicate that these pockets of poverty contain a large part of the Roma population.”

The report that you are now reading is a continuation of the efforts of UNDP to quantify data on poverty, in particular the poverty of Roma in the countries of Central and East-

ern Europe. The study, carried out by a team of independent consultants and experts from the UNDP Regional Centre in Bratislava has been produced on the basis of data from an extensive questionnaire survey of Roma families and Roma households in Slovakia. This research was carried out with the support of the World Bank in 2005. UNDP sees this analysis as a step leading to the creation of space for a further deep mapping of the social and economic situation of the Roma in Slovakia. The report have helped to expose how sensitive Roma households are to changes in structures in the system of social policy, and what can be done to make these changes easier to come to terms with.

UNDP believes that the conclusions and recommendation of this publication will assist all interested parties in taking further steps to remove the pockets of poverty from the map of Slovakia.



Ben Slay

Director of the UNDP Bratislava Regional Centre

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Acronyms

EU	European Union
EU-SILC	EU Survey on Income and Living Conditions
IVO	Inštitút pre verejné otázky (Institute for Public Affairs)
MPSVR SR	Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family of Slovak Republic (Ministerstvo práce, sociálnych vecí a rodiny Slovenskej republiky)
NAPs/INCL	National Action Plan for Social Inclusion (Národný akčný plán sociálnej inklúzie)
SAV	Slovak Academy of Sciences (Slovenská akadémia vied)
SNSLP	Slovak National Centre for Human Rights (Slovenské národné stredisko pre ľudské práva)
S.P.A.C.E.	Social Policy Analysis Centre
SZČO	Self-Employed Person (Samostatne zárobkovo činná osoba)
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN	United Nations

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Summary

The study presented here is part of the long-term efforts of UNDP to acquire reliable information on poverty and the forms in which it manifests itself in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The empirical data on which the analysis is based were collected during regional research carried out by UNDP in the years 2004-2005. Its main output was a publication containing a regional survey. The study entitled *Report on the Living Conditions of Roma in Slovakia* focuses on an analysis of the structure and dynamic of the “life chances” of this ethnic minority, findings relating to the effectiveness of the existing measures in social policy and seeking out relationships between them. The publication also offers a series of recommendations that derive both from the knowledge acquired in this research and from the results of other work on the social and economic situation of marginalized groups in the Slovak Republic.

Trained interviewers collected the data in interviews based on a standardized questionnaire. The questionnaire had ten sections covering housing, household structure, migration, education, health, economic activities, social benefits, subjective assessment of poverty, income, and household expenditure. The basis for the selection of the Roma households was information from the socio-graphic mapping of Roma settlements carried out by non-governmental organisations in 2004 with the support of the World Bank, the Office of the Plenipotentiary of the Slovak Government for Roma Communities and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). The survey focused on three types of settlements based on the typology defined in the socio-graphic mapping. The segregated type refers to a settlement-type that is remote from towns and villages or separated by a barrier, the separated type refers to a Roma population concentrated in a certain part of a town or village – either inside or on the outskirts, and the mixed type refers to Roma integrated among the majority population in the town or village. The same number of households was selected for each settlement type.

The research showed that within the Roma population there is a high rate of dependency on social assistance, since nearly three quarters of households (73 percent) had received in the last month some sort of social benefits related to material need. Receipt of this type of income was widespread regardless of the level of spatial integration with the majority population. Despite these facts, Roma households continue to make less than full use of the instruments available in the material assistance system. A very small number of Roma households received a housing allowance, a benefit intended to cover housing-related costs.

Less than 16 percent of households received such benefits (out of those that received any benefit related to material need), which was 11 percent of the total sample of Roma households. The reasons for the small number of recipients include the conditions for claiming the benefit, which many Roma households do not meet – even though they live in a state of material need. Even less use was made of scholarships for pupils and students as an instrument for alleviating material need. The take-up rate among Roma households in material need was just 6 percent. These numbers should attract attention because important tools in the new social assistance system are not being used.

There is a very low rate of engagement in the labour market among the Roma population of productive age. They do not always carry out work in the formal segment of the labour market; work on a homestead is not uncommon. The fact that the survey finds greater participation in work outside the household (33 percent for men and 23 percent for women) than is reported in the employment statistics (11 percent for men and 5 percent for women) may indicate activity in the informal labour market. Eighty-six percent of economically active members of the Roma population who do not work (i.e. excluding students, pensioners and persons on parental leave) are registered at the labour office and 14 percent are not. Most unemployment takes the form of long-term unemployment, which causes Roma women and men to lose the remainder of their working qualifications. This creates a “cycle of deprivation” and reinforces the culture of poverty (also in relation to the reductions in the level of social assistance benefits), which has very negative effects on the life outcomes of the unemployed and also their families. Since there are large numbers of children in families where parents are unemployed, the impact on the future life outcomes of the children of these families is especially dangerous.

There is quite a large gap between the unemployment rate and the rate of participation in training (less than 5 percent) and activation work (37 percent). Given the high level of long-term unemployment, this may be a result of the unemployed already having used up their opportunities for training, without producing a very strong effect in terms of people entering employment. Non-participation in activation programmes may reflect both a lack of motivation as well as a lack of opportunities to undertake such work. In areas or localities with a high concentration of long-term unemployed Roma inhabitants, the supply of work suitable for people without qualifications may have been exhausted.

Research in the Roma households focused a considerable amount of attention on recording the Roma population's experience with activation programmes. This aimed to track Roma households' rate of participation in activation programmes and their structure, as well as their subjective perception of the purpose and effect of such programmes. A comparison of rates of participation, reasons for non-participation in activation programmes and structure of unemployment shows that there is room for improvement in the way these programmes relate to Roma communities if they are to achieve their declared objectives to "support active participation in the labour market, and increase qualifications and skills".

The collection of "hard" information on the living conditions of the Roma households was supplemented by research into their opinion of their level of poverty and their

satisfaction with life, which enabled us to get an additional perspective in assessing the overall situation. These data show that most Roma households are dissatisfied with their financial situation, which is reflected in their anxiety about the future.

Three basic tendencies can be identified from the data. Firstly, Roma households were found to be in a worse situation in most of the monitored dimensions than households belonging to the general population in nearby areas – in terms of indicators for living conditions, availability of drinking water, dependency on social assistance benefits and the rate of indebtedness. Secondly, Roma households reported the worst conditions when they lived in segregated areas, followed by Roma households living in separated parts of towns or villages. Thirdly, in all dimensions the objective and subjective indicators were in accord.

1

INTRODUCTION

1. INTRODUCTION

The fight against social exclusion is one of the priorities of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The report that you are now reading is a continuation of the efforts of UNDP to quantify data on poverty and the “ethnicization of poverty” taking place in relation to the Roma ethnic minority in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans. The empirical data on which the analysis is based were collected during regional research carried out by UNDP in the years 2004-2005. Its main output was a publication containing a regional survey, “At risk: Roma and the Displaced in Southeast Europe”. The report entitled “Report on the Living Conditions of Roma in Slovakia” UNDP sees as a contribution to the in-depth mapping of the social and economic situation of the Roma based on quantitative data. The study helps to show how sensitive Roma households are to structural change in the system of social support, in particular the changes in social policy since 2004, and what can be done to make these changes easier to come to terms with. The methodology developed for the research allows comparison over time, the study of development dynamics, and therefore the evaluation of individual social policy measures and their impacts. The data and the conclusions of the analysis may also become part of the regular Report on the Social Situation of the Population in Slovakia published by the Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family of the Slovak Republic, enhancing its range to include issues of the standard of living and the poverty of the Roma.

The global challenges facing the modern world include ending poverty and overcoming social exclusion. This challenge confronts not only the developing world but also Europe and Slovakia, which has been a member of the European Union since 2004. At the Millennium Summit in September 2000, the member countries of the United Nations reaffirmed their commitment to work towards a world in which making development sustainable and eliminating poverty would have the highest priorities. The result of this initiative is the acceptance of the Millennium Development Goals which build on agreements and resolutions made by the UN in the last decade. In Slovakia too there are vulnerable, i.e. excluded and marginalized groups, who have lost their opportunity for equal participation in development. For some groups exclusion has a long-term character (it existed before socialism and continued under that regime), other groups “fell” into poverty as a result of the transformation of society after 1989. The national report on the Millennium Development Goals for Slovakia states that “in Slovakia there continue to be sharp regional differences in the rate of poverty, unemployment,

average earnings and also in indicators for education and health... it is also possible to speak of pockets of deep poverty within a relatively wealthy society. Conditions in isolated Roma settlements indicate that these pockets of poverty contain the life of a large part of the Roma population” (*Millennium...*, 2004).

Poverty and social exclusion can have a great variety of forms or effects, and can be caused by a variety of factors or conditions. Research in this area focuses either on identifying the most vulnerable groups or identifying and analysing causes. Public interest very often focuses on identifying groups and regions with high incidence of deprivation requiring public action. Amongst the groups most often categorized as vulnerable are children, older people, women, and racial, ethnic or linguistic minorities. At other times primary interest is not linked to identifying the groups that are at risk but obtaining a better understanding of why this or that group is in an unfavourable situation – potential determining factor for these conditions are monitored. Different policies are required, for example, in relation to rural poverty as opposed to urban (or “city”) poverty. At this second level the creation of research tools focuses as appropriate on measuring and classifying various determining factors in relation to poverty and exclusion.

The research carried out was focused on a group that has been identified by socio-economic analyses (not only) in Slovakia. The Roma population frequently appears amongst the groups that are most vulnerable, i.e. the groups most threatened by poverty and social exclusion. A number of

Box 1: Increased risk of poverty in the Roma population

“Another at-risk group was a large part of the Roma population. The inhabitants of segregated Roma settlements were in a particularly disadvantaged situation. Despite improvements in their situation in the period of socialism, many Roma families, especially the low qualified and other groups in marginal positions, ranked for a long time among the poorest because in their case the key factors in the reproduction of poverty – different life opportunities – were not eradicated” (Kusá 1997).

Among foreign researchers, Rudolf Andorka and Zsolt Spéder identified groups most likely to be long-term unemployed through an analysis of a sample of Hungarian households during 1992-1995: “There was stable representation of members of the Roma ethnic group in the lowest income decile, of whom nearly half were poor in all four years studied” (Andorka, Spéder 1996). István Kemény, Béla Janky a Gabriella Lengyel came to a similar conclusion through a study of the living conditions of Roma in Hungary in 1971-2003 (Kemény, Janky, Lengyel 2005).

Box 2: Groups most vulnerable to poverty and social exclusion according to the National Action Plan on Social Inclusion (NAPs/INCL) 2004-2006

“... the most vulnerable group facing the risk of poverty includes the unemployed, and primarily the long-term unemployed. Extraordinarily serious is the fact that also young people aged 16-24 (or 15-29) years are exposed to the risk of poverty and social exclusion, primarily those with a low degree of education or without an education corresponding to the needs of the labour market. Other vulnerable groups are families with children, with a significantly higher risk of poverty in single-parent families and families with a large number of children, where the risk increases proportionally with the number of members of the family. From an analysis it is found that children (0-15) as well as young people (16-24) are, more than other age groups, threatened by poverty and social exclusion. The at-risk groups, identified on the basis of common indicators of poverty and social exclusion, include also lone-person households essentially in all age categories and both genders.”

“Although the Roma national minority is a heterogeneous group, a large part of Roma people belongs to the most vulnerable inhabitants in the Slovak Republic. Their social situation has for a long time been determined by a high rate of unemployment, in particular long-term, dependency on benefits from the social system, a low level of education and housing. Among the groups most threatened by social exclusion and poverty, in the case of which various key disadvantages accumulate, are unintegrated Roma communities living in rural or urban settlements, the number of which in Slovakia is estimated at several hundred. Approximately 100,000 Roma live in these settlements, which represents almost 2 percent of the total Slovak population and 28 percent of the estimated number of the Roma population in Slovakia (according to professional demographic estimates there are approximately 350,000 Roma). The most vulnerable group is made up of Roma who face double marginalization. On the one hand, they live in marginalized regions in which there is a minimal possibility of finding a job and thus extricating oneself from the social assistance system, and at the same time, for various reasons, they cannot be integrated into the labour market, or their entry to the labour market is made difficult (for example in consequence of a labour disadvantage or social exclusion). To this as an additional complication are added certain specific factors, such as ethnic discrimination or socially pathological phenomena in segregated Roma communities” (*Národný. . .*, 2004).

disadvantages come together for this ethnic group: in this group there is poverty linked to demographic factors (such as family size), poverty created by unemployment (especially long-term unemployment), poverty caused by low quality work or a lack of education and also discrimination. It is said that Roma living in segregated settlements are the worst off. Their situation is often compared to that found in developing countries.

This ethnic group is also mentioned explicitly in political documents and action plans of the Slovak Republic for the eradication of poverty and exclusion. For example, the *National Action Plan on Social Inclusion 2004-2006 for the Slovak Republic* identified groups within the population that were most vulnerable to poverty and social exclusion. In addition to the long-term unemployed (with a low level of education, or education for which there is no demand in the labour market), families with children, single-member households, migrants, people with disabilities and the homeless, these groups included people living in Roma communities.

Both research data and political documents show that the Roma population in Slovakia is one of the groups most vulnerable to exclusion.

2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1. Characteristics of the approach and type of research

The literature and research and statistical works recognize three basic approaches to research into the poverty or vulnerability of the various disadvantaged groups in the population. The first analytical option is to set a poverty threshold in terms of income per member of household (a one-dimensional approach). The second option is a multi-dimensional approach which broadens the measurement of the level of material deprivation to include access to basic public services and information (education, social security, the labour market, health, cultural and social dimensions). The basis of the third approach is social capital, which is founded on an analysis of the “assets” possessed by the vulnerable group. A very important part of this approach to the measurement of poverty is an analysis of the opportunities available in the given locality or region.

Various statistical and research instruments are used in measuring poverty. They are often highly complex and require specific datasets such as panels, long-time series, very large survey samples, and the like. Statistical and research techniques include studies of the eating habits of the population, family accounts, continuous surveys of employment and consumer prices, analytical use of administrative registers (in particular records on the provision of benefits linked to material need), census surveys, regularly repeated surveys of households and in-depth studies of living conditions.²

The term social exclusion is generally used to refer solely to exclusion from meaningful participation in spheres and subsystems that have economic, political, social and cultural significance in the given society. Individuals can be

Box 3: Basic approaches to the measurement of poverty

1. The most common method for measuring the level of poverty is setting a poverty threshold. This analytical opportunity reacts to the need to make a comparison from multiple points of view. The poverty threshold can be defined in absolute or relative terms (e.g. Mingione 1999 and many others) and a national and super-national level can be set. The World Bank and UNDP use this approach in their analyses. Super-national definitions of poverty thresholds take into consideration differences in the cost of living in different regions or areas. Most frequently the poverty threshold is defined in terms of the income per family member or the income of the household. Although poverty thresholds can be very useful for regional and international comparisons, within the national context they are quite controversial. One of the problems is that they are not able to take into account non-monetary forms of income and access to services, which are very important for the survival strategies of disadvantaged social and ethnic groups.
2. It is precisely for the reasons stated above that the idea of multiple dimensions is starting to spread in the study of poverty. Such an approach is based on the assumption that poverty cannot be understood only as a threshold but the objective should be to see poverty in a wider perspective. This concept of poverty is based on the assumption that poverty cannot be defined solely in terms of material needs or the lack of resources necessary for survival. The definition should also take into consideration individuals whose income exceeds the minimum necessary for survival but who do not have access to the most important benefits or “achievements” of society. The most frequently mentioned of these are education, a basic social security and health care system, and cultural or social integration.¹ The advantage of the multidimensional approach is that it makes it possible to integrate issues of regional differences in access to public services, which is especially important with respect to marginalized areas. Although this idea is not totally excluded in discussions of poverty thresholds, its integration usually takes place only at the level of the objective, because it is difficult to incorporate this dimension into a comparison based on a quantitative approach. Another advantage of the multidimensional understanding of poverty is that it allows families to

¹ This understanding also forms the basis for the definition of poverty accepted in 1995 at the Copenhagen World Summit for Social Development (UN): “Poverty has various manifestations, including lack of income and productive resources sufficient to ensure sustainable livelihoods; hunger and malnutrition; ill health; limited or lack of access to education and other basic services; increased morbidity and mortality from illness; homelessness and inadequate housing; unsafe environments; and social discrimination and exclusion. ... Absolute poverty is a condition characterized by severe deprivation of basic human needs, including food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education and information. It depends not only on income but also on access to social services”.

² Some of these techniques have been implemented in Slovakia too, while others are unknown in this environment (either for financial or organizational reasons). Those that are available in the Slovak Republic include family accounts, continuous surveys of employment and consumer prices and the census. Administrative data on social assistance recipients are available but they are not (adequately) used for analytical purposes. Regular surveys of households were unknown in the Slovak Republic until 2005 but in that year the Slovak Republic became involved in EU-SILC research, which is repeated in a four-year cycle. Surveys of the population's eating habits are completely unknown and it is very unusual to do an in-depth survey of the living conditions of a selected segment of the population. The research into the living conditions of Roma households in Slovakia carried out by UNDP expands the data available to cover the deficit in in-depth research.

be classified as poor if they live above the survival threshold (i.e. above the poverty threshold) but could become extremely vulnerable in the event of a misfortune such as becoming unemployed, ill health, or the like.

3. The third method by which poverty is analyzed is based on the idea of “assets” (inputs, requirements in terms of social capital). This is the approach presented by Caroline Moser (Moser 1998). It is based on the claim that families living in the worst social conditions are usually defined in terms of the things that they lack (that they do not have) and not in terms of their “assets”, i.e. those properties and characteristics that they actually have (physical, human, and social capital). According to this approach, investigations of poverty should focus on an analysis of the assets that the family or community have and situations that can lead to “social vulnerability” as a result of error or fraud in the use or maintenance of these assets. In this sense social vulnerability is defined as a situation where there is a strong “tendency towards a decline in social mobility” (Torres, Gomes, Marques, Ferreira 2004, p. 3). A suitable strategy for overcoming localized poverty could then draw on easing use of the “assets” that the given population has access to. The relationship between the “assets” and the vulnerability is mediated by the “structure of opportunities” available in the given area (the role of the market, state and community). For example, even a relatively poor area may have important forms of access to the local labour market, which over the long term can increase the local population’s chances to achieve social mobility. This can also work the other way round. For example, a community that specializes in manual workers can become more vulnerable as a result of technological changes or a process of deindustrialization which reduce the value of their particular skills (human capital as an asset) making them redundant. Supporters of such an approach understand vulnerability as a dynamic category that is one of the difficulties that social groups may face in adapting to change of an external character i.e. changes in the labour market and/or public policy (base on Bodnárová, Džambazovič, Filadelfiová, Gerbery, Holubová, Porubánová 2005).

understood as being included or excluded from multiple points of view and inclusion in various social systems and subsystems can have many degrees and forms. In the most modern approaches the most positive value for inclusion is considered to be work in the formal labour market, i.e. the greatest emphasis is given to inclusion in the formal labour market (European and Slovak employment policy, a wide range of foreign and domestic specialized and scientific publications). Nevertheless, successful inclusion in the labour market depends on a number of other factors; the life chances of individuals derive not only from work but also from education, household composition, life cycle, age, gender and other life circumstances. An in-depth analysis of vulnerable groups must therefore take all relevant dimensions into consideration.

The research presented here belongs to the last group of research instruments mentioned above. It is a detailed survey of the living conditions of Roma households in the Slovak Republic based on a very wide-ranging questionnaire. The aim of the research was to create a database for a combination of all the main dimensions of living conditions for a particular group of vulnerable households. The survey included all the main dimensions of poverty as identified in the definition agreed by the UN at the *Copenhagen Summit* (1995): income and productive resources, structure of expenditure, but also access to food, drinking water, sanitation facilities, the level of housing conditions, health and education, and access to information and services (health

Box 4: Research instruments for measuring poverty

Studies of the eating habits of the population (nutritional content of various types of food and their relationship with indicators for health): This type of research forms the basis for measuring basic needs, it is a part of medical research and research into the health of the population.

Studies of family accounts: These focus on identifying the “shopping basket” of different social groups, which is used to calculate an index of the cost of living for the different groups. Surveys provide information on resources expended to cover basic needs such as food, accommodation and household expenses, or the population’s access to non-monetized services and monetary transfers (gifts, family assistance). As a rule, these are carried out by national statistical offices periodically.

Continuous surveys of employment and consumer prices: Usually a monthly survey is carried out, whose results monitor short-term fluctuations in employment and prices. If these results are combined in an appropriate way with the results of other research, they can contribute useful information on the changes in the conditions of poverty in the population.

Administrative registers: If the state provides benefits linked to conditions of poverty or social need, it may keep administrative registers that will catch not only numbers but also other characteristics for poverty in the population. This information can be combined with household survey data and data from other sources.

Census data: These represent a good basis for measuring poverty at the local level. There are, however, two serious problems associated with them: the long period between individual counts (10 years) and the limited number of variables in the census form (usually the form does not capture income and information about non-monetary transfers). There are however many ways to combine and build on census data using various kinds of household research to get over the stated limitations.

Repeated surveys of households: Carried out regularly, once a year or at a greater interval. They cover such aspects of the household’s circumstances as living conditions, work and employment, education, income and the like. They are much more detailed and broadly targeted than continuous surveys of employment and consumer prices. They also provide general coverage of individual groups or regions in a given country. Household surveys are the basic instrument for monitoring the living conditions of the population, their income and employment. Their limitations include the fact that they are not representative for small regions or small population groups and they cannot be carried out very often. They should therefore be combined with information from other sources (family accounts, expenditure and prices, empirical research focused on a specific problem or group).

Surveys of living conditions: This methodology is used only seldom because it is based on a wide-ranging questionnaire that is answered by a relatively small group of households. Its objective is to combine in one survey all the main dimensions affecting the living conditions of a specific group of poor households including consumption patterns, household budgets, income, non-monetary gifts and transfers, housing, household goods, access to goods and services, work and employment, and the like. This type of research specializes in in-depth analysis of the conditions of poverty and its contexts. Because there is a small dataset and a highly complex questionnaire, the survey is less useful for setting parameters, standards and poverty thresholds for wider regions or the country as a whole.

Based on: General Information on the Sixth Meeting of the Expert Group on Poverty Statistics. Rio de Janeiro, 12 -14 November 2003).

care, social services, education, employment services, and so on). The questionnaire used contained a total of 10 relatively autonomous content modules.

Box 5: Modules into which the questionnaire was divided

- Module 1: Housing
- Module 2: Household structure
- Module 3: Migration
- Module 4: Education
- Module 5: Health
- Module 6: Economic activity
- Module 7: Social assistance benefits
- Module 8: Subjective assessment of poverty
- Module 9: Income
- Module 10: Expenditure

The basic objective of the research carried out among the Roma population was to capture the “life chances” of this ethnic minority. The research attempted to illustrate their overall situation in life and identify the main barriers to inclusion. To this were added findings on the effectiveness of existing general social policy measures affecting the living conditions of this vulnerable group in the population of the Slovak Republic. It also monitored both the individual experience (in work, education, health, and the like) and the socio-economic situation of Roma households. In addition to household monetary income and material deprivation, the survey also included the availability (use and effectiveness) of various kinds of services, including monitoring of assets and the local opportunity structure. With regard to the latter, there was increased research into the spatial aspects of poverty: two elements were added to the survey that were important for purposes of classification: the level of integration of the Roma population by type of settlement and comparison with members of the general population living in nearby areas (for more information see the Methodological Annex).³

The research is based on the assumption that the level of deprivation in basic human needs depends not only on income but also on access to (social and other) services. Thus, in addition to the well-known “Copenhagen dimensions” there is a spatial dimension: mobility, social networks in the given community and monitoring of the level of segregation in the settlement (an indicator promoted to a selection criterion). To control for regional differences, the selected sample of Roma households and individuals was compared to a group of households from the general population in nearby areas.

2.2. Description of the sample used in the survey

2.2.1. Size of samples used in the survey

Information of this type can be acquired only through a direct interview with household members. The most reliable and most complete method of obtaining information for this type of research is to visit household members in their home. Data was collected with the financial support of the World Bank in the period April to June 2005. Data collection was coordinated by the Tambor research agency.

Data was collected in 720 Roma households with precisely one third of households coming from each group determined by settlement type⁴ (240 households for the Roma population living in segregated settlements, in separated parts of municipalities and mixed with the majority population). With each economic household having an average of 5.23 members, this created a sample of the Roma population consisting of 3,769 persons. For the purposes of this report a household is defined as an individual or group of people, whether related or not, who live together as an independent group in the sense that they manage their affairs in common (this means that they share with each other or support each other within one family budget).

It was necessary to distinguish between the terms “family” and “household”. A family represents a social relationship covering genetic ties and marriage. A household here represents an economic unit. Although it is very often the case that a family is also a household, this need not always be the case.

Table 2.1: Sample size of Roma households and individuals by settlement type (in absolute numbers)

SELECTION GROUP	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Households	240	240	240	720
Individuals	1,361	1,241	1,167	3,769
Average number of members of household	5.67	5.17	4.86	5.23

The control group selected from the population in nearby areas was approximately half the size in terms of the number of studied households. It consisted of a total of 355 households in which there were 1,204 individuals. On

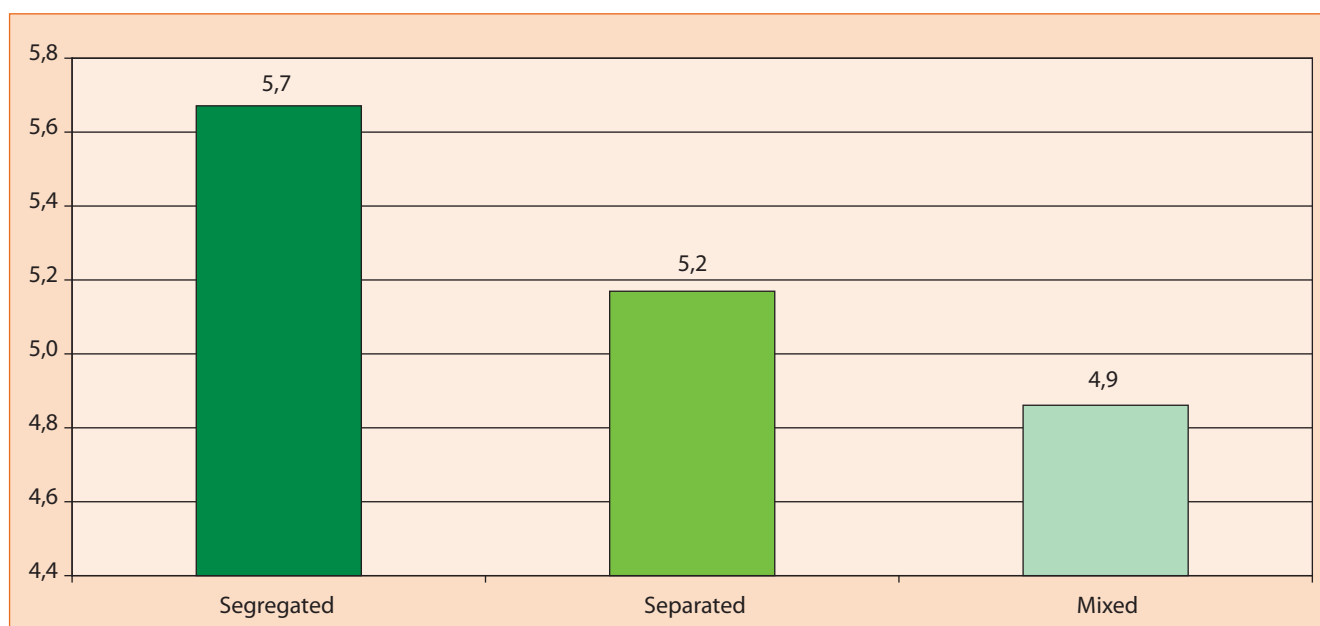
³ This group of randomly selected households included both Roma and non-Roma households.

⁴ The basis for the selection of the Roma households was data from the sociographic mapping of Roma communities carried out by the non-profit organisations the Institute for Public Affairs, S.P.A.C.E. and the Regional Centre for Roma Issues with the support of the World Bank, the Office of the Plenipotentiary of the Government of the Slovak Republic for Roma Communities and the Canadian International Development Agency in 2004. This census of the Roma settlements identified four settlement types in the Roma population in relation to the majority: integrated – mixed (Roma living in towns or villages mixed with the majority), integrated – concentrated (Roma living in towns or villages but concentrated in a particular part or area), on the outskirts of towns and villages (Roma living in concentrated communities on the outskirts of a town or village) and outside a town or village (Roma living in settlements that are distant from the town or village or separated by a barrier).

For the purposes of this research the second and third type of settlements were merged so that Roma households were selected from three types of settlements: segregated (those living in a settlement at a distance from a town or village or separated by some barrier), separated (those living concentrated in a certain part of a town or village on its outskirts or within it) and mixed (living mixed in a town or village, i.e. among the majority population). The same number of households was selected from each type of settlement.

In every town or village where data was collected, households were selected for a control group, which corresponded to the structure of the general population in the studied area (further information on selection is given in the Methodological Annex).

Graph 2.1: Average number of members per Roma household by settlement type (in absolute numbers)



average each common household had 3.4 members. Thus, although the sample of general households represented half the number of Roma households, the smaller number of household members meant that the set of individuals from the general population had only a third of the number in the Roma group.

Table 2.2: Sample size of households and individuals from the general population living in nearby areas (in absolute numbers)

SELECTION GROUP	Total
Households	355
Individuals	1,204
Average number of household members	3.4

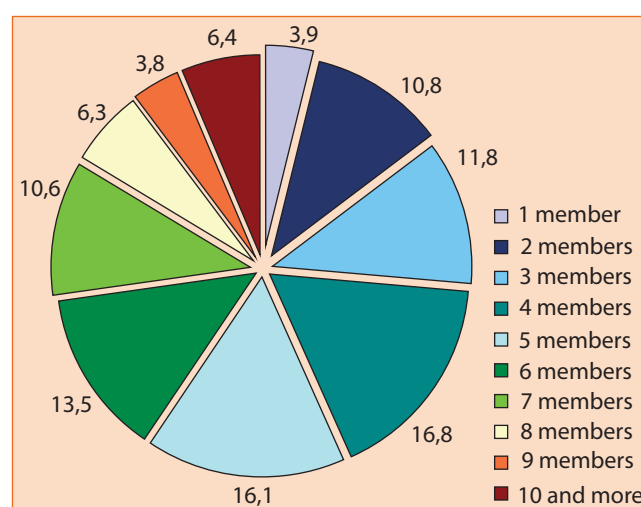
2.2.2 Composition of sample by number of household members

The numbers of persons in Roma households vary according to settlement type. While the average number of members in households living in segregated settlements approached 6 persons (5.67 members per household), in Roma households living in separated parts of a town or village there were 5.17 members and Roma households living in mixed settlements where the majority did not exceed the 5 member level (4.86 members per household). As integration – measured by settlement type – increases, the average number of members of a common household decreases.⁵

The average numbers of members has already shown that compared to their neighbours from the general population, Roma households are substantially larger. What is their internal structure though, and to what extent do the numbers in different size groups differ according to spatial

integration with the majority and in comparison with the general population in nearby areas?

Graph 2.2: Structure of Roma households by number of members (in %)



Among Roma households, single-member households make up not quite 4 percent, a percentage in sharp contrast to the situation in the population of the Slovak Republic as a whole (single-member households made up 30 percent of overall households in the Slovak Republic in the 2001 census). Two-member households made up 10.8 percent. The most common were households with 4 or 5 members, which accounted for more than 16 percent of all Roma households. From 5 members upwards, the percentage share decreases as the household size increases, but households with many members are not extremely rare within the Roma population. Households with over 10 members made up 6.4 percent of all Roma households.

⁵ According to information taken from the Census of the population, houses and flats in 2001, the average number of members in each surveyed household in the Slovak Republic was 2.6 (see Annex). Although the average number of members of each economic household is greater, the number is still lower than the average for Roma households.

Table 2.3: Structure of Roma households by number of members and settlement type (in %)

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
1 member	1.7	6.7	3,3	3.9
2 members	7.9	8.8	15.8	10.8
3 members	12.1	10.0	13.3	11.8
4 members	15.0	17.1	18.3	16.8
5 members	14.2	19.2	15.0	16.1
6 members	15.8	11.3	13.3	13.5
7 members	12.9	11.3	7.5	10.6
8 members	7.1	5.4	6.3	6.3
9 members	5.0	4.6	1.7	3.8
10 and more members	8.4	5.7	5.3	6.4
Households total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The size of Roma households varies according to the settlement type. In segregated settlements, the Roma population showed fewer single-member households than in the other two groups and households with many members appeared more frequently. Households with 10 or more members made up more than 8 percent of households in segregated settlements, in separated and mixed settlements this type of household made up around 5 percent. In the Roma population living in mixed housing, the most numerous households were those with four members, in the population living in a separated part of the town or village five-member households were most common, in segregated settlements the most common household size was six members. Household sizes in segregated settlements are larger than those in other groups of the Roma population defined by the settlement type, though the differences are not extremely large. This is different in comparison with the general population in nearby areas. In this comparison significant differ-

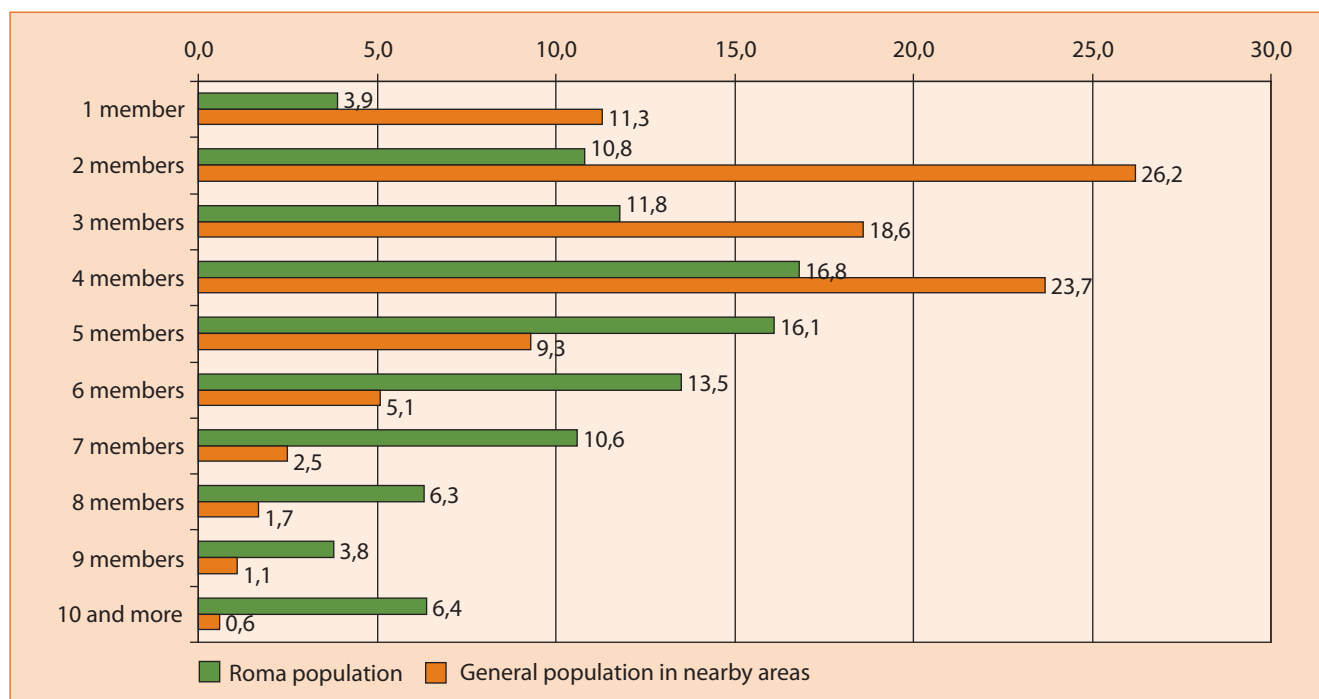
ences were clear from the proportion of one-member households. While the average for Roma households was not quite 4 percent, in the structure of households belonging to the general population in the geographical vicinity it was above 11 percent. There was also a 15 percentage point difference between the proportions of two-member households: in the general population they make up 26.2 percent and in the structure of Roma households they amount to 10.8 percent. The percentage in the general population was higher up to households with 4 members; larger sizes were more frequent in Roma households.

Among Roma households there were certain differences in the size of households depending on the level of spatial integration with the majority population, but the Roma households remain more similar to each other than to the general population in nearby areas. The largest differences are in the representation of one-member and two-member households, which are less common in the Roma population. The proportion of households with many members is also several times larger in the Roma population.

2.2.3 Sample by economic status

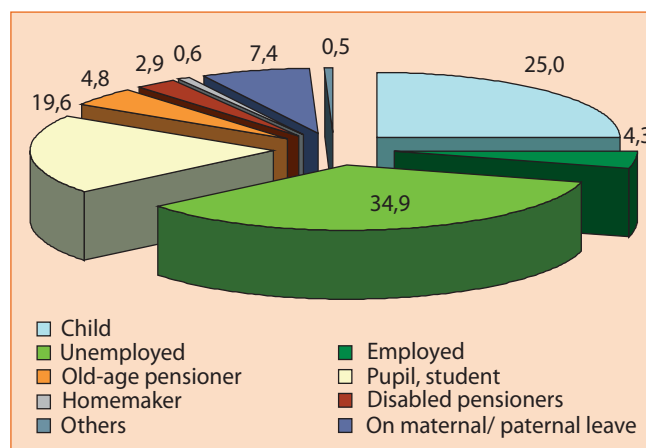
In terms of the relation to economic activity, the composition of the Roma population is markedly non-standard, especially as regards participation in the labour market. A quarter of the sample consists of children and another 19.6 percent are in education. Elderly pensioners make up just under 5 percent of the overall structure of the Roma population. Of other groups, the largest was the unemployed, who made up 34.9 percent of the total sample of the Roma population. The proportion of people who receive disability benefits was 2.9 percent, while those on maternity or parental leave made up 7.4 percent of the total Roma

Graph 2.3: Structure of households by number of members – comparison of Roma and the general population living in nearby areas (in %)



population. Those in formal employment made up a very small proportion: in the sample as a whole they were just 4.3 percent. These were mainly full-time workers, the proportion of part-time workers and self employed was negligible (under 1 percent).

Graph 2.4: Structure of the Roma population by economic status (in %)



This economic status is consistent to a greater or lesser degree within all groups defined by settlement type and varies only in terms of the empirical composition of individual categories. In segregated communities there are more representatives of the pre-productive categories (children, pupils and students) and the productive were found less frequently. There was also a small increase in the numbers of people on leave taking care of young children. The proportion of unemployed and people receiving disability pensions is approximately equal in all three sub-groups of the Roma population. As regards workers, the smallest numbers were among the inhabitants of segregated settlements (only 2.2 percent).

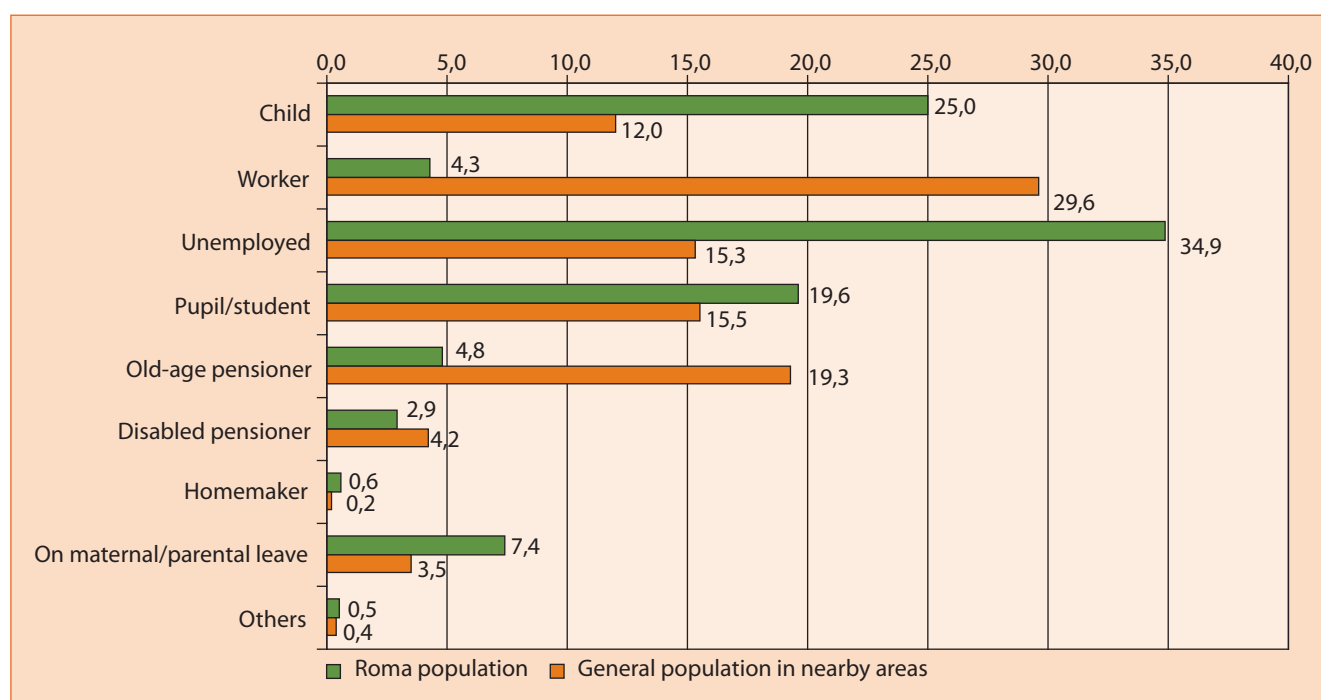
Table 2.4: Structure of the Roma population by economic status and settlement type (in %)

ECONOMIC STATUS	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Child	27.4	23.8	23.6	25.0
Worker	2.2	5.5	5.4	4.3
Unemployed	34.5	33.8	36.5	34.9
Pupil, student	21.3	20.8	16.2	19.6
Old-age pensioner	3.2	5.1	6.4	4.8
Disabled pensioner	2.3	2.6	3.8	2.9
Homemaker	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.6
On maternal/paternal leave	8.3	7.3	6.5	7.4
Others	0.3	0.5	0.8	0.5
Individuals total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The structure of the general population in nearby geographical areas is fundamentally different from that of the Roma population. There is a difference in the composition of the pre-productive and post-productive groups, i.e. in relation to the proportion of children and old-age pensioners, and also in participation in the labour market. The general population reports a proportion of workers that is several times higher, and less than half the proportion of unemployed. The proportion of persons on parental leave is significantly lower than the figure reported in the Roma population.

In terms of economic status, the Roma population has a fundamentally different structure from the population of the Slovak Republic as a whole and also from the population in their geographical vicinity. This means that the stated proportions for the Roma minority are of a more general character and are not the result of regional conditions. The identified structure reflects not only the different reproductive behaviour of the Roma population but indicates a higher level of exclusion from the labour market.

Graph 2.5: Structure by economic status - comparison of the Roma population and the general population living in nearby areas (in %)



3

STRUCTURE OF THE ROMA POPULATION: BASIC CHARACTERISTICS

3. STRUCTURE OF THE ROMA POPULATION: BASIC CHARACTERISTICS

The Roma are the second most numerous ethnic minority in Slovakia (after Hungarians). In the *Census of the population, houses and flats* in 1991, 75,802 inhabitants (1.4 percent of the Slovak population) declared themselves as belonging to this ethnic minority while the number in 2001 was 89,920 inhabitants (1.7 percent of the total population of the Slovak Republic). From a regional point of view, the largest numbers of Roma live in Prešov, Košice and Banská Bystrica regions and the districts with the largest representation of this minority include the Spišská Nová Ves, Gelnica, Rožňava, Rimavská Sobota, Kežmarok, Trebišov, Sabinov, Medzilaborce, Revúca, Vranov nad Topľou and Košice-okolie districts.

The data on the nationality of respondents in the census depend however on self-identification,⁶ and the actual number of Roma is substantially larger. Estimates of the Demographic Research Centre speak of 380 000 Roma living on the territory of the Slovak Republic, which is 7.2 percent of the total population (Vaňo 2001). The reproductive behaviour of the Roma population shows several differences from that of the general population, which subsequently affect the overall structure of the Roma population and households. It is characterized by a higher birth rate and fertility rate, but also a higher death rate, an earlier start of reproductive activity and a longer reproduction period (Vaňo 2001). The conclusion from such trends is that the Roma population has higher population growth⁷ and in comparison with the majority its age composition is weighted towards youth. According to the same source, the average age of the Roma population in 2001 was around 24 years, while in the population of the Slovak Republic as a whole at the same time it was more than 36 years. In comparison with the majority, the structure of households also differs: Roma households are larger and have more children.

Reproductive behaviour and its effects on population and household structure are also different for the Roma population. They are therefore not only the result of demographic and cultural factors (proportion of the population of reproductive age, influence of traditions, values),

but also political and social factors. In the case of the Roma population, the role of living conditions and the relation to integration with the majority population is emphasized (Vaňo 2001, 2002; Vašečka 2002a, 2002b). The next part of the analysis is dedicated to identifying this internal heterogeneity in the Roma population in relation to the level of spatial integration with the majority population of the Slovak Republic.

3.1 Age structure of the Roma population

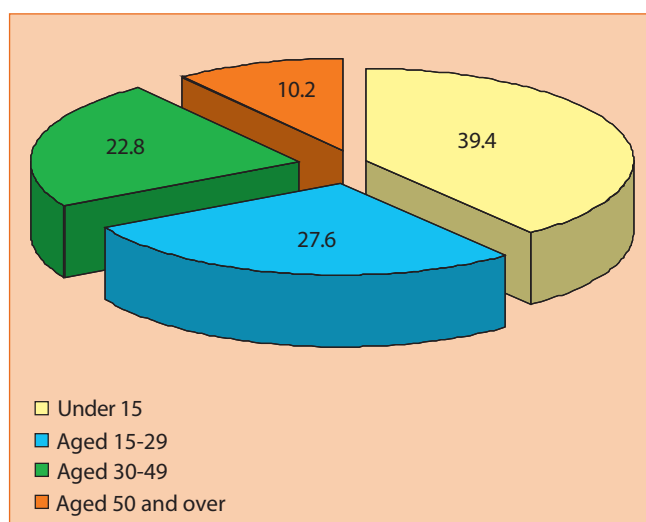
Out of a total of 3,769 individuals studied, 39.4 percent were children under 15 and another 27.6 percent were persons aged 15-29 years. Adult persons over 30 years made up the remaining 33 percent of the total sample. Children are therefore the single most numerous group in the Roma population studied; older people make up the smallest group (10.2 percent).

Box 6: Development of the age structure of the overall population of the Slovak Republic

The development of the age structure of the population of the Slovak Republic as whole in recent years has shown a strong trend towards falling birth rates (see Annex). The primary impact has been on the composition of the youngest generation: not only has the overall number of the youngest inhabitants fallen since 1990, but the internal structure of the youth population has also changed. At the start of the 1980s, the largest numbers were among the youngest children; in the mid-eighties the middle years became most numerous and at the start of the nineties the oldest children and young people filled this category. The share of children under 15 years has fallen below 20 percent, in 2004 they made up 17.1 percent of the total number of inhabitants (see Annex). The reduced proportion of children in the population has served to boost the numbers in the middle generation. The most numerous group are people of productive age. The numbers in the oldest, post-productive age group have so far increased only slightly (just under 13 percent post-productive women and 6 percent post-productive men).

⁶ Experts explain the unwillingness of Roma to declare their ethnicity (they claimed Hungarian or Slovak ethnicity in the census) as the result of a crisis in Roma identity "caused by years of assimilation and the perception that being Roma is a mark of lower worth, both in the eyes of the majority and also the Roma." (cited from Vašečka 2002b, p. 214). The motivation for this may therefore be an attempt to avoid stigmatization and discrimination (*Employing...*, 2006).

⁷ According to estimates, by 2025 the number of Roma in Slovakia may rise to 580,000 (Vaňo 2002).

Graph 3.1: Structure of the overall sample of the Roma population by age (in %)

By settlement type, the segregated Roma population contains the largest number of children. Within this monitored group children under 15 years represented 43.6 percent. In the other two sub-groups of the Roma population, the proportion of children was 5 to 7 percent lower: 38.6 percent for Roma living in separate parts of towns and villages and 35.6 percent for those living mixed with the general population.

Tab. 3. 1: Age structure of the Roma population sample by settlement type (in %)

AGE GROUPS	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Under 15	43.6	38.6	35.2	39.4
15-29	28.2	27.1	27.6	27.6
30-49	21.1	22.7	24.9	22.8
50 and over	7.1	11.6	12.3	10.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average age	21.29	24.04	25.50	23.50

The large proportion of children was not the only characteristic feature of the age structure of the Roma population.

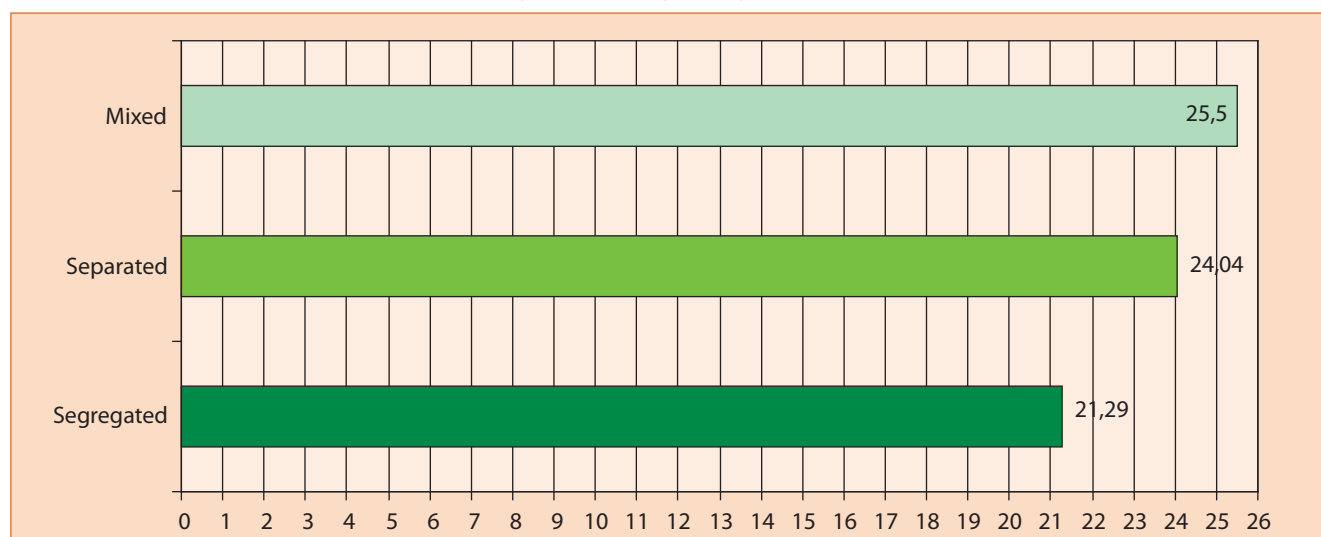
Research also found that as age increases numbers in the population decrease. The older a person is, the smaller their age group is in the overall structure of their sub-group in the Roma population. This tendency was strongest in the group living in segregated settlements, where people over 30 years made up only 28.2 percent and people over 50 years only 7.1 percent. The stated differences between individual groups in age structure show not only the different reproductive behaviour of the Roma population depending on their settlement type, but also the differences in living conditions that appear in different death rates and life expectancies.

The difference in age structure leads logically to different average ages in the individual sub-groups of the Roma population. The lowest average age was found in the sub-group of Roma living in segregated settlements, where it was 21.3 years. The average age of the inhabitants of separate parts of towns and villages was over a year higher – 24 years. The highest average age was among Roma living in integrated communities, where the average age was over 25 (25.5 years). The average age of the population of the Slovak Republic as a whole is substantially higher, in 2004 it was 37.13 years (see Annex).

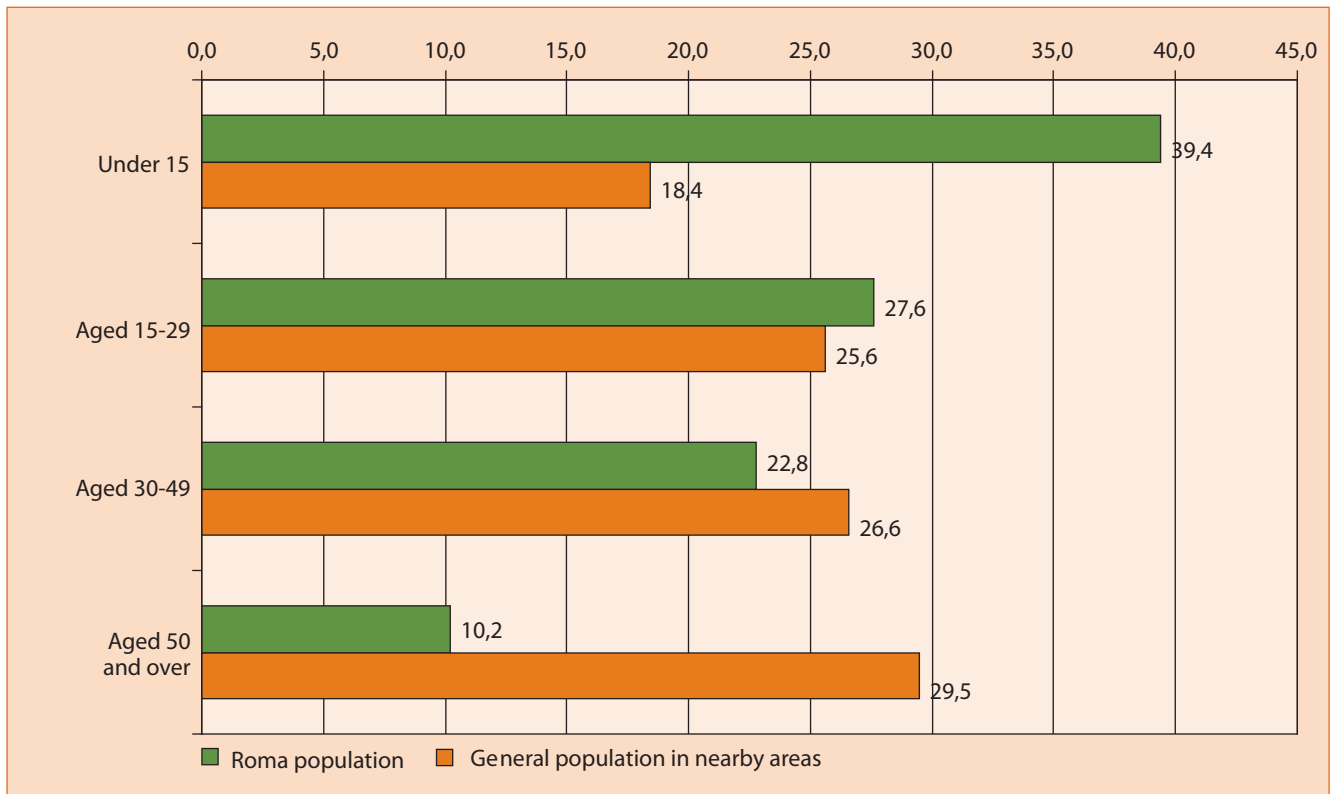
There was also a much higher average in the sample of the nearby general population (the population living close to ethnic Roma), which was 36.4 years. The proportion of children in the “control” group from the general population is closer to the average for Slovakia as a whole because within this sub-group children under 15 make up 18.4 percent. The age group 15-29 here made up 25.6 percent, 30-49 years 26.6 percent and the over 50s, 29.5 percent of the general population living nearby.

While the presence of the middle-age group is approximately the same in both compared populations, the proportion of the youngest and oldest groups differ sharply. In the Roma population the youth element is dominant, while in the general population it is the oldest.

The studied group of the Roma population confirmed information obtained in analyses of the Roma ethnic group (see the work of B. Vaňo, R. Džambazovič, M. Vašečka and others) or regional demographic comparisons (studies by

Graph 3.2: Average age of the Roma population by settlement type (in years)

Graf 3. 3: Comparison of age structure of the Roma population and the general population living in nearby areas (in %)



the group of authors from the Sociological Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences). The regions with the highest concentration of Roma populations and in particular the segregated Roma population show poorer long-term demographic indicators: a lower average lifespan, higher mortality rate – including child mortality, lower life expectancy (for differences between districts see the Annex). In conclusion, we can summarize two basic differential lines as regards the structure of the population by age:

- The age structure of the Roma population differs sharply from that of the majority population, both in comparison with the total population of the Slovak Republic, and also in comparison with the population of nearby geographical areas. The current structure of the Roma population corresponds to the structure that the majority population had in the 1950s, when the share of the youngest inhabitants was close to 30 percent.
- Differences in age structure can also be found within the Roma population depending on the degree of integration with the majority population. There is a stronger dividing line between the inhabitants of the segregated settlements and the other groups than between those living in separate areas and those living in integrated ones. Nevertheless there are pronounced differences between even the integrated segment of the Roma population and the majority.

3.2: Structure of sex and family status in the Roma population

The structure of the Roma population sample shows a balance of the two sexes. Men made up 49 percent and women 51 percent of the population. This proportion cor-

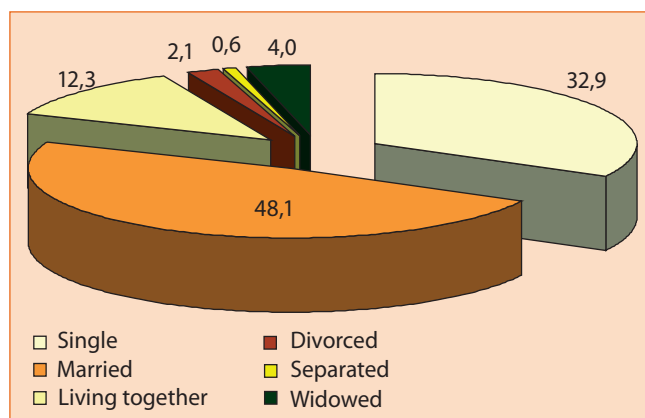
responds to the structure of the population of the Slovak Republic in general, where the long-term trend is a slight preponderance of women over men (51.4 percent women and 48.6 percent men).

Table 3.2: Structure of the Roma population by sex and settlement type (in %)

SEX	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Male	50.5	48.3	47.9	49.0
Female	49.5	51.7	52.1	51.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Equal representation of the sexes was the same in all groups of the Roma population defined by geographical integration with the majority population. The only difference was in the case of the inhabitants of segregated settlements, where the proportion of women to men was reversed (a slight preponderance of men). All three sub-groups of the Roma population also showed equal representation of women and men in the basic age groups.

With regard to family status, the most common category was for people to be married, which applied to 48.1 percent of the population. Another 12.3 percent consisted of Roma living as partners but not married. Partnerships made up a total of 60.4 percent of the overall Roma population. The second most numerous group was single people, who made up almost a third of the sample. Divorced or separated Roma were rare (2.7 percent) and 4.4 percent were widows or widowers. This structure shows that the absolute majority of the Roma population live as partners. Breakdown of a marriage or relationship is rare and is as a rule followed by the establishment of a new relationship. Only a very small segment of the Roma population lives as single-parent families.

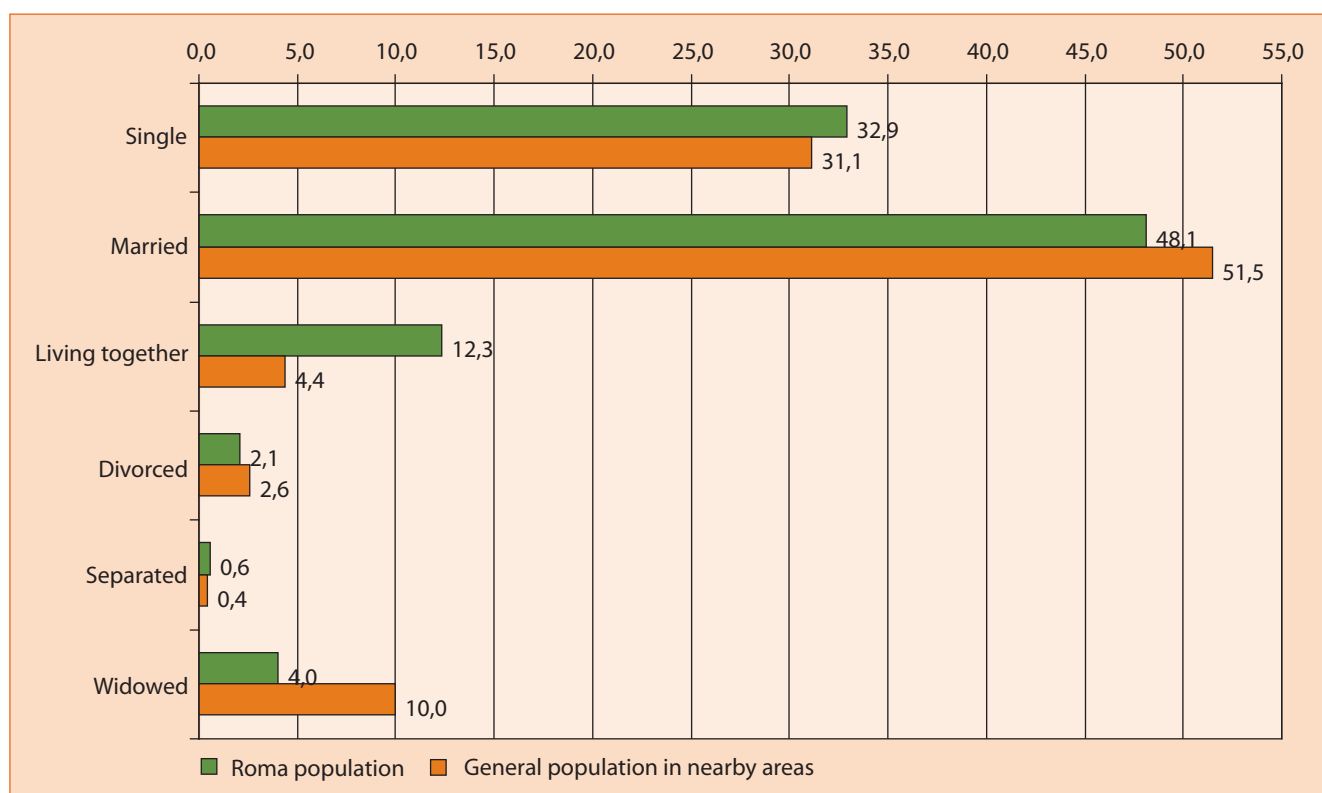
Graph 3.4: Structure of the Roma population by marital status (in %)

In terms of the level of geographical integration with the majority population, the survey did not reveal large differences between sub-groups. The only difference was found in inhabitants of segregated settlements – compared to the other two sub-groups of the Roma population they were a little more likely to live with a partner without being married. The Roma who lived mixed with the general population were more likely to be divorced. These differences were not large, however, and we can speak of a relatively uniform structure of the Roma population regardless of settlement type.

Table 3.3: Structure of the Roma population by marital status and settlement type (in %)

MARITAL STATUS	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Single	32.3	31.4	34.9	32.9
Married	48.4	51.5	44.5	48.1
Living together without being married	14.2	10.3	12.3	12.3
Divorced	1.4	1.4	3.4	2.1
Separated	0.3	1.3	0.2	0.6
Widowed	3.4	4.0	4.6	4.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The structure of the population in nearby areas is noticeably different from that of the Roma population. The largest difference is in the status category “partner”. While, as stated, this category covered over 12 percent of the Roma population, in the control group from the majority population the percentage was barely a third of that figure (4.4 percent). There was also a difference in the proportion of widows and widowers: while this was less than 5 percent in the Roma population, in the majority sample in nearby areas the proportion was 10 percent. The structure of the Roma population also differs from the population structure of the Slovak Republic as a whole.⁸ There were no differences in family status between Roma men and women – a comparison of the proportions of individual status categories showed very similar values for men and women.

Graph 3.5: Comparison of Roma and the general population living in nearby areas by marital status (in %)

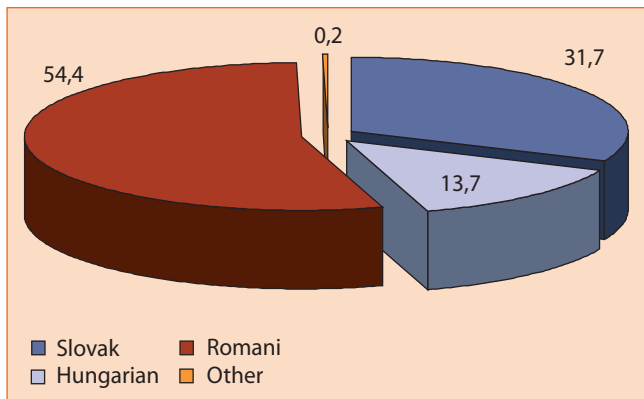
⁸ At the time of the survey (in 2005) in the population of the Slovak Republic as a whole, 42.8 percent of people were single, 45 percent were married, 5.2 percent were divorced and 7 percent were widows or widowers. At the same time, the Slovak Republic has large long-term differences in the breakdown for men and women: while 47.6 percent of men are single, only 38 percent of women are; the percentage of divorced women is 1.5 percentage points higher and the proportion of widows is 10 percent higher than that of widowers.

Roma are more likely to live as partners than the majority population including those living in nearby areas and are also less likely to be widows or widowers or divorced.

3.3 The Roma population by mother tongue and language used in daily life

One of the most frequently cited barriers to education and subsequent inclusion of ethnic minorities is the inability to communicate effectively in the majority language. From the data obtained, it appears that this may be a significant barrier affecting the Roma minority in the Slovak Republic. Less than a third of respondents gave Slovak as their mother tongue (31.7 percent) and 13.7 percent gave Hungarian. Overall, more than half of the Roma population declared Romani to be their mother tongue.

Graph 3.6: Structure of the Roma population by mother tongue (in %)



Note: Mother tongue was defined as the language spoken by the respondent's mother.

In terms of spatial integration, Slovak is least frequently the mother tongue in segregated settlements, where it was given by only 16.9 percent of the population. Where the Roma lived in a different spatial relation to the majority, it was much more common as a mother tongue. Thirty-three percent of Roma living in separated parts of a town or village identified Slovak as their mother tongue, the proportion was 47 percent for those living in mixed society.

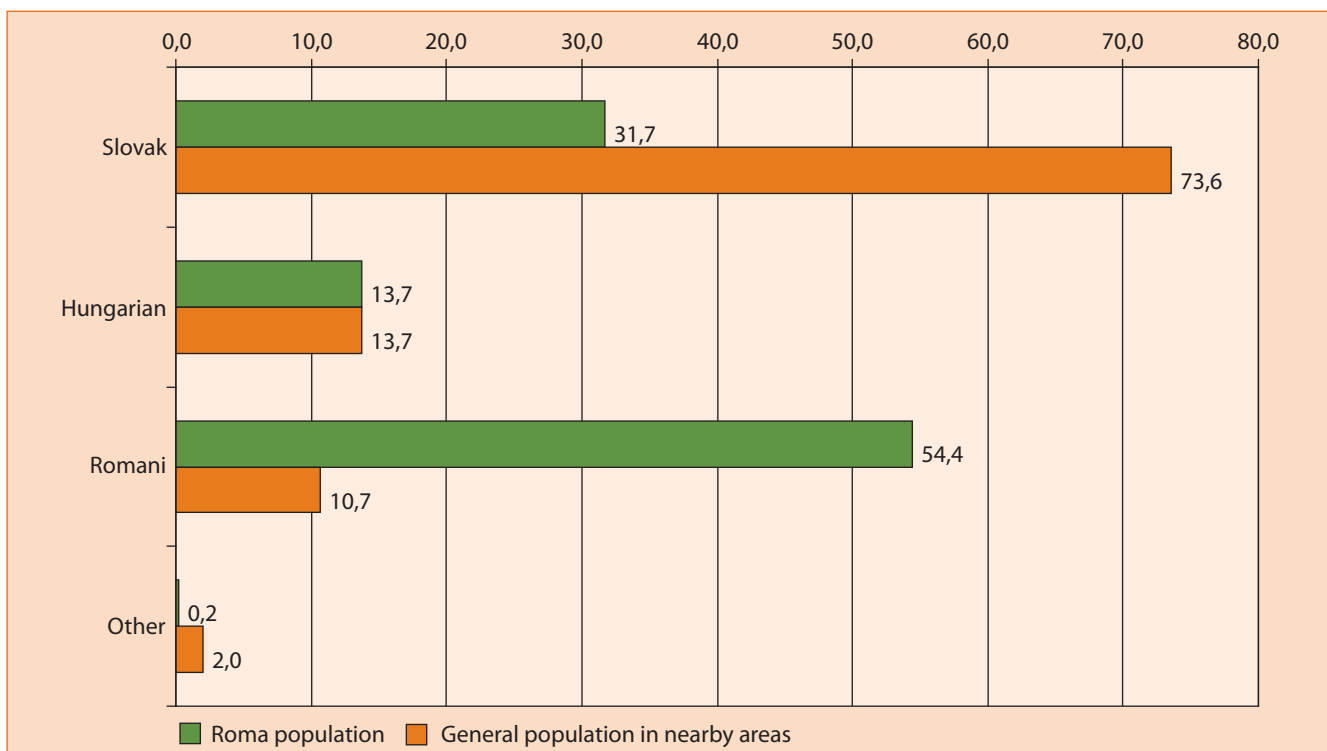
Table 3.4: Structure of the sample of the Roma population by mother tongue and settlement type (in %)

MOTHER TONGUE	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Slovak	16.9	33.1	47.3	31.7
Hungarian	8.1	10.5	23.5	13.7
Romani	74.6	56.1	29.0	54.4
Other	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Mother tongue was defined as the language spoken by the respondent's mother.

There were a number of interesting points of comparison with the general population living in nearby areas. In terms of Hungarian language, the Roma and the general population were absolutely the same: 13.7 percent gave Hungarian as their mother tongue in both monitored groups. Comparison of mother tongue in the Roma and the general population showed strong differences in the case of Slovak and Romani languages. While the Roma population gave Slovak as its mother tongue in less than a third of cases, Romani was given by more than half of respondents. In the general population in nearby areas the percentages for these two languages were reversed: Slovak language dominated

Graph 3.7: Comparison of Roma and the general population living in nearby areas by mother tongue (in %)

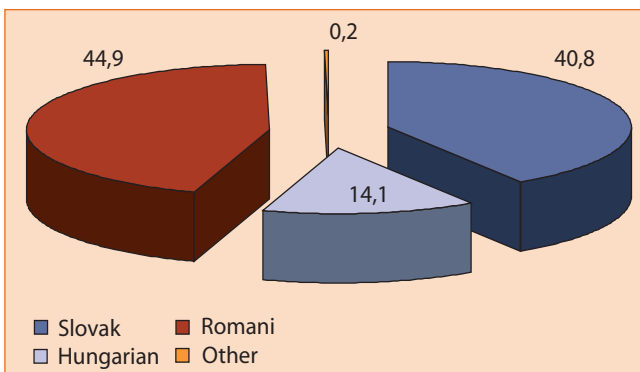


Note: Mother tongue was defined as the language spoken by the respondent's mother.

with 73.5 percent and Romani was given by 10.7 percent of respondents. Respondents listed other languages as their mother tongue extremely rarely.

The basic percentages given above for mother tongue applied also in the case of the language used in the household in everyday life, with differences only in the empirical numbers for individual languages. The Roma population used mostly Romani language in daily life although the percentage was nearly 10 percent less than for mother language (44.9 percent). This difference was mainly in favour of Slovak tongue with a smaller increase in the use of Hungarian. In daily life, 40.8 percent of the Roma population use Slovak and 14.1 percent Hungarian.

Graph 3.8: Structure of the Roma population by language in daily use (in %)



Note: The question focussed on the language used for everyday purposes in the home.

In everyday life, Slovak was used least by the part of the Roma population living in segregated settlements (36.6 percent). This part of the population was also the most

likely to use Romani – nearly 54 percent. It is interesting to compare the use of Hungarian in daily domestic conversations: its use increases significantly as households become more integrated. While only 9 percent of the segregated population use Hungarian for everyday purposes, the figure is 10 percent for the population in separate parts of towns and villages and 24.1 percent for the Roma living among the majority.

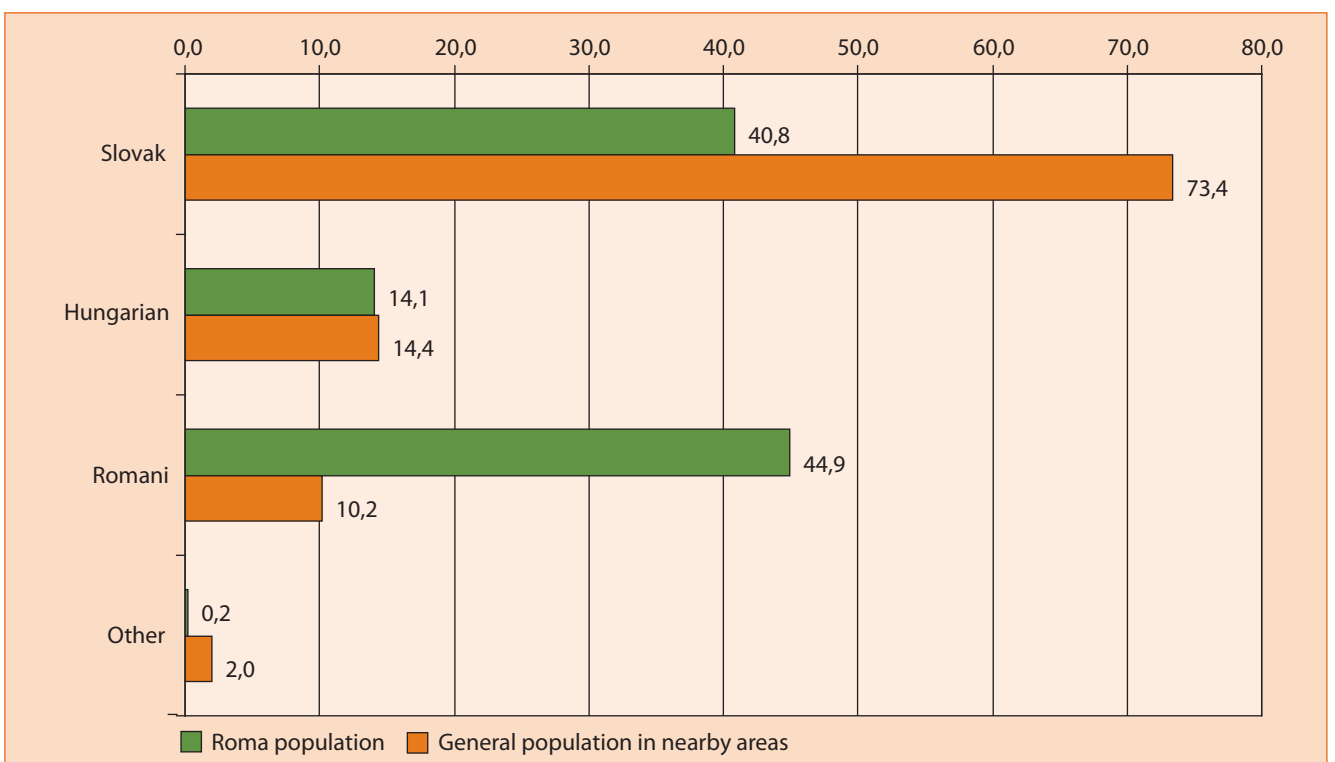
Table 3.5: Structure of the sample of the Roma population by language in daily use and settlement type (in %)

LANGUAGE IN DAILY USE	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Slovak	36.6	41.8	44.3	40.8
Hungarian	9.1	10.0	24.1	14.1
Romani	53.7	48.1	31.6	44.9
Other	0.6	0.1	-	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

If we compare the Roma population and the general population in nearby areas we find basically the same structure as for the mother tongue, especially in the general population. Within the control sample Slovak is used for everyday purposes in the majority of cases (73.4 percent), use of Hungarian is around 14 percent and Romani makes up 10 percent. As mentioned above, the Roma population reports lower use of Romani in daily use, and shows increased use of Slovak. There was a completely identical use of Hungarian in both groups also with regard to “everyday” language.

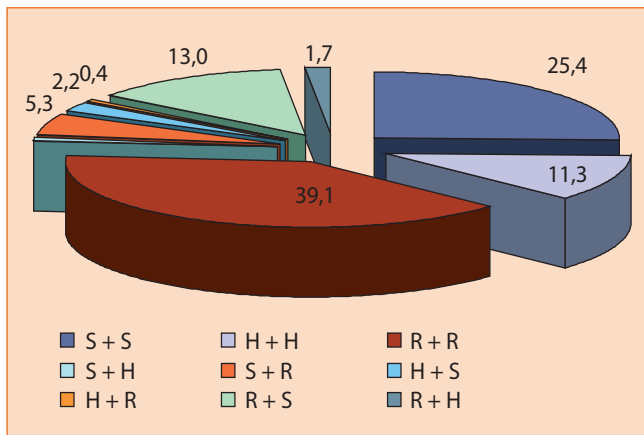
The stated results indicate that spatial integration is linked to linguistic integration mainly in Hungarian regions. The level of use of Hungarian in everyday domestic situations is completely identical in the Roma population and in the general population in nearby areas. It also suggests the hy-

Graph 3.9: Comparison of Roma and the general population living in nearby areas by language in daily use (in %)



pothesis that geographical integration is more likely in areas and regions with a majority or at least a higher number of ethnic Hungarians in the overall population structure.

Graph 3.10: Comparison of mother tongue and language in daily use for the Roma population (in %)



Note: The total of 100% includes other combinations of mother tongue and language used in routine communication at home. Because of the very small number of such combinations they are not shown in the graph.

A comparison of mother tongue and current everyday language shows that these languages are the same for most of the Roma population (75.8 percent). The greatest conformity is in the case of Romani: 39.1 percent of the total Roma population had Romani as a mother tongue and used it for everyday purposes within the household. Slo-

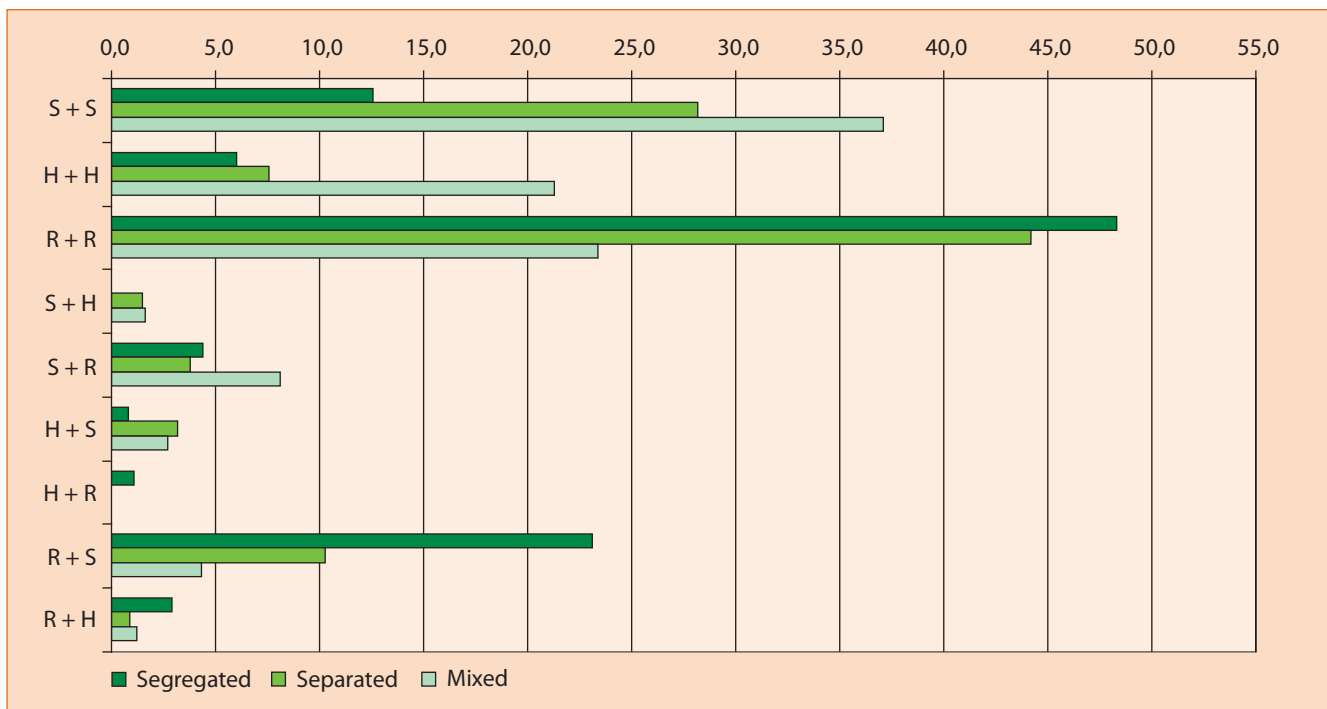
vak was given in both cases by 25.4 percent of the Roma population and Hungarian by 11.3 percent.

In total, 23.6 percent reported a different mother tongue and daily language within the household. The most common change was from Romani to Slovak (13 percent) and followed by the reverse – from Slovak to Romani (5.3 percent). Other combinations were less common within the Roma population.

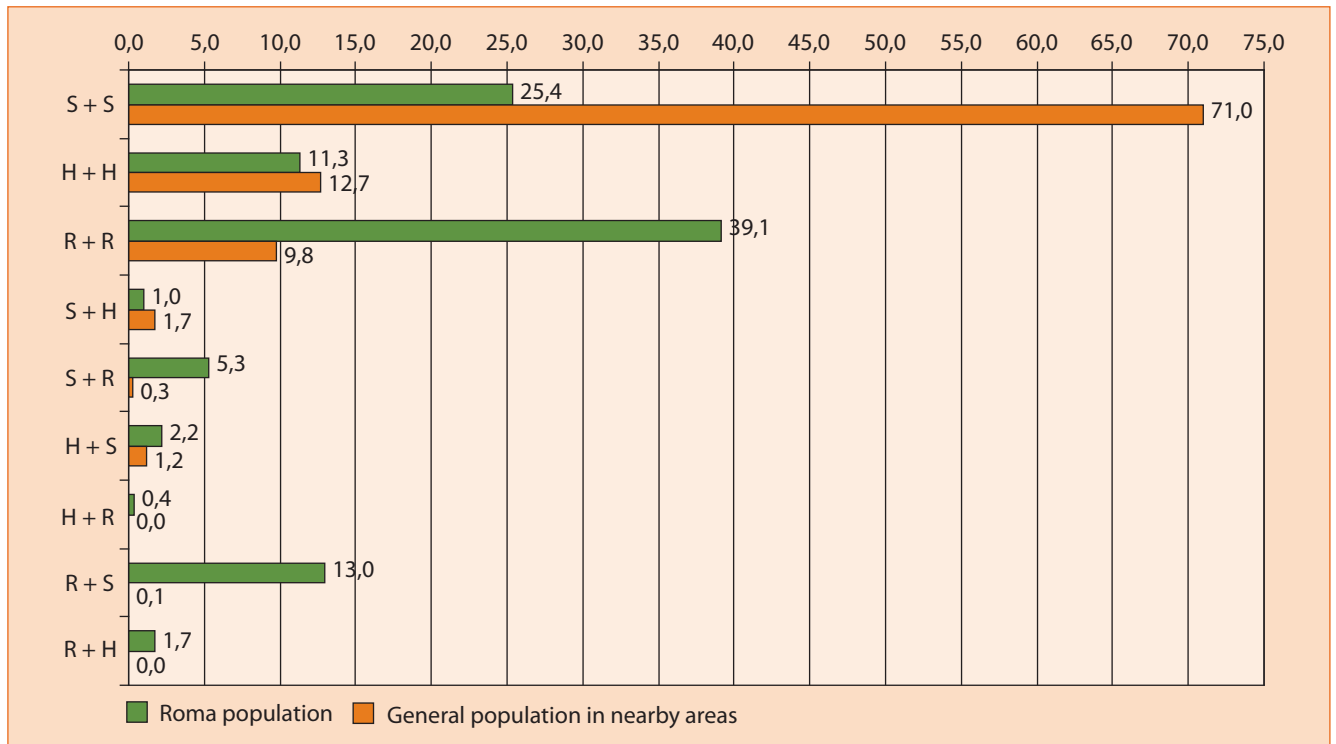
Continuation or change with regard to mother tongue and currently used language varies with spatial integration with the majority population. Among the segregated Roma population, continuous use of Romani dominates (the same applies for those living in separated communities, though to a lesser extent), while in those living in mixed communities continuous use of Slovak is more common. Continuous use of Hungarian is also most common in the Roma population in mixed communities (nearly a quarter within this group). The most frequent change of language was for Roma in segregated settlements to go from speaking Romani to Slovak. The transfer from Slovak to Romani was strongest in Roma populations in mixed communities.

The Roma population was much more likely than the nearby general population to use a different “domestic” language than their mother language. In the general population the two languages were the same in a total of 92.5 percent of cases. The most frequent combination was continuous use of Slovak in 71 percent of cases, followed by continuous use of Hungarian at 12.7 percent and the smallest was continuous use of Romani at 9.8 percent.⁹ A quarter of the Roma population had a different mother tongue and current language.

Graph 3.11: Comparison of mother tongue and daily-use language for the Roma population by settlement type (in %)



⁹ Although the combination of Hungarian and Romani language looks rare, it corresponds to the overall representation of these two ethnic minorities in the population of the Slovak Republic as a whole and even exceeds these proportions slightly (the cited estimate of the proportion of Roma in the overall population of the Slovak Republic is 7.2 percent).

Graph 3.12: Comparison of mother tongue and language in daily use for the Roma population and the general population living in nearby areas (in %)

This applies to the first language used for domestic communication. The survey also studied knowledge and use (at least occasionally) of a second language. More than half the Roma population used at least one second language in daily communication apart from their main language. (The majority population in the geographical vicinity gave a substantially lower percentage – only 30 percent used a second language for communication). A combination of two languages is most frequent for Roma populations living in separated parts of towns and villages (only 35 percent of them do not use a second language). In segregated settlements, 52.5 percent of the population use two languages for communication (the remaining 47.5 percent use only one language). Non-use of a second language is most common in the part of the Roma population living among the majority: 54.8 percent of them do not use a second language for communication.

Table 3.6: A combination of two languages in daily communication in the Roma population by settlement type (in %)

COMBINATION OF DAILY USED LANGUAGES	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Slovak and Hungarian	2.9	3.0	5.9	3.9
Slovak and Romani	8.0	18.4	12.5	12.8
Hungarian and Slovak	2.3	5.2	9.6	5.5
Hungarian and Romani	0.9	1.5	0.8	1.1
Romani and Slovak	33.8	34.2	15.0	28.1
Romani and Hungarian	2.1	1.7	0.4	1.4
No second language	47.5	35.0	54.8	45.7

Note: The mother tongue is listed first. Combinations of other languages bring the total up to 100%.

The most common combination is Romani as the main language and Slovak as the secondary language (28.1 per-

cent). It occurs mainly in those parts of the Roma population living in segregated settlements and separated parts of towns and villages. The second most frequent combination is the reverse – Slovak as the main language and Romani in second place (12.9 percent). This occurred more frequently in the segregated and spatially integrated Roma communities.

22.2 percent of the general population and 33.2 percent of the Roma population claimed to know and occasionally use a third language. The Roma population was most likely to mention Slovak (22.7 percent) followed at a much lower level by Romani (5.8 percent) and Hungarian (3.1 percent). Other languages included Czech, Russian, and some West European languages. The percentage claiming to use a third language did not vary according to the level of integration of the Roma population.

The analysis shows that the Roma population very often combines a number of languages, either at different stages of life (during childhood and at present) or in the current period (current use of a number of languages). The fact remains, however, that for a large part of the Roma population their main language is Romani. It is their mother language and they also use it for communication. This situation is most common among the inhabitants of segregated settlements. In this group it is highly likely that there is an increased risk of limited access to services and difficulties of social inclusion.

3.4 Health of the Roma population

In the available analyses and research into the Roma minority, the health of the Roma population is assessed to be worse than that of the majority (*National...*, 2000). The cause of this difference is said to be their poor socio-eco-

Box 7: Mortality and median life expectancy in the Slovak Republic

A comparison with the health situation in EU countries, in particular the EU-15, places Slovakia in a low position. General indicators of health condition and the level of health care such as the gross mortality rate and median life expectancy show a relatively large deficit. The gross mortality rate at around 10 deaths per 1,000 inhabitants means a deficit of more than two points. Median life expectancy at birth has already exceeded the value of 80 years for women and 75 years for men in many countries but in the Slovak Republic it is substantially lower: in 2005 the values were 77.9 years for women and 70.1 years for men. The difference in median life expectancy at eight years is nearly double that in the old member countries of the EU (see Annex). The most common cause of death in Slovakia is illness of the circulatory system and tumour infections. Other relatively frequent causes of death are so-called external factors (mainly for men, the proportion for women is a third of that for men), diseases of the respiratory system and diseases of the digestive system. According to foreign and domestic analytical reports¹⁰ people with a poor social position are more vulnerable to health risks. In economic terms, health is influenced by low income, growing income inequality and reduced resources in the health care system. Current information shows that only 11.5 percent of people living in rural areas have access to health care facilities within 20 minutes of their place of residence. (*Správa...*, 2002; *Health...*, 2004; *Zdravotnícke ročenky SR*).

economic situation and the related unsuitable living conditions and infrastructure in their places of residence. A particularly important factor is health problems associated with inadequate hygiene and poverty. The poverty of part of the Roma population leads to deprivation on many levels, which can lead to shorter lifespan, increased risk of illness, or chronic diseases. It is usual to describe the general health situation in Roma settlements as "alarming" (*Nation-*

al..., 2000, p. 101). According to the most recent information, median lifespan in the Roma population is under 60 years (Vaňo 2002).

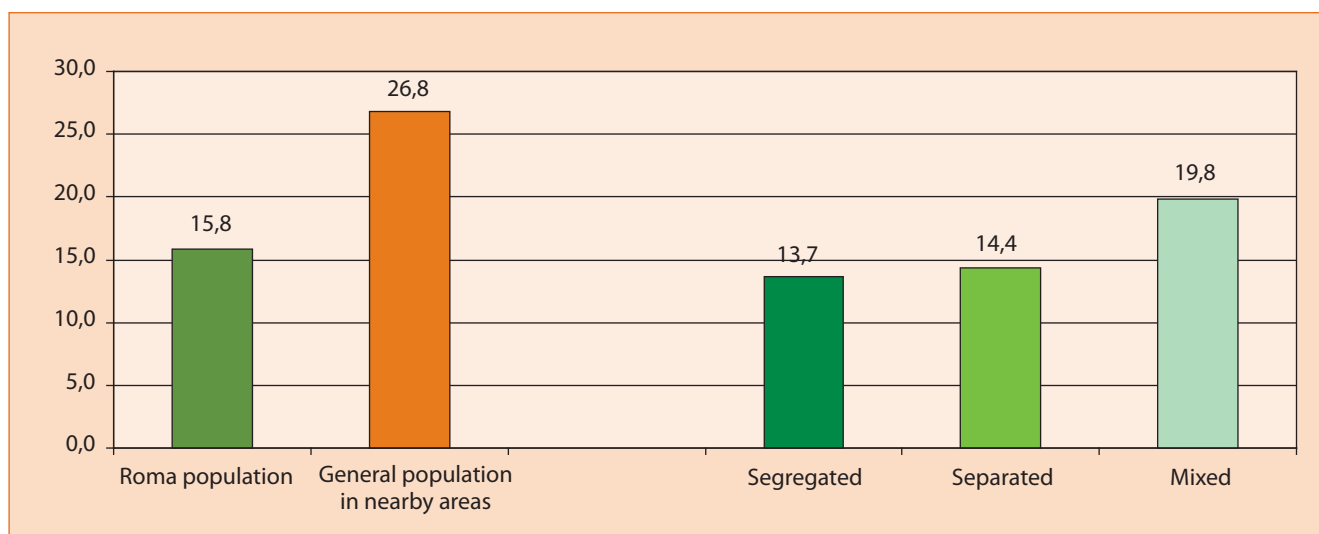
3.4.1 Occurrence of chronic illness and disability

In the studied sample of the Roma population¹¹ the declared rate of chronic illness and disability lasting more than 6 months was 15.8 percent. In nearly all cases, the illness was diagnosed by a doctor. Only 2 percent of Roma had undiagnosed illnesses.

The highest rate for chronic illness was found in that part of the Roma population living in integrated communities (19.8 percent); for the inhabitants of separated parts of towns and villages the rate was 14.4 percent and for the inhabitants of segregated settlements it was 13.7 percent. This shows that the situation does not become worse as spatial segregation increases. Comparison with the nearby general population also appears to favour the Roma population: 15.8 percent among Roma and 26.8 percent in the general population.

The finding of substantially lower rates of long-term illness in the Roma population and the tendency for it to rise with spatial integration rather than segregation of the Roma population contradicts the previous findings of worse health in the Roma population, especially the population in the segregated settlements. In this context a number of explanations is possible. The stated result may conceal a high level of misunderstanding of the basic sense of the question among Roma respondents (as to what is a chronic illness) or a different understanding among the Roma and the majority, or greater unwillingness of members among the Roma minority to admit that they have a chronic illness¹². The resulting state may also be the result

Graph 3.13: Comparison of the occurrence of chronic illness in the Roma population and the general population living in nearby areas (in %)



¹⁰ For national policies in the area of health care and the access of Roma to health care services see Grellier and Šoltéssová 2004.

¹¹ Health conditions were studied for all persons over the age of 6 years, with an adult answering for any child under 15 years. The size of the sample selected for this block was 3,765 persons.

¹² The UNDP regional study came to the same conclusion (*Avoiding...*, 2003).

of worse access to health care services (and therefore to diagnosis of illness) in large sections of the Roma population, or a different approach to health (ill health is not considered to be a problem)¹³.

Table 3.7: Roma population with chronic illness by type of disorder and sex (in %)

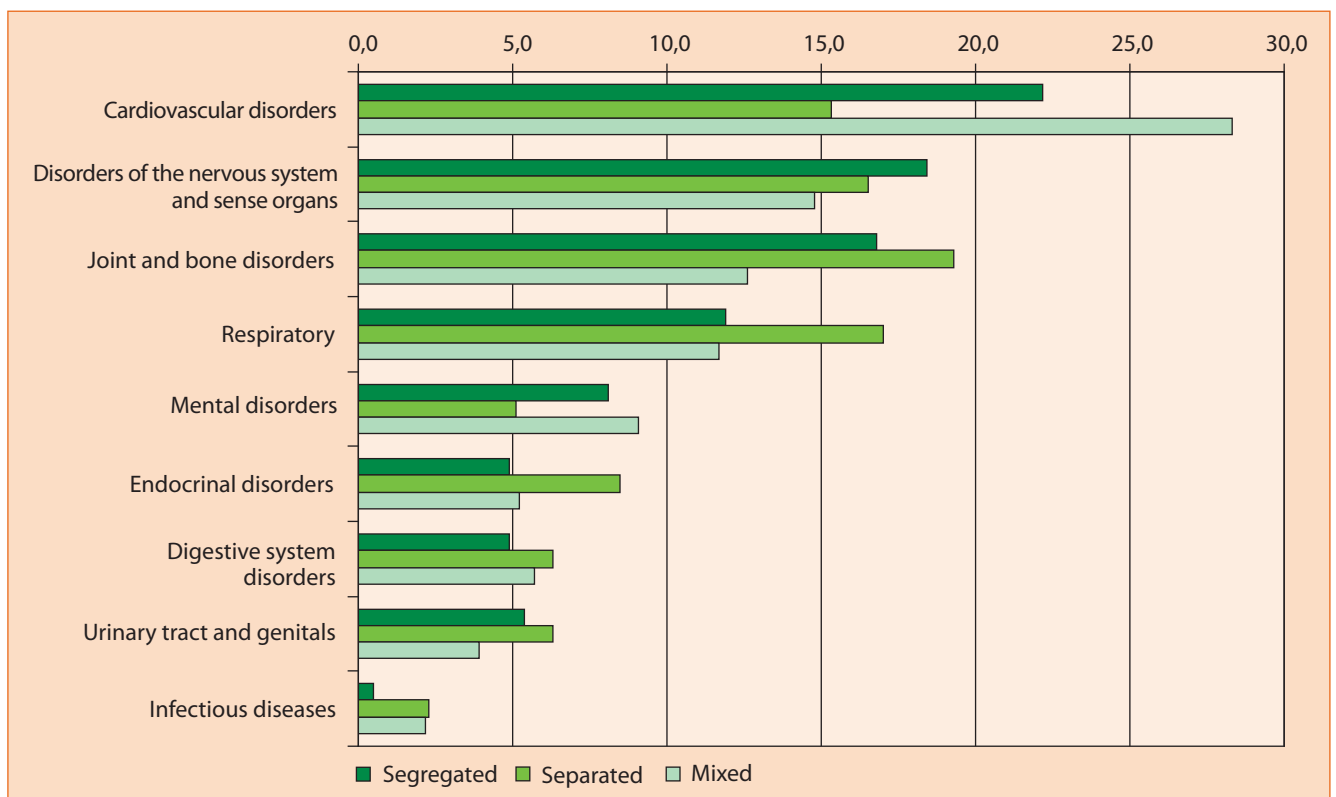
TYPE OF DISORDER	Males	Females	Total
Cardiovascular disorders	19.0	25.5	22.5
Disorders of the nervous system and sense organs	20.8	12.7	16.4
Joint and bone disorders	17.5	14.6	15.9
Respiratory disorders	13.4	13.4	13.4
Mental disorders	7.8	7.5	7.6
Endocrinal disorders	4.5	7.5	6.1
Digestive system disorders	5.2	5.8	5.6
Urinary tract and genitals	4.8	5.3	5.1
Infectious diseases	1.1	2.2	1.7
Other chronic illness	5.9	5.5	5.7
Respondents with chronic illness total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: For persons older than 6 years of age; the table gives the percentage share of occurrence of particular disorders for those persons who stated some type of disorder.

The empirical findings for individual types of chronic illness show cardiovascular disorders, disorders of the nervous systems and sense organs, motor system disorders (joints and bones) and respiratory disorders. Within the Roma population of those over 6 years of age who reported a long-term illness, these occurred within a range from 13.4 percent to 22.5 percent (see Table 3.7). The most pronounced differences between men and women were in disorders of the nervous system and sense organs. Among men suffering from chronic illnesses, disorders of the nervous system and sense organs affect about a fifth and they are the most common type of chronic illness. Among women, disorders of the nervous system and sense organs affect only 12.7 percent, which places them in fourth place by frequency of occurrence. The data in the table show that the ranking of illnesses by numbers of cases in men and women differ and that some illnesses affect men and women to a different extent.

The structure of individual types of chronic illness also differed with the level of integration with the majority population. In the segregated population, cardiovascular disorders and disorders of the nervous system and sense organs are most frequent, motor system disorders and respiratory disorders are also relatively common. In this group of the Roma population the most frequent ill-

Graph 3.14: Comparison of the occurrence of chronic illness in the Roma population by settlement type (in %)



Note: For persons over 6 years of age; the graph gives the percentage share of those who declared a chronic illness or disability lasting more than half a year.

¹³ The survey carried out studied the declared rate of chronic illness and disability. In order to identify the true level of long-term ill health, it would probably be better to choose a different more appropriate method of measurement such as an analysis of health records, research among doctors and the like. Because of the low reliability of the data on the occurrence of chronic illness, the following analysis is limited solely to a comparison within the studied sub-groups.

nesses were disorders of the nervous system and sense organs – these occurred in 18.4 percent of the population of segregated settlements over the age of 6 years who reported a chronic illness. In the Roma population living in separated parts of towns and villages, the top two illnesses were joint and bone disorders and respiratory disorders and they were followed by disorders of the nervous system and sense organs and cardiovascular disorders. The Roma population living in mixed communities were most likely to suffer from cardiovascular disorders, which affected more than 28 percent of the population over 6 years of age with a long-term illness. Other illnesses recorded in this group were much less frequent: disorders of the nervous system and sense organs were just under 15 percent, joint and bone disorders nearly 13 percent and respiratory disorders just under 12 percent. Prolonged occurrence of other types of illness, lasting more than 6 months (disorders of the thyroid gland, digestive system, urinary tract and genitals) occurred mostly in the part of the Roma population living in separate parts of towns and villages or in segregated settlements.

In comparison with the general population corresponding to the regional distribution of the Roma population, there are quite substantial differences in the occurrence of individual types of illnesses. The Roma population is more likely to suffer from disorders of the nervous system and sense organs or respiratory disorders, and also mental breakdown, disorders of the digestive system, or disorders of the urinary tract or genitals. In contrast, the general population was substantially more likely to suffer cardiovascular disorders (33.6 percent compared to 22.5 percent of the Roma population over 6 years of age with

long-term disorders) and endocrine failure (10.7 percent vs. 6.1 percent). There was also a higher occurrence in the general population of motor system disorders, the difference from the Roma population was not however as great as in the illnesses mentioned above (17.3 percent and 15.9 percent).

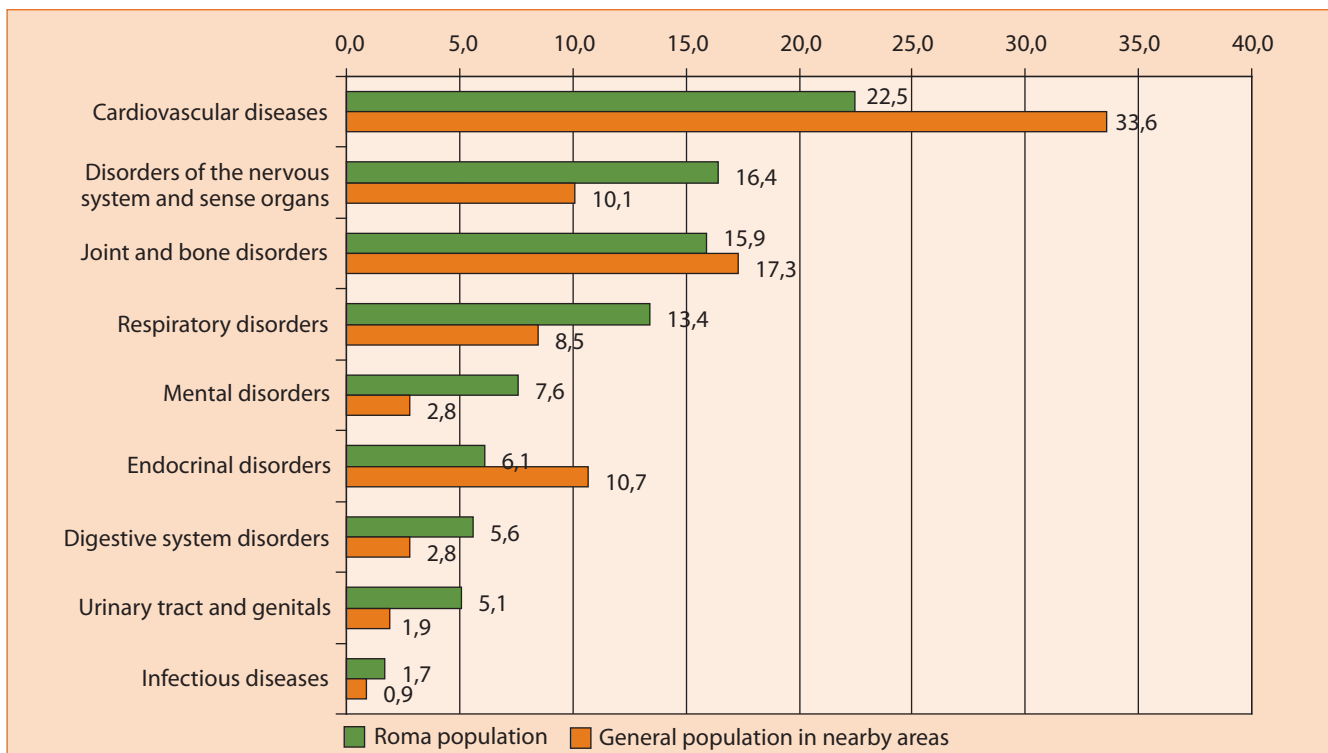
From the data it is clear that the structure of long-term illnesses in the Roma population and the general population are different. Disorders of the nervous system and sense organs are much more common in the Roma population, as are other illnesses (respiratory disorders, disorders of the urinary tract and genitals or the digestive system). Although cardiovascular disorders were the most common illness in the Roma population they made up a smaller part of the overall structure than in the general population.

3.4.2 Occurrence of everyday illnesses

Other “common” illnesses such as toothache, flu or injuries were only a little more frequent in the Roma population than chronic illnesses. 18.9 percent of Roma had suffered a common health problem in the previous month, of which more than half (55.2 percent) had resulted in a break in their regular activities (school, work, and so on).

The most frequent length of a break in routine activities as a result of illness or injury that was not a chronic illness was 7 days (35.4 percent). 13.8 percent of Roma had experienced a period of twice that length when they could not carry out normal activities. The most common periods of incapacity for work were therefore of one week or two, which is also supported by the percentages of respon-

Graph 3.15: Comparison of the occurrence of chronic illness in the Roma population and the general population living in nearby areas (in %)



Note: For persons over 6 years of age; the graph gives the percentage share of those who declared a chronic illness or disability lasting more than half a year.

dents who were unfit for work for 5 days (12.1 percent) and 10 days (8.2 percent). It can be assumed that these respondents counted the number of days as the number of working days lost in a week. If we count together the proportion of Roma who had to take a break of 5 days and 7 days in their activities (one week) we obtain a proportion of 47.5 percent. This also increases the proportion of Roma who were unfit for work for two weeks (if we count the ten-day and fourteen-day categories together as two weeks) to 22 percent. Other time periods for breaks in normal activities resulting from illness or injury were less common. The 5.9 percent of respondents who stated that they had to stop their regular activities for 28 days are noteworthy because more than half of these respondents are registered as unemployed.

3.4.3 Visits to a doctor

23.6 percent of Roma (20.3 percent of men and 26.7 percent of women) had visited a doctor for medical reasons. When we look at the settlement structure for respondents who had visited a doctor in the previous month, we find that it was the Roma population living in mixed settlements who were most likely to visit the doctor and the least likely were those who were living on the outskirts of a town or village. The frequency of visits to the doctor may indicate various facts: deteriorating health conditions and concern about it, the proximity or affordability of health care, but also fear of doctors and the like. Nearly half the Roma population in the survey who had visited a doctor in the last month had sought medical assistance once, and 28.8 percent twice. 8.4 percent of Roma had visited the doctor three times and 6.5 percent four times.

3.4.4 Expenditure on medical treatment and medicine

Respondents were asked how much they had paid for these visits in the previous month. The aim was to determine the level of payments for visits to the doctor excluding transport costs or the cost of medicine. The numbers received varied from zero to several thousand crowns. The most common amount was SKK 20, which was paid by 43.4 percent of Roma. 20.7 percent paid SKK 40 and 7.2 percent of respondents paid SKK 60. In some cases patients are not required to pay. In the sample of this survey this applied to 5.2 percent of Roma who did not pay any fees on visiting the doctor.

The amount paid for visiting the doctor should depend on the number of visits and the diagnosis because prices

are set centrally and the doctor cannot choose to increase them independently of the prescribed rates. At the time of the survey SKK 20 was the charge for each visit to the doctor and this is reflected in respondents' answers. Of those who reported paying SKK 20 for visiting the doctor in the previous month, 81.4 percent made one visit and 13.8 percent two. Among those who paid SKK 40, the majority had visited the doctor twice (70.9 percent). The majority of respondents who paid SKK 60 had visited the doctor three times (61.9 percent).

Some Roma have a problem not with paying fees for visits to the doctor but with paying for medicine, although this affects only a small number of persons. Ninety-one percent of Roma who visited a doctor in the previous month received a prescription for medicine. The vast majority (90.4 percent) bought the prescribed medicine. 7.1 percent of them collected only some of the prescribed medicines and 2.5 percent did not collect any. The most frequent reason for not collecting all medicines was lack of money and the fact that they had the prescribed medicines at home. 70.1 percent of Roma who failed to collect some or all of their medicine stated that they did not buy the medicine because they did not have enough money.¹⁴ As in the case of payments for visiting a doctor, respondents reported a wide range of fees for medicine – from a few crowns to several thousand.

3.4.5 Use of prenatal care and social assistance in pregnancy¹⁵

70.1 percent of women had already given birth to one or more children (out of 997) and of them, 54.4 percent had given birth to a child within the last five years. Numbers of (all) live births per mother are shown in table 3.8.

93.7 percent of mothers went for regular medical check-ups during their last pregnancy and in most cases they were examined by a doctor (95.5 percent). Examination by a nurse can be understood as a certain form of alternative solution if no qualified specialist doctor is available. 3.6 percent of mothers had such an examination. The number of mothers who were treated by a nurse before birth and not a doctor varies according to the settlement type. The largest proportion of mothers who were examined by a nurse during their most recent pregnancy was among women living in mixed areas (7.3 percent). The proportion examined by a nurse in this sub-group of mothers is double the overall proportion examined in this way in the Roma population as a whole. For comparison, barely 1 percent of mothers living on the edge of a town or village were examined by a nurse.

Table 3.8: Number of live births per mother (in %)

Number of children	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9+	Total
Share in %	16.5	23.6	20.5	14.6	10.0	6.0	3.3	2.3	3.2	100.0

¹⁴ It should be noted that this relatively high number conceals a small absolute value (54 persons).

¹⁵ This question was answered by women of reproductive age i.e. 14-49 years (N=997 women).

Table 3.9: Breakdown of Roma mothers by person carrying out an examination during the most recent pregnancy (in %)

TYPE OF PERSON CARRYING OUT EXAMINATION	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Whole sample of Roma mothers
Doctor	95.7	99.1	91.7	95.5
Nurse	2.9	0.1	7.3	3.6
Midwife	0.7	-	0.9	0.6
No answer	0,7	-	-	0.3
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

The most common places for examination were offices (82.2 percent) and hospitals (16.4 percent). Other types of services – house calls by doctors and services in private clinics – were used only in a minimal number of cases. The maternity ward of the hospital was the most common place for births to take place. Only a small minority of women gave birth at home.

As is clear from the above information, a high proportion of women went for regular medical check-ups during pregnancy. In this context they were asked whether they were aware that pregnant women can receive additional social benefits provided that they attend regular check-ups. Only a quarter of Roma women knew that it was possible to get this supplementary social benefit, most of whom lived in segregated settlements (46.4 percent). Women living in mixed communities were the least well-informed. Approximately half the number of women (24.2 percent) knew about the possibility of receiving the stated benefit.

Table 3.10: Awareness of the supplementary social benefit for pregnant women conditional upon regular medical check-ups, by settlement type (in %)

SETTLEMENT TYPE	Yes	No
Segregated	46.4	31.9
Separated	29.4	33.0
Mixed	24.2	35.1
Mothers total	100.0	100.0

Respondents were also asked a question on their awareness of methods for postponing or preventing pregnancy. 63.6 percent of Roma women claimed to be aware of these methods. The most aware were women living in mixed

communities (67.1 percent), the least aware were women in segregated settlements (61.5 percent).

3.4.6 Subjective assessment of health

The Roma tended to give a positive assessment of their health. The number of people satisfied with their health increased rapidly as the number of members of the household increased. (This may be a result of the fact that only one member of the household responded to questions on behalf of all the others). More than half the Roma consider their health to be very good, about a quarter assess it to be good. Only 4.4 percent of Roma see their health as very bad.

The least favourable assessment of health was given by Roma living in mixed communities. The proportion of negative assessments (bad and very bad) is higher than for Roma living on the edge of a town or village or those in segregated settlements. Likewise, while the proportion of those responding “very good” among Roma living on the edges of towns and villages or in segregated settlements is greater the proportion in all Roma sub-groups taken together (59.2 percent), Roma living in mixed communities have a lower rate for these answers.

Table 3.11: Subjective assessment of own health in the Roma population (in %)

DEGREE	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Very good	62.0	61.2	53.7	59.2
Good	24.0	24.1	26.5	24.0
Poor	10.1	11.4	13.2	11.5
Very poor	3.6	3.2	6.5	4.4
No answer	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The respondents who assessed their health condition negatively were mainly persons with chronic illnesses. Of those who considered their health to be very bad, 92.6 percent came from the Roma population over 6 years of age who suffered from a chronic illness, while in the case of those who considered their health to be bad this proportion was 68.8 percent. This meant that there was a strong correlation between chronic illness and the subjective perception of one's own health condition.

4

THE SOCIAL SITUATION OF ROMA HOUSEHOLDS

4 THE SOCIAL SITUATION OF ROMA HOUSEHOLDS

4.1 Material conditions: housing and household goods

Box 8: The housing situation in the Slovak Republic

At the last census carried out in the Slovak Republic in 2001, it was found that the total housing stock consisted of 49.2 percent housing in family houses and 49.9 percent housing in blocks of flats (other types of housing made up 0.9 percent).

Out of the total surveyed housing stock 73.8 percent was owned privately and 14.9 percent belonged to housing associations (the remaining 11.3 percent was owned in other ways).

As regards the technical infrastructure of housing in the Slovak Republic, the census found the following:

- 60.2 percent of households had a sewerage connection
- 74.8 percent of households were connected to a gas main
- 94.7 percent of households were connected to a water main
- 62.2 percent of households received hot water from a source outside the household
- (district) central heating was provided for 76.3 percent of households

(Data source: Sčítanie... , 2001)

Box 9: Size of housing in the Slovak Republic

INDICATOR	1960	1970	1980	1991	2001
Overall area of 1 apartment in m ²	44.0	64.2	71.0	72.8	83.9
Number of rooms per 1 apartment	2.7	2.2	2.6	2.9	3.2
Number of inhabitants per 1 room	2.5	1.8	1.4	1.1	1.0
Living area per 1 inhabitant in m ²	7.9	10.2	12.8	14.6	17.5
Share of apartments with 2+ census households (in %)	18.4	15.1	15.1	11.8	18.8

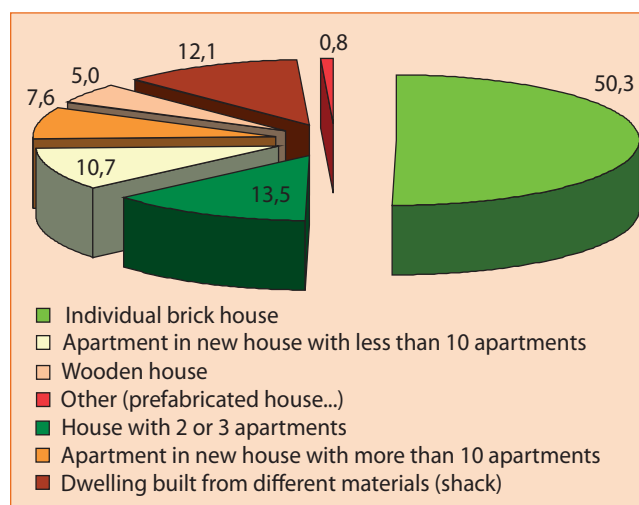
Source: Census of the population, houses and flats 2001. Statistical Office of the SR, Bratislava 2002.

4.1.1 Housing type

The type of housing was one of the basic selection characteristics. Since there were some changes in the representation of individual households in terms of housing type during the implementation of selection, we begin by giving a detailed description of this aspect of the studied households.

Approximately half of the Roma households studied resided in detached brick houses and 13.5 percent lived

Graph 4.1: Composition of the sample of Roma households by housing type (in %)



in brick houses comprising two or three flats¹⁶. A total of 18.3 percent lived in blocks of flats. (10.7 percent lived in blocks of flats comprising less than 10 flats and 7.6 percent in blocks with more than 10 flats). 12.1 percent of the studied Roma households lived in houses built from various materials referred to as shanty housing. Together with 0.6 percent who lived in temporary modular housing and 5 percent living in wooden houses, they make up a total of 17.7 percent of the Roma living in clearly sub-standard conditions.

There are marked differences depending on the level of integration of the Roma population. While less than 50 percent of the inhabitants of segregated settlements lived in brick houses, the figure was 60 percent for the inhabitants of separated parts of towns and villages and 84.2 percent for Roma living in mixed communities. The opposite trend was observed in the case of shanty housing: this housing type was most common in segregated settlements (up to 23.3 percent of households in segregated settlements were classified as shanty housing). In separated parts of towns and villages, the proportion was approximately a tenth and in mixed communities this housing type was almost absent. In total, more than 35 percent of households in separated settlements live in houses made of wood or non-standard materials.

¹⁶ It should be noted that although these dwellings were brick houses their quality was relatively low.

Table 4.1: Composition of the sample of Roma households by housing type (in %)

HOUSING TYPE	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Individual brick house	40.3	48.3	62.5	50.3
Brick house with 2 or 3 apartments	7.5	11.3	21.7	13.5
Apartment in new house with less than 10 apartments	14.6	8.8	8.8	10.7
Apartment in new house with more than 10 apartments	6.3	12.5	4.2	7.6
Wooden house	8.3	5.8	0.8	5.0
Housing built from different materials (shack)	23.3	10.8	2.1	12.1
Other (prefabricated house...)	-	2.5	-	0.8
Households total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 4.2: Composition of the studied sample of households by housing type – comparison of Roma households and general households living in nearby areas (in %)

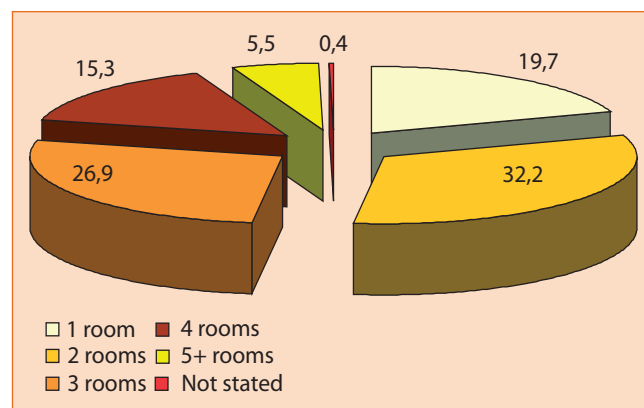
HOUSING TYPE	Roma households	Households of general population in nearby areas
Individual brick house	50.3	72.7
Brick house with 2 or 3 apartments	13.5	8.2
Apartment in new house with less than 10 apartments	10.7	9.0
Apartment in new house with more than 10 apartments	7.6	9.6
Wooden house	5.0	0.3
Housing built from different materials (shack)	12.1	0.3
Other (prefabricated house...)	0.8	-
Households total	100.0	100.0

Comparison with households from the general population living nearby reveals major differences in the type of house or flat that people live in. For the majority population the situation is fundamentally different: nearly three quarters of these households (72.7 percent) live in detached brick houses and 8.2 percent live in brick houses comprising two or three flats. Another 18.6 percent live in flats situated in blocks with a greater number of flats. Other types of housing are almost completely absent from the sample of the majority population.

4.1.2 Size characteristics of Roma housing

Assessment of the size of a house or flat is based on two main indicators: number of rooms¹⁷ and the area in square meters. There was strong variation for both of these size characteristics both according to the degree of integration of the Roma population and in comparison with the majority population.

Nearly a fifth of Roma households live in accommodations that have only one room. Another third live in two rooms and more than a third have three rooms. 20.8 percent of Roma households had flats or houses with four or more rooms. The Roma population living in mixed communities with the majority population are the most likely to have ac-

Graph 4.2: Composition of the sample of Roma households by number of rooms (in %)

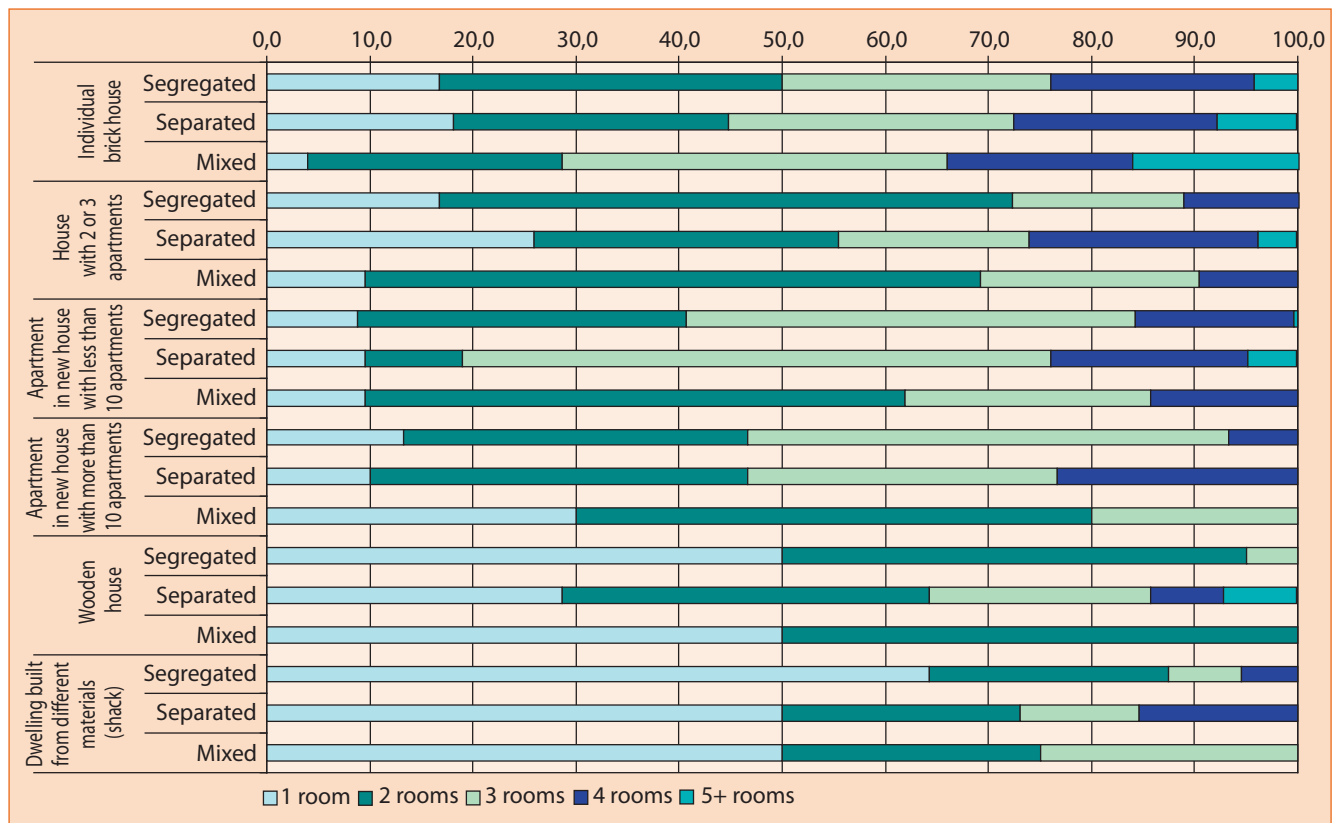
commodation consisting of several rooms; the least likely are those living in segregated settlements. While nearly a third of households in settlements lived in one-room accommodation, for the Roma population in mixed communities the proportion was under 8 percent.

Table 4.3: Accommodation of Roma households by number of rooms and housing type (in %)

NUMBER OF ROOMS	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
1 room	29.2	22.1	7.9	19.7
2 rooms	33.3	27.5	35.8	32.2
3 rooms	22.9	26.7	31.3	26.9
4 rooms	12.5	18.8	14.6	15.3
5+ rooms	1.7	4.9	10.0	5.5
Not stated	0.4	-	0.4	0.4
Households total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

When we consider the structure of Roma households with various degrees of integration by type of house or other dwelling inhabited, we find that segregated Roma households in shanty housing or wooden houses are more likely to have a small area of living space. Roma households living in mixed communities usually live in two or three rooms, especially in brick houses or blocks of flats. Housing with multiple rooms is most common in brick houses and the Roma population living in mixed communities: Over 30 percent of Roma households living in brick houses in mixed communi-

¹⁷ In this research a room is considered to be a space used for eating or sleeping and may also be a space marked off by a partition (including the kitchen but not bathroom, toilet, larder, store room and the like).

Graph 4.3: Roma housing by number of rooms, type of construction and settlement type (in %)


ties had four or more rooms. The greatest variation in type of housing was reported by the group living in separated areas (those living on the edge of a town or village or in a separated neighbourhood within the town or village). For this group there was a high rate of variation in the number of rooms depending on the type of housing inhabited.

Roma households with one-room homes are also likely to have a very small living area. 69.7 percent have less than 20 m² and only a quarter have an area of between 20 and 40 m². The majority of two-room homes do not have a living area greater than 40 m². As the number of rooms in a home increases, the proportion of housing with a larger floor space also increases. In the general population in nearby areas the situation is a little different. Most one-room homes have a floor area of 21- 40 m². Two-room homes most often have a floor area of 41 to 60 m². If we compare the size of

flats or houses categorized by number of rooms, we can find differences between the studied Roma population and the general population in nearby areas.

A more detailed illustration of the size characteristics of Roma housing is provided by the average values and proportions of the number of members of a household. Both demographic and sociological studies (*National...*, 2000; Vaňo 2001, 2002; Vašečka 2002a, 2002b; *Living...*, 2002 and many others), and also the introductory description of the studied samples (Chapter 2) show that Roma households have a substantially higher number of members than households in the majority population, especially those who live in segregated and separated communities. The connections between these quantitative characteristics and indicators on housing size provide more detailed information on the living conditions of the Roma population in the Slovak Republic.

Table 4.4: Size of housing by number of rooms and square meters – comparison of Roma households and general households living in nearby areas (in %)

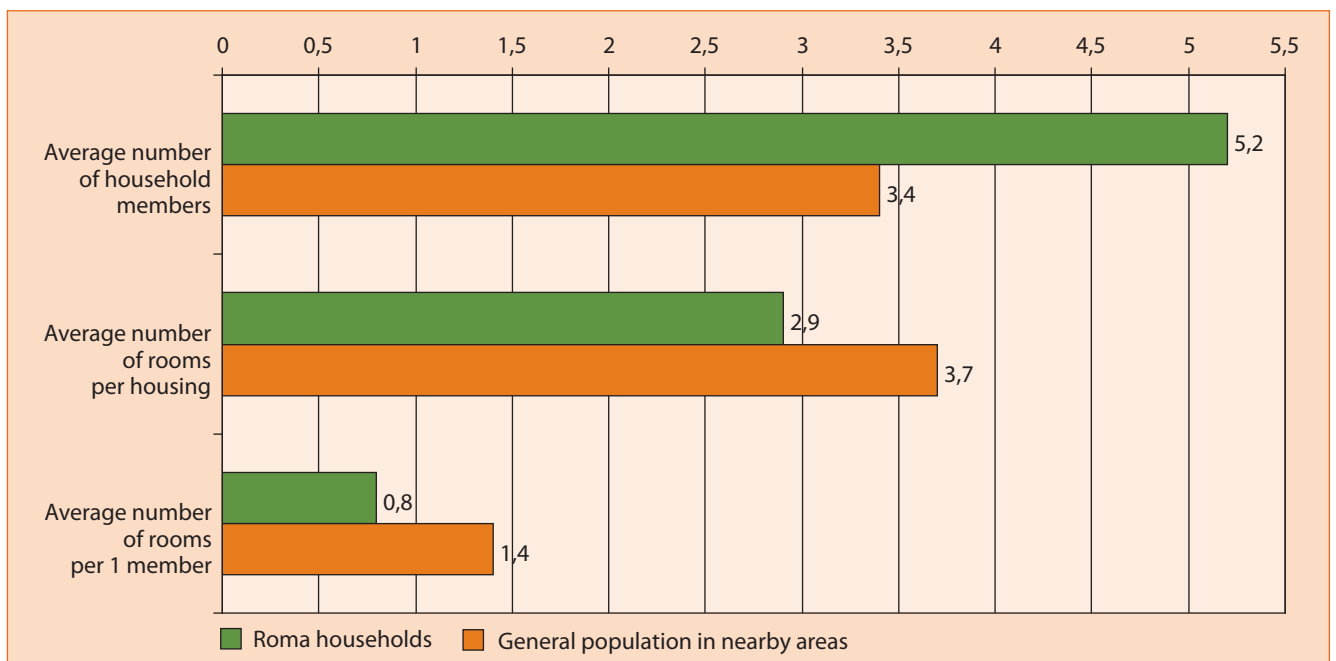
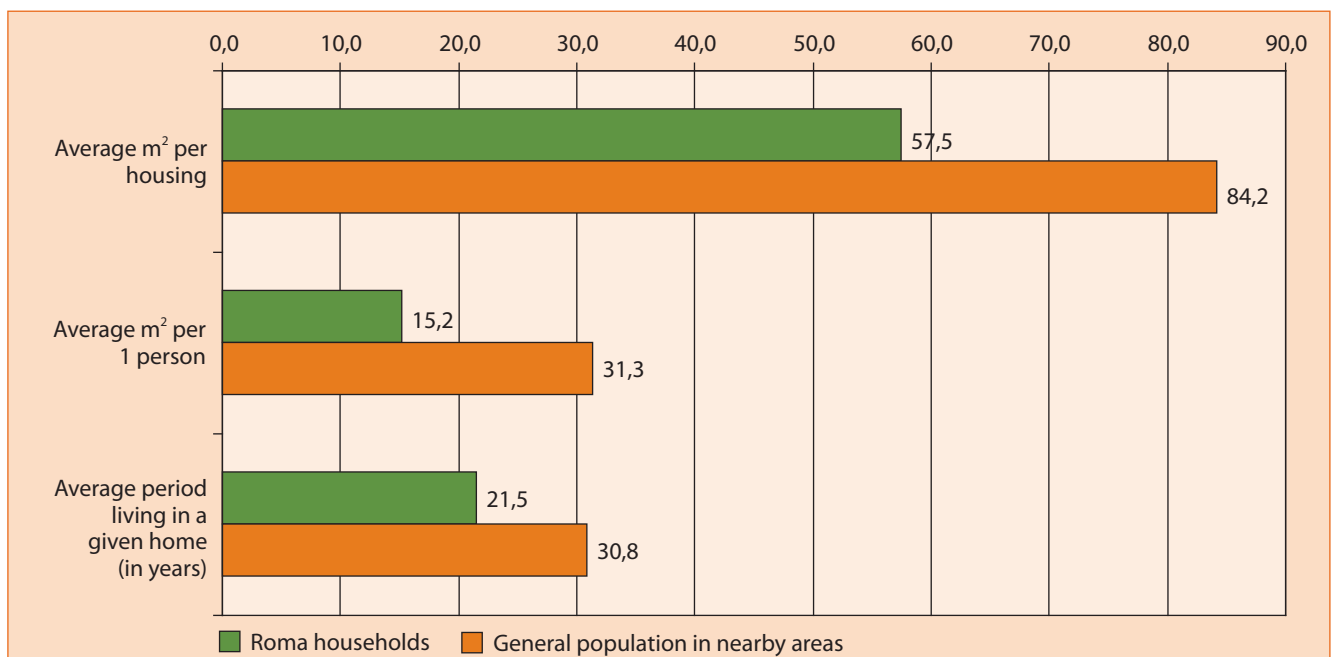
NUMBER OF ROOMS	below 20 m ²	21-40 m ²	41-60 m ²	61-80 m ²	81+ m ²	Not stated	TOTAL
1 room:							
General households	38.5	53.8	7.7	-	-	-	100.0
Roma households	69.7	25.4	2.8	1.4	-	0.7	100.0
2 rooms:							
General households	5.3	35.1	45.6	8.8	5.3	-	100.0
Roma households	7.8	55.2	30.6	5.6	0.9	-	100.0
3 rooms:							
General households	1.0	8.2	29.9	34.0	26.8	-	100.0
Roma households	0.5	13.9	41.8	34.0	9.3	0.5	100.0
4 rooms:							
General households	1.0	1.9	13.3	37.1	46.7	0.0	100.0
Roma households	2.7	3.6	14.5	42.7	36.4	0.0	100.0

Table 4.5: Average Roma housing size by settlement type (relevant units)

AVERAGE CHARACTERISTICS	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Average number of household members	5.7	5.2	4.9	5.2
Average number of rooms per home	2.6	2.6	3.3	2.9
Average number of m2 per home	45.1	60.2	67.2	57.5
Average number of rooms per 1 member	0.6	0.7	1.0	0.8
Average number m2 per 1 member	10.2	16.1	19.4	15.2
Average period living in a given home (in years)	16.8	26.3	21.3	21.5

All the stated average characteristics clearly indicate that the Roma population in segregated settlements live in cramped conditions. Although these households have a larger number of members, they live in considerably smaller homes even in comparison with other sub-groups of this minority. They have

a considerably smaller number of rooms per member (0.6 rooms, while the number for Roma in mixed communities is 1 room), and also considerably less living space per member (10.2 m², while those living in separated communities have 16 m² and those in mixed communities 20 m²).

Graph 4.4 Average housing size – comparison of Roma households and general households living in nearby areas (in relevant units)**Graph 4.5: Average housing size – comparison of Roma households and general households living in nearby areas (in relevant units)**

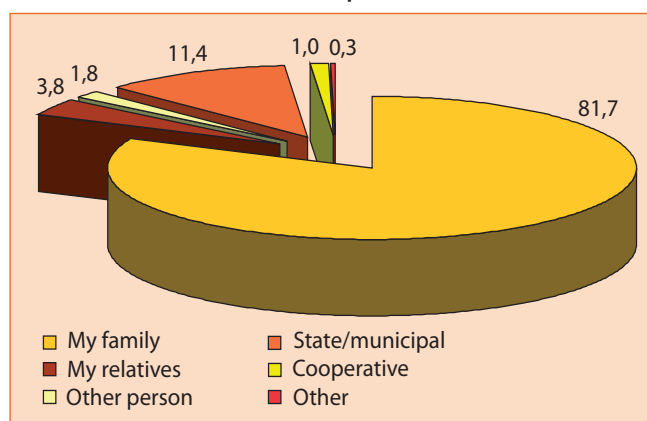
In comparison with the general population, even when in close proximity, the Roma have considerably less living space. Although Roma households have on average two members more, the average number of rooms occupied by the household was one whole room less. For each member of a Roma household there are on average 0.8 rooms, while for each member of a majority household in a nearby area there are 1.4 rooms.

The same tendencies also appear in the context of living area: This indicator also shows that Roma households have much less space for living than the general population living in nearby areas. One Roma home has on average just under 60 m², while one house or flat occupied by the majority has nearly 85 m². While on average one member of a general household has 31.3 m² of space, a member of a Roma household has half that amount (15.2 m²).

4.1.3 Ownership of houses and flats

With regard to ownership, most Roma households report that the flat or house that they reside in is the property of a family member (more than 81 percent). Such a high reported rate of personal ownership in the studied population is probably the result of a high rate of misunderstanding of the question asked. It may also reflect a different understanding of the term “ownership” on the part of the Roma minority (“if I live in it, it’s mine”). From ongoing discussions in Slovakia it is also clear that the high figures Roma gave for home ownership do not correspond with the number of cases of disputed ownership, particularly relating to the land on which the homes stand. Many mayors are currently trying to resolve such problems.

Graph 4.6: Structure of the sample of Roma households by declared form of home ownership (in %)



Something that supports the guess made above, that respondents had misunderstood the questions on ownership, is the fact that ownership of the house or flat by a family member was most commonly reported by Roma in segregated communities. The answers received tell us more about what people think than the real situation as regards ownership. An average share of households living in their own house or flat was recorded among households living in separated parts of towns and villages. The most common form of ownership in this group was state or municipal ownership of flats. This value greatly exceeded the values obtained in the other two household segments (segregated and mixed).

Table 4.6: Average Roma housing size by settlement type (relevant units)

OWNER OF HOME	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
My family	87.9	73.8	83.3	81.7
My relatives	3.8	5.0	2.5	3.8
Other person	0.8	0.4	4.2	1.8
State/municipality	6.7	19.6	7.9	11.4
Cooperative	0.8	0.8	1.3	1.0
Other	-	0.4	0.8	0.3
Households total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

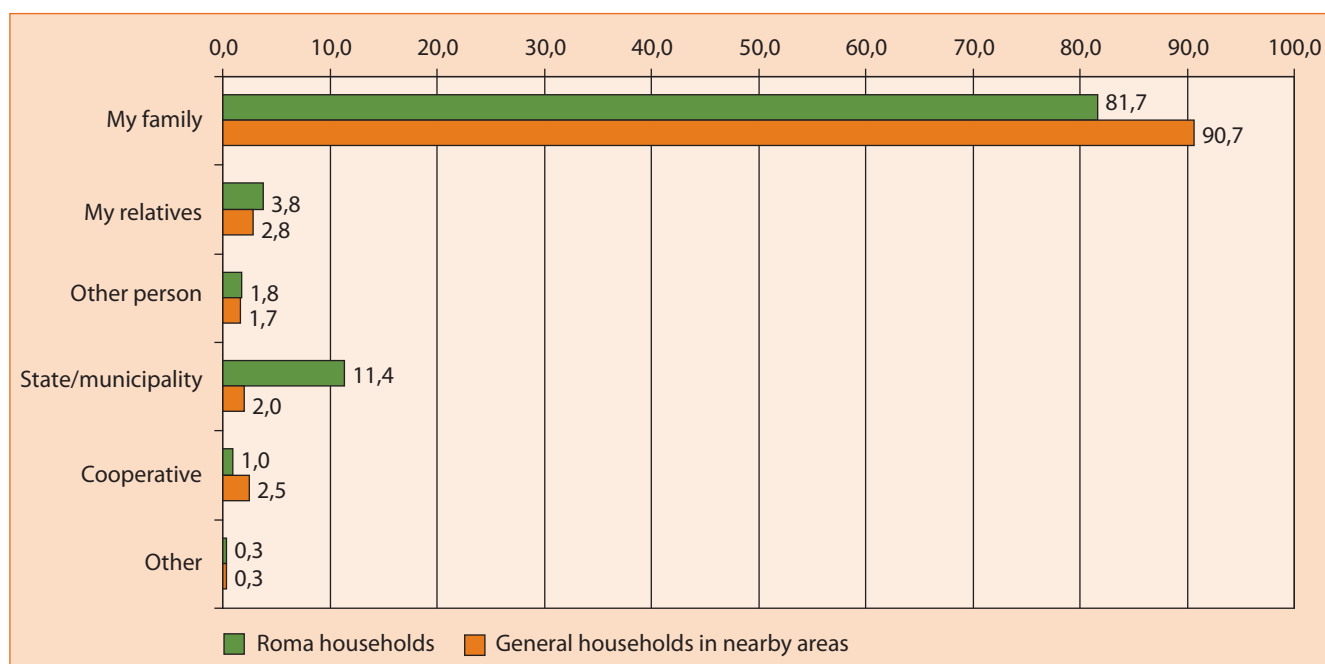
There were certain differences between the ownership of the flats or houses in which the sample of the Roma population lives, and the situation with regard to the general population in nearby areas.¹⁸ More than 90 percent of respondents from the majority population stated that they live in property owned by their family while 81.7 percent of Roma households claimed to live in their own property. It is also clear that a much greater proportion of Roma than representatives of the general population reported living in property owned by the state¹⁹ or municipality (11.4 percent compared to 2 percent).

4.1.4 Rental of housing

More than three quarters of Roma households that did not claim to own their own home and declared another form of ownership than family ownership (around 20 percent of Roma households) pay rent for their house or flat (2.3 percent pay with goods or services). The remaining quarter stated that they do not pay rent. Interesting information can be learned from the identity of the landlord of these households. Roma households live most frequently in municipal flats (68 percent) and to a much lesser extent in flats rented from the state (17 percent). Rental from private companies (8 percent) and private persons (6 percent) was comparatively rare.

¹⁸ It is however difficult to assess to what extent they are the result of a different understanding of the question of dwelling ownership in these two groups and to what extent it reflects real ownership. The comparison may indicate such a general tendency however.

¹⁹ Within the process of decentralization and transformation of ownership, the state put its property under the control of local government. The property that towns and villages obtained in this way was enormous but also significantly burdened with debts... The inability to manage property encumbered with debts and ideological pressure to liberalize the market resulted in the sale of these flats to their tenants. In 2000, 6.2 percent of rented flats remained the property of towns and villages (Fotta 2004).

Graph 4.7: Housing by type of ownership – comparison of Roma households and general households living in nearby areas (in %)**Table 4.7: Ways in which Roma households rent their homes by settlement type (in %)**

HOMES ARE RENTED FROM THE:	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
State	9.5	18.4	20.0	17.0
Municipality	76.2	77.8	46.7	68.0
Private owner (company, cooperative)	9.5	2.0	18.7	8.0
Private person	4.8	2.0	13.3	6.0
Not stated	-	-	3.3	1.0
Households in rented space total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

In this case too there were certain differences depending on the level of integration with the general population. While households living in separated or segregated communities were most likely to rent from the town or village (more than 75 percent of Roma households living in rented accommodation), households in mixed communities were

less likely to rent from the municipality (less than half of households in mixed communities).²⁰

4.1.5 Building materials used

The following table presents a comparison of the studied sub-groups in terms of the basic material used to make the outer walls of the dwelling. It is necessary to draw attention to a number of matters on this subject. A much greater proportion of Roma households have homes whose outer walls are made of wood, unbaked bricks and other materials not specified in greater detail. Among majority households there is a much higher proportion living in brick houses or flats. Wood is most commonly used as a building material by Roma living in segregated settlements, while Roma in mixed communities use it the least. Within the Roma population the proportion of homes made from baked bricks is highest for Roma in mixed communities and lowest for Roma in segregated settlements.

Table 4.8: Materials used for outside walls of homes – comparison of groups (in %)

MATERIAL	General households	Roma households	Roma by type of settlement		
			Segregated	Separated	Mixed
Bricks	53.0	38.1	33.3	38.8	42.1
Concrete plates	11.8	13.2	12.9	17.1	9.5
Unbaked bricks	7.9	15.4	13.3	8.8	24.2
Wood	0.8	7.6	12.9	8.8	1.3
From different material	4.5	9.0	13.3	7.1	6.7
Other	21.8	16.6	14.2	19.5	16.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

²⁰ Only a few households belonging to the general population in the same area occupy rented flats or houses (under 10 percent) and in the plurality of cases flats are rented from a housing association (47.8 percent of all rented flats).

As regards the materials used to make the roofs of dwellings, they were most frequently made of roof tiles, both in the majority population (47.9 percent) and among Roma households (41.9 percent). Wood was used more frequently by Roma (6.5 percent) than by households belonging to the general population (0.8 percent). Concrete was one of the most widely used flooring material in both sub-groups (78.8 percent in the majority population in nearby areas, among the Roma 74.3 percent). It is interesting to compare the presence of earth floors in these sub-groups. While in the general population they are almost unknown (0.6 percent), 10.7 percent of the Roma population have them, most often in segregated settlements (the least in households in mixed communities).

In terms of objectively identifiable living conditions such as housing size and the building materials used, it is clear that there are a number of differences between the Roma households in different types of settlements and the general population in nearby areas. On the basis of the housing indicators used, Roma households were found to be in a worse situation than households sampled from the general population in nearby areas. Within the Roma population, the worst situation was found among Roma households living in segregated settlements.

4.1.6 Availability and quality of drinking water in dwellings

A factor in quality of life is easy access to good-quality water. Insufficient access to drinking water can be considered to be one of the forms of environmental discrimination.²¹ There were sharp differences for this indicator of living conditions between the Roma households and the households of the majority population in nearby areas. While the great majority of households in the general population was supplied by the public water main (73.2 percent), water sources for the Roma were more diverse. Nearly a quarter of them draw water from a covered well or bore-hole (compared to a tenth of majority households) and 12.8 percent use a public water source in the local community. 3.9 percent of Roma households obtained water in a completely non-standard

way (water from a spring or stream). Within the sample of Roma households, the situation varied according to the settlement type, with the greatest differences being between those who lived on the edges of towns and villages and those living in mixed homes on the one hand and households in segregated communities on the other.

The proportion of households that have running water (the public water main or pipes from the yard) is much lower in the Roma population surveyed (54.8 percent) than in the sample of the general population (85.9 percent). The Roma households are more likely to have to draw water from sources outside their house or flat. The percentage of households with water supply to their house or flat was lower in segregated communities (43.7 percent) than in the other two types of housing. In segregated communities there was also a higher percentage of households that used public water sources in the town or village or a covered well or bore-hole.

45.2 percent of Roma households used a water source located outside their home. These households were also asked how far the water source was from their house or flat. 16.9 percent had to go more than 50 meters for water and 42.8 percent had a water source 11 to 50 meters from their house or flat. 39.2 percent of Roma households had to go less than 10 meters for water. 19.2 percent of Roma households living in separated parts of towns or villages had to travel more than 50 meters for water, while the same applied to 20 percent of Roma in segregated communities.

Table 4.10: Distance between the main water source and the dwelling by settlement type (in %)

DISTANCE	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Less than 10 meters	31.1	41.3	51.1	39.2
11-50 meters	48.9	38.5	38.4	42.8
More than 50 meters	20.0	19.2	9.3	16.9
Not stated	-	1.0	1.2	1.1
Households total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The opinions of the Roma population and the nearby general population did not differ as regards water quality: in both groups the vast majority think that the water from

Table 4.9: Main source of water for households – comparison of groups (in %)

SOURCE OF WATER	General households	Roma households	Roma by settlement type		
			Segregated	Separated	Mixed
Public water supply	73.2	45.8	35.4	51.3	50.8
Piped water from own well	12.7	9.0	8.3	5.4	13.3
Public tap in community	2.3	12.8	17.9	11.7	8.8
Covered well or borehole	10.4	23.9	26.3	23.3	22.1
Water from spring	0.3	2.1	3.3	2.5	0.4
Water from stream/river	0.3	1.8	1.7	2.5	1.3
Water in homes of friends/relatives	0.6	4.4	6.4	3.3	3.3
Not stated	-	0.1	0.4	0.4	-
Households total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

²¹ Access to drinking water is one of the most serious problems throughout the world and represents an acute threat especially in developing countries. It is a paradox that Slovakia has such huge potential in its water resources but some of its population has difficulty getting access to drinking water... [many settlements] ... are dependent on wells with poor-quality drinking water, whose capacity is insufficient for the large Roma community (Filčák 2004).

Table 4.11: Sources of hot water for households – comparison of groups (in %)

HOT WATER SOURCE	General households	Roma households	Roma by settlement type		
			Segregated	Separated	Mixed
Public water supply	19.2	9.6	1.7	13.8	13.3
Gas water heater	23.9	6.8	0.4	8.3	11.7
Electric water heater	39.7	16.7	10.4	17.9	21.7
Coal stove	1.7	3.1	3.3	2.5	3.3
Wood stove	13.0	55.8	78.3	48.8	40.4
Other	2.0	4.0	2.4	4.1	5.5
No hot water	0.6	4.0	3.3	4.6	4.2
Households total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

the given source is good to drink (81.1 percent of households in the general population and 81.4 percent of Roma households). 9.3 percent of representatives of the majority and 7.9 percent of Roma thought that it was unsuitable for drinking. There was no difference in opinions on water quality by settlement type.

4.1.7 Sources of hot water

The sample of the majority population most frequently obtains hot water from electric (39.7 percent) and gas (23.9 percent) water heaters. There is a different situation in Roma households. More than half of them (55.8 percent) use a wood-burning stove to heat water (in the majority sample drawn from nearby areas, only 13 percent heat water in this way). The second most frequent source of hot water for Roma households is an electric water heater (16.7 percent). 4 percent of Roma households have no hot water (0.6 percent of majority households).

There are large differences between the Roma households in the different types of housing with regard to the ways in which hot water is obtained. While more than three quarters of Roma households in segregated communities use wood-burning stoves to heat water, households in separated parts of towns and villages or in mixed communities use them to a considerably lesser extent. The reverse also applies, the proportion of households using electric heaters is lowest in segregated communities and highest among Roma living in mixed communities.

Wood is the material used most frequently in Roma households as fuel for cooking and heating. While households in the general population most often cook with gas from a cooker (56.1 percent), the majority of Roma households use wood (62.8 percent), especially in segregated communities (87.1 percent of households). 66.4 percent of Roma households use wood-burning stoves as a means of heating and only 6.1 percent of households have central heating. In the sample of the general population selected from nearby areas, radiators fed by a boiler – domestic central heating – were most common (40.6 percent) followed by district central heating (29 percent).

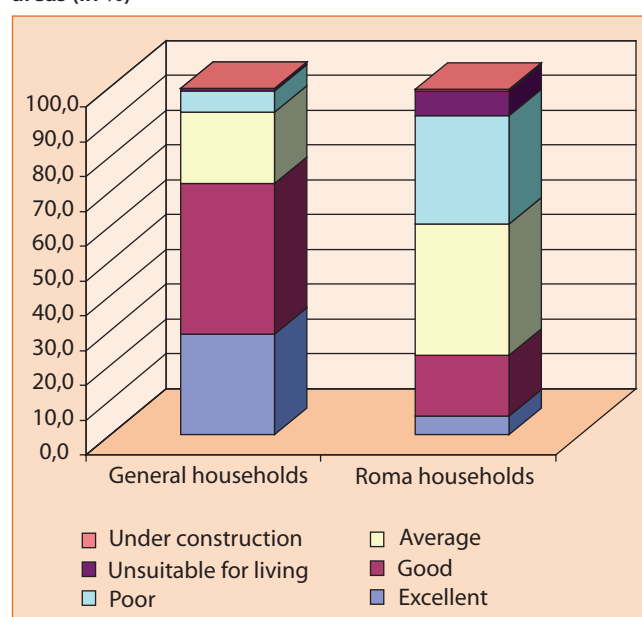
The largest proportion of Roma households that use wood-burning stoves for heating is in segregated communities, where the percentage is 86.3 percent. This percentage is considerably lower for Roma living on the edge of a town or village (57.5 percent) or in a mixed settlement (55.4 percent). Roma households living in mixed settlement re-

ported above-average use of district central heating (9.6 percent), while in segregated settlements the percentage was only 2.1 percent.

4.1.8 Subjective assessment of living conditions

A comparison of “objective” easily identifiable living conditions with subjective perceptions of living conditions can provide a more nuanced illustration for the overall interpretation of the housing situation for the Roma population. A clear majority of the sample of the general population gave a positive assessment of their living conditions: 29 percent of respondents considered them to be excellent and 43.4 percent indicated that they were good. This means that a total of three quarters of respondents in the sample of the general population in nearby areas gave a positive assessment of their living conditions.

Graph 4.8: Assessment of living conditions – comparison of Roma households and general households living in nearby areas (in %)



The representatives of the Roma population were much more critical in their assessments. Only just under a quarter of Roma gave a positive assessment of their living conditions. The most common assessment was an average “grade” (37.6 percent). 31.1 percent of Roma households considered them bad and 7.1 percent thought them unfit for habitation.

Table 4.12: Assessment of the living conditions of the Roma population by settlement type (%)

DEGREES	Segregated	Separated	Mixed
Excellent	2.9	6.3	7.1
Good	9.2	22.1	21.7
Average	29.6	37.9	45.4
Poor	42.1	29.6	21.7
Unsuitable for living	14.6	4.2	2.5
Under construction	1.7	0.0	0.0
Not stated	-	-	1.7
Households total	100.0	100.0	100.0

An assessment of the objective living conditions of the Roma population found the least favourable conditions in the segment living in segregated communities. A subjective assessment produced the same results – as many as 42.1 percent saw their living conditions as bad and 14.6 percent saw them as unfit for habitation (making a total of more than 55 percent). Only a small percentage assessed the living conditions of their household as excellent or good (12 percent) and just under a third saw them as average.

Differences in living conditions, understood generally as the construction method used for the dwelling and the basic infrastructure available in it (water, gas and the like), are found both when Roma households are compared with households of the general population in nearby areas and when compared with other Roma households with a different level of integration with the majority population. The results showed that the greatest correspondence in material living conditions between the Roma population and the general population in nearby areas is among Roma living in mixed communities. There is a much greater difference when Roma households live in segregated communities or separated parts of towns and villages.

4.1.9 Presence of consumer goods in households

The Roma and members of the general population living in close proximity showed different patterns in terms of durable consumer goods in the household. There are also differences between Roma households depending on the settlement type. The most common consumer goods in majority households were colour televisions, automatic washing machines and mobile telephones.²² More than half the households from the sample of the general population also owned bicycles, refrigerators and cassette or CD players. Colour TVs were also the most common consumer goods in Roma households, followed in frequency by refrigerators and non-automatic washing machines.

In nearly all categories the proportion of households that own consumer goods in the given category is greater in the general population than among the Roma. Two categories are exceptions in that they occur more frequently in Roma households: these are non-automatic washing machines and black-and-white televisions, i.e. categories where a “higher quality” version (colour televisions and automatic washing machines) are more frequent among the majority population. Comparison of the presence of consumer goods in the households of the general population and the Roma population also reveals other findings. The largest differences are in ownership of (fixed-line) telephones and computers, where the percentage in the general population in nearby areas is several times higher than in Roma households. Differences with regard to household goods also exist within the Roma population depending on the settlement type, in most cases to the disadvantage of households in segregated communities.

Not only the “infrastructure” conditions of housing but also household goods in terms of consumer durable goods are in worse condition among Roma households and, within this group, among households living in segregated settlements. In this group of households the situation for some

Table 4.13: Household possession of consumer durable goods – comparison of groups (in %)

TYPE OF GOODS	General households	Roma households	Roma by settlement type		
			Segregated	Separated	Mixed
Refrigerator	55.8	47.1	39.2	51.3	50.8
Freezer	38.5	10.0	6.3	9.6	14.2
Washing machine	32.1	43.3	34.6	44.2	51.3
Automatic washing machine	60.6	15.4	5.8	17.9	22.5
Dishwasher	1.1	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.0
Sewing machine	33.3	4.7	3.8	4.2	6.3
Telephone- fixed line	43.4	6.7	3.3	8.3	8.3
Telephone- mobile	59.2	30.8	17.5	40.4	34.6
Black and white TV set	9.6	18.2	24.6	15.0	15.0
Colour TV set	86.1	72.6	63.8	77.5	76.6
Satellite	13.0	5.3	4.2	6.3	5.4
MC recorder/player, CD player	53.5	35.4	33.7	39.6	32.9
Video recorder/player	27.9	11.8	7.5	15.0	12.9
Computer	23.1	1.7	0.8	2.1	2.1
Bicycle	56.1	28.9	22.5	30.0	34.2

Note: The table shows the percentage of households that own one or more items in the given category of consumer goods. The remainder to 100% is made up of households that do not own consumer goods in the given category.

²² Mobile telephones can be considered to be a personal consumer item.

indicators such as the amount of living space, the quality of building material, and drinking water sources are several times worse than in the other groups of Roma households or in general households in the geographical vicinity. The subjective assessment of living conditions among those living in segregated communities is the most critical and just as negative as their objective conditions. The living conditions of this group of Roma households are a long way behind standard conditions in the Slovak Republic and those of households in close proximity.

4.2 Dependency on social assistance payments

The welfare system was undergoing major reform at the time when data was being collected in the field. One of the most important measures in the reform of the social benefits system in Slovakia was *Act no. 599/2003 on assistance for material need* passed in 2003. This act changed several of the basic features of the then existing social benefits system. The definition of material need did not change, nor did its connection to the subsistence minimum: "Material need is a condition where the income of a citizen and individuals assessed together with the citizen, is not sufficient to achieve the subsistence minimum" (*Act no. 599/2003 on assistance for material need*, Article 2).

The stated act removed the distinction between objective and subjective reasons for material need and introduced a completely new structure of benefits consisting of a basic benefit and various supplementary allowances. The basic benefit for material need had various levels depending on the composition of the household (jointly assessed individuals) and was supplemented by four allowances: health care allowance, activation allowance, housing allowance and protection allowance.

Box 10: Definition of benefits and allowances

Benefit in material need: This benefit is intended to cover basic living conditions for a citizen who is in material need and individuals assessed together with this citizen (i.e. jointly assessed persons).

Health care allowance: An allowance to a citizen who is in material need and jointly assessed persons to cover costs associated with health care services (SKK 50/month).

Health care allowance for a child under 1 year of age: An allowance paid to the parent of a child under 1 year of age if in material need and on condition of regular check-ups with a paediatrician (SKK 350/month).

Housing allowance: Intended for a citizen in material need to cover living costs, if conditions for entitlement are met i.e. proof of ownership of a flat or house or a rental relationship and no arrears (for individuals SKK 1,360 per month and for families SKK 2,150 per month).

Activation allowance: Intended for citizens in material need who "actively cooperate in resolving their social situation", actively seek employment in the labour market, increase their skills and qualifications, do work for the benefit of their community (so-called activation work) or voluntary work (maximum amount: originally SKK 1,000, at the time of the research SKK 1,500, at present SKK 1,900; some welfare is deducted from the maximum amount of the allowance, citizens will not necessarily receive the full amount).

Protection allowance: For a citizen in material need in life situations during which the citizen in material need cannot obtain income through his or her own work (as a result of age, disability, caring for a child, illness, participation in re-socialization programmes, the amount was the same as in the case of the activation allowance).

Box 11: Amounts of benefit in material need in 2003-2006 (SKK/month)

HOUSEHOLD TYPE	2003		2004 -2005		2006	
	Single	Couple	Single	Couple	Single	Couple
No children	1,450	2,530	1,530	2,660	1,560	2,710
With 1 child or with maximum 4 children	2,160	3,210	2,450	3,630	2,500	3,700
With more than 4 children	3,160	4,210	3,640	4,850	3,710	4,950

Source: www.employment.gov.sk

New legislation has considerably expanded the range of circumstance that do not count as income in the assessment criteria for the benefit for material need. For these purposes, the following, for example, are not considered to be income:

- 25 percent of income from dependent activities
- 25 percent of old-age pension awarded to a pensioner who has been entitled to a pension for at least 25 years
- 25 percent of maternity allowance
- 25 percent of disability pension
- child allowance
- essential immediate assistance provided by local authorities
- tax bonus
- activation allowance and several other potential sources of income

The scope of the responsibility of central government and municipal authorities in reducing and assessing material need was reformed. After two years, covering basic survival conditions, health care, protection and activation allowances should become the responsibility of towns and villages rather than the central government. The self-governing powers of towns and villages were expanded to include the option to decide on reducing material need by granting allowances, which the authors of the act believe will produce more targeted assistance.

4.2.1 Take-up of social benefits conditional upon material need

In the Slovak Republic, poverty is defined for the purposes of social policy as a lack of income, as a state of material need, in which the income of the household (persons jointly assessed) is less than the subsistence minimum. The reforms of social policy carried out in the period 2002-2004 were, amongst other things, aimed at issues related to the solution of poverty. The original social assistance benefit was replaced by a new benefit supplemented by various new allowances. The declared aim of the new structure and level of assistance for material need was to put social-benefit recipients back to work.

Box 12: Introduction to the poverty situation in the Slovak Republic

Data on poverty in the Slovak Republic after 1989 can be obtained from various sources. A number of studies captured partial aspects of poverty and the way that it is perceived subjectively, but there was no continuous monitoring of poverty as part of the creation of social policy during the 1990s.

The *Microcensus* provided and continues to provide important information on income distribution by collecting data on the socio-economic structure and income of households and finding information on living costs. The post-1989 period is captured in three waves of research – in 1992, 1996, and 2002. The data from 1992 show that the most important factor producing poverty was household structure. In 1996 there were three strong factors linked to poverty – the level of education achieved by the head of the household, his or her status in the labour market and where the household lived. The last wave of research in 2002 showed a continuing increase in the proportion living in poverty in comparison with the preceding period. In 2002 the proportion of people living on less than 60 percent of median equivalent income was 21 percent. Sixteen percent of the population of the Slovak Republic had an income below 50 percent of median equivalent income. The categories that were most at risk of poverty were the unemployed (47 percent), incomplete families (40 percent) and children under 15 years of age (30 percent).

In 2005, a new national statistical survey was commenced from which the expert community expects great things. This is the Survey on Income and Living Conditions (EU SILC). In addition to identifying the level and structure of monetary poverty, it also takes into consideration a broader concept of social exclusion. At a national level, it provides information on income, material deprivation, the opinion of households on their financial situation and the like. The results of this survey cannot be compared methodologically with the results of the preceding microcensus surveys but it is a basis for further repeated surveys with the same methodology.

According to initial data (published on www.statistics.sk) the proportion of persons at risk of poverty (less than 60 percent of median equivalent income) was 13 percent. 8.3 percent of the population earned below 50 percent of the median and 4.8 percent of the population earned less than 40 percent of median equivalent income.

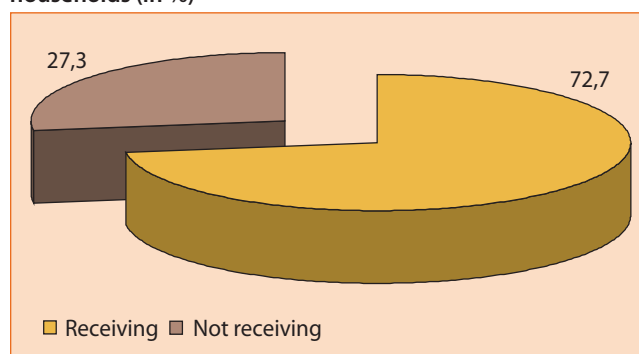
In terms of age categories, the most vulnerable category included children under 15 years of age (17.8 percent), while as age increases the number of vulnerable persons falls. With regard to type of household, poverty is most common in single-parent households (30.2 percent) and households with two adult members and three or more dependent children (25.2 percent). The occurrence of poverty also depends on a person's relation to the labour market. Poverty is much rarer among people who work (8.6 percent) than among the unemployed (38.4 percent).

Another very important source of information on poverty is the administrative systems providing assistance in material need. Because the benefit for material need is provided to people whose income is less than the subsistence minimum, aggregate data on the numbers of recipients of benefit in material need provide important information on the proportion of the population that is "officially" considered poor. The number of recipients of social assistance benefits grew sharply in the years 1999-2001, reaching 325,195 recipients in 2001. In order to obtain relevant data on the number of people affected by poverty defined in this way it is necessary to add to this number the members of the households of the recipients of these benefits. The number of persons dependent on welfare obtained in this way then provides information on the part of the population that is in material need (dependent on the benefit for material need).

In 1993 the number of recipients of social assistance benefits in the Slovak Republic was below the 400,000 level, which represents 7.2 percent of the population of the Slovak Republic (Gerbery, Džambazovič 2006). In the period 1994 to 1996 this proportion fell temporarily to its lowest recorded level (7 percent) and thereafter rose gradually. The highest level was reached in 2001, when 11.7 percent of the total population of the Slovak Republic was in material need. Since 2002 this proportion has fallen continuously. In 2004 it was around 7.1 percent.

Several studies of the social situation in the Slovak Republic and social assistance recipients, together with surveys focusing in particular on the Roma communities in Slovakia show that there is a high frequency of material need among Roma households.²³ According to the survey of Roma households, as many as 72.7 percent of the households surveyed stated that they had received some form of income related to material need in the last month. 27.3 percent of households had not received such income.

Graph 4.9: Take-up of poverty-related social benefits by Roma households (in %)



Question: Have you received any income related to material need in the last month?

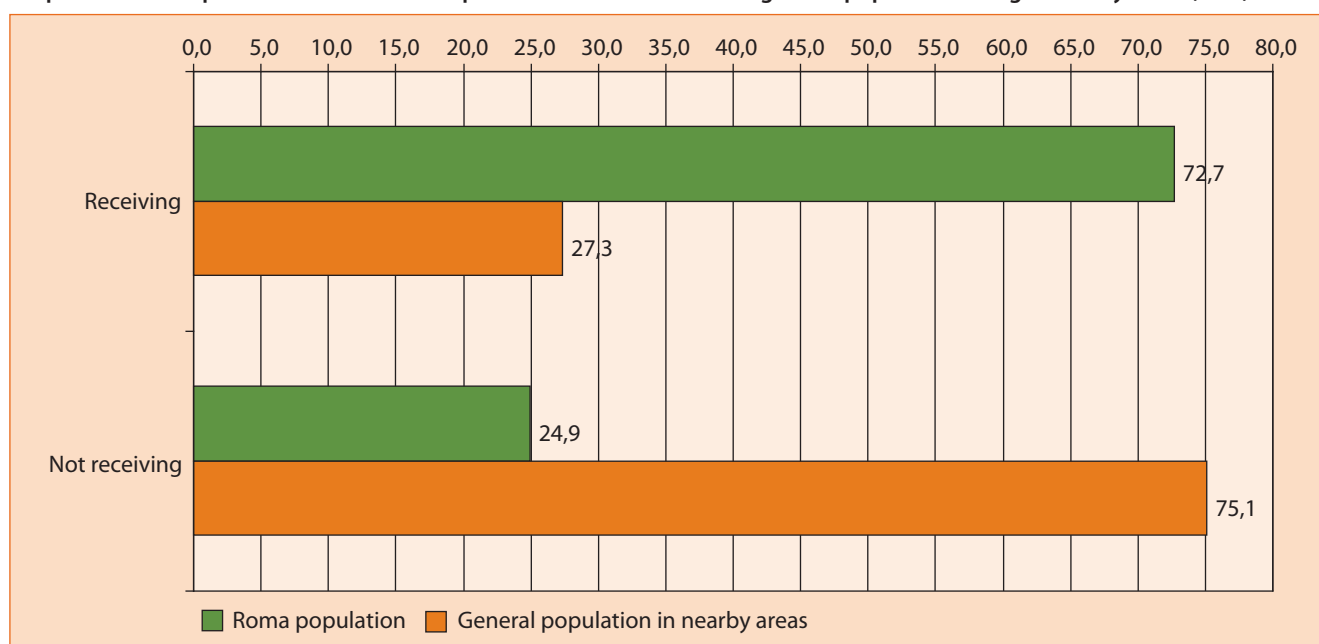
This type of income was widespread in all types of households, without regard to the level of spatial integration with the majority population. In all three studied subgroups the proportion of those who received some kind of financial payment related to material need was above the 70 percent level. The rate was even higher for households living in segregated settlements, where it was nearly 80 percent.

Table 4.14: Take-up of poverty-related social benefits by settlement type (in %)

TAKE-UP	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Receiving	77.8	70.6	70.1	72.7
Not receiving	22.2	29.4	29.9	27.3
Households total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Studies frequently discuss and assess regional differences in the level of welfare dependency (*Reports on the social situation of the population of the Slovak Republic*, regional analyses carried out by the Central Office of Labour, Social Affairs and Family, publications of the Sociological Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences on regional typologies and the like). These show not only that certain districts or regions of the Slovak Republic have deficits in economic development but also reveal great differences in unemployment, especially long-term unemployment and also strong differences in social deprivation. Studies very often mention the ethnic composition of the population of districts when characterising the districts with the worst social situation. Worse indicators are reported for districts where the Roma minority makes up a larger proportion of the population (see Annex). This provides indirect evidence

²³ Research by the Institute for Labour and Family Research, the Institute for Public Affairs, S.P.A.C.E., the World Bank, UNDP and others.

Graph 4.10: Take-up of social benefits – comparison of the Roma and the general population living in nearby areas (in %)

that the bad situation of Roma households and communities makes a significant contribution to the overall indicators for the region.

Comparison of the occurrence of income related to material need in the Roma population and in the general population in nearby areas confirms the worse situation of Roma households. Despite the fact that the control sample of the general population was selected from the same geographical area as the Roma, the majority households were only one third as likely to receive income associated with material need. Only a quarter of general population households in nearby areas reported income linked to material need. Although even this level is relatively high, in comparison with the Roma population it is a much better result, confirming that differences can exist within a geographical area.

4.2.2 Take-up of social benefits associated with material need

“Income associated with material need” is a broad term covering more than just benefits for material need. In addition to the basic benefit and the allowances, it can also cover a broad spectrum of support from charity and non-profit organisations, local government or other bodies. Of those Roma households that received some income related to material need (72.2 percent of Roma households), under 60 percent received the benefits for material need.

The stated amount of benefit for material need covered quite a wide range. The amount stated most frequently was SKK 1,500, which was reported in 22.5 percent of households. 9.4 percent of households said that they received benefits under SKK 1,500 and 44.8 percent said that they received more than SKK 1,500. Nearly a quarter of the representatives of the studied Roma households did not give an exact amount. The table gives the percentage of recipients of benefit for material need in individual financial bands.

4.2.3 Take-up of health care allowances

34.9 percent of Roma households that had received some income related to material need in the previous month received an allowance for health care (26.4 percent of all Roma households). The amount of the allowance, which depends on the number of jointly assessed persons in the household, was most often SKK 50 (which is the basic amount for one person). In this case, as in the question relating to the allowance for material need, a certain percentage of respondents (10.1 percent) did not give an exact amount. The differences were however not very pronounced.

4.2.4 Take-up of activation allowances

65.8 percent of Roma households who were recipients of some form of income related to material need said they

Table 4.15: Roma households receiving benefits for material need by amount of benefit (in %)

CATEGORIZATION I.	Share in %	Categorization II.	Share in %	Categorization III.	Share in %
Less than SKK 1500	9.4	Less than SKK 1500 (including)	32.0	Less than SKK 1500 (including)	32.0
SKK 1500 – 2499	35.0	SKK 1501-2500	13.2	SKK 1501-3000	24.3
SKK 2500 – 3499	15.9	SKK 2501-3500	15.6	SKK 3001 and more	20.4
3500 Sk and more	16.4	SKK 3501 and more	15.9		
Not stated	23.3	Not stated	23.3	Not stated	23.3
Households total	100.0	Households total	100.0	Households total	100.0

had received an activation allowance in the previous month (47.9 percent of all Roma households). The largest percentage of recipients of activation allowances came from households living in mixed settlements (68.4 percent) and the lowest from households on the edge of towns or villages (62.1 percent).

4.2.5 Collection of housing allowances

A very low number of Roma households received a housing allowance, which is intended to cover the costs associated with housing. 15.7 percent of households received the housing allowance (of those who received any payment related to material need), which was 11.4 percent of all Roma households. The reasons for the low number of recipients include the conditions entitling a person to a contribution, which many households do not satisfy – even though they live in a state of material need (see the section on housing). In order to be a legitimate recipient, a claimant must be the owner of residential property (a house or flat) or a tenant. In addition they must be paying costs associated with living in the house or flat, as documented by proof of payment of these costs for the last six months. If claimants have not paid these costs, they must submit an acknowledgement of their debt and a schedule for its payment. Many households fail to meet these conditions precisely because of the character of their housing – they often lack official approval, they are built illegally without formal recognition of ownership rights or they are unable to pay the accommodation costs regularly, which becomes a barrier to satisfying the second condition entitling a person to the allowance. These assumptions are supported by the fact that Roma households show a different take-up rate for housing allowances depending on the type of settlement that they live in. While more than

a fifth of households living in mixed settlements (22.8 percent) received a housing allowance, the percentage for households living on the edges of towns and villages was 16.4 percent and in segregated settlements it was only 7.8 percent.

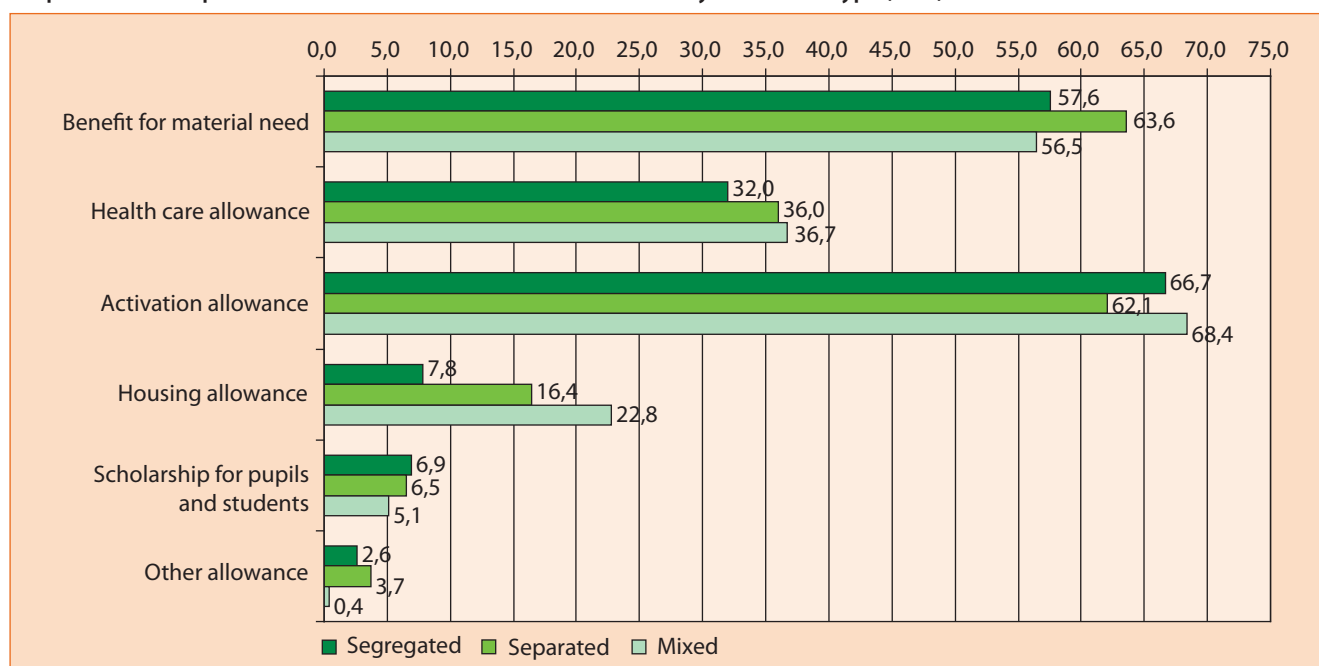
4.2.6 Collection of scholarships for pupils and students

A resource for reducing material need that was used even less was scholarships for children. These were reported by only 6.2 percent of Roma households in material need (i.e. those who reported some income related to a state of material need in the previous month).

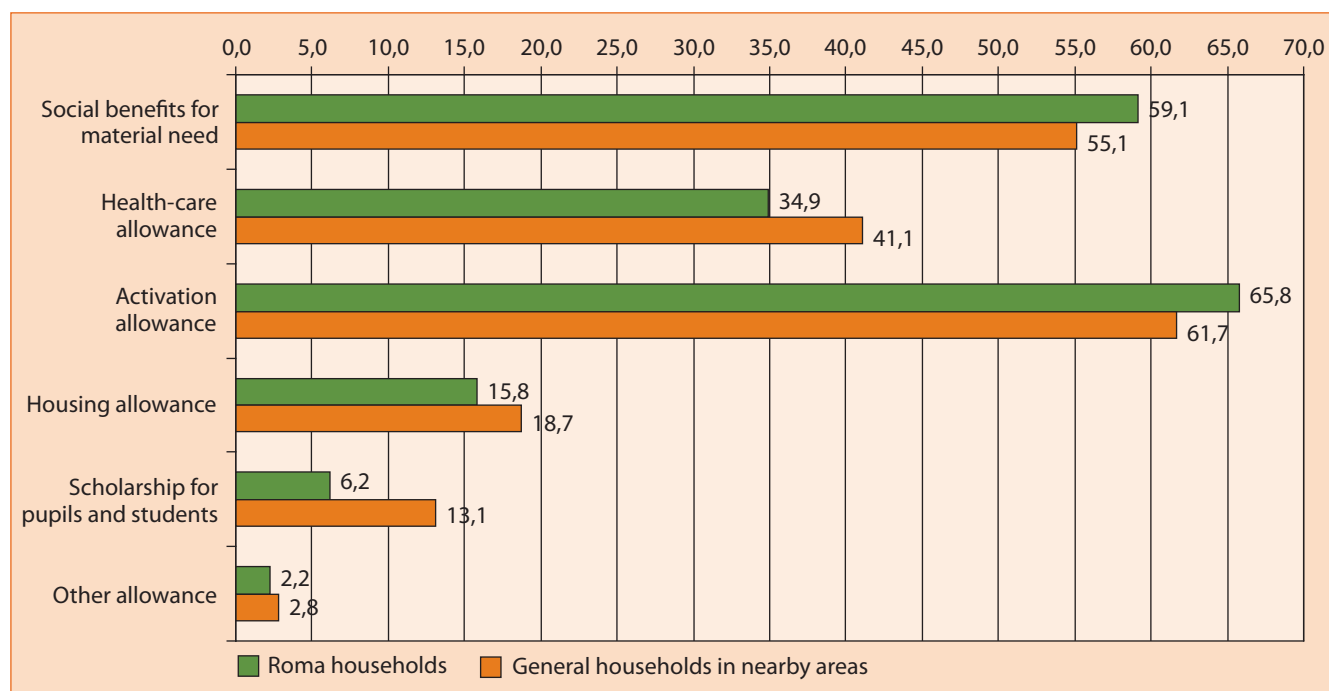
Collection of benefits and allowances varied with the level of integration, though not to a major extent. The largest difference, as stated above, was in housing allowances. Other allowances had approximately the same level in all three settlement types. The most widely used types of welfare included benefit for material need and the activation allowance; housing allowance and in particular scholarships and other allowances were little used. The take-up rate for the health-care allowance was in the region of a third of the median take-up rate.

There were no major differences between Roma households and general population households in nearby areas who are dependent on benefits and allowances for material need. Take-up rates for individual benefits are on approximately the same level. If a family starts to be in material need, the benefits that they receive are linked mainly to the composition of the household and their living conditions. The only difference was observed at the level of use of scholarships. This may indicate that the conditions are harder for Roma children to satisfy. Provision of the grant

Graph 4.11: Take-up of benefits for material need and allowances by settlement type (in %)



Note: The percentages given are of those households that received income related to material need (which make up 72.7 percent of all Roma households) not of the full sample of Roma households.

Graph 4.12: Take-up of benefits in material need and allowances by settlement type – comparison of Roma households and general households living in nearby areas (in %)

also depends on the success of the child in school and his or her improvement.

With regard to the take-up of income linked to material need, the results of the survey show a strong difference in the rate of dependency, which is three times higher among Roma households. There were no major differences in the way individual benefits were taken up. Most assistance for material need is equally available to all segments of the population in the Slovak Republic.

4.3 Household expenditure

4.3.1 The overall level of expenditure

Household consumption and expenditure are affected by many factors such as the level and type of income, the composition and number of members of households and preferences in the area of lifestyle. Research data indicate that there are differences in expenditure not only between Roma and general households but also within the Roma population.

Table 4.16: Overall expenditure of Roma households in the preceding month by settlement type (in %)

EXPENDITURES	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Less than SKK 4000	6.7	6.3	5.0	6.0
SKK 4001-8000	46.7	42.5	29.6	39.6
SKK 8001-12000	27.5	28.8	36.7	31.0
SKK 12001-16000	11.3	12.5	15.8	13.2
SKK 16001-20000	4.6	4.2	5.89	4.9
SKK 20001 and more	3.3	5.8	6.3	5.1
No answer	-	-	0.8	0.3
Households total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

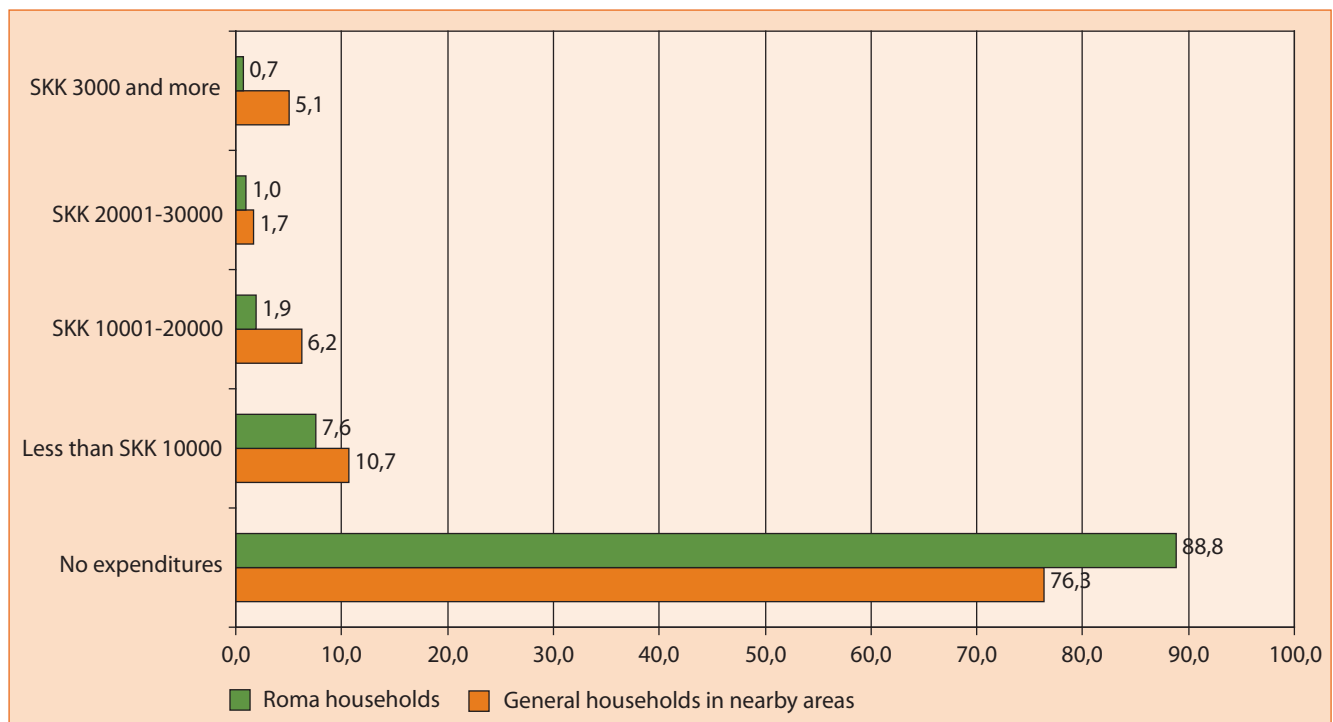
Note: In the table are given expenditures in the preceding month.

Most households in the vicinity of the Roma sample spent SKK 8,001 – 12,000 in the last month, while Roma household expenditure was most frequently in the range SKK 4,001 – 8,000. Above the SKK 12,000 level, the percentage of households in each expenditure category in both groups fell as the amount of expenditure increased – though the percentage in the general population was always higher than the percentage for the Roma households.

The breakdown of expenditure differed in the sub-groups defined by settlement type. While 42.5 percent of households living on the edge of town and villages and 46.7 percent of households living in segregated settlements were in the second lowest expenditure category, the percentage in this category for those living in mixed settlements was substantially lower (29.6 percent). This percentage was lower than the value for the sample of the Roma population in the study as a whole (39.6 percent). The same differences – in the opposite direction – can also be found in the next higher expenditure categories. The highest percentage of households having expenditure in the range SKK 8,001 – 12,000 was in the households in mixed settlements.

4.3.2 Structure of expenditure by type

The types of household studied differ not only in the total amount that they spend but also in the structure of their spending. With regard to *expenditure on consumer durables* in the previous year (fridges, washing machines, televisions, and the like), more than three quarters of the majority and Roma populations had not spent any money on such goods in the last year. An amount lower than SKK 10,000 was spent by less than a tenth of representatives of the majority and 7.6 percent of Roma. 5.1 percent of general households and only 0.7 percent of Roma households spent more than SKK 30,001.

Graph 4.13 Expenditure on consumer durables – comparison of Roma and general households living in nearby areas (in %)

Note: The graph shows the household expenditure for the preceding year.

The situation with regard to *expenditure on education* was different (this type of expenditure includes costs related to tutoring, text books and educational materials, clothing, transport and accommodation in student dormitories). It was found that declared costs for education were higher in Roma households, which may relate to the larger proportion of children in this sub-group. 62 percent of majority households and 47.8 percent of Roma households had no education expenditure.

The proportion of households that had spent up to SKK 10,000 on the education of their children in the previous year was twice as high for Roma households (36.3 percent) as for the general population in nearby areas (18.8 percent). Thereafter, the proportion of households in each category fell as expenditure increased. There was an identical fall in the proportion of general households, although it increased in the highest category of expenditure and reached 9.3 percent, which is half the number of households with expenditure below SKK 10,000.

Roma households in segregated settlements were most likely to report costs related to education (59.2 percent), the least likely were those in mixed settlements (47.1 per-

cent). It is interesting to compare the percentage of households that spent more than SKK 20,000 per year on goods and services related to education. While this percentage was 5 percent for households living on the edge of a town or village, in segregated settlements it was 7.9 percent and among households living in mixed settlements it was 9.2 percent.

Expenditure on health care was the most widespread of the three types of expenditure studied. Only 6.8 percent of general households and 9.3 percent of Roma households reported no expenditure on health care in the preceding year. In both groups of households, most spent less than SKK 10,000 per year on health care. As the amount spent on health care increases, the percentage of households gradually decreases both in the sample of Roma households and in the general households selected in nearby areas. 2.3 percent of general households and 4.4 percent of Roma households spent more than SKK 30,000 on health care during the previous year. Out of the Roma households, the inhabitants of the segregated settlements reported the lowest spending on health care.

Table 4.17: Household expenditure on education for children – comparison of groups (in %)

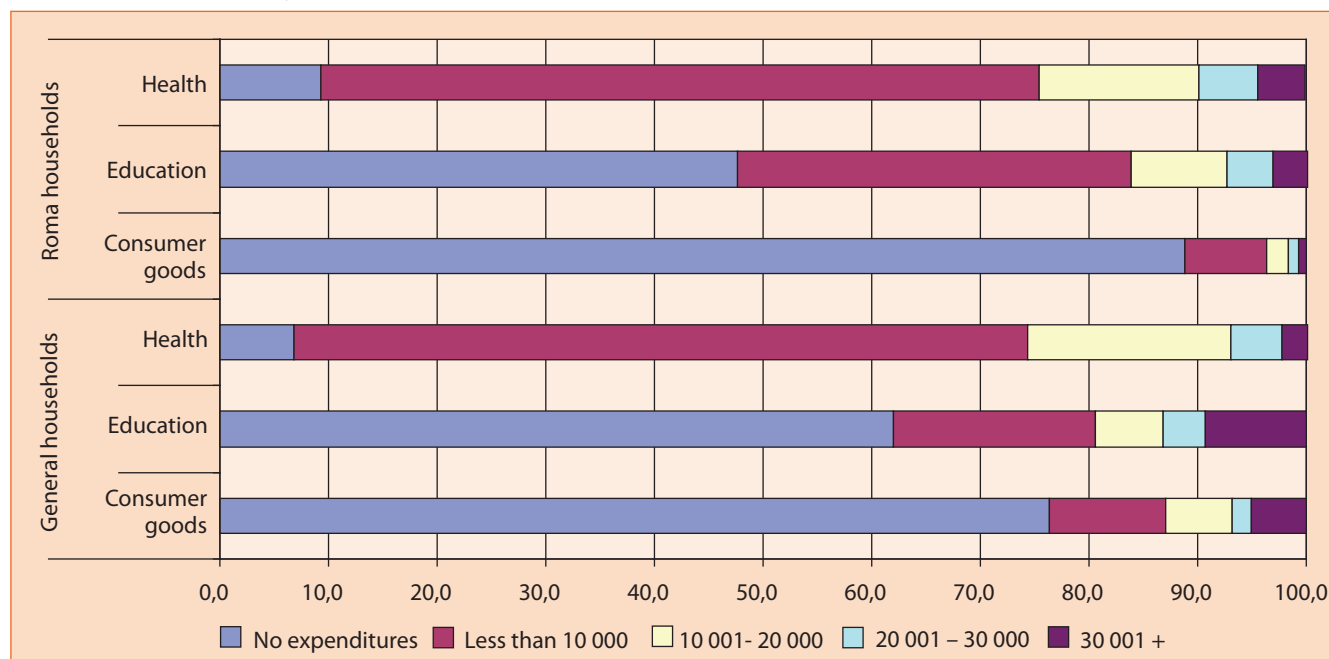
AMOUNT OF EXPENDITURES	General households	Roma households	Roma by settlement type		
			Segregated	Separated	Mixed
No expenditures	62.0	47.6	40.8	49.2	52.8
Less than SKK 10,000	18.6	36.3	42.9	35.4	30.4
SKK 10,001- 20,000	6.2	8.8	8.3	10.4	7.5
SKK 20,001 – 30,000	3.9	4.2	5.0	2.9	4.6
SKK 30,001 and more	9.3	3.2	2.9	2.1	4.6
Households total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: The table shows household expenditure for the preceding year.

Table 4.18: Household expenditure on health care – comparison of groups (in %)

AMOUNT OF EXPENDITURES	General households	Roma households	Roma by settlement type		
			Segregated	Separated	Mixed
No expenditures	6.8	9.3	8.3	11.7	7.9
Less than SKK 10 000	67.6	66.1	65.8	72.1	60.4
SKK 10 001- 20 000	18.6	14.7	17.9	9.2	17.1
SKK 20 001 – 30 000	4.8	5.4	4.2	4.6	7.5
SKK 30 001 and more	2.3	4.4	3.8	2.5	7.1
Households total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: The table shows household expenditure for the preceding year.

Graph 4.14: The level of expenditure on selected items in the preceding year – comparison of Roma households and general households living in nearby areas (in %)

Note: The graph shows the household expenditure for the preceding year.

A comparison of the amount spent in all three selected categories, i.e. expenditure on durable consumer goods, education, and health care is shown in the following graph. In this subset of household expenditure structure, households spent the least on consumer durable goods: 80 percent of nearby households of the general population and 90 percent of Roma households had no expenditure in this category. Where households spent money on such items, they most often spent up to SKK 10,000 in both sub-groups. The most common expenditure was for health care, and most Roma and general households had spending in this category. Spending in this category was most often in the range of SKK 20,001 – 30,000.

A breakdown of households into categories by overall expenditure reveals the same pattern in both the basic groups studied. In each of the three categories, most general and Roma households that had any expenditure in the category spent less than SKK 10,000. As expenditure increases, the percentage of households falls, except for the relatively high percentage of general households whose expenditure on education in the preceding year had been greater than SKK 30,000.

4.4 Household debts and arrears

Monitoring of the frequency of arrears shows that their rate in all studied categories is higher for Roma households. Roma households are most often in arrears for electricity supplies. This affects approximately one household in ten. Debts are least frequent in relation to the purchase of food. There are no large differences between the rate of different types of arrears for Roma households at different levels of spatial integration. It is interesting that the proportion of indebted households in segregated settlements was the lowest for all Roma households, the only exception being with regard to debts for food.

The low numbers of households that admitted to having arrears made deeper analysis impossible. Arrears can only be compared in terms of their duration. Among Roma with arrears for water supplies, the arrears lasted less than half a year in 56.8 percent of cases, in the remaining 43.2 percent the arrears were older than 6 months. Fifty-nine percent of Roma households in arrears had arrears for electricity under six months, the remaining 41 percent had older debts. Most Roma households (60 percent) who had debts for other living expenses (telephone, heating)

Table 4.19: Proportion of households with arrears for housing and food costs – comparison of groups (in %)

TYPE OF ARREARS	General households	Roma households	Roma by settlement type		
			Segregated	Separated	Mixed
Water supply	2.3	6.1	5.0	7.5	5.8
Electricity supply	2.0	10.8	9.6	10.4	12.5
Other housing related utilities (phone bill, heating...)	2.3	7.6	6.3	8.3	8.3
Food debts	0.8	5.1	5.4	3.8	6.3

Note: The table shows the proportion of households that responded that they have arrears in the given category. The remainder to 100% consists of households that do not have arrears for the given service or item.

had been in arrears for over half a year. Debts for food tended to be short-term debts: three quarters of households that had debts for the purchase of food had had this debt for one month; only 10 percent of Roma households reported debts relating to food lasting more than half a year.

4.5 Subjective assessment of the social situation and expectations for the future

Asking for people’s opinions on their own socio-economic situation and their rate of satisfaction with life gives us a better understanding of the quality of the studied living conditions. In this research into Roma households, a battery of questions was used to assess the financial situation of the household, the level of expenditure and satisfaction with life.

4.5.1 Satisfaction with current financial situation

Empirical data have shown that most Roma households are dissatisfied with their current financial situation. Deep dissatisfaction was expressed by 65.7 percent of Roma households and 26.1 percent were relatively un-

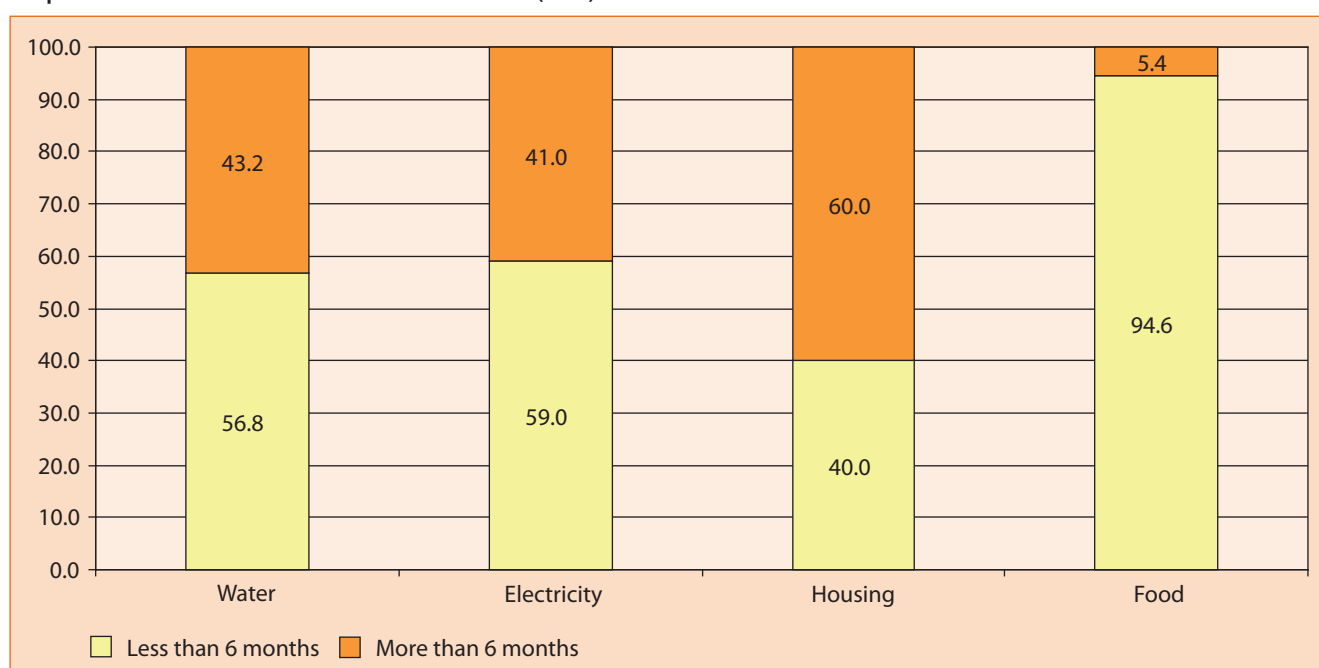
happy. Most of the general households in nearby areas also expressed dissatisfaction with their current financial situation, although compared to the Roma households their rate of dissatisfaction was lower. Only 8 percent of Roma expressed satisfaction with their financial situation, among households in nearby areas 17.5 percent were satisfied.

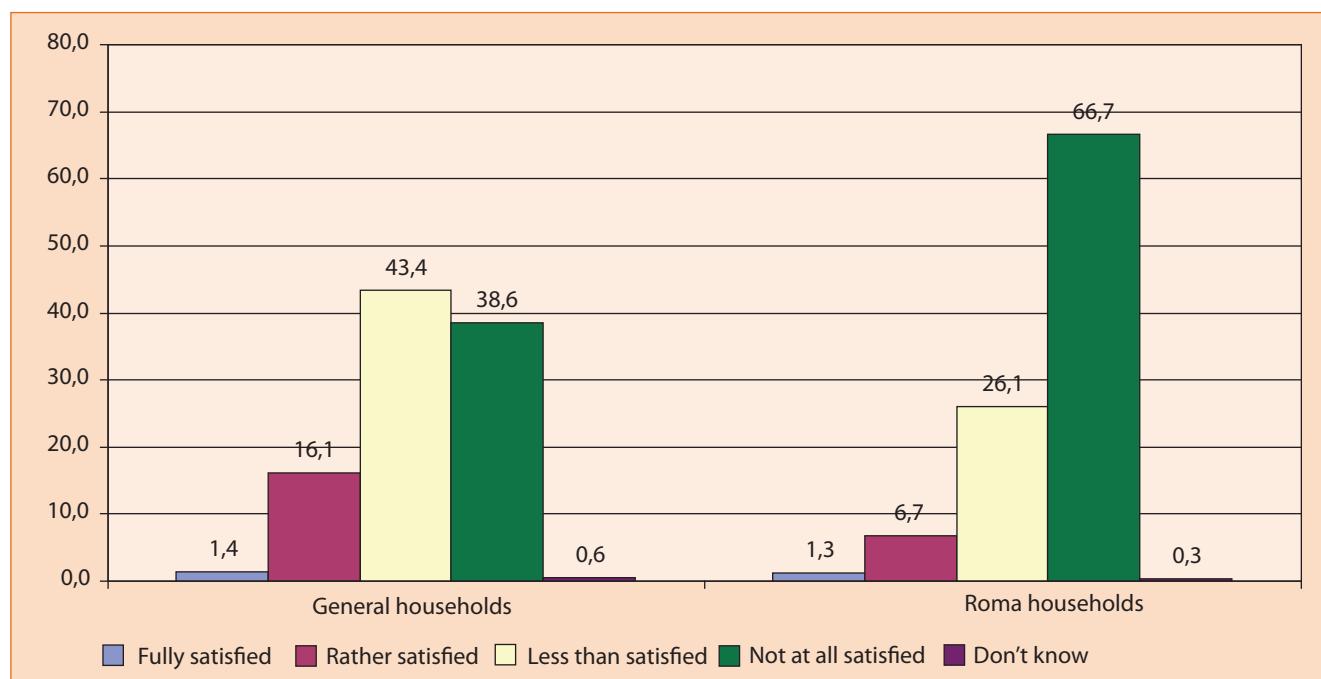
4.5.2 Comparison of current financial situation with the past

In addition to evaluating the current financial situation, it is important to know the context for the assessment and compare the current situation with some time period in the past. Research often uses a comparison with the situation 3 years earlier, in which the interviewee is asked whether their situation has changed during this period and whether for the better or worse. This perspective makes it possible to identify whether the current situation is the outcome of an improvement or worsening of conditions or if it is a continuation of the same situation.

The information obtained showed that the financial situation of most Roma households worsened in the last three years. More than a quarter of Roma claimed their situation was slightly worse and more than half

Graph 4.15: Duration of debts in Roma households (in %)



Graph 4.16: Satisfaction with the current financial situation – comparison of Roma and general households living in nearby areas (in %)

reported that it was much worse. Those affected most frequently were Roma living in segregated settlements. Those Roma households who reported an improvement in their financial situation over the previous three years were very few – 6.6 percent (within this group only an insignificant number claimed a strong improvement in their situation). The proportion of positive trajectories was slightly higher for Roma living in mixed settlements (8.4 percent) and lowest for Roma in segregated communities (5 percent). Families with a large number of members were most likely to claim their financial situation had got worse.

Comparison with the general population showed a more favourable experience for the majority. The situation was improved for 14.6 percent of them, while the situation for nearly a quarter had remained the same. The proportion of households where the situation had worsened was also smaller in the general population than in the Roma population.

4.5.3 Anticipated change in situation

A person's current situation and previous experience can come together to create expectations for the future.

Roma households do not show any great optimism regarding possible changes in their financial situation in the next 12 months. Less than a tenth of Roma households expected an improvement, with nearly five times as many of these households fearing that the situation will get worse. Uncertainty for the future can be seen not only in the high percentage that expects a worse financial situation, but also in the relatively high number of respondents who were unable to answer the given question. While the percentage of "don't know" answers (and thus the ability to take a position) for the questions relating to the current situation and the development of the situation over the previous three years was negligible, the question relating to the future produced a greater degree of uncertainty.

There were differences in the expectations of Roma households depending on the settlement type. While Roma living on the margins of towns and villages expected a worsening situation in 38.7 percent of cases, these fears were shared by approximately half the Roma in mixed settlements. Roma living in mixed settlements also reported a lower percentage of expectations that the situation would not change and likewise a lower proportion who avoided answering.

Table 4.20: Change in financial situation for households over the previous three years – comparison of groups (in %)

DEGREE	General households	Roma households	Roma by settlement type		
			Segregated	Separated	Mixed
Improved	1.4	1.3	0.4	1.3	2.1
Somewhat improved	13.2	5.3	4.6	5.0	6.3
Remained the same	24.8	13.6	13.3	13.3	14.2
Somewhat deteriorated	30.4	26.1	22.5	27.1	28.8
Deteriorated	29.0	52.2	57.1	51.7	47.9
Don't know	1.1	1.5	2.1	1.7	0.7
Households total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 4.21: Expectations of change in the financial situation in the next 12 months by settlement type (in %)

DEGREE	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Situation will improve	0.8	0.4	0.0	0.4
Situation will somewhat improve	7.1	9.2	9.6	8.6
Situation will remain the same	21.7	22.5	16.7	20.3
Situation will somewhat deteriorate	26.7	23.3	33.3	27.8
Situation will deteriorate	15.4	15.4	17.9	16.3
Don't know	28.3	29.2	22.5	26.7
Households total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

4.5.4 Assessment of the level of food consumption

The mainly negative assessment that households gave of their financial situation was reflected in their assessment of their own household's consumption and level of expenditure. Nearly three quarters of Roma households consider the current level of food consumption in their households to be insufficient: 25.6 percent consider it to be completely inadequate and 47.6 percent to be less than sufficient.

A household's food consumption depends on the number of its members and this is reflected in the breakdown of assessments of sufficiency of food consumption by number of members in the household. 16.5 percent of three-member Roma households, 21.6 percent of five-member households and 34.9 percent of households with more than seven members consider their food consumption to be completely inadequate.

4.5.5 Assessment of the level of expenditure on basic needs

The overall pessimistic mood of the Roma population regarding their own economic situation is also reflected

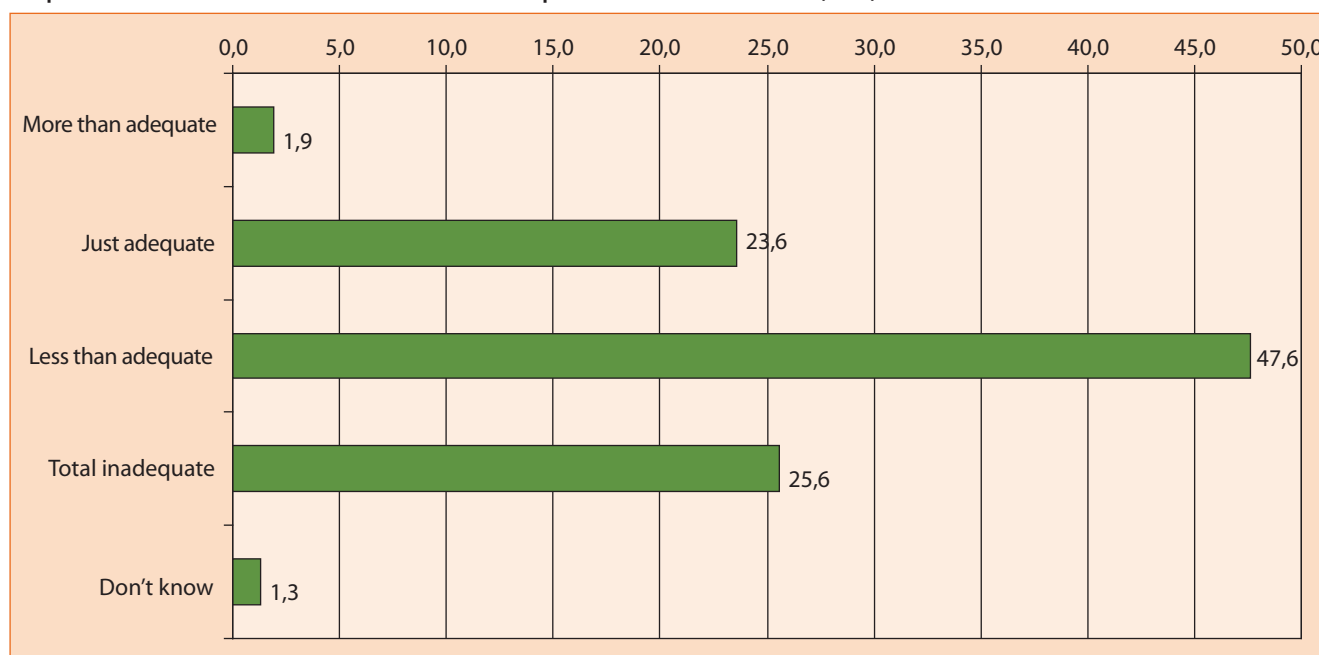
in their dissatisfaction with the level of their expenditure on food and other basic needs (clothing, home). 81.4 percent of Roma households described the volume of their spending on basic needs to be less than sufficient and only 15.7 percent consider it to be appropriate ("the way it should be"). The assessment of the level of spending on food and other basic needs differed within the studied Roma population by settlement type. Although negative values dominated everywhere, the opinions of Roma living on the margins of towns and villages were more positive. More than a fifth of Roma living on the margins of towns and villages assessed their spending on basic needs as appropriate, which is a higher number than that for Roma with the same opinion in segregated and mixed settlements.

Tab. 4.22: Assessment of the level of expenditure of Roma households on basic needs by settlement type (in %)

DEGREES	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
More than adequate	0.8	1.3	0.8	1.0
Just adequate	11.7	22.1	13.3	15.7
Less than adequate	86.3	73.8	84.2	81.4
I don't know	1.3	2.9	1.7	1.9
Households total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

In the general population in nearby areas the breakdown of answers was different. 55.2 percent of respondents considered the level of food consumption to be adequate. Although the rate of dissatisfaction with food consumption (counting together the answers "less than sufficient" and "completely inadequate") was lower than among the Roma, it still represented a high value (39.7 percent). 60 percent regarded their level of expenditure on satisfying their basic needs as inadequate and 35.5 percent as average. This information shows that both groups had a predominantly negative opinion, though the degree of intensity varies.

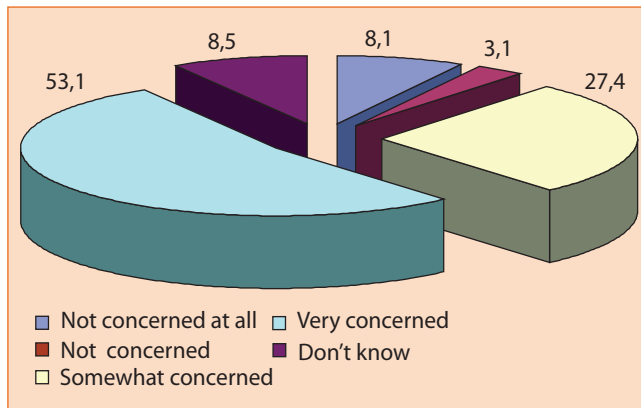
Graph 4.17: Assessment of the level of food consumption in Roma households (in %)



4.5.6 Fears for the future

As in the estimates for the development of the household financial situation in the coming year, pessimism dominated when Roma households estimated their ability to satisfy their own and their household's basic needs. More than half the Roma expressed a strong fear that they would not be able to satisfy basic needs, and another 27.4 percent expressed a slight fear. 8.1 percent had not doubt.

Graph 4.18: Assessment of ability to provide food and basic goods for the household in the coming year (Roma households, in %)



Roma households living in mixed settlements were the most likely to suffer such fears: 59.1 percent of them expressed strong fears that they might not be able to satisfy the basic needs of members of their household (compared to 49.6 percent of those living in separated settlements and 50.4 percent of those living in segregated settlements).

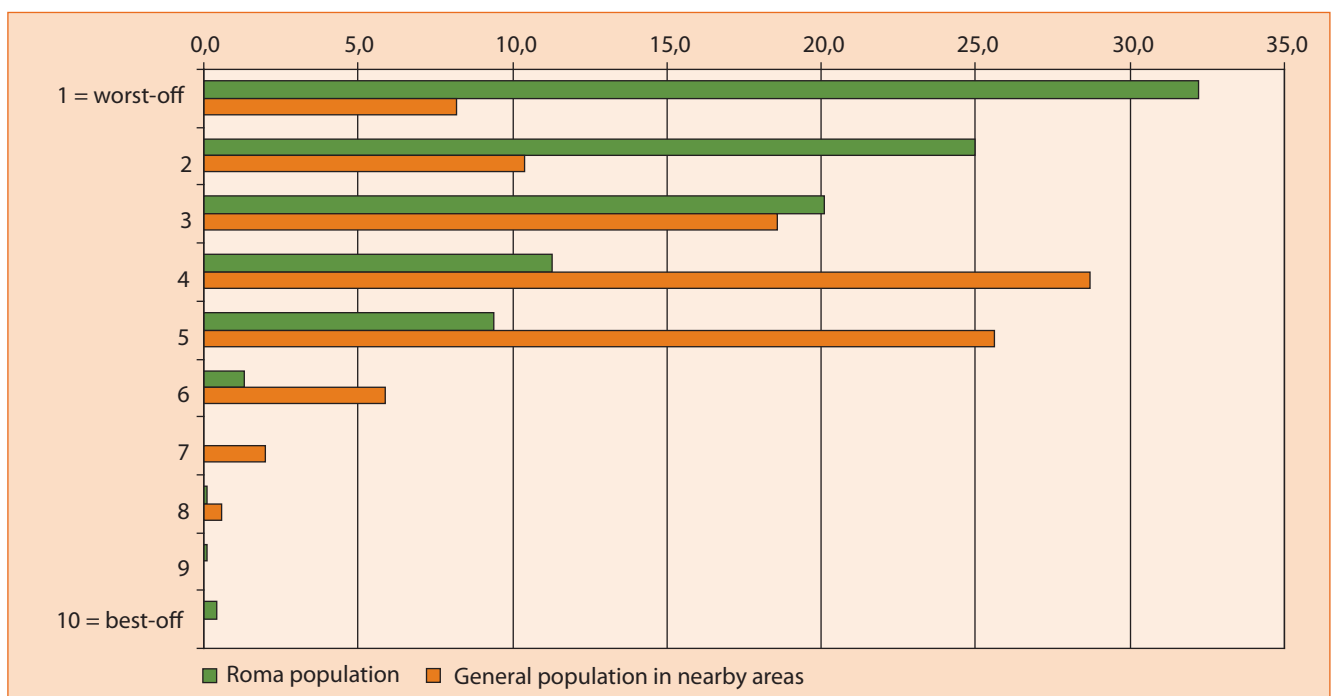
Roma living on the margins of towns and villages had the highest percentage of those who do not share such fears.

4.5.7 Self-classification on a poverty scale

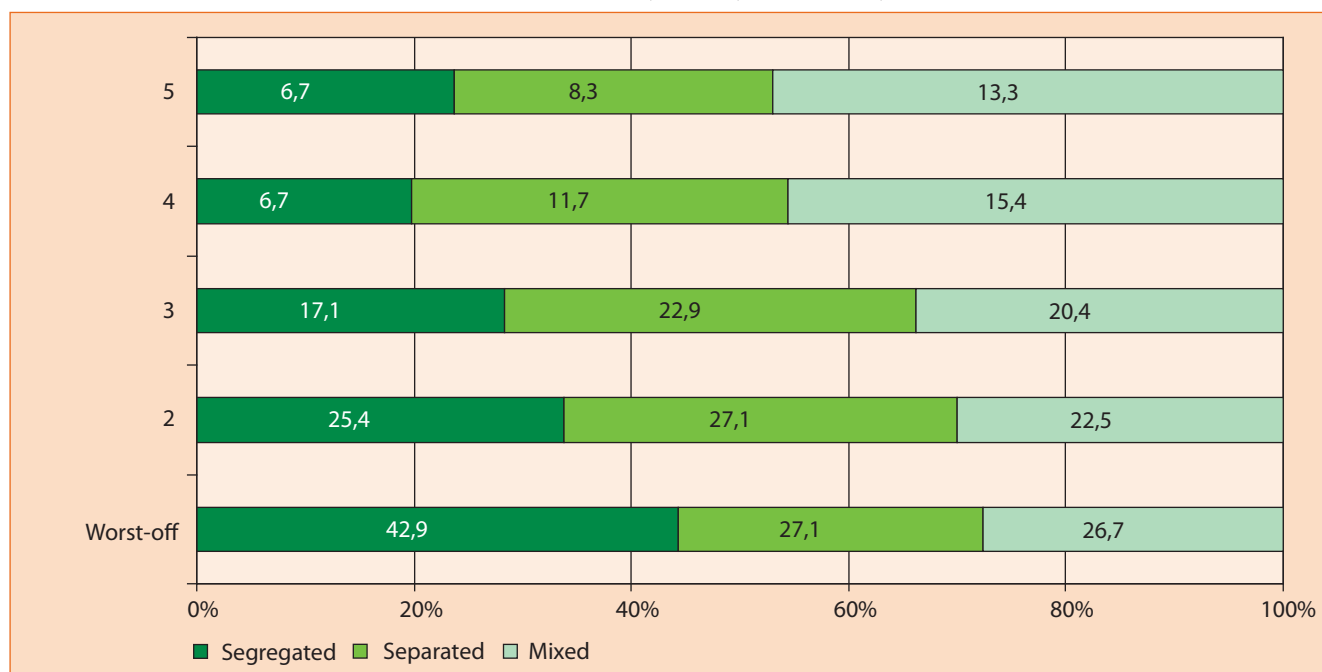
In addition to questions investigating the assessment of household financial situation and consumption, the respondents were given a ten-point scale from 1 (the poorest) to 10 (the richest) and asked to place themselves on this scale based on an assessment of their own situation. Both groups studied showed significant differences in how respondents assigned themselves to the notional categories. In the Roma sample, numbers in each category fell with each increase in "class", which means that as status increases, there is a fall in the number of respondents assigning themselves to the stated "class".²⁴ Nearly a third of Roma assigned themselves to the lowest – poorest – class, a quarter to the second lowest class and a fifth to the third lowest class. More than half of Roma respondents placed themselves in the two lowest categories.

The representatives of the majority population were most likely to place themselves in the fourth and fifth category (close to average), which corresponds approximately to the results for a representative survey of the population of the Slovak Republic for the purposes of studying subjective perceptions of poverty. In these surveys people also assess themselves most frequently at an average or below average level. 28.7 percent of the majority population placed themselves in the fourth category and 25.6 percent placed themselves in the fifth category – which accounts for more than half of the total. In the three lowest categories, the percentage of non-Roma respondents in each category increased

Graph 4.19: Self-classification on the poverty scale – comparison of Roma households and general households living in nearby areas (in %)



²⁴ "Classes" 8 to 10 constitute an exception but their numbers are so low that they are irrelevant. Furthermore, the small numbers and very high status of the classes means that the answers of the respondents need not reflect the actual conditions of the household.

Graph 4.20 Self-classification of Roma households on a poverty scale by settlement type (in %)

together with wealth. By way of comparison, while 57.2 percent of Roma households placed themselves in the two lowest categories, 18.6 percent of households from the general population in nearby areas gave such a self-classification.

When we compare the distribution of Roma households into the given 10 categories in the sub-groups defined by housing, we find some characteristics in common and some different ones. In all three sub-groups, households were most likely to be in the lower categories and numbers fell as status increased. The differences were in the precise form that this general pattern took. The greatest proportion of respondents who assigned themselves and their household to the poorest category was found in the Roma living in segregated settlements. This very low self-assessment was given by 42.9 percent of them, which is a significant deviation from the percentages for Roma living in separated settlements (27.1 percent) and those living in mixed settlements (26.7 percent). The highest proportion of households in the second and third lowest categories was among Roma living in separated settlements. In this sub-group the number of respondents that ranked themselves in the lowest and second lowest categories was the same.

4.6 Main conclusions of Chapter 4

The data show that within Roma communities there is a high rate of dependency on social assistance, since

nearly three quarters of households had received some income related to material need in the preceding month. Many households received income of this type, at all levels of spatial integration with the majority population. Paradoxically, it was also found that Roma households do not make use of the full range of instruments of social assistance that the system offers and which were introduced in the social reforms. A very low number of Roma households received a housing allowance, which is intended to cover costs associated with housing. The reasons for the low number of recipients include the conditions entitling a person to a contribution, which many households do not meet even though they live in a state of material need. The very low take-up rate for scholarships in the studied sample of the Roma population shows that this need not be the result of a lack of interest or willingness on the part of parents but that the criteria for scholarships "miss" their target in the situation in which the vulnerable community typically finds itself. The stated facts should attract attention because of the failure to make use of important instruments in the social benefits system. In most indicators, the Roma households were found to be in a worse situation than the general population in nearby areas. The worst parameters for living conditions were reported by those Roma living in segregated settlements. Subjective assessments of life situation and the future tend to be negative and pessimistic.

5

THE ROMA POPULATION AND EDUCATION: STRUCTURE AND CONTEXT

5. THE ROMA POPULATION AND EDUCATION: STRUCTURE AND CONTEXT

One of the key factors with a (direct and indirect) influence on living conditions is education. Education is one of the basic “assets” available to individuals, households and localities (human capital). Education influences not only patterns of reproductive behaviour but also successful involvement in the labour market and the benefits obtained from such involvement (employment, quality of work, remuneration).

Box 13: Education is a factor that increases the risk of poverty

According to the World Bank report (*Roma in ...*, 2004) there were three mutually reinforcing factors most strongly associated with poverty: the level of education achieved by the head of the household, his or her employment status in the labour market and the location of the household (on the one hand in the region and on the other hand whether it was in a rural or urban area).

Another determining factor in poverty is the level of education achieved by the household head. There was an above-average number of poor individuals living in households where the head of household had only a primary education.

The probability or risk of becoming or remaining poor is highest where a number of determining factors for poverty combine. These include low education, employment status – exclusion from the labour market (unemployment, especially long-term), seasonal employment, low-paid work, only one parent or a larger number of children (or a high proportion of dependent persons) and living in a particular region or area.

The following groups make up a disproportionate part of the population of the long-term poor: women, persons with low education (primary or incomplete primary), families without an employed member of productive age, households of old people (especially old people living alone or pensioner couples), the long-term unemployed (disproportionate representation of households with a member who has been unemployed for longer than 6 months) and households in which some of the members come from a non-EU country.

In this context it is necessary to point out that all studies of the labour market in the Slovak Republic clearly indicate that unemployment, in particular long-term unemployment, is most closely associated with unskilled workers, whose vocational training ended at a low level. This tendency or correlation is confirmed not only by studies of employment and unemployment statistics (statistics of registered unemployment produced and published by the Central Office of Labour, Social Affairs and Family, statistical surveys carried out by the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic – e.g. the Labour Force Survey, and so on) but also by empirical research and studies carried out by a number of university, academic or independent research

Box 14: Education as a factor in unemployment

Low qualifications are associated with a marginal status in the labour market and also a higher risk of exclusion from the labour market. The highest level of registered unemployment comes from the group of excluded persons, persons who have completed only primary education or who have no education. A stable segment of the long-term unemployed consists of those persons who worked as auxiliary or unskilled workers before joining the official register.

As the data after 1989 shows, the population segment with a low level of education in particular is one of the groups most likely to be vulnerable to loss of employment and therefore also lower income and eventual poverty. Likewise, families with a large number of children or single-parent families (most often with just the mother) are currently amongst the poorest.

institutions (the Department of Sociology of the Faculty of Philosophy of Comenius University, the University of Economics in Bratislava, the Centre for Work and Family Studies – now the Institute for Labour and Family Research, the Employment Institute, the Institute for Public Affairs, the World Bank, UNDP and many others).

5.1 Procedure and basic lines of analysis of the situation of the Roma population with regard to education

As a priority, the study focuses on an analysis of the level of education achieved, the type of school attended (the amount of variation within the household) and felt/hidden barriers and selection mechanisms. Attention will also be given to the “transfer” or reproduction of educational achievements from one generation to another and the relation between education and performance in the labour market. Within this area of interest the following dimensions/themes will be monitored: level of education, level of literacy, growth dynamic for education, reasons for low education, value of education and relationship between education and success in the labour market.

The analysis of the structure and context or results of education focuses mainly on the Roma population but for some indicators it makes use of the possibility of comparison with the general population living in close proximity to the Roma ethnic group. Such a comparison is used for those aspects and dimensions which are not affected by the different age structure and the different structure of economic activity in the sample representing the popu-

lation in the vicinity of the Roma. The differences in the structure of the Roma and non-Roma samples are not the result of doubts about methods or inadequacies in data collection. The different structure is a reflection of the real regional structure: a higher concentration of Roma inhabitants usually occurs in the geographical vicinity of “older” communities and towns and villages.

The basic procedure for classification will be to compare the situation of the Roma population by settlement type. This will involve the comparison of three basic sub-groups: inhabitants of segregated Roma settlements, those living on the outskirts of towns and villages (separated) and those in mixed areas. This approach allows us to trace the effects of integration not only at the level of education achieved but also to identify and measure the influence of obstructions of various types that inhibit access to education and its effective use in obtaining a position and performing in the labour market. The researchers therefore work mainly with the sample as a “(quasi)-area selection” which means that it does not present conclusions on the overall sample of the Roma population but compares the corresponding structures of data in individual sub-groups defined by settlement type with respect to the majority population.

5.2 Specification of analytical groups and their basic characteristics

In order to analyse the situation with regard to education it is necessary to distinguish between persons who no longer study (or participate in vocational training) and the youth population of either pre-school age or those who are attending school. People who no longer study made up 55.8 percent of the total sample of the Roma population; the remaining 44.2 percent were children or students. In what follows we will focus in turn on these two groups of the Roma population defined by whether or not they are in school. It is therefore necessary to devote some attention to their basic characteristics from the viewpoint of sex, age, and settlement type.

- Basic characteristics of the Roma above school age who no longer study

There were 2,104 Roma in total who were above school age and no longer study. On average there were three such persons for each household. The sample is evenly distributed between the three groups defined by degree of integration/separation of housing i.e. the three-way division of the whole sample was preserved. Men and women are approximately equally represented in each group.

Table 5.1: Basic characteristics of the Roma above school age who no longer study by settlement type and sex (in absolute numbers)

SEX	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Females	360	354	361	1,075
Males	344	341	344	1,029
Total	704	695	705	2,104
Share in %	33.5	33.0	33.5	100.0

In terms of age, the most numerous categories of the Roma population above school age are the ranges 30-59 years and 15-29 years. The 50 and over age group has a smaller percentage representation than the preceding two groups, but it is still large enough to allow more fine-grained comparisons. In the sample there were a few individuals who declared that they had left school even though they were under 15 years of age. It is not possible to decide retrospectively whether this was an error or a special circumstance but given their very low number they will be excluded from further analysis.

Table 5.2: Age composition of the Roma above school age who no longer study by settlement type (in %)

AGE GROUPS	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Under 15	2.1	1.3	0.7	1.4
15-29	43.3	37.7	38.0	39.7
30-49	40.8	40.3	41.1	40.7
50 and over	13.8	20.7	20.3	18.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average age	34.19	36.57	36.87	35.87

This demographic characterization given above leads us to conclude that the composition of the research sample by sex, age and settlement type meets the basic requirements to permit further, more detailed analysis.

- Basic characteristics of the Roma population with incomplete education

The set of children and students in the Roma population, i.e. those who have not completed school or subsequent vocational training, consisted of 1,665 individuals (an average of 2.3 per household). The numbers of those who haven't completed school were highest in segregated settlements and lowest in mixed areas. The structure by sex is balanced both in the full sample of individuals who have not completed their education and the individual categories by degree of spatial integration/segregation (around 50 percent).

Table 5.3: Composition of the Roma population with incomplete education by settlement type and sex (in absolute numbers)

SEX	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Female	314	288	247	849
Male	343	258	215	816
Total	657	546	462	1,665
Share in %	39.5	32.8	27.7	100.0

In terms of age, the absolute majority are under 15, i.e. pre-school age children and children who are required to attend school. Pre-school-age children (0-5 years of age group) made up 39 percent of the group and school-age children (6-14 years) made up 48.3 percent of the Roma population with incomplete education. Only a small percentage of the Roma over the age of 15 is in the sample of Roma population with incomplete education. In the total sample this segment makes up only 12.8 percent, with little variation depending on the type of settlement.

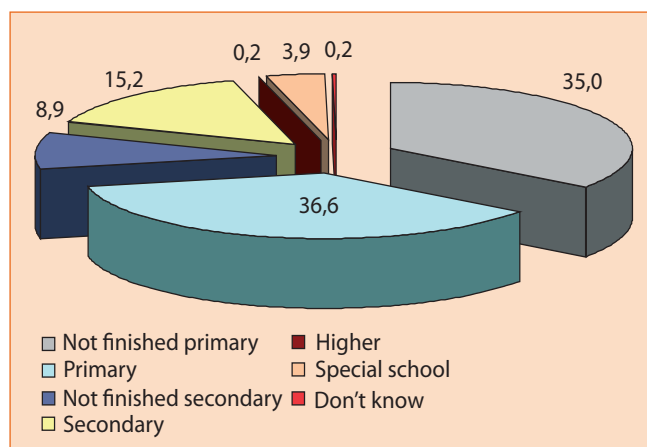
Table 5.4: Age composition of the Roma population with incomplete education by settlement type (in %)

AGE GROUPS	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Under 6	41.2	36.8	38.5	39.0
6-14	46.9	49.3	49.4	48.3
15-29	11.9	13.6	11.7	12.4
30-49	-	0.4	0.4	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average age	7.46	8.09	8.14	7.86

The dominance of very young children in this sample is shown by the average age – around 8 years, with the figure for the sub-group in segregated settlements being under 7.5 years. This sample can only be used to illustrate very specific aspects of education (attendance of special schools and the like).

5.3 Level of education achieved

35 percent of all members of the Roma population above school age had not finished their primary education. Approximately the same percentage of individuals (36.6 percent) had finished primary education. Less than a quarter of the studied group (24.3 percent) had continued to study after finishing primary school. Of these, nearly 9 percent were unsuccessful (they left school during vocational training in secondary school and ended up with incomplete secondary education) and just 15.4 percent of the studied Roma population had finished secondary or higher education. Under 4 percent of the total sample had graduated from special schools.

Graph 5.1: Composition of Roma above school age who no longer study by level of education (in %)


An analysis in terms of sex revealed certain differences within the studied group. Women were more likely than men to have not finished primary education or a primary education and fewer women acquired higher levels of education. The percentage that attended a special school was approximately the same (4 percent) for both men and women. Overall, the education structure of the Roma women studied can be assessed as lagging behind that of men to some extent.

More pronounced differences were observed when categorized by age. The percentage that had not finished primary education was largest in the oldest age group over 50 and gradually fell as groups got younger. Nevertheless, the per-

centage that had not finished primary education exceeded a quarter (25.8 percent) even in the youngest group. Compared to the other age groups the youngest had a higher percentage with primary education (nearly 41 percent) and incomplete secondary education (11.5 percent). It is interesting that the youngest did not have the highest value for completed secondary education, instead this percentage was largest in the middle age group. While 13.7 percent of the youngest age group had completed secondary education, 20 percent of the middle age group aged 30-49 had completed this level of study. Less than 10 percent of the oldest age category had a secondary education. The highest percentage of individuals who had been educated in special schools was in the youngest age group – 7.5 percent. In the other two older age segments this group was smaller than 2 percent.

Table 5.5: Composition of Roma above school age who no longer study by level of education and sex (in %)

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	Males	Females	Total
Not finished primary	32.2	37.7	35.0
Primary	33.8	39.3	36.6
Not finished secondary	10.4	7.5	8.9
Secondary	19.2	11.4	15.2
Higher	0.3	0.1	0.2
Special school	4.1	3.8	3.9
Don't know	0.1	0.3	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

It seems that two trends can be observed in the studied Roma population: as people get younger, the education level rises but only to that of “incomplete secondary education”. Completed secondary education is most common in the middle generation. A further trend is that the younger generation is more likely to have attended a special school.

Table 5.6: Composition of Roma above school age who no longer study by level of education and age (in %)

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	15-29 years	30-49 years	50 and more	Average age
Not finished primary	25.8	33.9	52.5	39.9
Primary	40.9	34.7	34.3	34.9
Not finished secondary	11.5	9.5	2.4	30.7
Secondary	13.7	19.8	9.5	34.8
Higher	0.4	0.1	-	28.7
Special school	7.5	1.9	1.1	26.8
Don't know	0.2	0.1	0.3	39.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	35.9

The trends described above are supported by the average ages for individual levels of education. The average age for those who had not finished primary school was nearly 40 years, while for those with completed primary school it was 35 years and for those with incomplete secondary education the average age fell to under 31 years. For completed secondary education the average age went up again close to 35 years. As regards special schools, the average age was much lower – 26.8 years.

The growth in the proportion of special schools is also confirmed by the current child population. Among current

school children and students (the segment of the Roma population in education) the percentage attending special schools rises to 12 percent. The lowest percentage in this form of education was in Roma households in mixed settlements (8.7 percent) and the highest was among segregated settlements' households (14.8 percent).

Table 5.7: Composition of the Roma population with incomplete education by level of education and settlement type (in %)

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Not finished primary	81.4	84.4	86.8	83.9
Not finished secondary	3.5	3.3	3.7	3.5
Higher	-	0.2	0.4	0.2
Special school	14.8	11.4	8.7	12.0
Don't know	0.4	0.7	0.4	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The increase in attendance of special schools for young Roma generations has three possible explanations. The first is that in the past there was no widespread network of special schools and those who would attend them were placed in normal primary schools, where they failed to complete their studies. The second possibility is that young Roma in recent years have become less likely to meet the standards for entry into the general education system. The third possible explanation could be the statement that Roma children have been placed in special schools in recent years without any realistic and objective assessment of their education potential. In any case, it should also be mentioned that cases of discrimination have been found in the assessment and placement of Roma children²⁵ (Tomatová, 2004a; Monitoring..., 2001; Správa o stave..., 2004). Research and monitoring (IVO, SNSLP, SGI) suggest that the most likely explanation is the third one – interpreting a lack of knowledge or command of the Slovak language as an inability to meet the conditions for education, the wish to fill special schools, dealing with Roma children's poor habits of hygiene by moving them to special schools and so on. This problem could be solved by introducing a compulsory pre-school year and employing teaching assistants to work with these children.

Table 5.8: Composition of Roma above school age who no longer study by level of education and settlement type (in %)

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Not finished primary	44.2	37.4	23.5	35.0
Primary	36.7	31.5	41.5	36.6
Not finished secondary	6.5	9.4	10.8	8.9
Secondary	8.5	18.1	19.1	15.2
Higher	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.2
Special school	3.9	3.1	4.7	3.9
Don't know	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

In terms of settlement type, the worst education structure was found amongst the inhabitants of segregated settlements. In these communities there was a much higher rate

of incomplete primary education – up to 44.2 percent – while the rate for Roma living in mixed settlement was about half of this (23.5 percent). Furthermore, segregated-settlement inhabitants were much less likely to have completed primary and especially secondary education (8.5 percent compared with 18-19 percent). Settlement type did not have a strong influence on the likelihood of having attended a special school. More detailed information on the structure of education by settlement type is given in Table 5.9.

Table 5.9: Composition of Roma above school age who no longer study by level of education and settlement type (in %)

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	Age group	Segregated	Separated	Mixed
Not completed primary	15-29	32.1	28.6	16.0
	30-49	47.7	33.9	20.1
	50 and over	61.9	56.7	41.8
Primary	15-29	43.6	35.3	43.3
	30-49	33.3	32.1	38.5
	50 and over	30.9	25.5	45.4
Not completed secondary	15-29	7.1	13.1	14.8
	30-49	8.1	9.0	11.5
	50 and over	1.0	3.5	2.1
Secondary	15-29	8.4	15.5	17.9
	30-49	10.2	23.5	25.7
	50 and over	5.2	13.5	8.5
Higher	15-29	0.3	0.8	-
	30-49	-	-	0.3
	50 and over	-	-	-
Special school	15-29	8.1	6.3	8.0
	30-49	0.7	1.4	3.5
	50 and over	1.0	0.7	1.4

Where the studied Roma population had a secondary education, it was more often vocational training than academic education. Approximately 15 percent of the sample had an apprenticeship certificate, while the percentage who had the more academic *maturita* school-leaving certificate was less than 2 percent. Higher diplomas were extremely rare. More than 80 percent of the Roma population therefore lack any qualification for the labour market. The resulting condition worsens with increased spatial segregation: the worst results were found among the inhabitants of segregated settlements, where even the percentage with an apprenticeship certificate was under 8 percent.

Table 5.10: Composition of Roma above school age who no longer study by attained degree/certificate and settlement type (in %)

ATTAINED DEGREE/CERTIFICATE	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Vocational certificate	7.8	16.1	19.5	14.5
Secondary school leaving certificate	0.8	3.7	1.5	1.9
Title BC	-	-	0.2	0.1
Title MA	-	0.2	-	0.1
None	91.4	80.0	78.8	83.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

²⁵ The main issues are the creation of segregated classes and schools, regular requests for professional evaluations, professional examination, after placement in the special school or class, short examinations etc. (Tomatová 2004).

An analysis of the Roma population in terms of the level of education achieved showed that Roma were significantly behind the overall education structure of the population of the Slovak Republic. While the rate for better than primary education is over 90 percent in the Slovak Republic as a whole, in the Roma population primary education continues to dominate, and there is a sizeable percentage that has not finished primary education. Even though the results are better in the younger generation, no breakthrough has yet been achieved. When we compare the older and middle generations we find better results for secondary education in the middle generation. But a comparison of the middle and younger generations also shows better results for secondary education in the middle generation. Although there has been a slight increase in the level of education over the years defined in terms of the level of education achieved, this positive trend has weakened recently. It is also worrying that there has been an increase in attendance of special schools by the youngest generation. If education is one of the basic requirements for success in the labour market and thereby for reduction in the risk of poverty and social exclusion, the situation described above does not offer grounds for much optimism.

There are also differences of various sizes within the Roma population. In addition to age, an important differentiating factor is the level of spatial segregation. The worst situation is found among the inhabitants of Roma segregated settlements. Where the level of education and educational qualifications is low and combined with life in a segregated community, it is hard to find any reasonable employment. The risk of becoming trapped in poverty, dependent on welfare, is enormous in such an environment. In addition, a comparison of the generations showed that minimal progress has been achieved.

5.4 Comparison of respondents' school attendance and level of education with those of their parents' generation

As the research data shows, not all Roma had experience in the education system. When asked whether they had ever attended school, some respondents answered in the negative. Out of the total sample of 2,104 Roma in the study, 4.3 percent of those above school age claimed that they had never attended school. Once again the situation was more pronounced among the group living in segregated communities, where nearly 6 percent said that they had never attended school.

Table 5.11: Composition of Roma above school age who no longer study by school attendance and settlement type (in %)

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Yes	94.2	97.5	95.6	95.7
No	5.8	2.5	4.4	4.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The most common reasons for non-involvement in the education system were health problems and disabilities (nearly a third of those who had never attended school). The second most common reason given was the need to work or help in the home (over 19 percent of responses). Frequent reasons also included claims that parents had not

sent their children to school and lack of interest in school. Lack of resources to pay education costs and to buy suitable clothing was cited in 4.5 percent of relevant cases.

A comparison of respondents' school attendance with their parents' generation shows that the situation has changed a great deal. In the parents' generation nearly a fifth of fathers had not attended school in their life, and the proportion for mothers was even higher (22.5 percent). This proportion is nearly 5 times higher than in their children's generation.

Table 5.12: Composition of Roma above school age who no longer study by school attendance of father and mother and settlement type (in %)

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE-FATHER	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Yes	74.6	83.9	78.0	78.7
No	22.7	15.6	20.6	19.7
SCHOOL ATTENDANCE-MOTHER	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Yes	72.4	77.1	79.2	76.2
No	25.0	22.1	20.4	22.5

Table 5.13: Breakdown of Roma above school age who no longer study by level of education of father and settlement type (in %)

LEVEL OF EDUCATION-FATHER	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Not completed primary	51.5	37.2	31.9	40.1
Primary	30.7	36.6	39.3	35.6
Not completed secondary	3.0	1.8	5.2	3.3
Secondary	3.8	8.4	10.3	7.5
Higher	-	0.2	0.4	0.2
Special school	0.8	1.0	1.0	1.0
Don't know	10.1	14.8	11.8	12.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Secondary education was also much less common in the parents' generation. Only 3.3 percent of fathers had an incomplete secondary education and only 7.5 percent of them had completed secondary education. In their children's generation the rate for incomplete and complete secondary education was more than 20 percent in total, an increase of more than 100 percent.

5.5 Results of education – level of literacy

The schools that a person has completed provide only a formal indicator of education and there are others that can be studied. The research measured the effectiveness of education or the impact of non-participation in the school system using two indicators of literacy: the ability to read a newspaper and the ability to write a one-page letter.

Table 5.14: Roma who never attended school by ability to read a newspaper and settlement type (in %)

ABILITY TO READ NEWSPAPER	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Yes, with difficulty	7.5	5.9	9.7	8.0
No	92.5	94.1	90.3	92.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The literacy of the Roma who had never visited school for one reason or another was very limited. The absolute majority of them were unable to read a newspaper (92 percent) and the remaining 8 percent read a newspaper with difficulty. The situation was the same when assessing their ability to write a one-page letter: 92 percent could not write a letter, 8 percent were able to carry out the task though with difficulty. Falling out of the education system is almost certain to result in illiteracy. Settlement type had almost no influence on this fact.

Table 5.15: Roma population who never attended school by ability to write a letter and settlement type (in %)

ABILITY TO WRITE A LETTER	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Yes, with difficulty	7.5	11.8	6.5	8.0
No	92.5	88.2	93.5	92.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Nevertheless, school attendance is no guarantee of literacy. Nearly 20 percent of the adult Roma population who attended school were able to read a newspaper either with difficulty (14 percent) or not at all (4.3 percent). There are sharp differences in results for the studied group depending on the type of settlement. Ten percent of Roma living in mixed settlements had difficulty reading a newspaper while the percentage in segregated settlements was nearly 30 percent.

Table 5.16: Roma population who attended school, by ability to read a newspaper and settlement type (in %)

ABILITY TO READ NEWSPAPER	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Yes, easily	71.4	83.5	90.0	81.7
Yes, with difficulty	20.9	14.1	7.2	14.0
No	7.7	2.4	2.8	4.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

An even more negative picture of the literacy of the Roma population was provided by their ability to write a one-page letter. Despite having attended school, 24.7 percent of the non-student adult Roma population stated that they could not write a letter at all (6.9 percent) or only with difficulty (17.8 percent).

Table 5.17: Roma population who attended school, by ability to write a letter and settlement type (in %)

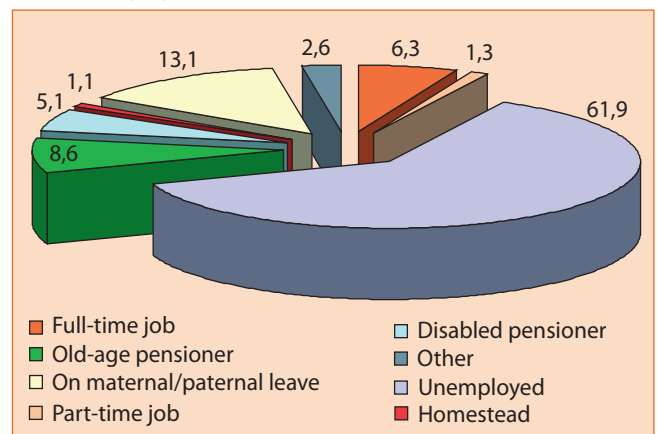
ABILITY TO WRITE A LETTER	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Yes, easily	62.1	78.3	85.0	75.3
Yes, with difficulty	27.4	16.4	10.0	17.8
No	10.5	5.3	4.9	6.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

This indicator also showed variation according to settlement type: in segregated communities only 62 percent of Roma are able to write a letter without problems, while among integrated communities the percentage is 85 percent, a difference of over 20 percent. In many cases, segregation means a loss of acquired skills or limited opportunities to acquire literacy.

5.6 Connection between education and success in the labour market

Many studies indicate that a low level of education and low-quality education represent a major barrier to successful involvement in the labour market. This conclusion is also supported by the structure of economic status in the Roma population above school age who no longer study. Despite the relatively young sample in the survey (the average age of Roma above school age was 36 years), only 7.6 percent were involved in the labour market. 6.3 percent worked full time or were self-employed. The remaining 1.3 percent did part time work or seasonal work. The absolute majority in the sample, nearly 62 percent, was unemployed. Old-age pensioners made up just under 9 percent and those receiving disability benefits amounted to over 5 percent. Nearly 15 percent of the total sample were home makers or on maternity or parental leave and the remaining 2.6 percent had another status.

Graph 5.2: Structure of the Roma above school age who no longer study by current economic status (in %)



There were quite significant differences between the current economic status of Roma men and women. There were significantly fewer women unemployed (50.6 percent of women vs. 73.8 percent of men) and there were significantly more individuals taking leave to care for young children (nearly a quarter for women but only 1 percent for men). The group of women included twice as many recipients of old-age benefits. The resulting ratio to working persons was therefore substantially lower among Roma women than men (only 4.2 percent of all non-student adult women). The sexes were equal in only one category, those receiving disability benefits (5.1 percent).

Table 5.18: Breakdown of Roma above school age who no longer study by current economic status and sex (in %)

ECONOMIC STATUS	Males	Females	Total
Full-time job	9.4	3.3	6.3
Part-time job	1.7	0.9	1.3
Unemployed	73.8	50.6	61.9
Old-age pensioner	5.9	11.1	8.6
Disabled pensioner	5.1	5.1	5.1
In homestead	0.5	1.7	1.1
On maternal/paternal leave	1.1	24.7	13.1
Other	2.6	2.6	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

A comparison by settlement type confirmed the expectation of lower participation in the labour market among the inhabitants of segregated settlements, where only 4 percent worked at the time of the survey. In the other two groups the percentage was twice as high, although even here the percentage remained very low – at a level slightly higher than 9 percent. There was an increased percentage of unemployed in Roma segregated settlements (making up more than 66 percent of the sample) and individuals on leave to take care of a small child. The percentage of old-age pensioners was lowest in segregated settlements, which related to the overall age structure of the studied population (the youngest group).

Table 5.19: Structure of Roma above school age who no longer study by economic status and settlement type (in %)

ECONOMIC STATUS	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Full-time job	3.4	8.2	7.4	6.3
Part-time job	0.7	1.6	1.6	1.3
Unemployed	66.1	59.6	60.1	61.9
Old-age pensioner	6.1	9.1	10.5	8.6
Disabled pensioner	4.4	4.6	6.2	5.1
At homestead	1.0	1.0	1.3	1.1
On maternal/paternal leave	15.9	12.8	10.6	13.1
Other	2.4	3.2	2.3	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Although overall involvement in the labour market is very low for the sample of the Roma population studied, the data showed the influence of education on the extent of this involvement. The percentage of participation increased with each level of education achieved – reaching over 20 percent among those who had completed secondary education. Completion of secondary education produced a correspond-

ing fall in the proportion of persons on maternity or parental leave and also the proportion of unemployed persons. On the other hand, even among those who had finished secondary education the unemployment rate was nearly 60 percent. Although education increases the opportunities in the labour market for members of the studied population, it has not yet led to a noticeable reduction in unemployment.

5.7 Main conclusions of Chapter 5

According to the research data, Roma report a very low rate of involvement in the labour market, which is even lower for Roma living in segregated settlements and women. It has also shown the influence of the achieved level of education on employment.

It can be said that one of the basic factors that fixes the marginal status of the Roma population in the labour market is lack of skills, abilities, and human capital indicated mainly by education. The low level of education, where a sizeable part of the Roma population has not even finished primary school (not infrequently influenced by insufficient ability in the Slovak language), is the basic and crucial obstruction in the labour market and will probably remain so in the future. The Roma population that has incomplete primary education or only primary education is in the worst situation.

The role of education from a long-term perspective is crucial: a higher level of school education gives the Roma population better prospects of finding a position in the labour market. From this analysis it is however clear that the tendency towards higher educational levels in the Roma population has been weak in recent years, and for some younger-age groups the situation has even got worse. The achievement of broader effects require additional support measures and a change in models of behaviour.

Table 5.20: Structure of Roma above school age who no longer study by economic status and education (in %)

ECONOMIC STATUS	Incomplete primary	Primary	Incomplete secondary	Secondary	Higher	Special schools
Full-time job	1.2	5.0	9.2	21.3	25.0	1.2
Part-time job	0.6	1.6	2.2	1.9	25.0	-
Unemployed	60.6	66.3	66.8	58.4	25.0	64.2
Old-age pensioner	15.5	6.2	1.6	4.4	-	2.5
Disabled pensioner	7.5	4.5	1.6	2.9	-	8.6
At homestead	1.1	1.5	0.5	1.0	-	-
On maternal/paternal leave	12.4	13.9	17.4	8.6	25.0	23.5
Other	1.1	1.1	0.5	1.6	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

6

THE ROMA POPULATION AND THE LABOUR MARKET: INCLUSION - EXCLUSION

6. THE ROMA POPULATION AND THE LABOUR MARKET: INCLUSION - EXCLUSION

The relation of inclusion/exclusion and the sphere of work is complex and operates on many levels. Exclusion from one sphere of work need not automatically mean exclusion from the remaining areas. The importance of labour is underlined by the fact that participation in the formal labour market is generally considered to be the most significant dimension of inclusion. When seeking adequate strategies and measures to support the inclusion of the Roma population in the labour market, it is very important to have reliable information. The research that we have carried out has tried to contribute to completing information in areas with no coverage or weak coverage. In addition to identifying the real level of employment and unemployment and their internal diversity within the Roma population, it has also tried to find answers to questions relating to the real needs of various groups and layers of the Roma work force in relation to their application in the labour market, and also the adequacy of support measures and instruments provided given the breadth of the unemployment problem in this ethnic group. The character of Roma problems and their extent were addressed in previous chapters (language requirements, health, level of education, the material aspects of the life of Roma households and the level and forms of welfare dependency). The aim of this chapter is to describe the forms and breadth of the basic problems that the Roma population encounters in the Slovak labour market.

Box 15: Standard and non-standard forms of work (Van Berkel, Moller 2002)

The latest literature in the area of employment distinguishes between work that includes economic and social rights (the formal labour market) and work that does not include economic and social rights (unpaid work, the informal labour market). In this context, R. van Berkel speaks of standard and non-standard work. Standard work is full time work, fully and formally paid (based on an employment contract, formal rights and responsibilities); it is in fact equivalent to formal employment in the primary labour market. Non-standard forms of work include the following types: irregular work (part-time work with a fixed contract, a form of work derived from standard work in the formal labour market, i.e. flexible forms of work); work within employment programmes (work with a wage that is paid in part or in full from state funds, work in the secondary labour market); targeted training (focussed on implementing education in the working environment); unpaid work (within the family or networks of friendships and relationships, voluntary or community work); informal work (paid work without tax, social security or employment rights).

Nearly from the very beginning, since the problem of unemployment appeared, public discussion and political practice has focussed with greater or lesser intensity on the issue of active support and assistance in achieving the employment and stable involvement of the Roma population in the formal labour market (many specialist publications and newspaper articles, formal political documents such as the national action plans on employment and social inclusion, and strategic materials concerned with the integration of the Roma population). Other possible forms of involvement in work have also been discussed in UNDP studies (Avoiding the Dependency Trap., 2003).

On the one hand, cases are known where the inclusion of the Roma population has prospered and on the other hand there are not a few voices (even at the official level) emphasising the lack of interest and the weak activity that the Roma themselves show in relation to the labour market. There has also been much discussion at conferences of the low effectiveness of the active labour market policies that have been put in place (for example, at the conference "Elimination of discrimination against Roma in the labour market" held on 30 March 2006 organised by the International Helsinki Federation, the European Roma Rights Centre, the European Information Bureau and the Milan Šimečka Foundation).

Box 16: Employment and unemployment in the Slovak Republic

The employment rate in the Slovak Republic in 2005 was 49.8 percent for the population aged over 15 and 57.7 percent for the 15-64 age group. For a long time there have been differences in the employment of women and men – the employment of women is significantly lower: men 15+ years = 57.8, women 15+ years = 42.6; men 15-64 years = 64.6 and women 15-64 years = 50.9.

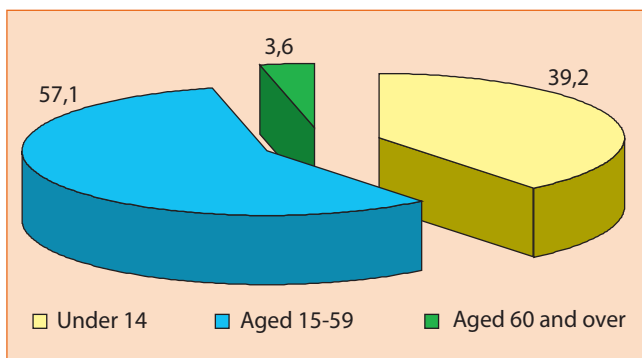
Unemployment is a relatively new phenomenon in the Slovak Republic – it began to appear after 1990 (before that there was a general obligation to work and the right to work). In the course of a few years, the restructuring of the economy (the transition to a market economy, the removal of overstaffing, growth in competitiveness, efficiency and the like) caused unemployment in the Slovak Republic to reach a relatively high level, in some years reaching a level of 20 percent of the total workforce, and in some regions breaking the 40 percent level. In recent years unemployment in the Slovak Republic has been characterized by a high rate of unemployment, huge regional differences in unemployment and a rise in long-term unemployment (see Annex).

6.1 Breakdown of Roma men and women by productive age

For several decades Slovakia has set different periods of economic activity for women and for men. Men became

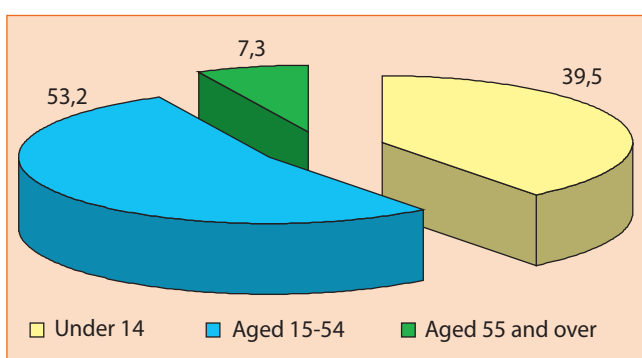
entitled to stop work and receive a pension at the age of 60, women three years earlier, i.e. at the age of 57, with a further reduction in the retirement age for every child that they gave birth to. Because of this, the productive age for men was set as 15-59 years and for women at 15-54 (because most women have two children). Since the period 2002-2003 there has been a fundamental reform of the whole pensions system in the Slovak Republic, which includes, amongst other things, the gradual equalization of the retirement age for men and women at the higher level of 62 years, and also the removal of the reduction in the retirement age for every child born. The retirement age should be fully equalized at 62 years in 2014. Because there were still differences between men and women at the time of the research, the analysis of productivity and unemployment was based on the statistical definition in force at the time of the research and is given separately for men and women.

Graph 6.1 Breakdown of Roma men by productive age (in %)



In comparison with the overall population of the Slovak Republic, the breakdown of Roma men and women includes a considerably larger group of pre-productive persons and also considerably fewer people of post-productive age. In the overall population the proportion of children under 14 years is around 17 percent while in the Roma population they make up nearly 40 percent. In contrast, the post-productive population is substantially higher in the overall population of the Slovak Republic (in recent years it has been 19 percent – see Annex), but this group makes up less than 4 percent of Roma men and 7.3 percent of Roma women. The productive part of the population was 57 percent among Roma men and 53.2 percent of Roma women.

Graph 6.2: Breakdown of Roma women by productive age (in %)



With regard to the level of spatial integration with the majority population, the breakdown of Roma men and women showed certain differences. In the part of the Roma population living in segregated settlements there are an above-average number of children aged 14 and under (over 45 percent) and fewer post-productive persons (only 2.5 percent). In all three groups of the Roma population, persons of productive age made up more than half of the total population, the highest percentage being among Roma men living in mixed settlements. Furthermore, in all three groups identified by type of settlement the percentage of women of post-productive age was higher than men of post-productive age (different definition of productive age for women and men).

Table 6.1: Breakdown of Roma men by productive age and settlement type (in %)

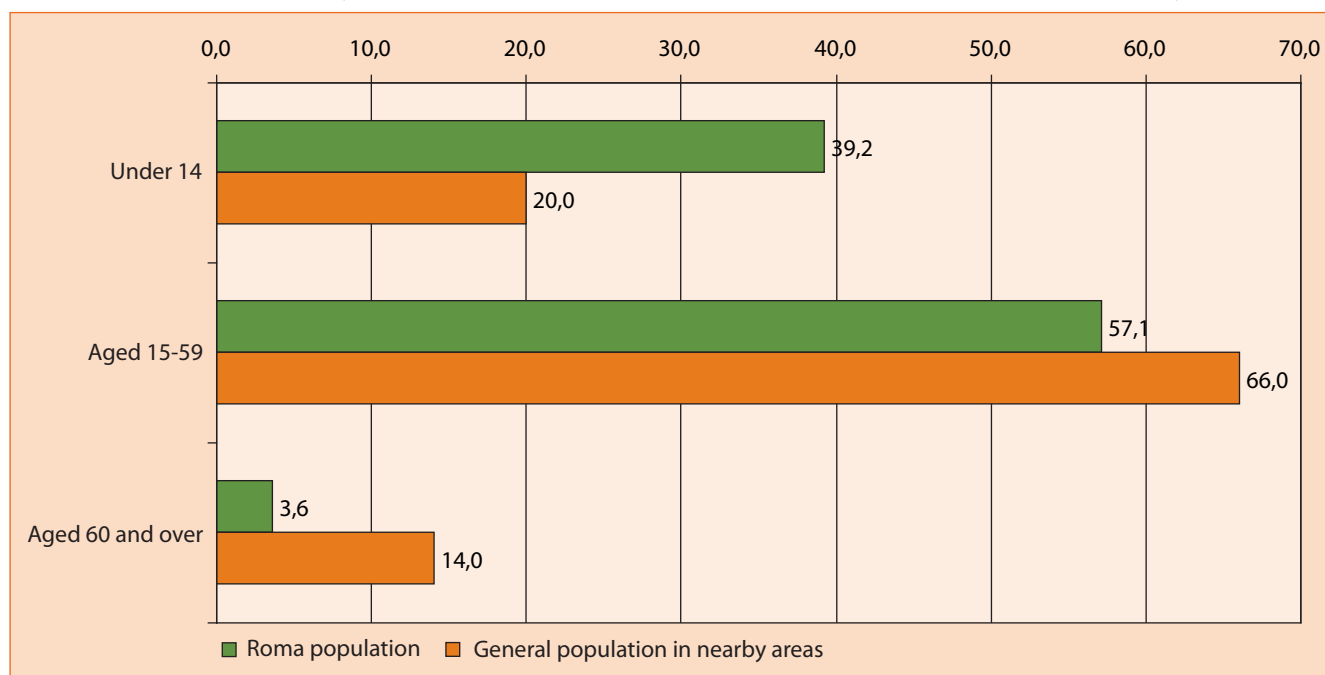
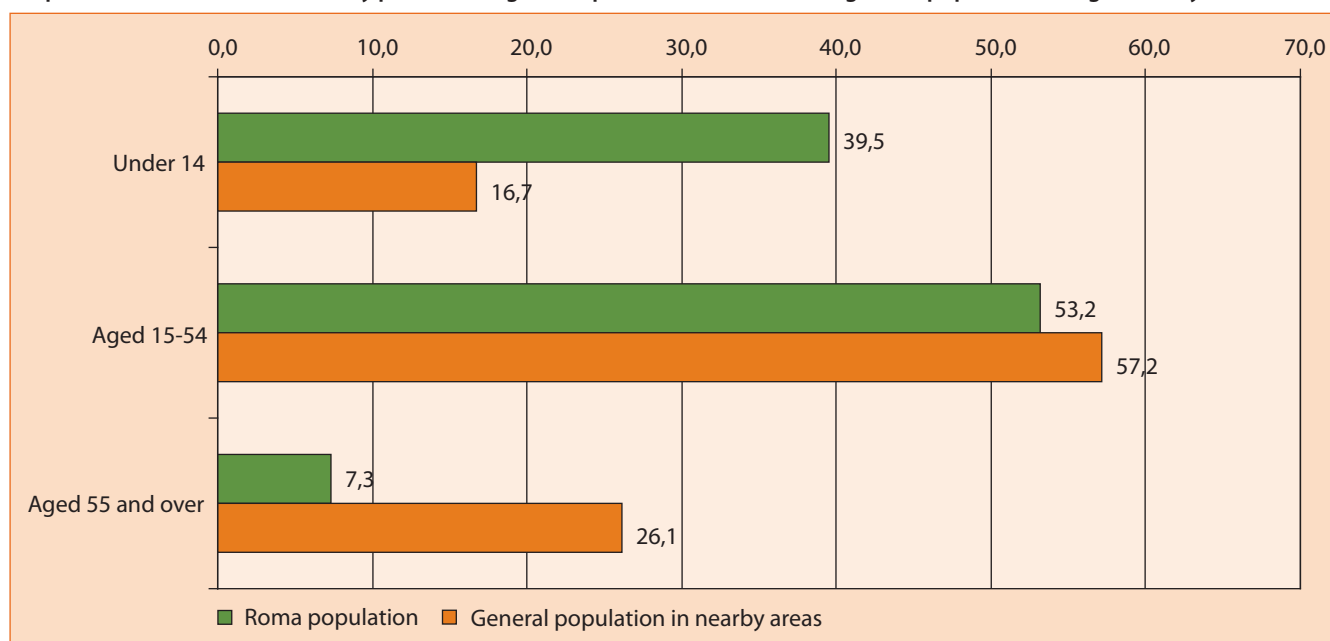
AGE GROUP	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Under 14	45.3	36.9	34.3	39.2
15-59	52.3	58.6	61.5	57.1
60 and over	2.5	4.5	4.1	3.6
Men total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 6.2: Breakdown of Roma women by productive age and settlement type (in %)

AGE GROUP	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Under 14	42.0	40.2	36.0	39.5
15-54	53.6	51.7	54.3	53.2
55 and over	4.5	8.1	9.7	7.3
Women total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The structure of the Roma population by productive age differs not only in comparison with the overall population of the Slovak Republic but also with that of the general population in nearby areas. Again the greatest differences are in the percentages of children and older people. Among Roma males, the proportion of children is twice as high as in the general population of males in nearby areas while the percentage of men of post-productive age is a third of that in the general population. For females, the difference in the youngest and oldest groups is even larger: the percentage of girls differs by 23 percent and the percentage of older women by nearly 12 percent.

Comparison of the age composition of men and women in the Roma and general populations revealed for both sexes the greatest similarities in the proportion of productive age. Among men the difference was under 10 percent and for women it was only 4 percent. This means that the Roma and general populations in nearby areas are similar in their percentages of productive inhabitants but differ strongly in the proportion of children (substantially more in the Roma population) and the proportion in the oldest age group (greater in the general population). Within the Roma population men and women of post-productive age make up only a very small percentage. This is partly the result of the Roma's higher birth rate and therefore the greater percentage of children, but the small percentage is also the result of a higher mortality rate.

Graph 6.3: Breakdown of males by productive age – comparison of Roma and the general population living in nearby areas (in %)**Graph 6.4: Breakdown of females by productive age - comparison of Roma and the general population living in nearby areas (in %)**

6.2 Employment and unemployment of Roma men and women

The status of the Roma population in the labour market has changed significantly since 1990. Although this ethnic minority achieved official recognition (civil and political rights, the right to develop its own culture, political representation and the formation of its own interests) and political documents repeatedly declared their right to make their own life choices, the processes for the transition to a market economy caused a large part of the Roma population to end up as “losers”, i.e. those who lost rather than gained from the social changes. The possibility of taking life into one’s own hands remained frequently nothing but a declaration, while life chances were in reality reduced.

Many groups within the Roma population have experienced strong multiple forms of social handicapping or exclusion. Experts on employment or Roma issues agree that this condition (weak status in society, high rate of poverty) is a result of their position on the margins of the labour market (for example Radičová 2001, Vašečka 2002a, *Chudoba...*, 2002, *Avoiding...*, 2003, Mušíňka 2004, *Employing...*, 2005, *At Risk...*, 2006). In addition to regional concentration, the most frequently cited effects of this condition are a low rate of employment, long-term unemployment, job instability, work in the informal labour market, little success and effectiveness in seeking jobs or work (Winkler 2005). Exclusion from the formal labour market need not mean exclusion from other forms of work; people can continue to be involved in work in the informal labour market, on homesteads and so on. Even unemployment need not automatically mean the complete

Table 6.3: Indicators for Roma men's involvement in work by settlement type (in %)

INDICATOR	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Employment rate	6.0	13.0	12.6	10.5
Overall labour activity in previous 7 days	34.4	37.6	28.1	33.4
- work outside household	8.2	17.1	12.0	12.4
- at least 1 hour outside household	5.1	1.4	3.5	3.4
- work on homestead	21.0	18.5	12.3	17.3
-work for a family member	0.1	0.6	0.3	0.3
Participation in activation programme (previous month)	37.2	23.7	35.4	32.1
Participation in re-qualification (previous year)	5.4	4.3	3.2	4.3
Unemployment rate	76.4	68.2	71.3	72.0
Rate of education	10.8	9.0	5.8	8.6

Note: All indicators are counted for males of productive age (15-59).

absence of other forms of involvement in work. An unemployed person may be a participant in a work activation programme or – as defined in R. van Berkel's typology of forms of work – he or she may be receiving activation through participation in a course that prepares people for the labour market (van Berkel 2002). A view of the men and women in the Roma population from such a perspective forms the subject of the following section of the study.

10.5 percent of all Roma men of productive age (15-59 years) were defined as working at the time of the research. Most worked full time for an employer; part time work and independent business activity (including self-employed work) were rare. There were differences in this very low rate of employment depending on the level of spatial integration with the majority population: men living in segregated settlements were half as likely (6 percent) to be employed as those living in separated parts of towns or villages or in mixed settlements. (13 percent).

The official rate of employment differs from the rate for all involvement in work during the last 7 days.²⁶ Not all men officially registered as employed must have worked during the last 7 days (they may not have been working due to illness), on the other hand – some “non-workers” may have carried out some form of work. The study found the involvement in work of Roma men in the last seven days was three times higher than the determined rate of employment. 33.4 percent of Roma men had done work of some sort in the last week. Only 12.4 percent of the total volume of work was work outside the household (official and unofficial – without regard to the status of work), another 3.4 percent was casual work offered by door-to-door sales or assistance and 17.3 percent was work relating to a homestead (other work for a member of the household appeared only minimally). These differences between employment and involvement in work in the last seven days show that exclusion from the formal labour market need not immediately mean exclusion

from any sort of work. The largest difference between the rate of employment and involvement in work in the last seven days was found in the case of men living in segregated Roma settlements (6 percent vs. 34.7 percent). The majority of these cases involved work on a homestead.

72 percent of Roma men of productive age were officially unemployed at the time of the research. This enormous rate of unemployment appeared in all three groups defined by settlement type. The highest unemployment rate, at over three quarters of the total number of men of productive age, was associated with men in a segregated environment. Only a small percentage of the unemployed were involved in activation programmes: approximately a third of Roma men of productive age had participated in activation work in the last month, while just 4.3 percent had taken part in a programme for education and requalification in the last 12 months. These percentages of men involved in activation are very low when compared to the unemployment rate.

The last indicator, the rate of education, shows what proportion of the male Roma population aged 15 and over is still in education, i.e. attending school. Students made up just under 9 percent of men of productive age. These could be students of secondary school and university, but also pupils of primary and special schools who entered school late and are completing primary education after the age of 15. The cited rate of education for Roma males is very low. It shows that only a few male Roma took part in higher level education in 2005.

With regard to Roma women, their rate of unemployment was 4.6 percent on average. This means that under 5 percent of Roma women of productive age (15-54 years) were officially working, and in segregated communities the rate was a mere 2.3 percent. The rate for Roma women's involvement in work in the last week was up to five times higher. Most work was carried out within the home. Under 6 percent of Roma women of productive age carried out work outside the household.

²⁶ Involvement in work in the last seven days (apart from participation in an activation work programme) was addressed by a series of four mutually related questions. The first question related to work for someone who is not a member of the household (for example, work for a business, a company, the government or another individual), and does not distinguish between the formal and informal labour markets. If the answer is “no” a follow-up question asked if the person had done at least one hour of work in door-to-door sales or helping in a garden or on a building site (“Didn't you work even for one hour? Not even selling lottery tickets, magazines or something? Did you help out in a garden or on a building site? Or anything like that?”). If the answer was still “no” there followed a question on work on a homestead (work on a field owned or rented by the respondent, or a garden owned by a family member, or other agricultural work or care for animals belonging to a member of the household). Another negative answer was followed by a question on work done for a family member (as a trader or within a business belonging to a member of the household as a shop-keeper, sales assistant, barber or hairdresser, tailor or dress-maker or as a taxi driver). Overall involvement in work is given as the sum for all these types of work during the last seven days.

Table 6.4: Indicators for Roma women's involvement in work by settlement type (in %)

INDICATOR	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Employment rate	2.3	6.1	5.5	4.6
Overall labour activity in previous 7 days	21.3	27.2	20.6	22.9
- work outside household	4.5	7.9	4.3	5.6
- at least 1 hour outside household	1.4	-	2.1	1.1
- work at homestead	14.8	19.3	13.8	16.0
-work for family member	0.6	-	0.4	0.2
Participation in activation programme (previous month)	24.9	17.0	24.8	22.3
Participation in re-qualification (previous year)	3.9	8.0	2.8	4.9
Unemployment rate	51.0	50.3	53.4	51.5
Rate of education	9.2	7.7	6.7	7.9

Note: All indicator are recalculated for women in productive age (15-54).

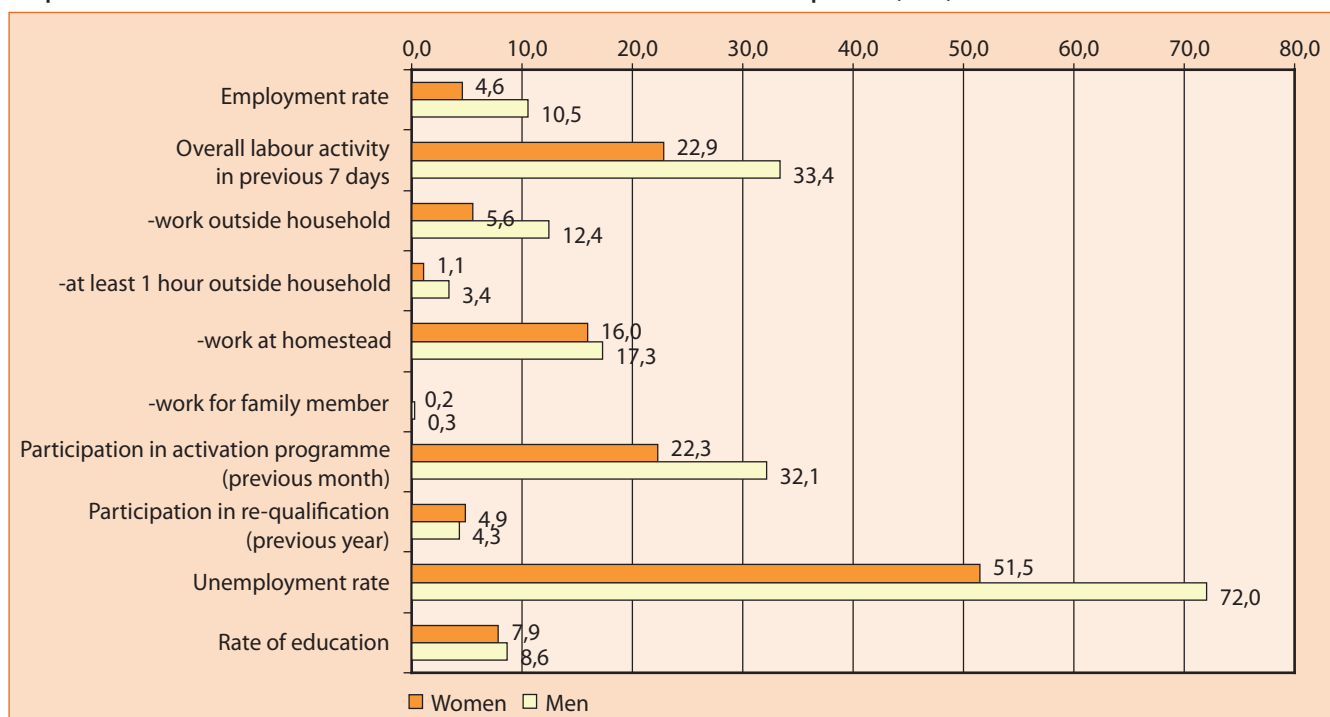
Approximately a half of all productive women were unemployed and this proportion was the same in all the studied settlement types by level of integration with the majority. It applied both to Roma women living in mixed settlements and the inhabitants of segregated settlements and separated parts of towns and villages. Around a fifth of Roma women had taken part in activation work in the last month and 5 percent of them had attended a retraining course in the last year. One difference in terms of settlement type was that women living in separated parts of towns and villages were less likely to take part in activation work and more likely to take part in education activities. The rate of education never exceeded 8 percent of Roma women aged over 15.

In comparison with men, Roma women had lower rates for all monitored indicators. The largest difference was in the rate of unemployment, which was 20 percentage points lower for Roma women. Since the lower rate of female unemployment is not reflected in a higher rate of employment it is clear that the difference is covered by other economic statuses. In the case of women these statuses are primarily maternity and parental leave, but also retire-

ment, because when Roma women have a larger number of children they may start to receive an old age pension even before the limit of 55 years.

Roma men and women were approximately equally likely to be involved in work in the home. Sixteen percent of women and 17.3 percent of men reported such activity in the last seven days. Participation in requalification courses and training programmes was also approximately equal, with a slightly higher rate among women. The proportion was however negligible, despite the fact that the survey studied participation at any time in the previous year. The rate for education after the age of 15 was also equal for men and women (equally low).

The data indicate that there is very low involvement in the labour market as regards the Roma population of productive age. They do not always carry out work in the formal segment of the labour market. Work on homesteads is relatively frequent. Higher participation in work outside the household than is suggested by the employment rate may indicate involvement in the informal or illegal labour market, though the survey did not obtain more detailed information on the specific form of work.

Graph 6.5: Indicators for Roma men's and women's involvement in work – comparison (in %)


There was a relatively large difference between the rate of unemployment and participation in activation and education programmes. Given that most unemployment is long-term unemployment (see below), this may indicate that respondents had used up their opportunities for training and requalification in previous years but that the effect in terms of finding employment had not been very strong. Non-participation in activation work may also indicate a lack of motivation or the limited availability of such work. Especially in areas or locations with a high concentration of long-term unemployment of the Roma population all available unskilled work may already have been exhausted.²⁷

A comparison of the employment and unemployment situation in the Roma population and the general population in the same geographical area shows that the situation for Roma men and women also differs from the general situation in their region. While the employment rate for Roma men of productive age is barely higher than 10 percent, the rate for men in the general population in nearby areas was over 51 percent. The involvement in work of men in the general population during the previous week was also higher than the employment rate, though the majority of it took the form of work for an employer outside the household (48 percent vs. 12 percent for Roma men).

There was also a huge difference in the unemployment rate for Roma men and men from the general population. Unemployment among Roma males of productive age was as much as three times higher than unemployment among men of the same age belonging to the general population in nearby areas. Involvement in education programmes was also higher

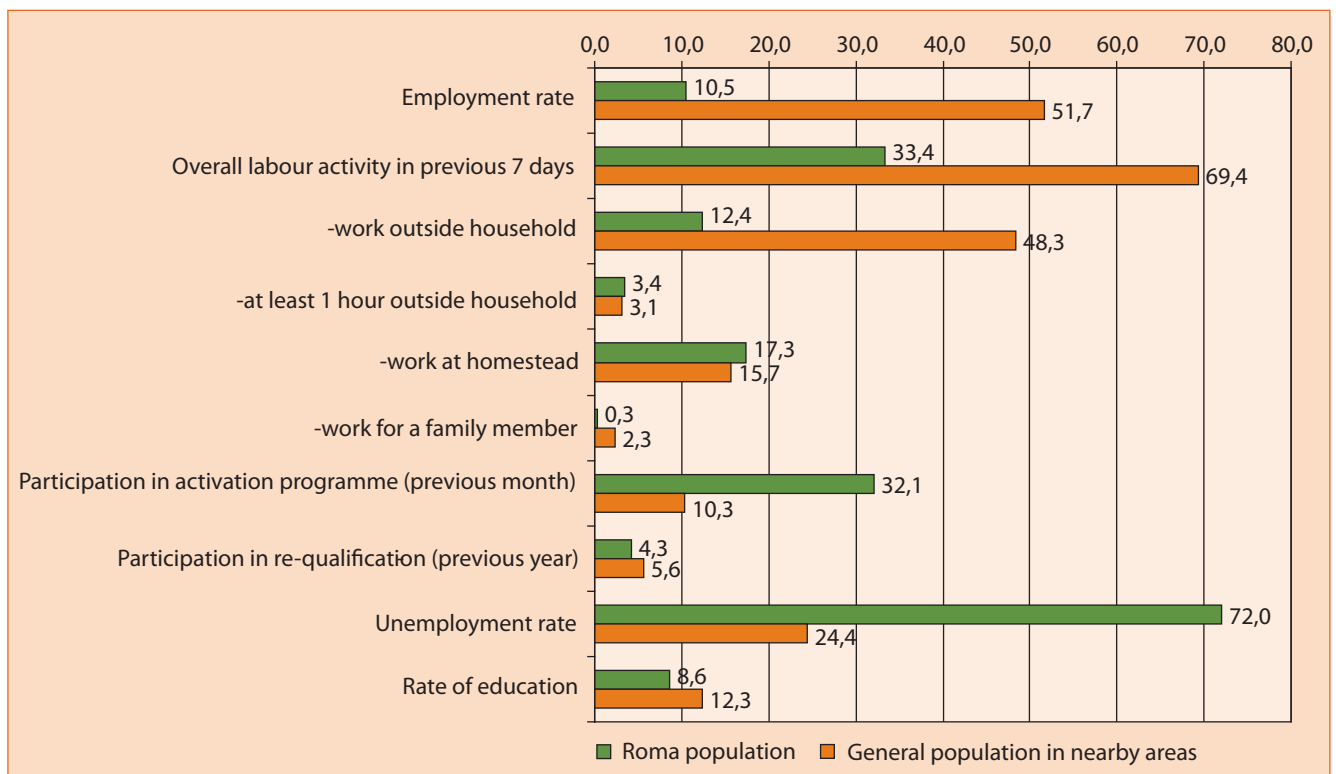
for men in the general population, while participation in activation work was more common among Roma men.

There was also a difference in the rate of education of males aged over 15: Males belonging to the general population in nearby areas have a 4 percent higher rate. This may mean that there is a higher proportion of secondary school and university-educated men in the general population of the region.

When comparing women of productive age in the general population and members of the Roma ethnic group, the differences were even more pronounced than in the case of men, especially as regards employment and involvement in work. The employment rate for women from the general population was ten times higher than for Roma women in the same region. The general population also produced a difference between declared economic status and the percentage that had done work in the last week. For women as compared to men there was less work outside the household and more work on homesteads. The rate of unemployment and participation in activation programmes showed the same tendencies for women as for men: significantly greater unemployment among Roma women, their greater participation in activation work but lower involvement in requalification and training for the labour market. As regards education over the age of 15, women from the general population were twice as likely to study as Roma women.

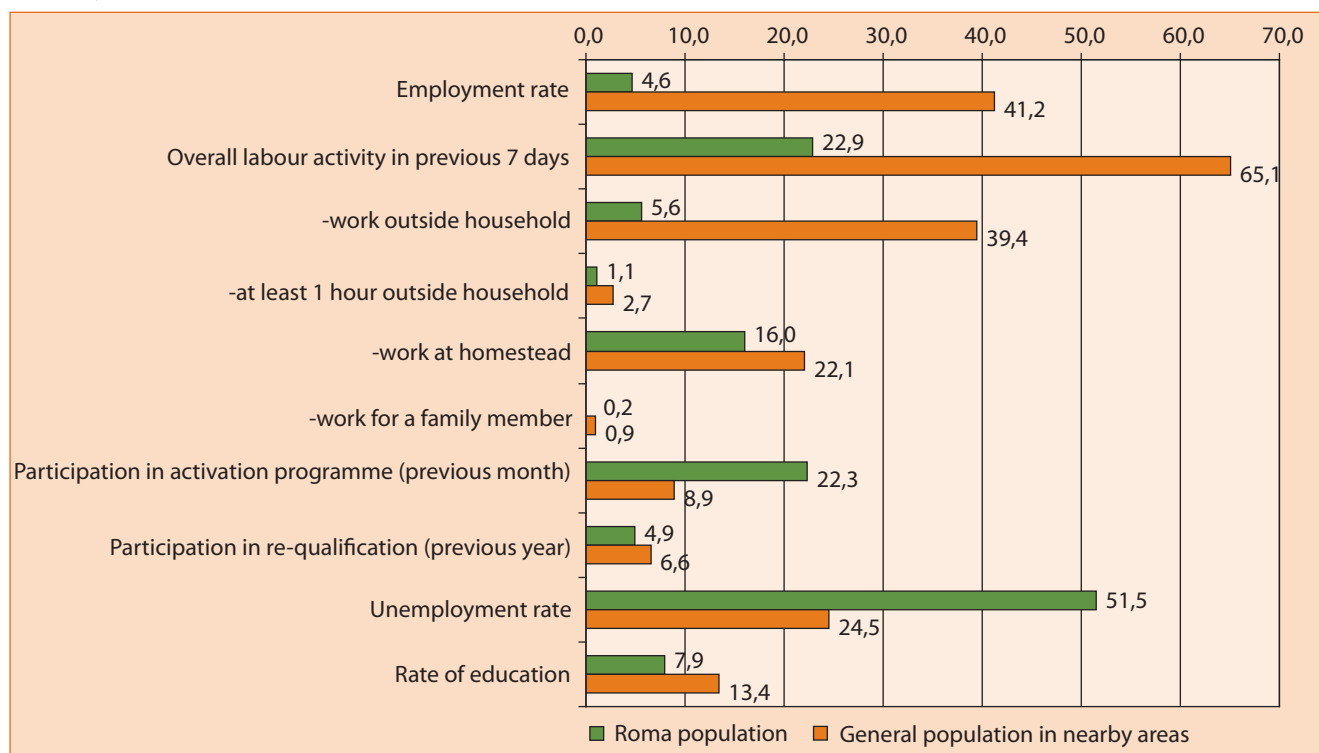
The differences revealed by the survey indicate that not all characteristics of Roma households are shared by the population in nearby areas. The large differences show that Roma men and women have a different status in the labour market even within their own region: they are more likely to be

Graph 6.6: Indicators of involvement in work among Roma men – comparison of the Roma population and the general population living in nearby areas (in %)



²⁷ Activation work is offered mainly by local governments at the communal level and it consists mainly of small, basic tasks such as maintaining the town and its surroundings, or providing cleaning services, cleaning buildings or public spaces and the like (Bodnárová, Filadelfiová 2005).

Graph 6.7: Indicators of involvement in work by Roma women – comparison of the Roma population and the general population in nearby areas (in %)

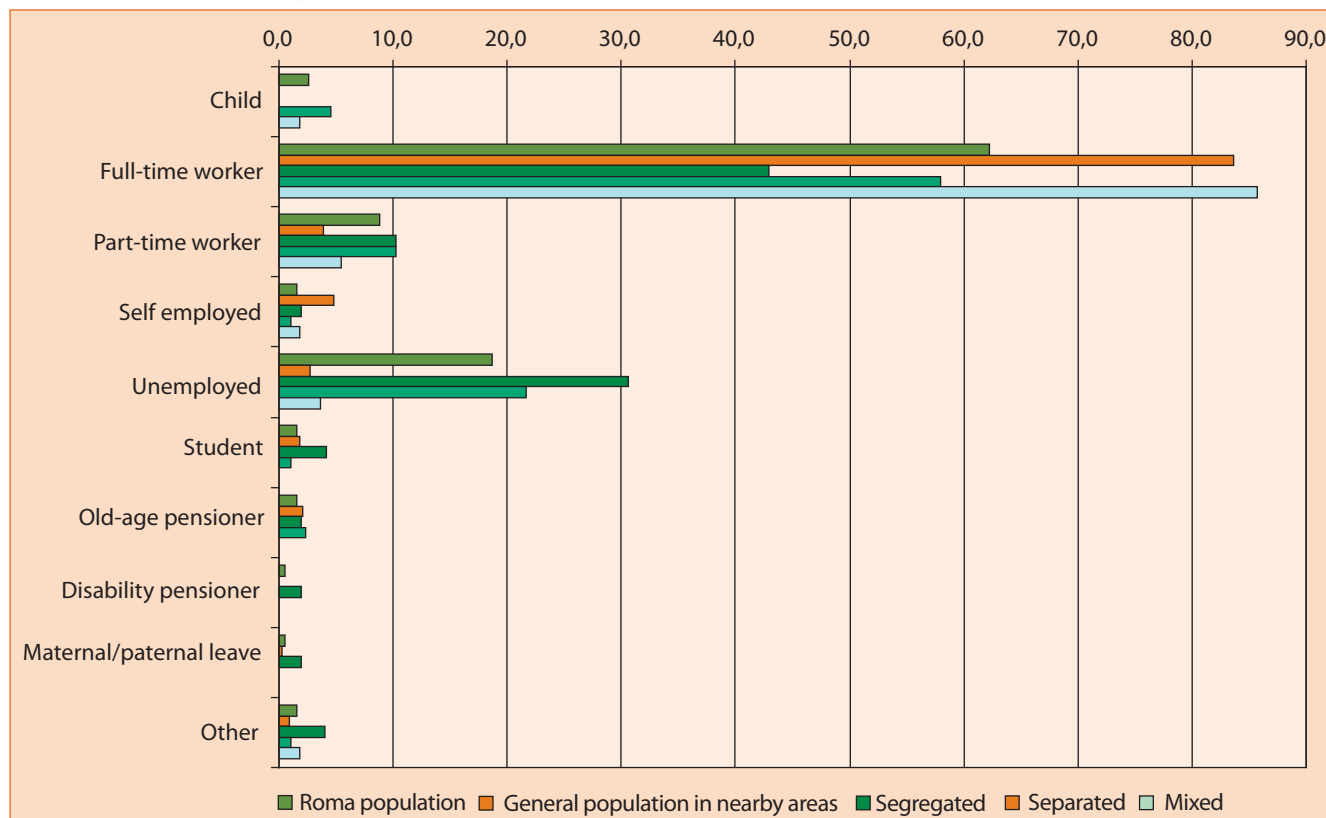


marginalized and less involved in the formal labour market. Differences can also be seen in the rate of use of activation measures and the use structure of individual programmes. The exclusion and the handicapping of the Roma population can be assessed as deep and functioning on many levels.

6.3 Involvement in work by economic status

The breakdown of those inhabitants who had carried out work outside their household revealed various economic

Graph 6.8: Involvement in work outside the household in the last week by economic status – comparison of the Roma and the general population in nearby areas (in %)



Note: The question on work activity outside the household in the last week was asked for all members of the household over 12 years of age. In this case the research did not take into consideration work in activation programmes.

statuses. Although the majority of work was carried out by employed persons (the majority full-time employees), other types of persons took part in work. The largest percentage of these others consisted of the unemployed, but there were also old-age pensioners and students and children. While most of the general population's work in the previous week was carried out as part of employment or self-employment (these terms cover 92.3 percent of work in the previous week) i.e. official work, and other statuses made up less than 8 percent, the situation in the Roma population was different.

In the Roma population, 72.6 percent of work outside the household in the previous week was carried out by employed persons and more than a quarter of work was carried out by persons who were not employed at the time. Most of them were unemployed persons, who made up nearly 20 percent but the total also included children under 15 and students. Work involvement of unemployed persons was most common in segregated settlements but it was also high among the Roma living in separated parts of towns and villages.

The results therefore confirm that part of the Roma population excluded from the formal labour market is involved in work in the informal market, where there is demand for its work. Exclusion from the labour market does not mean that a person has no access to work. Work involvement of unemployed persons was most common in the segregated and separated settlements.

6.4 Seeking work

Members of the Roma population that had not worked in the last week and did not have permanent employment were asked if they had looked for work in the last week. 17.7 percent of the Roma population stated that they had looked for work. The remaining 82.4 percent had not looked for work (in the general population in nearby areas, 8.9 percent had looked for work and 91.1 percent had not looked for work).

In addition to objective reasons such as a pension, school attendance or responsibility for caring for a child or sick person, reasons for not looking for work included the following:

- the belief that there was no work available (14.6 percent of the relevant Roma population and 8.1 percent in the general population);
- the belief that no one will accept them as an employee because of their ethnicity (8 percent of the relevant Roma population);
- despair – the belief that no one will employ them in any case (4 percent).

The belief that there was no work available was given more frequently by the inhabitants of segregated settlements and separated parts of towns and villages, ethnicity as a reason for not seeking employment was more common for the inhabit-

ants of mixed settlements. The proportion of those who had despaired was approximately the same in all three groups.

6.5 Long-term unemployment: intensity and length

Among the economically active but non-working part of the Roma population (i.e. excluding students, pensioners and persons on parental leave), 86 percent were registered with the labour office and 14 percent were not. There were no differences by settlement type for this indicator – the same proportion of registered and non-registered persons was found in those living in segregated, separated and mixed settlements. There was not even a difference in comparison with the general population of the region (84 percent registered and 16 percent unregistered).

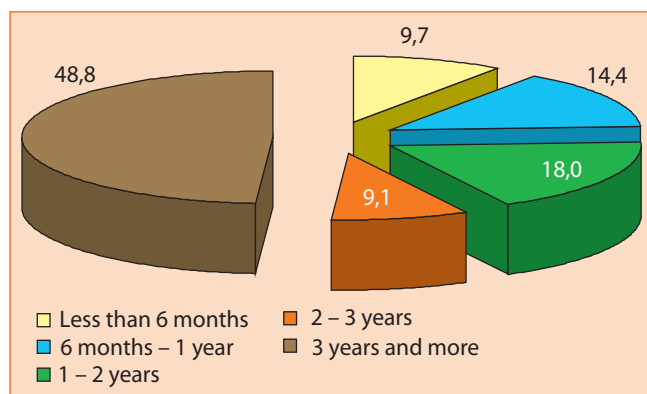
Various reasons were given for non-registration or the termination of registration. The most common explanation given by the Roma was "it doesn't matter at all. I'm not interested in it." Nearly 30 percent of respondents gave this explanation and it was more common in segregated and separated settlements. The second most common case was termination of registration for non-cooperation (nearly 25 percent).²⁸ The response that "the labour office doesn't help me with anything" was given by about a tenth of the relevant part of the Roma population. Another tenth stated that they had been removed from the register against their will. In the general population the most common reason given was "removed for non-cooperation".

The group registered with the labour office was asked how long they had been registered, i.e. how long their registration period had lasted. The great majority of Roma citizens registered with the labour office had been unemployed for a long time. Less than a tenth had been registered for less than half a year and those who had been registered for up to one year made up 24.1 percent. The remainder of the unemployed had been registered with the office for more than a year (75.9 percent) Among the long-term unemployed who had been out of work for over a year, the most frequent length of unemployment was over three years. 48.8 percent of the unemployed Roma population had been out of work for this length of time. This means that nearly half of Roma citizens registered as unemployed had been on the register for over 3 years.

The data show that not only does the unemployment problem affect the majority of the Roma population of productive age, but also that it affects people to a different extent depending on sex and type of settlement (education is also a factor but the numbers with a higher level of education were too small to allow further classification). Another characteristic feature of unemployment in the Roma population is long-term unemployment. Three quarters of unemployed Roma had been unemployed for over a year and half of them had been unemployed for over three years.

²⁸ The advantage of registering with the labour office is that the state pays contributions to health insurance and social security for the registered unemployed. On the other hand, there are duties associated with registration: it is necessary to report to the office regularly once a week, it is also necessary to declare all work-related and other income and so on. Failure to comply with the obligation of regular attendance at the office without confirmation of ill health from a doctor leads to the cancellation of registration. Individuals can also cancel their own registration and it can be cancelled for failure to attend an activation programme.

Graph 6.9: Length of registration with the labour office of unemployed members of the Roma population (in %)



The differences in terms of level of integration with the majority population are not particularly strong. It is noticeable that the proportion that has been unemployed for a very long time (over 3 years) is highest for the Roma living in mixed settlements. This shows that even integration with the majority population and the removal of potential problems with transport or access to labour offices does not lead to a reduction in the period of unemployment and greater success in finding a job. Since the proportion of persons excluded from the registers or unregistered is approximately the same in all three groups of the Roma population, one possible explanation is that the Roma population is more vulnerable to the discriminatory practices of employers.²⁹

When we compare the representation of different lengths of unemployment, it is interesting that the numbers in individual categories for length of registration appear as waves. There are fewer cases of unemployment lasting up to half a year (around 10 percent) and more cases in the categories from half a year up to two years (15-20 percent). The next period covering periods of 2-3 years has again smaller numbers (at the level of 10 percent) while the cu-

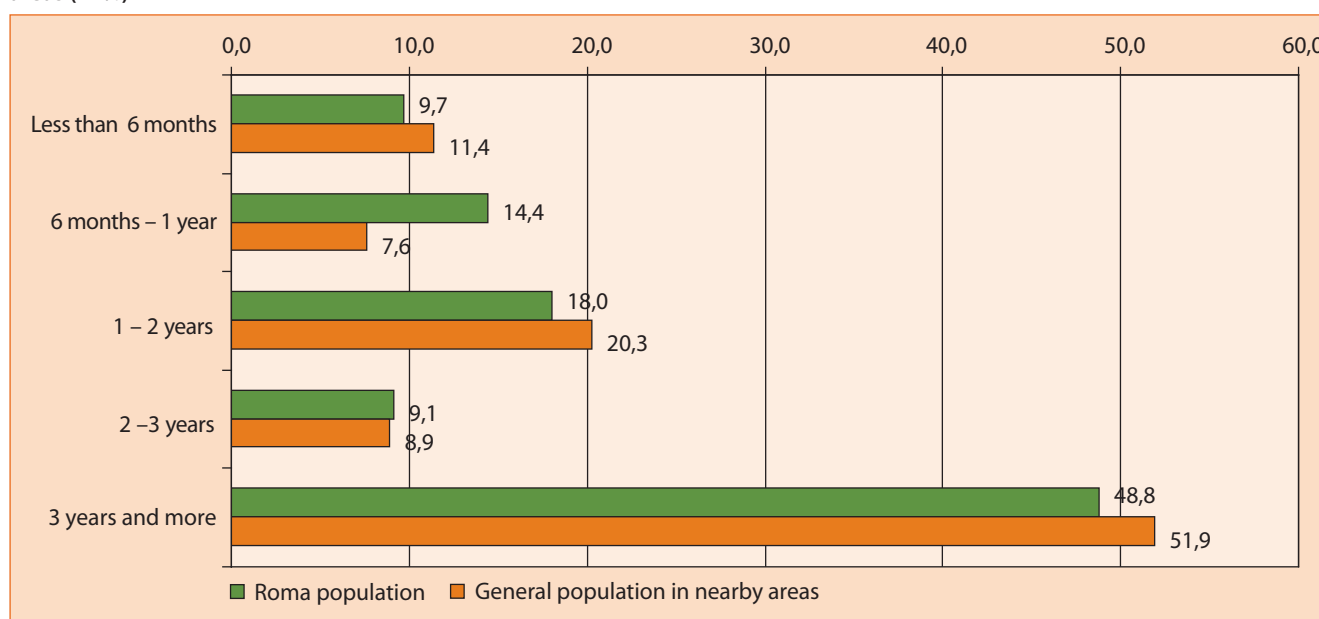
mulative categories over 3 years feature numbers over 40 percent (in the case of mixed settlements even more than 55 percent). Here we may see the influence of repeated unemployment, i.e. a division of the sample into a group that alternates periods of seasonal employment and unemployment and a group of permanently unemployed (the survey did not study repeated unemployment).

Table 6.5: Length of registration with the labour office of unemployed members of the Roma population by settlement type (in %)

LENGTH OF REGISTRATION	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Less than 6 months	9.8	10.4	9.0	9.7
6 months - 1 year	16.7	16.5	10.7	14.4
1 - 2 years	17.8	20.0	16.6	18.0
2 - 3 years	9.5	10.4	7.6	9.1
3 years and more	46.2	42.6	56.1	48.8
Registered unemployed total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

In the case of the length of unemployment, the situation of the Roma population and the situation of the general population in nearby areas are the same. In the general population, long-term unemployment is in fact higher than in the Roma population, but the situation is the same with regard to medium-term and short-term unemployment. The results show that unemployment in the Roma population tends towards long-term unemployment but the general population divides into two categories of unemployed persons: those who are in the register only for a short period and those who are unable to get out of their situation after they are registered. It is however necessary to note that in this we are considering the internal structure of unemployment. In terms of the overall size of unemployment, the situation of the general population is

Graph 6.10: Length of registration with the labour office – comparison of the Roma and general populations living in nearby areas (in %)



²⁹ The Roma population's experience of discrimination in the labour market and in seeking employment has not been the subject matter of complete research and therefore it is not possible to analyse this hypothesis in detail.

much less dramatic (unemployment of a half or a third of that in the Roma population).

The analysis has shown that unemployment is a widespread social problem for the majority of the Roma population of productive age. Unemployment in the Roma population is nowadays mainly long-term unemployment, which causes Roma women and men to lose the remainder of their qualifications for work. This creates a "cycle of deprivation" and reinforces a culture of poverty (also in the context of a lower level of social benefits), which has very negative effects on the life outcomes of the unemployed and also their families. Given the large proportion of children in the sample, the impact on the future life outcomes of the children of these families is especially dangerous.

6.6 Participation in activation work programmes

The terms "active" and "passive" have become permanent features of European labour market policy over the last two decades. On the basis of political documents, citizens are considered to have an active relationship with the labour market if they have a regular and legal income from work (they are involved in the formal labour market) and are not recipients of social benefits. They are also considered to be active even when they have no job but participate in specific programmes for the unemployed. Policies that make welfare conditional upon participation in work (including participation in programmes) are referred to as activation policies. Activation policies can be seen as a completely new type of policy or as a complementary policy to existing passive policies (Kvapilová 2006; van Berkel, Moller 2002).

Activation programmes were introduced into Slovak practice in February 2004 by *Act no. 5/2004 Coll. on Employment Services* with the aim of motivating citizens in material need to actively seek involvement in the labour market, increase their qualifications and skills, to carry out work for the benefit of the community, or take part in voluntary work.³⁰ The act also changed the structure of employment services and expanded the range of employment mediators (temporary employment agencies, employment support agencies). In place of the term "right to employment" the term "right to access to employment" was introduced. It tightened conditions for the registration of job seekers and also the conditions for removing and re-entering a person in the register of job seekers. Active labour market policy instruments were created and modified in accordance with the act. Counselling activities were strengthened (for example, the preparation of an individual action plan to support job hunting), education for the labour market – including contributions to educational institutions – was strengthened, a number of motivational grants were introduced, such as a grant for self employment, a job creation grant and an allowance for graduate internships and the like.

The act also gives rules for "activation activity" which is defined as: "...assistance in maintaining the working habits of the job seeker." According to the text of the act "activation activity shall have a duration of at least 10 hours per week and 40 hours per month apart from the month in which the activation activity began." The act sees activation activity as minor work carried out: "...in the form of minor community services for the town or village, organised by the town or village, or in the form of voluntary work organized by a legal entity or individual."

Box 17: Definition of entitlement to an activation allowance

A citizen of the Slovak Republic who is a registered job seeker and who also satisfies the conditions for receiving benefits for material need shall be entitled to an activation allowance if:

- he or she increases his or her qualifications through study alongside employment, combined study and study of individual teaching subjects or in the form of part-time study (this shall not apply if the citizen has gained a second-level university degree);
- takes part in education and preparation for the labour market provided in projects approved by the office;
- takes part in the provision of minor municipal services or volunteer work carried out by agreement with the office or the town or village

At the time of the research the level of the activation allowance was SKK 1,500 per month (in September 2005 it was raised to SKK 1,900). Originally it was paid over a period of six months, but later this time limit was cancelled. The labour office provides the activation allowance to the town or village or another entity defined in the law. Out of the total volume of financial resources intended for active labour market policies, up to 51 percent was reserved for the activation allowance. A special feature of the system that is often noticed (but also criticized by various parties) is that the activation allowance is paid from ESF funds.

Box 18: Information on providers of activation work and expenditure on activation work

4,255 organizations provided activation activities in the first half of 2005, which created and filled 129,372 places for activation activity, on the basis of which an allowance was agreed with a total amount of SKK 800,522,000. Some 6,788 positions were created for activation activity coordinators and 4,457 job seekers were put in these positions (Materiály MPSVR 2005).

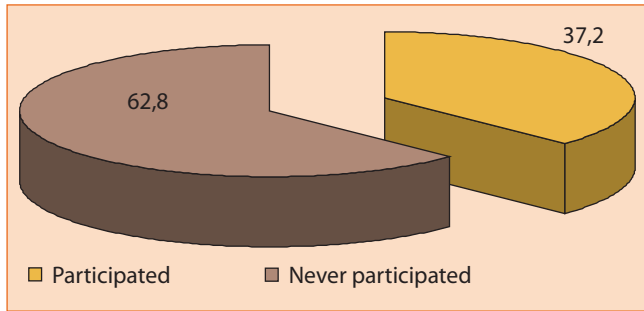
6.6.1 Rate of participation in activation programmes

The research into vulnerable communities has given relatively large attention to surveying the experience of the Roma population with activation programmes. It has monitored both the extent to which members of Roma house-

³⁰ Before that, *Act no. 453/2003 on state administration authorities for the areas of social affairs, family and employment services* established a specialized state administration for the area of social affairs and public employment services: the Central Office of Labour, Social Affairs and Family and local offices of labour, social affairs, and family were established (from 1.1.2004).

holds have been involved in activation programmes and their structure, and also their subjective perception of the purpose and effect of these programmes. In the first place, it asked how many respondents had worked in activation programmes. In response to the question: "Have you ever worked in an activation programme?" 37 percent of the Roma population in the survey answered in the positive. The remaining 63 percent stated that they had not yet worked in an activation programme.

Graph 6.11: Overall rate of the Roma population's participation in activation programmes (% of the total population over 18 years of age)



Note: The question was asked for all household members over the age of 18. The information was provided directly by individual household members or the head of household answered on their behalf. The percentage of direct responses was 78.5 percent and indirect responses made up the remaining 21.5 percent.

Overall participation in activation activities by settlement type was highest in the Roma population living in segregated settlements (41.4 percent). Where Roma lived separately the percentage was 31.7 percent and in mixed settlements it was 38.5 percent. More than 60 percent of the participants in activation work stated that they had worked on average more than 1 hour per day, with nearly 98 percent of them working under 2 hours per day (just 2 percent claimed a higher number of hours worked per day).

Table 6.6: Rate of the Roma population's participation in activation activities by period and settlement type (in %)

PERIOD	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Total (if ever)	41.4	31.7	38.5	37.2
In previous months	32.9	21.7	30.1	28.3
Difference	8.5	10.0	8.4	8.9

Note: The question was asked for all household members over the age of 18.

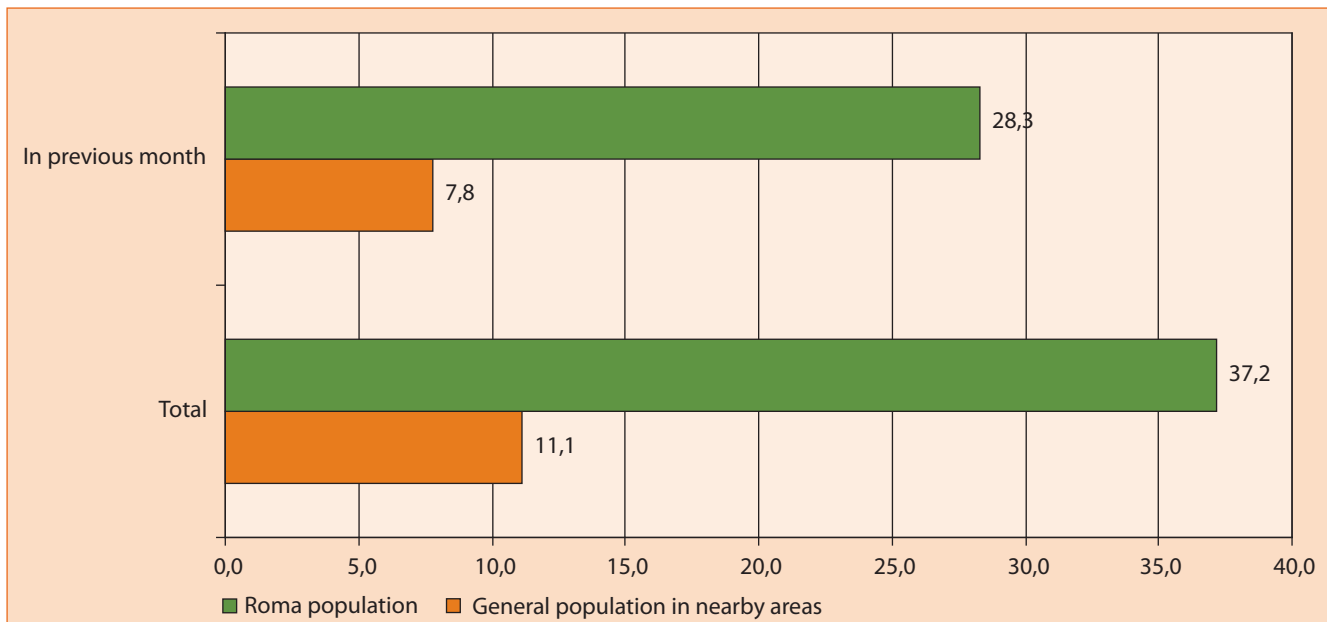
In addition to overall participation in activation work, the survey asked about participation in activation work in the last month. In the full sample of the Roma population this percentage was over 28 percent. Once again the participation rate was highest for the inhabitants of segregated settlements and lowest for those living in separated parts of towns and villages. This means that nearly a third of the Roma population over the age of 18 had taken part in activation work during the month before the data collection.

Comparison with the general population in nearby areas shows that the Roma population's rate of participation in activation programme is much higher. Their overall participation was over three times higher and nearly four times higher for participation in the last month.

6.6.2 Interest in activation work and reasons for non-participation in activation work

Respondents who had never taken part in activation work were asked whether they had ever applied for activation work. More than 20 percent of the relevant members of the Roma ethnic group stated that they had applied for an allowance or would like to apply or that it was impossible (in the general population the percentage was only 7.7 percent). The strongest interest was expressed by the group living in separated parts of towns and villages (28 percent) and the lowest in mixed settlements (12 percent).

Graph 6.12: Rate of participation in an activation programme by period – comparison of Roma and general populations living in nearby areas (in % of total 18+)



Most applications were not approved (some were still waiting for an answer), the most frequent reason being that there were too many applicants or not enough places. Apart from lack of places in the town or village for activation work, the reasons given most frequently include failure to meet the conditions of material need but also the belief that officials dislike the respondent. The answers show that interest in activation work is not always satisfied and that there are towns and villages where demand for activation work exceeds supply.

The reasons for non-participation in activation programmes were also studied in the group that had worked in such a programme in the past but had not participated in the last month. In most cases the reason was that their activation programme had come to an end (nearly 50 percent of the relevant group). More than a fifth stated that they had left the programme themselves for reasons such as the fact that the work was badly paid, that it was bad work, that they got into conflicts with the provider of activation work or that they found employment. There was very limited occurrence of other reasons for leaving an activation programme such as maternity leave, taking care of a sick family member, the respondent's own illness or the provision of opportunities for other applicants.

Table 6.7: Reasons for non-participation of the unemployed Roma population in activation work (in %)

REASONS FOR NON-PARTICIPATION	Share in %
Programme finished	47.2
I left the programme	21.7
Illness	8.3
Maternity leave	3.3
Sacked	3.3

When we consider the issue of activation work from the perspective of its declared purpose, i.e. "to encourage job seekers to look for involvement in the labour market, and increase their qualifications and skills" so that they can later transfer smoothly to the primary labour market, it can

be said that activation work has not completely fulfilled its declared purpose.

6.6.3 Subjective assessment of activation work

The subjective assessment of activation work by the Roma population was relatively positive. The majority of Roma who took part in activation work (over 77 percent) considered work in an activation programme to be useful or very useful. Only 9 percent gave a negative opinion.

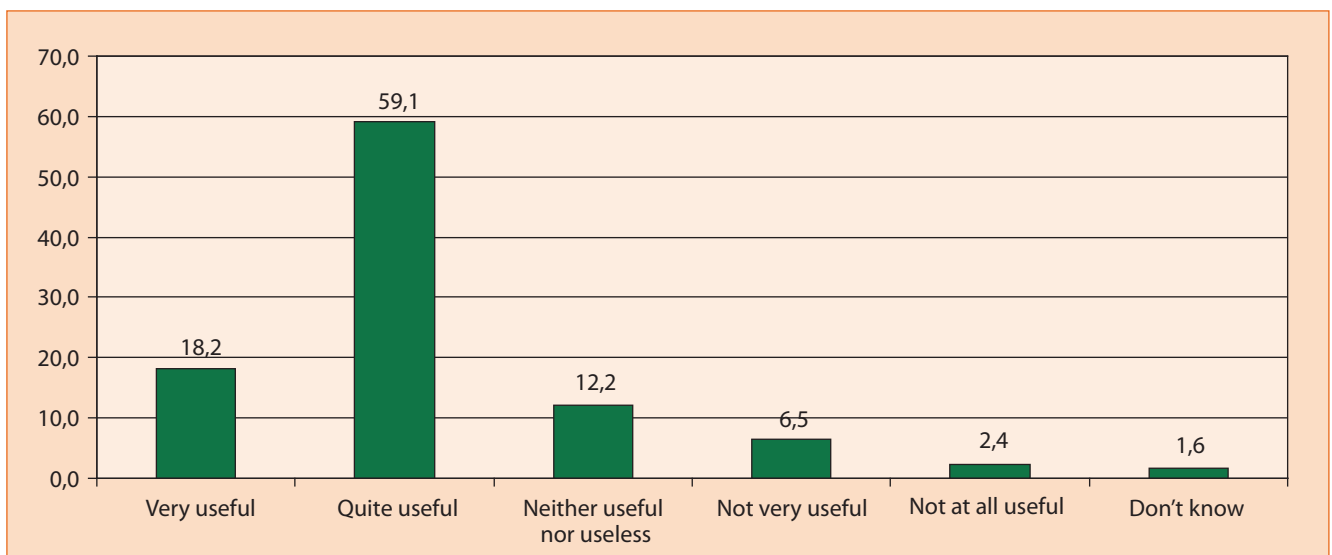
In response to the question: "Did the activation work motivate you to look for employment?", more than 50 percent of the Roma participants in activation work gave a positive response. From the answers it appears that a large part of the Roma appreciate the opportunity to take part in such work. Less than half (44.7 percent) thought that their participation had little or no effect on finding employment.

Table 6.8: Evaluation of motivational effects on participants in activation work by settlement type (in %)

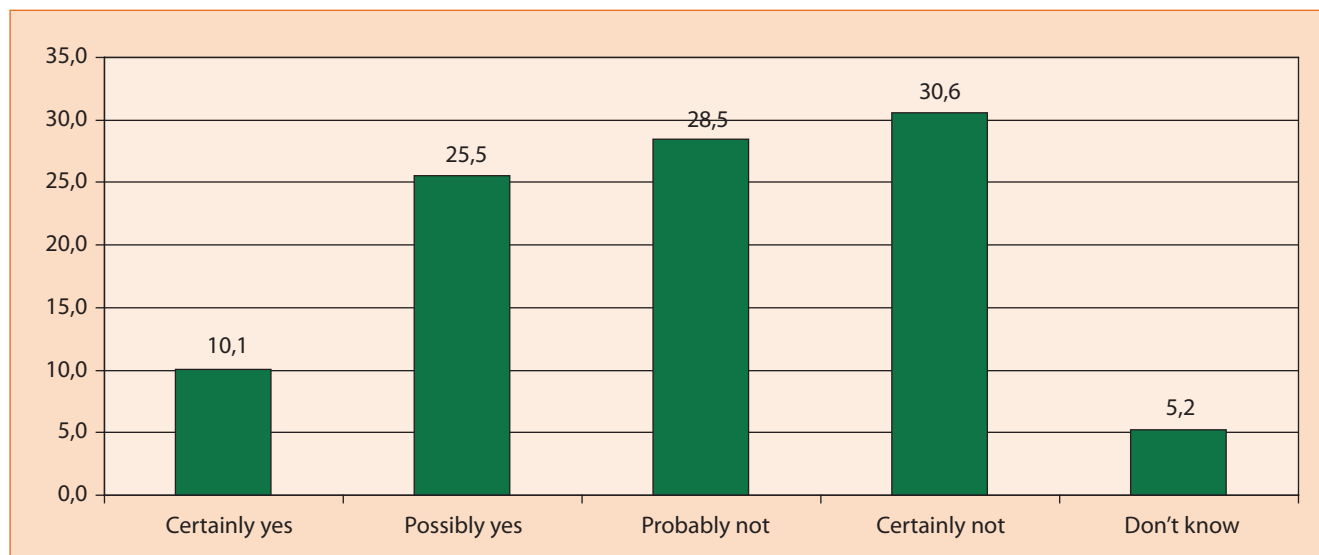
	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
It was very useful	26.4	27.3	46.4	19.2
It was quite useful	39.0	25.8	35.2	31.8
Neither useful nor useless	39.0	24.0	37.0	25.5
Not very useful	34.0	26.0	40.0	8.7
Not at all useful	61.7	16.7	21.7	10.5
Don't know	41.7	37.5	20.8	4.2
Roma population 18+ total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

On the other hand, only half of Roma participants in activation programmes believed that the programme improved their chance of finding employment. Most opinions were negative, held by 59 percent of respondents. The most positive assessment of the usefulness of activation work was given in relation to the motivational side of the programme, but when assessing the real chance of an increase in employment opportunities, people were largely negative.

Graph 6.13: Evaluation of the usefulness of respondents' participation in activation work (in %)



Graph 6.14: Evaluation of participation in activation work in terms of increased employment opportunities (in %)



At this point it would be imperative to ask what has gone wrong. Is the problem with the individuals or the institutions? The facts revealed by the survey can be interpreted as suggesting that people have accepted the system of activation programmes and want to work but their experience has led them to the conclusion that it will not help them find stable employment. This suggests that there may be errors or deficiencies in the way activation is organized. It appears that in its present form the activation programme is not achieving the effect that it was designed for (producing real improvement in the chance of finding stable employment).³¹

6.6.4 Provision of activation work: location and organizations

Nearly all Roma who participated in activation work did this in their place of residence (98.6 percent). Even when the respondent lived in a segregated settlements there was no difference, i.e. Roma from segregated settlements took part in activation programmes in the town or village to which their settlement is assigned in the cadastre. This facts show that activation work largely confines the participants to their place of residence and limits their opportunities for mobility. In certain cases (especially in smaller villages) long-term confinement within one environment and the same group of people can lead to a loss of social and communication skills. Activation work on a “municipality” basis probably fails to expand the social network of its participants. The only exception can be segregated settlements where activation work carried out in the village can be a way to bring the settlement more into the economy.

It is very common to ask whether activation programmes do not force some professions out of the formal labour market and do not, in this way, lead to the termination and replace-

ment of some stable jobs. More than 22 percent of the Roma participants in activation activities stated that they had previously carried out the same work that they did in activation programmes with a different working status. This finding could indicate that towns and villages and companies often use activation work as a way to reduce their expenses. They reduce them by transferring part of the work and services that the town or village must provide (together with their financing) into the activation programme.³² This question deserves deeper investigation in future.

Table 6.9: Correspondence of provider of activation work with former formal employer (in %)

CORRESPONDENCE	Segregated	Separated	Mixed	Total
Yes, in private firm	46.4	35.7	17.9	4.9
Yes, in municipal/state firm	31.2	37.6	31.2	16.3
No	39.7	21.9	38.4	78.3
Men total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The evaluation of the significance of activation work is a complex issue. In certain conditions it may be a factor that makes a partial contribution to overcoming the extreme social exclusion of the inhabitants of segregated settlements by integrating them spatially into the main current of society. On the other hand, the relatively low level of the activation allowance and the low number of hours that are really worked tend to marginalize the inclusive significance of activation.

According to the statements of the organizers of activation activity known from other studies and also in the opinion of many specialists, the previous system of work in the public interest, in which the Roma worked for a wage, however minimal, was better. In both cases employment was temporary and did not provide any guarantee that the

³¹ Oravec a Bošelová, 2006 contains a very critical assessment of the activation programmes.

³² Similar signals have been picked up by empirical probes carried out by the Centre for Work and Family Studies (Bodnárová, Filadelfiová 2005) studying the experience of local administration in providing activation work and providing social services.

job seeker would find a permanent position in the labour market, but this is all that the two systems have in common. While work in the public interest was financed as a specific programme of active labour market policy by a government grant, the employer (and the town or village) paid insurance to the social insurance agency for workers in the programme and the time worked counted towards a pension, which made the system more inclusive. Activation work is directly linked to a part of benefits for material need and its availability (the number of places) depends on what mayors and local government officials are able and willing to offer. In this regard welfare recipients are forced rather than motivated to work.

6.7 Experience of the unemployed with the labour office

6.7.1 Overall evaluation of the services of labour offices for finding jobs

The high rate of long-term unemployment (lasting several years) among Roma registered with the labour office shows that these unemployed people have rich experience of the activities of this organization and the approach of its employees. Our research therefore set out to capture the experience of these clients. One of the questions in the research focused on their overall evaluation of the services of the labour office in finding work. Approximately half the relevant Roma population (50.9 percent) gave a negative evaluation of the activity of the offices (total of answers “not helpful” and “not helpful at all”). The worst assessment (did not help at all) was given by more than a fifth of them. 19.7 percent of Roma respondents were unable to give an

opinion and over a fifth gave a relatively positive assessment (somewhat helpful).

Table 6.10: Evaluation by unemployed Roma of the assistance of the labour office in finding employment, by settlement type (in %)

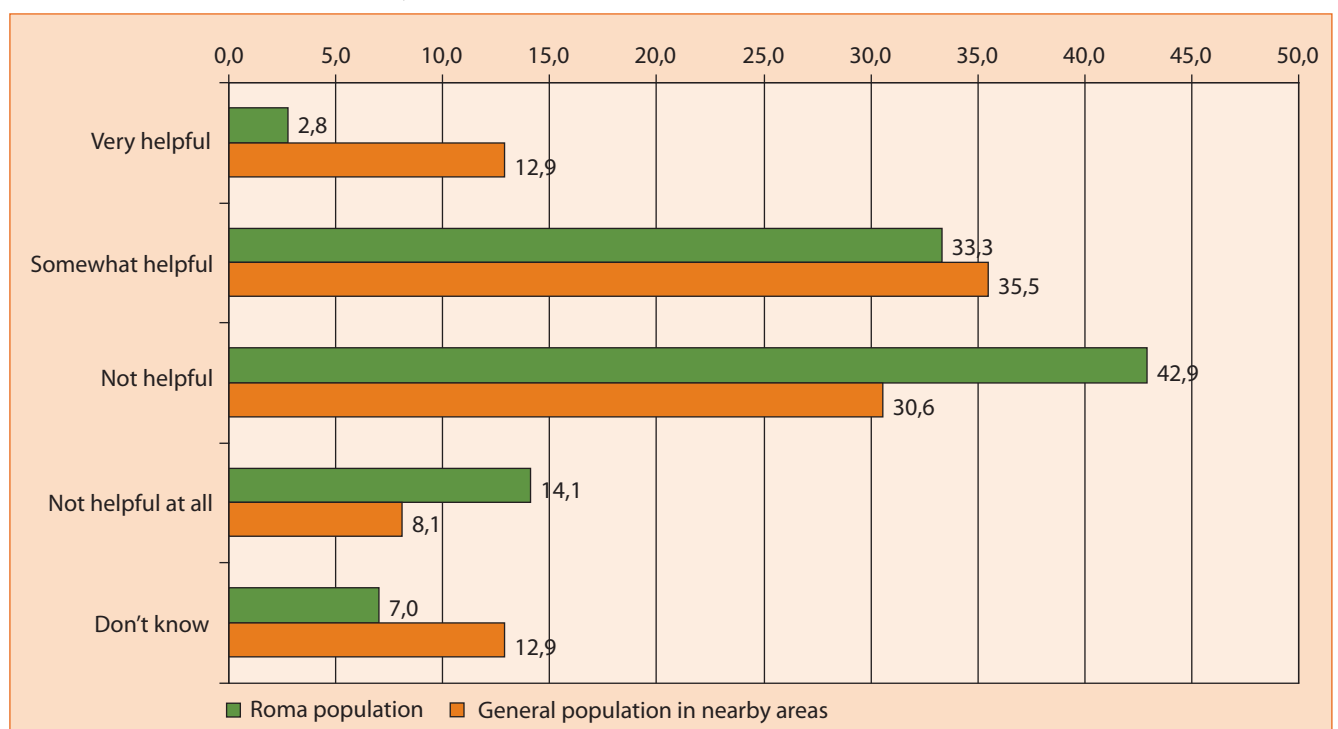
DEGREES	Segregated	Separated	Mixed
Very helpful	4.3	2.4	4.3
Somewhat helpful	19.5	21.1	24.4
Neither helpful nor unhelpful	23.8	19.9	15.8
Not helpful	23.1	36.2	29.0
Not helpful at all	25.3	17.1	22.1
Don't know	4.0	3.3	4.3
Roma unemployed total	100.0	100.0	100.0

The highest proportion of Roma unemployed who stated that the labour office did not help them at all in finding work were in the segregated settlements (25.3 percent). Among those living in separated parts of towns and villages the percentage was 17.1 percent and for those living in mixed communities it was 22 percent. 19.5 percent of the unemployed in segregated settlements thought that the labour office was relatively helpful compared to 24.4 percent among those living in mixed communities and 21.1 percent of those living in separated communities.

6.7.2 Satisfaction with information from labour offices

The relatively unfavourable evaluation of the services of the labour offices given by unemployed Roma was reflected to a certain extent in their satisfaction with the provision of

Graph 6.15: Evaluation of the usefulness of information provided by the labour office – comparison of the opinion of Roma and the general population living in nearby areas (in %)



Note: This question was answered by those who were registered with the office of labour, social affairs, and family.

information to help them find employment. 37.5 percent of the relevant group in the Roma population thought that the labour offices provide some information and only 4.2 percent receive a lot of information. 18.9 percent claim that the information is insufficient and 35.8 percent claim there is no information at all. The supply of information is better in the opinion of the general population in nearby areas. A tenth of them receive a lot of information from the labour office and 42.7 percent, some information. In this sub-group too there is a relatively high percentage who claim that the offices of labour social affairs and family do not provide any information (30.3 percent).

6.7.3 Evaluation of the usefulness of information provided by labour offices

A third of the Roma unemployed found the information that they received from the labour office to be useful. 42.9 percent of them considered it to be unhelpful and 14.1 percent even stated that it was absolutely useless. This means that more than half of unemployed Roma think that labour offices provide information that is not useful. In this context it is worth taking a closer look at the answers given by respondents according to how they assessed the office's provision of information. Of Roma respondents who receive a lot information, 28.6 percent consider this to be very useful and as many as 45.7 percent say that it is not very useful. Among Roma residents who do not receive a lot of information from the labour office the situation with regard to its quality is slightly different. 48.1 percent of these respondents rate the information as more useful than not and 33.5 percent say it is not very useful.

The opinion of the Roma unemployed was a lot more critical than that of the unemployed from the general population in nearby areas. In terms of settlement type the most

critical opinions were given in separated parts of towns and villages.

6.7.4 Information provided by labour offices relating to travel allowances

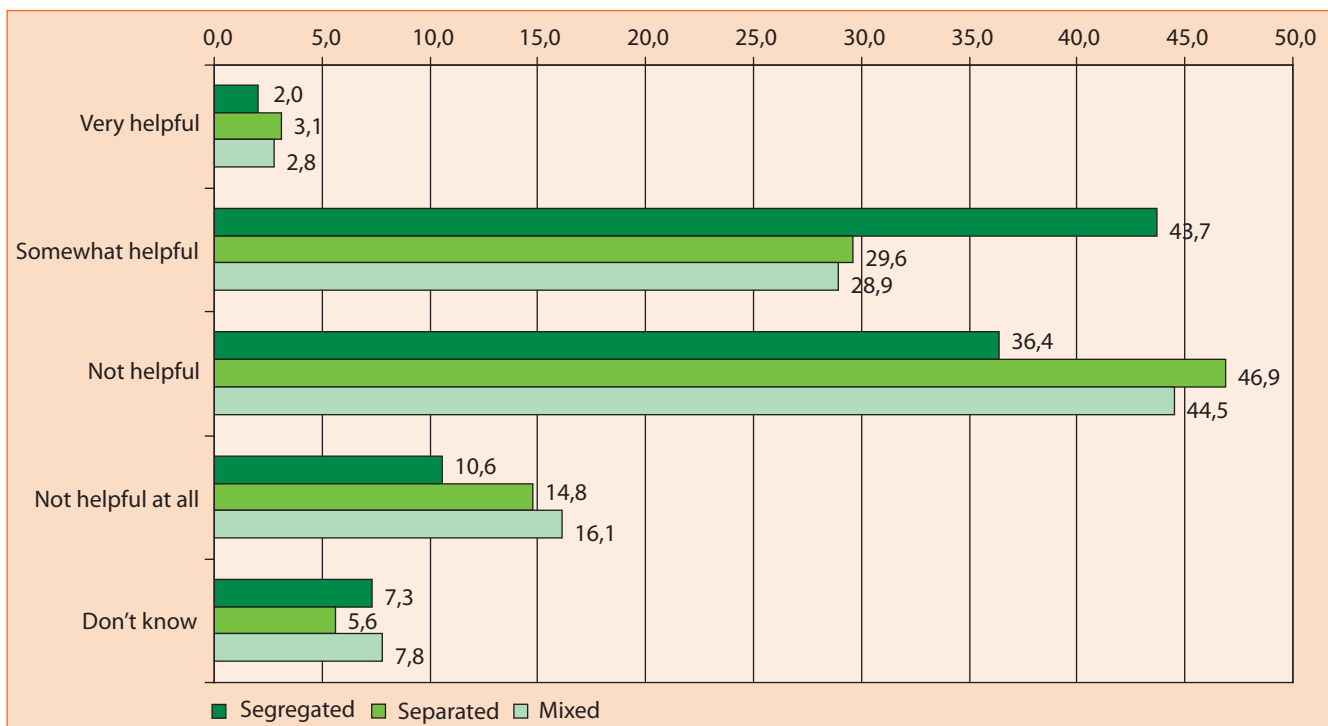
The new active labour market policy instruments are an allowance that repays travel costs in relation to work and another that supports people starting a business. Respondents registered with the offices of labour and social affairs were asked if the offices had informed them that they could receive these forms of contribution and assistance in finding work. 14.6 percent of Roma unemployed had received this type of information and 84.6 percent were not aware of it. The highest proportion of respondents who had been informed by the offices came from those who live in mixed settlements; the smallest percentage was among those living in separated parts of towns and villages.

The information given shows that the unemployed are not very highly satisfied with the assistance and services for employment provided by the offices of labour, social affairs and family. There were substantial differences between the opinions of Roma and the general populations in nearby areas: the Roma unemployed had a more critical opinion. Dissatisfaction related mainly to the quality of information provided and the amount of information.

6.8 Main conclusions of Chapter 6

This chapter has shown that the involvement in the labour market of the Roma population of productive age is very low, even compared to the general population in nearby areas. It also has shown that work is carried out not only within the formal labour market but also within the infor-

Graph 6.15: Evaluation of the usefulness of information provided by the labour office – comparison of the opinion of Roma in different settlement types (in %)



mal labour market, and a number of non-standard forms of work were observed (work in the home and the like).

Among economically active Roma who do not work (i.e. not including students, pensioners and persons on parental leave), three quarters were registered with the labour office. Unemployment in the Roma population is mainly long-term unemployment, which causes Roma women and men to lose the remainder of their qualifications for work. This creates a "cycle of deprivation" and reinforces a culture of poverty, which has very negative effects on the life outcomes of the unemployed and also their families. Given the large proportion of children in the sample, the impact on the future life outcomes of the children of these families is especially dangerous.

Long-term unemployment in the Roma population is linked to the type of settlement (degree of segregation), the possibilities for travel to work, the local labour market and the jobs available, but also the lack of quality jobs. The

research included few indicators relating to lifestyle and therefore it is difficult to evaluate the relation between the "culture of poverty" and activation in relation to the labour market.

The Roma's low level of success in finding jobs and employment is linked not only to the overall lack of jobs in the region where they live, but also to their low level of education and qualifications for work. In the majority of cases, activation work does not resolve the situation because demand for it is greater than supply in many regions and it does not support the growth of skills for work. Furthermore, it has driven many jobs out of the formal labour market, especially low-skill jobs.

With regard to the declared objectives of activation work "to support people in actively involving themselves in the labour market and increasing their skills and qualifications", it can be said that there are a number of problems in the way that these programmes relate to the Roma population.

7

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

All the indicators and directions of analysis relating to the social situation of Roma households in the Slovak Republic show three main tendencies:

- by most measures a worse situation was found in Roma households than in the general population in the same geographical area – for indicators relating to housing, the availability of drinking water, dependency on social assistance benefits, and the level of debt.
- within the context of Roma households there were worse parameters for households living in segregated settlements, and the population with the most similar situation was in separated parts of towns and villages.
- in all dimensions there was a correspondence between objective indicators and subjective assessments of the situation

The analysis of the status of the Roma population in the labour market has clearly shown that a reduction in the level of long-term unemployment and an increase in employment in these groups of the population must be a clear and long-term objective of public employment policy in the Slovak Republic, because the situation requires a long-term solution and multi-faceted approach.

In the long term this objective can be achieved by increasing the level of education in the Roma population. To achieve this objective it is necessary to find measures of active employment policy that have a better connection not only to the welfare and social security system but also to education and housing policies (an inter-ministerial approach). With regard to education policy it is necessary to at least consider introducing positive actions (affirmative action, positive 'discrimination') at least for a transitional period.

To improve the living conditions of the Roma population "here and now" it is necessary to seek measures and instruments for the labour market that really make it possible for people to obtain employment. The ideal solution would be to obtain employment in the primary labour market, i.e. permanent, formal employment. The pursuit of this objective could be assisted by measures that would enable individualization of assistance and support and at the same time bring job creators – employers into the solution process. The solution might be "local programmes" involving a number of agents.

The structure of employment shows that there is a tendency towards involvement in the informal labour market. A very small part of the Roma population was involved in the labour market or was self employed. Our analysis has shown that even a significant reduction in the level of wel-

fare and making benefits conditional upon "activation" has not improved the situation of the Roma population in terms of the level of employment. Although a gap has been created between working pay and social assistance benefits, there has been no massive return to the labour market. The stated fact shows that the problem is linked mainly to the concentration of disadvantaged groups in regions where there is a lack of available work. Reductions in social assistance benefits have in fact worsened living conditions for many Roma households (based on people's subjective feeling that conditions are worse). Making a part of social assistance benefits conditional upon performing activation work has also not increased employment opportunities for the Roma population (especially in the case of those in segregated or separated settlements) or boosted access to the primary and formal labour market. In concentrated areas of exclusion demand for positions in activation work exceeds supply. It also happens that activation work presses numerous jobs out of the labour market that would be suitable for workers without qualifications. It has been shown that the objective and subjective aspects of this work do not increase participants' skills for work and do not increase their employment or involvement in the formal labour market.

The analysis has shown that a high rate of dependency on social assistance benefits is the result of a combination of several factors (lack or inadequacy of skills and qualification, the effect of the marginalized region and so on). For this reason, efforts at reduction must follow a number of lines at once.

Despite the large percentage of recipients of poverty-related social benefits, very few households in the Roma population received a housing allowance. The conditions for providing a housing allowance are set in a standard way and the housing conditions for precisely that part of the Roma population living in segregated or separated settlements do not meet these conditions. The result is a low number of recipients even among households that live in material need.

Another social policy instrument that requires changes to better serve the Roma population is providing motivational scholarships for pupils and students. The very low take-up rate for scholarships in the studied sample of Roma shows that the situation cannot be solely the result of a lack of interest or willingness on the part of parents and that the criteria for granting the motivational grant "misses" the desired effect in situations affecting the vulnerable community.

Half the Roma gave a negative evaluation of the services of labour offices, and a fifth of them gave the worst possible evaluation. Although this represents the opinion of only

one side, and the employees of the labour office might dispute this information, it is certain that relations between the given institutions and their clients in the Roma population are highly problematic. A possible solution would be to place greater emphasis on the individual approach to the clients of the social system and reduce barriers to communication. This could be carried out through the use of specific resources for purposes such as training for employees of the labour offices in how to communicate with marginalized ethnic or social groups.

Language barriers are often a factor limiting the social network and isolating Roma within their own community. Access to information on job openings or information that makes access to job openings easier is limited by language barriers and the limited network. The only source of information remains the Roma's own community (affected by the same problem of marginalization in the labour market or dependency on welfare) or local offices of labour, social affairs and family (which can work only with the jobs currently available in the region). Given the regional concentration of the Roma population with the same profile, it is important to provide targeted education that provides a preparation for the professions and jobs that are available in the region.

A low level was found by objective indicators and subjective evaluation in the living conditions of Roma households. Inadequate formalization of ownership relations for housing (informal status of ownership), "traditional" models for life and life strategies can be a further obstruction to improving living conditions and economic development.

The low level of living conditions is also related to bad communal infrastructure, especially access to water. The main source of water is located outside the home for nearly half of the Roma households. Approximately one fifth of them had to travel for water. A lack of direct water sources contributing to an unfavourable environment must be addressed at the local government level making use of the potential of the affected communities.

The research has shown that within the sample of Roma households the worst parameters were found in households living in segregated settlements and the best in households living in mixed settlements with the majority – i.e. with the highest degree of spatial integration. Integration including a good command of the majority language is shown to be the best way to escape from the poverty trap. Increasing integration gives better opportunities for gaining education, education gives better opportunities for finding employment and employment reduces dependency on welfare and increases the disposable income of the household.

The need so often cited for a cross-sectional, multi-dimensional approach to reducing poverty shouldn't remain on the level of words but should be acted upon. This requires the involvement of all relevant stakeholders at the central, regional and local level, together with employers.

Some of the necessary measures are:

Social assistance

- Paying attention to the multidimensional character of the problem while reducing dependency on social assistance benefits.

- Review the sense and purpose and possibly also the conditions of the housing allowance. It is necessary to study the effects of the new form of housing allowance and the rate of its use in Slovakia.
- Reassessment of the purpose and significance of motivational scholarships for students, and if necessary, their modification to focus on the Roma population.
- With regard to the International Convention on the Rights of the Child, the government should pay greater attention to the rights of Roma children to adequate living conditions.

Education

- Initiate a public debate on the possibilities for implementing temporary balancing measures for the Roma in the area of education.
- Ensure the availability of pre-school education.
- The area of discrimination against Roma in access to education should be studied in all its complexity, i.e. not only at the level of breaches of basic minority rights in education but in the whole context of the educational system in Slovakia.
- Measures for the education of Roma children should be prepared systematically from pre-school education through primary education to support for secondary and university education.
- The most significant problem for equal access of Roma children to education is currently unjustified placements in special schools. In this context it will be necessary to ensure the following for the future:
 - strict compliance with the mechanisms set by law for placing children in special schools;
 - the distribution and putting into use of culturally appropriate diagnostic tests to protect unwarranted placements;
 - implementing repeated diagnostic tests for children placed in special schools to enable their reintegration into regular primary schools;
 - the development of mechanisms to check the classification of children and their placement in special schools.
- Develop mechanisms that would make it possible for Roma to apply their right to study in their own language.
- Consider extending compulsory school attendance to the age defined in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (18 years).

Labour offices and employment

- Strengthen and improve the quality of relations between unemployed Roma and the labour offices.
- Develop an individual approach to the clients of the social system and make a planned reduction in barriers to communication.
- When making state orders, give preference to subjects that will create jobs for long-term unemployed Roma.

- Promote good practices in employing Roma in the public and private sectors.
- Promote the employment of Roma in the private sector through corporate social responsibility programmes.
- Public administration bodies should set a positive example for other employers through the employment of Roma.
- Investigate conditions for self-employment and small businesses in vulnerable segments of the population.
- Investigate possibilities for micro-loans for marginalized groups in the population in relation to starting small businesses and also for the elimination of usury.
- Adapt the current conditions for the support of self-employment and the provision of trade licences to make them accessible for members of marginalized groups. This can be achieved through the use of an "incubator" and assistance in setting up and starting a business.
- Activate the Roma but reconsider the purpose and effectiveness of activation allowances.
- Investigate the options for creating a so-called intermediate market to employ the long-term unemployed.

Infrastructure and the environment

- Monitoring of the situation in all settlements and identification of those issues that represent an acute problem from the environmental perspective.
- Involve the Roma in the management and protection of nature and create a system and feeling of co-ownership of natural resources.
- Continue and accelerate construction of new water mains and sewers for Roma parts of towns and villages and connect shantytowns to the pipelines where possible.
- Improve direct access to sources of potable water so as to make the environment more favourable. This problem must be addressed at the local government level, making use of the potential of the affected communities.
- Seek alternative methods for the construction of social housing, making use of energy savings and environmentally friendly technologies and heating systems (for example heating using biomass instead of electricity).
- Plan the creation of jobs in environmental management, production of renewable sources of energy and waste management. This ecological work could provide opportunities for people with low qualifications.

Housing

- Develop a strategy for fighting discrimination in housing, not only in the public but also in the private rental sector. Where housing is supported with state funds, take into consideration the potential for integration that the project represents, the participatory character of the project and its connection to other development activity. Propose a strategy that would limit the creation of separated communities, that would always be owned by towns and villages and that would be built with state assistance.
- Create conditions for the development of a vertically open system of rented accommodations – from hostels

through social housing (where part of the rent is paid from public funds) and economical housing (where the rent would cover only costs) to flats rented for profit.

- Also propose other possibilities for the development of housing in so-called Roma settlements: for example, reconstruction, purchase of old homes and the like.
- Resolve the issue of high energy and water prices for those dependent on welfare, e.g. through the existence of guaranteed quotas per person, vouchers, or direct subsidies.
- Aim public policy instruments at areas where Roma live. Unsuitable conditions relate to both housing size and building materials, and also questions of the legal status of the building.
- The low quality housing of a part of the Roma population should be the subject of a socially coordinated approach of the central government and local government bodies.
- Construction of rental flats should continue, but it is necessary to define what social housing is, because Slovakia is one of the last EU countries that has not specified this. Construction should not support segregation. The future users of flats or houses should also be involved in the construction process.

In general

- Motivate towns and villages to produce a socio-demographic profile of their communities.
- Start an effective and focused information campaign to give information about the rights established in the anti-discrimination act to bodies that must abide by the principles of equal treatment, vulnerable groups, and also the general public.
- Pay special attention to so-called multiple cumulative discrimination (e.g. Roma women are discriminated against both because of their ethnicity and because of their sex).
- Support social work in the field, but also prepare instruments to support other sorts of community work, especially that carried out by health workers, work assistants and also voluntary workers.
- Support strengthening the Roma identity.
- Include the history and culture of the Roma in school textbooks on Slovak themes.
- Support the comprehensive inspection of research, measurements and approaches used to identify poverty and social exclusion in Roma settlements for the purposes of assessing their appropriateness, information value and possible use in further research.
- Improve the ability of existing instruments to capture the given issues.
- Reuse measurements and approaches so that it is possible to obtain comparable data over time and capture the development of living conditions. Carry out an in-depth monitoring of the development of the situation in accordance with one of the main recommendations of the Decade of Roma Inclusion.

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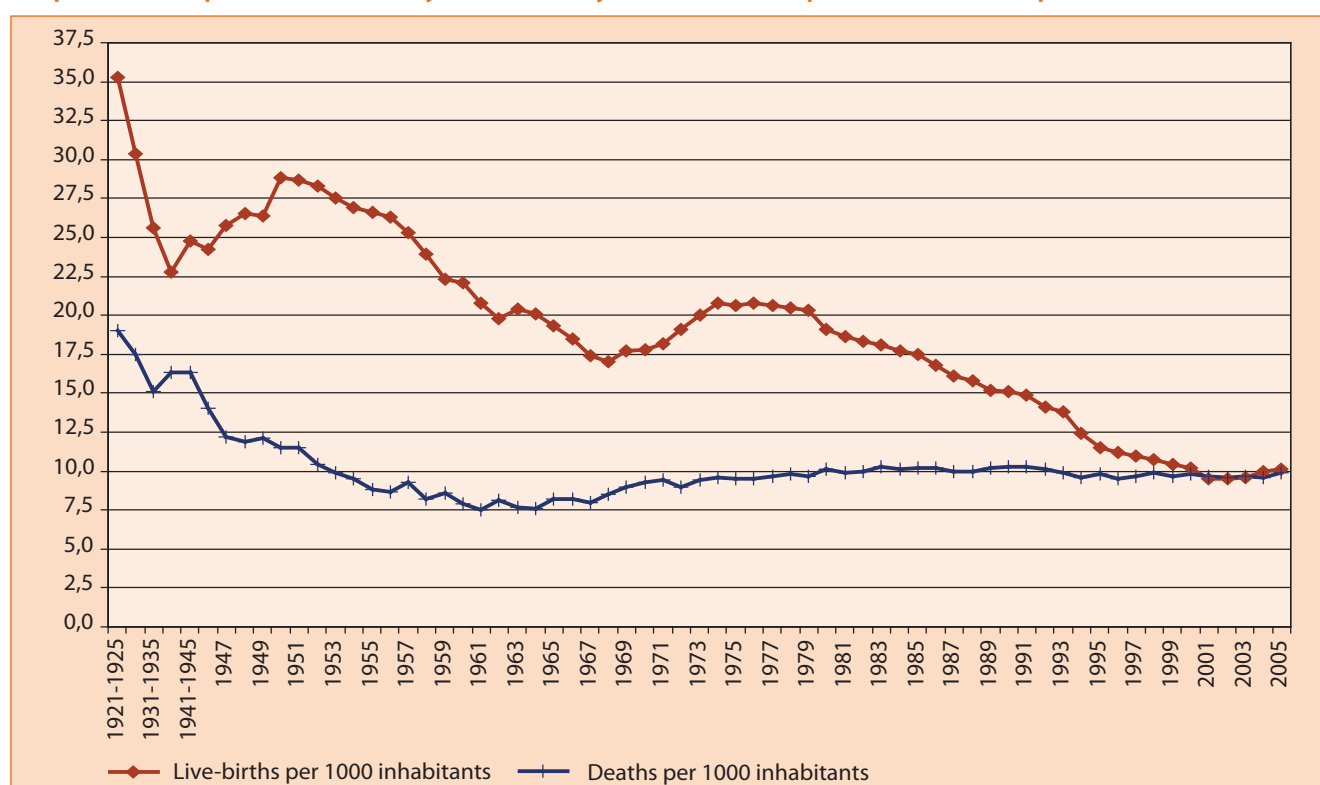
ANNEX 1: Supporting data

Table 1: Selected indicators of composition and size of households in the Slovak Republic (comparison in years)

HOUSEHOLD TYPE	1961	1970	1980	1991	2001
Jointly managed households /total (in thousands)	–	1 267	1 585	1 778	1 900
– in which % ratio of composed JMH (2+ CH)	–	5,8	4,3	2,9	7,8
Census households/ total (in thousands)	1 183	1 345	1 660	1 832	2 072
Average number of census household members	3,5	3,4	3,0	2,9	2,6
Census households by type (in %):					
– two-parents families	81,2	78,5	70,6	67,7	56,4
– one-parent families	8,4	8,6	8,2	10,4	11,9
– singles	9,3	11,9	19,8	21,8	30,0
– other	1,1	1,0	1,4	0,4	1,7
Two-parent families by children up to age of 15 (in %)					
– with children up to age of 15	47,6	44,2	38,3	41,6	31,1
– without children up to age of 15	33,6	34,3	32,3	25,8	25,3
Two-parent families by economic activity of woman (in %)					
– woman economically active	32,8	42,6	50,1	48,9	40,0
– woman in household	48,4	35,9	20,5	18,5	16,4

Source: Census of the population, houses and flats 2001. Bratislava, Statistical Office of the SR 2002. Statistical Yearbook of the SR 2003. Bratislava, Statistical Office of the SR 2003.

Graph 1: Developments of natality and mortality in the Slovak Republic (1921-2005, per 1 000 inhabitants)



Source: Natural movement of the population in the Slovak Republic from 1920 to 2003. Bratislava, Statistical Office of the SR 1950-2004. Informative report of the Statistical Office of the SR about demographic developments in the Slovak Republic, www.statistics.sk (quoted according to: Filadelfová 2006).

Table 2: Population by productive age (as of 31 Dec., in %)

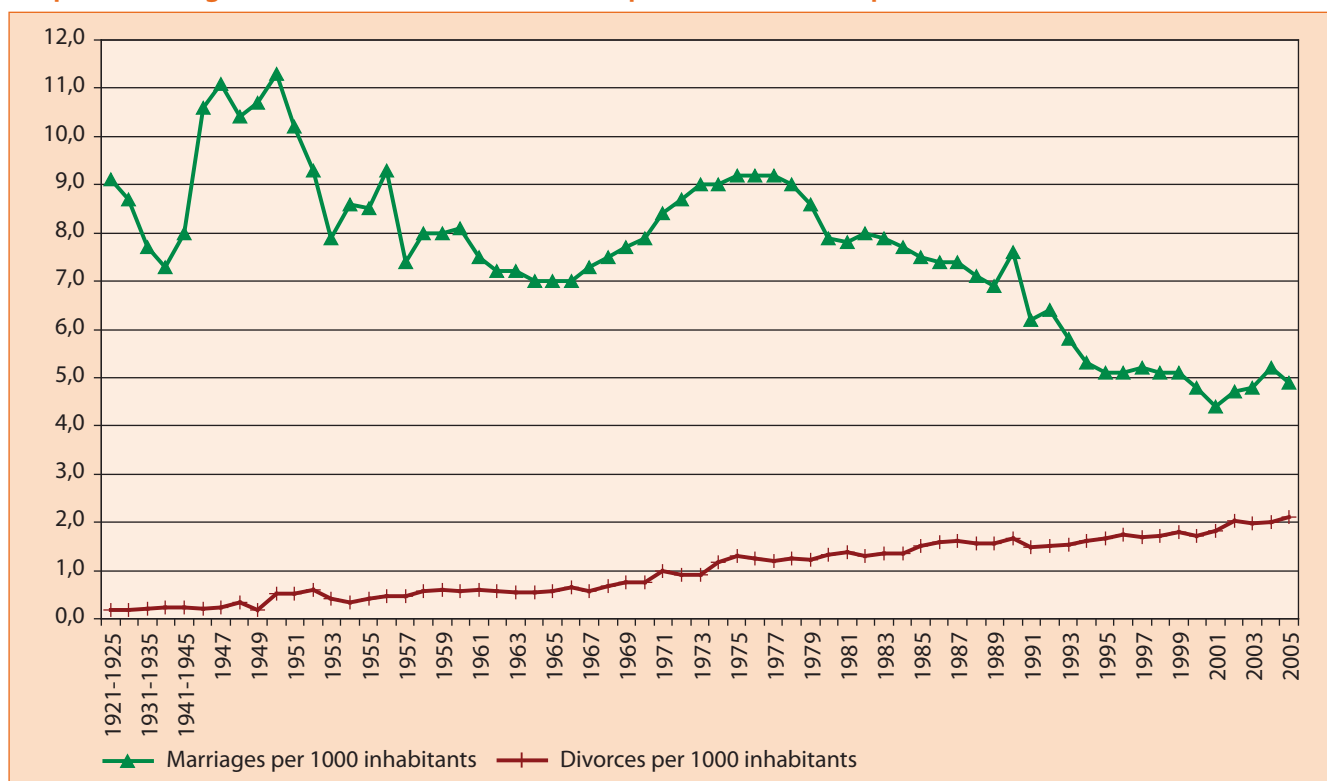
AGE GROUP	1950	1970	1980	1990	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Pre-productive in total:	29,0	27,3	26,1	25,1	19,2	18,7	18,0	17,6	17,1
Female aged 0 – 14	-	13,3	12,8	12,3	9,4	9,2	8,9	8,5	8,3
Male aged 0 - 14	-	14,0	13,3	12,8	9,8	9,6	9,1	9,0	8,8
Productive in total:	58,9	56,3	57,6	57,6	62,7	63,2	63,4	63,7	63,9
Female aged 15 - 54	29,3	27,1	27,5	27,6	30,1	30,3	30,3	30,4	30,4
Male aged 15 - 59	29,6	29,2	30,1	30,0	32,7	32,9	33,1	33,3	33,5
Post-productive in total:	12,1	16,5	16,4	17,3	18,1	18,1	18,6	18,7	19,0
Female aged 55 and over	7,8	10,3	10,6	11,2	11,9	12,0	12,3	12,4	12,7
Male aged 60 and over	4,3	6,2	5,8	6,1	6,1	6,1	6,3	6,3	6,3

Zdroj: Statistical Yearbook of the SR. Bratislava, Statistical Office of the SR 2000-2005.

Table 3: Average age of inhabitants of the Slovak Republic by sex (1999-2005)

AVERAGE AGE	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
SR in total	35,7	36,0	36,2	36,6	36,8	37,1	37,4
Male	34,1	34,4	34,6	35,0	35,2	35,5	35,8
Female	37,2	37,5	37,6	38,1	38,4	38,7	39,0

Source: Statistical Yearbook of the SR. Bratislava, Statistical Office of the SR 2000-2005.

Graph 2: Marriages and divorces in the Slovak Republic (1921-2005, per 1,000 inhabitants)

Source: Natural movement of the population in the Slovak Republic from 1920 to 2003. Bratislava, Statistical Office of the SR 1950-2004. Informative report of the Statistical Office of the SR about demographic developments in the Slovak Republic, www.statistics.sk (quoted in: Filadelfiová 2006).

Table 4: Average age of male and female at marriage (1995-2003, in years)

AVERAGE AGE	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Male :											
– at marriage	26,3	26,8	27,2	27,3	27,7	28,2	28,6	29,1	29,5	29,6	30,5
– at first marriage	24,7	25,0	25,3	25,6	25,9	26,1	26,3	26,8	27,2	27,6	28,2
Female:											
– at marriage	23,5	23,9	24,3	24,4	24,8	25,2	25,6	26,1	26,5	26,7	27,4
– at first marriage	22,3	22,6	22,9	23,1	23,4	23,6	23,8	24,2	24,6	25,0	25,6

Source: Slovak Population and its Fluctuation 2002. INFOTAT, Bratislava 2003; Slovak Population and its Fluctuation. Bratislava, Statistical Office of the SR 2004 (quoted in: Filadelfiová 2006).

Table 5: Life expectancy at birth of males and females in the Slovak Republic (1960-2004)

INDICATOR	1960	1970	1980	1990	1995	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Females	72,47	72,92	74,25	75,44	76,33	77,22	77,54	77,63	77,62	77,82	77,90
Males	67,70	66,73	66,75	66,64	68,40	69,14	69,51	69,86	69,76	70,29	70,11
Difference	4,77	6,19	7,50	8,80	7,93	8,08	8,03	7,77	7,86	7,53	7,79

Source: Statistical Yearbooks of the SR 1998–2004. Bratislava, Statistical Office of the SR 1998–2004. Informative report of the Statistical Office of the SR (www.statistics.sk).

Table 6: Comparison of basic demographic indicators by districts in the Slovak Republic (2000, 2003)

INDICATOR	Average for the SR	Districts with highest value		Districts with lowest value		Difference in 2000	Difference in 2003
Number of inhabitants (in thousands)	–	Nitra	163,6	Medzilaborce	12,6	150,8	151,0
Crude birth rate	9,61	Kežmarok	15,90	Myjava	7,04	10,2	8,86
Crude death rate	9,71	Krupina	14,33	Tvrdošín	6,96	7,4	7,37
Crude marriage rate	4,83	Malacky	6,03	Revúca	3,31	3,1	2,72
Crude divorce rate	1,99	Šaľa	3,02	Námestovo	0,42	2,2	2,60
Crude natural increase rate	- 0,10	Kežmarok	+ 8,01	Myjava	- 5,93	15,5	13,94
Crude total increase rate	+ 0,17	Senec	+ 14,34	Myjava	- 8,39	20,8	22,73
Crude increase by migration	+ 0,26	Senec	+ 14,79	Medzilaborce	- 5,19	13,83	19,98
Abortion (per 100 live-born)	40,75	Banská Bystrica	61,5	Sabinov	14,2	56,9	47,3
Infant mortality (per 1 000 live-born)	7,85	Trebišov	21,9	Myjava Banská Štiavnica	0,0	19,0	21,9
Extra-marital births (in %)	21,65%	Rimavská Sobota	44,8	Námestovo	3,6	36,4	41,2
Average female age – at first marriage	24,20	Bratislava	26,1	Sobrance Medzilaborce	22,7	3,1	3,4
Average female age – at first child birth	24,53	Bratislava	27,1	Medzilaborce	22,1	4,3	5,0

Source: Slovak Population and its Fluctuation 2000. Bratislava, Statistical Office of the SR 2001, Selected data on regions in 2003. Bratislava, Statistical Office of the SR 2004. Population change in the Slovak Republic Bratislava, Statistical Office of the SR 2004 (quoted in: Filadelfiová 2004).

Notes: Crude rate = recalculation per 1,000 inhabitants.

Table 7: Selected demographic indicators by district (2003)

DISTRICT	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
SR in total	9,61	23,39	9,71	7,85	4,83	1,99	24,6	24,88
Bratislava I	8,04	17,90	14,47	0,00	6,37	2,68	27,4	29,12
Bratislava II	8,49	20,37	11,04	7,63	5,34	2,66	27,1	27,90
Bratislava III	7,82	15,56	12,14	2,08	5,73	2,58	27,0	28,11
Bratislava IV	8,45	15,91	7,96	5,08	5,65	3,06	27,0	28,04
Bratislava V	7,64	29,18	5,42	3,27	5,35	3,22	25,6	26,10
Bratislava	8,10	20,77	9,30	4,34	5,57	2,89	26,6	27,58
Malacky	9,36	24,47	10,43	6,56	6,03	1,55	24,7	24,70
Pezinok	9,44	15,22	9,35	3,86	5,54	2,32	25,1	26,05
Senec	9,73	17,21	10,18	7,71	5,64	2,04	24,8	26,13
Bratislavský kraj	8,50	20,29	9,50	4,90	5,62	2,62	26,1	26,97
Dunajská Streda	8,32	26,27	9,49	3,19	4,27	2,31	24,0	24,41
Galanta	8,69	24,55	9,95	9,73	4,88	1,96	24,2	24,38
Hlohovec	8,49	14,81	9,71	13,02	4,54	2,04	25,0	25,53
Piešťany	7,55	13,02	10,32	2,07	5,26	1,67	25,2	25,52
Senica	8,88	20,78	10,40	3,71	5,03	2,04	23,8	25,04
Skalica	9,57	18,30	9,23	2,23	5,25	2,11	24,4	25,07
Trnava	8,21	14,04	9,83	6,72	5,06	1,79	25,1	25,61
Trnavský kraj	8,45	19,51	9,84	5,80	4,86	1,99	24,5	25,01
Bánovce nad Bebravou	9,43	16,76	9,98	5,51	4,99	1,90	24,8	25,33
Ilava	7,29	13,53	9,52	13,36	4,58	2,24	24,8	25,56
Myjava	7,04	17,73	12,97	0,00	4,96	1,46	24,4	26,78
Nové mesto nad Váhom	7,53	18,45	10,22	6,30	4,44	1,66	24,6	25,32

DISTRICT	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Partizánske	7,88	21,28	9,35	7,98	4,27	2,10	25,0	25,26
Považská Bystrica	8,35	15,10	9,38	5,54	4,98	1,85	24,7	24,92
Prievidza	7,45	25,41	8,99	4,80	4,39	2,25	24,7	25,43
Púchov	8,37	9,69	10,85	5,24	4,89	1,32	24,7	25,97
Trenčín	8,13	11,68	9,45	2,19	5,19	2,18	24,9	25,93
Trenčiansky kraj	7,88	17,18	9,72	5,48	4,72	1,99	24,8	25,56
Komárno	8,01	35,94	12,60	2,32	3,59	2,80	24,9	24,44
Levice	8,20	30,04	11,99	6,14	4,15	2,56	24,3	24,40
Nitra	8,38	18,82	9,28	8,75	4,75	2,34	24,9	25,63
Nové Zámky	8,04	25,92	11,45	4,19	4,07	1,93	24,3	24,94
Šaľa	9,47	23,83	10,19	5,87	4,67	3,02	25,0	24,86
Topoľčany	8,02	15,66	10,98	8,42	4,90	2,20	24,4	24,88
Zlaté Moravce	8,00	18,21	10,79	2,89	3,95	1,78	24,5	25,32
Nitriansky kraj	8,25	24,75	11,03	5,81	4,29	2,36	24,6	24,95
Bytča	10,53	8,62	11,34	9,26	5,53	1,37	23,9	24,15
Čadca	11,05	10,10	9,70	5,84	5,41	1,08	23,8	24,23
Dolný Kubín	10,60	11,22	8,16	7,18	5,12	1,52	24,7	25,34
Kysucké Nové Mesto	9,25	16,61	9,16	6,39	5,17	1,15	23,7	24,17
Liptovský Mikuláš	8,61	22,10	9,34	3,15	4,76	2,06	25,2	25,76
Martin	8,92	25,26	8,13	2,29	4,42	2,97	25,2	25,55
Námestovo	15,51	2,94	7,56	5,67	5,61	0,42	23,0	23,60
Ružomberok	9,45	16,52	10,50	5,37	4,92	1,93	24,7	25,13
Turčianske Teplice	7,95	26,32	13,34	7,52	3,47	2,27	24,3	22,23
Tvrdošín	12,24	4,60	6,96	4,62	4,84	0,71	24,5	24,40
Žilina	9,05	12,84	9,14	4,94	4,77	1,92	24,8	25,49
Žilinský kraj	10,12	13,49	9,11	5,13	4,93	1,71	24,4	24,90
Banská Bystrica	8,13	20,43	8,76	5,92	4,68	2,73	25,4	26,20
Banská Štiavnica	9,76	27,61	12,21	0,00	4,40	2,00	24,2	24,18
Brezno	10,25	28,31	11,19	10,10	4,00	2,05	24,5	24,07
Detva	10,18	21,17	10,26	7,33	4,90	1,65	24,8	24,07
Krupina	11,16	25,60	14,33	4,03	4,50	2,07	23,6	23,15
Lučenec	10,47	42,52	12,32	8,26	4,59	2,72	24,1	23,30
Poltár	9,32	38,57	11,68	4,83	3,57	2,48	24,0	23,11
Revúca	11,41	48,44	11,02	11,16	3,31	1,40	24,3	22,69
Rimavská Sobota	12,27	45,81	10,80	9,00	4,19	2,54	24,1	22,88
Veľký Krtíš	9,85	31,08	11,43	18,97	3,49	1,51	23,7	23,04
Zvolen	9,48	27,68	9,62	9,19	4,14	2,13	24,8	25,10
Žarnovica	10,24	21,17	11,21	9,05	3,57	1,93	24,2	24,77
Žiar nad Hronom	9,60	34,26	9,51	2,33	4,08	2,89	24,8	24,75
Banskobystrický kraj	10,06	33,45	10,69	8,24	4,18	2,28	24,5	24,10
Bardejov	13,19	15,65	8,08	12,46	5,50	1,35	24,4	24,18
Humenné	10,31	14,42	7,90	1,62	4,70	1,69	24,1	24,27
Kežmarok	17,09	20,68	7,89	15,66	5,91	1,11	23,4	23,09
Levoča	14,80	24,94	9,02	12,53	5,40	0,81	23,8	23,85
Medzilaborce	10,10	29,06	11,98	8,70	4,79	1,44	24,0	22,45
Poprad	11,69	26,92	8,35	8,48	4,95	2,07	24,6	24,58
Prešov	12,82	21,17	8,34	11,09	5,15	1,54	24,8	24,81
Sabinov	17,38	26,17	8,28	13,55	4,47	0,71	23,9	23,38
Snina	10,57	10,76	10,08	5,25	5,89	1,32	23,6	23,96
Stará Ľubovňa	16,10	16,85	8,03	5,63	5,10	0,61	23,5	23,27
Stropkov	11,94	11,74	8,55	13,10	5,30	1,19	24,2	23,90
Svidník	10,82	11,57	9,27	14,93	5,17	1,08	23,9	24,30
Vranov nad Topľou	14,16	23,91	7,95	4,75	5,68	1,04	23,3	23,27
Prešovský kraj	13,30	20,49	8,40	9,87	5,23	1,33	24,1	24,00
Gelnica	14,26	38,42	9,51	19,80	4,66	1,59	23,7	22,79

DISTRICT	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Košice I	11,04	23,95	8,89	5,85	4,87	2,30	25,8	26,57
Košice II	9,44	35,25	6,51	13,50	4,35	2,37	25,6	25,60
Košice III	9,92	29,52	4,63	6,37	6,33	2,62	25,0	24,97
Košice IV	10,10	23,74	12,01	6,77	5,65	2,07	26,1	26,29
Košice	10,12	28,45	8,29	8,74	5,07	2,31	25,6	25,95
Košice - okolie	14,29	33,56	9,65	17,21	4,70	1,03	23,5	23,13
Michalovce	12,57	30,95	10,69	8,89	5,00	2,15	24,0	23,57
Rožňava	12,29	47,04	11,81	9,63	3,51	2,54	23,8	22,93
Sobrance	10,62	18,63	13,56	14,85	5,19	0,64	23,8	22,78
Spišská Nová Ves	14,14	35,41	7,40	10,43	5,36	1,54	24,5	23,48
Trebišov	12,34	38,57	11,25	21,86	4,69	1,65	23,8	22,72
Košický kraj	12,17	33,62	9,61	12,99	4,85	1,86	24,4	24,05

Source: Slovak Population and its Fluctuation 2003. Bratislava, Statistical Office of the SR 2004 (quoted in: Filadelfiová 2006)

Notes: A = Live-born per 1,000 inhabitants; B = born out of Wedlock - % as of total live-births; C = Deaths per 1,000 inhabitants; D = Deaths up to 1 year - per 1,000 live-births; E = Marriages per 1,000 inhabitants; F = Divorces per 1,000 inhabitants; G = Average female age at 1st marriage; H = Average female age at 1st child-birth

Table 8: Life expectancy: comparison of males and females (2000, in years)

DISTRICT	Males	Females
SR in total	69,15	77,23
Bratislava I	71,58	78,43
Bratislava II	70,69	77,53
Bratislava III	71,39	78,53
Bratislava IV	72,17	78,48
Bratislava V	70,97	78,06
Bratislava	71,43	78,28
Malacky	69,31	76,72
Pezinok	68,38	77,42
Senec	68,37	76,47
Bratislavský kraj		
Dunajská Streda	68,19	76,12
Galanta	68,53	77,05
Hlohovec	69,31	77,44
Piešťany	71,15	77,89
Senica	68,79	76,01
Skalica	69,88	76,87
Trnava	69,16	77,00
Trnavský kraj		
Bánovce nad Bebravou	70,08	78,52
Ilava	69,58	76,45
Myjava	69,23	76,31
Nové mesto nad Váhom	69,94	77,28
Partizánske	70,33	77,58
Považská Bystrica	68,77	77,69
Prievidza	70,47	78,25
Púchov	68,63	76,35
Trenčín	70,77	79,02
Trenčiansky kraj		
Komárno	68,63	76,02
Levice	67,08	76,81
Nitra	69,47	77,83
Nové Zámky	68,36	76,27
Šaľa	68,85	76,74
Topoľčany	69,02	77,25
Zlaté Moravce	68,43	77,56
Nitriansky kraj		

DISTRICT	Males	Females
Bytča	68,64	77,68
Čadca	66,16	76,72
Dolný Kubín	69,78	78,63
Kysucké Nové Mesto	67,68	78,26
Liptovský Mikuláš	69,84	79,23
Martin	70,13	78,42
Námestovo	67,08	77,23
Ružomberok	67,99	76,98
Turčianske Teplice	69,80	76,08
Tvrdošín	70,91	78,94
Žilina	70,00	78,23
Žilinský kraj		
Banská Bystrica	69,90	77,88
Banská Štiavnica	66,66	76,53
Brezno	67,30	77,03
Detva	65,58	76,69
Krupina	64,57	74,94
Lučenec	67,15	76,09
Poltár	67,49	77,69
Revúca	67,65	75,60
Rimavská Sobota	66,93	76,12
Veľký Krtíš	67,09	76,18
Zvolen	68,80	77,64
Žarnovica	68,36	76,42
Žiar nad Hronom	68,59	77,17
Banskobystrický kraj		
Bardejov	70,17	78,00
Humenné	69,62	77,18
Kežmarok	67,11	76,63
Levoča	69,51	75,23
Medzilaborce	68,03	76,00
Poprad	70,08	77,58
Prešov	69,97	77,70
Sabinov	68,67	76,14
Snina	68,74	77,04
Stará Ľubovňa	68,41	77,82
Stropkov	67,42	78,67
Svidník	70,02	77,96
Vranov nad Topľou	69,25	77,04
Prešovský kraj		
Gelnica	67,02	76,30
Košice I	70,83	78,26
Košice II	70,24	77,71
Košice III	71,20	76,49
Košice IV	68,23	75,19
Košice	70,01	76,98
Košice - okolie	67,15	76,64
Michalovce	67,35	76,48
Rožňava	67,05	75,70
Sobrance	66,13	76,90
Spišská Nová Ves	68,20	76,85
Trebišov	65,75	75,49
Košický kraj		

Source: Population developments in the regions of the Slovak Republic 2001. INFOSTAT. VDC.

Table 9: Social assistance benefits/benefits for recipients in material need (in absolute numbers and in %)

YEAR	Number of recipients	Ratio of recipients in comparison with total population (%)
1993	386 323	7,2
1994	442 544	8,3
1995	408 507	7,6
1996	378 637	7,0
1997	392 927	7,3
1998	506 440	9,4
1999	584 941	10,8
2000	612 953	11,3
2001	630 708	11,7
2002	618 191	11,5
2003	543 036	10,1
2004	383 279	7,1

Source: Report on the social situation of the population in the Slovak Republic 1998-2004. Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family of the SR, Bratislava (quoted in: Gerbery, Džambazovič 2006).

Table 10: Recipients of social assistance benefits in comparison with total population by regions in the Slovak Republic (in %)

YEAR	2000	2002	2004
Košice	18,6	18,9	13,0
Prešov	16,3	16,1	10,0
Banská Bystrica	13,6	14,6	10,8
Nitra	11,6	12,2	*
Žilina	9,6	8,7	*
Trnava	8,2	8,6	*
Trenčín	7,1	6,6	*
Bratislava	2,4	2,5	1,2
Total for the SR	11,3	11,5	7,1

Source: Report on the social situation of the population in the Slovak Republic 1998-2004. Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family of the SR, Bratislava (quoted in: Gerbery, Džambazovič 2006).

Note: * Data were not available.

Table 11: Breakdown of social assistance benefits/benefits for recipients in material need by type of household (in absolute numbers and in %)

YEAR	Individuals and couples without children	Families with dependent children	Ratio of families with dependent children to total recipients
2000	221 845	96 910	30,4
2001	223 968	101 474	31,1
2002	220 671	99 707	31,0
2003	191 830	86 698	31,1
2004	112 871	66 269	37,1

Source: Report on the social situation of the population in the Slovak Republic 2000-2004. Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family of the SR, Bratislava (quoted in: Gerbery, Džambazovič 2006).

Note: Data for 2000 and 2001 as of 31 Dec., other average per month.

Table 12: Poverty in the Slovak Republic (1992 – 1996, in %)

POVERTY LEVEL	Percentage of poor households		Percentage of poor individuals	
	1992	1996	1992	1996
50 % of median equivalent income	2,1	5,9	1,4	5,8
2,15 USD PPP per person/day	0,2	2,1	0,1	2,6
4,30 USD PPP per person/day	2,7	6,3	3,9	8,6
Living minimum (LM)	9,3	7,9	12,2	10,1
LM in real terms of 1992	9,3	17,0	12,2	21,0
LM in real terms of 1996	2,5	7,9	3,0	10,1

Source: Mikrocensus 1992, 1996, World Bank Report 2001 (quoted in: Gerbery, Džambazovič 2006).

Table 13: Number and structure of households in the Slovak Republic

INDICATOR	1970	1980	1991	2001
Number of jointly managed households (in thousands)	1 267	1 585	1 778	1 900
Ratio of households (2 and more, in %)	5,8	4,3	2,9	7,8
Structure of jointly managed households by number of members (in %)				
- 1 member	-	18,1	20,9	26,3
- 2 members	-	21,7	22,9	21,5
- 3 members	-	18,8	18,1	17,9
- 4 members	-	23,3	23,4	20,8
- 5 members	-	11,2	9,9	8,3
- 6 and more members	-	6,9	4,8	5,2

Source: Census of the population, houses and flats 2001. Statistical Office of the SR, Bratislava 2002.

Table 14: Values of the living minimum (1998-2004, in SKK)

TYPE OF INDIVIDUAL	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
First adult person	3 000	3 230	3 490	3 790	3 930	4 210	4 580	4 730
Second jointly judged adult person	2 100	2 260	2 440	2 650	2 750	2 940	3 200	3 300
Independent adult child	2 100	2 260	2 440	2 650	2 750	2 940	2 080	2 150
Dependent child	1 350	1 460	1 580	1 720	1 780	1 910	2 080	2 150

Source: Regulation of Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family of the SR No.160/1999, No.187/2000, No.232/2001, No.285/2002, No.213/2003, No. 372/2004 and No. 262/2005 about the living minimum.

Table 15: Economic activity rate (1993-2003)

GROUP	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Total	62,1	60,3	59,8	60,1	59,9	59,9	60,0	60,3	60,7	60,2	60,3
Men	70,5	69,1	68,9	68,7	68,6	68,9	68,7	68,6	69,2	68,5	68,4
Women	54,4	52,2	51,5	52,3	51,8	51,4	52,0	52,6	53,0	52,6	52,9

Source: Statistical Yearbook of the SR 1997-2004. Bratislava, Statistical Office of the SR 1997-2004.

Note: Economic activity rate = ratio of economically active inhabitants to those of productive and post-productive age.

Table 16: Employees in the Slovak Republic by sector and sex (1993-2003)

INDICATOR	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Employees in economy of the Slovak Republic 1:											
- total	2 117 934	2 096 282	2 146 791	2 116 554	2 205,9	2 198,6	2 132,1	2 101,7	2 123,7	2 127,0	2 164,6
- in which male	1 227 017	1 221 150	1 256 317	1 244 838	1 217,0	1 210,4	1 163,7	1 137,3	1 145,8	1 156,8	1 177,1
Female	890 917	875 132	890 474	871 716	988,9	988,2	968,4	964,4	977,9	970,2	987,5
Female in %	42,1	41,7	41,5	41,2	41,6/44,8	44,9	45,4	45,9	46,0	45,6	45,6
Employees in public sector:											
- total	1 253 383	990 007	867 808	780 778	1 168,3	1 096,7	1 052,3	1 026,5	979,6	893,7	850,2
- in which male	689 067	546 457	413 767	366 392	591,8	554,9	527,7	507,9	466,5	424,9	401,6
Female	564 316	443 550	454 041	414 386	576,5	541,8	524,6	518,6	513,1	468,8	448,6
Female in %	45,0	44,8	52,3	53,1	54,3/49,3	49,4	49,9	50,5			
Employees and others in private sector:											
- total	864 551	1 106 275	1 278 983	1 335 776	1 037,6	1 101,9	1 079,8	1 075,2	1 144,0	1 233,1	1 314,5
- in which male	537 950	674 693	842 550	878 446	625,2	655,5	636,0	629,4	679,3	731,9	775,7
Female	326 601	431 582	436 433	457 330	412,4	446,4	443,8	445,8	464,7	501,3	538,8
Female in %	37,8	39,0	34,1	34,2	39,7	40,5	41,1	41,5			

Source: Statistical Yearbook of the SR 1997-2004. Bratislava, Statistical Office of the SR 1997-2004.

Note: All persons aged 15 and over who in the reference week worked for a wage or salary or with the aim of generating profit for at least 1 hour, without persons on parental leave (changed since 1997).

Table 17: Registered unemployed in the Slovak Republic (1998-2004, in absolute numbers and in %)

INDICATOR	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Registered unemployment rate (as of 31 Dec.)	15,6	19,2	17,9	18,6	17,4	15,6	13,1
Average yearly registered unemployment rate	13,7	17,3	18,2	18,3	17,8	15,2	14,3
Number of unemployed receiving unemployment benefits (N, %)	119 931 28,0	144 796 27,1	92 217 18,2	94 497 17,7	89 739 17,8	94 104 20,8	42 028 11,0
Unemployment rate (Labour force survey)	12,5	16,2	18,6	19,2	18,5	17,5	18,1
Registered unemployed as of 31 Dec.	428 209	535 211	506 497	533 652	504 077	452 224	383 155
- in which female: in absolute numbers	200 629	236 117	231 505	238 664	226 813	204 423	190 050
%	46,9	44,1	45,7	44,7	45,0	45,2	49,6
Vacancies (as of 31 Dec.)	11 106	5 709	6 026	10 086	17 238	15 511	11 403

Source: Statistical Yearbook of the SR 2004. Bratislava, Statistical Office of the SR 2005.

Table 18: Job applicants in total by education (2002-2005, in absolute numbers)

YEAR (as of 31 DEC.)	Total	Post-graduate	University	Higher professional	Secondary specialized with maturita	Secondary general with amtura	Secondary general	Secondary vocational with amtura	Secondary vocational	Primary	Non-finished primary
2002	504077	89	13961	2003	74829	17314	43642	6413	179472	148658	17696
2003	452224	82	13559	1747	65473	13394	38857	4608	166445	131329	16730
2004	383155	82	11087	1802	57211	11979	31353	3628	138287	113029	14697
2005	333834	108	9819	1630	48257	10222	26985	2342	115495	104101	14875

Source: <http://www.upsvar.sk>

Table 19: Job applicants who had visited the labour office for more than 12 months by education (2000 - 2005, in absolute numbers)

YEAR (as of 31 DEC.)	Total	Non-finished primary	Primary	Secondary vocational	Secondary vocational with amtura	Secondary general	Secondary general with amtura	Secondary specialized with maturita	Higher professional	University	Post-graduate
2000	220816	8222	76159	68796	9334	14280	8689	30457	597	4268	14
2001	219713	9817	77474	71050	5335	13344	8046	29680	604	4336	27
2002	238605	12838	91549	76365	3611	13609	7445	28426	651	4087	24
2003	212299	12830	85253	67942	2405	11394	5509	23040	504	3406	16
2004	192002	11180	74228	65095	1833	10047	4697	21368	396	3137	21
2005	170883	10972	68418	56059	1385	8348	4209	18290	499	2676	27

Source: <http://www.upsvar.sk>

Table 20: Number of long-term unemployed (for more than 48 months) (2000 – 2005, as of 31 Dec.)

INDICATOR	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Number of long-term unemployed (more than 48 months)	39 281	39 295	44 382	43 107	46 774	60 499
Ratio of long-term unemployed to unemployed total	7,76	7,36	8,80	9,53	12,21	18,12

Source: <http://www.upsvar.sk>

ANNEX 2: Methodological notes

Empirical data was collected through face-to-face interviews between interviewers and respondents based on a structured questionnaire. The questionnaire was prepared in cooperation with two researchers from the World Bank, Valerie Evans and Diane Steel, and employees of the agency Tambor Slovensko. The final form of the questionnaire was field tested: Valerie Evans from the World Bank and Renáta Masšánová from the Tambor agency carried out six pilot interviews with selected Roma households (the village of Slovenská Ľupča and one segregated settlement). The pilot study showed that the minimum time necessary to complete one interview was around 60 minutes, and would take longer if the household had more members.

The selection unit in this research was an *economic household*, defined in the manual as: “an individual or group of people, whether related or not, who live together as an independent group in the sense that they manage their affairs in common (this means that they share with each other or support each other within one family budget).” The questionnaire sought information on both the household and the individual members of the household. The information on the household was provided only by the member of the household identified as the *head of the household* i.e. the person identified as such by the other members of the household (usually the member who brought in the family’s main income and made all important decisions relating to the household, but it was necessary that the members of the household decided who was its head). Information about members of the household was obtained directly from the individual members, unless a member was absent or a young child, in which case another person provided the information (a parent or the head of the household). A specification of the respondents was given in a very detailed manual (over 40 pages), which was binding for the interviewers.

The team of interviewers was assembled using the following steps. The basic part consisted of the selection of suitable candidates from the Tambor agency’s own interviewer network. To this were added members of the Roma organisation KARI in Banská Bystrica. Informal sources in Roma NGOs in Prešov provided contact information for young, educated people who were out of work at the time of the research and had previous experience in collecting data as part of the *Sociographic Mapping of Roma Communities in Slovakia* (2003, coordinated by the Institute of Public Affairs). In seeking suitable interviewers we were assisted by Marek Hojsík from the Office of the Plenipotentiary of the Government of the Slovak Republic for Roma Communities and also the Roma Press Agency operating in the Košice Region.

The final interviewing team consisted of 38 people (19 pairs) of whom a quarter were members of the Roma ethnic group. All interviewers underwent a special week-long training (March 2005, Trenčianske Teplice). Each pair of interviewers was assigned an area (place for collecting data) which they had to visit and carry out interviews according

to the given specifications. All data collection was supervised, all interviewers had direct contact with their supervisor, whom they could contact if anything was unclear or if they had any problems.

The selection of places in which to collect data was based on the *Sociographic Mapping of Roma Communities in Slovakia* mentioned above. This “census” of Roma communities mapped 1,068 towns and villages throughout Slovakia and 1,573 Roma settlements. Thanks to this detailed information it was possible to divide the Roma communities into three basic categories according to their level of integration with the majority population and choose 30 places for data collection (primary sampling units) in each class and eight households in each place. The resulting selection of Roma households had the following form:

Settlement type	Primary sampling unit (PSU)	Number of households per 1 PSU	Total number of households
Segregated	30	8	240
Separated	30	8	240
Mixed	30	8	240
Total	90		720

The sample of the general population served as a control group in the survey for purposes of comparing certain socio-economic and other data. The basis for the selection of the sample of the general population was the 90 selected places for data collection. These were classified as urban (over 5,000 inhabitants) and rural (less than 5,000 inhabitants) and 45 places for data collection were selected in each class. The Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic selected random addresses in these places which the interviewers then visited. Although some households identified themselves as Roma, they were left in the sample of the general population.

Data was checked and recorded by the statistical department of the Tambor agency. The basic data files consist of three modules, which can be found and downloaded, together with the questionnaire, on the web page: <http://vulnerability.undp.sk/>.

Guide for the use of percentages	
N=240	
%	Std. Error
5	1,61
10	1,79
15	2,55
20	2,68
25	2,74
30	2,79
35	2,99
40	3,07
45	3,21
50	3,22

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