

# **The Cost of Non-Inclusion**

## **The key to integration is respect for diversity**

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# 1. Introduction

The Roma represent a large minority of Slovak population. According to various estimates about 430 000 Roma live in Slovakia (8% of Slovak population) and about two-thirds of them are in productive age. More than one-seventh of all school-age children in Slovakia are Roma.

A large number of Roma rely on welfare benefits. Low education and different skin color result in low employment rate of the Roma – only one in ten Roma in productive age works – and poverty, which is passed from generation to generation. Dependence on welfare benefits leads to sociopathic behavior.

Programs designed to help the Roma do not have the expected results. The society is aware of the hopeless situation of the majority of the Roma and encourages the introduction of new strategies and programs, allocating substantial funds for their implementation. However, the results of these programs and strategies fail to meet the initial expectations, which in turn results in anti-Roma sentiment.

Slovakia can draw on extensive experience of many countries with Roma education and integration into society when preparing its own strategies and programs. Because we consider education to be the key element of Roma integration, it will be the primary focus of this study.

The situation of the Roma is deteriorating. Low education of parents negatively affects the education of their children. A substantial number of Roma children are labeled mentally retarded and sent to schools for special-needs students, which robs them of the chance to participate in the job market in adulthood. The Roma population including children is rising gradually, so the cost of welfare benefits received by the Roma is rising too, which is further exacerbated by the failure to use their job market potential.

The Slovak Roma and non-Roma live in two parallel worlds, which does not benefit either of these groups. Slovak politicians have even started replacing the word Roma with the wider term “socially disadvantaged person,” which makes the Roma minority even less visible. The goal of this study is to assess the consequences of pushing the Roma to the fringes of society using available research on the Slovak Roma minority. We will try to identify the underlying causes of the unsatisfying social and economic situation of the Roma minority and the inefficiency of programs focusing on helping the Roma. We will also identify international experiences Slovakia can draw on. We will provide general recommendations for public policies.

This study was carried out in an environment of general skepticism, non-existent academic debate about the Slovak Roma and with minimum available literature, wide spread lack of knowledge of existing literature, and prevalent lack of interest in research (and lack of interest of existing studies in practical matters). We have also observed a phenomenon we call “circle of failure” when very common shortcomings of Roma parents (low education, unemployment and criminality) negatively affect the perceived failure of their children raised in inadequate social environment. The majority of respondents also admit the failure of programs designed to help the Roma due to the ill adjustment of these programs to the needs and potential of Roma adults and children, lack of quality information, scientific data, project management, feedback, exchange and advertisement of good examples and cooperation between the interested parties (including lack of cooperation between NGOs). The disappointment of very low success rate of the programs leads to the shifting of attention

from long-term help (for example education of Roma children) to short-term and immediate addressing of Roma social problems.

Because the primary goal of the study is the economic impact of pushing the Roma to the fringes of society, we had to first focus on finding quantitative data about the current social situation, job market and education levels of the Roma. This required mapping various data sources and identifying reasons for lack of reliable quantitative data about the Roma minority. This is caused mainly by the lack of consensus on who should be considered ethnic Roma, how to collect data about Roma populations and what data is necessary for carrying out specific analyses, and last but not least, whether it is at all useful to collect quantitative data about the social situation of the Roma.

Our economic analysis uses public finance records to assess the conformity or divergence between expenditures and achieved goals in the relevant expenditure groups and identify the underlying causes of failures and successes. Because there are very few data available about the Roma, we have tried to combine data on regional distribution of Roma population with the available regional statistics comparing the obtained results with the information contained in the available literature. We consider these results to be conservative and sufficiently reliable. After drawing up time series for Roma, non-Roma and total population in Slovakia for years 2000 to 2030 including demographic growth, job market situation and development, welfare payments and educational options offered by the current education system, we have briefly focused on surveying the health of the Roma population and its crime rate.

To illustrate our calculation of the economic cost of Roma non-inclusion we have selected examples of international experience with the education of children from foreign-language minorities. It is up to the experts to find a better model for Slovakia. A model that would reverse the current unsatisfactory practice of placing children into special-needs schools. We have also briefly touched on the success or failure rate of programs focusing on Roma communities.

Our main conclusion is that the main reason for the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of the programs designed to help the Roma is the failure to respect Roma social and cultural traditions and their diversity – the proof of this can be repeatedly found in literature focusing on the job market, education system, healthcare system and crime rate surveys.

The study is structured as follows: second chapter includes description of available sources of information about the Roma. Third chapter focuses on assessing time series of indicators necessary for evaluating economic cost of non-inclusion of Roma population from 2000 to 2030 and evaluation of public spending efficiency. Fourth chapter concentrates on gauging the economic cost of the current trend assuming no major changes in the current public policies. Fifth chapter offers a brief description of several international experiences with multicultural education systems and educational programs for the Roma. Sixth chapter recommends rules that Roma-focused programs should follow.

The final version of this study reflects valuable comments received on the previous versions of the study at the presentation of the study at OSF on December 19, 2008, February 9, 2009 and April 6, 2009 and written commentary from M. Horváth, M. Kahanec and Z. Uherek, and discussions with M. Vašečka, E. Jurzyca, A. Mušinka, M. Fico, Ľ. Stanek, A. Pánikova, V. Petrus, V. Rafael and participants of the DECADE conference in Belgrade on March 31 and April 1, 2009. We would like to thank everyone for their comments. We would also like to state that the authors are exclusively responsible for the content of the study.

The study conclusions are divided into the following areas:

## 1) Statistics

- **We do not know who is a Roma.** Academic works and Slovak legislation consider ethnicity and nationality to be the same thing. However, researchers are aware that Roma-oriented programs demand a broader than nationality-focused definition of the Roma. For example the British ethnicity-based definition, but so far we have not been able to make much progress on the issue. The government resolved the inability of experts to agree on the definition by introducing its own – the Roma are citizens considered to be Roma by the majority population. As inappropriate as this definition of the Roma may sound, it is used by all Roma-oriented surveys and we do owe it all of our knowledge about the Roma. We use this definition, based on the British understanding of ethnicity, in our study.
- **We have no information about the Roma.** While there are many time series based official and internationally comparative statistics about the majority population assessing income and its structure, expenses of households and individuals or job market activities, we have almost no quantitative data about the Roma. There are very few researchers in Slovakia who work with quantitative data and who would ask the Statistical Office to regularly collect ethnicity-based data.

## 2) Assessment of indicators and time series

- **In 2030, 10% of the Slovak population will be Roma** and 16% of the population will be in productive or school age. While the number of non-Roma seniors will increase to 21% percent of the overall Slovak population the number of Roma seniors will stay at only 0.5%. Regional context is very important, because in some municipalities and counties the number of Roma children will exceed the number of non-Roma children and the development of the local job market and local economy will heavily depend on the activities of the Roma population.
- **Low participation of the Roma in the job market.** We estimate that between 2006 and 2010 about two thirds of the Roma resigned on finding employment. The Roma employment rate is about 10% compared with 60% of non-Roma. The Roma unemployment rate is about 46% compared to 10% of non-Roma. Low work activity is a regional problem. One quarter of Slovak counties with the highest concentration of Roma population have substantially higher official unemployment and lower chances of improvement. About one-half of their unemployed have no education or only elementary school education. Up to 60% of the unemployed have been without a job for longer than a year and 44% have been unemployed for over two years.
- **High dependency on welfare benefits.** The Roma receive up to 30% of all welfare benefits. Due to a higher number of children they receive nominally higher child benefits and parental benefits. It is, however, possible that because of the number of children and the length of their education, Roma families receive less family benefits than non-Roma families.
- **Roma children are not mentally retarded, the tests are wrong.** According to our estimates, about 10 200 Roma children, deemed mentally retarded, attend special-needs schools compared with 9 200 of non-Roma children. It means that almost every eighth Roma child of school age is thought to be mentally retarded. It seems the main culprits of this situation are absolutely inappropriate diagnostic tests and practices. Special-needs schools can not replace a functional multicultural education system.

- **Health problems.** Low education, unemployment and resulting poverty also affect the overall health of the Roma population, which continues to decline. This manifests itself by for example lower life expectancy and higher child mortality. Health education, coordination of public programs and monitoring are only nascent.
- **One fifth of all, even though minor, committed crimes.** Position on the fringes of the society, low education, unemployment, forced assimilation and discrimination based on skin color lead to high crime rate among the Roma.

### 3) Estimate of economic cost of Roma non-inclusion in society

- **The economic cost of non-inclusion of the Roma in society is staggering.** According to our estimates, inclusion of the Roma in Slovak society would bring anywhere from 7 to 11% of GDP pre year. This justifies substantial public investment in the education system reform and Roma-oriented programs.

The main reason this number is so high are not the potential savings on social benefits, but the potential increase of employed workforce in Slovakia and related jump in GDP.

### 4) Education and program quality ideas

- **Several developed European countries have experience with Roma minority education.** While the Roma living in the former communist countries are in a hopeless situation, several developed countries have ample experience with the preparation, implementation, gauging and evaluation of educational programs for the Roma and other ethnic minorities. Slovakia should learn from their successes and failures.
- **What cannot be measured, will not be done.** If we do not have quantitative data about Roma communities, we cannot have good Roma-oriented programs. We cannot prepare the programs or identify the beneficiaries. We cannot know how to implement them and evaluate their efficiency or gauge their real impact. If we do not know their impact, we cannot learn from the mistakes made and failures and improve the quality and efficiency of any subsequent programs.
- **One size does not fit all.** While many researches in Slovakia focus on the relevancy and adjustment of programs to the social and cultural specifics of Roma communities, the general conclusion of available literature on development aid is that “one size does not fit all.” The general approach is the identification of best practice, their regular updating and, mainly, their adjustment to the social and cultural specifics of the relevant target group.
- **Proper program management is vital.** Technical aspects of Roma-oriented programs must follow certain rules, just like any other programs. Without high-quality preparation, selection based on efficiency, monitoring, regular supervision and final evaluation, the danger of wasting money becomes very real.

Main recommendations of this study are the following:

- **Prepare collection of ethnicity-based data** and a system of monitoring and evaluation of Roma-oriented programs.

- **Eliminate language barriers in education.** Individual strategies and partial solutions cannot replace the necessary changes of the main principles of the official education system from equal access to education to equal results of education. If Roma children do not speak Slovak when entering school, they should be given the possibility to learn in their native language (the most common Roma dialect) and gradually move from their native language to Slovak.
- **Cancel special-needs schools** and place Roma children in regular elementary schools where socially disadvantaged children and children with insufficient knowledge of Slovak receive appropriate attention. Only children with heavy physical and mental handicaps can benefit from being educated separately from normal children.
- **Adjust active job market policies** to the social and cultural specifics of the Roma minority and job market needs. Encourage employment of the Roma with at least elementary school education by introducing affirmative action.
- **Evaluate experience with current Roma-oriented programs and projects.** These valuable experiences, both negative and positive, are now known only to the relevant organizations and activists, so their further use for any new activities is currently limited.

## 2. Sources of Information

Because there is no consensus whether a Roma is a person that considers himself/herself to be Roma or a person considered Roma by the majority, there is only limited amount of statistical data about the Roma ethnic.

### *Who is Roma?*

If only people who list Roma as their nationality are considered Roma then this group consists of 90 000 persons of which a great number do not need any special attention from the majority. However, if we assume a Roma person is someone considered Roma by the majority, then this group includes about 8% of Slovak citizens. The problem with the statistics is that identifying oneself as Roma in terms of nationality is perceived as the right to self-determination, which cannot be imposed on a person by others. However, any data available about the Roma were collected because this right to self-determination was ignored.

If we acknowledge that the majority does not see the Roma based on their nationality but more on what the Anglo-Saxon literature understands more broadly as Roma ethnic<sup>1</sup>, the problem would be to a large extent solved. Unfortunately, in Slovakia, nationality is considered to be the same as ethnicity.

Differentiating between nationality and ethnicity is a widespread European problem. According to the Council of Europe, at the beginning of the 1990's the former communist countries screened for nationality, Britain, Cyprus and Bulgaria for ethnicity and several countries for native language used at home and the majority of countries also (or only) screened for citizenship. The reason Slovakia does not screen for ethnicity is because it is

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<sup>1</sup> The definition specified by the Office for National Statistics (2003) indicates that our definition of nationality is a much narrower term than the Anglo-Saxon definition of ethnicity.

replaced by nationality<sup>2</sup>. Great Britain justifies the collection of ethnicity-based data by providing data to a variety of users, including the public administration's duty to support racial equality.<sup>3</sup>

Collecting data based on the needs of their users is vital. A democratically elected government must be accountable to its citizens and present proof supported by quantitative data and corresponding analyses. If the government does not have the relevant data, it cannot prove any improvement in, for example, discrimination of the Roma minority in elementary schools or job market and therefore it cannot prove whether the spending of public funds was efficient or not.

Equally important is the fear of inappropriate use of data collected about the Roma minority. In a democratic state data about its citizens, institutions or companies is collected by registers such as for example the tax office, while selective data is collected by the Statistical Office. Both types of institutions have sophisticated systems preventing unauthorized use of the collected information and it is assumed that the benefits of data collection (for example for the drafting of public strategies) far outweigh any risks that unauthorized use may represent. If public policies are to focus on the Roma minority, we need to have sufficient quantitative data for their creation, monitoring and evaluation and we need to trust the Statistical Office just like we do in any other areas.

This is also fully in line with the Statistical Office's mission, which states: *"Social statistics focus on collecting relevant data and comparing statistical information about social protection, income and living conditions of households, employment and salaries, education, healthcare, culture and crime rate. Such information is necessary for creating and monitoring policies at all levels of public administration including international organizations and to meet the needs of domestic and international users."*<sup>4</sup>

Slovakia's interchangeability of nationality and ethnicity presents another unsolved problem – since 2000 it is (wrongly)<sup>5</sup> assumed that differentiating Roma and non-Roma nationality in official statistics could be considered discrimination of the Roma minority.<sup>6</sup> Even if the new UNDP publication calls for collection of data about ethnicity it actually just calls for collecting data about nationality: *"Slovakia is currently missing a strategy that could standardize the process of monitoring of ethnic discrimination. Slovakia currently does not have a policy regulating the monitoring of ethnic groups and chooses status quo over solving this complicated problem. Such approach is not politics, it is more of a resignation on politics. The role of statistics in anti-discrimination policies is vital. We think the need for reliable statistics on ethnicity is based on concrete obligations of the Slovak government to produce equal opportunity policies and monitor the impact of its social policies."*<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Kalibová (2003). „*The term nationality is not the same as ethnicity. Even general imprecision of terms can be the reason of inaccurate statistical surveys.*“ Kumanová, Mann and colleagues (2006), page 94.

<sup>3</sup> Office for National Statistics, Ethnic group interim classification for 2001. Office for National Statistics (2003) is a simple manual on the need, collection and use of ethnicity data. See also discussion in Škobla and colleagues (2008), page 59-60.

<sup>4</sup> Slovak Statistical Office, Social statistics, 13.1.2009, <http://portal.statistics.sk/showdoc.do?docid=23>

<sup>5</sup> Škobla and colleagues (2008). See also Fico (2008).

<sup>6</sup> „*The term "racial discrimination" means any differentiation based on race, color of skin ..*“ Tokár and Lamačková (2002), page 188. The Slovak constitution does not differentiate between nationality and ethnicity (page 189-190).

<sup>7</sup> Škobla and colleagues (2008), page 12. Even though the authors define ethnicity in terms of social sciences not nationality (page 13) and use the term ethnicity instead of nationality, it seems that

The current situation in Slovakia is such that there are government policies designed to help the de facto ethnic (Anglo-Saxon definition also used by this study) Roma (according to the government a Roma is “a citizen considered to be Roma by the majority of the society”<sup>8</sup>). There are some government estimates of the size of the Roma minority, but there is no clear directive concerning the collection of ethnicity-based data. As a result, the Statistical Office, as the official source of information, only recognizes Roma nationality and in contrast to the government policies considers Roma ethnicity and nationality to be the same thing.<sup>9</sup> Any research must then resort to using other sources of information, often of questionable quality and as such can hardly be used as basis for creating, monitoring and evaluating the efficiency of the government’s Roma-oriented programs.

## **Sources**

Qualitative and quantitative data about the Roma come either from **estimates, registers** or from **selective surveys**. The following three publications can be used as good initial sources of information: Vašečka (2002) is a good source of information on the state of Slovak Roma-oriented research, Jakoubek and Hirt (2008) brings detailed results of surveys carried out in 16 Roma settlements, and Socioklub (2003), which contains a complex analysis of factors affecting the integration of the Roma, demographic development and socio-economic situation of the Roma in the Czech Republic.

The conclusions of the individual surveys often differ very substantially. For example the estimated number of Roma ranges from 300 000 to 520 000 (table 2). Therefore it is necessary to clearly specify which data and why are considered reasonable and useful for this study. A very common problem is the use of unclear definitions of various statistical indicators, especially those describing the position of a person in the job market. A typical example is the unemployment rate – it seems that several studies calculate this rate as the number of unemployed of all persons in productive age instead of all active persons, i.e. those working or looking for employment.

## **Estimates**

Estimates of the number of Roma in Slovakia come from Liegeois (1995), Kalibova (1990) and Vaňo (2001, 2002, 2004). The **Liegeois** estimate especially (480.000-520.000 of Roma) for the first half of the 1990’s was cited very frequently<sup>10</sup>. However, Liegeois himself states that his estimate is more long-term focused and is the result of his effort to introduce a stable number describing the Roma population. When estimating the number of Roma living in various countries, he lists 1:5 ratio between the Roma that state Roma as their nationality in

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contrary to their definition they understand it to be a more broad term, similar to the one used by the British Office for National Statistics. Interview with Daniel Škobla, 13.1.2009.

<sup>8</sup> Slovak government (2008) – despite everything this definition proves to be practical and is generally used even by non-governmental organizations. It is similar to the British understanding of ethnicity. However, in 2005 the term “socially disadvantaged students” replaced “Roma students,” which complicates the work of education institutions. Discussion about segregation of Roma students in schools – analysis of current situation, organized by the Open Society Foundation and Wide Open School on March 25, 2009 in Prešov.

<sup>9</sup> „Nationality for the purpose of national census means belonging to a nation, national or ethnic minority. Native language or language preferred by a person or language a person has a better command of is not decisive for nationality, it is his or hers decision, which nation, nationality or ethnic minority her or he belong.” Slovak Statistical Office, national census method, 2001.

<sup>10</sup> For example the World Bank (2002) and Save the Children (2001); probably also Vašečka (2000), The World Bank-SPACE-INEKO (2002) and The World Bank (2005).



the national census and their actual numbers, which would indicate there were 379 000 Roma in Slovakia in 1991.<sup>11</sup> His estimate, 480.000 to 520.000 of Roma, would then indicate a much higher ratio of 1:6,3 to 1:6,9. Liegeois estimates that in less than 20 years the Roma population could more than double in the majority of the countries, which would mean more than 25 000 yearly increase in the Slovak Roma population (or more than 19 000 if we base the estimate on the total of 379.000 Roma). Liegeois assumed his estimates would be revalued later, because he did not have sufficient information from several countries and he also expected massive growth of the Roma population.<sup>12</sup>

**Kalibová** (1990) estimated the number of Roma living in the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic in 2000 at 448 652 and in 2005 at 494 980 (maximum 535 000), which is much lower than Liegeois' estimate for Czechoslovakia (730.000 to 820.000 persons). Vaňo and Haviarová (2002) list Kalibová's estimate of the number of Roma in Slovakia in 2005 as 295 000 in 2005, which is about 60% of the Czechoslovak Roma population and 5.5% of the entire Slovak population. It is a number similar to the estimate of the Atlas of Roma Communities.

**Vaňo's** estimates of the Roma demographic development are different from those presented by Liegeois and Kalibová, but they seem to be the best founded. According to Vano there were only 360 00 to 365 000 of Roma in Slovakia in 2000, 403 000 Roma in 2005 and there should be about 524 000 Roma in Slovakia in 2025.<sup>13</sup> Liegeois' estimate, putting the number of Roma in mid 1990's at 500 000, should become reality only in 2020, when the number of Roma would reach 10% of Slovak population. UNDP and the World Bank estimate the Roma population will represent 35% of the overall Slovak population in 2050 and 50% in 2060, which seems completely unrealistic<sup>14</sup>.

## **Registries**

Another source of information about the Roma is the **national census** data classified according to nationality but not ethnicity. In 2001, 89 920 persons stated Roma nationality,<sup>15</sup> which is substantially less than the available estimates. The available literature<sup>16</sup> lists six main reasons why the Roma do not state their Roma nationality during the census:

- Refusal to identify with a group perceived negatively by the society, low social prestige of the Roma;
- Identification with the nationality of the (local) majority group;

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<sup>11</sup> According to Slovak Statistical Office (1992) 75.802 persons said their nationality was Roma in the 1991 census.

<sup>12</sup> Liegeois (1995), page 29-34. Some also quote Liegeois (1994), which we did not find. The original, published by the Council of Europe, was used for the 1995 and 1997 Slovak translations. OSI (2006) quotes Liegeois and Gheorge (1995), who uses the same estimate as Liegeois (1995). The inaccuracy of the estimate of the number of Roma in Slovakia can also be caused by the fact that Liegeois' team did not have any experts on Slovakia (Liegeois, 1997, page 14-15).

<sup>13</sup> Vaňo (2001), Vaňo and Haviarová (2002), Vaňo (2004), Vaňo and Mészáros (2004). Alexander Mušínska sharply disagrees with Vaňo and considers his Roma number estimates too high (source: interview with authors and discussion at study presentation at OSF, April 6, 2009; see also Atlas of Roma Communities).

<sup>14</sup> UNDP (2005). The World Bank-SPACE-INEKO (2002) and The World Bank (2005) quote the Economist (2001).

<sup>15</sup> Slovak Statistical Office (2002).

<sup>16</sup> Uherek and Novák (2002), page 95 and 100, Hirt and Jakoubek (2008), page 16, Radičová (2001), page 106, Novák (2003), page 411, and Kumanová, Mann and colleagues (2006), page 94.

- Failure to differentiate between nationality and citizenship;
- Rejection of the term Roma as socio-political category;
- Identification at family level and local community level in accordance with established cultural patterns, where the term nationality and ethnicity are foreign concepts<sup>17</sup>
- Fear of possible mistreatment if they state their Roma nationality, fear of discrimination.

**Unemployment register** provides data about the Roma (1990 to 1999) even if based only on “visual assessment” by the register’s employees. The data sample is limited only to the Roma registered at the time by the unemployment register. However, the data does indicate that between 1990 and 1999 about 17% of all registered unemployed were Roma. This number varied inversely to the overall drop or rise of unemployment. This would indicate minimum impact of the job market development on the numbers of Roma registered with the unemployment office, i.e. any job market changes affected mainly the majority population.<sup>18</sup> This finding is important for evaluating the impact of the recent drop of unemployment on the overall unemployment of the Roma.

Because there is no available official data from the Statistical Office on the Roma minority, the majority of our data comes from selective surveys conducted by the government and international organizations in cooperation with non-governmental organizations (and one commercial organization in one case). This includes a qualitative survey carried out by the World Bank in 2000 – 2001 and quantitative surveys carried out by the United Nations Development Program in 2001, office of the Government Plenipotentiary for Roma Affairs for the “Atlas of Roma Community” in 2003 and 2004, United Nations Development Program in 2005 and the Public Health Office in 2007 - 2008<sup>19</sup>.

### ***Selective surveys***

**Qualitative survey of the World Bank** carried out from December 2000 to January 2001 in Roma settlements in three geographically and socio-economically different counties: Malacky, Rimavská Sobota and Stará Ľubovňa. The survey consisted of in-depth interviews with individuals, families, local and public administration representatives (teachers, doctors, social workers, church representatives and representatives of local governments). The survey results indicate that poverty indicators are very different for the Roma and non-Roma population. Poverty of the Roma is directly tied to (i) regional economic conditions, (ii) size and concentration of the local Roma population in the relevant settlement, (iii) number of Roma in the relevant settlement and (iv) level of geographical segregation and distance from the nearest neighboring municipality or city. While the unemployment rate in Slovakia in 2000 reached 18%, unemployment rate among the survey participants reached 85%.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> As example we can use the Roma settlement at Chminianskych Jakubovanoch, where not even one of the 1.100 Roma living in the settlement put down Roma nationality in the 2001 census. (Budilová and Jakoubek, 2008b, page 219).

<sup>18</sup> In 1991-1999 there were about 60 000 of registered unemployed Roma. Statistical yearbook 1996, 1997, 2000 and 2002, Lubyová (2000) and Loran (2002). Loran states very low number of registered unemployed Roma in 2000 and 2001, which seem incorrect: down from 80.500 unemployed Roma in 1999 to 23.000 in 2000 and 6.500 in 2001, while the general unemployment remained really high: 19,2%, 17,9% and 18,6%.

<sup>19</sup> In the following order: the World Bank (2005), UNDP (2002), Slovak government (2004), Filadelfiová and colleagues (2006), ÚVZ (2008).

<sup>20</sup> The World Bank (2005b), page 57, 61-92.

**Selective survey carried out by the United Nations Development Program in 2001** in cooperation with the International Labor Organization collected data from 5 034 respondents from Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania and Slovakia. The respondents were selected randomly based on quotas set for the relevant regions and consisted of adults, with the information classified as follows: countryside/city, age and gender. In accordance with the 2001 census. The Slovak survey included data from 1 030 participants about employment, income, education, health, political views and social inclusion. The main results included (i) legal framework for protection of minority rights, which, however, does not support development opportunities and will not help with integration, (ii) methodology and basis of the hypothesis about the reasons for 100% unemployment of the Roma is flawed – for example the Roma unemployment rate in Slovakia was 64%, (iii) participation of the Roma in the welfare system is uneven – as a group they receive more than they contribute, which causes social tensions and exclusion, (iv) integration in the official education system will require elimination of the existing systemic barriers and (v) a large number of Roma children are malnourished.

The goal of the **Atlas of Roma Communities** was to collect as much data about the Roma as possible for the state administration use to ensure a more efficient implementation of policies designed to improve the situation of the Roma in Slovakia.<sup>21</sup> The Atlas was supposed to contribute to a better targeted financing and improve the efficiency of the implemented activities. That is why it contains very detailed information especially about the insufficient physical infrastructure of Roma settlements. According to the database, in 2003 there were about 300 000 Roma living in 1 087 municipalities and 1 575 settlements in Slovakia (about 23% were men, 46% women and 31% children).<sup>22</sup>

**Survey carried out by the United Nations Development Program in 2005** in cooperation with the World Bank was important mainly because it used a professional data collection organization. The interviewers noted the respondents' answers down during the actual interview instead of trying to remember the answers and writing them down later (as with other surveys). The respondents were selected based on the data from the Atlas of Roma Communities. Data was collected in 720 Roma households, divided evenly in three groups according to the type of housing – segregated, separated (outskirts of municipalities) and integrated (with majority population). The survey covered 3 769 respondents. The control group of geographically close general population included 355 households with 1 204 respondents.<sup>23</sup>

#### **Frame. Decade Participation.**

The Decade is a joint declaration in which the Slovak government promised to “work on eliminating discrimination and unacceptable differences between the Roma and majority population ... and demonstrate achieved improvement by measuring results and evaluating experience during the implementation of the Decade Action Plan” (Decade Declaration, February 2, 2005, Sofia, Bulgaria). The Slovak government specified concrete steps in the Slovak National Action Plan of Roma Integration 2005 – 2015.

The first monitoring report (Decade Watch, 2008) evaluating the implementation of the Decade Program rates Slovakia exactly in the middle of all nine participating countries. At the same time it also indicates Slovakia made the least progress in 2007. It criticizes the Slovak government for the

<sup>21</sup> Slovak government (2004), Jurásková, Kríglerová and Rybová (2004), Šebesta and Kelley (2005).

<sup>22</sup> List of authors according to the original Atlas database. The Atlas is sometimes quoted as socio-graphic mapping of Roma settlements. According to Alexander Mušinka, one of the Atlas authors, the number of Roma in 2003 could have reached maximum 330.000, which is about 10% lower than estimates by Vaňo and Haviarová (2002). Interview with author Alexander Mušinka, 25.3.2009, Prešov.

<sup>23</sup> Filadelfiová and colleagues (2006), page 18.

lack of systemic solutions, especially in the areas of education and housing and focusing its activities only on short-term solutions.

Even though Slovakia and the Czech Republic have the best institutional framework to solve Roma issues, they lack “fast translation into action.” In July 2009, Slovakia will take over the presidency of the Roma Decade for one year.

The result is an extensive database and finding that about 73% of Roma households (regardless of their integration with the majority) generally depends on welfare benefits, but only about 11% received housing benefits and 6% received school stipends for their children. While the majority of the unemployed was registered with the unemployment office, only one-third actively participated in activation work and only 5% participated in re-qualification courses. The published results indicate that the 2005 participation rate among the Roma was only about 20% and employment rate 8%. The unemployment rate reached up to 60%.<sup>24</sup>

The **Public Health Authority** evaluated the health improvement program for disadvantaged Roma communities<sup>25</sup> focusing on Roma living in 127 separate settlements. The monitoring included 2 014 respondents. The study admits the program failed to include Roma living in segregated settlements, but it compares its result with the findings of other unspecified surveys and programs from segregated settlements. The study contains a large amount of data about the participating Roma, including statistics on employment, education, demographics, eating habits and health. In line with its main goal the study concludes that *“one of the main characteristics of a Roma community is generally low education and very low general literacy, which directly affects health awareness of the community and results in deep disinterest in one’s health. This, combined with low housing standard, environmentally unsound surroundings, insufficient personal and communal hygiene, complicated access to certain facilities and services (healthcare facilities, doctors, schools and etc.) resulting in a very negative impact on the overall health of the disadvantaged Roma community.”*<sup>26</sup>

### ***Institutions Helping the Roma***

Institutions and programs focusing on providing help to the Roma suffer from a chronic lack of information about their target group, insufficient monitoring activities and unsatisfactory evaluation of their actual impact. Several non-governmental organizations are trying to address this situation by collecting available data and by evaluating at least the existing government programs. It seems these institutions have no quantitative data about the Roma or clear idea about the extent of funds spend on helping the Roma and the results of such activities.

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<sup>24</sup> Calculations of authors according to Filadelfiová and colleagues (2006), see Job Market chapter for more details.

<sup>25</sup> Evaluation report on results of 1<sup>st</sup> phase of Health improvement program for disadvantaged Roma communities in 2007 - 2008. The program focuses on monitoring the health and lifestyle of Roma communities.

<sup>26</sup> ÚVZ (2008), page 24.

## Government

The relevant ministries and the Government Plenipotentiary for Roma Affairs are the government's bodies in charge of the Roma affairs trying to solve the "issues of Roma communities and implement systemic measures improving their position and integration in society." In 2005 the government joined the international initiative Roma Inclusion Decade 2005-2015 designed to improve the socio-economic situation and social inclusion of the Roma (see frame).

The government's plenipotentiary bases her activities on the Strategy approved by the government in March 2008, which itself is based on the previous strategy approved in 2002 and focuses exclusively on Roma settlements, which, according to estimates, are home to about 130 000 Roma. The strategy focuses on marginalized Roma communities in the settlements and all "*inhabitants living in communities and cities with average standard of living*," i.e. all Roma. The main areas of the government strategy are the following: (i) education and upbringing, (ii) health, hygiene, health education and prevention, (iii) employment and other social activities, (iv) housing, and (v) culture, fostering awareness of personal identity, relationship with the majority, gender issues and poverty (see frame no. 1).

The Office of the Government Plenipotentiary has a budget amounting to several millions SKK for grants and programs designed to help the Roma. The supported projects usually focus on housing, physical infrastructure (water supply, sewer lines, cleaning of wells) and community centers and community social work, education and culture. Information about the implementation of the projects is minimal (Hojsík, 2008).

The Office of the Government Plenipotentiary has only limited statistical data about Roma communities. In 2004 it initiated the creation of the Atlas of Roma Communities<sup>27</sup> in Slovakia. Its database is not open to public.

The **Ministry of Labor** focuses on employment and social inclusion of the Roma in the "National Report on Strategies of Social Protection and Inclusion for 2006-2008," which is important mainly because it defines quantifiable indicators of progress for each goal, even though the results of their 2007 monitoring have not been published yet.

The **Roma Education Center Prešov**, which is administered by the Methodology and Education Center of the Ministry of Education, offers education, information, documentation and counseling services for teachers from schools with high numbers of Roma children and students based on specific needs and conditions of the Roma minority<sup>28</sup>.

The majority of funds used to help Roma communities comes from the EU funds and is coordinated by the relevant ministries. The main priorities of the Slovak national strategy framework are convergence, regional competitiveness and European cooperation. The parallel priority "Marginalized Roma Communities" is not an operating program with specific allocations and the priority coordinator (the government plenipotentiary) is not the managing body or intermediating body of the managing body. The Office of the Government Plenipotentiary has no authority over financial management of the parallel priority. Because of the 11 operating programs mainly the following operating programs concern the Roma minority – education, employment and social inclusion, healthcare, regional operating program and competitiveness and economic growth, the grants are coordinated by the relevant ministries.

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<sup>27</sup> Slovak government (2004).

<sup>28</sup> [www.rocepo.sk](http://www.rocepo.sk)

## Academic and non-governmental organizations

Only one academic institution consistently focuses on Roma-oriented studies – the Institute of Roma Studies at the faculty of social studies of the University of Constantine the Philosopher in Nitra. However, the institute focuses mainly on teaching social and missionary work in Roma communities and it does not publish its results.<sup>29</sup>

There are many foundations focusing on projects helping the Roma with good results. In this study we would like to name the foundations that focus on studying the Roma ethnic. The **Open Society Foundation** has programs focusing on Roma health, Roma youth, Roma Inclusion Decade and monitoring in Roma settlements. **Milan Šimečka Foundation** focuses on protecting Roma rights and housing, evaluation of rental housing development in Roma settlements, collection of documents concerning the Roma and multicultural education. Similar documentation activities are also carried out by the civil association **Memo98**. The **Wide Open School** foundation centers its attention on Roma education. The **Slovak Governance Institute (SGI)** and the **Center for Research of Ethnicity and Culture** both carry out research focusing on the education of Roma children. Social analysis of situation in Roma settlements is the domain of non-profit organization **S.P.A.C.E.**<sup>30</sup>

## International Institutions

The **European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC)** focuses on protection of Roma rights, research and creation of policies, training of Roma human rights activists. The **Roma Inclusion Decade 2005-2015** is a joint political initiative of the governments of central and south European countries and inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations. The goal of the initiative is to improve the situation of the Roma mainly in the following areas; education, employment, health, housing, poverty and discrimination and to encourage their integration in society. The priorities of the **Minority Rights Group** are protection of rights of minorities, monitoring and exposing racial discrimination, unequal access to education and healthcare. The goal of the **UN High Commissioner for Human Rights** is to bring attention of governments to human-rights abuses, including the rights of minorities.<sup>31</sup>

**International Roma Institutions** – probably the two best known are the International Roma Union (IRU) and the Roma National Congress (RNC). IRU is a world organization whose goal is to politically represent the Roma nation, develop its culture and language, and protect human and civil rights of the Roma. RNC is a European organization working mainly in the areas of national emancipation and protection of political, civil and human rights of the Roma.<sup>32</sup>

## 3. Financing Efficiency and Time series Estimates

### Population Growth in Slovakia

The number of Roma in Slovakia will probably rise from 379 000 in 2000 to 545 000 in 2030. At the same time the number of non-Roma will fall from 5 024 000 to 4 988 000, which means the total population of Slovakia will fall slightly from 5 403 000 to 5 533 000.

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<sup>29</sup> Institute of Roma Studies.

<sup>30</sup> Sources, in order: [www.osf.sk](http://www.osf.sk), [www.nadaciamilanasimecku.sk](http://www.nadaciamilanasimecku.sk), [www.memo98.sk/obcanrom/](http://www.memo98.sk/obcanrom/), [www.skoladokoran.sk](http://www.skoladokoran.sk), [www.governance.sk](http://www.governance.sk), [www.cvek.sk](http://www.cvek.sk), [www.nspace.sk](http://www.nspace.sk).

<sup>31</sup> Sources, in order: [www.errc.org](http://www.errc.org), [www.romadecade.org](http://www.romadecade.org), [www.minorityrights.org](http://www.minorityrights.org), [www.ohchr.org](http://www.ohchr.org)

<sup>32</sup> <http://www.idealists.org/if/i/en/av/Org/22073-63/c>, <http://romanationalcongress.webs.com/index.htm>

These numbers are only rough estimates. Because there is no official data about the number and structure of the Roma living in Slovakia, these estimates are based on the estimates of Vano and co-authors. Their estimates were carefully calculated and are generally accepted and correspond with data collected during the selective surveys. Estimates are available only for 2000 to 2025<sup>33</sup> that is why we have added a linear trend to obtain a time series for 2000-2030. The estimate of the growth of general population in Slovakia and its age structure by 2030 is also based on Vano's estimates (2007) and allows us to estimate the growth of non-Roma population (table no. 3).

The estimates of demographic development of the Roma and non-Roma population lead to several important conclusions:

- The Roma will represent a large part of the potential workforce. The number of Roma in productive age will rise from 11% of all persons in productive age in Slovakia in 2000 to 16% in 2030. This is due to the expected growth of the Roma population from 7% to 10%, but mainly by the large number of children in the Roma population – 30% in 2000-2009, while the number of children in non-Roma population is only 16% (see frame no. 3).
- Schools will have to adjust more to the needs of Roma children. The number of Roma children in school age will increase from 12% of all school age children in 2000 to 16% in 2030.
- The Roma can substantially lower the deficit of the first retirement pillar. In 2030 the number of non-Roma seniors (older than 64) will increase to 21% of Slovak population, while the number of Roma seniors will stagnate at 0.5% of Slovak population. The employed Roma should then substantially contribute to the pensions of the non-Roma.
- The public healthcare system must focus more on the Roma. While the life expectancy of the non-Roma population is increasing and the number of non-Roma seniors is expected to rise from 12% of Slovak population in 2000 to 21% in 20230, the number of Roma seniors is expected to stagnate at 0.5% of Slovak population.
- The regional aspect is also very important. The numbers of school age children and people in productive age are very high from the national and even more from the regional point of view. In several municipalities and counties the number of Roma children will exceed the number of non-Roma children. The development of the local job market and local economy will depend on the activities of the Roma population in productive age.

## Job Market

The development of the Roma employment or unemployment rates will, according to our estimates, be very different from the development of the non-Roma employment or unemployment rates. It seems that about two thirds of Roma in productive age are discouraged from active participation in the job market. The main task of public policies is to

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<sup>33</sup> Population: 2000 data Vaňo (2001), page 13, 2002 Vaňo and Haviarová (2002), page 480, 2004 Vaňo and Mészáros (2004) page 15, and 2005, 2010, 2015, 2020 and 2025 Vaňo (2004), page 29, tab.3.3.

Age 0-14, data for years 2010, 2015, 2020 and 2025 Vaňo (2004), table 3.3.

Age 65+, data for years 2020 Vaňo (2002), page 487.

Age 6-15, data for years 2010, 2015, 2020 and 2025 Vaňo (2004), table 3.3.

come up with programs that would increase the chances of the Roma finding employment and bringing them back to the job market.

There is very little information available about the employment or unemployment of the Roma. The majority of the surveys only state close to 100% unemployment rate, but provide no information about the participation of the Roma in the job market or their employment<sup>34</sup>. For this study we used data about the registered Roma unemployed from 1997 to 1999 and Roma unemployment and employment rates for 2000, 2001 and 2005.<sup>35</sup>

We have created estimates of the Slovak job market statistics using demographic data and prognosis of the Ministry of Finance, Central Bank and the European Commission.<sup>36</sup>

The inconsistency of the Roma employment and unemployment debate can be best documented by comparing unemployment estimates with the unemployment numbers revealed by the selective surveys. An unemployed person is a person registered with the unemployment office. Such unemployment reflects the advantages or disadvantages of registration, which change according to the legislation. An example of a registration advantage are unemployment benefits, which do not last long or income from activation work. On the other hand, the selective surveys consider a person unemployed only if he or she are actively looking for employment (frame no. 4).

For example, according to a survey carried out by Filadelfiova and col. (2006), the employment rate among the Roma in 2005 was 7.7% and unemployment rate 89%, participation was at 70%. However, if we take into account that only 18% of the unemployed Roma were actively seeking employment, the unemployment rate would drop to 59% and participation rate to more realistic 19% (table no. 4). This would more correspond with the recent Czech selective survey<sup>37</sup>. It seems that a high percentage of Roma are registered with the unemployment office, so the high unemployment rate covers the real underlying problem – low participation in the job market caused by resignation on employment search and possibility to find work.

To use the registered unemployment data to create estimates we have drawn time series using the numbers of registered unemployed, unemployed without education and with elementary school education and long-term unemployed (more than 12 and more than 24 months) for the individual Slovak counties for all available year quarters, i.e. from 3q1997 to 3q2008. We have linked this data with the Mapping database. We have organized the counties according to population size from the smallest to largest and then into four almost identical groups (three groups with 20 counties one with 19 counties). The above-mentioned indicates that the counties with higher number of Roma have substantially worse job market indicators than counties with lower numbers of Roma inhabitants (see table no. 5, frame no. 5). After this test we have recounted the average numbers of unemployed in populations of

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<sup>34</sup> One exception and positive example is the work of the World Bank (2008) for the Czech Republic.

<sup>35</sup> Number of unemployed Roma 1997-1999: Lubyová (2000). Roma unemployment rate in 2000 73,5% and in 2001 72,6%: Tomatová (2004). Roma unemployment rate in 2005 (based on population in active age) 62,3% and Roma employment rate in 2005 7,7%: Filadelfiová and colleagues (2006); see also population data, page 20.

<sup>36</sup> Participation rate in 2010 73,3%, 2020 77,8% and 2030 78,0%. Unemployment rate for years 2010 - 15,2%, 2020 - 9,7% and 2030 - 7,0%. Ministry of Finance (2007), page 57, table 7. Number of people in productive age 2008-2025 Bleha and Vaňo (2007), table 3. Job market statistics 2008-2011 according to the Institute of Finance Policy (2008), compared to EC (2008), page 117, table 3.24.1 and NBS (2008).

<sup>37</sup> Unemployment rate 12% and participation rate 44% for excluded Roma. The World Bank (2008), page 9, table 1.



the first three groups and assumed this number to be the job market indicator for the non-Roma, including regional variations. After multiplying the total population of Slovakia we have estimated the number of unemployed non-Roma and by deducting this number from the total number of unemployed in Slovakia obtained the estimate of unemployed Roma. We used similar method for calculating other indicators – unemployed without education or elementary school education and long-term unemployed (see table no. 6). The results were similar to those listed by the statistical office for Roma population in 1997 – 1999. We have then applied the numbers of unemployed estimated based on the register to estimate the numbers of Roma and non-Roma in productive age (see table no. 7).

To calculate the number of unemployed Roma using the definition of the selective surveys we used the modified statistics (Filadelfiova), i.e. 8% employment rate, 60% unemployment rate and 19% participation rate in 2005, which corresponds to not even one-third of unemployed registered with the unemployment office. By adjusting the number of unemployed to 29% of the register level we arrive to a no doubt imprecise time series for 2000 to 2030 (see table 8, frame 6).

Our estimates indicate the following conclusions:

- Our information about the participation of the Roma in the job market is very limited. Surveys use their own definitions of employment and unemployment and are generally limited to state almost 100% unemployment among the Roma. In the future, it will be necessary to carry out selective surveys of Roma employment, preferably as part of an existing selective survey by adding a question about ethnicity. Higher participation of economists would also help the issue. The survey teams should consider involving economists specializing in job markets or at least consult them.
- According to our, inevitably very rough estimates, at least two-thirds of the Roma have resigned on their employment search. The employment rate among the Roma is only about 10% (60% among non-Roma, see table no. 8) and unemployment rate among the Roma is about 46% (10% among non-Roma) for 2006 – 2010. The economic policies should focus on the discouraged Roma and find out the reasons of their low participation, identify possible solutions and prepare active job market policies in coordination with other Roma-oriented programs.
- Low work activity is a regional problem. One quarter of Slovak counties with the highest concentration of Roma population has markedly higher registered unemployment and lower chances for development – one-half of all unemployed have no education or only elementary school education, 60% of all unemployed have been without a job for longer than one year and 44% of all unemployed have been without a job longer than two year (see table no. 5, frame no. 3).
- The Roma job market stagnates. While the number of registered non-Roma unemployed fell two-thirds since 2000, the number of unemployed Roma fell only two-tenths. The number of unemployed with low education fell by more than 50%, but the number of unemployed uneducated Roma has stayed practically unchanged. The number of long-term unemployed non-Roma fell almost by two-thirds, while the number of long-term unemployed Roma not even by two-tenths (see table no. 6).
- Slovakia is running fast of unemployment-lowering options. The rising demand for labor was followed by the rising number unemployed people with low education and long absence from the job market. This is most visible with the unemployed Roma, of which 60% have low education, 64% have been unemployed at least one year and 50% longer than two years (see table no. 6).

## Social Assistance

One way the public policies until recently discouraged low-educated people from participating in the job market was offering welfare benefits that were in the end higher than income from low-qualified work.<sup>38</sup> This is a classic example of creating dependency on the welfare system and creating a poverty trap.

The social policy changes following the motto “it pays to work” were abruptly introduced in 2004. This led to a sharp decrease of welfare benefits, which left poor families with many children (generally Roma families) in a catastrophic situation. Before reform welfare benefits were calculated for every adult and every dependent child, i.e. more children automatically meant higher welfare benefits. From January 2004 welfare recognized only three categories for the number of children – zero, one to four and more than four. A family then had the same amount of welfare benefits regardless of having five or ten children, which meant a steep drop in income for families with a large number of children.<sup>39</sup> Since 2004, the amount of welfare and family benefits (in UPSVAR terminology “family support benefits”) has registered slight nominal increase (see table no. 9).

Our analysis focuses on two types of benefits – welfare and family support<sup>40</sup>. The amount of welfare is calculated as the difference between the total family needs and its income (including property). The current amount of basic welfare benefits for a couple with more than four children is 201,16 €. There are two basic family support benefits – child and parental benefits. Child benefits amount to 17,93 € per month and are paid to the parents for every dependent underage child. Parental benefits amount to 158,67 € and are generally paid to parents caring for at least one child younger than three. Both benefits can be increased by a variety of other benefits.<sup>41</sup>

ÚPSVAR publishes data about welfare recipients and amount of welfare paid. The number of welfare recipients can reflect administrative costs related to welfare payment administration but it should not be confused with the number of persons dependent on welfare. The amount of welfare benefits paid out is a better indicator of the number of dependents. Because of the collection of monthly published data is very demanding, we have only carried out calculations for 2004 to 2008.

When estimating the number of Roma welfare recipients and the amount of money paid out, we have applied the same method used for estimating the number of unemployed Roma. Again, we have used the database of the Atlas of Roma Communities to order counties according to the size of Roma population and divided the counties in three groups of 20 and one group of 19. The groups vary significantly depending on the number of welfare recipients. There is less difference in the numbers of parental benefits and child benefits. There is also positive correlation between the size of the Roma population and benefits paid out, especially welfare benefits, less so with parental benefits. The differences between the counties in the number of recipients and amount of benefits paid out per population are

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<sup>38</sup> The World Bank (2005a), page 48-50, picture 4.1

<sup>39</sup> The World Bank (2005b), page 18, table 2.5, frame 2.5-2.6. For evaluation of social policies focusing on lowering long-term unemployment in terms of ethnicity and regional aspects see Gyarfášová and colleagues (2006)

<sup>40</sup> According to Filadelfiova and colleagues (2006, page 46-50) about three quarters of Roma households received welfare benefits. About 7,4% of Roma population were on maternity or paternity leave, but only 3,5% of geographically similar non-Roma population (page 21, graph 2.5)

<sup>41</sup> <http://www.upsvar.sk/rsi/rsi.nsf/0/B6286CB7FB0B017AC1257115004E3F63?OpenDocument>  
<http://www.upsvar.sk/rsi/rsi.nsf/0/708EAD5B9AD70C2BC1257115004D4751?OpenDocument>

shrinking (see table no. 10). In percentage terms (where Slovak average is 100%), the most significant difference in the amount of welfare benefits paid out was the difference between the first and fourth group in 2008 – 154 percentage points, followed by the number of welfare recipients (106 percentage points), the number of recipients of family benefits (19 percentage points) and amount of family benefits (18 percentage points, frame no. 7).

We used the average values calculated for the counties in the first three groups as typical for the majority population and by applying them to non-Roma population estimated the number of recipients and amount of benefits paid out to non-Roma citizens. Using the UPSVAR data we calculated the number of recipients and amount of benefits paid out to Roma citizens. These estimates are very approximate and only informative, however, they do indicate similar proportionate number of Roma recipients of child benefits and proportionately higher number of Roma welfare recipients and recipients parental benefits. The higher numbers of welfare recipients correspond to very high (up to 29% in 2008) proportion of paid out welfare benefits. Even the volume of child and parental benefits paid out to the Roma is proportionately higher for the Roma population but lower considering the number of Roma children (see table no. 11). From the amount of welfare benefits we estimate that if employment rates among the Roma were similar to the majority population, about EUR 45 million in 2004 and EUR 49 million in 2008 could be used for other purposes.

The estimates of the number of welfare recipients and amount of welfare benefits paid out indicate the following:

- The Roma receive close 30% of all welfare benefits. The number of welfare recipients and amount of benefits paid out are closely related to the size of the Roma population in the county. In 2008, about 8% of Slovak population were Roma and they accounted for about 20% of all welfare recipients and 29% of all welfare benefits paid out – higher than in 2004. While the majority population received EUR 29 in benefits per person per year, the Roma population received EUR 60 per person per year. The Roma are on average much poorer and dependent on welfare benefits than the majority population and their poverty compared with the majority population is deepening.<sup>42</sup>
- More, even if shortly studying, children means nominally more benefits. The percentage of Roma child benefits recipients is similar to the majority, but the amount of benefits paid out is higher. While in 2008 the majority received EUR 48 per person per year, the Roma population received EUR 64 per person per year. This is caused by the higher number of children in the Roma population. If we use the available data about the number of children aged 0 to 14, then the average amount of benefits per non-Roma child (EUR 341 per year) will be higher than the average amount of benefits per Roma child (EUR 212 per year). This can be explained by the longer entitlement to benefits in non-Roma population (up to 24 years, which is not included in our demographic indicator) because non-Roma children stay in school much longer than Roma children.
- More children means relatively lower parental benefits. The number of Roma recipients and the amount of parental benefits paid out is in terms of the size of the

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<sup>42</sup> Since we do not have data categorized according to ethnicity, we do not even know the poverty rate among the Roma. As substitute we use other Roma indicators, such as high unemployment or number of children. The 1996 micro-census indicates the risk of poverty in households headed by persons with maximum elementary school education was 41% higher than average and up to six times higher for households headed by an unemployed than employed person. The World Bank, SPACE and INEKO (2002), page 13, frame 2.2, Filadelfiová (2007), page 14, table 3.

population higher in the Roma population. Again, the difference is in the number of children in the population. If we take the total amount of benefits and apply it to the number of children, then the average amount of benefits for non-Roma children in 2008 reached EUR 312 per year and only EUR 239 for Roma children per year. This can be explained by child benefits being paid out until the child reaches three years of age regardless of the number of children. The benefits favor planned parenting with larger intervals between the children (maximum three years) and disadvantage parents with higher number of children born in short intervals.

- The ÚPSVAR register represent a unique database of individuals and families, poverty levels and unemployment rate that could, in anonymous form, be used for analyzing and improving the efficiency of public policies including the success rate of the existing job market policies.

## Education System

The level of education in the Roma population is very low compared to the majority population. The reason is the education system, which does not respect cultural diversity and does not ensure social equality in education. Roma children do not have the same access to education and are very often labeled mentally retarded and placed in special-needs schools with catastrophic effect on their future position on the job market. Using public funds for such education is in our view very inefficient.

About one-third of the Roma do not even have elementary school education, one-third have only elementary school education, 9% have incomplete high-school education and 15% have complete high-school education. Only 0.2% of the Roma have higher than high-school education.<sup>43</sup> For comparison: 80% of Slovak population have higher than elementary school education and 11% have higher than high-school education<sup>44</sup>.

### **Causes of low education of Roma**

The Slovak education system is input-oriented. To a large extent it offers students equal conditions for education and it expects the students and their family to conform. Input instead of output orientation, i.e. results and education level, refuses to acknowledge differences in *“individual, cultural and motivational characteristics of which none is superior or more valuable than the other.”*<sup>45</sup> The preference of monocultural instead of multicultural organization of the education system ignores cultural differences between the majority and Roma ethnic. According to the research of the Methodology Center in Presov (2006) *“the current elementary school is a “foreign institution” for Roma children ... because it does not respect their ethnical, cultural, social, language and psychological otherness “.*<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Persons that did not continue their education -- 35% did not finish elementary school, 37% completed elementary school, 4% completed special-needs school, 9% did not finish high-school, 15% finished high-school and 0.2% had higher education. Filadelfiová and colleagues (2006), page 62, graph 5.1. Similar numbers were reported by the Presov Methodology Center (Ministry of Education, 2002), according to the center 83% of parents had max. elementary school education, 15% vocational school and 2% high-school with high-school certificate. The center's research was based on ethnicity rather than nationality.

<sup>44</sup> Slovak Statistical Office, 2001 national census.

<sup>45</sup> Kosová (2006), page 32.

<sup>46</sup> Quoted in the Roma Education Strategy draft including high-school and university education. See also very well prepared theoretic solutions to education problems and international experience with education of minority ethnic groups, Kosova study (2006).

On top of that the Slovak education system is selective, i.e. oriented on the more successful (generally) majority. The OECD PISA research (2003) shows that Slovakia has one of the highest correlations between academic results of students and their socio-economic backgrounds. The Slovak education system deepens the initial differences between students by selecting children and placing them in different sections of the education system with variable levels of quality (applying uniform requirements without individualizing the educational process) and causes an auto-reproductive education (children copy the education level reached by their parents because the education system does not compensate for poorer starting conditions of individual students).<sup>47</sup>

Such education system offers the Roma very few opportunities to receive any education or it disadvantages Roma students because of their cultural and language otherness amplified by their substandard socio-economic situation.

Cultural differences breed differences in education of ethnic groups. This includes different attitude towards education, family upbringing, cultural patterns and language factors.<sup>48</sup> According to the available literature, the Roma assign lower priority to majority education than the majority, which is caused both by their own experience with job market discrimination and tradition, but also fear of assimilation and rejection by their family. A traditional Roma family does not have the same cornerstones as western family including delayed gratification (example motivation: "if you do your homework now, you can watch TV later). Roma children are raised with almost unlimited freedom, which in the eyes of the majority makes them look unruly and undisciplined or maladjusted. Learning in a traditional Roma family happens naturally by mimicking and without any correction from adults, with special emphasis on non-verbal communication and intonation. That is why the language of Roma children is not as developed.<sup>49</sup>

The socio-economic situation of a large majority of Roma families is dire. Low education and unemployment of the parents and related poverty do not create material or intellectual conditions for the academic development of the children (children do not have adequate

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<sup>47</sup> Kosov (2006).

<sup>48</sup> Porubsk (2002) quoted in Kosov (2006), page 33. Such differences are not only typical for the Roma, for example according to Prcha (2006, page 172-177), in the Netherlands even with good legislation and financing, Moroccan and Turkish students have worse academic results than the Dutch students, Surinamese and other immigrant minorities. The reason is the low importance the Moroccans and Turkish give to education and its social importance, different family upbringing, low stimulation of children and their cognitive development, different attitude towards education of boys and girls and difficulties adjusting to the Dutch education system.

<sup>49</sup> Sekyt (2003), page 438, Kosov (2006). Culturally conditioned differences of Roma children have been known for a long time, for example Ferjenik (1997) in his psychological survey found that Roma children upon entering school have different knowledge, abilities, and language and other "*qualities – other form of perception and different cognitive strategies used for problem-solving*" (page 278). According to Dluhoova (2004), page 42 and 52, the integration efforts of Roma children in schools fail because the school does not fit their "philosophy." They cannot cope with the methods, time and number of classes and curriculum. According to Rigorova and Maczejkova (2002), page 700 and 711, the lack of knowledge and non-acceptance of the Roma specifics and language differences between the Roma lead to the failure of the programs such as children's spelling and reading books. The perception of education as something not necessary also impacts school attendance. According to the Ministry of Education (2002, page 24) in 2000/2001 a typical Roma student missed on average one month, which amounted to 95% unexplained absences (see also Dluhoov (2004), page 43 and 50, Al (2007), page 7, Rigorov and Maczejkov (2002), page 700, Sekyt (2003), page 436. The traditional role of women as the main obstacle in education for girls is also mentioned in the Medium-term Strategy of Roma Minority Development (Slovak government, 2008).

clothing or shoes and come hungry to school)<sup>50</sup>. School attendance is often made difficult by the distance between the settlements and schools, unsuitable housing and bad (or non-existent) hygiene habits.<sup>51</sup>

It cannot be said that the Slovak education system ignores Roma children. However, because of the prevalent monocultural and selective schooling any solutions introduced by the system fail to reach the intended goals. In addition, the efficiency of the relevant programs cannot be gauged, because the data is not classified according to ethnicity.<sup>52</sup> The available research indicates that the main weak points of the Slovak education system are the following:

- No pre-school education. There are not enough kindergartens and Roma children either do not attend them (partially because they are too expensive for their parents) or, when they do, they very often face discrimination.<sup>53</sup>
- Indifference to ethnic and language differences in elementary schools. Elementary schools are not ready to deal with ethnically diverse students. They do not accept their ethnic and language differences, which is reflected in their teaching methods, school books and materials, education of qualified teachers and in the drafting of school budgets.<sup>54</sup> Classes in schools with Roma children are large, there are no specialized teachers, psychologists, speech therapists and teachers often substitute as social and health workers and are financially de-motivated. There are no day

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<sup>50</sup> „Especially problematic is the social development of these children, which is generally formed by factors such as traditions, customs, taboos and upbringing. Their upbringing lacks stimulation and is inadequate in terms of family and surroundings.“ MCP (2002), page 6. Roma parents are often not interested in their children’s academic results or even when they try to help them they do not know how, because of their low education. OSI and EU (2007), page 169.

<sup>51</sup> AI (2007), page 12-14, discussion of participants of seminar “Segregation of Roma Students in Schools”-- analysis of current situation organized by the Open Society Foundation – OSF and Wide Open School Foundation on March 25, 2009 in Prešov.

<sup>52</sup> „The most changes in the past several years were made in the area of education. However, there is still the problem of not being able efficiently measure and evaluate their efficiency.“ Another problem is the fact that individual projects are not sufficiently coordinated and their results are often not published, not available to the public (Kriglerová, 2006, page 2). OSI and EU (2007, page 88) conclude that the education system data should be classified according to ethnicity to allow assessment of results of programs for Roma children including pre-school years.

<sup>53</sup> Alexander and Hodál (2004), Rigorová and Maczejková (2002), page 703. AI (2007), page 2, 18 and 25, point out for example the Jarovnice school with separated entrances for Roma and non-Roma children, new equipment upstairs for non-Roma children and old equipment downstairs for Roma children. The Ministry of Education (2002, page 12) states that in 2000/2001 only 3,4% of children in kindergartens were Roma. According to Save the Children (2001, page 181), the number of kindergartens fell between 1988 and 1995 from 4.042 to 3.321, and the number of Roma children attending kindergarten fell from 166.852 to 1.181. This low number has not changed much in 2008 (1.249 children according to the Institute for Information and Education Prognosis, 2008). Even when the Roma expressed their interest to send their children to kindergartens, there were not enough places.

<sup>54</sup> Tomatová (2004a), page 7. OSI and EU (2007), page 37 and 135: it is not enough for school materials to be translated into Roma, which the children often do not understand because of the differences between the individual Roma dialects and Roma parents often reject curriculum that Roma children cannot relate to culturally. The following basic five Roma dialects are spoken in Slovakia: west Slovakia dialect, central Slovakia dialect, east Slovakia dialect, Hungarian dialect and Olah dialect. Lužica (2004), page 70.

programs and parental-cooperation programs.<sup>55</sup> Roma children often arrive to kindergartens and elementary school speaking only their native language (Roma) and Slovak is a foreign language to them. Because they do not speak the teaching language (Slovak) and the education system simply assumes they will learn it in one year (the first year of school), it does not provide any language support programs. The academic results of Roma children are inevitably much worse than the academic results of the majority.<sup>56</sup>

- Absence of education of the majority to awareness and acceptance of foreign cultures, including the Roma culture.
- No systemic approach, limited continuity and thoroughness of programs.<sup>57</sup> Government programs are not based on research, they are incomplete and they are not a political priority. They often stay only in the planning stage. There are no budget requirements for the programs and it is impossible to evaluate them. One part of the state administration approaches the education of the Roma with racist prejudice.<sup>58</sup>
- Segregation in education leads to ever increasing numbers of special-needs schools. The incompatibility of the education system with the needs of Roma students is solved by segregation, which only worsens the situation, including the possibility of interaction with the majority and the building of social networks outside of families and communities. Roma children are often wrongly placed in special-needs school, or, if the Roma community is large enough, in segregated Roma schools and classes close to the Roma settlement. Standard elementary schools then gradually become special-needs schools.<sup>59</sup> Roma children in normal schools are segregated from the majority by being placed in different parts of the school, forced to use separate entrances, plates and silverware in school cafeterias, they are also separated from the majority during play-time.<sup>60</sup>

### ***Too Many Roma in Special-needs Schools***

Special needs schools are designed for mentally retarded children. The decision to place healthy Roma children in special-schools should be based on transparent and professional

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<sup>55</sup> Discussion of participants of seminar “Segregation of Roma Students in Schools”-- analysis of current situation organized by the Open Society Foundation – OSF and Wide Open School Foundation on March 25, 2009 in Prešov.

<sup>56</sup> Roma language compared to Slovak has different consonants and grammar. It has only feminine and masculine genders, eight direct and one indirect case. Kumanová, Mann and colleagues (2006), page 95. Even if Roma parents try to help their children, often they are illiterate or have problems understanding their children’s homework (Horváthová and Vyziblová, 2006).

<sup>57</sup> For example, some community centers in Roma settlements that Roma children could use to do their homework were often closed because they did not have appropriate furniture, Amnesty International (2007, page 10-11).

<sup>58</sup> AI (2007), page 7,10 and 22, Salner (2004a), page 11 and 16. For example, the success of Roma teacher assistants is clear, but their professional responsibilities and financing is yet to be defined. Salner (2004a), page 16. Many assistants do not speak Roma and their exact numbers are not known (OSI and EU, 2007, page 81).

<sup>59</sup> Between 2002 and 2006 the number of elementary school students fell by 12%, but number of students in special-needs schools fell only by 4%. ÚIPŠ quoted in Kriglerová (2006a).

<sup>60</sup> Dluhošová (2004), page 44. OSI and EU (2007), page 107 and 141. Discussion of participants of seminar “Segregation of Roma Students in Schools”-- analysis of current situation organized by the Open Society Foundation – OSF and Wide Open School Foundation on March 25, 2009 in Prešov.

assessment. Academic progress of the Roma children in special-needs schools should be regularly tested to allow their transfer to normal school.

The disproportionate number of Roma children in special-needs schools compared with non-Roma children has been noted in several reports. According to EC (2204, page 24) in 2002/2003 there were more Roma children in special-needs school than non-Roma. In several special-needs schools Roma were the only students. According to OSI (2007, page 80), the number of Roma children in special-needs schools was 28 times higher than the number of non-Roma children. Save the Children (2001, page 188) states that according to their pilot study carried out in three cities in east, central and west Slovakia, about two quarters of Roma children were placed in special-needs elementary schools. Tomatova (2004a) states that in the nine special-needs schools surveyed, 86% of children were Roma and in three schools 100% of children were Roma.<sup>61</sup>

According to the survey carried out by the school inspection in selected municipalities with large Roma population in 2002/2003 academic year, 84% of all students in 19 special-needs elementary schools were from socially disadvantaged backgrounds, which often seems to be a synonym for Roma children. Almost 85% of children did not continue their education after completing standard or special-needs elementary school.<sup>62</sup>

Because there is no ethnicity-based information available about the education system, we cannot assess, which schools Roma children are placed in.<sup>63</sup> From the data about the number of special-needs schools and the number of mentally retarded children according to regions we can get an idea about the disproportionate number of Roma students in these schools. Every one of the three surveyed counties with a large Roma population has more special-needs schools and more special-needs integrated classes than the remaining five counties (see table no. 12). The same applies to the number of mentally retarded children (see table no. 13).

Having estimates of the number of school-age Roma and non-Roma children allows us to estimate the number of children labeled as mentally retarded. First we have to assume that there is no systemic need for the number of children to differ based on ethnicity. In such case the number of retarded children in normal population should be about 3.4% regardless of their ethnicity. For the second estimate we used the number of mentally retarded non-Roma children from the first estimate and the differences between the three counties with larger Roma population than the remaining five counties. The highest number of mentally retarded children from these five counties is in Nitra (about 1 400). Assuming there is no reason for the number of mentally retarded non-Roma children to be dramatically different in the various regions, and to account for the size of the population in the individual regions, we have set the maximum number of mentally retarded non-Roma children at 1 500. In this particular

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<sup>61</sup> The high number of Roma children placed in special-needs school causes problems in several south and east European countries – Hungary, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia and Serbia OECD (2007a, 2007b).

<sup>62</sup> OSI and EU (2007, page 89) data on socially disadvantaged children replace data categorized by ethnicity. Dluhošová (2004), page 48-49: the reasons why they do not continue their education include inability to follow the curriculum, high absenteeism, distance from school and lack of interest of their parents. According to the Ministry of Education (2002), after completing elementary school in 2000/2001 83% of non-Roma and 45% of Roma went to high-school. However, a large majority of Roma children never finish elementary school.

<sup>63</sup> Use of national statistics is misleading: according to ethnicity data in 1989/1990 academic year 63% of special-needs students were Roma. Based on nationality in 2000/2001 academic year only 7% of students in special-needs schools (and only 0,7% elementary schools) were Roma. Dluhošová (2004), page 47., MŠ SR (2003) quoted in Tomatová (2004), page 34.



case our estimate of mentally retarded Roma children reached almost 10 500 and 10 000 non-Roma children, i.e. the percentage of mentally retarded children in the Roma population of school children is 12% and 2% in the non-Roma population.

### ***Wrong Diagnosis of Roma Children***

The disproportion between the estimated numbers of mentally retarded Roma and non-Roma students is glaring. The only explanation is the absolute failure of the social and healthcare systems or, which we think is more probable, it is the confirmation of the failure of the authorities that place Roma children in special-needs schools.<sup>64</sup> In reality, according to research, there are no legal provisions governing the placement and transfer of Roma children to special-needs schools. In addition, valid legislation is often side-stepped or even ignored (see frame about Czech experience and solution).<sup>65</sup>

#### **Frame. Czech efforts to reverse placement of Roma children in special-needs schools**

In November 2007, the European Court for Human Rights decided the Czech Republic broke the non-discrimination right to education by placing Roma children in special-needs schools and ruled in favor of 18 Roma families. The outcome of the ruling was not affected by the fact that during the proceeding the Czech special schools were renamed to special-needs schools and that the court failed to prove any intent to the Czech government. The court decided on the grounds of the negative impact of this placement alone. It also required the Czech Republic to ensure its laws could not be used in a discriminatory manner.

The measures implemented by the Czech Republic include collection of ethnicity-based data that should allow it to “identify the forms and manners of discrimination of Roma children and students and draft efficient measures designed to address these problematic points. The results of the survey will also be used regularly to draft integration and adjustment education policies focusing on Roma students with special-needs.” The collection of ethnicity-based data is in line with the international recommendations and Czech legislation. It also recommends data should be collected based on “identification by other party.”

The collection of data in schools started in April 2009 “for the purpose of this survey a child or student will be considered Roma if she or he considers herself or himself Roma regardless whether he or she may do so under all circumstances (for example national census) or if she or he is considered Roma by the majority of its peers based on actual or assumed (anthropological, cultural or social) identifiers.” Roma children should be identified by their class teachers based on their knowledge of their class and “evaluation of ethnicity-based or generally accepted criteria.”

The goal of the ministry is to ensure all children with potential have access to education in the mainstream education system.

Sources: <http://aktualne.centrum.cz/domaci/spolecnost/clanek.phtml?id=513985>, [http://zpravy.idnes.cz/ministerstvo-scita-romske-zaky-skolam-se-tyto-pocty-nezamlouvaji-1-de-studium.asp?c=A090402\\_114813\\_studium\\_bar](http://zpravy.idnes.cz/ministerstvo-scita-romske-zaky-skolam-se-tyto-pocty-nezamlouvaji-1-de-studium.asp?c=A090402_114813_studium_bar), <http://www.msmt.cz/pro-novinare/msmt-mapuje-vzdelanostni-sance-romskych-deti>, document of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Physical Education of the Czech Republic „additional survey data“.

The tests used to diagnose mental retardation are not adjusted to Roma children (or children from other minorities). The tests do not reflect their cultural and language differences or

<sup>64</sup> Children come to school with limited vocabulary, uncorrected speech problems and insufficient knowledge of general terms, that is why they do not understand the lessons and are often considered less intelligent. Sekyt (2003), page 436.

<sup>65</sup> According to findings of school inspection, special-schools do not have records of examinations and psychological tests of the children, or only incomplete records or the expert committees meetings are only formal. Children are often tested after they start school or never. Dluhošová (2004), page 45 and 47, AI (2007), page 7, 23 and 24, and Tomatová (2004a), page 41. According to OSI and EU (2007, page 158) the fees for re-testing the children (for transfer to normal school) are too high and there are very few transfers to normal schools.

socially disadvantaged background the children are raised in.<sup>66</sup> At the same time, while mentally retarded children from the majority population receive professional care from very early age, Roma children are labeled mentally retarded right before starting school, often based on one single evaluation by one psychologist<sup>67</sup>.

Tomatova's research<sup>68</sup> shows Roma children are almost never tested for specific learning disabilities: "upbringing and education, especially of Roma children in certain types of schools, especially country schools in various Slovak regions depend on what type of school is "available" in the given region." If a student cannot follow the curriculum of an elementary school and there is no special-needs school or class in the municipality, the student fails and is forced to repeat the year. However, if there is a special-needs school or class, the child is transferred into it. These schools are most often filled with Roma children, so mentally retarded children from the majority population often commute to a special-school in the nearest city or are placed in standard schools or classes.

In 2005, the Ministry of Education issued a directive for evaluating the abilities of socially disadvantaged children before they enter elementary school. The pilot application of the directive showed that up to one-half of all Roma children were wrongly placed in special-needs schools and 10% could be immediately transferred to a normal school. However, the application of this new directive is not compulsory and according to available statistics the directive is rarely used at all.<sup>69</sup>

The wrong placement of Roma children in special-needs schools is encouraged by insufficient financing of psychological and counseling centers in the counties with large Roma populations.<sup>70</sup>

### ***Special-needs Schools Cannot Replace Multicultural Elementary Schools***

Special-needs schools sometimes defend themselves by saying they have more time to focus on Roma children.<sup>71</sup> However, a special-school curriculum is so far behind the standard curriculum of normal elementary school that children from special schools have a very small chance of being transferred to a normal school or to continue on to a high-school.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Ferjenčík (1994 and 1997) evaluated tests results of Roma and non-Roma children and concluded the tests were culturally biased. Their results reflected ethnicity not individual abilities. Mistakes children made during the tests and individual solutions indicated different upbringing, cultural background and lifestyle of the Roma. OSI and EU: experts often do not speak Roma and cannot communicate with Roma children. See also Tomatová, (2004b), page 36 and Tomatová (2004a), page 6.

<sup>67</sup> Tomatová (2004a), page 39.

<sup>68</sup> Tomatová (2004), page 37, Tomatová (2004a), page 40, 41 and 72.

<sup>69</sup> ERRC (2007), page 47-48.

<sup>70</sup> Kriglerová (2006), page 11, Tomatová (2004), page 36, Tomatová (2004a), page 38, Tomatová (2004a), page 68.

<sup>71</sup> Discussion of participants of seminar "Segregation of Roma Students in Schools"-- analysis of current situation organized by the Open Society Foundation – OSF and Wide Open School Foundation on March 25, 2009 in Prešov.

<sup>72</sup> The likelihood a child will being transferred to a normal school is very low, because there are no regulations making it compulsory, lack of finances and personnel also play a role. Tomatová (2004a), page 5, 12, 13, 70, 71 and 75, Tomatová (2004b), page 36 and 37, AI (2007), page 2 and 22, Kriglerová (2006), Rigová and Maczejková (2002), page 716-717. Many children transferred from special-needs schools to normal schools in the first grade were not successful and returned to special-needs schools.

According to Amnesty International (2007, page 18) and the results of the 2002/2003 school inspection,<sup>73</sup> special-needs schools are crowded, do not have adequate equipment and half of their teachers do not have appropriate education. Many special-needs school also have inadequate technical and sanitary facilities<sup>74</sup>.

Special needs schools cannot replace the missing concept of multicultural schools. At the same time the education system financing encourages municipalities to run special-needs schools and parents to enroll their children in them. The municipalities are motivated to increase the number of children in special schools by higher subsidies per student. For example in 2004 the subsidy per special-needs school student per year was SKK 73 000 to 74 000, while the subsidy for normal schools was only SKK 21 000 to 22 000<sup>75</sup>. In 2008, the difference got even higher as special-needs schools could receive anywhere from SKK 48 000 to 220 000, while standard elementary schools could receive only SKK 29 000 to 30 000.<sup>76</sup> The motivation for parents is that children in special-needs schools were offered performance scholarships, because their average grades were better at a special-needs school. Very often illiterate or ill-informed parents simply did not know the document they signed was their agreement to send their child to a special-needs school<sup>77</sup> or they were unaware they had the right to decide, which school their child would attend.<sup>78</sup>

The 2007, education system reform preserves and even further develops the Slovak system of parallel (segregated) elementary schools.<sup>79</sup> The positive side of the reform is that it offers parents one free-of-charge year in a kindergarten for their child before she or he start elementary school. However, a very strong negative is the introduction of selection and segregation in kindergartens and the complete overlooking of multicultural principles. The introduction of a foreign language at third grade is very positive, however, it would only make sense for Roma children if the foreign language was Slovak. It should be natural for Roma children to study Slovak as a second language alongside Roma from kindergarten.

### ***Same Money, Better Education***

We based our estimate of funds used inefficiently in special-needs schools on data available for 1997 to 2007. Public spending on standard and special-needs schools amounted to about 1.1% of GDP<sup>80</sup>, of which about 90% went to standard schools and 10% to special-needs schools. We used the demographic estimates of school-age children and percentage of mentally retarded children to estimate the number of Roma and non-Roma students in special-needs schools.

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<sup>73</sup> Ministry of Education (2003). The research was carried out in 78 elementary schools and 19 special-needs schools.

<sup>74</sup> Many special-needs schools did not have gymnasiums and special classes. Classes were taught by teachers without appropriate qualification. Because of the high number of students the school introduced shifts. OSI and EU (2007), page 161, quote the results 2004/2005 school inspection.

<sup>75</sup> Kubánová (2004), page 67, table 7.2.

<sup>76</sup> Ministry of Education (2008).

<sup>77</sup> Dluhošová (2004), page 44, Kubánová (2004), page 71, AI (2007), page 2, 22 and 23, Tomatová (2004a), page 72.

<sup>78</sup> AI (2007), page 6,15-18.

<sup>79</sup> Ministry of Education, Rafael (2009) and Daniel (2008, ed.).

<sup>80</sup> In 2007 about EUR 650 million. The estimates are based on data of the Ministry of Finance, structure of public spending recorded in the financial statements and data quoted by Kubanova and colleagues (2003).

Since the ratio of children in standard and special-needs schools does not change dramatically (31 fold in 2000 and 28 fold in 2030), we assumed the financing ratio would also be the same. We also assumed that even though the overall numbers of elementary school students have fallen, the financing would be the same, because the education system is chronically under-financed. We found out that the number of Roma in special needs schools would increase so dramatically that while in 2000 there were 13% fewer Roma than non-Roma, in 2030 there will be 18% more Roma children in special-needs schools than non-Roma. After a temporary fall in the number of children, the number of Roma in special-needs schools in 2030 will reach the 2000 numbers, while there will be 25% fewer non-Roma children in special-needs schools.

It is very probable that if the diagnostic methods of Roma children improved, more than half of the special-needs financing could be freed and used to improve the quality of normal schools, including programs for Roma children.

### **Conclusion**

It is estimated that Roma children represent about 14% of the overall numbers of school-age children (Vaňo, 2004). It is clear that quality education is the key for their future prospects on the job market and because the current system does not allow them to get quality education, it needs to be changed as soon as possible.

Our conclusions are the following:

- Placing high numbers of Roma children in special-needs schools is unsubstantiated. The practice must be stopped immediately, preferably by closing the relevant special-needs schools and transferring their students to standard schools and adjusting the curriculum of standard schools to their needs. Similar measures were introduced in Norway in 1992 when it closed all special-needs schools except for those for deaf children (1%). Finland at the beginning of the 1990's left only special-needs schools for children with very severe disabilities (2.5%). The Norwegian research indicates that integration of children with special-needs into regular schools increases the successful graduation average and lowers the rate of early termination of school attendance.<sup>81</sup>
- Collection of ethnicity data. Without regular collection of ethnicity-based data about the placement and results of Roma children in schools it is impossible to improve their education and future position on the job market.
- Changing the principles of elementary education system from equal access to equal results. The individual strategies and program focusing only on Roma children cannot be successful in today's monocultural and selective Slovak education system. It does not make any sense to explain the poor academic results of Roma children only by their socially disadvantaged background, when international research and experiences clearly confirms their poor results are caused by a combination of cultural and social disadvantages. It is also unfounded to assume that Roma children come to school with sufficient knowledge of the teaching language (Slovak) or that they can acquire sufficient knowledge of Slovak within one year.
- Transparency, coordination, quality and efficiency of education. The education system cannot be evaluated based on funds spend on education. If its goal is to

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<sup>81</sup> OECD (2004), page 45 and OECD (2005), page 17.

ensure quality preparation of students for jobs, it needs to be open with the public about its efficiency and results.

- Sufficient financing. Without sufficient funds to pay qualified personnel, school equipment and monitoring of results we cannot expect any improvements. Funds saved by closing special-needs schools can be used to improve the quality of standard elementary schools, including the education of Roma children.

## Healthcare

Low education, low participation in job market and resulting poverty also affects the health of the Roma population, which continues to decline. This decline results in lower life expectancy and higher newborn mortality rates. The worse hit group are the segregated Roma. Their physical distance from majority population prevents transfer of diseases to the majority population and lowers the willingness of the majority to act. Healthcare is usually paid for by the state, not only as the provider of healthcare insurance, but also as the provider of welfare benefits, because of the higher incidence of physical disabilities among the Roma.

The poor health of the Roma population has been described in several studies. Infectious diseases suppressed in the majority population including hepatitis, trachoma (eye disease), tuberculosis, meningitis and dermatological diseases such as scabies have been encountered in Roma settlements in Stara Lubovna and Rimavska Sobota. The cause of the poorer health of the Roma population include unhealthy lifestyle, eating habits, insufficient clothing, smoking, excess alcohol and substandard housing (crowded houses), lack of drinking water, improper waste disposal and proximity of contaminated areas. The incidence of physical disabilities is also higher in the Roma population. Even though the welfare workers suspect the majority of the physically disabled Roma of fraud to collect disability payments, there was never sufficient proof of this claim. While infectious diseases are more of a problem in segregated settlements, integrated Roma suffer more often from drug addiction.<sup>82</sup>

Regular and detailed monitoring of Roma health suffers from the lack of statistics and professional care: "this is just another area suffering from the lack of statistical data based on ethnicity. At the same time, Roma health is at the core of the Millennium Development goals 4, 5 and 6.10.17."<sup>83</sup> "National health policies and researches [in central Europe] pay very little attention to the health needs of the Roma, even though their different lifestyle indicates that their needs may be different from the needs of the majority population."<sup>84</sup> This observation about the selection of Roma program priorities is also very interesting "we think that if we continue to solve the so-called Roma problem as suggested by the Roma "elite", i.e. through national revival, it will have very negative impact on the Roma, especially those living in settlements. Instead of spending funds on trying to address their poor health, unemployment and the resulting poverty they want to finance school books and Roma literature, which ironically are rejected by the Roma they are intended for." Pivoň (2008), page 101.

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<sup>82</sup> The World Bank, SPACE and INEKO (2002), page 23-24, Šaško (2002), Slovak Public Health Authority (2008), page 22, UNDP (2002), reports from Roma settlements Jakoubek and Hirt (2008), Research of Filadelfiova and colleagues (2006) seems to confirm our limited knowledge of Roma health.

<sup>83</sup> UNDP (2002), page 63.

<sup>84</sup> McKee (1997); his critical article published in a British medical journal is mentioned by Šaško (2002).

Probably the main government activity focused on improving the general health of the Roma are the activities of the Public Health Office, which include monitoring and education (mainly about vaccination) focusing on disadvantaged Roma communities. According to the 2008 report, the main success of the program was gaining the trust of the Roma in the selected settlements. The main conclusions of the report are the following:

- Inability of managing household finances, i.e. need to provide cooking courses and household management courses for Roma women. Complicated cooperation with the mentally retarded inhabitants of the settlements. Inability to take responsibility for one's living situation. Insufficient personal hygiene and general household hygiene. Lack of drinking water and complicated access to drinking water sources. High incidence of lice, truancy, low education and high birth rate combined with insufficient child care, drug addiction among the young Roma, low participation and lack of interest in preventative and gynecologic examinations and compulsory child vaccination, unemployment, dire housing conditions and bad conditions for children's free time activities. Lack of valid health insurance cards. Insufficient knowledge of patients' rights and duties and preventative examinations. Lack of regular preventative examinations of Roma children by dentists. Increased risk of infectious diseases caused by parasites (lice, fleas, bedbugs and rats). Aggressive, alcohol-induced behavior of the Roma after they receive welfare payments. High incidence of illegal dumping sites, illegally built buildings, high numbers of domestic animals (pigs, goats).
- Some settlement inhabitants reject the recommendations and directions given by doctors. High incidence of negative attitude of some community social workers towards the work of community health workers. Negative attitude and unwillingness of some doctors to work with the community health workers. Mistrust of settlement inhabitants towards doctors, fear of doctor visits and mainly examinations caused by fear of bad news. Another very serious and hard-to-address problem are families with very low hygiene standards that are not interested in the help offered or in improving their situation.<sup>85</sup>

The recommendations of UVZ (Public Health Office) are clear and it seems the only thing missing is higher public and political support:

- Continuous and systematic health education of inhabitants in segregated and separated Roma settlements focusing on improving health awareness: personal hygiene, prevention of infectious diseases, sexual and reproductive health – responsible parenting, manipulation with food, knowledge of food labels, environmental protection, prevention of injuries and accidents, healthcare (patients rights and duties, health insurance, preventive medical examinations and etc.), child care.
- Health education must be presented in simple language and be appropriate in terms of culture and education level of the disadvantaged Roma community.
- It is necessary to support the involvement of Roma communities and their active cooperation in solving their own health problems. The majority of the Roma are interested in taking better care of their health.

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<sup>85</sup> Slovak Public Health Authority (2008), page 10-11. Only 5% of 2.014 respondents listed Roma as their nationality.

- Ensure cooperation between community health workers and community social workers and community workers' coordinators. The problems between the individual "groups" of field community workers (health, social or teaching assistants) stem mainly from the non-existence of mutual agreement and cooperation agreements at national or regional level.
- Focus on Roma living in segregated settlements, collect more objective data about this particular group.<sup>86</sup>

## Crime

The crime among the Roma is relatively high, even though it consists mainly of minor offences. At the beginning of the 1990's, the Roma represented more than one-half of all prosecuted and investigated repeat offenders. Children, youth and women often participated in crime activities. The crime activities consisted mainly of simple thefts, assaults and offences against morality. The percentage of crimes committed by the Roma between 1989 and 1993 increased from 22% to 26% and has been declining ever since to still relatively high 19% in 2001. Between 1989 and 2004 the number of Roma offenders rose from 11 337 to 13 111. In 2003 to 2004 the number of Roma offenders that committed a violent offence or offence against morality dropped, but the number of offenders that committed an offence against property have risen sharply – the Roma were responsible for up to one-third of all offences against property in Slovakia.<sup>87</sup>

The cause of the high crime rates among the Roma is their position at the fringes of the society, low education (see frame no. 8), unemployment, forced assimilation, belonging to a minority with different skin color and socio-cultural specifics: "*many young Roma do not want to participate in the development of the community, but they are also rejected by the majority. In today's society, the traditional communities are falling apart or weakening, industrialization and mimicking of sociopathic behavior lead the Roma to anti-social behavior.*"<sup>88</sup> Šúryová (2001, s.485-486) cites the following socio-cultural specifics: low self-control, fear (including group fear) and higher priority of family interests to the interest of society (*not helping a brother even to commit crime is worse for a Roma than hurting the society*). Between 1989 and 2004 the number of Roma offenders with elementary school education increased from 56% to 71% of all Roma offenders.

The high crime rate has a devastating impact on the Roma minority: "*crime erodes the Roma morally and emotionally. Jail time deteriorates prisoners' character and their relationship with normal people. The Roma minority reassures itself that being in prison is normal, that there is nothing shameful about it. The majority's tolerance of the Roma decreases and hate rises. The society's economic burden grows.*"<sup>89</sup>

The solution to the high crime rate in the Roma community lies in prevention, which must "*respect the specific values and way of life of the Roma*" and in applying the principle of

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<sup>86</sup> Slovak Public Health Authority (2008), page 23-24. See also recommendations based on experience with multiple projects in Lenczová (2002).

<sup>87</sup> Šúryová (2001) percentage of solved crimes committed by the Roma. Hroncová and Šebian (2006) list the number of all committed crimes. Puliš (2002) quotes the 2000 survey of the Ministry of Justice that found 40% of prisoners were Roma. According to Džambazoviča and Juráskova (2002) they have been sentenced mostly for misdemeanors and minor crimes (social crimes), Vasecka shares similar opinion (2001).

<sup>88</sup> Hroncová and Šebian (2006), page 81.

<sup>89</sup> Hroncová and Šebian (2006), page 80.

solidarity, participation and personal accountability, positive stimulation and local resolution of problems – in natural social environment of the people. Education and upbringing that “*accept ethnic, cultural and social differences of Roma children and students*” plays the most important role.

## 4. High Cost of Roma Non-inclusion

Non-inclusion of Roma communities in the society means enormous direct and indirect loss for Slovakia (lost opportunities). Direct loss includes higher cost of welfare, education, healthcare and crime fighting. Direct losses include non-produced (and unconsumed) national product. All this loss have strong regional character, by lowering the economic potential of municipalities and counties and by lowering the value of property of their inhabitants.

All of our estimates were made for 2000 to 2030 time series. Because of lack of data, it is clear that these estimates are only rough and we try to make them conservative.

- Social costs include benefits required by unemployment and poverty, i.e. welfare. We also include social and healthcare insurance, paid for the unemployed and poor by the state. We do not include unemployment benefits because they are paid only for several months based on previous income and insurance, so their impact on the overall cost is minimal.
- Education costs include the higher cost of special-needs school, to which Roma children are, often needlessly, sent and inefficiency of the elementary school system that fails to provide the Roma even with elementary education.
- Health costs includes costs induced by poor health and hygiene situation especially in Roma settlements and neglected prevention.
- Safety costs include costs caused by higher crime rates among the Roma.
- Flow of finances through the public administration represents additional administrative costs – establishment and running of institutions. For example, the administrative cost of social security for insurance administration in 2007 was 2.9% of total volume of administered funds. We used the same number to estimate administrative cost savings.

Indirect costs include the cost of lost domestic product. We assume that under normal circumstances there is no reason for lower participation of the Roma in the job market than the non-Roma. Also there is no reason why the average Roma should not produce the same gross domestic product as the average non-Roma.

We did not try to model the job market changes – gradual increase of qualification of the Roma and resulting growth of employment rates. But we did compare the current situation and its impact with the “normal” situation, where the Roma participate in the social and economic life of their country just like the non-Roma. This approach is practically a two-for-one solution to maximizing profit, because the cost of Roma non-inclusion equals the maximum economically justified cost of Roma-oriented projects. This approach is different from the Kertesi and Kézdi (2006) and Bogdanova and Angelova (2007) approach.

Kertesi and Kézdi calculated the profitability of public spending on better education for the Roma. They estimated the necessary investment into education and assumed that after four years this investment would show as higher income from tax from natural persons, social



security payments, value added tax and sales tax, savings on unemployment benefits, welfare benefits, public employment support programs and related costs. Similarly, Bogdanov and Angelov estimated the cost of better education for the Roma, building of houses and infrastructure and compared it with the income and savings after 10 and 25 years, which showed higher GDP, improved efficiency, employment and income growth, lower mortality and crime rates.

## Job Market

All costs depend on job market development. Unemployment is the main cause of poverty and related budget costs from lost domestic product. All our cost estimates in the basic scenario are based on the basic job market development and the model scenario uses model job market development.

The basic scenario assumes fixed 20% participation rate of the Roma in the job market and 29% of unemployed Roma actively seeking employment and registered with the unemployment office. These two assumptions allow us to calculate the Roma employment and unemployment rate comparable with available literature. The non-Roma estimates are calculated as the difference between the total job market and Roma job market estimates.

The model scenario assumes that under normal circumstances there is no reason for the average Roma and non-Roma to act differently on the job market. Therefore the rate of participation and unemployment is the same for the Roma and non-Roma, same as the estimates for the non-Roma job market from the basic scenario.

Increased participation and employment of the Roma results in substantially larger job market in Slovakia. The number of the employed would, according to our estimate, increase by 150 000 in 2008 and up to 263 000 in 2030 (see table no. 14). At the same time the number of unemployed actively seeking work would fall slightly and the number of registered unemployed would substantially decrease.

## Social Assistance

When estimating social assistance savings we focused only on welfare benefits, because family benefits depend on the reproductive behavior of the recipients, which could be affected by their cultural background and therefore we could not model it. We also did not include social assistance for the severely disabled, because even though there are some evidence of abuse by the unemployed, it is only anecdotal.

### Basic scenario

According to empiric evidence, the main reason of poverty in Slovakia is unemployment. We have found out the amount of benefits paid to the unemployed in active productive age, Roma and non-Roma, has not changed dramatically between 2000 and 2008. Since the last reform to affect the amount of welfare benefits was introduced in 2004, we have estimated the amount of benefits in 2009 as simple 2004 to 2008 average, and assumed welfare benefits growth as 90% of inflation for the following years. Not using the entire inflation (100%) in our formula is a compromise between the development of benefits in 2000 to 2008, which was affected more by the changing policies and shift in priority to different social assistance forms than inflation and assumption that the amount of benefits will, to a certain extent, have to copy the rising cost of living. We estimate that in 2012 one-third and in 2028 up to one-half of social assistance will be paid to Roma recipients (table 15). These numbers are not really alarming in terms of public financing as they are in terms of disproportionate dependency of the Roma minority on welfare benefits in terms of the related incidence of sociopathic behavior.

The difference between the model scenario and basic scenario is in the lower number of welfare recipients by the number of employed Roma (calculated in the job market model). We also estimate that the number of Roma welfare recipients would be dramatically lower and would reach maximum one-fifth in 2028. That would still be higher than the percentage of Roma in the Slovak population, however, the higher number in our model represents the number of dependents (children) per one Roma adult (welfare recipient).

Since social assistance for the poor does not represent a high percentage of Slovak GDP and has been decreasing (especially since 2008), the savings in terms of GDP are not very high either. In absolute numbers they do, however, represent substantial savings: about EUR 40 million in 2008 and up to EUR 116 million in 2030.

## Social Security

The state pays social security (pension, disability and reserve fund) for the unemployed taking care of children up to six years old or chronically ill children up to 18 years old, and for people with severe physical disabilities.<sup>90</sup> The social security payments amount to 35% of minimum wage. Social security data classified according to various recipients is not available.

In order to estimate possible social security savings, we assumed that minimum wage growth will follow the growth of inflation and GDP at 1:2 ratio, which roughly corresponds to minimum wage growth from 2004 to 2008. Since the Roma unemployment rate is very high (in terms of the difference between the number of people in productive age and the number of unemployed), we assume strong correlation between the number of children up to six years of age and social security recipients. At the same time it is safe to assume that an unemployed Roma parent takes care of more than one child younger than six years. To calculate the basic and model scenarios we had to compromise and assume that one unemployed Roma parent takes care of two children younger than six.

In the basic scenario, the cost of social security paid by the state is calculated by multiplying annual minimum wage, 35% of insurance and half the number of children younger than six. In the model scenario we had to adjust for the higher (for example 2.6 fold in 2008) probability of employment of Roma parents (see table no. 16).

We estimate the amount of possible savings at EUR 14 million in 2008 and EUR 28 million in 2030, i.e. between 0.01 and 0.02 of annual GDP.

## Education System

When estimating the cost of elementary education, we used demographic estimate of the number of school age Roma and non-Roma children and information about elementary school financing (special-needs and normal schools) from the final account statements of the state budget. We assumed the funds spend per one student would grow at the same rate as the growth of real GDP.

In the basic scenario we assume the percentage of children placed in special schools compared to the total number of all school-age children would not change and calculated the overall cost of special-needs and normal elementary schools until 2030 (see table no. 17).

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<sup>90</sup> Law on social security no.461/2003, paragraphs 15, 128, 131, 132, 137 and 138.

In the model scenario we assume that there is no reason for the Roma minority to have more mentally retarded children than the non-Roma majority. The savings from special-needs schools are adjusted for the increased financing of normal schools to which the Roma children would be transferred from the special-needs schools.

We estimate the yearly savings in the education system would amount to EUR 23 million in 2008 and EUR 51 million in 2030, i.e. 0.03 and 0.02% of the relevant GDP. In reality the savings in this case would be very relative, because the current education system does not offer “elementary” education to a large percentage of children, the efficiency of the budget financing is very low, we can even say wasteful. The real savings that would exceed our “mechanical” estimates would be achieved by improving the quality of education and academic results, which need to be assessed on regular basis.

## Health Insurance

A large portion of the health insurance is paid by the state, which pays health insurance of children, unemployed and retirees, i.e. all non working citizens<sup>91</sup>. In 2008, health insurance payments amounted to 1.5% of GDP. Health insurance payments amount to 5% of minimum wage. To estimate the development of state-paid health insurance we used the average insurance cost for non-working population, which grows twice as fast as the faster growing one of GDP or inflation. This, however, is still slower growth than from 2000 to 2008.

High savings on health insurance come from the number of Roma that would work under normal circumstances. In 2008, we estimated the amount of savings at EUR 51 million and up to EUR 263 million in 2030 (see table no. 16).

## Crime

The relatively high percentage of Roma criminal offenders in an unavoidable result of their socio-economic situation. The overall cost induced by high Roma crime rate is hard to estimate not only because the lack of data: induced cost of police work (national and city), private security services, judiciary, prosecution, prison system and direct losses to victims need to be combined with indirect costs including, for example, the effect of pick-pocketing on income from tourism or loss of real-estate value in areas turned into Roma ghettos. It is clear that improving the socio-economic situation of the Roma would lead not only to public finance savings but also lower direct and indirect economic losses.<sup>92</sup>

Because newer ethnicity-based data is not available we used data from 1997 to 2000. The percentage of solved crimes committed by the Roma in 2000 was 19%, which is lower than in the previous years. Since the crimes were generally minor offences, we cut the Roma share of induced cost from 19% to 14%. This number was in 2000 double of the percentage of Roma in Slovak population.

In the basic scenario we assumed that because of the almost unchanging rate of Roma employment in 2000 to 2030, the percentage of the Roma induced cost will reflect the increasing number of the Roma in the Slovak population, which would increase from 14% in 2000 to almost 20% in 2030. In the model scenario the percentage of Roma induced cost fell

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<sup>91</sup> „The state pays insurance benefits on behalf of the insured that are not employed or self-employed and without taxable income higher than minimum wage.” Law on health insurance no. 580 /2004, paragraph 11, article 8.

<sup>92</sup> According to Schweinhart (2005), better education of poor children in USA leads to public savings, 88% of which are savings from reduced crime.

to 7% -10%, i.e. 1.5 times the Roma population. We used the budget cost of the judiciary and prison systems, which grow at the same rate as Slovak GDP, to get a basic estimate of induced cost.

The amount of estimated savings is EUR 20 million in 2008 up to EUR 51 million in 2030, i.e. 0.03 and 0.02 of the relevant GDP. These funds could be used for improving the work of courts or the improvement of prison facilities.

## Indirect Costs

The Roma minority represents labor, whose potential remains unused. If the Roma employment rate was similar to that of the non-Roma, the overall employment rate in Slovakia in 2008 would be 7% higher and up to 10% higher in 2025. When estimating the potential (non-produced) GDP, we used demographic estimates, our estimates of domestic job market developments and estimates of the Ministry of Finance, NBS and MMF on Slovak economy growth. In the model scenario we assumed that there was no reason the Roma workforce should not, under normal circumstances, produce the same quality product as the non-Roma workforce.

The size of the potentially usable workforce affects the growth of GDP. In 2008, the Slovak GDP could be 7% higher and up to 11% higher in 2030 (see table no. 18). Slovak economy could be larger and, since maturity and convergence is calculated as percentage of GDP per capita, it would represent a substantial improvement.

## Conclusion

The estimated average direct and indirect costs are enormous, reaching 7% of GDP in 2008 and potentially up to 11% of GDP in 2030 (see table no. 19). Using the discount rate of 10% and recalculating all costs from 2009 to 2030 to today's numbers, they would represent 1.5 times the current GDP (see table no. 20). We aimed for more conservative cost estimates, but even if we made a mistake and overestimated some costs, the basic result of our calculation is the same – Slovakia is wasting enormous wealth by not focusing on including the Roma in society. Our main conclusions are the following:

- The main social losses come from low employment of the Roma that as a result fail to produce any domestic product and become recipients of social assistance with all the negatives related to dependency including higher incidence of sociopathic behavior.
- Health insurance of the unemployed is the second most important cost that will only increase. Today's payments made on behalf of the unemployed are already relatively low, only 5% of minimum wage, which with the increasing percentage of Roma in general population will with time represent a decrease and lack of funds for healthcare and need to increase either state payments or payments from the gainfully employed, which are already too high today.
- Social assistance benefits paid to the poor are another result of Roma unemployment. Dependency on welfare benefits and inability to escape the trap of poverty by entering the job market leads to repetitive dependence in next generations.
- Inefficient use of elementary school funding is probably the main culprit of the poor socio-economic situation of the Roma minority, because it traps the Roma in a vicious circle of dependency on the state. The education system financing should be

reformed to ensure the required results for all students. Instead, the results are subject to financing. As a result, large numbers of Roma children are labeled mentally retarded.

- High crime rate is the unavoidable result of the public policies concerning the Roma. On the one hand the crimes committed by the Roma are usually less socially dangerous, but on the other hand, they are very visible and disruptive to every day activities.
- Public investment aimed at improving the education of the Roma, improving their access to the job market and addressing their immediate economic situation is in our estimate substantiated up to several percents of GDP. If we consider even only half of the resulting savings, in the next ten years, the yearly investment could reach up to 3% to 4% of GDP.

## 5. Education System – Examples from Abroad

Unlike other countries that are building multicultural education systems because of the large number of often small minorities (including Roma) or because of their new or future populations of immigrants, who they see as potential revitalization of their job markets, Slovakia has a large minority (Roma) that it tries to force to accept its selective education system that does not even suit the majority. The path to a multicultural education system is not direct. But several countries have acquired years of experience. Slovakia should use this experience and try to avoid their mistakes.<sup>93</sup>

The description of international experiences points to several basic rules. Their use in the Slovak education system should be considered by the education experts.

- Focus on results, not inputs. Education system financing must be adjusted to the education goals and needs of students from various social and cultural backgrounds.
- Multicultural approach. Slovakia is the home of various minorities and cultures with different languages, traditions and values. The education system will not be effective if it does not adjust to the culture of the students and their parents and does not take advantage of it to achieve its educational goals.
- It is important to support native languages. Education in native language develops the ability of students and their bi-lingual abilities (active knowledge of their native language and the language of the majority). The native language of the Roma is not only the official Roma language, but many dialects (as for example in Sweden).<sup>94</sup> Children should study as long as possible in their native language and as soon as possible start studying the language of the majority as their second language.

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<sup>93</sup> For example Průcha (2006), page 180-213 describes experience of Nordic countries, the Netherlands, Switzerland and USA.

<sup>94</sup> The Slovak efforts to introduce a unified Roma language in schools have (unsuccessful) predecessors. Efforts to introduce standardized Roma based on the four main Roma dialects were first introduced in Macedonia, Kosovo and parts of Serbia in the 1980's and included special Roma language schools. However, these efforts were not successful. The Nordic states completely abandoned any efforts to teach unified Roma language and use the individual dialects instead, considering them actual native languages of the individual Roma groups. Fraser (2002), page 266. Mann (2001, 2004 and 2005) describes problems with education of Roma children related to Roma culture, ethnicity and Roma language.

- Pre-school preparation is very important. Pre-school helps identify the needs of the individual students early allowing the adjustment of educational programs and development of their cognitive and language abilities, which makes their first year of elementary school much easier. Early support of students is necessary for them to avoid repeating school years and getting used to failure – accepting poor academic results as normal (Horváthová and Vyziblová, 2006).
- No selection in education system. Separating students according to their ethnicity or talent impoverishes the society and in the end leads to segregation.
- Quality school should have quality curriculum, qualified teachers, specialized teachers, social workers, tutoring programs, should not be located too far and truly free for all students.

A specific example of educational methods for minorities is the Sami education system that serves about 70.000<sup>95</sup> people living in Sweden, Finland, Norway and Russia (some Sami still live as nomads). The education systems of the Nordic countries respect their language and culture and allow them to study in their native language. It was not always so. For example in Sweden the main policies focused on their assimilation, were often racist and discriminative. In many ways it resembled the Slovak approach to the Roma. The main reason was the different culture and language of the Sami people and their nomadic way of life. Sami children were segregated in schools. Many times their first day of school was the first time they came into contact with the “foreign” Swedish culture, Swedish language, which they could not understand, but which was taught to them as “native” language. They spend their first years in school studying mainly Swedish and the main goal of the school was to “civilize” them – teach them how to sleep in beds like the Swedish, eat like the Swedish. The use of the Sami language in schools even during breaks was forbidden and punished (this practice was abolished in 1956). The Sami language was first experimentally introduced in schools as a subject in 1953. The education of the Sami started to improve only in the 1970’s.<sup>96</sup>

Even though the government tried to provide the Sami people with the same quality education as the majority, the research showed that the education of Sami children in the Nordic countries was not as good, which is very disconcerting for the governments because of their job market prospects. For example Norway sees the reason Sami children have worse academic results than the majority in the fact that they live in remote areas of the country, some of them still live like nomads and the school curriculum still does not reflect their culture, way of life and their worldview. In 2007, Norway introduced new curriculum for the Sami.<sup>97</sup> The goal of the new curriculum is to encourage a sense of security in students in terms of their culture, develop their native language and national identity, prepare them for active participation in their community and provide them with good general education.<sup>98</sup>

## Multicultural Education

Multicultural education is sometimes very simplistically understood as synonym of multicultural upbringing, which should “*allow individuals to find their own way to appreciate and experience cultures different from his or her own and use it to adjust their behavior towards individuals from other cultures*” (Průcha, 2001). The goal of multicultural education is

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<sup>95</sup> Some sources list 40,000 (Průcha, 2006).

<sup>96</sup> Swedish government (2005), page 14-18.

<sup>97</sup> Průcha (2006), page 152-158.

<sup>98</sup> Ministry of Education and Research, Norway (a).

to “support peaceful co-existence of different cultures”<sup>99</sup>. In other words, if understood as mentioned-above, multicultural education has nothing in common with the adjustment of education methods to the needs of students from different cultures.

True multicultural education also means adjustment of the education system, “which offers students from ethnical, racial, religious and other minorities adequate learning environment and curriculum adjusted to the specific psychological, cultural and language needs of the students.”<sup>100</sup>

The Slovak education system is monocultural “it reflects Slovak middle-class culture.” It is designed to educate the majority<sup>101</sup> and has no intention or means to educate and develop the potential of students from other cultural, religious or language backgrounds, either traditional minorities such as the Roma or Hungarians or new minorities such as the Vietnamese or Chinese.

The goal of the 2007 education system reform was not to change the Slovak education system into a multicultural system, it settled for educating the majority about tolerance towards minorities.<sup>102</sup> The reform introduced multicultural education as a cross-theme running through several subjects. Monocultural education systems (probably the education systems in all central European countries) assumes the minorities know the majority (teaching) language and automatically expects the Roma minority to learn in and actively use it from very early age.

The proof the system is still monocultural is the fact that a position of Roma teaching assistant is replaced by a teaching assistant that is not required to speak Roma, know Roma culture and its specifics.<sup>103</sup> Equally, the Slovak university system does not provide teachers, special teachers and psychologist with sufficient multicultural education.<sup>104</sup>

It is a well known fact that Roma children do not speak Slovak too well and that it negatively affects their academic performance. It is also assumed that for successful education it is necessary to master one’s native language first. The longer a child from a minority studies in its native language, the sooner it learns the language of the majority and its academic results improve.<sup>105</sup> While Slovakia does not openly reject the language of its minorities, it does not support the use of their native language and its use to learn the language of the majority.

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<sup>99</sup> Mistrík (2008), page 18.

<sup>100</sup> Průcha (2001) quoted in Suchožová and Šándorová (2007) page 11.

<sup>101</sup> Mistrík (2008), page 40.

<sup>102</sup> Some teachers use “anti-prejudice education” as synonym of multi-cultural education. Discussion of participants of seminar “Segregation of Roma Students in Schools”-- analysis of current situation organized by the Open Society Foundation – OSF and Wide Open School Foundation on March 25, 2009 in Prešov.

<sup>103</sup> Teacher assistant qualification requires only 200 of class hours. For comparison – in Sweden teacher assistants study for two years in schools comparable to grammar schools, Kai (2007), page 96.

<sup>104</sup> The subjects that would provide multi-cultural education to future teachers are available only at several teaching faculties, but there is no complete program: “universities have not yet developed programs that would teach multi-cultural skills to teachers undergoing re-qualification.” Mistrík (2008), page 18 and 63. Only a handful of multi-cultural education programs are available to teachers, for example Šlotésová (2006, ed.), Průcha (2006) and Suchožová and Šándorová (2007).

<sup>105</sup> Skutnabb-Kangasová (2007), page 16-22. This assertion is confirmed by research published in, for example, USA in 1991 and 2002. The 1991 research included 2 352 Spanish-speaking students divided into three groups. First group included students studying exclusively in English, second group



Educating children in their native language is important not only for encouraging the development of their national identity, but also for learning the language of the majority, which is necessary for their successful education, inclusion in society and general development of a student's potential.<sup>106</sup> For bi-lingual programs designed to help children master their native and majority language to be successful, children have to attend kindergartens, because that is the best time for a child to become multi-lingual.

The need for bi-lingual education was expressed by many teachers. The research carried out in the Bystrany settlement found that children had a good command of Roma, but only minimal knowledge of Slovak at the start of their elementary school attendance and that it is possible to use their knowledge of Roma to teach them Slovak. Two teachers at the Bystrany kindergarten speak Slovak and Roma (one is Roma and the other studied Roma for two years). At the beginning, when children first start going to the kindergarten, they are taught only in Roma. Slovak is taught only as foreign language. The children learn Slovak vocabulary in Roma, recite Slovak poems and rhymes (which they do not understand at the beginning) and learn to feel the rhythm of Slovak. This helps them to acquire passive knowledge of grammar. Slovak then gradually replaces Roma. This, however, stops when the children enter elementary school, so they are often forced to complete one year of preparatory school because of their insufficient knowledge of Slovak or are sent to special-needs schools.<sup>107</sup> Segregation in special-needs schools has negative impact on their knowledge of Slovak because often the only people speaking Slovak to each other in the school are the teachers.

Multicultural education also cannot exist without the multicultural education of teachers. Teachers must be qualified to teach children from minorities. They have to know the culture and specifics of ethnic minorities. They need to be able to communicate with the parents. For example in the Czech Republic, the teaching faculty at Charles University started offering students of special-needs education Roma lessons in 1990. Roma is only one of the elective subjects, which also includes sign language and alternative communication. The language courses complement the "Basic Roma for Teachers" course, which is mandatory for all students of psychology and teaching.<sup>108</sup> Non-governmental organizations try to compensate for the lack of appropriate multicultural education at universities. For example the Milan Šimečka Foundation introduced its "Multi-Kulti do školy" project. It is also important for the

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consisted of students studying in Spanish for one or two years before switching to English and the third group were students that studied in Spanish for four to six years before switching to English. Students from the third group that studied in Spanish the longest and were exposed to the majority language for the shortest time, had the best academic results and command of English. The second survey of 210 000 participants from ethnic minorities carried out in 2002 showed that children that were taught in their native language the longest had the best academic results and best knowledge of English. This was the decisive factor in improving their academic results. The remaining factors including socio-economic status of students were less significant. The same results were reported by Thomas and Collier (1997) in their 1982 to 1996 survey of 700.000 students from ethnic minorities.

<sup>106</sup> National Agency for Education, Sweden (2009), page 32.

<sup>107</sup> Even though the new law on education (2008) forbids segregation of children in schools and supports integration, it does not provide a clear definition of segregation and does not define this term for school practice either. The 2004 and 2008 education strategies do not define segregated and integrated education of students either. Rafael (2009), page 76-77.

<sup>108</sup> Pletichová (2007), page 63. Since 2004/2005 a post-gradual program "The Roma Situation – history, legislation, culture, ethnic stereotypes" is taught in Krakow. The program consists of 240 hours of lectures and practical exercises. Bartosz (2007).



teachers to have the same ethnic background as the general background in the country, region or municipality.<sup>109</sup>

Multicultural education should start in pre-school facilities. According to research carried out in countries with long-term experience with multicultural education, appropriate, inexpensive and accessible pre-school education for children from minorities is key for their successful social integration.<sup>110</sup> According to research in USA that followed two groups of children up to their 40's, quality pre-school improved their IQ, academic results, salaries and lowered crime.<sup>111</sup>

There are no appropriate teaching materials for language education of minorities and history, which is only presented in the school books from the point of view of the majority.<sup>112</sup>

One way of using multicultural education to teach future social workers and improve academic performance of elementary school students from minorities is the international mentoring program *Nightingale*, taught in Germany, Austria, Spain, Switzerland, Slovenia, Sweden and Norway. In Norway, this program was initiated by the Ministry for Children and Equality and the program is taught at eight universities and high schools. The program offers eight to twelve-year-olds from a minority a mentor that spends two to three hours a week with them for one year, individually and in groups. Working with the mentor increases the children's sense of security and self-esteem. They are allowed to observe the life of their mentor and see the importance and value of higher education. The mentor gains practical experience with communication with children from minorities, especially those that do not speak Norwegian. The university helps by supervising the program and offering scholarships. The goal of the program is to lower the incidence of high-school dropouts from minorities in Norway, improve their knowledge of Norwegian and mathematics and try to recruit them as social workers.<sup>113</sup>

The legislation and education systems of the Scandinavian states are very open to language minorities, both traditional and new. Their PISA results are very good, especially in Finland, in text comprehension, science and mathematics with very insignificant differences between individual students.

### ***Multicultural Education in Finland***

Finland has a quality education system. It rated on top of the international PISA 2000 and PISA 2003 survey. The goal of the Finnish education system is to support personal careers and qualifications of students pivotal for the quality of their future life and necessary for their inclusion in society. In Finland 99.7% of children<sup>114</sup> finish elementary school and 95% of children continue their education (2002 data). By 2015 up to 90% of Finns aged 25 to 29

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<sup>109</sup> Průcha (2006), page 177-179.

<sup>110</sup> Many international researches and studies focus on pre-school education of children, impact of ethnicity, religion and socio-economic background of children on school selection, evaluation of efficiency of programs and social strategies focusing on children from ethnic minorities and socially disadvantaged environment and detailed description of projects working with children from minorities – see for example Leseman (2002) for Dutch experiences, OECD (2004b) Canadian experiences, 2004 and other reports from the OECD Thematic Review of Early Childhood Education and Care Policy Project.

<sup>111</sup> Schweinhart (2005).

<sup>112</sup> Mistrík (2008), page 12-13 and 37, Rafael (2009), page 74, 76 and 77.

<sup>113</sup> Ministry for Children and Equality, Norway (2008) .

<sup>114</sup> Bizíková, page 1.

(compared to 50% of Finns in 2004 and 2005) and 50% of Finns aged 20 to 34 (compared to 40% in 2004 and 2005) should complete university education.<sup>115</sup>

The Finnish success is the result of a well thought-out education system based on the following principles:

- Equality and equal access. The goal of the Finnish education system is to ensure equality and equal access to quality education and erase existing social differences between groups of people. The focus on individual students (especially the poor and disadvantaged) is understood as good investment – a better educated Finn has a better chance to succeed in the job market, which will return in higher state income.
- No selection. The socio-economic status of parents plays no role in the choice of the elementary school. All children aged 7 to 16 attend the same, closest, elementary school, which maintain a very high and balanced standard of education. Talented students are not the center of attention. There are no elite classes or schools. The last 50 years, all children in elementary schools (and high schools) have been receiving one hot meal per day for free.<sup>116</sup> And if they live more than 5 km from the school, they are entitled to free transport. Finland has very few private elementary schools.
- Normal not special-needs schools. Children with special-needs are educated in normal schools. Only about 2.5% of children with severe mental disabilities attends special-needs schools.
- Pre-school education. One year before they enter elementary school about 95% of children enroll in pre-school.
- Multicultural bilingual education. The education system supports the use of native and official language. Students that have learning difficulties receive extra tutoring. All schools have special-needs teachers and social workers.

### ***Multicultural Education in Sweden***

The core of the minority integration policy in Sweden is language education. Sweden supports education in native language and Swedish as second language. There are about 60 teaching languages in Sweden. Supporting education in native language helps develop cognitive abilities of the students and their culture, improve academic results and command of Swedish. It helps students improve their abstract thinking and build better relationship with Swedish culture. Good command of Swedish is vital for communication, education, employment and social integration. Multicultural education in Sweden is applied to all types and levels of schools, which requires additional education for teachers. Since the 1970's Swedish teachers undergo special training for teaching Swedish as second language to children from minorities, whose first language is not Swedish.

In the past, Sweden was ethnically rather homogenous country, with the exception of a small Sami and Finnish minority. It was not until the 1960's with the influx of work immigrants and asylum seekers that it became a heterogeneous country. Sweden reacted to the new structure of its society by completely reworking its education system. In 1975 it passed a law making introduction of native languages as teaching languages for minorities mandatory in elementary schools. It also introduced the teaching of Swedish as second language in the

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<sup>115</sup> OECD (2005), page 54.

<sup>116</sup> Meszárošová, page 4-5.

curriculum of elementary schools. The goal was to make children from ethnic minorities bilingual, ensuring their integration in society<sup>117</sup>.

Sweden encourages parents to send their children to kindergartens and pre-school so the fees for children of immigrants that need to socialize and learn Swedish and children from poor background are usually paid by the state (municipality). The program in kindergartens and pre-schools is adjusted to suit the children's needs. In "open kindergartens" children that do not speak Swedish can be accompanied by their parents. Children of immigrants can enroll in special free-of-charge language programs and children that need special attention are placed in smaller groups where they receive more attention from their language teacher and social worker. Teachers assess and discuss the children's progress with their parents twice a year.<sup>118</sup>

The education system decentralization introduced in Sweden in 1990 caused the number of children attending pre-schools and participating in activities encouraging the use of native language to drop from 60% in 1990 to 13% in 2002. The number of children attending similar programs at elementary schools (voluntary programs) fell from 60% to 50% in the same time period. After the decentralization only about 10% of municipalities offered education of at least one subject in a native language.<sup>119</sup> Even with the existing supporting programs for children from minorities, the results of children not born in Sweden<sup>120</sup> are worse than those of children from the majority. In 2004/2005 only 78% of non-native children passed the conditions to continue on to high-school, compared to 92% in the majority population.<sup>121</sup>

Reasons for weakening education in native languages were several:

- Education in native language was not the priority of municipalities, and for many, usually smaller schools, was not even feasible. So native language courses were replaced by courses of Swedish.
- Teaching method of native language was not appropriate. In addition, native language teachers were not part of the school teaching staff, did not participate in its meetings and had no chance to discuss the teaching methods with the other teachers. The native language teachers did not have appropriate qualification and the classes were taught in the afternoons at the end of the school day. The method and quality of the classes did not motivate parents to sign their children up for the elective classes.<sup>122</sup>

Based on a survey carried out in 2002, the government decided to change the regulations and rules, which led to the introduction of new teaching methods, motivation for teachers to study several languages and help lower operating costs of mainly small schools, recruitment of teachers from language minorities and communities and ensuring accessibility of native language classes at kindergartens and elementary schools and its introduction in the curriculum. The National Education Agency counters calls for lowering the number of native languages taught in schools and emphasizing Swedish by pointing out that better knowledge of their native language helps students improve their Swedish.

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<sup>117</sup> Průcha (2006), page 147-150.

<sup>118</sup> OECD (2005b), page 22-23.

<sup>119</sup> National Agency for Education, Sweden (2003)

<sup>120</sup> Because of insufficient ethnicity data, the survey focused only on children from minorities not born in Sweden.

<sup>121</sup> European Centre for Minority Issues (2006), page 57, 66-67 and 131, National Agency for Education, Sweden (2003), page 3-16.

<sup>122</sup> National Agency for Education, Sweden (2003) page 3-16.

## **Multicultural Education in Norway**

Norway has been focusing on individual needs of children since 1935, based on argument that different people need different teaching methods to ensure equal opportunity in education. However, emphasizing the knowledge of Norwegian as the gate to better education and job opportunities proved to be an obstacle for the education of a large number of children from ethnic minorities.

In 2000, Norway had about 7% of children in school age from language minorities in elementary schools and about 4% in secondary schools. Until 2004 all municipalities were required to ensure children from language minorities had access to special education in Norwegian, bilingual special courses and native language courses until the students reached sufficient knowledge of Norwegian to join standard classes. In 2003, it became evident that in the past ten years up to one-fifth of children of immigrants never made it from the special courses to normal classes and that the courses were in fact an obstacle preventing the children from reaching general classes. The reason for the insufficient knowledge of these children was low qualification of the teachers and financing, which motivated schools to keep special classes, and the non-existence of a unified system for placement of children in special classes.<sup>123</sup>

Pre-schools were supposed to help with the learning of Norwegian. In 2004 a language program for children from ethnic minorities was introduced in pre-schools. However, the minorities use pre-school (kindergarten) much less often than the majority. In 2006, there were 54% of 1 to 5-year-olds from minorities in pre-schools and 82% of 5-year-olds from minorities, but 76% of all 1 to 5-year-olds and 93% of all 5-year-olds.<sup>124</sup>

According to 2003 PISA results, the Norwegian system proved to be selective. Academic results more or less reflected the social, economic and cultural background of the students.<sup>125</sup> In 2004, Norway abandoned the Equal Education in Practice! Program supporting equal education of minorities. *“Studies have shown that children from language minorities were not provided adequate lessons of Norwegian. The goal of this program is improve the education of children from language minorities and from 2007 schools will use new curriculum to teach the basics of Norwegian and native language and new evaluation tools.”* The program goals were supposed to be achieved by introducing special supporting language programs for children from language minorities (based on needs at all levels of the education system). The programs were to be based on multicultural perspective, taught by professionals specializing in work with children from bilingual or multicultural background, and create and increase the number of education programs for bilingual teachers. The programs were supposed to focus on cooperation with parents during the entire pre-school and school attendance of children (Ministry of Education and Research, Norway, 2007). Under the new curriculum, schools are responsible for the proper development of the basic abilities of their students including social and cultural skills, motivation, and education strategy with special focus on cooperation with student and their parents.<sup>126</sup>

## **Education of Roma in Nordic Countries**

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<sup>123</sup> OECD (2004), page 24.

<sup>124</sup> Ministry of Education and Research, Norway (2007), page 12.

<sup>125</sup> OECD (2007b), page 53.

<sup>126</sup> Ministry of Education and Research, Norway (b).

The Roma are a recognized traditional minority in Sweden, Finland and Norway. The Nordic states faced very similar problems with the education of Roma students as Slovakia – low attendance in pre-schools, unfamiliarity with the teaching language and low school attendance resulted in a high percentage of the Roma students leaving school early and depending on welfare. In the past several years, the education of the Roma minority in the Nordic states has been improving, but it still has not reached the same quality as the education of the majority. Even though the Roma minority is relatively small, about 10 000 in Finland and 50 000 in Sweden, the countries pay close attention to its education because of its economic impact.

### ***Finland***

Finland recognizes that the Roma have very strong traditions and cultural values that are very different from the traditions and culture of the majority population, which causes their economic and social problems and disadvantages them. Roma unemployment is closely related to the low education of the minority. However, the Finnish Roma do find employment quite frequently in social services, healthcare, with youth, information technologies and entertainment industry. In 2005 there were about 1 700 Roma of school age in Finland.<sup>127</sup>

The Finnish policies concerning the Roma have changed radically in the 1970's. While in the 1960's the general policy towards the Roma was very assimilation oriented, since the 1970's Finland has been introducing social, education system and cultural reforms designed to improve the position of the Roma in society and support their culture and language. In 1970, Finland introduced education programs for adult Roma designed to improve their living conditions and health. In 1980, the country opened the first courses for Roma language teachers and in 1989 Roma language classes were introduced experimentally in selected elementary schools. The Roma language had to be resurrected because only the Roma elders spoke the Kaale dialect. Another complication was the fact that the Roma have a tradition of spoken transfer of information so it was necessary to create new Roma teaching materials – fairytale books, song books, school books, manuals for teachers and Roma-Finnish dictionaries.

Systematic education programs for the Roma were introduced at the beginning of the 1990's. In 1994, a special Roma education office was established at the National Education Council,<sup>128</sup> which started publishing new textbooks, dictionaries, curricula and manuals for teachers. The office also initiated research into Roma educational needs.<sup>129</sup> In 1996, a unit for research, assistance and counseling in Roma language matters was established at the Research Institute for the Languages of Finland.<sup>130</sup> Since 1998, the Roma language is taught as native language.

Today it is possible to teach Roma if at least four students enroll in the class. However, the ability of schools to teach Roma are complicated by the lack of qualified teachers and textbooks, lack of interest of municipalities and the fact the language is taught after standard school hours. These are the reasons why in 2001/2002 Roma was taught at elementary school only to 73 out of 859 Roma students, while in 1998 it was taught to 240 students.

Even with the enormous progress made, the Roma academic results in Finland are not as good as the academic results of the majority – 10% – 20% of Roma students do not finish

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<sup>127</sup> National Council for Education, Finland (a).

<sup>128</sup> The Romani Educational and Cultural Unit, National board of Education. [www.oph.fi](http://www.oph.fi)

<sup>129</sup> <http://www.dromedu.org/images/Publications%20and%20other%20material%20on%20Roma.pdf>

<sup>130</sup> National Council for Education, Finland(a).

elementary school, which is considered a very high number in Finland. It is assumed the tradition of education in the Roma community is too short. Roma children encounter many problems in school from the start because of their cultural differences, limited knowledge of the teachers of the Roma culture and insufficient communication between the families and schools. The results of the available research indicate the schools are not prepared to work with Roma children, whose Roma language and motor functions are not sufficiently developed when they enter elementary school. The schools react by forcing them to repeat a year. Roma children have very high absence rate, emotional and social problems in school and relatively poor academic results – up to 5% of Roma children do not complete even basic education.<sup>131</sup>

Even with the above-mentioned negatives there is certain improvement. With the majority education working its way into the every day lives of the Roma, the attitude of the Roma parents towards the education of their children is changing. The education system helps educate the parents by educating the children. It also offers education projects for adult Roma. The project started by a survey of 200 Roma in one location by assessing their demand for education and type of work. Two thirds wanted to get more education and in terms of jobs, they expressed interest in social work and healthcare. This survey produced a pilot project and later successful programs designed for 25 – 55-year-olds unemployed Roma. The projects help the Roma to get necessary education and find jobs in professions including medical nurse, teaching assistant, massage and music therapist or hairdresser.<sup>132</sup>

### **Sweden**

Sweden describes the Roma as a heterogeneous population with language, religious and cultural differences. The Roma in Sweden are divided in to five basic groups – Swedish, Finnish, non-Nordic, nomadic and new immigrants (especially immigrants from the former Yugoslav countries). The basic groups are further divided into subgroups that speak about 20 Roma dialects.<sup>133</sup>

The Swedish efforts to improve the education of children from minorities in their native language also include the Roma. The 2007 report of the National Agency for Education,<sup>134</sup> describes the activities and education of the Roma from pre-school age to adulthood and includes the following conclusions:<sup>135</sup>

- It is necessary to support and develop their native language, i.e. teach children in the existing Roma dialects (20 dialects in case of Sweden). This means ensuring appropriate textbooks and teaching materials in these dialects.<sup>136</sup>
- Bilingual and multicultural education is vital. For example in one program for the Roma, Roma language is taught in the morning and Swedish in the afternoon. The courses are adjusted to the culture and lifestyle of the Roma.
- Organize seminars and courses for teaching assistants. Support teaching assistant jobs and educate new assistants in two-year courses at high-school level. Roma assistants are very successful. They are good role models for children, help them in school and with homework. They also act as mediators between the school and

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<sup>131</sup> National Council for Education, Finland( a), OECD (2005).

<sup>132</sup> National Council for Education, Finland (a),

<sup>133</sup> Swedish Slovak government.

<sup>134</sup> National Agency for Education, Sweden (2007).

<sup>135</sup> Kai (2007), page 94-98, OECD, Sweden, page 26 and 46.

<sup>136</sup> There are for example text books in Lovar, Kalderash and Kaale dialects. Kai (2007), page 96-99.

parents. Teaching assistants help improve school attendance and general academic results.

- Cooperation with parents is vital for good academic performance of children. The goal of the education projects for Roma children is to ensure Roma parents are not only clients but also school partners. Many problems with the education of minorities can be solved by the members of the community – teachers and assistants.

Today Sweden has the Delegation for Roma Issues, which was established in 2006 at the impulse of the government. The goal of the Delegation is to present by December 2009 a report with specific recommendations for improving the situation of the Roma minority. Its tasks include summarizing and analyzing available knowledge and experience, disseminating information about the Roma and their position in Sweden, drafting recommendations for improving the living conditions of the Roma in Swedish society (with special focus on children, youth and gender equality), encouraging and supporting projects and services in municipalities focusing on improving the situation of the Roma, encouraging know-how exchange and experience between municipalities and government agencies, analyzing needs for establishment of Roma institutions and international cooperation.<sup>137</sup>

## 6. Programs and Projects

### Does Roma Ethnic Exist or is it Only a Group of Poor People?

Waste and lost productivity, reduced consumption – these are the results of non-inclusion of the Roma population in the economic growth of the country. The Roma population in central Europe is sufficiently large to represent a good opportunity for employers, especially with the decline of the majority population and large demand of the job market for additional workforce.<sup>138</sup> The participation of the Roma can bring society many advantages, but it seems the entire process is, regardless of the many invested millions of EUR, only beginning.

The society has invested enormous amounts of money into Roma programs, but the results fell dramatically short of expectations. It seems the main reason for the failure is the lack of knowledge of the Roma target group, disregard for its cultural and language specifics and disrespect of these specifics during the program preparation and implementation.

If a large portion of the Roma-oriented programs fail, the reaction should not be pessimism, but analysis of the reasons. In our opinion, the two main reasons of the repeat failure are the disregard for the target group specifics, which goes as far as making the Roma invisible by labeling them by the broad term “socially disadvantaged group of citizens” and very weak project management.

The first part of this chapter will focus on summarizing the conclusions of the available literature describing the specifics of the Roma minority, which the activists and government programs may or may not encounter. The existence of these specifics depends on many factors disputed by sociologists and anthropologists. Our goal is to describe this discussion. The second part of this chapter will focus on examples of good project management.

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<sup>137</sup> Swedish government (b)

<sup>138</sup> UNDP (2005), survey carried out in cooperation with Ernst & Young among employers and employees in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia and Spain.

We will avoid the discussion about Roma assimilation, even though it sometimes seems the efforts to replace the word Roma with the term socially disadvantaged person points to assimilation.

### ***Roma or Only Marginalized Groups?***

The assistance provided to the Roma is justified either by asserting they are entitled to it or by asserting it is in the society's (i.e. majority's) interest. A good example of legal entitlement are special education programs based on the Children's Act, which states that *"it is the obligation of relevant state administration and self-government bodies to create conditions providing equal opportunities to children to access education with special focus on groups that are disadvantaged by the current education system due to social and cultural specifics."*<sup>139</sup> An example of a Roma program in the interest of the society are active job market policies aimed at increasing Roma employment. This program would not only increase the prosperity of the society, but also the prosperity of the Roma. This study focuses on Roma-oriented programs that are in the interest of the society and therefore on the agenda of the public administration.

The discussion about the introduction of programs focusing explicitly on the Roma usually focuses on the need (and impossibility) of positive discrimination and preference of ethnic approach to the civic approach<sup>140</sup>. Civic approach means equality among citizens "at entry", i.e. all citizens have the right to use certain programs regardless of their ethnicity. But because these programs are prepared by the majority, they reflect the needs of this majority and its culture. Ethnicity-based approach assumes preparation of programs that respect cultural differences and strive for equality of citizens "at exit." For example, all citizens have the right to certain education. While the civic approach recognizes the need to adjust programs to the social differences between the citizens, it does not recognize the need to also respect the cultural differences between the citizens.

Programs built only on the civic approach invariably fail, which is recognized by the implementing organizations and government strategies. Even with the existing professional disagreement over the matter, they try to adjust the programs to reflect the specifics of the Roma minority simply to increase their efficiency.

The available literature is divided into two main schools of thought concerning the Roma specifics.<sup>141</sup> The current, mainly sociological, literature leans more towards the Roma being underdeveloped rather than socially excluded and discriminated and as result poor minority.<sup>142</sup> Anthropologic literature openly describes the differences of the Roma culture that negatively affect the integration of the Roma. The first approach admits there are certain social and cultural differences between the Roma and majority, but it generally sees them either from the point of view of the majority culture as cultural underdevelopment or as

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<sup>139</sup> Draft strategy for integrated education of Roma children and youth including development of pre-school and university education, October 4, 2008, Office of Slovak Government Plenipotentiary for Roma Communities. Slovak constitution guarantees certain civil rights to national minorities (see Tokár, 2002, page 190).

<sup>140</sup> See for example Oravec (2004) on affirmative action options.

<sup>141</sup> Imrich Vašečka (2002), page 271: *"It is often said the "Roma issue" is of social nature and can be solved by broad measures of social policies. Others point out the core of the issue is ethnicity and any viable solution cannot avoid the issue of culture and education."*

<sup>142</sup> Radičová (2002), page 83: *"Roma family represents a different family model. However, its difference is not conditioned as much by ethnicity as by its rules being from a different time. That is why we can talk about a time shift not ethnic specifics of Roma population behavior."*



cultural poverty.<sup>143</sup> The second approach does not talk about underdevelopment, but describes the specifics of the Roma culture and concludes that these specifics prevent the integration of the Roma.<sup>144</sup> These include specific cultural patterns, social structure and hierarchy of values in traditional Roma culture, which despite many positives have a negative effect on the Roma minority by preventing or complicating their path to individual development, success and integration. By emphasizing the present, they prevent the development of life strategies for the future – education and development of work ambitions.<sup>145</sup>

The logical result of the first approach is that while the programs oriented on limiting poverty of the Roma are necessary, they do not have to respect the cultural differences of the Roma (because they really do not exist). The results of the second approach are programs respecting the specifics of the Roma culture. In this chapter we assume the programs should respect the socio-economic specifics of the Roma target groups, which are the product of cultural differences combined with poverty and the programs should be custom-designed based on detailed knowledge of the relevant target group.

### **Roma Traits and Specifics in Literature**

The Roma ethnic is heterogeneous and includes very varied groups of people at different level of integration and social and economic position in the majority and Roma communities. The Roma minority literature focuses mainly on Roma living in segregated and separated settlements, so our knowledge of urban Roma communities is very limited.<sup>146</sup> Simplifications found in the available literature are very questionable. For example, the marginalizing of the Roma minority is often presented simply as geographical separation (segregated and separated settlements) and integration as only geographical integration (Roma houses scattered between non-Roma houses), even though both terms deserve much more attention and geographical location is only one aspect of marginalization or integration.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> There are Roma-specific differences – for example Kumanová and Džambazovič (2002), page 504: „...differences and their impact have shown and still show in social and cultural differences and define the characteristics of Roma families and their demographic behavior.“ Džambazovič (2002), page 547: „Every-day life of many Roma (especially in segregated settlements) is still ruled by traditional Roma customs and rules that in certain areas interfere with the customs and rules of the majority population.“

...but they are the results of poverty and segregation – Džambazovič (2002), page 535: „The results of ethnological and sociological surveys indicate that the more segregated a community, the lower its socio-economic and cultural level.“

<sup>144</sup> Hirt and Jakoubek (2008), page 10, Vaňura (2008), page 104-105. „Several cultures can coexist and actually do coexist in one country. However, two civilizations and two different social systems cannot coexist in one country. A civilization must encompass all cultures in the given country, their cultures do not have to be in complete accordance with the civilization, but the culture that is not will disadvantage its people. Roma culture complicates individual success of its people in Czech society (civilization). If the Roma stop trying to succeed in Czech society, there would not be any reason to think about the Roma culture. But because the Roma wish to be as successful in Czech society as much as the Czech do, we do have to think about the Roma culture. Sekyt (2003), page 447, Roma Education Fund (2007).

<sup>145</sup> Jakoubek (2003), page 416, 428, Sekyt (2003), page 441, Frištenská (2003), page 18, Puliš (2002), page 47, Novák (2003), page 411, Jakoubek (2004), Vašečka (2002a), page 335.

<sup>146</sup> For example, the Atlas of Roma Communities (Slovak government, 2004) does not include the Roma living in Bratislava and at least 10 communities in southern Slovakia. Interview with author Alexander Mušinka, 25.3.2009, Prešov. Mušinka (2006, ed.) is a rare study of city ghettos.

<sup>147</sup> See also discussion on Mapping in Škobla and colleagues (2008), page 54-55. The measures taken by the city of Prešov against Roma tenants that did not differentiate between payers and non-payers and moved everyone to a new location based probably only on the color of their skin is a good example of homogeneous perception of the Roma by the majority (Mušinka, 2006).

Many gross generalizations are the cost of non-existence of rigorous research based on quality statistical data, but it is the best we have.

Despite many years of research of Roma communities and knowledge that their socio-cultural specifics *“are most likely hindering their development and prevent their social mobility and integration, so far no one has defined their social consequences.”*<sup>148</sup> It seems, however, that the available literature agrees on several most common traits of the Roma, present in various extent in the majority of otherwise very different Roma communities, that affect their social integration and that must be addressed by the individual programs if they are to be successful. Many of these traits can actually be considered positive and exemplary for the majority.

The impact of the Roma culture diminishes with increasing standard of living<sup>149</sup>, which can on the one hand serve as proof of the sociologists' opinion that there is no such thing as Roma culture, only social underdevelopment of the Roma or, on the other hand, it can to a certain extent be seen as proof of assimilation.

Depending on the author, the available literature most commonly cites the following Roma traits:

**The Roma are not a homogeneous group of people.** There are almost insurmountable barriers inside the Roma community. There is no solidarity and togetherness in Roma communities. There are many status, ritual and socio-economic barriers inside Roma communities preventing them from communicating and meeting. There is very strong hierarchy in the Roma sub-ethnic groups (Olah Roma<sup>150</sup>, Slovak Roma, Hungarian Roma), in settlements and even families. The Roma always put their own group, settlement or family on top of the hierarchy and consider “the others” to be unclean and less significant.<sup>151</sup>

**No interest in public affairs.** There is no solidarity inside Roma settlements or any interest in public (common) affairs. Any solidarity and social life is limited to families and the barrier between the individuals' extended families. There is no “public” in Roma settlements because the settlements do not consist of individuals, only families. Common interests fail when confronted with the needs of individual families that are incapable of agreeing on one

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<sup>148</sup> „*The actual socio-cultural specifics of Roma communities that cause underdevelopment, slow and prevent social advance and integration were never compared with the position of the majority and no one has ever defined their social consequences* “. Vášek (2003), page 26.

<sup>149</sup> „*The improving standard of living often causes gradual disappearance of the original culture* “. Kumanová, Mann and colleagues (2006), page 97, Lužica (2004).

<sup>150</sup> „*The life of the Olah Roma is very different from the life of the settled Roma in Slovakia. They still maintain their traditional customs and social structure. Individuals identify themselves with specific groups, which usually consists of his or her family and extended family.*“ Kumanová, Mann and colleagues (2006), page 76,

<sup>151</sup> Moravec (2004), quoted in Hirt and Jakoubek (2008), page 16-17, Jakoubek (2003), page 420, Sekyt (2003), page 432. The Roma consider the following groups to be unclean: entire groups of Roma (for example the Olah Roma consider the Slovak and Hungarian Roma unclean and vice versa), or entire families, while the sign of ritual impurity is food (eating horse or dog meat), or certain activities (employment). Budilová and Jakoubek (2008b), page 218, Hübschmannová (2003), page 297, Sekyt (2003), page 434, Lužica (2004), page 14-15, “internal inter-group antagonism” page 39, competing family groups, page 41. Status barriers are according to teachers evident even in segregated Roma communities, for example when children are placed in one class. Discussion of participants of seminar “Segregation of Roma Students in Schools”-- analysis of current situation organized by the Open Society Foundation – OSF and Wide Open School Foundation on March 25, 2009 in Prešov.

common authority (if the person is from a different family) to represent the entire settlement. Without the initiatives of the majority there would not be any formal organizations or clubs, because everything in settlements is based on families – family is the main institution and everything revolves around it.<sup>152</sup>

**Social role of traditional Roma family – family matters more than individual.** In a traditional Roma family individual identity is replaced by collective identity based on families, collective ownership, responsibility and decision-making. Any social life takes place within extended family that decides about everything. Family relations in settlements are also reflected in the proximity of individual family houses, which often share a common courtyard. Extended families have their designated space, which also reflects their socio-economic status in the settlement.

Social and economic exclusion of Roma communities leads to further strengthening of family solidarity and “*the idea of what it means being Roma stagnates, or goes back in time*”.<sup>153</sup> Extended families tend to exclude integrated Roma from their communities because they lost their Roma identity or because they simply envy them.<sup>154</sup> The integration of children is better defended in a Roma community by traditionally balanced families. If young Roma families are socially weak, they are not able to become independent and copy the ingrained patterns of the extended family and depend on its solidarity.<sup>155</sup>

**Low value of majority education.** In traditional Roma culture the education of the majority has no value. It is even unwanted and can mean exclusion from the extended family for an individual. The family does not encourage individual development and independence because it threatens family solidarity and integrity.<sup>156</sup> Education is seen as alienation in many cultures. Dutch research indicates culture and “*cultural attitude towards education*” affect the level of education obtained by individuals. For example the Moroccan and Turkish societies do not attribute high social value to education because they fear alienation of their children from their ethnic group and prefer educating their children home instead of sending them to pre-school.<sup>157</sup> Similar research in Norway indicates the number of children with poor academic results is much higher among children from language minorities, special-needs children, children from socially disadvantaged groups and boys. Some of these traits correlate (OECD, 2004).

**Traditional Roma family is patriarchal.** The social role of women in settlements is to take care of the household and children. It is socially unacceptable for women to work and meet

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<sup>152</sup> Goral (1998) quoted in Jakoubek (2003), page 422, Uherek (2002), page 96, 102-103, Jakoubek (2004), page 167. Originally, a settlement was one extended family, but this model was shattered by various state regulations and directives. For example, different family groups were moved to one settlement and marked their territories. The settlement stopped being a social unit headed by one “*vajda*” and became just a place to live. Podlaha (2002), quoted in Jakoubek (2003), page 424, and Sekyt (2003), page 431.

<sup>153</sup> Sekyt (2003), page 447: “... *the Roma culture is a development-slowng factor mainly in the following two ways: it prevents individual education (in non-Roma issues) of the Roma community members, and its family solidarity system hinders the development of personal responsibility.*”

<sup>154</sup> Stewart (2003), page 78-79.

<sup>155</sup> Budilová and Jakoubek (2008a), page 44-49, Plavjaniková (2008), page 63-69, Radičová (2001), page 58, Frištenská (2003), page 18, Šanderová (2003), page 89, Uherek (2003), page 279, Jakoubek (2003), page 421, Sekyt (2003), page 438, Liégeois (1997), page 68 and 75, and Lužica (2004), page 25, 44-45.

<sup>156</sup> Sekyt (2003).

<sup>157</sup> Průcha (2006), page 175-177.

with strangers, especially with men. The position of women improves with age and number of children.<sup>158</sup>

**Poverty – starting conditions.** The socio-economic problems of the majority of Roma are much more complex than what the majority is capable and even willing to imagine. According to the Atlas of Roma Communities, up to three-quarters of settlements are located on the outskirts or even outside of municipalities, 81% have no sanitation, 37% have no water supply and 20% have no paved access roads. One-third of all houses have been built illegally and 16% of all settlement houses are shacks.

**Limited social life prevents integration.** Segregation, limited repeated contact of settlement inhabitants with the majority (often only with officials at government offices) and segregation of families within communities prevent creation of lasting contacts that could be used to for example find a job. Contact is often limited to members of one's own extended family. It is impossible to mobilize social networks inside settlements because only the family is allowed to help, but the family is often just as poor. A good example of the limitations of social networks to families are work groups that consist exclusively of related Roma. A Roma from a different family can never be accepted into such group.<sup>159</sup>

**Shared ownership of goods prevents accumulation of capital.** The wealth of extended family is shared. However, solidarity is not shared evenly, so help often flows only one-way and means great economic burden and de-motivation. Distribution of property within extended family based on "need" makes it impossible to escape the trap of poverty because it prevents accumulation of capital. Family members gradually slide to the same, low, socio-economic level.<sup>160</sup>

**Economy and saving.** Economy and market in settlements are also dominated by families, which are valued higher than economic gains.<sup>161</sup> The prevalence of "instant gratification" and focus on now<sup>162</sup> governs economic behavior and thinking and sidetracks any planning for future including saving. The only reason of the failure to pay rent in new apartments is the

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<sup>158</sup> Budilová and Jakoubek (2008a), page 57, Uherek (2002), page 101, Sekyt (2003), page 435, Stewart (2005), page 54-55, Kumanová, Mann and colleagues (2006), page 76. *„Roma families are still ruled by patriarchal division of labor. Women have very specific role in Roma society revolving around reproduction and care giving. Girls are prepared to play this role from very young age. In segregated communities women are the informal leaders of families and initiators of action. They decide about finances, select partners for their children and decide about their children's education. Experts point out the correlation between the position of women in communities and the level of education.”* Slovak government (2008a). *„Communism deepened the dependency of women on men.”* However, after 1989 *„...a woman's role as provider increased, but the punishment of women and children is still reserved to men.”* Lužica (2004), page 43-44.

<sup>159</sup> Uherek (2002), page 96, Kriglerová (2002), page 126, Jakoubek and Hirt (2008) and individual survey reports from settlements, Imrich Vašečka (2002), page 271.

<sup>160</sup> Budilová and Jakoubek (2008a), page 58-59, Sekyt (2003), page 438, Stewart (2005), page 49-51, 72-73. *„... they were clearly the richest Roma...their decision to live alone for the first twenty years of their marriage was crucial.”* Stewart (2005), 74. Chynoradský (2006, page 66) states that many Roma families lost housing and were taken in by their families, which resulted in lower standard of living within the extended family.

<sup>161</sup> Jakoubek (2003), page 424, Sekyt (2003), page 436.

<sup>162</sup> Sekyt (2003), page 439: immediate gratification leads for example to borrowing money at high interest even though the Roma know they will never be able to pay it back.

inability to put aside money for rent. This does not apply exclusively to the poorest families.<sup>163</sup>

**Work ethic.** Unemployment is so common among the Roma and has been for so long that the majority of Roma never developed the right attitude towards regular work and necessary work ethic. In terms of unemployment, young Roma are most at risk. They are often unemployed for long periods of time, have minimum work experience<sup>164</sup> and contact with majority that could help them find work. The previous, very generous, welfare system was part of the problem. It discouraged low-qualified workers from employment.<sup>165</sup> The fact that the majority of more educated Roma (high-school educated) is also unemployed is also very discouraging.

**Loan sharks.** The inability or impossibility of saving leads to strong dependency on informal lending, which in turn leads to loan sharking, which is very common in Roma settlements and ghettos. Loan sharking contributes to the widening of the socio-economic gap and disrupts the settlement social structure. Families with income below the poverty line often hand over their welfare benefits to a loan shark, which makes them unable to pay rent or utilities, further deepening their dependence on loan sharks. Loan sharks become wealthier and wealthier and improve their chance of integration. According to the available literature, loan-sharks are often the most integrated and non-Roma often select them to act as mediators in Roma affairs. Loan sharking became common in the 1990's when Roma unemployment and poverty surged. Loan sharks live inside and outside settlements, can be Roma, non-Roma, family members or strangers.<sup>166</sup> The spread of loan sharking signals very limited access of the Roma to legal protection and low enforcement of justice.

**Stereotypes, discrimination and segregation.** Skin color, geographical and social segregation, discrimination and low qualification makes the integration of the Roma in the majority population very difficult. In general, it is assumed the Roma were very hard hit by the work market development in the 1990's, when their jobs either completely disappeared or were given to workers from the majority. The rate of return of the Roma employment to the work market is much slower than in the majority population. After 1990, the differences between the majority and Roma population widened. The Roma started to fall behind in education, their standard of housing and general standard of living decreased. Many of them were forced to return to the settlements by the rising cost of rent.<sup>167</sup>

According to the available literature, the Roma have specific cultural traits independent of the country they live in.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> Loran (2002), page 566, Jakoubek and Hirt (2008) and individual survey reports from settlements, Niederle (2002), page 128-130, Kučerová and Vančura (2008), page 289.

<sup>164</sup> At the end of 1999 young Roma represented 25% (65.532 people, data source is unclear) of the total number of registered unemployed, while 60% of them were unemployed for longer than three years. Džambazovič and Jurásková (2002), page 539. See also Loran (2002), page 574, Radičová (2001), page 124, UNDP (2005), Kučerová and Vančura (2008), page 289.

<sup>165</sup> The World Bank (2005a).

<sup>166</sup> Hirt and Jakoubek (2008), page 18, Budilová and Jakoubek (2008b), page 230, Hajsá and Poduška (2008), page 520, Kompaníková and Šebesta (2002), page 611, Sinková (2008), page 605, Niederle (2002).

<sup>167</sup> Lubyová (2000), page 180, Uherek (2002), page 104, 106, Kriglerová (2002), page 125-126, Uherek and Weinerová (2003), page 107, Radičová (2002), page 87.

<sup>168</sup> Průcha (2006), Bogdanov and Angelov (2007), SIDA (2006).

## Program Rules

If Roma programs are to be successful, they have to focus on specific Roma communities, respect their specific social and cultural traits, use available information and, of course, follow the general program management principles. Many years of practical experience of many organizations indicate several main rules Roma-oriented programs should follow (see frame no. 2).<sup>169</sup> The failure to follow these rules leads to disappointment, inefficiency and in the end only deepens segregation and enforces stereotypes about the Roma.

Our list is not exhaustive, but it is an effort to initiate serious attempts at defining these rules:

**Clearly defined goals.** It is necessary to define clear goals from the start. Define whether the goal of the program is social help or minority policies. Social programs try to integrate socially excluded Roma based on individual principles, while minority policy programs strive for collective emancipation of the Roma ethnic.<sup>170</sup> This study would like to promote the pragmatic approach of social help built on individuals, while the efficiency of the provided help improves with increased respect for Roma culture.

Program goals cannot be aimed at transforming the Roma to the image of the majority. They have to respect the differences in social and cultural background of the Roma and give them space to excel within their “otherness.”

**Clearly defined target group.** The terms Roma community or Roma minority are too wide. They do not clearly define the end recipients of the help. Within Roma communities there are often insurmountable (status) barriers between the individual extended families. It often happens that help originally aimed at socially disadvantaged Roma ends up benefiting loan sharks or Roma elite trying to improve Roma national identity.<sup>171</sup>

**Respect for different culture.** Every community is different and what is true in one does not have to apply in others. However, the Roma generally have the same historical experience and have been discriminated by the majority. The individual Roma communities differ from the majority by their culture, understanding of the role of family and women, low social capital, extent of basic existential problems, work ethic, loan-sharking and attitude towards savings. Identifying the specifics and adjusting the programs to the needs of a specific community or even persons, should not be considered as strengthening stereotypes about the Roma.

**Integration not segregation.** Many well-meaning projects ended up only deepening the segregation of the Roma, not improving their integration. For example, the introduction of purely Roma kindergartens or other public facilities is often seen as a step towards integration by the local governments, while it only slightly improves the lives in the

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<sup>169</sup> See for example Lenczová and colleagues (2002) that evaluated Roma-oriented projects financed by the British Know-How Fund, European Commission in Slovakia, Open Society Foundation and the Civil Society Development Foundation within seven previous years and used it to draft recommendations for donors and implementing organizations, especially for Roma projects focusing on education, social and community work. The majority of the recommendations is universal, not only for Roma projects. STEM (2003) – Center for Empirical Research analyzed the implementation and success rate of Roma programs in 196 Czech municipalities. Its results were used by Gjuričová (2003) to formulate many recommendations for improving the success rate of Roma programs. Some employment programs in Slovakia are accurately assessed by Smetánka (2006). Doubravová (2006) lists examples of good and bad program work.

<sup>170</sup> Hirt and Jakoubek (2008), page 15, Imrich Vašečka (2002), page 271.

<sup>171</sup> Moravec (2004), quoted in Jakoubek and Hirt (2008), page 16-17, Novák (2003), page 406.

settlements and leads to even greater segregation. Building new apartment buildings in the overwhelming majority of cases does not solve the geographical separation of the Roma, more often than not it actually makes it worse.<sup>172</sup>

The “Roma with Roma and gadjo with gadjo” approach can also reinforce ethnic segregation more than promote integration. That is why it is not always better to have a Roma provider of certain social services than non-Roma. The Roma very often lack the necessary qualifications, in which case their knowledge of the community is not enough to compensate for their lack of qualification and experience (the same applies to lay personnel from the majority population). According to field work results, lay persons cannot solve almost any problems constructively, they cannot even see it in broader context. A lay Roma person may have the community’s trust, but only at the beginning – professionals gain it with time. Objections that *“the Roma should be helped by the Roma come mainly from professional Roma nationalists that are not interested in the opinions of the socially excluded Roma and know nothing about them.”*<sup>173</sup> The selected Roma worker may also not be acceptable for the relevant community.<sup>174</sup>

Integration does not help create jobs and business activities organized by the Roma and oriented on Roma communities. These activities are often not sustainable after the completion of the project because of the low buying power of the Roma or because the businessman becomes an oligarch controlling the community by obligations and loans. In many cases the partner of the local government, for example in construction projects and the following distribution of new apartments, is actually a loan shark.<sup>175</sup>

**Rational behavior versus stereotypes.** Many stereotypes about the Roma and their character or genes are wrong because they do not take into consideration that the majority of people would act very much the same under the same conditions, regardless of ethnicity and culture.<sup>176</sup> One of the main assumption of economy is that people act rationally to use the conditions they live in to their maximum advantage. For example, if someone steals crops from fields it is not automatically because he or she is Roma, but because under the given conditions, theft may be the best strategy to maximize benefits.

**Majority involvement.**<sup>177</sup> Programs designed to help the Roma, i.e. targeted activities and projects trying to improve the quality of life of the Roma, integrate them into society and support their cultural identity, often provoke negative reactions from the non-Roma. One reason is that they do not understand the need for such programs and second, they feel discouraged. They see the help the Roma receive as reward for inactivity or abuse of the state’s welfare system.

**Realistic expectations.** Roma communities have been experiencing problems for a long time and only long-term programs can help them. Short-term and non-systemic help can only make the situation worse and alienate the interested parties. Results cannot be expected

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<sup>172</sup> Hojsík (2008), page 27-28, Lenczová (2002) page 52.

<sup>173</sup> Moravec (2003), page 382.

<sup>174</sup> Moravec (2004), quoted in Jakoubek and Hirt (2008), page 16-17, Hübschmannová (1991), quoted in Jakoubek and Hirt (2008), page 16, Jakoubek and Hirt (2008), page 16, Moravec (2003), page 379-380, Ondruchová (2000) quoted in Frištenková (2002), page 58.

<sup>175</sup> Uherek and Weinerová (2004), page 108, Hojsík (2008), page 23.

<sup>176</sup> Uherek and Novák (2002), page 106.

<sup>177</sup> Liégeois (1997) page 163-173, Kriglerová (2002), Kriglerová, Elena Gallová (2006), Vašečka (2002a), page 335-351.

within one or even several years. One of the main criteria of project evaluation should be their sustainability.

Roma projects run into very similar problems like any other projects in Slovakia that may not be as prominent. The main problems include disregard for general project principles in project preparation phase, monitoring and project management and evaluation.<sup>178</sup> Supervision, efficiency and purposefulness is very low. According to many activists, European funds are often used for pointless projects or projects that are never implemented. The increased availability of financing created “ethno-business” or “Roma industry.”<sup>179</sup> On the other hand, it must be admitted that there is no information about Roma communities and proper project implementation methods necessary for proper project development and that the majority of projects (mostly those less financially demanding but more visible) were prepared by enthusiasts. The failure to follow proper project principles by public administration is much harder to defend, not only because of wasted public funds, but also because it shows resignation on providing examples of good project management.

### ***Housing: an example of failure to follow rules***

A good example of expensive and not very successful programs are projects designed to improve housing conditions and increase employment of poor Roma by building new apartment buildings and houses. These projects very often fail to respect the social structures and existing social standards and rules of the Roma communities. For example, if before the construction began the poorer Roma lived at the lower end of the settlement and the richer at the upper end of the settlement, building an apartment building at the upper end of the settlement and moving the poor Roma to the more prestigious part of the settlement will lead to conflicts.

If the individual families divided the settlement into family territories, it is extremely difficult to move families that are not related into the new apartment buildings, because they do not want to live together because of the invisible barriers inside the community (for example ritual impurity of certain families). Copying the existing cultural patterns of the settlement where related families share space and show solidarity to family members that have no place to live can lead to gradual increase of inhabitants in the apartment building and around it.<sup>180</sup>

Apartment buildings weaken ties with extended families, which has its pros and cons. A definite pro is the possibility of independence of individual family units and higher chance of integration. Negatives include social control over individuals and increased incidence of sociopathic behavior.

The lack of control exercised by the extended family and increased number of long-term visitors combined with the generally low quality of the new apartments (often handed over to new tenants unfinished)<sup>181</sup> leads to destruction of apartment equipment, which in turn reinforces stereotypes about the Roma who “*can’t appreciate help and attention they receive from the majority.*” Apartment buildings constructed on the outskirts of cities or municipalities

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<sup>178</sup> Project Cycle Manual of the European Commission (2002) or British evangelical aid and development agency Tearfund (Blackman, 2003) can be used as sources of information, both are available free-of-charge on the Internet.

<sup>179</sup> Krištof (2003), page 451.

<sup>180</sup> Budilová and Jakoubek (2008a), page 44-49, Plavjaniková (2008), page 63-69, Sekyt (2003), page 435, 446, Kumanová, Mann and colleagues (2006), page 93.

<sup>181</sup> The survey did not confirm the Roma damage and steel apartment equipment. The rumors were supposed to cover up the fact the apartments were handed over to the tenants unfinished. Hojsík (2008), page 32.



easily become ghettos and breeding ground for sociopathic behavior (crime, drug use and loan sharks).

The failure to respect Roma specifics was clearly visible in the Slovak government strategy for Roma community integration,<sup>182</sup> which lacked any reference to cultural adequacy. The design and construction materials used for building the apartment buildings showed complete disregard for the Roma cultural identity and living space preferences.<sup>183</sup>

According to Hojsík (2008, page 33), the majority of representatives of local governments and respondents from the communities agreed that the ideal housing solution would be the construction of individual family houses, which would eliminate conflicts between the individual families and clearly showed who was responsible for damaging the new buildings and littering. It would also create conditions for the development of individual families, because they would have more privacy, which would lower the influence and social control of the community. The inhabitants could enlarge the houses by adding extensions that would reflect their changing needs. Liégeois in his often cited book published by the Council of Europe says *“the society tries to force the Gypsies into houses that we think should be good for everyone, at any cost.”* Social housing does not reflect the culture of the Roma population (Liégeois, 1997, page 159).

Frame no. 2. Roma project guidelines by Gjuričova (2003)

**Outcomes.** The problems of deprived Roma communities need to be taken seriously. If nothing is done, the situation will only become worse. Poverty and underdevelopment are very dangerous even for those around. The problems of the Roma are generally very hard to solve, results are often most visible in individual cases. Tolerated incidents of discrimination and open inter-ethnic hate prevent the development of positive relationships within communities. Cooperation and communication with the Roma is vital for success.

**Recommendations.** If you decide to work with the Roma, set realistic goals. Define groups you want to focus on. Work mainly with children and youth and only adults that are interested. Look for new approaches to work. Ask your colleagues about their experiences in other cities. Evaluate your work based on successes not failures. Individual success stories are more common than group success stories. Use “softer standards” for evaluating successes. Treat the Roma “normally,” even the most socially problematic people can be very nice, open-hearted and welcoming in personal contact. Do not be afraid of them. Do not try to convince them that you are not a racist, if you are not, they will see it. Do not act from the position of superiority, show respect and learn to listen. Try to understand their view of the non-Roma world and see how they experience it. Use any means available to motivate and encourage positive forces within Roma communities.

**Specific measures.** Appoint one representative that will mediate between the city representation and the Roma. You will save time and work. Appoint a representative that will be responsible for specific activities in Roma communities. Educate him about the specifics of the Roma ethnic, social counseling and social work legal matters. Set the representative’s office inside the Roma community (somewhere where the Roma are used to going). Do not try to appoint Roma as Roma counselors at all costs. What matters is qualification. It is very difficult for the Roma to work in their communities. Always give the job of Roma assistant to a Roma. Always give them positive tasks to work on in Roma communities. Leave the responsibility to carry out unpopular tasks to non-Roma, at least in the beginning. Find Roma that are willing to cooperate (representatives of individual families) and consult

<sup>182</sup> Slovak government(2003).

<sup>183</sup> Hojsík (2008), page 6, Baršová (2002), page 15, Kumanová, Mann and colleagues (2006), page 93. Similarly, Amnesty International (2007, page 12) points out that according to international treaties Slovakia must provide adequate housing for the Roma „...availability of public services, materials, equipment and infrastructure, affordable, of adequate standard, in accessible location and culturally adequate.“ The forced relocation of Roma to Stara tehelna in Prešov is a negative example (Mušinka, 2006).

with them all measures you intend to implement. Cooperate with them. Let them work independently. Regularly communicate with them at the highest possible level. Encourage religious and charity organizations to work in Roma communities. Try to make it as easy for them as possible. Support educational projects in schools (discussions, thematic programs, film screenings followed by discussions) about the life of national minorities. Use regional TV and radio to promote interesting information about the Roma and well functioning projects. Make sure the local newspaper prints positive information about the Roma inhabitants of the relevant city. Approach the representatives of local TV to include the Roma in their child or adult audiences. Learn to fundraise from various sources (international, state, foundations and private). Learn to write project funding applications. Ask the state administration for professional and financial help. If you finance activities, monitor the use of your funds. Employ Roma to increase the quality of life in their community (see prevention).

**Project development method.** Assign one employee to be in charge of Roma affairs. Map the situation in the relevant Roma community (demographic, social, education, location). Select Roma representatives – representatives of individual families and create a Roma council. Prepare a long-term development program of the Roma community including goals, time schedule and project evaluation criteria. Prepare a program for the following year and allocate sufficient funds from the city's budget for solving Roma problems in the following year. Prepare financing applications for Roma community development projects and submit them to the individual departments and foundations.  
Source: Gjuričová (2003), page 375-376

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## 8. Appendices

**Table no. 1 – Presentation of Data According to Ethnicity and National Groups**

Standard classification of national statistics for presentation of data according to ethnic and national groups

Ethnic group	Level 2	National Group (example)
White	White British Irish Other whites All white groups	White ethnic group British Scottish Welsh Irish British Other All Not specified
Mixed ethnicity	White and black Caribbean White and black African White and Asian Other	All ethnic groups (including white) British Scottish Welsh Irish Other All Not specified
Asians or British Asians	Indian Pakistanis Bangladeshis Other Asians All Asian groups	
Blacks or black British	Caribbean Africans Other blacks All black groups	
Chinese or other ethnic groups	Chinese Other ethnic groups All Chinese or other groups	
All ethnic groups	Other ethnic groups	

Source: Office for National Statistics, UK, <http://www.ons.gov.uk/about-statistics/classifications/archived/ethnic-interim/presenting-data/index.html>

Table no. 2 – Estimate of Roma Population in Slovakia

Year	Size of Roma population	Author	Method
2000	360.000-365.000	Vaňo (2001), page 13	author's estimate
2000	368.554	Save the Children (2001), page 172	author's estimate based on registry of 1989 and Roma birth rate
2000	379.200	Vaňo (2001), page 13, tab.8	INFOSTAT-VDC, mimeo
2000	379.200	Vaňo (2004), page 27, tab.3,1	INFOSTAT-VDC, mimeo
2000	380.000	Filadelfiová and colleagues (2006), page 24	Vaňo (2001), page 13, tab.8
2000	420.000-500.000	Vašečka (2000)	Source not stated, probably Liégeois (1994), may be adjusted
~2000	420.000-500.000	WB (2002), page 101	Liégeois (1994), may be adjusted
~2000	420.000-500.000	WB-S.P.A.C.E-INEKO (2002), page 1	Source not stated, probably Liégeois (1994), or Liegeois and Gheorge (1995), may be adjusted
2000	480.000-520.000	Save the Children (2001), page 172	Liégeois (1994)
2001	89.920	ŠÚ SR (2002)	Census 2001
2001	420.000-500.000	WB (2005), page 60-61	Source not stated, probably Liégeois (1994), or Liegeois and Gheorge (1995), may be adjusted
2001	522.000	WB (2005), page 60	9.7% of Slovak population. Census 2001, wrong quotation, see Slovak Statistical Office (2002) above
~2001	480.000-520.000	UNDP (2002), page 25	Minority Rights Group, mimeo
2002	370.000-375.000	Vaňo and Haviarová (2002), page 480	author's estimate
2002	390.000	Vaňo (2004), page 27, tab.3,1	INFOSTAT-VDC, mimeo
~2003	320.000	Office of Slovak Government Plenipotentiary for Roma Communities (2008)	Atlas of Roma Communities (2004)
2004	~400.000	Vaňo and Mészáros (2004), page 15	author's estimate
~2004	480.000-520.000	OSI (2006), page 6, tab.1	Liegeois and Gheorge (1995)
2005	295.000	Vaňo and Haviarová (2002), page 479	probably Kalibová (1990)
2005	348.200	UNDP (2002), page 108 tab.B14	Courbage (1998)
2005	402.900	Vaňo (2004), page 29, tab.3,3	INFOSTAT-VDC, mimeo
2010	435.300	Vaňo (2004), page 29, tab.3,3	INFOSTAT-VDC, mimeo
2015	468.900	Vaňo (2004), page 29, tab.3,3	INFOSTAT-VDC, mimeo
2020	499.200	Vaňo (2004), page 29, tab.3,3	INFOSTAT-VDC, mimeo
2020	515.000	Vaňo and Haviarová (2002), page 479, tab.2	Vaňo (2001)
2025	524.000	Vaňo (2004), page 29, tab.3,3	INFOSTAT-VDC, mimeo
2050	35% of Slovak population	UNDP (2005), page 16	GeoHive and SEEL (2003)
2060	> 50% of Slovak population	WB (2005), page 61	The Economist (2001)
2060	> 50% of Slovak population	WB-S.P.A.C.E-INEKO (2002), page 1	The Economist (2001)

Source: authors.

**Frame no. 1 – Medium-term Strategy of Roma National Minority Development in Slovak Republic, Solidarity – Integration – Inclusion, 2008-2013 (abstract).**

The strategy targets basically all Roma: *“people living in Roma settlements at low social and cultural level and people living in municipalities and cities at average level with special focus on supporting their efforts to educate their children, find jobs, increase their standard of living and improving or renewing their professional qualifications.”* The strategy views the following areas as problematic: education, health, hygiene, health education and prevention, employment and other social issues such as housing and cross-sector areas including culture, forming of national identity, relationship with the majority population, gender issues and poverty. The strategy recommends building social businesses, involving long-term unemployed in activation activities and establishing community centers offering educational activities that would motivate the Roma to be pro-active and seek self-fulfillment.

To achieve the goals of the strategy it is important to have statistical data about the Roma national minority. *“Because defining who is and who is not Roma is very difficult for research purposes, it seems the best approach is to focus on ethnicity, creating conditions for statistically relevant and systemic collection of up-to-date data about the Roma national minority.”*

**Education**

The current education system is *“strongly monocultural and unaccommodating towards ethnic minorities and disadvantaged groups.”* The main problem of the system is that *“curriculum, which, except for very few cases, in content and formally ignores the specifics of the Roma culture, history and language.”* Teachers not always sufficiently react to the different social and cultural background of their students. Teachers are not sufficiently motivated in schools with large number of Roma students. Schools are often segregated and large numbers of Roma children are placed in special-needs schools. The number of students per class is generally too high. Very few Roma children attend pre-school, finish elementary education and even fewer continue on to high-school or universities.

The goal of the strategy is to increase the number of Roma children in kindergartens and pre-schools and lower the number of students per class. It is also necessary to limit two-shift operation of schools and respect local specifics and social and cultural conditions when drafting the new curriculum. The teacher assistant position for children from disadvantaged backgrounds should be stabilized and professionalized to play a role of education counselor. Older people should be allowed to finish their elementary school education. The system needs to increase subsidies for elementary school students from socially disadvantaged backgrounds at regular elementary schools. It is also necessary to increase the number of special-needs teachers in elementary schools *“to ensure adequate learning conditions for individually integrated students”* and introduce teacher assistants as a standard in classes with more than seven students from disadvantaged background in a class. It is vital to institutionally and financially support tutoring activities for underdeveloped Roma children (in cooperation with NGOs and community centers) including after-school classes. It is important to strictly monitor and comply with procedures for placement of student in special-needs schools and prepare independent socio-cultural tests to test school readiness of six to seven-year-olds. It is necessary to improve diagnostic procedures at special-needs schools and introduce regulate reassessment of students, introduce new teaching methods and increase the number of staff.

**Health**

The main problem is poor health and lifestyle, insufficient prevention, education and complicated access to healthcare.

The strategy should focus on improving general health and healthcare, health awareness, education and prevention. It should also aim at improving living conditions, hygiene, lower mortality rate and increase the age of first-time mothers. Other goals should include elimination of drug abuse and collection of accurate data about the general state of health.

**Employment**

The main problems include economic and social exclusion of the Roma, segregation and discrimination, high unemployment rate and low qualification (illiteracy) of *“young generations without education, qualification and any work ethic and skills.”* Other problems include de-motivation of children by their parents and communities – children *“receive no encouragement from their communities, they are actually taught that being socially disadvantaged is normal, which leads to younger generations copying the behavior of their community.”*

The goal of the strategy is to increase employment *“even by introducing social employment in social and municipal companies, founding municipal farms (agriculture),”* by building community centers *“offering complex services from creating jobs through education activities for children to education of adults.”* Involving long-term unemployed adults in activation activities should be a priority.

### **Housing**

The current weak points are housing segregation, low quality of housing and infrastructure, unresolved land ownership, lack of interest of local governments in building new apartments from fear of attracting more Roma and devastation of new apartments and the absence of definition of "social housing," high cost of housing and lack of interest in common areas in settlements and urban ghettos.

The strategy has the following goals: identifying settlements (based on distance, unresolved land ownership) and moving them to increase the chance of social integration, introducing compulsory minimum standard of settlement facilities, improving infrastructure, public facilities, building hygiene centers, continue building council houses for people in financial need, define social housing and "introduce the possibility of paying debts by providing work hours," and use social work to prevent non-payment.

### **Cross-themes**

Culture and media. Improve the image of the Roma in media, increase awareness and present their culture, history and Roma language.

Gender equality „archaic division of labor is very characteristic of Roma families. Women have very specific role in Roma society revolving around reproduction and care giving. Girls are prepared to play this role from very young age. In segregated communities women are the informal leaders of families and initiators of action. They decide about finances, select partners for their children and decide about their children's education. Experts point out the correlation between the position of women in communities and the level of education. After completing elementary school education Roma women often abandon any further education and quickly find a partner and become very young mothers. Because of their low education and qualification they join the unemployed, but their prospects of finding a job are even worse. Often they are not even interested in finding a job because they are uneducated and they consider their job to be taking care of their family. In several cases traditions come into play when husbands do not allow their wives to find a job. Women then depend on welfare benefits, which further complicates their job prospects. The current situation is also complicated by the fact that parents often decide for almost adult children. This way of life combined with high level of segregation (no possibility to observe other behavior) is decisive for maintaining archaic cultural patterns in communities, which further isolates them. Roma families even today set the rules and standards for appropriate behavior, monitor their observance and punish anyone that breaks those rules. This way of live erases the line separating private and public lives." Roma-oriented projects are often not implemented to benefit their community, but the implementing organization. That is why Roma women very often refuse to attend yet another re-qualification course, which is then presented to the public as lack of interest. The projects should be tailored to the needs of a specific community, not only to the needs of individuals and should take into consideration the community structure (age, level of education). Projects lack evaluation and their good results are not very often advertised. The strategy would like to initiate a research and seminar about the position of Roma women in their communities.

Poverty. The strategy's goal is to lower poverty of children by improving access of the Roma to the job market. Source: government (2008), abbreviated and edited by the authors.

**Table no. 3 – Estimate of demographic development of Roma population**

	2000-05	2006-10	2011-15	2016-20	2021-25	2026-30
Population	390.216	421.957	455.563	487.476	514.590	536.714
0-14	119.687	125.305	127.512	132.482	132.574	129.641
15-64	245.994	272.979	305.272	330.621	356.286	380.237
65+	24.535	23.674	22.778	24.374	25.730	26.836
6-15	91.017	84.970	81.640	85.680	89.780	92.080
<b>Comparison and sources</b>						
<b>Population</b>						
Vaño (2001): 2000	365.000	..	..	..	..	..
Save the Children (2001): 2000	368.554	..	..	..	..	..
Vaño and Haviarová (2002): 2002	375.000	..	..	..	..	..
Government (2004): 2003	320.000	..	..	..	..	..
Vaño (2004): 2010,2015,2020,2025	..	435.300	468.900	499.200	524.000	..
<b>Age 0 to 14</b>						
Vaño (2001): 2000	139.833	..	..	..	..	..
Vaño and Mészáros (2004): 2002	118.950	..	..	..	..	..
UNDP (2006): age <15, 2005 39%	<153.745	..	..	..	..	..
Vaño (2004): 2010,2015,2020,2025	..	124.225	129.704	134.334	131.401	..
<b>Age 15 to 64 (productive age)</b>						
Vaño (2001): 2000	>226.071	..	..	..	..	..
Vaño (2004): 2002	235.000	..	..	..	..	..
UNDP (2006): age 15-49, 2005 50,4%	>196.669	..	..	..	..	..
<b>Age 65 and more</b>						
Vaño (2001): 2000	<13.296	..	..	..	..	..
Vaño (2004): 2002, 5,9%	22.850	..	..	..	..	..
UNDP (2006): age 50+, 2005 10,2%	<<39.802	..	..	..	..	..
ÚVZ (2008): 2007, 12% of adults	<32.000	..	..	..	..	..
Vaño (2002): 2020, 5,0%	..	..	..	24.960	..	..
<b>Age 6 to 15 (compulsory school attendance)</b>						
Vaño (2004): 2010,2015,2020,2025	..	81.700	81.600	88.400	90.700	..

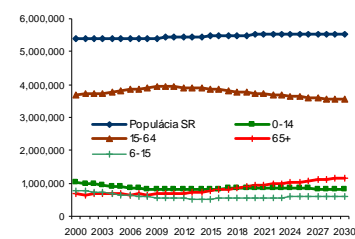
Note: The first section of the table lists average values of yearly estimates for the relevant period, the second part lists a selection of used sources and comparison data.

Source: authors

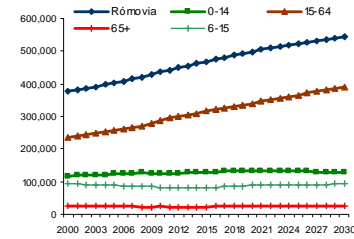


**Frame no. 3 – Estimate of Roma and non-Roma population development**

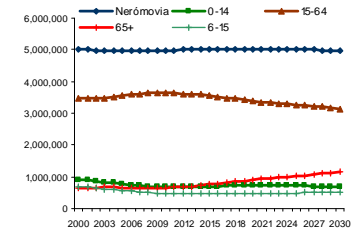
**1. Slovak population**



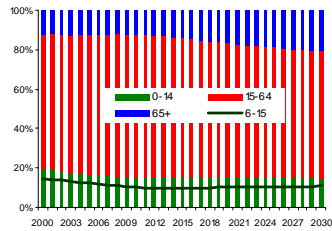
**2. Roma population**



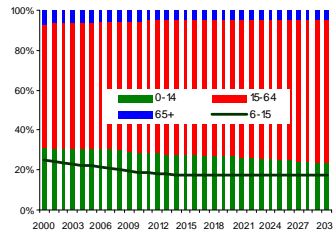
**3. Non-Roma population**



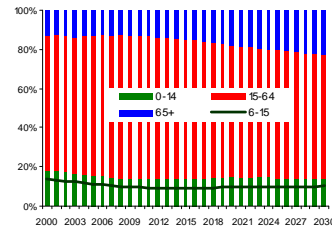
**4. Slovak population age structure**



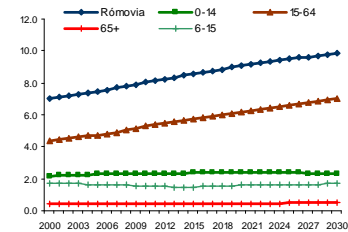
**5. Roma population age structure**



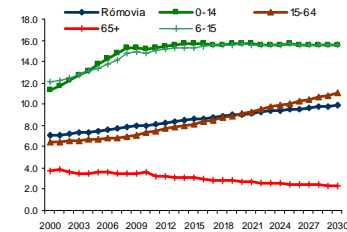
**6. Non-Roma population age structure**



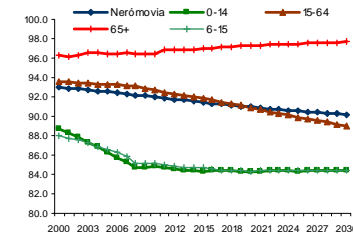
**7. Percentage of Roma in Slovak population**



**8. Percentage of Roma in relevant age group**



**9. Percentage of non-Roma in relevant age group**



Source: authors

#### **Frame no. 4 -- Job market – methodology notes of Slovak Statistical Office**

**Selective survey of workforce (VZPS)** - LFS continuously monitors workforce based on direct survey in selected households. The workforce survey is based on stratified selection of apartments covering the entire Slovak territory. The quarterly sample includes 10 250 apartments or 0.6% of all permanently used apartments in Slovakia. The goal of the survey is to reach all persons older than 15 living in the selected apartments regardless of whether they are permanent, temporary or unregistered residents, except for institutionalized persons. Each selected household stays in the sample for five consecutive periods. All findings are recalculated to up-to-date demographic data about Slovak population obtained from statistical surveys of demographic movements. The survey method is based on the recommendations of the International Labor Organization and Eurostat.

**Economically active population** are persons 15 years old and older working in the public sector, unemployed or members of the armed forces. Soldiers serving their mandatory military service were included in EAO in 1997.

**Economically inactive population** are persons unemployed during the survey week because of being in-between jobs, retired, taking care of household, attending re-qualification courses and for other reasons not seeking employment in past four weeks or seeking employment, but not able to start within next 14 days. This category also includes persons on parental leave and persons interested in working, but not looking for a job because they do not believe they will be able to find adequate employment (so called discouraged). The indicator also includes persons younger than 15.

**Persons employed according to VZPS** are persons 15 years old and older that in the surveyed (reference) period work at least one hour for wages or work for profit, including persons working abroad. Work in this category can include part-time work, permanent work, temporary work, occasional or seasonal work. The employed category also includes persons in household of self-employed that are not paid for their work, professional members of the armed forces and persons serving replacement military service. Employed persons on sick-leave, holiday, regular maternity leave, training, not working because of bad weather conditions, strike or transport problems in the relevant survey period are also included in this category, except for persons on extended unpaid leave and persons on parental leave.

**Persons unemployed according to VZPS** are persons 15 years old and older unemployed during the surveyed period actively looking for work in past four weeks and able to start work within two weeks. These persons may or may not be registered as unemployed with the unemployment office, department of social affairs and family. Persons not working that have found a job and will start within next three months (or until 2002 within one month) are not included in this category.

**Employment seekers** are persons wanting to work and looking for work included in employment seekers registry after submitting relevant job application at the unemployment office, department of social affairs and family in the district of their permanent residence. These persons are not employed by the private or public sectors or servicemen or regular PhD students, are not self-employed or working for pay in any EU member state or abroad. The maximum permitted number of paid work hours is 64 and their pay or remuneration for their work cannot exceed SKK 3.200 or EUR 106,22 EUR per month. Persons not registered as employment seekers or providers of professional consulting services and educational services and job market preparation, and persons not seeking employment are not included in this category. The employment seekers registry does not include persons undergoing qualification for a job, temporarily unable to work, recipients of maternity benefits, recipients of retirement benefits or persons excluded from the registry on personal request or because of working illegally, persons that became employed or did not cooperated with the unemployment office or recipients of a work permit in one of the EU countries or other country. The method used for this survey is specified by the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs in law no.5/2004, Coll. on employment services as amended.

**Registered unemployment rate** is based on agreement with the International Labor Organization calculated from the number of existing employment seekers capable of starting new employment immediately after receiving a job offer and the number of economically active persons registered during the previous year of the selective workforce survey.

**Unemployment benefits** are paid to employment seekers by the Social Security in accordance with law no.461/2003, Coll. on social security during six months from the date the person becomes entitled to receive unemployment benefits.

Source: Slovak Statistical office, <http://www.statistics.sk/pls/elisw/utlData.htmlBodyWin?uic=80>, 6.1.2009. Last update: 4.6.2008

Table no. 4 – Estimate of job market statistics for Roma according to Filadelfiová and colleagues (2006)

	Population	Active age	Active age/population %	Employed/active age %	Unemployed/active age %	Active age/no. of persons
	(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)=(2)*(1)
Men	614	15-59	57	10,5	72,0	350
Women	590	15-54	53	4,6	51,5	313
Population	1.204	..	..	..	..	663
	Employed	Unemployed	Employment rate	Unemployment rate	Participation rate	
	(6)=(3)*(5)	(7)=(4)*(5)	(6)/(5)	(7)/(6+7)	(6+7)/(5)	
Job market data under relevant conditions						
Men	37	252	10,5	87,3	82,5	
Women	14	161	4,6	91,8	56,1	
Population	51	413	7,7	89,0	70,0	
Job market conditions adjusted for the fact that only 18% of unemployed is actively seeking employment						
Population	51	74	7,7	59,2	18,9	

Source: Filadelfiová and colleagues (2006) and calculations by authors

Table no. 5 – Properties of registered unemployed according to county groups

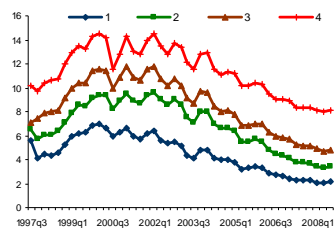
	Percentage of Roma population, %	Percentage of registered unemployed in county population, %			Percentage of uneducated persons in registered unemployed, %		
		3q97-4q99	1q00-4q04	1q05-3q08	3q97-4q99	1q00-4q04	1q05-3q08
Group 1	0,2	5,3	5,4	2,7	0,5	0,2	0,2
Group 2	1,8	7,2	8,4	4,5	1,1	0,7	1,2
Group 3	5,9	9,0	10,2	5,9	2,1	2,3	3,4
Group 4	14,5	11,8	12,9	9,2	7,0	7,2	10,7
	Population size, 2003	Percentage of persons with elementary education in registered unemployed, %			Percentage of uneducated and elementary-school educated, %		
		3q97-4q99	1q00-4q04	1q05-3q08	3q97-4q99	1q00-4q04	1q05-3q08
Group 1	1.461.840	22,4	20,3	19,5	22,8	20,5	19,7
Group 2	1.230.778	25,2	22,3	24,3	26,3	23,0	25,5
Group 3	1.451.086	32,7	29,7	32,4	34,8	31,9	35,8
Group 4	1.235.246	36,2	34,1	38,9	43,2	41,2	49,6
		Percentage of unemployed longer than 12 months, %			Percentage of unemployed longer than 24 months, %		
		3q97-4q99	1q00-4q04	1q05-3q08	3q97-4q99	1q00-4q04	1q05-3q08
Group 1		27,2	31,3	32,4	14,4	13,7	19,8
Group 2		34,1	41,2	44,6	18,9	20,8	30,6
Group 3		41,0	46,2	49,3	24,5	25,0	34,8
Group 4		46,3	51,4	58,8	27,7	29,5	43,7

Note: average values for counties for relevant group and period. 20 counties in group 1 – 3 and 19 counties in group 4.

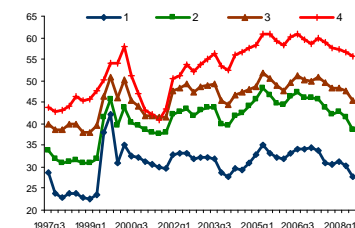
Source: ÚPSVAR and calculations of authors

**Frame no 5 – Registered unemployed, 3q1997-3q2008, 4 county groups**

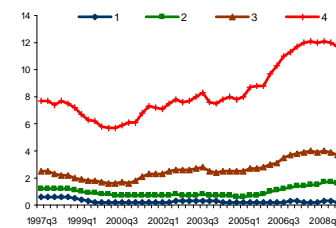
1. Number of unemployed in county population



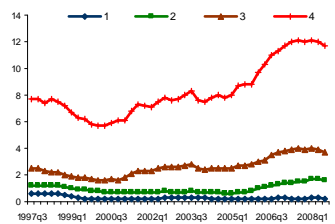
2. Number of long-term unemployed of all unemployed



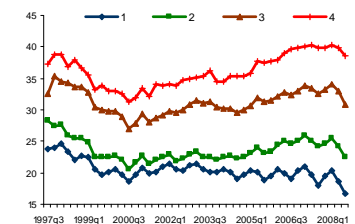
3. Number of long-term unemployed (>24 months) of all unemployed



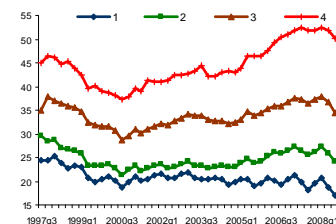
4. Number of uneducated unemployed of all unemployed



5. Number of elementary school educated unemployed of all unemployed



6. Number of uneducated and elementary school educated unemployed of all unemployed



Note. All 79 counties ordered according to the size of Roma population (data obtained from the mapping of Roma settlements) were divided into 4 equal groups with average percentage of Roma 0,2%, 1,8%, 5,9% and 14,5%. 1<sup>st</sup> group: Bratislava I to V, Považská Bystrica, Bytča, Námestovo, Turčianske Teplice, Tvrdošín, Žilina, Trenčín, Senec, Myjava, Pezinok, Trnava, Čadca, Partizánske, Banská Bystrica, Púchov. 2<sup>nd</sup> group: Košice III, Prievidza, Ilava, Hlohovec, Košice IV, Dolný Kubín, Ružomberok, Piešťany, Košice I, Martin, Nitra, Bánovce nad Bebravou, Kysucké Nové Mesto, Banská Štiavnica, Nové mesto nad Váhom, Zlaté Moravce, Topoľčany, Liptovský Mikuláš, Žarnovica, Detva. 3<sup>rd</sup> group: Skalica, Senica, Komárno, Dunajská Streda, Levice, Nové Zámky, Galanta, Šaľa, Žiar nad Hronom, Snina, Malacky, Brezno, Humenné, Krupina, Stropkov, Prešov, Zvolen, Sobrance, Košice II, Veľký Krtíš. 4<sup>th</sup> group: Bardejov, Medzilaborce, Lučenec, Poltár, Poprad, Svidník, Stará Ľubovňa, Michalovce, Trebišov, Sabinov, Rožňava, Levoča, Košice okolie, Vranov nad Topľou, Spišská Nová Ves, Gelnica, Rimavská Sobota, Kežmarok, Revúca.

Source: authors

**Table no. 6 – Estimate of number and structure of registered unemployed Roma and non-Roma**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Number of registered unemployed									
Non-Roma	431.212	431.777	416.937	351.523	317.535	256.500	217.786	177.152	157.639
Roma	85.396	88.656	92.654	90.033	86.318	82.417	77.003	71.859	69.413
Number of registered unemployed without education									
Non-Roma	4.620	5.664	6.639	6.507	5.719	5.149	5.687	5.607	5.088
Roma	7.871	9.422	10.390	10.228	9.604	9.414	10.613	10.796	10.388
Number of registered unemployed with elementary school education									
Non-Roma	105.610	107.896	106.754	91.082	80.782	67.526	59.791	49.357	42.508
Roma	35.692	38.281	40.791	39.592	37.744	37.437	36.248	34.243	32.798
Number of registered unemployed without education or with elementary school education									
Non-Roma	110.230	113.560	113.393	97.589	86.500	72.675	65.478	54.964	47.596
Roma	43.563	47.703	51.182	49.821	47.348	46.850	46.861	45.039	43.186
Number of long-term (more than 12 months) unemployed									
Non-Roma	184.075	170.399	185.270	157.522	137.305	120.230	101.298	81.857	67.949
Roma	54.865	42.088	56.467	58.361	57.917	57.050	52.956	47.864	44.717
Number of long-term (more than 24 months) unemployed									
Non-Roma	85.040	84.621	88.636	89.183	83.235	76.760	70.951	59.018	49.378
Roma	35.252	25.688	25.688	37.407	41.065	42.472	41.321	37.586	34.720
Percentage of unemployed without education of all unemployed (in group), %									
Non-Roma	1,1	1,3	1,6	1,9	1,8	2,0	2,6	3,2	3,2
Roma	9,2	10,6	11,2	11,4	11,1	11,4	13,8	15,0	15,0
Percentage of unemployed with elementary school education of all unemployed (in group), %									
Non-Roma	24,5	25,0	25,6	25,9	25,4	26,3	27,5	27,9	27,0
Roma	41,8	43,2	44,0	44,0	43,7	45,4	47,1	47,7	47,3
Percentage of unemployed without education or with elementary school education of all unemployed (in group), %									
Non-Roma	25,6	26,3	27,2	27,8	27,2	28,3	30,1	31,0	30,2
Roma	51,0	53,8	55,2	55,3	54,9	56,8	60,9	62,7	62,2
Percentage of long-term unemployed (more than 12 months) of all unemployed (in group), %									
Non-Roma	42,7	39,5	44,4	44,8	43,2	46,9	46,5	46,2	43,1
Roma	64,2	47,5	60,9	64,8	67,1	69,2	68,8	66,6	64,4
Percentage of long-term unemployed (more than 24 months) of all unemployed (in group), %									
Non-Roma	19,7	19,6	21,3	25,4	26,2	29,9	32,6	33,3	31,3
Roma	41,3	29,0	27,7	41,5	47,6	51,5	53,7	52,3	50,0

Source: ÚPSVAR and calculations of authors.

**Table no. 7 – Estimates of job market statistics based on registered numbers of unemployed**

	2000-05	2006-10	2011-15	2016-20	2021-25	2026-30
Slovakia						
Persons in productive age	3.745,8	3.900,5	3.901,4	3.786,9	3.669,1	3.635,0
Employed	2.144,0	2.374,3	2.577,8	2.640,4	2.598,1	2.592,1
abroad	94,0	158,1	151,1	134,7	129,9	129,6
Unemployed	473,9	289,7	252,4	235,9	219,8	201,1
Participation rate	69,9	68,3	72,5	76,0	76,8	76,8
Employment rate	57,2	60,9	66,1	69,7	70,8	71,3
Unemployment rate	18,1	10,9	8,9	8,2	7,8	7,2
Roma						
Persons in productive age	246,0	273,0	305,3	330,6	356,3	380,2
Employed	25,8	45,4	54,8	59,3	63,9	68,2
abroad	1,1	3,0	3,2	3,0	3,2	3,4
Unemployed	92,5	85,6	91,8	99,4	107,1	114,3
Participation rate	48,1	48,0	48,0	48,0	48,0	48,0
Employment rate	10,5	16,6	17,9	17,9	17,9	17,9
Unemployment rate	78,2	65,4	62,6	62,6	62,6	62,6
Non-Roma						
Persons in productive age	3.499,8	3.627,6	3.596,1	3.456,3	3.312,8	3.254,8
Employed	2.118,2	2.328,9	2.523,0	2.581,1	2.534,1	2.523,8
abroad	92,9	155,1	147,9	131,6	126,7	126,2
Unemployed	381,4	204,1	160,6	136,5	112,7	86,8
Participation rate	71,4	69,8	74,6	78,6	79,9	80,2
Employment rate	60,5	64,2	70,2	74,7	76,5	77,5
Unemployment rate	15,3	8,1	6,0	5,0	4,3	3,3

Average yearly numbers: number of persons in thousands, rates in percents. Source: calculations by authors. Final participation rate of Roma 48% is a compromise between employment and unemployment rates. The lower the participation rate, the lower

employment rate and higher unemployment rate.

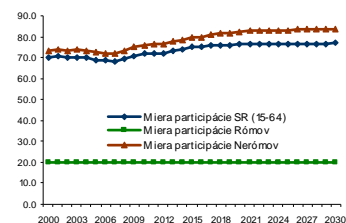
**Table no. 8 – Estimates of job market statistics based on selective survey**

	2000-05	2006-10	2011-15	2016-20	2021-25	2026-30
<b>Slovakia</b>						
Persons in productive age	3.745,8	3.900,5	3.901,4	3.786,9	3.669,1	3.635,0
Employed	2.144,0	2.374,3	2.577,8	2.640,4	2.598,1	2.592,1
abroad	94,0	158,1	151,1	134,7	129,9	129,6
Unemployed	473,9	289,7	252,4	235,9	219,8	201,1
Participation rate	69,9	68,3	72,5	76,0	76,8	76,8
Employment rate	57,2	60,9	66,1	69,7	70,8	71,3
Unemployment rate	18,1	10,9	8,9	8,2	7,8	7,2
<b>Roma</b>						
Persons in productive age	246,0	273,0	305,3	330,6	356,3	380,2
Employed	22,4	29,8	34,4	37,3	40,2	42,9
abroad	1,1	3,0	3,2	3,0	3,2	3,4
Unemployed	26,8	24,8	26,6	28,8	31,1	33,1
Participation rate	20,0	20,0	20,0	20,0	20,0	20,0
Employment rate	9,1	10,9	11,3	11,3	11,3	11,3
Unemployment rate	54,5	45,5	43,6	43,6	43,6	43,6
<b>Non-Roma</b>						
Persons in productive age	3.499,8	3.627,6	3.596,1	3.456,3	3.312,8	3.254,8
Employed	2.121,6	2.344,6	2.543,3	2.603,1	2.557,9	2.549,1
abroad	92,9	155,1	147,9	131,6	126,7	126,2
Unemployed	447,1	264,9	225,7	207,1	188,8	168,0
Participation rate	73,4	71,9	77,0	81,3	82,9	83,5
Employment rate	60,6	64,6	70,7	75,3	77,2	78,3
Unemployment rate	17,4	10,2	8,2	7,4	6,9	6,2

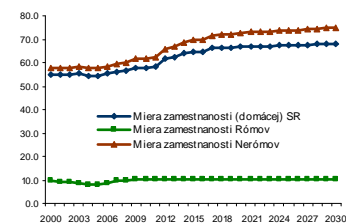
Average yearly numbers: numbers of persons in thousands, rates in percents. Source: calculations of authors

**Frame no. 6 – Estimate of job market statistics based on selective survey**

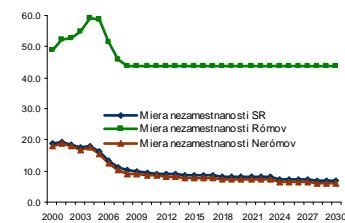
1. Participation rate, %



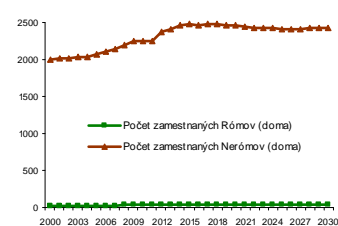
2. Employment rate, %



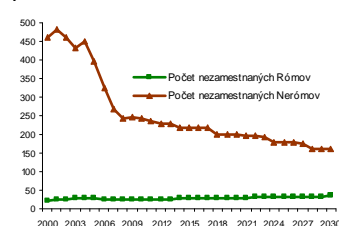
3. Unemployment rate, %



4. Number of employed persons, '000



5. Number of unemployed persons, '000



Note: employment is calculated only from employment in Slovakia, not abroad, to ensure consistency of calculation of GDP per employee in chapter 4.

Source: authors

**Table no. 9 – Volume of benefits paid out, in millions of EUR**

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Aid in financial need	242,8	254,8	278,6	278,9	226,6
Welfare benefits in financial need	209,2	234,3	256,6	256,5	207,5
- for employment seekers	174,9	183,2	201,3	189,1	151,5
Food assistance	0,0	10,3	12,6	11,8	10,7
School supplies assistance	0,0	2,3	3,0	4,0	2,2
Scholarships	0,0	2,5	3,9	3,4	2,8
Family assistance	445,0	523,7	536,8	548,2	557,2
Child benefits	226,6	288,0	280,9	274,0	267,7
Parental benefits	192,2	216,8	234,3	244,7	250,9
Benefits for seriously disabled	136,0	167,8	174,9	179,8	178,9
<b>Total</b>	<b>823,8</b>	<b>946,2</b>	<b>990,4</b>	<b>1.006,9</b>	<b>962,8</b>

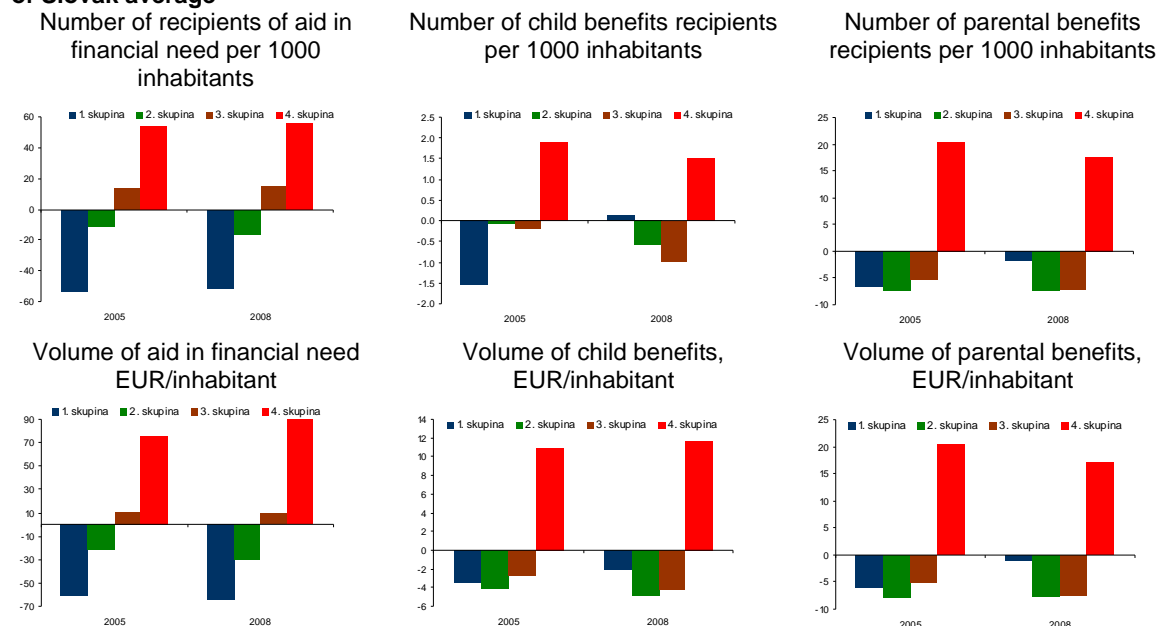
Source: ÚPSVAR.

**Table no. 10 – Number of benefits recipients and volume of paid out welfare benefits by county**

	Number of recipients of aid in financial need per 1000 inhabitants		Number of child benefits recipients per 1000 inhabitants		Number of parental benefits recipients per 1000 inhabitants	
	2005	2008	2005	2008	2005	2008
Group 1	15,8	15,8	137,8	132,8	23,0	24,6
Group 2	30,5	26,8	139,9	131,9	22,8	23,1
Group 3	38,9	36,9	139,7	131,3	23,4	23,2
Group 4	52,9	50,0	142,7	134,6	29,7	29,4
Slovakia	34,3	32,1	140,0	132,6	24,7	25,0
Variation	358,2	300,1	55,1	69,0	22,4	19,9
	Volume of aid in financial need EUR/inhabitant		Volume of child benefits, EUR/inhabitant		Volume of parental benefits, EUR/inhabitant	
	2005	2008	2005	2008	2005	2008
Group 1	1,5	1,2	4,3	4,1	3,2	3,9
Group 2	3,0	2,4	4,3	4,0	3,1	3,6
Group 3	4,3	3,7	4,4	4,0	3,2	3,6
Group 4	6,7	6,5	5,0	4,7	4,1	4,6
Slovakia	3,8	3,4	4,5	4,2	3,4	3,9
Variation	6,8	6,5	0,38	0,37	0,42	0,47

Note: counties ordered according to size of Roma population from lowest (group 1) to highest (group 4). See frame no. 3.  
Source: ÚPSVAR, Slovak government (2004), calculations of authors.

**Frame no. 7 – Number of recipients and volume of benefits paid out according to county groups in % of Slovak average**



Note: average values per group are recalculated to percentage of Slovak average.  
Source: ÚPSVAR, Slovak government (2004), calculations of authors.

**Table no. 11 – Estimate of number of welfare recipients and volume of paid out benefits**

	Average monthly number of benefits recipients					
	Welfare benefits		Child benefits		Parental benefits	
	2005	2008	2005	2008	2005	2008
Majority, Persons	141.797	132.065	693,848	658,006	115.049	117.777
Slovakia, Persons	175.746	165.713	755.905	715.600	131.163	134.050
Roma, Persons	33.949	33.648	62,057	57,594	16.114	16.273
Slovakia = 100%	19,3	20,3	8,2	8,0	12,3	12,1
Majority population, %	2,8	2,7	13,9	13,2	2,3	2,4
Roma population, %	8,4	8,0	15,4	13,7	4,0	3,9
	Volume of benefits per year, in millions of EUR					
	Welfare benefits		Child benefits		Parental benefits	
	2005	2008	2005	2008	2005	2008
Majority - total	175,0	146,5	259,6	240,8	189,9	220,5
Slovakia - total	234,3	207,5	288,0	267,7	216,5	250,9
Roma population - total	59,3	60,9	28,4	26,9	26,6	30,4
Slovakia = 100%	25,3	29,4	9,9	10,1	12,3	12,1
Majority population, €/person	35,1	29,4	52,1	48,3	38,1	44,2
Roma population, €/person	62,8	69,6	70,5	63,8	66,0	72,1
Majority 0-14, €/person	..	..	336,4	340,6	246,1	311,9
Roma 0-14, €/person	..	..	231,5	211,5	216,9	238,9

Source: estimates of authors

**Table no. 12 – Number of special-needs schools**

	Number of schools			Number of special integrated classes		
	Kindergarten	Special elementary school	Vocational school	Kindergarten	Special elementary school	Vocational school
Bratislava	2	9	5	1	7	0
Trnava	2	26	9	0	6	0
Trenčiansky	0	13	7	2	2	0
Nitra	3	20	5	1	14	0
Žilina	2	15	8	0	13	0
Banská Bystrica	1	25	13	0	37	0
Prešov	3	26	14	1	80	0



Košice	2	27	15	2	66	0
Slovakia	15	161	76	7	225	0

Note: number of special integrated classes in regular schools, vocational schools and practical schools.  
Source: Institute of Information and Education System Prognosis (2008b).

**Table no. 13 – Number of children in special-needs schools and estimates**

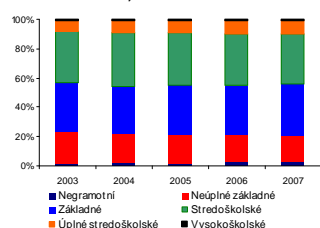
	According to nationality		Estimate 1 – same ethnic %		Estimate 2 – different ethnic %	
	Roma	Non-Roma	Roma	Non-Roma	Roma	Non-Roma
Bratislava	0	932	131	801	131	801
Trnava	44	1.483	215	1.312	215	1.312
Trenčiansky	0	914	129	785	129	785
Nitra	16	1.646	234	1.428	234	1.428
Žilina	0	1.344	189	1.155	189	1.155
Banská Bystrica	25	2.833	403	2.455	1.358	1.500
Prešov	587	5.398	843	5.142	4.485	1.500
Košice	338	4.850	731	4.457	3.688	1.500
Slovakia	1.010	19.400	2.875	17.535	10.429	9.981

Note: estimate 1 is based on the number of school-age children in 2007: 86.000 Roma and 522.000 Non-Roma, and same percentage of mentally disabled children in both ethnicities, 3,4%. Estimate 2: because of negligible difference in population size in regions (lowest in Trnava, 556.000 people in 2007, highest in Prešov, 801.000 people) we assume the number of mentally disabled non-Roma according to estimate 1 should not exceed 1.500 people (true for 5 regions). The percentage of mentally disabled children in Roma ethnic then amounts to 12% and 2% in non-Roma.

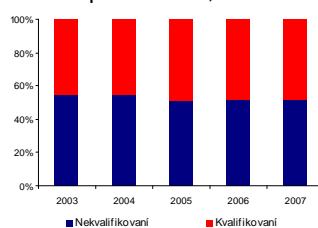
Source: Institute of Information and Education System Prognosis (2008b) and ŠO SR, estimates of authors.

**Frame no. 8 – Education and work qualification of the sentenced**

1. Education, %



2. Work qualification, %



Source: Yearbook of Prison and Court Guard Corps 2007, table 9 and 10, calculation of authors.

**Table no. 14 – Job market development model**

	2000-05	2006-10	2011-15	2016-20	2021-25	2026-30
<b>Slovakia</b>						
Persons in productive age	3.745,8	3.900,5	3.901,4	3.786,9	3.669,1	3.635,0
Employed	2.270,8	2.525,8	2.761,6	2.852,2	2.833,0	2.847,0
abroad	94,0	158,1	151,1	134,7	129,9	129,6
Unemployed	478,4	284,8	244,9	226,9	209,1	187,6
Participation rate	73,4	72,1	77,1	81,3	82,9	83,5
Employment rate	60,6	64,8	70,8	75,3	77,2	78,3
Unemployment rate	17,4	10,1	8,1	7,4	6,9	6,2
<b>Roma</b>						
Persons in productive age	246,0	273,0	305,3	330,6	356,3	380,2
Employed	149,1	181,2	218,2	249,1	275,1	297,8
abroad	1,1	3,0	3,2	3,0	3,2	3,4
Unemployed	31,4	19,9	19,2	19,8	20,3	19,6
<b>Non-Roma</b>						
Persons in productive age	3.499,8	3.627,6	3.596,1	3.456,3	3.312,8	3.254,8
Employed	2.121,6	2.344,6	2.543,3	2.603,1	2.557,9	2.549,1
abroad	92,9	155,1	147,9	131,6	126,7	126,2
Unemployed	447,1	264,9	225,7	207,1	188,8	168,0
<b>Difference from basic scenario (Slovakia)</b>						
Employed (000 persons)	126,8	151,4	183,8	211,8	234,9	254,9
Unemployed (000 persons)	4,6	-5,0	-7,5	-9,0	-10,8	-13,5
Participation rate (ppb)	3,5	3,8	4,5	5,4	6,1	6,6
Employment rate (ppb)	3,4	3,9	4,7	5,6	6,4	7,0
Unemployment rate (ppb)	-0,7	-0,7	-0,8	-0,8	-0,9	-1,0

Average yearly numbers. Number of persons in thousands, rates in percents. The model assumes that the behavior of Roma and non-Roma on job market is the same. That is why the participation rate, employment rate and unemployment rate of the Roma and non-Roma is the same. See table no. 8 for parameters of the basic scenario. PPB means number of percentage points.  
Source: calculations of authors.

**Table no. 15 – Model of welfare benefits development**

	2000-05	2006-10	2011-15	2016-20	2021-25	2026-30
Basic scenario						
Volume of benefits - total, EURm	318,4	258,7	251,4	254,6	270,2	291,7
Roma	79,7	73,7	87,7	106,1	125,7	145,3
Non-Roma	238,7	185,0	163,7	148,5	144,5	146,4
Volume of benefits - total, %GDP	0,85	0,39	0,25	0,19	0,15	0,12
Model						
Volume of benefits - total, EURm	273,4	212,9	191,8	178,0	176,8	181,9
Volume of benefits - total, %GDP	0,73	0,32	0,19	0,13	0,10	0,08
Difference from basic scenario						
Volume of benefits - total, EURm	45,1	45,8	59,5	76,7	93,4	109,8
Volume of benefits - total, ppb	0,12	0,07	0,06	0,06	0,05	0,05

Average yearly numbers. Model is based on volume of welfare benefits paid out between 2000 and 2008 (especially after the 2004 reform), job market development and inflation growth (benefits are increased by 90% of inflation rate every year). PPB means number of percentage points.  
Source: calculations of authors.

**Table no. 16 – Model of social and health insurance development**

	2000-05	2006-10	2011-15	2016-20	2021-25	2026-30
Social security						
Basic scenario, EURm	10,9	22,4	30,6	36,7	38,4	37,7
Model scenario, EURm	4,7	8,4	9,8	10,2	9,9	9,2
Difference, EURm	6,2	14,0	20,8	26,5	28,6	28,5
Difference, %GDP	0,02	0,02	0,02	0,02	0,02	0,01
Health insurance						
Basic scenario, EURm	538,5	1.007,8	1.319,9	1.666,2	2.101,0	2.659,2
Model scenario, EURm	517,2	956,9	1.235,1	1.542,4	1.931,8	2.428,0
Difference, EURm	21,3	50,9	84,8	123,8	169,2	231,2
Difference, %GDP	0,05	0,07	0,08	0,09	0,09	0,10

Average yearly numbers. Social security model is based on average of two children under 6 per one unemployed recipient. The insurance payment increase is based on inflation rate and GDP growth. The health insurance model is based on the number of non-working persons. The insurance payment increase is calculated as 2x maximum (GDP, CPI).  
Source: calculations of authors.

**Table no. 17 – Model of special-needs schools costs development**

	2000-05	2006-10	2011-15	2016-20	2021-25	2026-30
Basic scenario, EURm						
Cost of special school Roma	24,2	36,7	44,5	56,6	69,5	81,4
Model						
Cost of special school Roma	3,8	5,8	7,0	8,9	10,9	12,8
Increased regular school costs	5,9	9,2	11,2	14,2	17,5	20,5
Difference from basic scenario						
Net savings, EURm	14,5	21,7	26,3	33,5	41,1	48,1
Net savings, % GDP	0,04	0,03	0,03	0,02	0,02	0,02

Average yearly numbers. Basic scenario is based on cost of regular and special-needs schools in 2000-2007 and demographic development of school-age children. The model is based on the assumption of same percentage of Roma and non-Roma school-age children in special-needs schools. Net savings then amount to the difference between saved special-needs school costs and increased costs in regular elementary schools.  
Source: calculations of authors.

**Table no. 18 – Model of indirect costs development – production of GDP**

	2000-05	2006-10	2011-15	2016-20	2021-25	2026-30
Basic scenario, EURm						
GDP	39.491	67.492	100.006	138.200	184.936	240.756
of which GDP produced by the Roma	407	820	1.287	1.894	2.779	3.865
in % of total GDP	1,0	1,2	1,3	1,4	1,5	1,6
Model, EURm						
GDP	41.948	72.124	107.590	149.915	202.585	265.713
of which GDP produced by the Roma	2.864	5.452	8.871	13.609	20.428	28.822
in % of total GDP	6,8	7,6	8,2	9,1	10,1	10,8
Difference from basic scenario						
Increase of GDP, EURm	2.457	4.632	7.584	11.715	17.649	24.957
Increase of GDP, % GDP	6,2	6,9	7,6	8,5	9,5	10,4

Average yearly numbers. Source: calculations of authors.

**Table no. 19 – Summary of assumed savings**

	2000-05	2006-10	2011-15	2016-20	2021-25	2026-30
Direct costs, EURm	102,7	156,0	223,3	301,8	383,6	479,3
Welfare benefits	45,1	45,8	59,5	76,7	93,4	109,8
Social security	6,2	14,0	20,8	26,5	28,6	28,5
Education system	14,5	21,7	26,3	33,5	41,1	48,1
Health insurance	21,3	50,9	84,8	123,8	169,2	231,2
Crime	12,7	19,1	25,6	32,9	40,5	48,1
Administrative costs savings						
2,9%	2,9	4,4	6,3	8,5	10,8	13,5
Indirect costs, EURm	2.457,0	4.632,2	7.583,8	11.714,8	17.649,1	24.956,9
- total, EURm	2.559,7	4.788,2	7.807,1	12.016,6	18.032,7	25.436,2
- total, % GDP	6,4	7,1	7,8	8,7	9,7	10,6

Average yearly numbers. Source: calculations of authors.

**Table no. 20 – Current savings, 2009**

	Discount 8%	Discount 10%	Discount 12%
Savings in 31 years (2000-2030)			
EURm	168.667	150.138	137.234
%GDP (2009)	230	205	187
Savings in 22 years (2009-2030)			
EURm	129.087	106.904	89.978
%GDP (2009)	176	146	123

Source: calculations of authors.