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**Roma Minorities in the  
Czech and Slovak Republics:  
Development of a social survey methodology**



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## Preface

The present report presents a study of how policy relevant data on the Roma in the Czech and Slovak republics may be collected. Fafo has analysed the requirements and the relevance of data by taking major stakeholders' needs for information into consideration. The report outlines these needs and discusses methodological challenges and outlines a methodology for a Roma living condition survey.

We are grateful to the embassies of the Slovak and the Czech Republics in Oslo for providing relevant information and accommodating assistance to the Fafo-missions to Slovakia and the Czech Republic. Contributions from representatives from the European Commissions and governmental representatives in the two countries, in addition to the Norwegian embassies, have been of major importance. Representatives from Roma NGOs have given us first-hand information about the challenges among Roma. Our special thanks go to colleagues at Institute of Public Affairs in Bratislava and School of Social Studies in Brno for sharing their academic experience on quantitative Roma studies.

The report was commissioned by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In spite of all contributions and support, Fafo takes the sole responsibility for the content of this report. If we are able to establish support for the project, the methodology we propose constitutes a basis for a broad consultation with major stakeholders and local partners.

Jon Hanssen-Bauer  
Managing Director  
Fafo Institute of Applied International Studies

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## Executive Summary

The aim of this project is to assess the feasibility of, and develop a methodology for, surveying the living conditions of a specific, marginalized minority population: the Roma minorities in the Czech and Slovak Republics. There is currently a critical lack of basic information in statistical form about the actual living conditions of the Roma population.

In order to facilitate targeted minority policies, better and more accurate information on the actual living conditions of the Roma in the respective countries is required. Such information will also be useful as the basis for an improved dialogue between the governments and representatives of the Roma, NGOs, and others concerned with issues related to Roma and their living conditions.

In this project, Fafo has consulted with authorities, Roma representatives, international organizations, and NGO's in order to assess the need for statistical data and the relevance of various living conditions aspects in a potential survey. We have reviewed experiences with previous quantitative projects, and explored the willingness of the Roma population to participate in such an undertaking. We have also made preliminary assessments of various technical and methodological challenges of importance for sampling and designing the content of the living conditions survey questionnaires.

The primary concern has been to identify the core methodological challenges and ways overcome them. The position of the Roma as a marginalized and stigmatised group gives rise to particular challenges, such as delimiting the population to be studied, establishing robust and feasible sampling procedures, and ensuring participation in the project by the Roma population.

The project has been carried out through a combination of field and desk studies. The missions to the field were valuable due to the highly political nature of the survey environment. Two trips have been carried out, to the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic. During our stays respectively, we met with Roma representatives, representatives of local governments and the EU, researchers, NGOs, IGOs, UN agencies, social workers, and representatives from the Norwegian embassies in Vienna and Prague. The main goals of these meetings were: 1) to identify the needs for policy-relevant information about the living conditions of Roma minorities in the two countries, 2) to learn more about the actual living conditions for Roma, and 3) to learn more about methodological challenges and their potential solutions from local researchers with research experience on Roma issues.

This report we sums up the results of our inquiries. Most importantly, the relevant stakeholders stated that there is a need for reliable and undisputed statistical indicators that are comparable to those in use internationally. The stakeholders told us that such indicators are needed as input to design social policies, and as empirical evidence that could be used for advocacy and dialogue between the various interested parties and the representatives of the population itself. The idea of a survey obtained support among all stakeholders in Slovakia, while government representatives in the Czech Republic were less

supportive than the country's academics and NGO representatives in this country.

Although some officials, researchers, and activists who contested the feasibility of conducting a survey among the Roma minorities, claiming that it would most likely be met with rejection from Roma representatives. Experience from a UNDP/ILO survey and national census indicates a more nuanced view. That experience demonstrates that the manner in which the minority responds depends on the purpose of the project, the degree of involvement of the minority in its preparation and implementation, and the use and control of the completed data. The design of a full-scale project therefore goes beyond mere questions of statistical methods, and should be done in line with this total organisational framework.

Second, we were given very helpful input regarding priority issues to include in surveys, based on the local situations in the two countries. We have used these inputs to define the content of the survey such that it is ready to be presented for verification and further refinement by a stakeholder conference and the authorities. This report, describes the suggested content in full detail. Given the disparate situations in the two countries, tailored questionnaires and instruments will be required.

With regards to the most urgent methodological challenges indicated above, we suggest ways of organising and implementing a potential survey, and have identified an innovative strategy for sampling based on recent developments in sampling theory, which we believe will enable us to provide statistically-valid indicators for the minority.

Fourth, we have identified potential local partners with the sufficient capacity to implement the project locally, with technical support from Fafo.

In this report, therefore, Fafo presents how a living conditions survey project covering the Roma populations in Slovakia and the Czech Republic could be undertaken. Such a project will require two parallel undertakings, with two local organisations and specific instruments. Running the two in parallel and in a cooperative way, has definite advantages. A combined project will reduce overall cost, provide better training opportunities, and provide comparative data between the two countries. To start in Slovakia, either with the intention of replicating the operation in the Czech Republic later, or as a stand-alone survey, is an alternative possibility. Finally, Fafo suggests the establishment of two survey centers, one in Bratislava (Institute for Public Affairs) and the other in Brno (University of Brno). A first estimation of the budget requirements is 700 000 euro for a one-country project, and 550 000 for the second country in a combined project.

## Relevance of a Living Conditions Survey

The main social problems of Roma minorities in the Slovak and the Czech Republic tend to be well known by policy makers and others. Nevertheless, there is not enough relevant quantitative information available on their living conditions for policymakers. Social problems were often officially denied in the past. Present governments in Central and Eastern Europe have little data available on this minority population and are simultaneously under pressure from the European Union to target this minority in particular.

Social and economic difficulties are not only encountered by Roma communities in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Targeting Roma as a special group for social benefits might increase the risk of social conflicts between Roma and the majority. Knowledge is required whether the Roma communities systematically face different social problems than other underprivileged groups, due to discrimination. An important question is whether their problems are primarily economical and therefore can be solved by social policy, or whether the Roma community is excluded from arenas where power and money are distributed. Representatives from Roma NGOs often blame their communities' high unemployment rate on discrimination. On the other hand, certain politicians from the majority accuse Roma of unwillingness to seek employment based on the marginal difference between low-paid jobs and social benefits for families with many children.. These mechanisms need to be examined to develop policies for the Roma minority that are recognized as legitimate by the majority.

The Roma population is not a homogenous group. While some is dependent on social benefits, others belong to the upper middle-class. We need a better understanding of how mechanisms of exclusion affect some groups of Roma and not others. Thus we require more accurate information of the diversity of challenges among the Roma. How we can approach social problems among the Roma, need to be examined.

Some might argue that Roma rather will benefit from money to development-projects than from empiric data, because everybody knows the Roma population are suffering. However we were told that decision makers needed more specific and accurate information about the living conditions to establish a political strategy. After joining the European Union, documentation of the social and economic conditions among the Roma population is required. Access to European social programs need to be based on empirical data rather than myths.

We also know there are lots of development projects among the Roma minority. In Slovakia there are 928 ongoing projects<sup>1</sup>, which in average implies 1 ½ project for each settlement. These are often small-scale project with NGOs from Western Europe. Many of these projects have been successful, but there is no overall analysis specifying which groups that are targeted and why these

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<sup>1</sup> According to Iveta Radicova, at the Social Policy and Analysis Centre (S.P.A.C.E)

groups are selected. We do not know if these projects are established on the basis of local needs, or developed by the donors themselves. Better analysis will enable local government and the Roma communities to influence on what kind of projects that is required in dialog with the donors. The Delegation of the European Commission in Slovakia stressed the lack of evaluation of all the projects that are going on among the Roma minority. The impact of present development projects on individuals, households, and the Roma communities might be relevant for in a survey. This will enable us to understand which projects that actually are giving the Roma population better standards of living. Social surveys give empirical basis for a public debates on the effect of governmental policy towards targeted groups.

Iveta Radicova at the Social Policy and Analysis Centre (S.P.A.C.E) has done a study for the World Bank using qualitative methods. She rejected the possibility of doing good quantitative research among the Roma population. She emphasised the necessity of qualitative methods in order to understand the culture of the Roma population. Fafo also believes qualitative methods are the best tool of understanding the mentality, choices and action among the Roma. However quantitative studies will together with qualitative studies provide best reliable information about living conditions for decision makers.

Institute of Public Affairs - IVO in Slovakia has done a quantitative living condition survey for UNDP in 2002, and Socioclub in the Czech Republic also have experience from such studies among the Roma. They both emphasised the methodological challenges when sampling and low trust to researchers among the Roma minority in general. However representatives from both institutions said these challenges could be met by using known methods used in other quantitative Roma studies.

The question is why we need to make particular surveys of minority populations such as the Roma? The reasons for this are both related to the position of marginalized minorities in multiethnic societies, and to the way in which survey methods are generally used. Minority populations tend to be underrepresented in standard, nationwide survey research. The reason for this being twofold:

- 1) Many ethnic minorities are so small that even if they are proportionately represented in the studied sample, their absolute number is so small that no further computation on the information they provide is possible;
- 2) Marginalized ethnic minorities for several reasons tend to fall out of nationwide studies. One reason for this is that members of such groups tend to be poorly registered in the vital registers that most often form the basis for drawing samples for surveys. Also, the minority status is rarely included in such registers.

The idea of a survey gained support among the major stakeholders. The majority focused on the importance of empirical studies based on quantitative methods. They emphasised both the need of living conditions surveys as an instrument for social politics, and more quantitative data on the human right situation. The idea of a survey obtained support among all stakeholders in Slovakia, while governmental representatives in the Czech Republics were less supportive than academics and NGO representatives.

Agnes Horvátová and Marcela Ondekova at the governmental Plenipotentiary Office in Bratislava did support a living condition survey among the Roma. They thought such data was highly needed for government in order to develop an appropriate understanding of the challenges among the Roma population.

The Roma-representatives Karel Holomek, chairman of the Society of Roma in Moravia and Miroslav Zima, who heads “Drom” – a Roma NGO described any kind of statistical investigation as very delicate in the Czech Republic. It should be stressed that these data will be available and of use to the minority population itself in, for instance, building claims for political attention. They focused particular on health as an issues where more information is needed.

Jan Jařab representing the governmental Commissioner of the Government of the Czech Republic for Human Rights, was partly in favour of a study. He emphasised the need of data on education and employment was needed. He raised some methodological doubts because identifying people on basis of ethnicity are not allowed in the Czech Republic

The IOM-office in Prague stressed the importance of surveys about living condition among the Roma minority. They focus particular on education and income. IOM in Slovakia thought data on health, sanitary conditions and education were important. They demanded data on HIV among the Roma minority, which we know very little about. Health issues were also in focus by Ivana Škodová at the Delegation of the European Commission in Slovakia.

The Helsinki committee in Slovakia and the Czech Republic stressed the importance of data on human rights. This was also emphasised by the Roma-representatives Zima and Homomek in Brno.

Institute for Public Affairs (IVO) is the only research institute in Slovakia, which has made a quantitative study on Roma. Michal Vašečka strongly supported the idea of a new study to focus on issues that had not been covered in the UNDP-study. He stressed the area nutrition, housing/sanitary conditions and health that had not been well enough covered in the UNDP survey.

Petr Visek and Gabrielle Rösnerova from Socioklub in the Czech Republic also spoke about the possibility of doing quantitative surveys on Roma based on their own experience. Libuse Nesvadbova has done quantitative studies among the Roma focusing on health. All these people emphasised the importance of more quantitative data to better understand the social situation among the Roma.

## Survey Topics

In the following we summarize the issues that were raised and the observations made during our visits to the Czech and the Slovak Republics of relevance for the design of the survey content.

Our focus has been to identify areas of concern to various agencies, organizations and spokespersons of the Roma population, as well as topics over which there are debates ongoing. Our purpose has not been to check who is describing the situation correctly, but to identify areas where there is debate and the kind of empirical data needed by the debating parties to enable them to improve their arguments and eventually enhance policies and services delivered to the Roma populations.

In this chapter we will report on the descriptions made to give insight into the various debates, but without any contention by Fafo at this point, of course, that these reports are empirically accurate or valid. We will use the descriptions to establish the need for statistics and the questions to which the statistics should provide answers.

Major topics of concern to Roma spokesmen, politicians and NGO activists alike were related to education and employment, health and nutrition, housing, infrastructure, and interaction with non-Roma and discrimination. These issues will be raised and discussed in further detail below.

There seems to be major differences with regard to social conditions of Roma minorities in the two countries. First, there is a difference in population. The proportion of Roma living in the Slovak Republic (9 – 10% of the total population) is higher than the one in the Czech Republic (2,5%).

Second, another difference exists with respect to rural and urban, and segregated and integrated population patterns. Whereas the Roma in the Czech Republic tend to live in urban areas, partly integrated, the vast majority of Roma in the Slovak Republic live in rural areas and as much as 25% of the Roma population live in segregated settlements with no or poorly developed infrastructure.

According to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) in Bratislava, the stipulated number of Roma settlements in Slovakia is 600, the majority (approximately 400) of these being located in the eastern part of the country. The number of settlements has apparently increased dramatically after the collapse of the communist regime (Ina Zoon, 2001). In 1988, one year before the collapse, the number of settlements was 278, whereas in 2000 the number had increased to 616 (ibid.). Ina Zoon argues that the growth of these segregated settlements has been “exacerbated by local officials who have used them to concentrate indigent Romani tenants evicted from public apartments in areas with mixed populations” (Zoon 2001:5).

Third, during our interviews, Roma spokespersons emphasised that there are different political strategies towards the Roma in the two countries. By way of

an example, they were concerned about Roma migration to and from the Czech Republic<sup>2</sup>. According to them, differences in political strategies are to some extent reflected in the two countries' social policies, and are also linked to the question of Roma migration.

### **Social security, housing policies and infrastructure**

During our stay in the Czech Republic in December 2002 we met with Jan Cerny, a social worker representing the Czech NGO "People in Need". "People in Need" has concentrated the majority of their work in northern Bohemia, an area where, at the end of the Second World War, three million Germans were expelled and replaced by Roma. Hardly any of the Roma who lived in the Czech Republic when the war broke out survived, which implies that the majority of the Roma who were settled in northern Bohemia at the end of the war were mainly from Slovakia. According to Mr Cerny, the Roma who came to the Czech Republic in the 1950s and 60s today live in normal conditions and are integrated into the Czech lower middle class.

However, the Roma who came to the country ten – twenty years later, in the 70s and 80s, tend to be worse off. Yet, Mr Cerny argued, every Rom has suffered from the changes that have taken place in the Czech labour market in general and in the industry in particular. Adding to the burden of unemployment has, in recent years, been the privatisation of the former social housing. The housing issue is now in the hands of local governments and during the last few years most of the social accommodation has been privatised, i.e. sold to private persons. This implies that former social housing opportunities today are available for a commercial value with prices far above the level affordable to a person or a family dependent of welfare payments. In this process of rapid change, the Roma minorities lose out and are being exploited due to lack of awareness of laws and legislation in general and their rights in particular.

Jan Cerny gave us a brief introduction to the Czech social security system: The total amount of social benefit paid every month is made up of two components:

- 1) Social minimum,
- 2) Rent and other services (electricity, etc.).

A family of five (two adults and three children) will, in addition to have their rent covered, receive approximately 11,000 Čk per month as a "social minimum" and an additional amount of 3,800 Čk to cover other services.

With regard to social support for housing expenses (rent) the system works as follows: In order to have the expenses for the monthly rent refunded, you need to show the receipt and prove that the rent is paid. In other words, if you don't pay your rent you will not have this amount refunded for the month in question.

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<sup>2</sup> Roman Křištof, Director of the Council for Roma Community Affairs in the Czech Republic, meeting in Prague, December 2002.

This implies that in this case, in order to finally pay the rent, you will have to spend money from the “social minimum” intended to cover expenses for food, clothes, etc. According to Mr Cerny, in reality this will in not work because there is never any surplus money to take from. In other words: If the rent has not been paid once, this is likely to spark off a vicious circle of debts. If this continues and rent is not paid for three months, the tenant might be dismissed.

In this case, a person or a family is faced with, roughly, three alternatives:

- 1) Move to family members or friends. However, because most people have very small flats this will normally be a too crowded alternative.
- 2) Migration/asylum seeking – which to Slovak Roma might include the option of returning to a settlement in Slovakia.
- 3) Accept some kind of low-level housing (“asylum housing” or family camp).

If a family is without a place to stay, the children tend to be taken away from them and sent to a children’s home. According to Jan Cerny, it costs 270,000 Čk to keep a child in such institutions for one year, whereas the alternative of paying social benefit/child allowance for the child adds up to 30,000 Čk for a year. To illustrate the amounts in question, Mr Cerny told us that the amount of money needed to finance a team of social workers working with 50 families for a year is 200,000 Čk. He concluded by saying: “*This* is what we need to make our politicians realise!” On the positive side, Mr Cerny described the Czech social care system as changing from being purely mechanical into a system that is more individually oriented.

Whereas in the Slovak Republic some of the non-Roma we talked to described the child allowance as easy money with no obligations, hence motivating Roma couples to have more children, in the Czech Republic the child benefit has some obligations attached – the most important being that parents are obliged to send children of schooling age to school.

If a child does not attend school, the parents are fined. However, as in the case of the rent not being paid, there is hardly ever any room for such additional expenses. According to Czech legislation, primary and secondary school is compulsory and most children actually report to school. With respect to schooling, the “special schools” represent an issue that is common to both countries. Jan Cerny described these schools as one of the really big problems in the Czech Republic, only outdone by problems related to housing.

According to Ina Zoon, approximately 25% of the Roma population in Slovakia have an income of less than \$2 a day. Only 5% of the general population are in the same situation (Zoon 2001). Regarding the right to adequate housing incorporated in the country’s constitution, Zoon points out that when speaking of Slovakia’s poorest people in general and its Roma population in particular, this right is often impossible to exercise. As previously mentioned, it is suggested that 25% or close to 120,000 Roma live in segregated settlements – predominantly in Eastern Slovakia. In many of these settlements there are neither access to electricity nor running water. Ina Zoon refers to the Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family that reports that 96% of the houses in Roma settlements have “power supplies”, however, Zoon argues, the quality of these supplies varies significantly. Zoon also makes a point of the fact that

approximately one of every six Roma settlement does not have public lightening of any kind. One consequence of this being that these settlements are less secure and that it is difficult for, for example, emergency personnel to enter after dark (Zoon 2001).

Another problem in terms of infrastructure in these settlements concerns the access to roads and public transportation: “Many Romany settlements are located on the edge of villages or even two or three kilometres from them. Almost no Roma own private vehicles and few can afford to pay for taxis. They are extremely dependent on public transportation, relying on it to get to job opportunities, schools, health facilities, and government offices. Discriminatory practices, however, often impede Romani access to public transportation”:

Some bus drivers have not permitted Roma to ride their vehicles because of their race. “In rural Slovakia, the bus stops in several standard points: in front of the church, in front of the city hall, at the pub, and near big crossroads,” the coordinator of the Minoritas Project in Svinia told the author of this report. “In Svinia, the Romani settlement is relatively close to the village and on one of the main roads, so the problem is not the termination of the bus links or the absence of the bus station. The problem is the bus drivers’ attitudes. When they see Roma waiting at a bus stop, they simply do not stop to pick them up.” The project coordinator further reported that in 1999 he informed the director of the local bus company, Slovenska Autobusova Doprova, Presov, about the bus drivers’ refusal to pick up Romani passengers. The director dismissed him by saying that “probably the drivers do not stop because the buses are full” and that transport regulations allow drivers to refuse to take dirty passengers (Zoon 2001:86-87).

Other weaknesses related to infrastructure include access to the services of garbage collection and to safe drinking water. Ina Zoon refers to the Ministry of Environment that has provided indications of the percentage of Roma settlements without organised garbage collection as varying regionally from 5 – 60%. According to the Ministry’s data, the worst situations seem to be in the Kosice region, where 57 out of the 97 Roma settlements lack garbage collection services. However, Zoon argues that field research shows that garbage collection services are inadequate in many Roma areas where the governments contend there are no such problems: “While the Ministry of Environment’s database provides information on which locations should receive coverage, it does not provide any details on the frequency or quality of the collections in the settlements, where, according to the database, garbage collection is organized” (Zoon 2001:87). On the issue of safe drinking water, Ina Zoon characterises the water situation in some Roma settlements as bleak:

The pattern seems to be that the farther a Romani dwelling is from a village or city, the less likely it is to have running water. According to official statistics, 48 Romani settlements do not have access to running water at all, and the people in these settlements draw water from nearby streams, from water delivered in trucks by the local authorities, or from public water mains located in adjacent or nearby villages. Wells are in use in 199 Romani settlements; but the quality of the well water can range from potable to contaminated. The remaining settlements have running water, although the data does not specify whether all of the houses are connected to water mains. Even if a settlement does have running water, some of the households may not have access to it and others may rely upon pumps and wells (Zoon 2001:88).

The Roma settlement of Letanovce is one of the worst cases referred to by Zoon. Here more than 500 Roma share 30 – 40 housing units and the only well was ruined in 1993. For several years the community had no safe potable water. During this period twelve children were hospitalised for consuming contaminated water.

## **Education**

A survey on Roma living conditions should map parents' attitudes to education in general and girls' versus boys' education in particular. The intention of this question is double: On the one hand it will indicate parents' attitudes to education of their offspring in general and hence guide policymakers in developing strategies for enrolling more Roma children in schools and reduce the number of early drop-outs. On the other hand, such questions will indicate the priority given to girls versus boys (daughters versus sons) with respect to education.

A particular topic to be covered in the survey concerns the special schools – schools for mentally retarded children – where an unusual high percentage of Roma children are enrolled. According to UNDP, Roma children commonly outnumber non-Roma children in these schools and, “in most cases there are no good health-related grounds for this” (UNDP 2002:55).

Furthermore, UNDP reports that in the Slovak Republic there are 380 special schools for mentally and physically handicapped children attended by roughly 31,000 students. A majority of Roma students from segregated villages in the Slovak Republic attend such schools. According to data from the Czech government, “approximately three-fourths of Roma children attend special schools for children with light mental defects, and more than 50 percent of all pupils attending special schools are Roma children” (UNDP 2002: 55 – 56). While 63% of Roma children of primary school age attended special schools, this was the case for only 4% of the total population.

## **Economic adaptation**

The issue of economic adaptations and livelihood strategies is a central one to the study of living standards. The Roma seems to a large extent to be excluded from the ordinary or formal labour market, and therefore forced to maintain various types of marginal economic strategies. The survey should aim at mapping economic adaptations or strategies and also at assessing the outcomes, i.e. the resulting welfare levels.

In the questionnaire designed for the UNDP/ILO survey (UNDP 2002) the following response categories were available to the question “In which type of work/activity did you earn money last 6 months” (UNDP 2002:95):

- industry
- agriculture
- construction
- trading

- repairing cars and consumer goods
- hotels
- restaurants
- transport
- stocking
- communications
- insurance
- banking
- real estate
- rental and services for business
- public administration and defence
- education
- schools
- health care and social care
- other public and social services
- gathering herbs
- gathered and sold scrap and paper
- encouraged the children to work
- begging
- nothing – “I did not earn any money last month”.

The survey results show that both in the Czech and Slovak Republics the majority (35,8% and 54,7%, respectively) did not earn any money last month. In the Czech Republic construction represented the second largest area of income generation (15,3%) and agriculture the third largest source (11%). Among the informal activities gathering and selling scrap and paper represented the majority (5,1%), with begging as a second alternative (3,1%) and gathering of herbs a third (1,5%). According to the UNDP/ILO survey, the Roma in the Slovak Republic depend only on irregular work and/or activities in the informal sector: the majority (8,5%) gathering and selling scrap and paper, gathering herbs came out as the second most important way of economic adaptation (4,3%), and begging as a third (1,3%).

These findings lend support to our impression during our visits to the Czech and Slovak Republics. There seems to be little reason to doubt that the majority of Roma in both countries are dependent on welfare payments. Additional ways of adaptation, not mentioned in the UNDP/ILO survey, consist of asylum seeking and, for those who are financially well off, of lending money to persons who are worse off economically. This service was often offered against an interest as high as 100%. These moneylenders are known as “loan sharks”.

According to social workers in the Slovak Republic, the Roma family pattern can also be understood as a form of economic adaptation. When visiting the

well-known Roma settlement Lunik IX in Košice, in the eastern part of the Slovak Republic, we were told that so to speak all the Roma living there are dependent on welfare payments. Further, it was argued, the welfare system does not reward marriages, in the sense that it is not financially beneficial for a recipient of welfare payment to get married. Hence, Roma couples rarely marry. The mothers in this way appear as single-mothers in the welfare system, and the men as single. In total, a family in this way receives more support than it would do if the couple was married.

We were also told that girls in Lunik IX tend to give birth at an increasingly younger age – apparently motivated by the welfare system where they receive 300 Sk extra for each child they give birth to. Young girls who give birth normally live with their mothers and rarely put the name of the child's father in the birth certificate. This applies especially to girls who are below the “legal” age of 15. We were told that prostitution is an important source of extra income, and girls from Lunik IX prostitute themselves at the railway station in Košice from the age of thirteen – fourteen.

It should also be mentioned that some of the inhabitants in Lunik IX are offered public utility work financed by the government. The unemployment office selects long-term unemployed people for these jobs. If a person does not accept the job offered, he or she loses the right to receive social security.

Information obtained in the Czech Republic indicates that, in certain parts of the country, prostitution and drug abuse are increasing among the Roma. According to the IOM, drug abuse is most common among Roma youth in eastern Moravia, near Ostrava. Hard narcotics, like heroine, tend mainly to be used by Vlach Roma – a group of Roma who according to our sources make up approximately 15% of the Roma in the Czech Republic, and the majority of them in eastern Moravia.

Other drugs used by Roma youth are “pervitin” – also called “pernik” – a liquid form of amphetamine, and a new sort of ecstasy in liquid form being smuggled to the Czech Republic from Poland. Among the poorest of the youth it is more common to inhale glue. Drug addiction, especially addiction to the hard and expensive drugs, often leads to illegal activities and prostitution. The expenses of hard drug abuse explain some of the recruitment of both Roma girls and boys into prostitution, especially in the northern areas of the Czech Republic bordering Germany.

In the words of Jan Cerny, Roma in the Czech Republic today live in a “culture of poverty” – a culture where traditional norms and values have ceased to be of importance. According to Jan Jařab, Commissioner of the Government of the Czech Republic for Human Rights, this state of cultural poverty is caused by “the juggernaut of modernisation”, and this is the main reason why traditional and rigid rules of conduct have weakened and allowed for drug abuse and prostitution – the latter traditionally unknown in Roma societies. Mr Jařab went on to stress the danger of seeing more social anomaly and less restrictions coming into place with the breakdown of important cultural taboos as, for instance, the taboo of prostitution. Jan Cerny described the area where he works, in and near Ustí nad Labem, and the remaining parts of the main road to Germany (B55), as areas dominated by trafficking, prostitution and drugs.

Awareness of and attitudes to these issues should be included in the survey questionnaires. For obvious reasons, these are activities that one cannot expect to be honestly reported in an interview. However, key informants – as for instance social workers – will be in a position to give information on a general basis.

One of key implementing partners in this living conditions survey will be Professor Tomáš Sirovátka at the University of Brno. Professor Sirovátka's main field of research is labour market exclusion and social policy. Hence, he will be especially invited to contribute to the development on questions relating to employment. It should also be mentioned that the Faculty where Professor Sirovátka works is in a process of strengthening its competence on Roma issues, especially with respect to social work/exclusion with the intention of developing a deeper understanding of the mechanisms at place in Roma families with respect to such matters.

## **Migration**

Sedentary behaviour was introduced by coercive methods during the Communist period, and by most accounts, the Roma in the Czech and Slovak Republics have remained almost totally sedentary. Still, as demonstrated by recent waves of Roma asylum-seekers, it is a possibility that previous patterns of migration may have been resumed by some groups of Roma. It is also possible that there are incidents of unregistered migration, both internally and internationally. Therefore, a study of the Roma population and their living conditions should aim at shedding light on patterns of mobility and migration.

Mobility stands out as an especially interesting topic to include in the survey in the light of the enlargement of the European Union. Roma migration has become an issue of great concern not only to policy makers in the Czech and Slovak Republics, but to an increasing extent also to politicians in the European Union Member States. The EU has not resolved the conflict between its requirement for the free movement of labour on the one hand and its desire to prevent unwanted movement of other categories of migrants from outside the EU on the other. The latter are subject to increasingly strict control, but as a result of the enlargement, many of the previously controlled groups will obtain the right to move wherever they desire within the area of the EU (Guy, 2001:117).

The issue of Roma migration was stressed as an important area of research by several of the key persons we met with during our visits to the Slovak and Czech Republics. The two countries have somewhat different positions with regards to Roma migration. The Czech Republic is a receiving, transit and sending country at the same time, while the Slovak Republic is predominantly a transit and sending country. In both countries the growing concern translates into increased demand for empirical understanding of the phenomena.

We were told by IOM in the Slovak Republic that over the last years, the authorities have become interested in the topic of Slovak Roma seeking asylum in Western Europe. They realise that Slovak citizens seeking asylum abroad

represent a problem that has to be solved by the Slovak authorities. Studies that can help the authorities and the OIM to design adequate policies based on an understanding of both the patterns and the causes are needed.

The issue of migration is equally given high priority at policy level in the Czech Republic. Roman Křištof, the director of the Council for Roma Community Affairs, emphasised to us that Roma migration to and from the Czech Republic is an area of concern for the Czech authorities, and it is an area where more knowledge is needed with respect to motivations for migration and the channels through which migration is organised.

Most probably Roma migration is explained by a mixture of pull and push factors which has changed over time with changes in the regimes under which they have been living as well as changes in the destination countries. It has been argued that the “historic lesson of mass migrations in the past is that emigration is primarily a statement about the countries from which the migrants leave” (Guy, 2001:122).

The Roma population has been characterized as being “economically the weakest amongst the populations of Central and Eastern Europe” and the motives for migration have been a mixture of economic motives and search for asylum for fear of prosecution. Economic motives may be explained by the processes and mechanisms creating marginalisation and poverty, even if the most poor are not necessarily those who move (Guy 2001). In the mid and late 1990s, Roma families who left the Czech Republic to seek asylum in the United Kingdom named fear of an insecure future for their children, fear for their own safety, and loss in faith in institutions in their home country, as their main reasons for leaving the Czech Republic (Trojanová 1999, in Guy 2001).

This corresponds to the findings of an IOM-survey in 2001 (carried out by Gabal Analysis and Consulting, 2000). The survey was conducted among Czech asylum seekers of Roma origin returning the Czech Republic from EU-countries (Finland, Belgium and the Netherlands). The results indicate that currently, the major reasons for Roma migration from the Czech Republic are linked to high and long-term unemployment, poor housing conditions, fear for own safety and for the future of children, and rising costs of living. The migration from the Czech Republic is increasingly motivated by poor living and housing conditions, as opposed to the situation five years ago when most Roma migrated due to fear of racism<sup>3</sup>.

Two years later, the government invited the Ministry of Interior to do a study in the three territories of the Czech Republic from where most Roma have migrated. The preliminary findings of this study confirm the study by the IOM in that it indicates that poor living conditions is the main reason why Roma leave the Czech Republic and seek asylum elsewhere<sup>4</sup>. During the summer of 2002, the Czech government asked the Council for Roma Community Affairs

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<sup>3</sup> Interview with programme Coordinator Rostislave Křivánková at the IOM-office in Prague.

<sup>4</sup> Interview with Rostislave Křivánková.

to develop an action plan to stop Roma migration. However, this work has been delayed.

Who are the movers? Studies of migration indicate that it is not the poor segments of the Roma populations who are leaving Eastern Europe to migrate internationally, as the costs and risks involved are high (Harris 1995:190, Barany 2002:247). This view is supported by politicians and Gypsy activists. “The majority of Roma migrants are relatively well-to-do, middle-class Gypsies who can afford the substantial costs of travel to Western Europe and North America” (Barany 2002:247). According to Karel Holomek who is a highly respected Czech Gypsy leader, “the tragedy is that those most vulnerable and living in the worst conditions are not able to apply for a visa due to their financial position and the fact that they are ill-prepared to take such a giant step. Unfortunately these are the Roma who need asylum the most” (Cited by Barany, 2002:248).

Gypsy migration from the former Czechoslovakia shows few signs of tapering off, although destinations have changed. Barany refers to a documentary aired by the Czech tabloid-style TV station NOVA on 4 August 1997 describing “the good life” in Canada:

“Within days the Czech national airline sold all economy-class tickets to Canada through October. Hundreds of Czech Gypsies – who, as Czech citizens, did not need visas – took the trip to apply for political asylum in Montreal, Toronto and elsewhere. By 21 August all of Toronto’s 39 family shelters were full owing to the new arrivals. Two months later, Canada reintroduced visa requirements for Czech citizens” (Barany 2002:245).

Migration for the purpose of asylum seeking can be seen as a form of economic adaptation. Information we were given while in Slovakia indicates that updated information on various western countries’ asylum policies and expected processing time for asylum applications were widely known among the Roma. Romani asylum seekers in Western Europe and North America are often intimately familiar with immigration procedures because they are helped by Gypsy publications, travel agencies, and NGOs. The March 1999 issue of a Budapest-based Romani magazine published an article entitled ‘Step by Step: From Asylum Application to Canadian Citizenship’ to guide the prospective refugee through the maize of Canadian immigration bureaucracy and to provide practical advice, such as how to obtain welfare payments” (Barany 2002:248).

During our visit to the Slovak Republic, we were told that Finland at the time was considered the most beneficial country in which to apply for asylum – the main reasons being their long processing time for applications combined with a substantial daily allowance offered asylum seekers while waiting for their application to be processed. Regarding the position of Norway in this respect, we were told that the shortened processing time of so-called obviously groundless applications had decreased Norway’s popularity as country of destination.

The economic aspects of migration also appeared when we visited the nursery school (pre-school) in the community called Lunik IX in Kosiče. The school is attended by approximately 60% of the children (aged five) of the community in which the vast majority of the inhabitants are of Roma heritage. The parents have to pay a fee to cover expenses for their children’s lunch in the nursery

school, and the head of the school told that this fee is likely to explain why 40% of the children do not attend. Most of the children attending the school belong to families who have been abroad as asylum seekers. During their stays abroad, these parents have realised the value of education, and often they have managed to save on the welfare payments given while waiting for their application to be processed.

Some migrants have received welfare payments both in the country of destination and in their country of residence, and have substantially improved their economic situation. We were told that some used the acquired wealth to issue loans with good profit to others who are economically worse off. The returned asylum seekers tend to tell others that they received a lot of money without doing anything. They also boast about their know-how with regard to how to seek asylum in various countries.

### **Consumption**

During our visits to the two countries, we were recommended to include in the questionnaire questions addressing consumption. Data on consumption is often solicited with a view to construct poverty lines, and to measure and monitor poverty. Consumption data is more reliable than income measures. However, living conditions surveys will often not enable us to collect very broad consumption data because the complexities involved tend to make such surveys very time consuming and costly. Therefore, the survey should try to identify consumption items of particular interest either because they are particularly needed or because they can serve as proxies for levels of consumption and poverty. We were told that consumption data of interest included clothes and also where Roma buy clothes for their children. There was also interest in access to financial services and attitudes to the use of informal loans (“loan sharks”).

### **Health and nutrition**

Health is considered as one of the major areas of concern with regards to the Roma population. Health is seen as both a determinant of the overall socio-economic situation of Roma, and a result of the marginal socio-economic situation of these populations.

The IOM in Bratislava has argued for instances that the main factors determining Slovak Roma’s health are their “unfavourable socio-economic situation and related issues of inadequate housing and infrastructure” (IOM 2000:53). They further stress that the health care situation is particularly alarming in Roma settlements:

“Since 1989, the number of persons suffering from various diseases of the upper respiratory tract has increased significantly and tuberculosis has begun to plague some Roma settlements again. Due to the aforementioned factors, the danger of epidemic outbreaks has become imminent. The most typical diseases disseminated in Roma settlements are various skin and venereal diseases; also, the high occurrence of physical injuries must not be forgotten. Roma children suffer from contagious and parasitic diseases that no longer occur among the majority population. Currently, there is an imminent danger of meningitis

outbreak. Due to a socially handicapped environment, there is high occurrence of various degrees of mental retardation” (IOM 2000:54).

Child nutrition, particularly stunting, is described as an issue of concern in the poorest Roma settlements: “Researchers observed evidence of stunting among some children. Some teachers reported that Roma children do not participate in school lunches because their parents are unable to pay” (The World Bank, Foundation S.P.A.C.E., Ineko, The Open Society Foundation, 2002:ix).

On the basis of the recent survey among Roma carried out by UNDP and ILO in five CEE countries, the UNDP particularly stresses the necessity of further in-depth studies on the health aspects of development opportunities for Roma (UNDP 2002:4). Others have emphasised a particular need for further studies on health in Slovak Republic where there is “a paucity of information available” and the information that does exist is outdated for various reasons (Zoon 2001:3).

“Although general information about the health of the Roma is more readily available in Slovakia than in many other European countries, it is nevertheless scarce and outdated, with much of it published before 1989. After the fall of the communist regime, doctors who once carried out studies on Romani health seemed to have become intimidated by the debates over minority health surveys and gave up further research. Much of what little information is available has been gathered by general practitioners and NGOs in a non-systematic manner, and it focuses on contagious diseases. Most non-communicable diseases have not been studied” (Zoon 2001:50).

Available data shows that the health of the Roma is significantly worse than that of the country’s majority Slovak population. The life expectancies of Roma men and women are 13 and 17 years shorter, respectively, than that of Slovak men and women (Zoon 2001). The need for more quantitative information on the health conditions of Roma was less emphasised during our visits to the Czech Republic, migration and housing policies were considered being of more urgent concern.

Among the questions that our informants recommended to include in a living conditions questionnaire are:

- attitudes to the public health system;
- knowledge and use of contraception;
- tuberculosis;
- vaccination of children;
- awareness of protection against HIV/AIDS.

Based on previous experience from research on Roma issues, most recently the UNDP/ILO survey (2002), Professor Petr Mareš and Professor Tomáš Sirovátka at the University of Brno stressed that what Roma understand by terms such as “good health” and “disease” is not entirely clear and represents a challenge to the questionnaire.

## **Interaction with non-Roma**

We were advised to address the issue of interaction with non-Roma. We were told that this was expected not only to provide information on actual interaction patterns, but also shed light on attitudes towards non-Roma and potential discrimination.

Questions could for instance be phrased:

- “Would you let your daughter/son marry a non-Roma?”
- “Would you prefer to see a Roma or a non-Roma medical doctor?”, etc.

## Survey Challenges

One of the core aims of this study was to identify and describe the methodological challenges involved in surveying living conditions among the Roma populations in the two countries concerned, and to find ways and means to overcome those challenges.

A particular topic of concern has been the question of the willingness of the Roma population to participate and to report their identity as Roma. The feasibility of a survey among Roma has been contested on the grounds that the venture will be rejected by the Roma representatives, as well as on more technical grounds related to difficulties inherent in identifying the target population. It has also been questioned whether respondents can be mobilised to answer accurately. These challenges raise concern over the reliability of the survey results.

Another challenge of more purely technical nature related to sampling strategies, i.e. to the ways through which we can ensure that the data and indicators produced is representative for the broader populations. This is partly related to the first issue, as the problem arises from lack of identification of the survey population.

Finally, there is a set of questions related to the forms of social organisation of the Roma populations that need to be answered before planning of the survey can start. In our view, we managed to identify ways to manage all these three classes of challenges, and this will be further presented below.

### Willingness to report Roma identity

In Central and Eastern Europe ethnic identities are often mixed and ambiguous. For this reason, it is impossible to draw a clear boundary between ethnic groups in an “objective” manner. During censuses in Central Europe, Roma minority members have for several reasons been reluctant to disclose their Roma identity to the enumerators.

A regional survey recently carried out by UNDP and ILO in five Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries (Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania and the Slovak Republic)<sup>5</sup> points out some of the factors that influence the willingness to report minority identities. One such factor is the desire to avoid the “ghetto stigma”, especially in countries where the word “Roma” has become synonymous with poverty, marginalization, and exclusion. A second factor is caused by fears of “anti-Roma discrimination in the labour market, and in education and health systems” (UNDP 2002:23).

Adding to the difficulties in producing a relatively correct number of Roma minority members, is the fact that, “in social surveys, Roma populations (especially when Roma communities are relatively small and living among

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<sup>5</sup> *Avoiding the Dependency Trap*, A Regional Human Development Report, UNDP, Bratislava 2002.

other minority populations) tend to identify themselves as affiliated with local ethnic or religious majorities” (UNDP 2002: 23). This fact has been reported to explain, for instance, the relatively high number of ethnic Hungarians and low number of Roma in southern Slovakia.

The last census (2001) carried out in the Slovak Republic reported 89,920 residents of Roma ethnic identity, which implies 1,7% of the total population. However, other sources – as for example the London-based Minority Rights Group NGO (UNDP 2002) – estimate the Roma population to be close to 500,000 individuals, i.e. 9 – 10% of the total Slovak population. The latest official data from the Czech Republic is based on the 2001 census and indicates that there are 11,718 Roma in the country, whereas the actual number by different experts is estimated to be between 160,000 and 300,000 (Liégeois 1994). The Minority Rights Group has estimated the number to 275,000, i.e. 2,5% of the total Czech population (UNDP 2002).

The research teams carrying out the UNDP/ILO survey mentioned above followed “the philosophy of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (developed in the Explanatory Report to the Convention, Council of Europe 1995b) which combines subjective self-identification with culturally-based objective criteria” (UNDP 2002:86). However, in Hungary the researchers decided to conduct full interviews only with respondents who identified themselves as Roma.

In order to identify self-affiliation at an early stage in the interview, this was one of the first issues to be addressed in the survey questionnaire: “- does the respondent identify himself/herself as being Roma?”. The respondents who responded negatively to this question were asked to which ethnic affiliation they believed they belonged (UNDP 2002:87).

Respondents can, to some extent, be identified from their place of residence. In the Slovak Republic as many as 100,000 – 120,000 Roma, or about 25% of the total Roma population, live in segregated settlements located in the outskirts of cities. One observer, Ina Zoon, writes:

“Most of Slovakia’s Roma live in some of the worst squalor to be found in Central and Eastern Europe. In the eastern regions of the country, a three-hour drive from Vienna, more than 124,000 Roma reside in dilapidated apartments, house trailers, and houses and shacks fashioned from wood and mud. Most of these places lack utilities and services most other Europeans have taken for granted since the end of World War II” (Zoon 2001:1).

Roma living in the Slovak Republic are said to suffer more severely from rural poverty than Roma in the Czech Republic, who to a greater extent can be characterised as an urban underclass. Further, Roma living in cities in both the Slovak and Czech Republics tend to occupy separate areas or streets, and may, therefore, be identified on the basis of their place of residence. When it comes to the fully integrated Roma, in both countries, these are the ones who are least likely to report their Roma identity. However, when the aim is to produce policy relevant information about the living conditions of Roma minorities, this segment is of least interest and can possibly be left out without great loss.

Our talks with experienced researchers, Roma representatives and others in the Czech and Slovak Republics, indicate that whether the Roma identity is reported or not, to quite an extent is determined by the context in which the

reporting takes place. This implies that in order to succeed in having a stigmatised identity reported, the purpose and use of this reporting – for the person in question – should be made clear.

Another decisive factor is related to the person(s) who ask. Experienced researchers told that they had tested different combinations of interviewers working in teams:

- Roma boy and girl;
- Slovak boy and girl;
- Slovak boy and Roma girl;
- Slovak girl and Roma boy.

They all reported that the latter alternative was the most successful: Slovak girl and Roma boy. Working in pairs of this combination, the interviewers found it easy not only to identify respondents, but also to have them respond to the questionnaire.

There are officials, researchers and activists who contest the feasibility of conducting a survey among the Roma minorities altogether, claiming that this venture most likely is met with rejection from Roma representatives. However, experience from the UNDP/ILO survey (2002) and national censuses in countries in Central and Eastern Europe, clearly indicate that the manner in which the minority responds to being approached for purposes of data collection, depends on the purpose of the project at hand, the degree of involvement of the minority itself in the preparation and implementation of the project, as well as on the use and control of the completed data.

Therefore, the requirements for the design of a full-scale project, goes beyond mere technical questions of statistical methods. Such a project must be designed with the total organisational framework in mind and by using participatory methods that include the various organisations, authorities and agencies concerned by the study.

Roma spokesmen<sup>6</sup> we had talks with in the Czech Republic spontaneously addressed the challenge of gaining support for a survey from major Roma NGOs and their representatives. Karel Holomek, chairman of the Society of Roma in Moravia and editor of the Roma newspaper “Romano Hangos”, proposed the idea of a seminar explaining the purpose and procedures of such a survey, as one way of building bridges and opening closed doors. Mr Holomek further stressed the need to work through the government representatives of Roma issues: Jan Jařab, Commissioner of the Government of the Czech Republic for Human Rights and Roman Kriřtof, Director of the Council for Roma community affairs.

Libuře Nesvadbová, a medical doctor based in Prague with recent research experience on Roma and health, tried to identify and approach respondents in

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<sup>6</sup> Miroslav Zima (head of “Drom”, a Roma NGO) and Karel Holomek (chairman of the Society of Roma in Moravia and editor of “Romano Hangos”).

different ways. She reported as most successful to work through the network of Roma advisors throughout the Czech Republic. In fact she also ended up using the Roma advisors as interviewers and found this very successful.

It is our intention to take into consideration all the advices given to us by local authorities, researchers, NGOs with relevant field experience and Roma spokespersons. Further, it is paramount to give these stakeholders a say in the preparations of the survey and its implementation alike. Our conclusion based on all the interviews and contacts to date, is that it will be difficult, but that it is not impossible, to gain a sufficient level of cooperation by the Roma population, provided we adopt a participatory framework in line with Fafo experience from other areas.

## **Sampling**

Sampling of the Roma population in the Czech and Slovak Republics poses several problems. Some are common for both countries and some are distinct ones. The main common problems of sampling are twofold: First, the Roma population makes up a small proportion of the total population of the two countries and, secondly, they may not be easily identifiable. The differences between the two countries in terms of sampling relates to differences in the Roma population pattern. Before going into these issues we should review what a sample of Roma should achieve.

The main criteria for a successful sample of the Roma, as for any other population, would be:

- 1) it should be representative of the whole population within a country, and
- 2) it should be of sufficient size to provide grounds for analyses of relevant subgroups within the population.

In addition, two other criteria would be useful to fulfil: One is that the sample should be used for providing an unbiased estimate of the size of the population, another that it should be able to provide comparative information on the non-Roma population. The latter criterion is the least important one, as several other sources of information on the overall population exist in both countries.

The Roma population make up a small proportion of the total population, which means that drawing a standard household survey sample of the national population of the two countries would result in very small numbers of Roma being included into the sample. For example, if we assume that roughly five to ten percent of the population are Roma, a household survey of 10,000 households would be needed in order to include 500 to 1000 Roma households.

Moreover, since the Roma population is known to live clustered, a standard household survey would have extremely high variance with respect to the number of households included.

Thus, one could be lucky and include a large number of Roma households, or one could be unlucky and include very few. However, in both cases any estimate of the total number of Roma would be extremely uncertain. Using a standard household survey sampling approach would therefore lead to a study

that a) would be very costly because of the large sample needed, and b) provide poor data.

The second problem, namely that Roma may be difficult to identify in a survey, is well illustrated in the censuses of the two countries. For example, the 2001 census of the Czech Republic records only 11,718 Roma, a figure that quite certainly is way too low. Survey work in both countries has nevertheless shown that it is possible to get Roma to identify themselves in surveys that are carefully targeted to the Roma. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the more alike a Roma is to the majority population in terms of living conditions the less likely the person is to identify himself or herself as Rom.

Several sampling methods exist that have been designed to cope with the problems posed by rare and elusive populations. The sampling methods relevant to this survey may conveniently be grouped into methods that, in multi stage sampling, take as their point of departure strategies to increase the number of survey clusters with high proportions of the target respondents, and methods that try to select target respondents directly. To a large extent, the latter methods are designed to deal with both the rarity and elusiveness at the same time.

The multi-stage approaches generally fall within the framework of “adaptive cluster sampling” (Thompson and Seber 1996). In this approach a normal cluster sample is drawn, where the clusters in our case would be enumeration areas from the national censuses. Each drawn cluster is listed as in an ordinary household survey and it is determined if more than a given number of the target respondent type (in our case Roma households) is present in the cluster. If the number of Roma exceeds the target value, the neighbouring clusters are also selected and listed. The new selections are examined to determine if the target number of Roma is exceeded in these clusters as well. If so, the neighbouring clusters are selected in turn and the process goes on until there are no more neighbouring clusters satisfying the inclusion criterion.

This procedure works well if the target population is clustered, as it is known to be in our case. If the target population is distributed evenly across clusters, only the initial sample of clusters will be used and the sample will behave as an ordinary cluster sample. The method also has the benefit that it automatically provides non-Roma respondents that can be included for comparative purposes.

A drawback of adaptive cluster sampling is that in cases where the population is very clustered, i.e. that a large number of neighbouring clusters fulfil the inclusion criteria, the sample may become very large. This can be dealt with by including some form of stopping criteria.

Another drawback is that if the target population is quite rare and the initial sample of clusters small, there is a chance that none or very few clusters with the target population will be included. To some extent this can be dealt with by stratifying the sample frame into parts where there are known to be few of the target population and parts where many are known to reside. The problem can also be handled by using a method that ensures that sufficient clusters are included (Rocco 2003), but at the cost of increased initial listing of clusters.

Selecting target respondents directly is usually known as network or snowball sampling (Goodman 1961). The underlying ideas and estimation procedures are

very similar to adaptive cluster sampling. Typically, in snowball approaches, an initial, often non-random, sample of the target respondents is drawn, and then the respondents provide information on contacts that also are members of the target population. One may either use the initial respondents to provide information on the contacts or seek out the contacts, interview them and possibly continue the process.

The main problem with snowball sampling in the above version is that it depends on the initial sample of respondents. One risks, for instance, that people with large networks are over-sampled and that respondents may hide some of their contacts (Erickson 1979). Thus, neither the initial or subsequent process of inclusion in the sample can be assumed to be unbiased. The initial inclusion problem may however be handled by selecting the initial respondents randomly, for example through a household survey (Sudman 1986).

Methods have nevertheless been developed that try to circumvent the problem of non-random initial inclusion by explicitly allowing for it. One such method is “Respondent-Driven Sampling” (Heckathorn 1997). The key feature of this approach is that the sample is independent of the initial selection of respondents. This is achieved through the use of incentives for participating and in particular for inducing others to participate. In contrast to typical snowball sampling (e.g. Frank and Snijders 1994) respondent-driven sampling does not ask respondents to list their contacts but rather to recruit them into the study. A feature of both traditional snowball sampling and respondent driven sampling is that they both depend on the presence of contact networks. To take an extreme example, the methods would not be useful if the population in question was those with red hair, as people with red hair do not necessarily have more red-haired friends than others. The contact network requirement also renders national samples based on these methods somewhat problematic. If one can assume that the contact network is of national scope, it is possible to use the methods, if not one cannot.

The methods described above point to several approaches that may be used to sample the Roma of the Czech and Slovak Republics. It is important at this stage to bear in mind the similarities and differences in the population distribution in the two countries. In both countries there are hardly any nomadic Roma today. Hence, nomadic Roma can be disregarded with regard to sampling. Also, in both countries a substantial but essentially unknown parts of the Roma live integrated are probably quite evenly distributed in the overall population.

In the Czech Republic another part of the Roma live clustered in neighbourhoods, but only in some cases these neighbourhoods are known as “Roma”. However, the general parts of the country where such neighbourhoods can be found are known. In contrast, in the Slovak Republic there is a known list of communities, or settlements, that are Roma and these communities are quite distinctly segregated from the rest of the population. These above similarities and differences suggest a somewhat different approach for a sampling of the two countries.

In the Czech Republic an adaptive cluster sample appears the most useful approach in order to select the Roma that live in communities with comparatively high proportions of Roma. The target criterion for inclusion of a

cluster would then be set comparatively high, for example 30% Roma households. The clusters would first be stratified according to known areas with high proportions of Roma and the initial selection would, as in an ordinary household survey, be with probability proportionate to the household population size of the clusters.

In the Slovak Republic it would be more useful to start with a sample of known Roma localities. The sizes of these are very variable. For example, Lunik 9 in Kosice has some 650 Roma households, while many of the communities in rural areas only count a few households. For this reason, selection proportionate to the square root of size may be useful. Stratification by regions of the country (especially east versus west) and also by urban – rural location is likely to prove useful. In both cases it is clear that the selection procedures described above will lead to acceptable samples of “clustered Roma”, but to the omission of those who live isolated.

The samples in both countries will therefore be supplemented with a Respondent-Driven sample. The initial sample will be made in several (at least 30) communities and will attempt to start out with known Roma in these communities.

A problem with adaptive and snowball sampling techniques is that it is difficult to know at the outset exactly how large the sample will be. Since one may in principle design the sample so that the whole population will be covered, a stopping rule or a target sample size will be needed. At present, given the purposes of the survey, a sample size of approximately 1,000 – 1,500 households in each country should probably be the minimum.

### **Forms of social organisation**

The social organisation forms that can be observed in Roma communities are heterogeneous and internally disperse. They also, to some extent, differ from those found in the majority population. At the onset of the project we estimated this as so important that it would have to be taken into account both in the formulation of the questionnaire as well as in the conduct of the field operation of a survey.

Three aspects of social organisation were singled out as particularly important:

- a) definitions of the concept “household”,
- b) forms of household organisation, and
- c) gender aspects of the interview situation.

In the course of the project period we have revised our views on the actual challenges represented by these aspects. We will in the following explain our reasons for doing so.

**Definitions of the concept “household”:** Surveys are usually based on the “household” as a basic unit of social organisation. However, notions about who is to be regarded as included in a household tend to be culturally determined and often overlap with notions of kinship relations and family. Roma minorities tend to live in both nuclear families and in extended family groups where the definition of who belongs to the household may or may not coincide with the

prevailing definition in the majority society. We consider the lack of a clear-cut and easily applicable definition of the content of a Roma household as an argument for leaving it to the interviewers to delimit the respective households during the interviews.

**Forms of household organisation:** Previous experience indicate that the reactions to a request for an interview are culturally specific, in particular pertaining to the distribution of authority within the household, defining who is entitled to speak on the household's behalf to an outsider.

Preliminary investigations indicate that both “modern” and “traditional” forms of authority prevail within the Roma communities. In localities where traditional forms of authority prevail in the form of a defined head of household or a family elder, the approach to the interview needs to be addressed through these authority figures, necessitating a modified interview design. Experience gained by the Slovak research team carrying out the UNDP survey, proved that there could be difficult to get access to women in traditional Roma communities (i.e. especially in rural settlements). However, the interviewers soon learned that they were more likely to get access to the women when carrying out interviews during daytime, when most of the men were engaged in tasks outside the home.

**Gender aspects of the interview situation:** The position of women in Roma communities varies strongly between regions, in a reflection of the general heterogeneity of the Roma populations. In situations where a more “traditional” gender culture prevails, it has been common to divide the interview in two parts, in which men and women are interviewed separately. In these cases, different questionnaires are used, reflecting traditional divisions of labour. The approach to the gender aspects of the interview situation must be based on an assessment of the position of women in the local cultural context. The prevalence of various types of such contexts needs to be investigated especially.

In this respect, it is worth noticing that data from the UNDP/ILO survey (2002) indicates that “substantial changes are emerging in Roma family hierarchies and roles” (UNDP 2002:28). In the traditional family hierarchy men are considered heads of households, but data from the UNDP/ILO survey underscores the important family roles played by women and wives, “roles that have not been formally acknowledged” (UNDP 2002:29). These conclusions are based on questions like: “Who keeps the money in your household?” – a question which was often responded by answers like: “women more than men”, and “mothers more than fathers” (UNDP 2002:29). Only in a few cases were women/mothers considered playing a minor role to men/fathers. On the basis of these findings, the UNDP report suggests the emergence of a changing pattern within Roma households:

While women in many cultures manage the money even while men are seen as head of the household, in the case of the Roma it may be evidence of a changing pattern. Women seem to have a stronger participatory role in family decision-making than would appear to be the case on the surface. This has important implications for projects being developed in Roma communities. To be successful, projects should be gender sensitive, taking their role into account

and promoting the broad participation and involvement of women. (UNDP 2002:29)

### **Differences between the two countries**

Differences between the Czech and Slovak Republics with regard to population patterns and national, political priorities on issues such as social security, housing policies and infrastructure, can be seen as arguments for developing two slightly different questionnaires. While the majority of questions should be identical for the two countries (also for comparative purposes), different national policies and priorities and corresponding needs of local policy-makers should be seen as arguments for stressing different aspects of the general living conditions of Roma in the two countries. Moreover, the two countries are in very different economic situations, the Czech Republic being far better off financially and also having a more liberal financial orientation.

There are major differences between the Roma populations in the two countries. These differences must be taken into consideration when developing questionnaires for the survey. One weakness with the latest UNDP study was that these differences were not reflected in the questionnaires. The purpose of this study is not to compare the Roma minorities in Slovakia and in the Czech Republic, so the difference between the two must be taken into consideration when developing two sets of questionnaires. The main differences between the two countries are:

- The percentage of Roma is higher in Slovakia than in the Czech Republic and the Roma population is mainly concentrated in the eastern parts of the country
- More privatisation of housing in the Czech Republic.
- Rural/urban Roma population (Czech Republic/Slovakia) – few irregular settlements in the Czech Republic
- The number of Roma children enrolled in/attending primary and secondary school – higher in the Czech Republic (compulsory primary and secondary school)
- Social security/social policy different with regard to child benefit/family allowance (obligations with regard to schooling).
- In the Czech Republic: higher prevalence of drug abuse (injection) and prostitution, while in Slovakia more sniffing.
- Vlach Roma dominates in western Slovakia (relatively well integrated) and the eastern part of the Czech Republic.
- Migration: Czech Republic-receiving and sending country; Slovakia - to a greater extent a sending country but also receiving Roma from Eastern Europe.
- Discrimination: The Czech society is more multicultural than the Slovak society. The fact that the Czech Republic has a higher percentage of immigrants (also with dark complexion) maybe create an “easier” climate for integration of Roma.

- Social security benefit/minimum wage: In the Czech Republic the minimum wage has been raised whereas in Slovakia there are discussion of rather reducing the social security benefit
- The two countries are in different economic situations, the Czech Republic being better off financially and also having a more liberal financial orientation.

By to a certain extent tailoring the two country questionnaires to specific national conditions, we also aim at increasing the value of this survey in terms of adding to the quantitative data already produced through the comparative UNDP/ILO survey (2002) that covered five countries in Central and Eastern Europe (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania and the Slovak Republic).

## Definition of a Roma Living Condition Survey

The aim of the present part is to describe the bases for design of a living conditions survey among Roma in the Slovak and the Czech Republic. This is done in preparation for the broad consultation with representatives of Roma organizations, ministries, experts and academics, NGOs and international organizations, particular in the European Union - in addition to the staff from our local partners and FAFO - which will be held in order to help adapt the survey to the realities among Roma.

The preparatory nature of the part has to be emphasized. The suggested aims and variables, as well as the distribution of topics in modules, will need careful consideration and evaluation before they form a firm basis for questionnaire design and pilot testing.

It is particularly important to establish the priorities for the government in the two countries and the EU for survey output and for indicators. The aim of this survey is to meet the policy makers' needs for social data portraying the living conditions for the population in various areas of the country.

### The Content of the Survey

Fafo proposes to undertake a living condition survey to better understand the social challenges among the Roma minorities. A joint Slovak/Czech operation will reduce the costs for the survey design. Our primary idea is to initiate a common survey with a country specific content with different questionnaires for the two countries. However the idea of a living condition surveys seems to get most support among policy makers in Slovakia. To start in Slovakia, with the intention of accomplish a second round of the operation in the Czech Republic, might be an alternative strategy. A third possibility will be to only carry out a survey in Slovakia.

The Roma Living Conditions Survey (RLCS) shall provide statistical information about the living conditions for the entire Roma minority in the two countries. The survey will deliver information about a broad range of living condition dimensions, including household economics, work, population and migration, health and use of public welfare, housing conditions, education, attitudes, human rights and politics. Care will be taken to enable comparisons with other data sets available for the population as a whole.

The analysis of the data will provide information at the level of each dimension. The mechanisms involved in distributing access to the various living conditions resources, will also be analyzed. The particular strength of the living conditions survey, however, is to enable cross-dimensional analyses through which comparison between groups may be done. Indicators will be used to depict heaping or clustering of living conditions problems according to socio-economic groups of the population.

The primary reporting domain of the RLCS will be the whole of the two countries. The survey will also report on geographically delimited areas, such as regions.

In order to ease the design of the survey, the various dimensions and variables to be included will be organized in *dimensions* or *modules*. In the following the different modules that are planned to be included in the RLCS are presented in a first draft form. Following each text, a list of the main variables belonging to the module is given.

### **Module A: Questionnaire Administration**

*The aim of this module is to*

- i) be an aid in the administrative and logistical set-up of the survey*
- ii) control interviewing quality.*

This module contains variables used for administrative purposes and for controlling the quality of the field work (interviewing, editing and data entry). The module will also provide the necessary information to establish the reporting domains and reflects the sampling structure of the survey for variance calculations.

#### **Main variables**

- Sampling reference (strata, cluster)
- Interview number
- Questionnaire number
- Administrative information
- Interviewer
- Respondent selection
- Date of interview
- Time for start and stop of interview
- Number of visits
- Drop-outs
- Household size

#### **Derived variables**

- Length of interview
- Geographical area
- Type of locality
- Weights

### **Module B: Household Composition**

*The aim of this module is to establish household size and composition.*

The household is a basic socioeconomic unit. Households as units constitute the most essential analytical variables for the study of a large number of resources that are connected with living conditions. A starting point is to define

the concept of household and determine the different elements households are composed of.

The appropriate operationalisation of the household will be determined during the design phase. It is anticipated that members of a household will be defined to include both family and non-family members who e.g. share the same kitchen.

The household's *size* indicates the number of members as defined above. The *household structure* indicates the social organization within a household. A typology of the structure may be used to differentiate between households where the head of household is the eldest income-generating male member, female-headed households, and households where the older generation is being supported by their offspring. In the Roma communities there are extended household structures where several generations are members in the same household.

The *stage in the developmental cycle of the household* characterizes the different phases of expansion and contraction that a household may go through. A household expands when a couple reproduces children who grow up and establish their own households and thereby results in the contraction of the original household.

The *dependency ratio* on the household level compares the ratio of members who are responsible for generating income with the number of household members who do not contribute to the income. Heads of the households, wives and mothers, and children may be included in the former category, while small children, elderly people and sick persons are included in the latter.

A number of methodological problems arise connected with comparing households that include varying number of members. It is therefore fruitful to establish information on variances in the size and composition of Roma households, and what phases of the different development cycles they are in. Variables such as the total number of family or household members, the number of children as compared to grown-ups, the numbers of persons generating income as compared to those who do not, are significant as they influence the total level of welfare of both individuals and households.

Several of the variables included in this module, such as sex and age distribution, as well as place of birth, are also essential in module C which concentrates on data on the structure and composition, and the migration patterns of the population. The data gathered in both modules serve thus both the objective of providing information on the household level specifically and on the population in general.

### **Main variables**

- Sex (cf. module C)
- Age (cf. module C)
- Family relations
- Place of birth (cf. module C)
- Place of birth of father (cf. module C)

- Citizenship
- Marital status

#### **Derived variables**

- Size of household
- Household structure
- Household dependency ratio
- Female headed households
- Stage in development cycle of the household

### **Module C: Population and Migration**

The aim of this module is to provide selected population indicators.

Data on population consists of assessing its size, structure and growth, as well as the age and gender distribution. These are not enough covered in the national census.

Some criteria such as age and gender are well-defined. The category 'children', for instance, may constitute a segment of the population which includes persons under the age of 15.

Another main purpose of the RLCS is to analyze variations in living conditions among different Roma population groups. Demographic background information such as place of residence (e.g. rural, urban, integrated settlements or ghettos, regular or irregular settlements), and household composition (e.g. nuclear or extended family) is valuable to cluster the household units into comparable groups.

Data on migration experience is important to understand the present situation. Many Roma do have resent experience with asylum seeking in Western European countries, and the big majority is sent back to their hometown. Moneylenders do play an important role to finance peoples travel costs. Money brought from back from the period of asylum do also consist an important part of the economic life when returning. To understand economic life, people migration experienced need to be addressed.

#### **Main variables**

- Age (cf. module B)
- Sex (cf. module B)
- Birth history (cf. module B)
- Migration history

#### **Derived variables**

- Fertility (male and female)
- Population structure
- Mortality (infant/child; adult?; maternal?)

- Dependency ratio for households

### **Module D: Housing Conditions**

*The aim of this module is to establish data on the conditions of housing and its immediate surroundings.*

Generating data on housing conditions reflects the importance of dwelling for the physical well-being of individuals and households. The house and its surroundings constitute the basic framework for daily life. The house constitutes the fundamental framework which surrounds family life and separates the domestic realm from the public domain. Type of dwelling, building material used, furnishing, the nature of ownership of a house and the physical and social security a house provides are all crucial dimensions of living conditions.

Assessing the frequency whereby persons live in villas, independent small houses, mansion block apartments or apartments in large buildings provides information about the physical environment which Roma are surrounded by. We may assume that quality of life is connected to the various types of housing conditions. Differences in the amount of indoor and outdoor space, number of rooms, amount of square meters per person, the availability of gardens and playgrounds are, for instance, important indicators for mapping the environments in which children grow up, and how surroundings affect the children's play-activities in a neighbourhood.

Housing conditions are to a large extent linked to the environmental setting. Whether a household lies in rural or urban areas affects, for instance, the degree of access to infrastructural amenities such as water-, electricity and sewage services (Cf. module E). Care will also be taken to assess the stability of delivery of infrastructure services, such as water. Also, the economic resources available in a household determine to a large extent the size of dwelling space and the quality of durables which a household affords to procure. Variables included in this module are therefore to be analyzed in relation to variables presented under module G which aims at gathering data on household economics.

#### **Main variables**

- Type of dwelling
- Building material
- Indoor and outdoor space
- Space and conditions for children's activities
- Indoor environment (e.g. cold, heat, noise, smoke, lighting, damp, draft)
- Access to water, sewage and electricity
- Access to durables (e.g. fridge, TV, telephone etc.) (cf. module G)
- Forms of ownership (cf. module G)
- Expenditure on housing (cf. module G)

### **Derived variables**

- Crowding
- Household wealth index (together with module G)

### **Module E: Education**

*The aim of this module is*

- i) to assess differences in access to education among different segments of the Roma population*
- ii) to measure achieved levels of education among the Roman population.*

Educational inequality is most often attributed to upbringing the social and ethnic background of the individual. Research shows that those aspects of home and social environment which are important for the individual's attitudes and achievements in school, are linked together in clusters. In families where parents are well educated, one normally finds that interest in school is high, and generally these parents also have the strongest intellectual resources.

Furthermore, such conditions are related to the family's location in the social structure. Although individual deviations from this pattern do exist, the general trend holds. Generally, students from higher social classes tend to do better in school than those from lower social classes. In addition to social background, sex is seen as affecting a young person's educational career.

The aim of the RLCS is to find out whether and to what extent the above mentioned holds for Roma, and if possible, examine which of the background factors are the most significant when it comes to explaining the uncovered patterns. Focus will be on the extent to which education is a determinant of access to other resources and hence influences living conditions.

Overall Roma has a lower level of education than the majority in the Czech and Slovak republics. Few are taking higher education and the drop-out from schools is generally high. From a majority point of view access to education consists' equal opportunity for the majority and minority. Some Roma on the other hand, think that a school-system based on the values of the majority is the threat to their culture, and therefore represent discrimination rather than integration. In the Czech Republic Roma some pupils who not have reached a certain level of knowledge, are sent to special schools together with mental handicapped. Attitudes and personal experience with the education system need to be examined in order to understand the low level of education among the Roma.

### **Main variables**

- Enrollment
- Number of years in school
- Type of school attended
- Most advanced education completed
- Place of study

- Literacy status
- Schooling cost (e.g. fees, material, transport)
- Parents education

#### **Derived variables**

- Educational mobility across generations
- Drop-out rates
- Attitudes to education

### **Module F: Household Economics**

*The aim of this module is*

- i) to measure the economic situation of households by indicating differential access to economic resources*
- ii) to analyze the economic coping strategies of Jordanian households*
- iii) to evaluate intra household economic flows and stock.*

The household represents an institution which is sensitive to minor, short-term fluctuations in the socioeconomic environment. At the same time the household is a prime means by which individuals adapt to the subtle shifts in opportunities and constraints that confront them.

Economic resources of individuals and households constitute one of the most decisive type of living conditions components. In a monetary economy, the amount available for spending on goods and services is largely determined by the amount of money found at the individual's or the household's disposal. Therefore, it is necessary for the RLCS to establish some indicators of access to economic resources. In this context it is important to distinguish between resources spent individually and resources pooled for the use of the household.

Economic resources may also come from activities that do not generate money. Such an extended definition of income includes activities as for instance unpaid work in one's own household or informal exchange of services within a family or other social networks. Economic resources may also be put at the household's disposal through inter-household remittances. One important task of the RLCS is, therefore, to develop a questionnaire that gives us indicators of the full economic status of the households.

As we already know, the Roma unemployment rate is fairly high. Therefore, it is important to gain knowledge about people's economic coping strategies in face of unemployment. For instance, do the households adapt to lower income by increasing home production be it in cash or kind?

Not only income and activities generating money or goods, but also factors as wealth and debt influence the level of welfare. That is why it is important to get information on people's possession of capital goods and savings and/or their indebtedness. In addition, it could be of great value to use some measures of expenditure as indicators of the unit's more general purchasing power and thereby their welfare.

### **Main variables**

- Actual employment
- Sources of income (labour and non-labour, including children)
- Household production (e.g. handicrafts, services and trade)
- Housekeeping activities and informal sector
- Capital goods and amenities
- Savings
- Ability to cope with large expenditure items
- Marriage transfers
- Consumption of key food and expenditure items
- Credit and debt

### **Derived variables**

- Household wealth index
- Economic role of children
- Types of coping strategies
- Household food security

## **Module G: Work**

*The aim of this module is to describe work for Roma.*

Work constitutes one of the most fundamental income generating activities in today's societies. Work is also considered as an important social activity. Through performance of various productive activities such as wage labour and farming, and reproductive activities such as child-bearing and nursing, men and women define themselves as social beings. Participation in occupational life is often the basis for further learning, self-realization, creative thinking, social contacts and friendship.

Participation in paid employment has also been seen as a fundamental legal right for citizens in many societies, particularly in so-called welfare states. Being out of work is costly both for the individual and society. Since employment is closely linked to income-generating work, unemployment leads to individuals not being able to support themselves nor their households economically. Unemployment may result in increasing the level of poverty, and for society as a whole, it reflects a situation whereby available human productive resources are not being fully exploited. The RLCS should investigate how access to work is mediated, and if the Roma minority faces other forms of discrimination in the labour-market than the majority.

Not everybody though, has paid work as their main activity. They may be at school, they may do housework or have the responsibility of caring for others outside the arena for paid employment. In the RLCS we aim at highlighting the effect of gender on work and working opportunities in society. The situation of

female labour is thus essential for having an overall understanding of the work and working conditions of the whole Jordanian population.

This section of the RLCS aims at collecting information on the paid and unpaid work load of both men and women, young and old. One aim of the survey will be to figure out the relative distribution of different kinds of work between different groups or strata. Another aim will be to estimate employment, underemployment and unemployment rates.

#### **Main variables**

- Variables needed to assess labour force participation (ILO standard)
- Activities in the informal economic sector
- Parents occupation

#### **Derived variables**

- Occupational mobility
- Discrimination
- Labour force participation rates (ILO standard)
- Occupation according to training, and actual employment

### **Module H: Health & Health Services**

*The aim of this module is to*

- assess people's physical and psychological well-being,*
- establish the utilization of different sorts of health services*
- provide information about family planning and knowledge about AIDS*

Health, broadly defined by The World Health Organization (WHO) as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity", is one of the most important aspects of living conditions in a population. It is interrelated with living conditions both directly and indirectly. First, good health is of immediate and apparent value in itself. Secondly, good health is an essential resource in order to participate socially and economically in society. Thirdly, the individual's health is affected by the conditions in which he or she lives.

The health status of a society or group of people is related to three factors: First, the demographic component refers to the demographic composition of the population. The distribution of age categories indicates that different segments of the population, i.e. children, middle-aged and old people, are in need of different kinds of health services. Family planning is here an important factor that provides vital information about the population's fertility determinants such as age of marriage and use of contraceptive methods.

Secondly, a risk factor component is included in assessing the health conditions of a population. How much is smoking, use of drugs or alcohol, and overweight widespread in the Roma population? What is the degree of physical activity among different segments? How does traffic, social conflicts and violence

affect the overall psychological well-being of the population? These are some of the questions we may raise in a living condition survey.

Thirdly, a therapeutic component is part of an overall assessment of the health conditions. The availability and quality of health services for different segments of the population are critical indicators in determining the overall health condition of a population. Attitudes to medical personnel need to be examined.

Knowledge on AIDS is crucial to prevent the spread of the virus. The information about Roma and HIV is poor. In the RLCS the knowledge in the Roma population will be analyzed.

Measurements of health are traditionally obtained through data on demography, mortality, morbidity and utilization of health services. In level of living conditions studies, self-perceived symptoms, functional disability and utilization of services are most often measured. Although there are difficulties in interpreting data based on self-perceived illness, the data can prove to be useful since it offers the possibility of relating perceived health problems with a broad range of social and economic factors.

Based on the assumption that prolonged illness has an important impact on the welfare both on the individual and social levels, it is reasonable to be most concerned with information on illnesses of some duration. The RLCS aims at collecting data on the consequences of being ill, as these clearly affect the individual's overall living conditions.

### **Main variables**

- Self-perceived acute and chronic illnesses (physical as well as mental)
- Injuries
- Risk factors (smoking, alcohol, physical activity, diet, traffic, psychological well-being, conflict, violence)
- Type of health services used
- Availability of health services
- Cost of health services and health insurance (cf. module G)
- Family planning, men and women
- Knowledge about HIV and AIDS

### **Module I: Social Networks and Integration**

*The aim of the module is to assess the significance of social networks and family bonds for differences in living conditions.*

Many European countries have developed systems of public services that have decreased the need for informal institutions and social networks that existed within households. Among Roma the family as a social institution is still very strong. It will be interesting to identify the existing social support patterns and the degree to which these have developed after the fall of communism.

Among the dimensions on social networks the RLCS aims at mapping are the amount of time spent with relatives, friends and colleagues and the frequency of these encounters. Questions concerning the kinds of occasions such as weddings, funerals and feasts where members of the household have participated in may be fruitful for portraying the social network among Roma households. Moreover, the supportive patterns of the social relation network are important elements. In the case of a household's acute need of money, who appears to be the most likely person(s) a household calls upon to alleviate financial needs? How can we describe the financial borrowing patterns among households, especially when some members conclude capital intensive transactions such as marriage or the construction of new dwellings?

An estimate of the level of social contact between Roma and the Czechs and the Slovaks will be crucial to understand if the Roma are social disintegrated in the society. How the high unemployment rate among Roma has affected the common social arenas between the minority and the majority during the last, is one important aspect. Another aspect is the attitudes among Roma on marriages between the two ethnic groups.

### **Main variables**

- Time spent with family, relatives, friends, work mates
- Number of contacts per week with people outside of the household
- Participation in social activities (organisations, diwans)
- Mobilisation of social groups
- Access to kin in neighbourhood
- Care of children
- Support to/ help from other households (marriage, construction of dwelling)
- Kinship relations of spouses
- Social contact with the majority

### **Module J: Attitudes, Politics and Discrimination**

*The aim of this module is to*

- i) describe an individual's perceptions of influence over one's own life situation*
- ii) describe participation in cultural, political and religious life*
- iii) describe their self experience with discrimination*

Socioeconomic differences are generally supposed to manifest themselves in social or ethnical conflicts. Can we find traces of actual or perceived social conflicts in society in regard to different variables such as wealth distribution, religious organization or political attitudes? By presenting respondents with a number of statements as to the existence of social and political conflict in society, the conflict potential is revealed.

Living conditions are not determined solely by objective evaluations of living standards. The individual's evaluation of his or her life situation is also a significant indicator for determining the overall living conditions of the population. Personal attitudes can be determined by measuring the degree to which individuals feel they have access to resources required to gain influence over their own life and future. Indicators such as the ability and accessibility of the individual to participate and exercise choice within the political, social and religious spheres are therefore important for detecting the degree of personal as well as collective attitudes concerning the degree of influence of both individuals and groups in society.

Living conditions surveys reflect a concern for portraying the different but mutually important spheres of resource allocation for both individuals and groups. These spheres include the arenas of education, work and health. At the core of interest for living conditions surveys lies the assumption that all members of society are to have *equal access to the resources available thereby increasing their opportunities of choice*. Whether members actually choose to utilize these resources is, however, not an objective for a living conditions survey. In the sphere of education, for instance, the RLCS aims at detecting whether access to education and work opportunities are unequally distributed.

Some of the questions we seek to highlight in the RLCS include the gender-based access to the resources available in society. How is the situation of Roma women's admission to higher education compared to their male counterparts? What is the degree of economic independence and its relation to wage labour in light of the gender-based participation in the labour market? These are two types of questions that indicate the opportunities available to both sexes and serve as dimensions for identifying the status of women in Jordanian society.

How individual Roma experience discrimination does necessarily not consist neutral criteria of human right situation of Roma. However self-experience measurers give valuable information about how the Roma minority looks at their own possibilities in the society compare to the majority. How do Roma themselves think they are unjustified controlled by police? How often is their access to public areas denied such as public transport, café and supermarket? And how often do they meet verbal abuse from the majority in the public. These and other questions will indicate the level of self-experienced discrimination among the minority.

### **Main variables**

- Status of women
- Social divisions and perceptions of their conflict potential
- Religious orientation
- Kinship orientation
- Political attitudes and participation
- Attitudes to the future
- Use of mass media (sources of news and commentary)
- Self experience with discrimination

- Denied access to public areas
- Verbal abuse from the majority

## **Module K: Impacts of development projects**

*The aim of this module is to measure how individuals and household are affected by development projects.*

Several governments, NGOs and international organisations are involved in development projects among the Roma minorities. In order to establish comprehensive socio-political strategy, more information about the effects of these projects will enable policymakers in the future. Taken into consideration the number of ongoing projects, there is a lack of evaluation of development programs.

To evaluate development projects, we could put question to the respondent experiences with development projects. This will not enable us to give an evaluation of present projects in the different settlements. However individual experience can give us information on how different profiles of programs are assessed by individuals and their family. Asking if any development project has improved the respondents and theirs families living conditions, constitutes valuable information.

### **Main variables**

- Individual experiences with development programs
- Household experiences with development programs

## **Cooperation Partners**

Fafo has located two centres that can work as project implementers:

- Institute for Public Affairs (IVO) in Bratislava, and
- the University of Brno.

These centres have long experience of cooperation, and they are located close to another geographically. In Bratislava Michal Vašečka, Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Public Affairs (IVO), can manage the national survey team, while in Brno the national team can be headed by Professor Tomáš Sirovátka. Both Mr Vašečka and Professor Sirovátka will employ trained and experienced interviewers well acquainted to the survey population. Mr Vašečka and Professor Sirovátka, along with staff from Fafo AIS, will conduct specific interview training at the onset of the survey.

## **Sampling, Organisation and Field Operation**

The variation of Roma settlement needs to be met by sophisticated sampling strategies. Combination of adaptive cluster sampling and Respondent-Driven sample will cover the various Roma communities in the two countries. Fafo estimates that 2000 interviews are required in each of the two countries. The UNDP/ILO survey (2002) divided the Roma settlements in Slovakia into four

different categories, and our sampling strategy can be established on the basis of experiences from our local partners.

Interviewers can work in couples, both due to safety reasons and in order to ensure the accuracy of information gathered. Experience from the teams carrying out the UNDP/ILO survey (2002) and others<sup>7</sup> strongly indicate that the most successful combination of interview pairs consisted of one Roma, preferably boy, and one non-Roma, preferably girl.

The final outline of the survey and detailed contents of the respective questionnaires can be discussed during an initial consulting seminar either in Brno or in Bratislava. Participants to such a seminar will be researchers from Fafo AIS, local partners (researchers) and other resource persons from the two countries (including the most influential Roma spokespersons). The idea behind inviting not only the subcontractors to take part in this seminar is to obtain as many and as constructive inputs to the survey as possible. Additionally, we expect that this will create a broader sense of ownership to the project by major stakeholders. The overall idea is to give all interested and competent parties the opportunity to contribute with input to the project in its initial stage.

### **Preliminary budget estimate**

An estimate of the total cost of a living condition survey with 2000 respondents is 700 000 Euro. Of this, approximately 400 000 Euro will cover the cost of the local partner and the fieldwork, and 300 000 Euro will cover the cost of design, training, technical assistance during fieldwork and analysis by Fafo. The additional cost of adding a second country will amount to approximately 550 000 Euro based on the assumption that the local and field cost will be the same, but the additional work to be performed by Fafo will be significantly reduced by running the two as a parallel and joint operation. The details are given below.

The main implementing body will be the local partner. Fafo will act as a technical assistant and will deliver:

- Design
- Training
- Qualitative supervision during fieldwork
- Analyses
- Report editing

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<sup>7</sup>Iveta Radicova, S.P.A.C.E. (Social Policy and Analysis Centre), Bratislava, Slovakia and Libuše Nesvadbová, Prague, Czech Republic.

The local partner will be responsible for:

- Managing the local operation, including contact with the authorities
- Recruiting and training the interviewers
- Organizing fieldwork and data entry
- Issuing the tabulation report and organizing stakeholder participation into analysis
- Participate in in-depth analyses and reporting jointly with Fafo
- Reporting to the authorities and local stakeholders

<b>Operation</b>	<b>Fafo costs in Euro</b>	<b>Costs for the local partner in Euro</b>
Project Design	35 000	22 000
Pilot Survey and revision	10 000	10 000
Sampling	50 000	80 000
Organization of field operation, training	45 000	40 000
Main Fieldwork	17 000	200 000
Data file preparation	15 000	8 000
Analysis	100 000	25 000
Presentation	2 000	1000
Quality supervision	10 000	5000
Project management	10 000	5 000
Routine office costs	5 000	4 000
Printing	1 000	
<b>Estimated total costs</b>	<b>300 000 Euro</b>	<b>400 000 Euro</b>

## **Out-put**

The out-put of a living condition operation will be as followed:

- Country specific questionnaire design for each of the countries
- Training seminars for the local partners
- Initial report, presented to the stakeholders one month after the fieldwork is completed.
- Tabulation report, organized after aspects of living conditions. The main breakdown will be on main reporting domains.
- The analytical report. This content of the report are in-depth analyses of the different living condition areas covered in the survey. A draft report

can be presented four months after the end of the fieldwork, and ten months after the start of the operation.

- Workshop and powerpoint presentation of the results from the whole operation.

### **Time-line**

The estimated time of conducting a living condition survey of this size is one year from the start to the issuing of the final report.

The first two months will be used in cooperation with local partners and stakeholders to design the project and start the sampling process.

The next two months will be spent on testing of a pilot, training, sampling and setting up a local staff of interviewers.

The next four months will be spent in the main field operation, i.e. interviewing, data entry and data cleaning.

The last four months will be used on analyzing data, writing the baseline report and presentations.

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## Appendix I: List of Local Contacts

### Czech Republic

Balazova, Jarmila. Chief editor of Roma journal Dzeno and journalist and moderator in Czech TV

Bílek, Pavel. Czech Helsinki Committee, Prague

Cerny, Jan. People in Need, Prague

Chržová, Jana. Czech Helsinki Committee, Prague

Costantini, Nadia. European Union, Delegation of the European Commission in the Czech Republic, Prague

Jařab, Jan. Commissioner of the Government of the Czech Republic for Human Rights, Prague

Holomek, Karel, Society of Roma in Moravia/Romano Hangos

Hübschmannova, Milena.. Institute of Indian Studies of the Philosophy Faculty, Charles University, Prague

Kováčová, Radka, Atminganoi, Prague

Křištof, Roman. Director, Council for Roma Community Affairs, Prague

Křivánková, Rostislava. International Organisation for Migration, Prague

Mareš, Petr. University of Brno, Brno

Nesvadbová, Libuše. Medical doctor/psychiatrist with research experience on Roma and health issues (study financed by the Czech Ministry of Health)

Rösnerova, Gabriela. Socioklub, Prague

Sirovátka, Tomáš. University of Brno, Brno

Tomášková, Petra. Czech Helsinki Committee, Prague

Zima, Miroslav. DROM, Brno

Vaculová, Svatava. DROM, Brno

Višek, Petr. Socioklub, Prague

Visvanathan, Kumar. Head of the organisation “Vzajemne Souziti” (Life Together), offering legal and official counselling; six centres for training and dialogue; a team of social workers, Ostrava

### Slovakia

Adam, Gejza. Stredná Umelecká Škola (secondary art school), Košice

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Ondekova, Marcela. Klára Orgovánová's assistant, Plenipotentiary Office, Bratislava

Sokolovič, Ondrej. International Organisation for Migration, Košice

Radicova, Iveta. S.P.A.C.E. (Social Policy and Analysis Centre)

Rolný, Igor. European Centre for Integration of Minorities (ECIM), Košice

Škodová, Ivana. European Union, Delegation of the European Commission in the Slovak Republic, Bratislava

Vašečka, Michal. Institute for Public Affairs (IVO), Bratislava



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