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The Roma in Moldova

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The Roma in Moldova

All international and domestic reports indicate that the Roma in Moldova are faced with very serious challenges with respect to their equal access to rights and basic services, particularly in the spheres of education, employment and housing. Stigma and stereotypes are widespread in society, driving discriminatory attitudes and practices towards them. The existing legislation, although fairly comprehensive, suffers from lack of adequate implementation and as such fails to address the many issues facing the Roma community.

There is extremely limited academic research concerning the Roma community in Moldova. As such, the data summarized in this report has mainly been obtained from governmental and non-governmental sources, with a large contribution from data provided by international organizations.

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I. GENERAL INFORMATION

According to the data published by the National Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Moldova, on 1 January 2016 the total population living on the territory of the country amounted to 3,553,056 persons.¹ Of these, 3,548,847 have Moldovan citizenship and 4209 are migrants temporarily or permanently residing in Moldova but not having yet acquired citizenship.² Reflecting the fact that Moldova is primarily a country of emigration rather than a destination for foreign migrants, there are currently approximately 520,000 Moldovan citizens living abroad on either short-term (as seasonal workers, 109,000 persons) or long-term (411,000 persons) bases.³

The last official results regarding the members of the Roma community living in the Republic of Moldova are those of the 2004 census, where 12,271 persons declared a Roma (actually 'gypsy'

in the wording of the census) ethnic background.⁴ A more recent census has been conducted in 2014 but its results are not yet available and according to the National Bureau of Statistics will be published at the beginning of 2017. According to the State Report submitted to the Council of Europe under the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM) in February 2009, the state registry office recorded a total of 20,888 Moldovan citizens of Roma ethnicity.⁵ As in many other countries in Central and Eastern Europe, Council of Europe estimates regarding the number of members of the Roma community are significantly higher than the official census results. For the Republic of Moldova, these estimates (dating to 2012) are as follows: minimum estimate 14,200; maximum estimate 200,000; average estimate 107,100 (3.01%



of a population of 3,562,062 persons at that time).⁶ The discrepancy can be explained by the negative stereotypes attributed to the Roma by the majority population, ethnic discrimination in the labour market, education, health care, and other social spheres, as well as injustices and discrimination that the Roma had to face in the past, as a result of which many people belonging to the community would not self-identify as such in censuses or official surveys.⁷ However, given that the principle of self-identification is recognised by the FCNM, as well as by most national legislations, as the criterion for belonging to a minority group, it is also problematic to rely on estimates, especially when the methodology is unclear and may amount to racial profiling. With regards to citizenship, all of the Roma ('gypsies') counted in the 2004 census have Moldovan citizenship; whereas for the estimate provided by the Council of Europe, this is impossible to infer.

In its Opinion as part of the third monitoring cycle on the Republic of Moldova, the Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (ACFC) monitoring the FCNM brought up the issue of cases of non-registration of Roma children at birth, reported by non-governmental sources. The reasons ranged from lack of means to cover the late registration fees to birth while the family was working abroad. The ACFC pointed out that the lack of registration, resulting in a lack of identity documents, has serious consequences for those concerned and it can *inter alia* lead to exclusion from health care and social protection.⁸ With regards to quantifying this data, there is a discrepancy between the initial State Report of 24 February 2009 and the Government Comments to the Third ACFC Opinion of December 2009. In the State Report, a number of 20,888 Moldovan citizens of Roma ethnicity are mentioned, of which 11,561 persons had been issued identity cards as of 2007.⁹ The difference ensuing from the

figures mentioned in this report would be quite high (9327 persons of Roma ethnicity that would not have identity cards). However, in the Government Comments of December 2009, it is indicated that 12,138 persons were issued ID cards, but the figure of a total of 20,888 Moldovan citizens of Roma ethnicity is contested, with the Moldovan government invoking instead the lower figure reported in the 2004 census, of 12,271 persons (which would mean that all or almost all citizens of Roma ethnicity possess ID cards), and stating explicitly that "the opinion of the leaders of public Roma organizations that the Roma minority in Moldova is more numerous than it is indicated in official data, is groundless".¹⁰ Considering the contested nature of the real numbers of Moldovan citizens of Roma ethnicity, it is impossible to quantify this difference with precision.

II. REPRESENTATION

The US State Department 2014 Human Rights Report on Moldova notes that, for the period under review, there were no Roma in elected office or senior levels of public administration.¹¹ Concerning elected positions, according to the ACFC, national minorities are represented in elected bodies, albeit mainly at the local level. One of the reasons for this is Article 8 of the 2007 Law on Political Parties, which prevents the registration of regionally based political parties, which in turn limits their opportunities to represent their specific regional and minority interests at central level.¹² Roma women are "almost completely excluded from political life", with no Romani women "in any elected position anywhere in the Republic of Moldova".¹³ A study on the situation of Romani women in Moldova indicates as the main causes the economic hardship, family responsibilities and a certain lack of confidence in assuming public roles. Even more importantly, no mainstream party "has ever placed any



Romani women candidates at any electable position on a party list, in either local or national elections.”¹⁴

In terms of representation in public administration, national minorities are poorly represented, in particular at central level, where public institutions are reported to be increasingly mono-ethnic.¹⁵ The US State Department 2014 Human Rights Report on Moldova also notes, in its assessment of the policy programme to establish local government mediators with Romani communities, that in some rural areas mayors were reluctant to employ such Romani community mediators. Their role would have been to act as intermediaries between the Romani community and local public authorities, mediate disputes, and facilitate the community’s access to public services.¹⁶

III. DISCRIMINATION

While in the absence of consistent research on the topic, it would be difficult to assess the discrimination to which the Roma community is subjected as ‘systematic’, it can be strongly argued that members of the Roma community face widespread discrimination by employees of public authorities. The Fourth Opinion on the Republic of Moldova of the Council of Europe’s ACFC acknowledges continued reports regarding abuse of power or racially-motivated hostilities against Roma by members of the law enforcement authorities.¹⁷ Other scientific findings concerning the functioning of the police force and criminal prosecution in the Republic of Moldova should be underlined. Although not involving cases where the police or the criminal prosecution have denied assistance or protection to members of the Roma community, the report of the Council on the prevention and elimination of discrimination and ensuring equality does mention one case in which two employees of the ministry of the interior were found

guilty of racial discrimination against persons of Roma origin, more specifically of racial profiling.¹⁸ The persons found guilty received an administrative sanction, and had to present formal apologies, in writing, to the victims. Despite the fact that this is the only incident involving representatives of the police authorities that resulted in a conviction, the report states that “the presence of ethnicity and race prejudices among the representatives of the public authorities generates serious forms of discrimination”, indicating that this might be a widespread phenomenon rather than an isolated instance.¹⁹ Considering the tendency to under-report or disregard such cases – mentioned both by national bodies such as the Council on the prevention and elimination of discrimination and international organisations such as the ACFC, ECRI, UNDP – it can be assumed that this is indeed the case. A recent (June 2016) independent NGO report (Equal Rights Trust) mentions five other cases of police discrimination against persons belonging to the Roma minority that were reported to them in interviews.²⁰ None of these cases of discrimination by police have been followed up in court, although in one instance the police authorities fined the person of Roma origin for lodging a complaint of racially-motivated physical violence against him by a neighbour.²¹ This is all the more relevant since all the interviews have been conducted in just two villages in Moldova (Duşmani and Hînceşti), indicating that this is a much more widespread phenomenon, albeit an under-reported one.

There are no laws or state measures explicitly and specifically targeting (in the negative meaning of the word) the Roma community in Moldova. However, the low socio-economic profile of this community means that indirectly its members are excluded from participating in political and social and economic life, e.g. oftentimes Roma children cannot attend school due to their parents’ lacking the financial



resources for doing so. Informality plays here a central role: for instance, although against the law, head teachers may choose to de facto segregate Roma children; similarly, doctors may informally refuse to treat a member of the Roma community, despite existing legislation banning all forms of discrimination.

IV. VIOLENT ATTACKS

In the last three years, no violent attacks on members of the Roma community by the police or other public instances were registered, unless such attacks took place but were not reported or investigated. The Fourth Opinion on the Republic of Moldova of the ACFC, covering the period of the last five years, indicates that the number of investigations of hate crimes is still very small, and no independent mechanism exists to monitor possible forms of misbehaviour or abuse of power by the police.²² The report further notes that there have been very few cases of hate crime in courts, despite the continued anecdotal reports of hostilities and violence exhibited in particular against Roma, but also against persons of African origin.²³ The only criminal investigations of cases of violence against persons belonging to national minorities were cases of anti-Semitism, involving the desecration of Jewish cultural or religious sites (e.g. synagogues, cemeteries). Some of these cases resulted in convictions, in association with the glorification of fascism. No similar instances involving persons of Roma ethnicity have been sent to court under the penal code. One of the problems highlighted by the ACFC is that racial hatred is still not considered a criminal offence in itself but only serves as an aggravating circumstance according to Article 77(1)(d) of the Criminal Code or as a qualifying element in some provisions.²⁴ Likewise, a 2013 report by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) emphasised the fact

that "the police are reluctant to register complaints of discrimination" or fails to investigate cases of violence with a clearly racist motive".²⁵ However, the same report states that "there is a relatively low level of racist violence in Moldova" and that racist attacks mostly target "black people, members of minority religious groups and sacred Jewish objects", thus not mentioning the Roma as a target of racist violence.²⁶

The only far right organization in the Republic of Moldova is 'The New Right' (full name: 'The Christian-Nationalist Movement – The New Right'), an offshoot of 'The New Right' political party in Romania.²⁷ The movement can be characterized as a neo-fascist one, as it glorifies the ideology and the leadership of Romania's interwar fascist movement, 'The Legion of the Archangel Michael', which had a significant following at the time in the territory of present-day Moldova (back then the Romanian province known as Bessarabia). Like its Romanian counterpart, its ideology can be characterized as having also an anti-Roma component – however, the agenda of 'The New Right' in Moldova is dominated by its militancy in favour of union with Romania and anti-Russian sentiments, with the opposition to the Roma being categorically secondary. Furthermore, it is almost completely insignificant in terms of following in the Republic of Moldova, even more so than in Romania.²⁸ Finally, while the movement's ideology does have an anti-Roma component tantamount to discrimination, this is not at the level of directly calling for violence against the Roma in the Republic of Moldova. Consequently, no violent attacks carried out by this group against the Roma population have been recorded by any of the reports of international organisations addressing the situation of the Roma in the Republic of Moldova (ACFC, ECRI, UNDP, etc.). This being said, the fact that hate crimes are under-reported and under-investigated by the Moldovan authorities is



mentioned in almost all of these reports, together with the recommendation to redress this situation, so it could also be the case that attacks against the Roma population might have occurred but were not reported.

There are no scientific findings regarding the extent to which persons of Roma origins are victims of violent crimes as compared to the total population. None of the data made public by the Ministry of the Interior or the Ministry of Justice, as well as by the National Bureau of Statistics, makes any reference to ethnicity, only classifying offenders according to the type of crime, gender, age, and rate of re-offending. Similarly, no statistics concerning the ethnicity of the victims are available. Reports by NGOs, including the National Roma Centre in Moldova, do not make any reference to such findings either.

V. HEALTH CARE

The Republic of Moldova provides an obligatory and universal health insurance not only for Moldovan citizens but also for foreigners residing in Moldova who are either in employment or having a permanent residence permit, as well as for “refugees and other beneficiaries of humanitarian protection”.²⁹ The only persons required to acquire individual health insurance not covered by this system are foreigners residing temporarily in Moldova and not in employment (e.g. for purposes of family reunion, studies, humanitarian or religious activities). The law regulating the functioning of the health insurance system in Moldova is Law No. 1585 of 27.02.1998, last amended on 17.06.2016.³⁰ The principles governing the insurance are: universality, equality (all the beneficiaries have the same rights to treatment irrespective of their contributions), solidarity (contributors contribute to the system based on their income, beneficiaries benefit from it based on their needs), compulsory character,

contribution (the last two indicate the obligatory character of the contributions for persons and businesses), repartition and autonomy (of the health care system). The insurance covers access to the public hospitals, clinics and doctors, and not to private ones. The public health care sector is much more developed than the private one, although the latter, when available, provides medical services of higher quality. Health insurance is paid by all individuals in employment, as a percentage of their income, as well as by businesses for their employees (co-contribution). Emergencies and doctor visits are covered by the universal obligatory health insurance.

As in many former communist states, the problem with access to health care is related much more to corruption and the additional informal costs for medical care than with the provisions of the law. A study from 2006 identified Moldova as one of the most problematic cases in this respect, as in corruption surveys “health ranked first as the most corrupt sector in Moldova, Slovakia and Tajikistan”³¹ According to the survey, 82% of the population in Moldova perceived high levels of corruption in health care, and 90% of respondents indicated that they make informal payments when using health services.³² The study mentions that “formal payments are associated with primary and outpatient specialist care and informal payments with surgery and inpatient services”³³ which is once again a common occurrence in post-communist states. The difference does not lie with the additional costs for the Roma community as compared to the rest of the population, but with the relative purchasing power: as most households of members of the Roma community experience more poverty than the majority population, their capacity to make informal payments is considerably lower and consequently their access to health care services is much more limited.

Unequal access to the health care



system is one of the problems highlighted by all independent expert reports dealing with the situation of the Roma in the Republic of Moldova. As outlined above, an important element of this problem is the issue of informal payments, which, in line with the fact that persons belonging to the Roma minority experience high levels of poverty, renders their access to health services much more limited than for the majority population. Another problem is the one regarding registration for social services, already anticipated when discussing the issuing of identification cards for Roma children. Here, the problem with quantifying the data is once again related to the contested nature of the real numbers of persons of Roma origin in Moldova: according to the ACFC, the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection, as well as the Ministry of Health, are making efforts to collect such data. The former ministry estimates these numbers at around 48,000 persons (four times higher than the official census data), of which only 22,000 are registered with family doctors. The figures cited by independent NGO sources for the total population of Roma in the Republic of Moldova as of 2013 are 102,000. However, as the ACFC acknowledges, while welcoming such initiatives to obtain a more accurate picture of the demographic situation in order to address inequalities, the principle of free self-identification should be observed at all times, and this is likely to continue resulting in major discrepancies between the official figures and the real ones.³⁴

A study carried out by UNDP Moldova on Roma in Moldova in the regions inhabited preponderantly by Roma provides some important data regarding access to health care services. As such, according to their survey, only approximately 35% of the Roma hold individual health insurance, compared to 71% of their non-Roma neighbours.³⁵ Over 58% of the Roma are completely outside the health insurance system, over twice as many as the non-Roma (24%). The

difference is also significantly influenced by age – whereas 71% of the Roma aged 16-50 do not have health insurance, a figure almost three times higher than for the rest of the population, the figure is much lower (36%) for those over 50 years of age – for the latter. Since the majority of the Roma in Moldova live in rural areas, it is perhaps significant to correlate this data with other data provided by the National Bureau of Statistics for the population at large, which shows that 73% of the uninsured persons in Moldova come from rural areas (irrespective of ethnicity), and the majority of these lack insurance because they are “self-employed in agriculture”, a formulation that is in most cases tantamount to living out of subsistence agriculture on a small plot of land.³⁶ Among the persons surveyed by UNDP, 65% of the Roma indicated that in the last 12 months they had faced health issues that would have necessitated a doctor’s consultation but have hesitated to consult one, whereas only 44% of the non-Roma respondents stated the same. The main reasons invoked by Roma respondents for not accessing medical services when they thought they were necessary were: the high costs of the treatment and the incapacity to cover them (81%) and the lack of health insurance (5%). Other reasons include the lack of information among persons of Roma ethnicity regarding their rights to medical treatment and the services available to them; and the technical language used by medical staff, which is often unclear and disorienting for persons of Roma origin. The negligence of medical staff towards Roma people is also another reason.³⁷ However, as the statistics clearly show, the fear of incurring high costs for treatment (some justified, as with the informal payments, others not, resulting from a lack of knowledge about the availability of health care) appears as the principal reason why Roma do not access health services to the same extent as the majority population. Another element confirming this is that



Roma leaders state that many Roma only access health services to get a diagnostic, not following up with treatment because of its costs (formal and informal).³⁸ According to a study carried out by various UN agencies, the discrimination in accessing health care is even worse for Roma women, exposed to intersecting or multiple discrimination, as “the lack of jobs, the lack of identity cards and birth certificates prevents Romani women from obtaining health insurance”.³⁹

The official data provided by the Ministry of Health on the general state of health of the population does not differentiate between Moldovan citizens on the basis of ethnicity, only by type of affliction, gender, age, and type of locality (urban vs. rural).⁴⁰ However, independent reports mention that there is evidence of the fact the aforementioned barriers to accessing health care result in poorer health for the Roma population. As such, the previously mentioned report by UNDP, when asking Roma and non-Roma survey respondents to self-assess their own health, shows that over 82% of Roma respondents aged 50 years and older rated their health as bad or very bad; the figures are 41% for those aged 30-49 years and 22% for those aged 15-29. All of these figures are significantly higher than for non-Roma respondents: 58.4% of non-Roma respondents aged 50 years and older rated their own health as bad or very bad, and the figures for the other age groups are 21% for those aged 30-49 (half the percentage of Roma respondents) and 8% for those aged 15-29 (almost a third of the percentage of Roma respondents). Overall, 41% of the surveyed Roma perceived their health as bad or very bad, almost twice the number of non-Roma respondents (21%) who stated the same.⁴¹ The research carried out by Equal Rights Trust in the village of Hîncești supports such statistical evidence by citing interviews with persons of Roma origin and Roma mediators who attest to cases of direct discrimination inhibiting access to health care for Roma persons,

ranging from doctors’ refusing to do house visits to Roma households, to ambulances refusing to go to Roma households, to doctors taking up Roma patients queuing to see the doctor last, allegedly because the bad smell would repulse the non-Roma patients and the room needs to be aired after seeing a Roma patient.⁴²

While most of the data concerning chronic diseases mentioned in the UNDP report seems to show no major overall differences between the Roma and non-Roma population suffering from such conditions (27% Roma and 28% non-Roma), it also indicates a higher incidence of some chronic affections among the Roma: asthma, chronic bronchitis, emphysema, chronic anxiety, and depression, the former three linked to the much higher incidence of smoking among the Roma population, particularly among Roma women as compared to non-Roma women.⁴³

VI. EDUCATION

According to the Education Code of the Republic of Moldova, entered into force on 23 November 2014, the education system in Moldova is organised into the following categories:

- Level 0: ante-pre-school and pre-school education (ages 0-3 and 3-6/7, respectively)
- Level 1: primary education (forms I-IV, 6/7-10/11 years of age)
- Level 2: secondary education, first cycle (gymnasium) – forms V-VIII, ages 10/11-14/15
- Level 3: secondary education, second cycle (high school and professional technical school) – forms IX-XII, ages 14/15-18/19
- Level 4: post-secondary professional technical education
- Level 5: post-secondary professional technical education (non-tertiary)



- Level 6: higher education, cycle I: Bachelor degrees
- Level 7: higher education, cycle II: Master degrees
- Level 8: higher education, cycle III: doctoral degrees

According to the Code, all citizens of the Republic of Moldova have the legal right to equal access to education and professional formation (free of charge up to and including level 3). Education at levels 1-3 is compulsory for all children over the age of 7, whereas pre-school education is available upon request.⁴⁴ While education at levels 0-3 is entirely free of charge, for schools providing meals (mostly ante-pre-school and pre-school education), parents have to pay part of the costs of meals. According to an interview with Ana Vârlan, head of the Directorate for Education, Youth and Sport in Moldova's central region, the costs of meals at pre-school education are 17.55 Moldovan lei (approx. 0.78 EUR / day), of which the state covers 11.70 Moldovan lei (approx. 0.52 EUR) and parents cover 5.85 Moldovan lei (0.26 EUR) for each day the child attends kindergarten. These sums are the same for all kindergartens in the country, as the costs and subsidies are centralized, not regional.⁴⁵ Interviews with mothers cited in the same articles roughly confirm these costs, sometimes referring to slightly higher ones (7-7.5 Moldovan lei (approx. 0.31-0.33 EUR) / day) due also to "other taxes" (it is unclear what these are, but it could be special costs such as entry fees for children on kindergarten visits, special sport activities, etc.). Public kindergartens and schools are financed from the central budget of the Ministry of Education.

While most kindergartens and schools are public, private ones do exist, mostly in the urban areas (e.g. the website familia.md provides a list of all private kindergartens in the country, 22 in number, all located in the capital Chișinău).⁴⁶ The prices for private kindergartens can be

quite steep, ranging from 150 to 300 EUR / month, which is the equivalent of the salary of a full-time nanny. There are 19 private schools and high schools in Moldova, once again all in the capital Chișinău, with yearly prices ranging from 800 to 1700 EUR.⁴⁷

As with healthcare, reports indicate that informal costs are incurred when accessing education – according to a UN study on Roma women and girls in Moldova, "the practice of informal payments is reportedly widespread in the education system".⁴⁸ However, all reports dedicate much less attention to this matter than in the case of health care, and on the basis of personal experience as well, I would argue that the practice is much less widespread (and involving less financial resources) than in the case of healthcare. However, the indirect costs of education (clothes, textbooks, other school materials, transportation) pose considerable barriers for Roma to access the public education system considering the widespread poverty of the Roma population. Transportation is particularly highlighted as very important in rural areas where distances to schools are considerable, and the fact it is often unavailable or expensive (despite a legal provision for free transportation in all cases where the distance is more than 3 km, this is often not the case) is seen as a major problem for Roma children.⁴⁹ Despite a provision of the Action Plan to provide Roma children with free manuals and other school materials, the costs of schooling for the Roma remain high and are often mentioned by Roma interviewees as the primary cause for not having their children in education. These costs do not have to be informal: one woman interviewed in the 2014 UN report stated that none of her children attend kindergarten because the costs for meals – which she estimates at c. 80-90 Moldovan lei per month, i.e. approx. 5 EUR, which is the formal cost mentioned earlier for a child attending kindergarten 20 days a month, so not including any informal



payments. However, in a situation of extreme poverty as the one the Roma community is confronted with, such relatively modest costs can be insurmountable.

According to official data of the National Bureau of Statistics, the general data regarding access to education of the population of relevant age in 2015-2016 is as follows:

- pre-school: 83.6%
- primary school: 86.9%
- secondary school (gymnasium): 82.4%.⁵⁰

As usual with official statistics provided by national institutions in Moldova, there is no breakdown of this data according to ethnicity. A further note is that the rates of inclusion of children of relevant age in the education system are only provided for the levels of education that are based on voluntary or mandatory enrolment, without the need for an exam or other form of assessment. Since for high school and professional technical education there are certain entry requirements that students are allowed to pass, their rates of access to those levels are not provided, since they would not reflect only the access of the population to education, but also their qualifications, which are a different type of data.

All reports of international organisations (UN, ECRI, ACFC) point out the significant discrepancies regarding access to education between members of the Roma community and the non-Roma population. The most comprehensive data are provided in the UN report dating to 2013, which all other organisations mentioned above make reference to. According to the respective level of education, this data (as of 2011) is as follows:

- rate of participation in pre-school education: Roma 21%; non-Roma 79%

- rate of participation in primary and secondary school (gymnasium) education: 54% Roma; 90% non-Roma
- rate of participation in secondary school education (high school, professional technical school): 16% Roma; 78% non-Roma.⁵¹

The report shows that the figures are even lower for Roma girls, with the figures for participation in primary and secondary school (gymnasium) education being 52% for Roma girls vs. 55% for Roma boys and the ones for participation in secondary school education (high school, professional technical school) being 14% for Roma girls and 17% for Roma boys. Another aspect the report notes is that the situation shows no sign of improvement, since the data collected in 2011 actually shows a decline in the rate of participation of the Roma in mandatory primary and secondary school (gymnasium) education, from 57% in 2005 to 54% in 2011.⁵² The conclusions that can be drawn is that Roma children enter the education system later and leave it earlier, with these rates being even more significant for Roma girls (where the incidence of early marriages has to be taken into account).

The reasons for this discrepancy are different according to the level of education: for pre-school, most Roma respondents accounted for not sending their children to kindergarten by saying "it is too expensive" (37% - we noted earlier that this includes those cases where no informal payments are necessary, just the parents' contribution to children's meals; for non-Roma this figure is merely 17%) and "the kindergarten nearby is too crowded / there are no places" (37%; the figure for non-Roma is much higher in this case, i.e. 53%, thus excluding the possibility that places are generally preferentially assigned to non-Roma, although such instances are occasionally reported in interviews with Roma). 17% of Roma respondents and 14% of non-Roma



respondents stated that “there is no kindergarten nearby”, whereas 0% of both Roma and non-Roma stated as a reason that “the child is not treated well” – although, once again, individual interviews sometimes invalidate the general validity of this statistical data.⁵³

With regards to the mandatory primary and secondary school (gymnasium) education, the reasons for not participating (including the reasons for low attendance rates and abandoning school) are as follows: 46% “the costs of education are too high”; 13% “considered he / she is sufficiently educated”; 8% “need to work”; 7% marriage; 6% illness; 3% pregnancy; 1% harassment at school; 15% mention “other” reasons, without specifying them. When asked about experiencing discriminatory practices at school, the proportion of Roma respondents who answered positively is significantly higher than that of non-Roma, 16% for Roma vs. 7% for non-Roma.⁵⁴ Interviews with Roma mediators, Roma leaders and experts in human rights confirm these statistics, highlighting extreme poverty as the main cause for the low level of school enrolment and attendance, as well as for abandoning school, followed by seasonal migration and early marriage as further important factors.

According to the ACFC, segregation in schools still persists, despite numerous reports about it and efforts made by the Moldovan authorities to redress it. The ACFC noted with particular concern reports of segregated education continuing in 2016 in Otaci, where Roma children are reportedly all taught in one class with significantly lower quality of education. Repeated cases of segregation were also reported by UNICEF in other localities, such as in the Edineț and Leova districts, and in the capital Chișinău.⁵⁵ According to a report produced in 2014 by the Human Rights Information Centre, covering the period September-December 2013, there were cases of segregation of Roma children between schools (where Roma and non-Roma children study in different

schools), classes (where Roma and non-Roma children study in different classes), and in the classroom (where Roma children stay in the last rows and non-Roma children stay in the first rows of tables).⁵⁶ The reasons for this is that some teachers are opposed to teaching Roma alongside non-Roma children because Roma children are frequently absent, fall behind and require a special curriculum.⁵⁷ Another reason is that occasionally parents of non-Roma children pressure teachers into separating them from Roma children, due to the alleged ‘bad behaviour’ and ‘bad habits’ of the latter.

Corresponding to the data pertaining to enrolment in primary and secondary education, the data referring to the general educational level of the population at large and of members of the Roma community shows significant discrepancies. As such, literacy rates are 69% for the Roma adult population aged 16 and above, while the corresponding figure for non-Roma is 99%. For Roma youth (aged 16-24) the data show a slight improvement that must have occurred recently, in the last two decades since the collapse of communism, as the literacy rates are 74% for this group (still significantly lower than for non-Roma youth, where it is 100%). For Roma persons over 50 years old, the literacy rate is considerably lower, i.e. only 60%, as compared to 98% for non-Roma.⁵⁸

When it comes to the highest level of education achieved that resulted in a diploma, the data is as follows:

- With no studies: 40% of Roma vs. 2% of non-Roma
- Primary education: 25% of Roma vs. 7% of non-Roma
- Gymnasium: 26% of Roma vs. 25% of non-Roma
- Professional technical education: 2% of Roma vs. 12% of non-Roma
- High school: 6% of Roma vs. 37% of non-Roma



- Higher education (including degrees in progress): 1% of Roma vs. 18% of non-Roma.⁵⁹

All of this data presents a clear picture of systematic exclusion of the Roma from education. In addition to the reasons already mentioned above, among which poverty is the most important one, while another reason specific to the second cycle of secondary education (high school) and higher education is the low value placed on these by members of the Roma minority, who place much higher value on work, as well as the higher level of uncertainty regarding the availability of work places after graduation.⁶⁰

VII. HOUSING

The 2015 Law on Housing gives the population the legal right to shelter, and in particular has a special section dedicated to social housing. The legislation sets out the application procedure, as well the eligibility criteria for obtaining social housing. Among the categories of people who would qualify for social housing are included persons with severe disabilities, deinstitutionalized persons (meaning persons between 18 and 21 years of age who had to leave foster care), families with at least 3 minor children, families where there is only one parent bringing up at least two minor children, etc. There is no comprehensive data concerning the number of homeless persons in Moldova; much less so concerning the number of homeless persons from the Roma community. The methodological outline of the data collection performed for the 2014 census states that among the categories of persons surveyed the homeless were also included. It is however not clear if the final results will include a special section detailing the numbers and ethnic backgrounds of this category; in any case, the results of the census will be made public at the earliest in 2017.

The ACFC underlines that no

comprehensive efforts have been made to address the housing concerns of Roma; this in turns means that a large part of the Roma community lives in sub-standard conditions, with limited access to potable water, canalisation and regular power supply, affecting in particular children.⁶¹

VIII. EMPLOYMENT

According to official data of the National Bureau of Statistics, the unemployment rate in Moldova in the first trimester of 2016 is 6.2%, witnessing a decrease from the 8.5% unemployment rate in the first trimester of 2015. The overall occupation rate for persons over 15 years of age is 37.6%. Among the employed population, approximately 54.5% work in the service sector, 29% in agriculture, 13% in industry, and 3.5% in constructions.⁶² As with other official statistics provided by national institutions in Moldova, there is no breakdown of this data according to ethnicity. However, all reports of international organisations and NGOs dealing with the situation of the Roma in Moldova emphasise the differences between members of the Roma community and the rest of the population in the Republic of Moldova with regards to employment.

Thus, according to data collected in 2011, the occupation rate for Roma was only 20%, only slightly over half of the rate for non-Roma, 38% (for people aged 15 and more). Other indicators, such as the average number of years spent in employment (for people aged 15 or more), also show major discrepancies: 13.6 years for the Roma vs. 23 years for non-Roma.⁶³ More than half of the unemployed Roma (56%) have never worked, as compared to 18% of the non-Roma, and only 20% of the unemployed Roma had worked in the year when the survey was carried out (2011) as compared to 40% of the unemployed non-Roma.⁶⁴ Among the employed, only 19% of the Roma were in



permanent employment (as compared to 69% of the non-Roma), 20% in temporary employment (vs. 13% for non-Roma), 25% in seasonal employment (vs. 7% for non-Roma), and 36% in occasional, ‘as and when’ employment (vs. 11% of non-Roma). With regards to the level of qualification, 64% of the Roma were employed as unqualified workers, as compared to only 19% of the non-Roma, whereas the proportion for the category of specialists was 2% for the Roma as compared to 15% for the non-Roma.⁶⁵

The main reasons for this significant discrepancy are:

- The low level of education of the Roma (see answers to questions above): 91% of the Roma with higher education were employed as compared to only 61% of the non-Roma; 40% of the Roma with high school education were employed as compared to 41% of the non-Roma; 48% of the Roma with professional technical education were employed as compared to 47% of the non-Roma; 25% of the Roma with gymnasium education were employed vs. 30% of the non-Roma; whereas for persons with only primary education or with no education at all, the data for non-Roma are virtually close to 0% and for Roma they are 16% (only primary education) and 12% (no education), respectively.
- The low level of education translates also into a lack of professional qualifications and skills, in turn meaning that Roma work mostly unqualified, “low-paid, precarious daily or temporary work”.⁶⁶
- Direct discrimination experienced by many Roma when applying for jobs: some persons interviewed by the Equal Rights Trust said they were told to their faces by employers they “do not give jobs to

Roma”, others experienced going to interviews with equally qualified non-Roma friends and the latter were hired whereas they were not, others being told there were no vacancies at companies although it was at the time advertising for vacancies.⁶⁷ When looking at statistics regarding whether the employed Roma are working in the private or public sector, another important element becomes visible: 58% of the employed Roma work for a private company (as compared to 49% of non-Roma), whereas only 11% of the Roma work in the public sector (as compared to 37% of non-Roma). While some explanations include the facts that public sector jobs typically require higher levels of education or skill, which the Roma lack; that public sector jobs are badly paid; and that public sector jobs typically require full-time employment, which some Roma avoid, it is also quite probable that discrimination of state authorities is another important reason accounting for this discrepancy.⁶⁸

- Lack of awareness regarding the existence of programmes to reintegrate unemployed persons, of professional training courses, etc. This is on the one hand generalized at the level of the population at large (only 10% of all persons out of work are registered with the state unemployment agency), but particularly acute for the Roma, very few of which are registered with National Employment Centres (in 2012, only 1.4%).⁶⁹

The agency responsible for the re-integration of unemployed persons into the labour force is the National Agency for the Employment of the Labour Force (ANOFM), established in 2012. The agency has 35 territorial offices, covering



all the territory of the Republic of Moldova, and all of its services are offered free of charge.⁷⁰ The success of this agency in redressing the discrimination Roma face in the field of employment is limited, partly because of a general lack of awareness about its activities which is particularly acute in the case of the Roma (1.4% of unemployed Roma persons access its services as compared to 10% for the unemployed population as a whole). Since the Agency was established less than four years ago, this situation might improve in time. According to the annual report of the National Agency for the Employment of the Labour Force for the year 2015, a total of 1100 Roma persons registered with the Agency in the course of the year, of which 60% were women; of these, only 70 persons (60% women) were employed in the course of 2015.⁷¹ However, when comparing the absolute numbers of Roma who accessed the services of the National Employment Agency in the last three years, 2015 marks a clear improvement, as the number rose from 528 Roma in 2014 (638 in 2013) to 1100 in 2015.⁷²

Nevertheless, recent reports, such as The ACFC Fourth Opinion on the Republic of Moldova, are critical of the little progress made in this respect under the Roma Action Plan 2011-2015. As such, the ACFC notes that significant measures foreseen in the Action Plan were not implemented. One of its priority areas was the institutionalisation of 48 Roma community mediators until the end of 2015 to facilitate access to services in Roma communities, including access to National Employment Centres. While 25 mediators were recruited until the end of 2014 by the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection, a change in the legislative framework resulted in their services as of 2015 being no longer coordinated and paid at central level but by the local government units. Due, reportedly, to the hesitation shown by many mayors to allocate respective salaries within their local budgets, the number of

mediators decreased to 14 in 2015 and further to 9 in early 2016.⁷³

Finally, even if jobs are found for persons of Roma origin through the services of the National Employment Agency, the companies where they are sent for interview often discriminate against Roma, as attested by interviews carried out by Equal Rights Trust in 2015, such as the one with Liudmila Raiu, who was directly told by a potential employer which she accessed through the ANOFM that "We don't give jobs to Roma".⁷⁴

The aspect of child labour should not be neglected either. Reports indicate that child labour is present among Romani boys and girls, with a greater impact on Romani girls. As a result, many children, especially girls, become more vulnerable to school dropout or health deprivation.⁷⁵

IX. ACCESS TO SOCIAL BENEFITS

A World Bank assessment found that Moldova spends generously on social assistance programs compared to countries at the same level of development, yet the overall effectiveness of the social safety net is weak, and the program is fragmented into multiple categorical benefits that have only a small impact on poverty.⁷⁶

In Moldova the funding of the social protection system is provided through the Budget for State Social Insurance (SSIB), which is an integrated part of the national budget. It is managed by the Chamber of Social Insurance (NSIH), the State Treasury of the Ministry of Finance and by six funds (e.g. Pension Fund, Fund for Families with Children, Unemployment Fund). Social insurance contributions from employers and employees account for the bulk of revenues and have been growing over time up to 85% of total revenues. The remaining (declining) share is financed through the state budget.⁷⁷

Roma tend to be overrepresented as recipients of social assistance, child



benefits in particular, providing an important source for income. For example, in Moldova social assistance provides about 6% of the Roma income compared to 3% of non-Roma families. On the other hand only a small percentage of the Roma population is entitled to social insurance benefits due to low formal employment levels associated with high long-term unemployment.⁷⁸ According to a report drafted by the Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies, the Moldovan authorities purport that the extent of the Roma populations' participation in the social insurance system and their inclusion into social assistance programmes is unknown due to the lack of data.⁷⁹

X. ROMANI WOMEN

The differences in access to education between Roma men and women are very significant, and the latter have much less qualifications: 45% of Roma women have no qualifications, as compared to 33% of Roma men and to 2% of non-Roma women. With regards to illiteracy, the same pattern applies: only 63% of adult (16+) Roma women are literate, compared to 99% adult non-Roma women, and 77% adult Roma men.⁸⁰

With regards to other professional qualifications (professional training courses, adult education), only 5% of Roma respondents (7% of Roma men and 4% of Roma women) ever attended such a training (not necessarily resulting in obtaining the respective qualification), as compared to 31% non-Roma (31% men and 32% women). In terms of computer literacy, the differences are once again significant: only 14% of Roma respondents can use a computer, vs. 35% of non-Roma. Among youth (age category 15-29), the differences are even more striking, almost reversed: only 25% of Roma youth can use a computer vs. 73% of non-Roma youth.⁸¹

Gender violence, including

domestic violence, continues to be one of the main problems regarding the rights of women faced by the Republic of Moldova today. Roma women are more vulnerable because they are exposed to increased risks of social exclusion and poverty, both compared to men from their community as well as women of other ethnic affiliations.⁸² Regarding domestic violence, a UN report on the situation of Romani women in Moldova states that domestic violence against women is present in many Romani families, although it is many times not reported, as very often Romani women hide or minimize violence against them. More than half of the Romani women interviewed for the UN report stated that they had suffered from physical violence from their husband or partner in the course of their lifetime, while a significant part continued to be beaten even in the present. Despite repeated violence against them, most of the Romani women interviewed did not try to ask for help from anybody.⁸³ Reasons for non-reporting include fear, shame, resignation, and, very importantly, financial insecurity and concerns over the fate of their children.⁸⁴

According to the 2016 *Trafficking in Persons Report*, Moldova is primarily a source country for men, women, and children subjected to sex trafficking and forced labour. Moldovan victims are subjected to sex and labour trafficking within Moldova and in Russia, Ukraine, and other countries in Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and East Asia. Official complicity in trafficking is a significant problem in Moldova.⁸⁵

Data on trafficking of Romani women and girls in Moldova is not available. A UN study on the situation of Romani women and girls in the republic of Moldova quotes a report by *Terre des Hommes* from 2010, indicating that Romani children from Moldova are trafficked especially to Russia. According to *Terre des Hommes*, in the period of January 2005-December 2007, 45 Romani children, ages 1-15, were intercepted in



Russia, mainly in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Most of the children were found begging in the streets while fewer children were forced into labour.⁸⁶

The issue of early marriages is also a very important one. A 2007 UNDP report states that they are frequent among the Roma and represent a worrying trend. The report mentions the fact that the minimum marriage age for the Roma is 15 years old for both men and women – this is one year earlier than the legally accepted age (16 years old) for women and three years earlier than the legally accepted age (18 years old) for men. However, concrete data on the number of such cases is not available. This may be because accurate data on the extent of child and early marriage in Romani families in Moldova is very difficult to obtain. Child marriages are not officially registered, and no studies that we are aware of looked at this issue in particular.

According to reports by Romani women, it is not customary for authorities to intervene in a child marriage process. In a few cases where school authorities inquired about girls dropping out of school because of getting married, none of them returned to school after the school authorities' home visits. Similarly, the local police officers refrain from taking action on their own initiative to prevent or accuse the child marriage, claiming that they cannot act without a complaint received from the victim. Some police officers hold that Roma have their "own law", precluding intervention on the part of public authorities.⁸⁷

XI. POLICIES FOR THE PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

The 2001 Law on the Rights of Persons belonging to National Minorities and the Legal Status of their Organisations, which sets out the policies for the protection of national minorities living in the Republic of Moldova, is among the policies worth

pointing out. There is no comprehensive list of national minorities recognized by the state; instead, the law defines persons belonging to national minorities as "persons residing in the Republic of Moldova and of Moldovan nationality who have particular ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious features which distinguish them from the - Moldovan - majority of the population and who consider themselves to be of different ethnic origin".⁸⁸

Moldova has ratified the Council of Europe FCNM and adopted comprehensive legislation in all major areas; however, both international and domestic reports indicate that poor implementation of the legislation remains a significant problem.

Concerning the Roma community, the authorities have developed an Action Plan for the Roma for 2007-2010, followed by the Action Plan 2011-2015. The Action Plans laid out several sectoral action plans in the field of education, employment, social protection and health care, and culture. The Advisory Committee has repeatedly in its Third and Fourth Opinions voiced its concern about the reported lack of effective implementation. In particular it highlighted the need for additional resources and more resolute efforts for ensuring that the Action Plans will lead to a lasting improvement of the situation of Roma.⁸⁹

In particular, the adoption of the Roma Action Plan 2011-2015 was welcomed as a significant achievement. According to minority representatives however, the vast majority of measures foreseen was not implemented, as the competencies for taking concrete action remained unclear and funding was vastly insufficient. In addition, the Plan did not contain effective measures to address the widespread discrimination faced by Roma in their daily life, for instance when looking for employment.

In 2015, a new Action Plan for the support of Roma people for the timeframe of 2016-2020 has been drafted. In January 2016, the final evaluation report of the



Plan for the 2011-2015 period was presented at a National Conference and the new draft Action Plan for the period 2016-2020 was discussed with representatives of the civil society and specialized NGO's.⁹⁰ However, the ACFC noted that the main shortcoming of the previous Action Plan, i.e. the lack of implementation and supervisory mechanisms, may not be addressed in this new plan. According to the Advisory Committee, a welcome development is the inclusion of a gender perspective into the various chapters of the new Action Plan, which is likely to be accepted by the Roma communities.⁹¹

Concerning the mediators for the Roma community, the ACFC noted that

one of the priority areas of the Roma Action Plan 2011-2015 was the institutionalisation of 48 Roma community mediators until the end of 2015 to facilitate access to services in Roma communities. According to the ACFC, 25 mediators were recruited until the end of 2014 by the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection; however, a change in the legislative framework resulted in their services as of 2015 being no longer coordinated and paid at central level but by the local government units. Due to the hesitation shown by many mayors to allocate respective salaries within their local budgets, the number of mediators decreased to 14 in 2015 and further to nine in early 2016.⁹²



Notes:

¹ All data refers to the Republic of Moldova proper, not including the breakaway territory of Transnistria.

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⁴ Biroul Național de Statistică al Republicii Moldova, ‘Caracteristici demografice, naționale, lingvistice, culturale’ (Demographic, National, Linguistic and Cultural Characteristics), available at: <http://www.statistica.md/pageview.php?l=ro&idc=295&id=2234> (accessed 10 March 2017).

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⁷ United Nations Development Programme, *Roma in the Republic of Moldova*, Chișinău: UNDP Moldova, 2007, pp. 40-41.

⁸ Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, ‘Third Opinion on Moldova Adopted on 26 June 2009’, available at: <https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=090000168008c69d> (accessed 10 March 2017).

⁹ Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, ‘Third Report Submitted by Moldova Pursuant to Article 25, Paragraph 1 of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities’, available at: <https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=090000168008b7cb> (accessed 10 March 2017).

¹⁰ Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, ‘Comments of the Government of Moldova on the Third Opinion of the Advisory Committee on the Implementation of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities by Moldova’, available at: <https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=090000168008fa05> (accessed 10 March 2017), p. 8.

¹¹ U.S. Department of State, ‘Moldova 2014 Human Rights Report’, available at: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/236766.pdf> (accessed 10 March 2017), p.40.

¹² Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, ‘Fourth Opinion on the Republic of Moldova’, available at <https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806f69e0> (accessed 10 March 2017), p. 34.

¹³ UN Women, Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Moldova, *Study on the Situation of Romani Women and Girls in the Republic of Moldova*, Chișinău, 2014, p. 55.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, ‘Fourth Opinion on the Republic of Moldova’, available at <https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806f69e0> (accessed 10 March 2017), p. 35.

¹⁶ U.S. Department of State, ‘Moldova 2014 Human Rights Report’, available at: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/236766.pdf> (accessed 10 March 2017), p.40.

¹⁷ Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, ‘Fourth Opinion on the Republic of Moldova’, available at <https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806f69e0> (accessed 10 March 2017), p. 20.

¹⁸ Council on the Prevention and Elimination of Discrimination and Ensuring Equality, *Submission Prepared by the Council on the Prevention and Elimination of Discrimination and Ensuring Equality for the Universal Periodic*



Review of the Republic of Moldova, 26th session, Chișinău, 23 March 2016, available at: <http://www.egalitate.md/media/files/UPR-Submission-Moldovan-Equality-Body.pdf> (accessed 10 March 2017), p. 6. See also Decision of 28.05.2015 based on the case no. 239/2015, available at:

http://egalitate.md/media/files/files/decizie_239_2015_depersionalozat_6318337.pdf.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Equal Rights Trust in partnership with Promo-LEX Association, *From Words to Deeds: Addressing Discrimination and Inequality in Moldova*, London: Equal Rights Trust, 2016, pp. 44-47.

²¹ Ibid, pp. 44-45.

²² Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, ‘Fourth Opinion on the Republic of Moldova’, available at:

<https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806f69e0>

(accessed 10 March 2017), p. 5.

²³ Ibid, p. 16.

²⁴ Ibid. See also Council on the Prevention and Elimination of Discrimination and Ensuring Equality, *Submission Prepared by the Council on the Prevention and Elimination of Discrimination and Ensuring Equality for the Universal Periodic Review of the Republic of Moldova, 26th session, Chișinău, 23 March 2016*, available at: <http://www.egalitate.md/media/files/UPR-Submission-Moldovan-Equality-Body.pdf> (accessed 10 March 2017), p. 6.

²⁵ European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, *ECRI Report on the Republic of Moldova (Fourth Monitoring Cycle)*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2013, p. 17.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 27.

²⁷ Bogdan Țîrdea, ‘Sistemul de partide politice din Republica Moldova: Evoluții și involuții’ (The Political Party System in the Republic of Moldova: Evolutions and Involutions), available at: <http://www.bogdantsirdea.eu/?p=1011> (accessed 10 March 2017).

²⁸ See the organization’s webpage at <http://www.nouadreapta.md/> (accessed 10 March 2017).

²⁹ Law No. 1585 of 27.02.1998, available at <http://lex.justice.md/md/311622/> (accessed 10 March 2017).

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Maureen Lewis, ‘Governance and Corruption in Public Health Care Systems’, *Center for Global Development Working Paper No. 78*, 2006, p. 14.

³² Ibid, pp. 14, 28.

³³ Ibid, p. 29.

³⁴ Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, ‘Fourth Opinion on the Republic of Moldova’, available at:

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³⁵ United Nations Development Programme, *Romii din Republica Moldova în localitățile locuite preponderent de romi* (The Roma in the Republic of Moldova in the Localities Inhabited Preponderantly by Roma), Chișinău 2013, p. 32.

³⁶ Biroul Național de Statistică al Republicii Moldova (The National Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Moldova), *Accesul populației la serviciile de sănătate. Rezultatul studiului în gospodării, august-septembrie 2010* (The Access of the Population to Health Services. The Result of a Study in Households, August-September 2010), Chișinău 2011, p. 38.

³⁷ UNDP, *Romii din Republica Moldova în localitățile locuite preponderent de romi* (The Roma in the Republic of Moldova in the Localities Inhabited Preponderantly by Roma), Chișinău 2013, p. 34.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ UN Women, OHCHR and UNDP Moldova, *Study on the Situation of Romani Women and Girls in the Republic of Moldova*, Chișinău, 2014, p. 46.

⁴⁰ Report *Sănătatea Publică în Moldova 2015* (Public Health in Moldova 2015), multiple files, available at: <http://www.cnms.md/ro/rapoarte/anuar-statistic-medical> (accessed 10 March 2017).

⁴¹ UNDP, *Romii din Republica Moldova în localitățile locuite preponderent de romi* (The Roma in the Republic of Moldova in the Localities Inhabited Preponderantly by Roma), Chișinău 2013, p. 28. See also Equal Rights Trust in partnership with Promo-LEX Association, *From Words to Deeds: Addressing Discrimination and Inequality in Moldova*, London: Equal Rights Trust, 2016, p. 59.

⁴² Equal Right Trust, *From Words to Deeds*, pp. 60-61.



⁴³ UNDP, *Romii din Republica Moldova in localitățile locuite preponderent de romi* (The Roma in the Republic of Moldova in the Localities Inhabited Preponderantly by Roma), Chișinău 2013, pp. 30-31, 36.

⁴⁴ Parlamentul Republicii Moldova (The Parliament of the Republic of Moldova), *Codul Educatiei al Republicii Moldova* (The Education Code of the Republic of Moldova), available at: <http://lex.justice.md/md/355156/> (accessed 10 March 2017).

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⁴⁸ UN Women, OHCHR and UNDP Moldova, *Study on the Situation of Romani Women and Girls in the Republic of Moldova*, Chișinău, 2014, p. 31.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

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⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid, p. 17.

⁵⁴ Ibid, pp. 21-22.

⁵⁵ Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, 'Fourth Opinion on the Republic of Moldova', available at

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⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 49.

⁵⁸ UNDP, *Romii din Republica Moldova in localitățile locuite preponderent de romi* (The Roma in the Republic of Moldova in the Localities Inhabited Preponderantly by Roma), Chișinău 2013, pp. 22-23.

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⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 24.

⁶¹ Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, 'Fourth Opinion on the Republic of Moldova', available at

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⁶⁵ Ibid, pp. 39-40.

⁶⁶ Equal Rights Trust, ““No Jobs for Roma”: Situation Report on Discrimination against the Roma in Moldova”, *The Equal Rights Review* 15 (2015), p. 135.



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