
Nenad
POKOS

A DEMOGRAPHIC
ANALYSIS OF THE
ROMA BASED ON THE
CENTRAL BUREAU OF
STATISTICS DATA

Under the provisions of Constitutional Law on human rights and liberties as well as ethnic and minority rights in the Republic of Croatia, Croatia protects the equality of persons who belong to twenty-two ethnic minorities. Based on the data of the Central Bureau of Statistics, a demographic analysis of the Roma, one of these ethnic minorities, is presented in this chapter.

Census changes in the number of Roma

The number of Roma in Croatia could only be more accurately followed after World War II, when the first population census was conducted in 1948. For earlier periods, the number of Roma was only based on evaluations because the population was not recorded on the basis of ethnicity, but according to religion and mother tongue; there is no special account of the Romani language in the records. According to Žerjavić (1989), about 17,000 Roma lost their lives during NDH (Independent State of Croatia) so in 1948 there were only 405 Roma recorded in Croatia. In 1953, 1,261 Roma were listed while in 1961 their number decreased to 313 (a decrease by 75.2%). The explanation for such a census decrease in only five years can be found in the simultaneous increase of Romanians. In 1953, there were 418 Romanians while in 1961 there were as many as 1,053 (a 40% increase). Evidently, this is a census error or a miscalculation in the statistical analysis of census data. Consequently, in 1961, as in other years, the Roma “became” Romanians. As evidence of this, the census data on the number of Roma and Romanians in three settlements in the County of Međimurje can be used. Namely, in the settlements Pribislavec, Trnovec and Orehovica census data shows that there were 118 Romanians in 1971, while in 1981 there were 684 Roma but not one Romanian.

After 1961, the number of Roma increased: in 1971 there were 1,257 Roma listed; in 1981 this number in-

creased to 3,858 and in 1991 it reached 6,695. According to the official data of the Central Bureau of Statistics in the last census of 2001, 9,643 persons claimed to be Roma which is 0.2% of the total population of Croatia. Between 1991 and 2001, censuses indicate that the number of Roma increased by 41.3%, which is by far the largest increase of an ethnic minority in Croatia. Only four other ethnic minorities increased their numbers in the mentioned period: Russians (28.3%); Albanians (25.3%); Austrians (15.4%); and Germans (10.1%).

However, it needs to be mentioned that as in earlier years, many members of this ethnic minority did not participate in the census (i.e., they are not listed) and significantly in part because they did not declare themselves as Roma (but in some other way). For example, in 2001, there was no record of any Roma in a settlement called Pitomača even though it is well-known that after Zagreb this is probably the largest Romani hub in Croatia where more than 900 Roma live (Hrvatić and Ivančić, 2000). Moreover, based on the census results, it seems that not one single Rom lived in Kloštar Podravski (where about 350 Roma otherwise live) like in the nearby settlement of Stiska with about 50 Romani families. Non-declaration of actual ethnicity is not only characteristic among the Romani population in Podravina but also in the Romani settlement of Homutno, Omišalj. There is no record of a Romani population although there are about 150 Roma at this location. A similar situation can be found in Puškarići, near Ogulin where only one inhabitant declared Romani heritage (even though there are about hundred inhabitants of Romani descent that live there) just like in Otok Oštarijski, Donja Dobra, etc.

Considering this, estimations that between 30,000 and 40,000 Roma live in Croatia are conceivable while some even think that this number is around 60,000. In view of this, every analysis of census data becomes disputable because only about a third (if not less) of Romani inhabitants declare their Romani heritage at censuses. However, since analysis of census data for 2001 is one of the tasks of this project, this available data will be used even though this does not relate to the actual number of Roma in Croatia.

The Roma in Counties

In the census of 2001, the Roma are represented in all counties although they are least numbered in the Counties of Krapina-Zagorje, Virovitica-Podravina, Zadar and Du-

Table I
The number of Roma in Counties 1991 and 2001

COUNTY	No. of members		Index of change 2001/1991	Share in the total county population 2001	Share in the total number of Roma
	1991	2001			
Zagreb	129	231	179.1	0.07	2.4
Krapina-Zagorje	2	4	200.0	0.00	0.0
Sisak-Moslavina	315	708	224.8	0.38	7.5
Karlovac	16	7	43.8	0.00	0.1
Varaždin	333	448	134.5	0.24	4.7
Koprivnica-Križevci	204	125	61.3	0.10	1.3
Bjelovar-Bilogora	144	140	97.2	0.11	1.5
Primorje-Gorski kotar	504	589	116.9	0.19	6.2
Lika-Senj	49	10	20.4	0.02	0.1
Virovitica-Podravina	86	4	4.7	0.00	0.0
Požega-Slavonia	0	7	-	0.01	0.1
Brod-Posavina	223	586	262.8	0.33	6.2
Zadar	7	4	57.1	0.00	0.0
Osijek-Baranja	782	977	124.9	0.30	10.3
Šibenik-Knin	42	8	19.0	0.01	0.8
Vukovar-Sirmium	265	167	63.0	0.08	1.8
Split-Dalmatia	39	11	28.2	0.00	0.1
Istria	637	600	94.2	0.29	6.3
Dubrovnik-Neretva	5	4	80.0	0.00	0.0
Međimurje	1,920	2,887	150.4	2.44	30.5
City of Zagreb	993	1,946	196.0	0.25	20.6
TOTAL IN REPUBLIC OF CROATIA	6,695	9,463	141.3	0.21	100

brovnik-Neretva. In each of the mentioned counties, only four Roma are listed in the census. On the other hand, most Roma lived in the County of Međimurje where 2,887 make up 2.4% of the total county population. This is the only county where the Roma make up more 1% of the total county population. In comparison, the County of Sisak-Moslavina is in second place where the Roma constitute only 0.4% of the total county population. With regard to the share in the total number of Roma, most Roma (30.5%) live in the County of Međimurje according to the 2001 census. If the Roma in the City of Zagreb (20.6%) are added to this group - more than half of all Roma in Croatia live in these two counties (51.1%). In comparison, between 4 and 11 members of the Romani ethnic minority were listed in as many as nine counties which make an analysis of demographic features in these counties statistically unreliable.¹ It is interesting that all four Dalmatian counties are among these nine counties, where there are only 27 Roma.

Analysis of the census data reveals that the highest increase in the number of Roma between 1991 and 2001 was recorded in the County of Slavonski Brod-Posavina (a 162.8% increase) and in the County of Sisak-Moslavina (a 124.8% increase). Such a high increase in the number of Roma over a ten-year span is probably the result of high natural growth rates and better organised census-taking in the Romani settlement near Slavonski Brod and in Capraške Poljane, Sisak.

The Roma in settlements

While in 1991, the Roma lived in a total of 190 settlements, ten years later this number decreased to 171 settlements according to the censuses. This data also indicates that the Roma in particular settlements no longer declare their real ethnicity.

The only settlement in the 2001 census with more than a thousand Roma is Zagreb, with 1,406 inhabitants of Romani ethnicity. More than 100 Roma were found in 19 more settlements (the number of Roma is shown in brackets) Kuršanec (722), Slavonski Brod (582), Trnovec (523), Rijeka (478), Držimurec (430), Sesvete (407), Pribislavec (381), Donje Vratno (365), Crnac (357), Pula (301), Orehovica (237), Darda (210), Podturen (173), Vodnjan (168), Zebanec Selo (162), Kotoriba (156), Beli Manastir (146), Bistrinci (133) and Vinkovci (114).² A majority population of Romani inhabitants was only found in Donje Vratno where there are only 14 non-Roma inhabitants in the total population.

Division of Zagreb into town quarters shows that most Roma live in Peščenica-Žitnjak (726), which is more populated than Kuršanec - the most populated Romani settlement outside of Zagreb. More than a 100 Roma live in the quarters Trnje (163), Gornja Dubrava (131) and Donja Dubrava (126) of Zagreb.

Romani households

In Croatia, the total number of Romani households equalled 2,099 households in 2001. A total of 10,548 persons lived in these households, which means that one Romani household feasibly had exactly five members. Since 9,430 Roma were listed in the same year, this means that at least 1,118 non-Roma inhabitants lived in Romani households which made up 10.6% of the total population of these households.

COUNTY	Total number of Romani households	Average number of members in Romani households	Share in the total number of Romani households
Zagreb	37	7.2	1.8
Krapina-Zagorje	-	-	-
Sisak-Moslavina	152	5.0	7.2
Karlovac	3	3.3	0.1
Varaždin	85	5.3	4.0
Koprivnica-Križevci	25	5.8	1.2
Bjelovar-Bilogora	48	3.9	2.3
Primorje-Gorski kotar	139	4.9	6.6
Lika-Senj	4	5.5	0.2
Virovitica-Podravina	1	4.0	0.0
Požega-Slavonia	-	-	-
Brod-Posavina	123	5.1	5.9
Zadar	1	4.0	0.0
Osijek-Baranja	314	3.6	15.0
Šibenik-Knin	3	3.0	0.1
Vukovar-Sirmium	32	5.7	1.5
Split-Dalmatia	6	3.2	0.3
Istria	116	5.8	5.5
Dubrovnik-Neretva	1	4.0	0.0
Međimurje	598	5.1	28.5
City of Zagreb	410	5.6	19.5
TOTAL IN REPUBLIC OF CROATIA	2,099	5.0	100

Table 2

The total number of Romani households and members of Romani households in counties in 2001

In table 2, where Romani households are divided into counties, the data on the number of Roma somewhat differ compared to table 1. Even though both tables are from the Central Bureau of Statistics, it is unknown why the total number of Roma amounts to 9,430 based on data in table 2 while the official number of Roma in Croatia is 9,463 (table 1). The data also differs when Romani households are divided according to counties. Table 2 does not show a single inhabitant of Romani ethnicity in the Counties of Krapina-Zagorje and Požega-Slavonia (even though four and seven Roma have been listed in each county respectively). In the City of Zagreb, the difference is four persons while in the County of Sisak-Moslavina it is two persons.

The total number of Romani households in the County of Međimurje and the City of Zagreb amounts to 48% of all households. Even though more than half of all the Roma in Croatia (51.1%) live in these two counties (that have the most numbered Romani populations), there are a smaller share of households. This is because on average each Romani household in these counties has more members compared to the average across Croatia. Namely, across Croatia, the average number of members in a Romani house-

hold is 5.0 while in the County of Međimurje it is 5.1 and in the City of Zagreb it is 5.6 persons in each household. The County of Zagreb has the highest average (7.2), followed by the Counties of Koprivnica-Križevci and Istria with 5.8 members in each Romani household. Excluding the nine counties in which the number of Romani households is not pertinent, these indicators can reflect the wrong conclusion. The least Roma per household is in the County of Osijek-Baranja where the average number of members is 3.6, which is two times less than in the County of Zagreb.

The Roma by sex and age

In comparison to the total population of Croatia in which the sex ratio reveals that females are predominant (51.9%), the opposite situation is found among the Roma. Romani females make up 49.5% while Romani males make up 50.5% of the Romani population. In other words, among the Roma for every 1,000 men there are 981 females while at the state level for every 1,078 females there are 1,000 males. Among the Roma, females are in the majority only in the following age groups: 10 - 14, 55 - 59, 60 - 64, 70 - 74, 75 - 79 and 80 - 84 years.

Table 3
The Roma by sex and
age in 2001

Age group	Total		Male		Female	
	abs.	rel.	abs.	rel.	abs.	rel.
0-4	1,769	18.7	901	18.9	868	18.5
5-9	1,390	14.7	704	14.7	686	14.6
10-14	1,105	11.7	534	11.2	571	12.2
15-19	976	10.3	510	10.7	466	9.9
20-24	834	8.8	438	9.2	396	8.5
25-29	727	7.7	363	7.6	364	7.8
30-34	609	6.4	297	6.2	312	6.7
35-39	543	5.7	283	5.9	260	5.5
40-44	421	4.4	223	4.7	198	4.2
45-49	306	3.2	154	3.2	152	3.2
50-54	209	2.2	112	2.3	97	2.1
55-59	156	1.6	63	1.3	93	2.0
60-64	138	1.5	65	1.4	73	1.6
65-69	67	0.7	36	0.8	31	0.7
70-74	54	0.6	19	0.4	35	0.7
75-79	20	0.2	5	0.1	15	0.3
80-84	6	0.1	1	0.0	5	0.1
85-89	3	0.0	3	0.1	-	-
90 and over	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unknown	130	1.5	66	1.4	64	1.4
TOTAL	9,463	100	4,777	100	4,686	100

It is evident from table 3 that not one person lived past ninety in 2001 while only nine members of this ethnic minority were more than eighty years old. This only confirms the generally known fact that the Roma rarely live to an old age and that their lifespan is considerably shorter than members of other ethnic groups.

Division of the population into five-year age groups shows that most of the Roma are in the youngest age group (0–4 years) and that their number gradually decreases as they get older. The progressive (expansive) pyramid (with larger bars at the bottom of the pyramid) corresponds to this population, which is characterised by a large share of children and dynamic development as well as a high rate of population growth, which is a result of high rates of natality and a somewhat slower declining rate of mortality.

County	Relative share of the population (%)			Index of aging
	0 - 19	20 - 59	60 and over	
Zagreb	51.9	37.7	4.3	8.3
Sisak-Moslavina	55.5	41.7	2.5	4.6
Varaždin	63.2	35.0	1.1	1.8
Koprivnica-Križevci	64.8	34.4	0.8	1.2
Bjelovar-Bilogora	35.7	55.0	9.3	26.0
Primorje-Gorski kotar	46.9	49.4	2.7	6.6
Brod-Posavina	55.8	40.3	2.0	3.7
Osijek-Baranja	45.0	47.3	7.1	15.7
Vukovar-Sirmium	51.5	35.3	5.4	10.5
Istria	53.2	44.3	1.7	3.1
Međimurje	64.8	33.1	1.3	2.0
City of Zagreb	50.0	43.4	4.2	8.4
Total in Croatia	55.4	40.2	3.0	5.5

* Differences up to 100% relate to the population of an unknown age.

Clearly, among the Roma there is a distinctly expansive type of age structure; in 2001, 55.4% were a part of the young population (0–19 years) and only 3% were persons older than sixty. Simultaneously at the state level, the young population constituted 23.7% while the old made up 21.5% of the total population. According to the index of aging, which is a better indicator of the level of aging, it can be noted that for every 100 Roma in the age group between 0–19 only 5.5 live to the age of sixty or more. This type of age structure is not only convincingly younger than average for the total Croatian population where the index of aging

Table 4

The relative share of Roma by large age groups and the index of aging by counties in which there are more than 100 Roma in 2001

in 2001 was 90.7 but the Romani population is far younger than any other ethnic minority in Croatia.

The youngest population was recorded in the County of Koprivnica-Križevci where only one person was over sixty out of 125 Roma (excluding the nine counties in which less than twelve Roma lived in 2001). A very young population also live in the County of Varaždin (index of aging 1.8) and the County of Međimurje (index of aging 2.0). Undisputedly, the members of this ethnic minority have the highest rate of natality (fertility). Comparatively, the oldest Romani population was recorded in the County of Bjelovar-Bilogora with an index of aging of 26.0. However, this is still a very young population since it is considered that a population enters the aging process once its index exceeds 40.0.

A considerable difference is noted in the age structures of three of the most northern and “youngest” counties (Međimurje, Varaždin and Koprivnica-Križevci) in comparison to two of the most eastern counties (Osijek-Baranja and Vukovar-Sirmium) where the index of aging exceeds 10 or when compared to Zagreb and its surroundings where the index of aging is 8.

Female Romani population by number of live-born children

Clearly, one of the reasons for the Romani population's young age structure is certainly their high natality, that is, fertility. Table 5 shows the Romani female population aged 15 and over by number of live-born children according to census data in 2001. Analysis of this data shows that 21.8% of all Romani women in this period had not yet given birth to a live-born child. In the same year, at the national level, that share amounted to 25.7%, which at first sight does not appear to be a significant difference. However, inasmuch as the number of women who have given birth is multiplied by the number of live-born children in every category, on average Romani women give birth to four children while the rest of the female population on average gives birth to 2.2 children.³ If the female population in the fertile period i.e., in the most reproductive period (20–30 years) is considered separately, this average would be significantly larger in Romani women's favour. Difference in favour of the latter is more marked if the youngest age group (15–19) is considered. As many as 9.9% of all Romani women belong to this age group while this share amounts to 6.3% among the total Croatian population. It is indicative that in 2001 Romani women with two live-born children were the most numbered. Those

who gave birth to three live-born children were in second place while at the national level 80.7% of women had one live-born child.

Considering only the counties with statistically significant numbers of women aged 15 and over, it can be noted that a relatively larger number of Romani women did not yet give birth in the County of Zagreb (31.7%). This is followed by the County of Primorje-Gorski kotar (28.8%) and the City of Zagreb (27.6%). In comparison, only 10.1% of Romani women did not give birth in the County of Varaždin in 2001. Moreover, in this county, there is record of 16.9% of Romani women who gave birth to 10 and more children. The County of Međimurje is in second place; 5.4% of Romani women in this county gave birth to 10 and more children. However, there is a significantly larger share of Romani women with 5, 6, 7, and 8 live-born children than in the County of Varaždin.

Table 5
Female Romani population
aged 15 and over by number
of live-born children by
counties 2001

County	Total	Have not given birth	Number of women by number of live-born children										Unknown
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 and over	
1	63	20	7	5	5	5	7	5	5	-	1	2	1
2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	192	37	16	24	26	32	13	11	9	7	5	7	5
4	3	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	89	9	10	20	11	8	5	2	3	3	3	15	-
6	28	4	4	3	2	3	3	5	2	1	-	1	-
7	44	12	7	4	5	4	2	7	1	1	1	-	-
8	191	55	22	24	24	21	14	12	5	3	2	4	5
9	2	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
12	148	28	13	17	32	22	10	7	5	4	5	5	-
13	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	312	47	52	65	46	37	24	10	9	7	5	5	5
15	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	49	13	6	9	7	3	3	1	3	-	-	2	2
17	4	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	169	41	19	17	27	23	14	11	5	6	1	3	2
19	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	666	124	90	98	61	59	60	43	43	31	14	36	7
21	590	163	69	81	77	58	41	20	26	21	8	11	15
Croatia	2561	558	317	371	326	278	197	134	116	84	45	91	44

The ordinal numbers of counties: 1 County of Zagreb, 2 County of Krapina-Zagorje, 3 County of Sisak-Moslavina, 4 County of Karlovac, 5 County of Varaždin, 6 County of Koprivnica-Križevci, 7 County of Bjelovar-Bilogora, 8 County of Primorje-Gorski kotar, 9 County of Lika-Senj, 10 County of Virovitica-Podravina, 11 County of Požega-Slavonia, 12 County of Slavonski Brod-Posavina, 13 County of Zadar, 14 County of Osijek-Baranja, 15 County of Šibenik-Knin, 16 County of Vukovar-Sirmium, 17 County of Split-Dalmatia 18 County of Istria, 19 County of Dubrovnik-Neretva, 20 County of Međimurje, 21 City of Zagreb.

Table 6

Counties with more than 40 Romani women aged 15 and over by number of live-born children (share in %) 2001

County	Total	Have not given birth	Relative share of women by number of live-born children									
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 and over
1	100	31.7	11.1	7.9	7.9	7.9	11.1	7.9	7.9	-	0.2	0.3
3	100	19.3	8.3	12.5	13.5	16.7	6.8	5.7	4.7	3.6	2.6	3.6
5	100	10.1	11.2	22.5	12.4	9.0	5.6	2.2	3.4	3.4	3.4	16.9
6	100	14.3	14.3	10.7	7.1	10.7	10.7	17.9	7.1	3.6	-	3.6
7	100	27.3	15.9	9.1	11.4	9.1	4.5	15.9	2.3	2.3	2.3	-
8	100	28.8	11.5	12.6	12.6	11.0	7.3	6.3	2.6	1.6	1.0	2.1
12	100	18.9	8.8	11.5	21.6	14.9	6.8	4.7	3.4	2.7	3.4	3.4
14	100	15.1	16.7	20.8	14.7	11.9	7.7	3.2	2.9	2.2	1.6	1.6
16	100	26.5	12.2	18.4	14.3	6.1	6.1	0.2	6.1	-	-	4.1
18	100	24.3	11.2	10.1	16.0	13.6	8.3	6.5	3.0	3.6	0.6	1.8
20	100	18.6	13.5	14.7	9.2	8.9	9.0	6.5	6.5	4.7	2.1	5.4
21	100	27.6	11.7	13.7	13.1	9.8	6.9	3.4	4.4	3.6	1.4	1.9
Croatia	100	21.8	12.4	14.5	12.7	10.9	7.7	5.2	4.5	3.3	1.8	3.6

The ordinal numbers of counties: 1 County of Zagreb, 3 County of Sisak-Moslavina, 5 County of Varaždin, 6 County of Koprivnica-Križevci, 7 County of Bjelovar-Bilogora, 8 County of Primorje-Gorski kotar, 12 County of Slavonki Brod-Posavina, 14 County of Osijek-Baranja, 16 County of Vukovar-Sirmium, 18 County of Istria, 20 County of Medimurje, 21 City of Zagreb.

The Roma according to marital status

Considering the Romani population aged 15 and over in 2001, it is evident that nearly half of the men and women were married although this was by one percent more among Romani men. Yet, there were more unmarried men than unmarried women during this period. This is understandable since women generally, not only among the Roma, enter marriages earlier than men. Thus, a larger share of men than women in marriages is a result of the relatively larger number of women that are widowed or divorced, which can be seen in table 7. The share of the population who are presently married or were once married among Romani women amounts to 58.9% and among Romani men it is 52.8%.

At the county level, the County of Zagreb is the only county where there is less than 30% unmarried persons, while convincingly the largest share of the population in this category lives in the County of Varaždin (72.5% of men compared to 64.0% of women). In the latter county, there is no record of one single widower or divorced man while the share of widows and divorced women in this county is the lowest of all counties (only one county has a smaller share in each category respectively). It is worth mentioning that comparatively the largest share of wid-

Table 7

The relative share of the Romani population aged 15 and over by marital status and sex in 2001

County	Male				Female			
	Unmarried	Married	Widower	Divorced	Unmarried	Married	Widow	Divorced
Zagreb	29.5	62.8	3.8	-	28.6	63.5	6.3	1.6
Sisak-Moslavina	47.6	48.6	2.7	1.1	41.1	48.4	7.3	1.6
Varaždin	72.5	27.5	-	-	64.0	31.5	3.4	1.1
Koprivnica-Križevci	32.3	67.7	-	-	32.1	60.7	7.1	-
Bjelovar-Bilogora	30.8	59.6	5.8	3.8	31.8	45.5	20.5	2.3
Primorje-Gorski kotar	40.9	57.0	1.0	0.5	36.1	52.9	7.9	3.2
Brod-Posavina	49.2	48.6	2.2	-	33.1	57.4	8.8	0.7
Osijek-Baranja	45.1	46.4	3.8	3.5	36.9	44.9	11.9	5.4
Vukovar-Sirmium	44.0	48.0	6.0	2.0	30.6	51.0	14.3	4.1
Istria	46.4	51.6	1.0	0.5	37.3	58.6	3.0	1.2
Međimurje	58.7	39.3	0.6	1.1	52.4	39.6	6.3	1.5
City of Zagreb	33.6	60.0	2.7	2.8	33.7	52.7	7.5	5.4
Total Croatia	46.6	49.2	2.0	1.6	40.6	48.2	7.7	3.0

owed persons was recorded in the Counties of Bjelovar-Bilogora and Vukovar-Sirmium and the largest number of divorced persons in the County of Osijek-Baranja. It is indicative that the “oldest” Romani populations live in these three counties and as a result it is more probable that more members will break off their marriages or lose a marital partner.

Migratory features of the Roma

The migratory features of the population based on census 2001 data are shown in table 7. According to this data, less than a third of the total number of Roma live in the same settlement from birth. According to this criterion, the “most autochthonous” Romani population was recorded in the County of Međimurje (84.6%) and the County of Varaždin (79.5%) in which no one came from abroad. In the same year, in the Counties of Zagreb and Istria, there were more immigrants from other regions in Croatia and abroad than autochthonous inhabitants. The main difference between these two counties is that a significant number of Roma immigrated to the County of Zagreb from other regions in Croatia while the Roma who immigrated to the County of Istria came from abroad, mostly from Kosovo (Štambuk, 2000). A significant share of Roma immigrated from abroad to the County of Primorje-Gorski kotar (from Serbia and Montenegro) and the City of Zagreb (mostly from Bosnia-Herzegovina).

Table 8

The Romani population in 2001 in relation to migratory features in counties in which there are more than 100 Roma

	Total number Roma*	From birth in the same settlement		Immigrated to the settlement from			
				other regions in Croatia		Abroad	
		abs.	rel.	abs.	rel.	abs.	rel.
Zagreb	231	109	47.2	100	43.3	20	8.7
Sisak-Moslavina	708	467	66.0	137	19.4	104	14.7
Varaždin	448	448	79.5	91	20.0	-	-
Koprivnica-Križevci	125	71	56.8	45	36.0	9	7.2
Bjelovar-Bilogora	140	86	61.4	39	27.9	15	10.7
Primorje-Gorski kotar	589	308	52.3	35	4.2	246	41.8
Brod-Posavina	586	377	64.3	105	17.9	104	17.7
Osijek-Baranja	977	573	58.6	320	32.8	83	8.5
Vukovar-Sirmium	167	88	52.7	14	8.4	54	32.3
Istria	600	265	44.2	99	16.5	236	39.3
Međimurje	2,887	2,442	84.6	432	15.0	10	0.3
City of Zagreb	1,946	1,080	55.5	218	11.2	639	32.8
Total in Croatia**	9,463	6,236	65.9	1,665	17.6	1,534	16.2

* The difference to the total (horizontal) is related to unknown migration.

** The difference to the total (vertical) is related to the nine counties in which the Roma have less than 100 members.

The educational structure of the Roma

The educational structure is usually, and here as well, analysed according two basic features: “literacy” and “educational qualifications”. It needs to be mentioned that data on literacy is based on the population aged 10 and over while data on educational qualifications is based on the population aged 15 and over.

Out of 6,304 Roma aged 10 and over as many as 1,400 (22.2%) were illiterate in 2001. According to sex, 12.1% of Romani men compared to 32.4% of Romani women were illiterate in 2001. The share of illiteracy can also be differentiated according to age groups: 13.9% in the 10-19 age group, 21.6% in the 30-39 age group and as many as 57.6% in the over 60 age group were illiterate. The range of illiteracy also varies between counties: in the County of Istria it was 8.9% while in the County of Vukovar-Sirmium it was 33.6% in 2001.

Out of the total number of Roma aged 15 and over, nearly a third of this population (32.6%) have no schooling. There is a significant difference between the sexes where Romani women are in a considerably worse position: this percentage climbs up to 44.2% among women while for men it is half as much (21.3%). Moreover, 41.7% of Roma did not finish primary school and as many as

74.3% have no or the most minimal education. For comparative purposes, at the state level, the share of the population with no schooling is 2.9% and the share that did not finish primary school is 15.7%. Thus, only a quarter of the Roma finish primary school while this share decreases to less than a fifth (18.1%) among the female Roma population. The number of Roma with two-year and university qualifications is particularly unfavourable: only 14 persons (0.3%) attained these educational qualifications (this is 11.9% at the state level). Among these 14 persons, one completed a doctoral degree (in the City of Zagreb) while no Roma obtained a Master's degree in 2001.

	Total		Men		Women	
	abs.	rel.	abs.	rel.	abs.	rel.
No schooling	1,695	32.6	563	21.3	1,132	44.2
1-3 grades prim.	820	15.8	436	16.5	384	15.0
4-7 grades prim.	1,345	25.9	775	29.4	570	22.3
Primary school	979	18.8	596	22.6	383	15.0
Secondary school	308	5.9	232	8.8	76	3.0
Two-year college	5	0.1	5	0.2	-	-
University	9	0.2	7	0.2	2	0.1
Unknown	38	0.7	24	0.9	14	0.5
TOTAL	5,199	100	2,638	100	2,561	100

Table 9

The Roma aged 15 and over by sex and highest educational attainment in 2001

The Roma and employment

Although 42.4% of the total population aged 15 and over was employed in 2001, only 17.7% of the Roma were employed. Among the Roma, there is also a very unfavourable relation of employment according to sex because men make up 79.4% of the employed while that average is 56.1% at a state level. By far, most Roma are employed in "Wholesale and retail trade" (38.8%). The Roma significantly stand out compared to the average number of persons employed in this activity (12.5%) at a state level. 10.8% of Roma were employed in manufacturing, the main activity at a state level based on the number of employed in Croatia while 6.5% of the Roma were employed in agriculture. In "other" activities 3.9% of Roma were employed while in the total population 29.3% were employed in these activities. Such a small share of employed Roma in tertiary sector activities such as public administration and defence (where only 3 Roma are employed) health care and social welfare (7 employed) or education (6 employed) is especially unfavourable.

Table 10
Activities in which there were
at least 10 and more
employed Roma aged 15 and
over in 2001

Activity	Employed Roma		Total Employed in Croatia
	abs.	rel.	
Wholesale and retail trade*	358	38.8	12.5
Manufacturing	100	10.8	18.5
Other community, social and personal service activities**	81	8.8	3.3
Agriculture, hunting and forestry	60	6.5	11.0
Construction	56	6.1	6.0
Hotels and restaurants	15	1.6	5.2
Real estate***	14	1.5	4.8
Work abroad	96	10.4	8.0
Other	36	3.9	29.3
Unknown	106	11.5	1.4
TOTAL	922	100	100

* The full title of this activity is "Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles, motorcycles and personal and household goods"

** The full title of this activity is "Other community, social and personal service activities". "Public administration and defence; Compulsory social security", "Education" as well as "Health and social work" are not included.

*** The full title of this activity is "Real Estate, renting and business activities".

Dwellings in which the Roma live

The total number of dwellings with a Romani household head in 2001 was 1,714 while the average size of these dwellings was 56.8 m². Just below 40% of these dwellings had indoor toilets and bathrooms, exactly half had water-works, 44.8% sewerage, 84.8% electricity and only 10% had central heating.

Convincingly, the Roma in the County of Vukovar-Sirmium had the largest average area of dwellings (111 m²). Not counting the counties with a minimal number of dwellings (less than 7) the dwellings in the County of Zagreb and the City of Zagreb have the next biggest areas while the smallest dwellings are in the Counties of Međimurje (34.2 m²). and Varaždin (38.6 m²). The most basic facilities such as toilets and bathrooms can be found in more than two thirds of the dwellings in the County of Istria and City of Zagreb. In comparison, the Counties of Međimurje and Varaždin are worse off because not even 10% of their dwellings have these facilities. A similar situation can be found with regard to the best installations in dwellings. Besides the County of Istria and City of Zagreb, the County of Primorje-Gorski kotar in which all Romani dwellings have electricity as well as the County of Vukovar-Sirmium in which dwellings have more installations than in the City of Zagreb can be included.

The most substandard dwellings can be found in the Counties of Međimurje and Varaždin where less than 10% of dwellings have sewerage. Only 16% that is 20.9% have waterworks and 73.3% or 58.1% have electricity respectively.

Table 11
Permanent dwellings of the Roma in 2001

COUNTY	Total number of dwellings	Average area of dwellings (m ²)	Facilities in dwellings (%)			Installations in dwellings (%)		
			bathroom	toilet	water-works	sewerage	electricity	central heating
Zagreb	32	92.3	68.7	65.6	68.7	81.2	93.7	25.0
Krapina-Zagorje	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sisak-Moslavina	140	48.3	27.9	30.0	30.0	31.4	87.9	3.6
Karlovac	3	84.0	100	100	100	100	100	0
Varaždin	43	38.6	9.3	9.3	20.9	9.3	58.1	4.7
Koprivnica-Križevci	17	59.9	47.1	29.4	70.6	58.8	88.2	0
Bjelovar-Bilogora	48	76.0	41.7	41.7	47.9	45.8	93.7	20.8
Primorje-Gorski kotar	92	64.4	64.1	72.8	90.2	86.9	100	9.8
Lika-Senj	4	38.2	0	0	100	75.0	75.0	0
Virovitica-Podravina	1	70.0	100	100	100	100	100	0
Požega-Slavonia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brod-Posavina	97	56.5	25.8	22.7	43.3	31.9	77.3	1.0
Zadar	1	90.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Osijek-Baranja	268	45.6	17.2	16.4	41.8	24.6	82.1	0.7
Šibenik-Knin	3	53.3	33.3	100	100	100	100	0
Vukovar-Sirmium	26	111.0	73.1	73.1	96.2	88.5	92.3	26.9
Split-Dalmatia	6	60.0	66.7	83.3	83.3	83.3	83.3	0
Istria	93	70.8	79.6	82.8	97.8	95.7	97.8	7.5
Dubrovnik-Neretva	1	80.0	100	100	100	100	100	0
Međimurje	468	34.2	6.8	7.3	16.0	8.8	73.3	2.1
City of Zagreb	370	83.9	75.1	77.3	81.9	85.1	95.7	29.7
TOTAL in CROATIA	1,713	56.8	37.2	38.3	50	44.8	84.8	10.0

Conclusion

A detailed (and valid) demographic analysis of the Roma in Croatia is difficult because many members of this ethnic minority at censuses declare themselves like the non-Roma population. Thus, in 2001, officially the Roma population was made up of 9,463 inhabitants. According to the available census data, more than 50% of the Roma live in two counties (County of Međimurje and the City of Zagreb) while in nine counties their number is insignificant. Out of all the ethnic groups in Croatia, the number of Roma

increased the most in the period between 1991 and 2001 mainly because of their exceptionally high natural growth rates. The Roma have a distinctly young age structure in which the population aged 0–19 years makes up more than half of the total Romani population. In other words, for every 100 young persons there are 5.5 old persons aged over 60. With regard to schooling, the Roma are convincingly the most uneducated ethnic group in which a third have not finished not even one grade of school while only few (0.3%) have completed tertiary education. The quality of their dwellings is of special concern. Just over a third of Romani families have an indoor toilet and bathroom while half of their dwellings do not have waterworks and sewerage yet.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ In these nine counties, there were only 59 Roma in 2001 which made up 0.6% of all listed Roma in Croatia
- ² It needs to be noted that the Romani settlement known as Strmec statistically comes under the settlement Donje Vratno while data for the settlement Capraške Poljane is statistically shown under the settlement Crnac.
- ³ For women that gave birth to 10 or more children, it is assumed here that they gave birth to the lowest number of children i.e., ten. In this way, Romani women are more “shortweighted” because in this category they make up 2.7% of the total population while in the total population of women in Croatia aged 15 and over they only make up 0.1%.