

KAKO ŽIVE HRVATSKI ROMI
HOW DO CROATIAN ROMA LIVE



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SETTLE AND REMAIN ROMANI

The European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) based in Budapest estimates that two million Roma have become citizens of the EU with its newest expansion. Moreover, in 2007, in the next expansion of the Union to Bulgaria and Romania, an additional two million Roma will be a part of Europe. Likewise, about thirty thousand more Roma will join them from the Republic of Croatia.

The majority of Roma from Eastern and Central Europe incontestably live in poorer living conditions compared to members of their people in richer countries of Europe. However, investment in improving their standard of living will not only be a problem of a united Europe but a political strategy of every member state on how to develop its nation and raise the quality of life for its inhabitants.

In any case, regardless of Croatia's status in relation to the EU, the very humble and poor quality life standard of the *majority* of Roma in Croatia is a problem that demands continual, expert, and financially demanding welfare of the state.

The World Bank implemented a "Decade of Roma Inclusion", which, in fact, started this year in 2005 and lasts until 2015. Undoubtedly, this organised welfare for the Roma will stimulate many states to use more quality measures to reduce poverty among the Roma. Prior to this decade of Roma inclusion, the Government of the Republic of Croatia implemented a National Programme for the Roma in 2003, which is committed to improving the standard of their housing and settlements. In accordance with these measures, the Ministry of Environmental Protection, Physical Planning and Construction requested this study. The study was conducted by a group of researchers from the Institute of Social Sciences, *Ivo Pilar* as well as two external collaborators. The research results from this study are compiled in this book.

A specific objective of this research is to highlight the problem and standard of housing among the Roma, their

aspirations in view of family dwellings as well as the conditions, aspirations, models and possibilities of a long-term solution to problems related to level of equipment and facilities in settlements that have a large concentration of Roma. This research provides a scientific-expert basis for the development of a plan of continual long-term action that would improve the everyday life of Roma in many aspects.

Sociological studies of marginal groups (Šućur, 2000)¹ in Croatia until now have not paid special attention to minority groups. In research on interculturalism, principal attention has been directed to attitudes and views of particular populations (youth, pupils, students, etc.) towards marginal groups. Results show that the Roma do poorly on these scales (Magdalenić, 1998).²

Problems related to researching the Romani population, like other small numbered minority groups in Croatia, have resulted in a relatively poor level of exploration and mainly “incidental” engagement with them or treatment of them.³ The emergence of the Croatian state and participation of minority members in the Homeland War contributed to an awareness of national roots on a massive scale and reinforcement of self-awareness of one's own origin as well as activity towards social and cultural advancement. Even the Roma themselves, on their part, organised in a (too)large number of ethnic associations mainly encourage scientific and expert research to solve problems related to their status, not negating the efforts and successes of other social actors.⁴ State institutions still rely on empirical insights about the everyday life of individuals and Romani communities, their attitudes, opinions and aspirations to find a suitable solution for the improvement of their life and work conditions.

The position of the Romani population is inferior in every respect and bilaterally determined. On the one hand, the Roma often have to fight against prejudices that most members of other nationalities in their surroundings have of them or those that they come across in other ways. On the other hand, the Roma themselves in their social self-containment do not make an effort to get to know others better. Thus, the duty of the majority population is clear: it must try to reduce prejudices in every way, by acting through the school and media and by creating social and economic space in which the Roma can exchange their culture, knowledge and experiences with others.

Nomadic Roma surely live in Croatia and their problems are surely more complex. However, we did not research them in this study.⁵ In our research with sedentary

Roma concepts such as *space*, *territory*, *village* and *town* acquire special meaning. In any case, variants of these concepts undoubtedly shape these Roma quite differently from nomadic members of their minority community. Sedentary Roma show signs of feeling domiciled and emotional connection in relation to particular spaces. Concordant with their social group in particular spaces, they similarly link their individual and family needs and aspirations. They are very allied and most often aware of their heritage, culture and language. A settlement usually accommodates families that are of a similar socio-economic status. It is, in fact, this mutual similarity (of individuals and families) together with the settlement density in a limited space that facilitates the continuation of the community that constitutes an important precondition for its survival. Naturally, this is not the only prerequisite for a sedentary lifestyle of the Roma (Cifrić, 1998).⁶

The causes and consequences of their social and economic position are not always easy to establish. Nevertheless, it is beyond doubt that this ethnic group is in an undesirable “state of general need”. We can problematise the position of the Romani minority in Croatia at two basic levels:

1. The first is at the state level. Evidently, the existing institutional mechanisms cannot be (completely) effective in situations where there is social exclusion of the Roma. The insensitivity of mechanisms to specific problems of the Roma and other marginal groups indicate the need for their adaptation. Namely, they need to be responsive to solving specific problems. Basic rights to employment, health protection, social welfare protection and other rights for the Roma should also be included. This is not (only) a discussion about the Roma as members of an ethnic minority but as members of a minority whose behaviour markedly differs from others. This is evident because of traditional elements that are prevalent in their everyday social, family and working life.
2. The second is at the level of the Romani minority. They are inadequately organised and weakly connected (even though there are a number of associations and networks). For this reason, it is very demanding and expensive to ensure internal consent and articulation of *Romani minority demands*. At this level, when this concerns the Roma, it is difficult to solve problems which can otherwise be solved within the minority. Another problem is that they are spatially dispersed, which does not create suitable conditions for the organisation of local self-government.

In fact, it is this “lack of condensation” that hinders the systematic building and maintenance of a cultural identity and this stands out as a special problem of the Romani population. Therefore it is difficult to ensure basic institutional assumptions of identity shaping. The Roma “on the outside” are usually experienced and treated like an exceptionally recognisable, unique ethnic and cultural whole while on the other hand, their image of themselves does not sufficiently identify all members. The transnationality of their identity and the non-existence of a Romani national state expose them to the dangers of assimilation and gradual oblivion about themselves. However, considering this position from a different perspective, adequate stimulation for secure and more solidarity-based linking of quite different subgroups among the (Croatian) Roma can be found. Undoubtedly, this principal would be worth arguing for in their organisation. The basic objective of every common action should be the development of a greater “amount” of solidarity both outside and among the Roma (Avsec, 1998).⁷

A previous study conducted in 1998 on the *Social Status of the Roma in Croatia*⁸ (the results of which are also presented in this book) can also be classified as empirical research although it had different aims. Since the Roma in Croatia have been poorly researched, this study is indispensable to “provide” a wider perspective on the problems of the Romani population.

The purpose of the mentioned study was to provide an empirical base for state institutions to develop and operationalise a concept to help the Romani population in Croatia; to realise more suitable social, cultural and economic roles within the framework of available possibilities. Accordingly, the research was supposed to offer a short and clear strategy of improving Romani status. The obtained results were intended for governmental as well as non-governmental institutions and associations for the conceptualisation of applicable and more effective strategies to solve problems within the Romani minority group as well as the problems of their relation towards the social environment.

Other aims of this field study were to obtain an insight into their spatial dispersal and subsequently detect prerequisites for a better quality of life and a more appropriate organisation of social “branch” institutions of the state. Finally, in the long-term, it is worthwhile to identify desirable actors among the Roma as well as outside the constituted community, who are willing and want to be involved in changing the existing social and economic cir-

cumstances of the Roma.⁹ The following was anticipated from the research: first, to contribute to enriching the information and data on marginal groups as well as the methodology of their research with special emphasis on small and spatially scattered ethnic communities. Second, expectations were towards specific activities: how to inspire ideas on solving problems, including problems related to their ethnic-cultural identity.

The purpose of every study on the Roma (including this one) is to show how their marginal social and economic position can be attributed to some features of their population. They also try to attribute this position to inappropriate long-term relations on the part of the government. It is only possible to include the sedentary Romani population in this type of research, even though it can be assumed that at least some members of sedentary families leave their “permanent address” for seasonal work or for a few years. Clébert (1967) considers the Roma, first and foremost, as nomads whose way of life shows a nomadic character even when they are obviously sedentary. They “always leave the impression that they are temporarily camping”. Namely, their dwellings are always full of boxes, suitcases, and bundles of all kinds. They sleep on blankets, down quilts, and rugs. Nevertheless, spatial stabilisation is the first prerequisite for the social integration of the Roma. While they are nomads, they remain on the margins of basic social institutions.

A number of attempts to stabilise and integrate the Roma into the majority population have not succeeded. As a rule, members of other ethnic groups avoid places or quarters that are inhabited by the Roma. During our field study, we noticed that there is always some physical barrier that separates Romani settlements or quarters from other neighbourhoods. Most often this is a creek, river or railway tracks.

The low concentration of the Roma in comparison to the majority population prevents them from obtaining a more significant position, role or function in a developmental sense. Thus, their contribution is more significant if it is individual rather than collective. At the individual level, well-known limitations are evident when it comes to the Roma. There are incessant dangers that threaten them “from the outside”, especially from different temptations of assimilation or undesirable types of integration. Moreover, based on the internal organisation of their lives (particularly family structure that links the wider family among the Roma) they readily accept inter-dependence in which there is not much room for individuality. For ex-

ample, a singles' household is almost an unknown institution in the Romani community. On the other hand, very low inclusion of Romani children in primary education (not to mention higher levels of education) is discriminating already at the beginning and does not provide the same starting points available to the rest of the population in a professional sense. Today, this is noticeable more than ever. This is because schooling in a contemporary structured society is nearly the only channel of social promotion for the individual. With reference to a community (wide or narrow), it can be shown that a community is more advanced, successful, richer, and promising inasmuch as the average level of education among its members is higher. *The insistence on education and shifts in this direction are long-term, expensive and difficult but only this will give results in the future. In this sense, this is the most rational.*

In pre-industrial times, the Roma did not differ significantly from other populations with respect to formal education. Many were competitive and required for their traditional trades (as copper-smiths, basket-makers, producers of wooden objects, musicians, horse traders, blacksmiths, shoeing smiths, bear tamers, etc.). However, modernisation of society (especially industrialisation and the larger role of education) created greater distances between the Roma and the majority population. The interest for their services and products decreased and they themselves did not capably "retrain" on time. Most of them have held onto a nomadic or half-nomadic lifestyle until recently. Thus, since traditional trades have died out, there is not much reason for many Roma to lead a nomadic way of life. Nevertheless, as a rule, the influences of tradition on the Roma are small. However, the influence of tradition is stronger in socially, culturally and economically threatened Romani groups compared to populations in their surrounding environment. They are more or less closed and only oriented towards their surroundings only to survive.

With reference to the Roma, one can almost talk about a tradition of "wild entrepreneurship",¹⁰ which is, again traditional, tolerated and "understood" and includes the good and bad services of this population.¹¹ Namely, the visibility of very poor life opportunities that characterises most of these "social" spaces where the Roma live like their tendency to have temporary addresses and jobs as well as the type of activities from which they obtain a means of living make the Roma untouchable. It is an enormous job to fix and "collect" their fiscal, social, health, retirement and communal obligations and rights.

Even though this survey was exclusively conducted in spaces where the Roma are settled, their opportunities are far from optimistic. A “clearer” situation is found among those that are employed full-time of which there are few.

It is interesting that among non-Romani peoples, modernisation processes of urbanisation and industrialisation increased the general and social standard of life as well as the distance to work (in kms) while among the old nomadic Romani people this distance started to decrease. Increasingly, by choosing a sedentary lifestyle they try not to distance themselves too much from their permanent addresses. On the contrary, a larger concentration of the population in towns facilitates begging as an additional source of income.

The concentration of Roma increases other phenomena as well. Data analysis within the framework of the project “Socio-demographic and phenomenological characteristics of delinquency among youth in the County of Međimurje” established that the rate of delinquency among Romani youth is far higher (15 to 20 times higher) than the average rate for this county (Magdalenić, 1995; 1998).¹² It would be fruitful to see if this type of data exists for other areas and if the situation in these other spaces is similar or different. This is certainly a sphere of activity for particular services at the county and town level.

More than any other ethnic group, the Roma are talked about as specific. And this is probably true. It is possible to mention a number of different factors with regard to the ways in which they are special. It should be noted that it is possible to find each one of these factors or these aspects among other peoples as well. However, when we identify the majority of these special qualities within one ethnic population, then it is really a special and complex cultural, sociological, demographic and economic phenomenon. Based on this framework, the Romani people are incessantly confronted with difficult problems especially related to their social, economic and “settlement” position. A long-term attempt to preserve the basic components of their ethnicity is linked to two complex levels of their contemporary position:

1. On the one hand, they have preserved their ethnic identity by isolating themselves from the majority (and other minorities) that they live among,¹³ and
2. On the other hand, they have “lost” many of their members who following schooling or desired another or different life framework through some other channels. These processes, that are not easily detectable in surveys, hinder the Romani people from shaping their

own elite that would besides knowledge and the necessary measures of enthusiasm take on a great deal of responsibility for the “state of the nation”.

It is known that the Roma are a special people; that they have their own history, culture, language and that in their long-term migrations they left India relatively late compared to other European peoples. Their current position as a “non-territorial people” may be attributed to this lateness and the toilsome journey that brought them to an already inhabited and “occupied” Europe (*Narodi Europe*, 1997). In the consciousness of this unique traveller-people, a memory of movement has been preserved and even today, nostalgia for the nomadic lifestyle has remained among those that are sedentary (Coupry, 1999). This is combined with stronger feelings of domicile. Thus, the Roma have become a people with two different aspirations with regard to choice of lifestyle: *as travellers* and *having a house and home*.

We can add to this that they did not write about their historical journeys because they were and still are a people that rely on “oral” tradition. They are often experienced as a very old legend that we are not familiar with yet, but with a degree of considerate curiosity, without too much personal effort, we learn it and retell it in our own way.

Many will say that the Roma are not connected to a village, town or settlement; that their nomadic or half-nomadic nature continually stimulates them to move so that they can live freely. In this way, they can ignore the laws, remain unattached to space and live their realities in their myths. Moreover, that they do not show (enough) interest in “our” reality so that misunderstanding and all the consequences of this are inevitable in coexistence.

Their exact number is unknown; they are called differently in different countries (which is the result of a nomadic history and contact with a large number of peoples and languages). All those that declare themselves as Roma largely do not integrate in the societies in which they live; they are wary of assimilation processes that would undoubtedly weaken their identity.

The Roma (Gheorghe, 1991)¹⁴ are a “special non-territorial people with their own history, language and culture” (*Narodi Europe*, 1997). Their history is mainly unrecorded, their language has many forms, and it is possible to recognise influences of the peoples that they had contact with during migration in their culture. Linguistic analysis has established that the Roma are from India (Arayici, 1998)¹⁵ and that they left more than a thousand years ago (Arayici, 1998).¹⁶

Among the peoples of Europe, the Roma are the most nomadic. However, their greater connection to space and that they are less nomadic than they were in the past can be observed.¹⁷ Their social organisation has always been based on the family and in this way they differ greatly from other nomadic groups. Today, there are more sedentary Roma than those without addresses. This process has had an impact on the Roma in Croatia as well.¹⁸ More live permanently in settlements and houses (barracks, huts) or flats while less ceaselessly move and survive in a traditional Romani way.

However, it is important to bear in mind that the Roma are not a homogeneous group. They differ according to many features. Unfortunately, research on the Roma in Croatia has not explored their heterogeneity, so we can only speculate on their differences. We can only mention that during our research we learned about linguistic research currently being conducted as well as work on a Romani dictionary and grammar. This is a possible difference of Romani (sub)groups.

Do we have to completely understand or do we have to learn to be tolerant of differences? What and how much does each side have to and want to learn as well as do to qualitatively develop the relation between the Roma and non-Roma (majority population)?

In research until now, problems such as: material standard, especially housing standard as well as level of equipment and facilities of localities predominantly settled by Roma has been treated as an “independent variable”. Namely, as a factor that influences the type, intensity, form of some other problems and phenomena (a very high correlation is often found), but not as an “autonomous” socio-cultural and economic acute phenomenon that for more reasons has to be emphasised and a “suitable” framework for its solution needs to be found. For this reason, it is important to determine the needs and aspirations of the Romani minority population – and all their capacities to participate in solving problems and on the other hand, the needs and possibilities of the state at all levels from the Ministry of Environmental Protection, Physical Planning and Construction to county offices for spatial planning to the local communities in towns or in municipalities.¹⁹

Based on research experience and data, it is clear that the domiciliary status that the Roma express and show with regard to their relation to a particular space where they live together with their family and community with other Roma is exceptionally important. Especially in

towns, there are often other peoples in Romani areas so it is difficult to talk about a “Romani settlement” (a syntagm that we do not consider to be entirely accurate, but one that we chose for its practicality and with this we show that which is officially called “location of settled Roma”). An attempt to provide a typology of locations where the Roma have settled is the topic of a separate chapter.

It is often thought that the “nomadic” component of their identity facilitates change of address among the Roma even when there is no special reason for this. However, results from this research (that deals with “the Roma with addresses” as nomads are difficult to research and this was not the objective of this research) show that they are quite connected to space and that their eventual spatial aspirations do not extend far beyond the existing locations. Relatively few of them would move from their current settlement or region for better conditions of life and work. Uncontroversially, this finding shows that shifting the Roma for whatever reason, even if this is justified is an exceptionally traumatic experience and that the commencement of new wild “Romani settlements” should be prevented.

This type of settlement, first of all, almost exclusively constitutes their *life sphere* because most often this is not a place of work for the Romani population. This is a place to live but not to work and as a result “Romani settlements” are “deprived” of one form of sociability that is created in other smaller settlements whether this is in villages,²⁰ or in smaller towns. This is applicable to all common forms of “Romani settlements”.

Insight into this feature of *locations of settled Roma* can serve as a guide on ways of improving housing conditions towards establishing suitable activities within or at the margins of the locality, especially those with a greater number of inhabitants. Namely, the absence of employment/work opportunities in the settlement or nearby forces those who are more educated and entrepreneurial to find work elsewhere. In this way, the potential of the community to shape a complex social structure in the settlement is weakened. This is needed to make the life of the local community more dynamic and would also create a level of solidarity and unity that transcends the family. There is an absence of roles that are based on “professional position” or some special function in Romani settlements.²¹ Or they are not visible.

For this reason, fieldwork provides another possibility to researchers; to acquire a wider insight into the social

structure than was planned. Namely, it is recommended to all who deal with life problems in particular “territorial and spatial communities” to spend more time in research areas for access to this wealth of information.

Although our focus of interest was not the social structure of Romani communities, these were evident. A few of these insights are outlined in the following section:

1. The Romani community does not have its own autochthonous socio-cultural elite that could mediate in relations between “global” society and their small minority society. Thus, there is no elite that is shaped *within* the Romani population – based on social history, peoples’ culture, ways of organisation, the Roma value system that is simultaneously integrated in the system of the majority, especially in the promotional system of education, work, politics as well as the rest (health, retirement, etc.) *Individuals exist, but there are few. In fact, the result of their involvement shows how useful they are. The absence of this stratum makes every form of co-operation with regard to solving all types of problems related to minorities more difficult*, and the socially active Roma are too burdened with work for the benefit of their people and as a consequence they do not have formal (or usual) rights to mediate for or represent their community.
2. Besides this lack of prominent active individuals, there are multiple problems that confront the Romani population. For more successful resolution of this problem, it is necessary to seek local Romani mediation, because every “foreign” effort is less effective and (as much as they would not like to admit to this) a little suspect and under special scrutiny of the Romani community.
3. For this reason, individuals are found *outside*, i.e., the state and its institutions or civil associations that are willing (and who undoubtedly find their own legitimate interest) to mediate between the Roma and these institutions. In this way, a group of individuals who are on the outside, not inside are shaped through schooling and work. They acquire a reputation among their people and become in a way, “legimatised” to represent the Roma. In this way, the traditional Romani structure that is based on a strong family hierarchy and the result of a nomadic lifestyle is transformed out of necessity. Being closed to the surrounding society protected the Roma from changes brought about by modernisation processes but also contributed to a weakening of ties and an incompatibility of Romani and surrounding development. Many Romani experiences have

been lost. Less know the traditional Romani trades and arts. We can no longer hear Romani music; there are no shoeing smiths, pot and umbrella repairers, knife sharpeners, and basket-makers. Their disappearance from Croatian villages (especially) has meant that their services have not as yet been replaced in many places. The Roma have lost some elements of (higher) social position, which they once had thanks to their traditional trades. They were integrated in their social environment because they met many of the specific needs of non-Romani and rural populations. They based their social organisation on the family which differentiated them from other nomadic groups. Today, there are more sedentary Roma than those without addresses. This same process is occurring in Croatia. They often appear in smaller or larger groups (sometimes they are very populated settlements) so a need for a new type of social organisation is a necessity. The family per se is too weak to be a “collocutor” in relations with mainstream society and its institutions.

4. *Dual membership of the mediator* facilitates communication between the Romani local community as well as the state and its institutions. This relation on both sides must be clearly established to avoid misunderstandings that would slow down the resolution of everyday problems of settlements and their poor inhabitants. In any case, it would be worthwhile to agree to a mechanism of choice and activity of the mediator.²²

Many researchers have found that the way/nature of belonging to a community determines the quality of social participation and identities. “Belonging, in a social sense, proceeds from the relation of the individual and collectivity. This in turn shapes sociability and essentially shapes the way of existing *within* the group; symbolic exchange or participation. The *territory* where the group, collectivity, lives is most often is ‘the work of human hands’ so it indicates a space of organised social life that contributes to its understanding as an important component of all features of culture, sociability and identity.” (Akoun and Ansart, 1999)

The position of the minority group is regulated legally and is different in diverse political systems. Democratic systems that, as a rule, are tolerant towards difference offer a few models with regard to minority groups: according to one, the emphasis is on *the rights and duties of the individual*, a second model is more oriented towards *multiculturality* and a third stresses *the cultural whole and approaches that shape and develop this social unit* (Akoun and

Ansart, 1999). The model that is chosen depends on the wider social and economic opportunities.

On the whole, the Croatian model is closest to the third that emphasises development of the minority but not to the detriment of individual rights.

Sociological interest has been in research on the relation between a minority and the majority as well as in research on the shaping and functioning of the minority and its positioning in society. Searching for suitable ways for the minority to make their demands and for demands to be exchanged is also of interest.

As it has already been mentioned this study was initiated by the state with the aim of highlighting difficult housing problems, settlement planning and aspirations of the Romani population with regard to housing. On the one hand, beyond doubt it is the desire and duty of the state to ensure minimum housing and a technical and social standard of the settlement. On the other, most localities of settled Roma, have a low level of sanitation that is a lasting potential source of disease. Evidently, following this simplified account, it is evident that the state needs to be actively involved in solving problems in localities of settled Roma throughout the country. If we want to emphasise the necessity of solving the mentioned problems, we can show that housing as a necessary prerequisite of “civil” life is the material foundation of democratising society.

It can be expected that every organised activity including those connected to housing problems and settlement planning *activates the minority group* to do more together. In other words, a passive group, at least when this is related to housing and putting the settlement into order transforms into an active community that is not indifferent to how and where they live.

“A settlement is... a reflection of the society that lives in it” (Mendras, 1986). This statement is related to a peasant society in which the author wants to show how they mutually differ and how because of these differences (linked to ecological conditions), in that a suitable (and possible) system of production shapes different types of settlements. Romani settlements do not differ (much). Some are bigger, some are smaller some are on the edge of a village; as a rule, they are not connected to a special type of production, because their work is mainly outside of the settlement.

As already mentioned it is intended that the results of this study will outline the conditions of housing among the Romani population as well as their aspirations with re-

gard to housing their families. Insights on the models and the potential of a long-term solution to problems related to level of equipment and facilities in settlements that have a large concentration of Roma will also be presented. It is anticipated that this research will also provide the basis for the development of a plan for continual long-term action that would improve the everyday life of the Roma population in all spheres.

In this demanding task *the help of local leaders* is necessary who will within groups promote ideas about healthy, tidy and sustainable housing. This work needs to be well-planned and requires time. Moreover, it should not be of the campaign type but continual work armed with patience.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Marginal groups are considered to be social groups that do not participate in key social processes, first and foremost, economic, social, cultural and political processes (Šućur, 2000: 214).

² Magdalenic (1998: 78) recently conducted research among a female student population on the problems of social distance towards members of 29 different nations. He found that the Roma "were at the bottom of the scale with regard to the degree of proximity the respondents were prepared to accept with 'typical' members of these nations".

³ The first social scientific research of the Roma in Croatia was conducted by the Institute for Social Research in 1982.

⁴ For example, the Committee for Pastoral Roma of the Croatian Bishops' Conference recently organised a study of the Roma.

⁵ These problems that pertain to the empirical investigation of the Roma (e.g., spatial dispersal, non-existence of data, etc.) are elaborated in the methodological remarks. To cite Clébert: "Gypsies are aware of the age-long taboo that prohibits them from revealing most of their rituals to the *gadje*. Believe me this is not some kind of joke that would conjure up the gypsy myth into a 'mystery'. In any case, this is not a joke, not even to Gypsylogists that are continually confronted with a wall of silence or, what is even worse, with deliberate lies. Pose the same precise question to Gypsies twenty times and you will get twenty different answers!" (Clébert, 1967: 157)

⁶ A right to a living space is one of the basic rights. This right contains the duty to protect this space not according to narrow, local standards but according to global regulations. In this way, human responsibility for living space is strengthened (See I. Cifrić, 1998: 35-53).

⁷ This is achieved in different ways. One of the ways to overcome mutual distrust between the Roma and the majority population was tested by Slovene "activists", who in 1990 established a project aimed at integrating the Roma into the social environment, that is, the community. The starting point was that problems were on both sides and that it was worth acting on both sides to reduce or eliminate prejudices, stereotypes and intolerance. See: Tatjana Avsec (1998: 93).

- ⁸ This research was conducted a team of researchers at the Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar.
- ⁹ Researchers at the Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar had discussions with prominent individuals who are very familiar with circumstances in the settlement. In addition, we examined some data that was collected in other studies that deal with the Roma from different perspectives and needs. The settlements that were included in the research are: Kozari putovi – Zagreb, Capraške Poljane – Sisak, Kotoriba, Vodnjan and Bjelovar.
- ¹⁰ Of course, this type of tradition can be found among other peoples.
- ¹¹ One needs to broadly understand the advocated “positive discrimination” and behaviour towards illegal forms of entrepreneurship so that they can be subsumed.
- ¹² It is worth noting that the author in a qualitative analysis of the committed crimes established that “Romani” youth delinquency “comprises mostly petty theft, forest theft and similar crimes, mainly that which can be reduced to “delinquency out of necessity”.
- ¹³ To tell the truth, we must mention that many ethnic minorities that have integrated into Croatian society have preserved their identity by finding employment and accepting obligatory duties.
- ¹⁴ Rom (plural: Roma) is an endonym, a name they call themselves. All other names are egzonyms, given to them by the Non-Romani.
- ¹⁵ The causes and details with respect to the beginnings of the great migration are still being researched. However, the Romani Indian roots remain unquestionable.
- ¹⁶ “...in the post-Sanskrit period...” The causes of their movement are still unknown. It is thought that they needed about hundred years to get to the area of the Byzantine kingdom (XI century).
- ¹⁷ A particular fascination with the Roma as a “strange and inexplicable” people, with their slow rate of change regardless of difference and objective strength of influence, has long interested non-Romani researchers. See, for example, Francesco Predari: *Origine e vicende dei Zingari*. Bologna: Torni Editore, published in 1841. The author mentions sources that confirm that the Roma appeared near the Black Sea in 1417 (on their journey towards the north). A year later, Switzerland is mentioned and then Italy in 1422 (p. 55). The author mentions the discovery of documents according to which the Roma are mentioned in Hungary in 1250 as soldiers (Cingarorum...) in a battle in which the Czech king defeated the Hungarian King Bel (p. 56).
- ¹⁸ It is possible to notice an inter-level between the nomadic and sedentary way of life in Romani settlements. Namely, sedentary Roma can move in large groups from one state to another or from one part of the country to another more easily than others.
- ¹⁹ The problem of hygiene can be mentioned here; i.e., sanitation of the Romani settlement that is essentially two-sided: on the one side health and quality of life of the Roma, and on the other health and quality of life of the immediate social surroundings. Of course, health reasons are not the only issue here but wider understood issues related to protection and appearance of the surroundings.
- ²⁰ Especially in traditional ones in which inhabitants predominantly work in farming or trades.
- ²¹ Usually the “boss” is somewhere else. It would be interesting to investigate the system of social power in Romani populations. Even tho-

ugh, this was not the theme of our study, it is justifiable to assume that the “boss” is undisputedly an important social actor and that developmental activities would be more successful if a suitably influential person was available in Romani settlements.

- ²² The Romani minority, due to their spatial dispersal, but most probably for other reasons, have (too) many associations that weaken their negotiating status and reduce the possibility that someone from their side is responsible for affairs within the community.

Maja
ŠTAMBUK

METHODOLOGICAL REMARKS

Empirical investigation of the Roma, especially that which is based on a representative sample is problematic. This is not only because of their dispersion and the non-existence of precise data on the Romani population but also due to some of their lifestyle features according to which they differ from their social and culture surroundings. Two of the most important are:

1. Many adult Roma are involved in activities that keep them away from home for longer periods (e.g., collection of scrap materials, medicinal herbs, etc.) or seasonal work (sale at fairs, in tourist places and similar) so they are less accessible;
2. The Romani way of life characteristically exists in isolation from the non-Romani population, which results in distrust towards encroachment into their family and social life. Thus, it is only possible to go into their settlements and get permission to talk with them through a contact person who explains the purpose of research.

The survey was conducted in two phases:

1. A pilot study was conducted in July 2004 in Zagreb and the County of Međimurje.
2. The field study was conducted in October, November and December 2004 in the other planned areas.

The field study included a survey among the Romani population in counties in which there are a larger number of Roma and where the Roma are concentrated in particular settlements of a rural or urban type (Census 2001). The sample, according to the demands of the Ministry that requested this research was adapted based on the aims of the study. In short, this included an insight into the social and technical infrastructure of Romani settlements, level of equipment and facilities in Romani households based on elementary standards as well as the aspirations of the Romani population with regard to quality of housing and settlement.

It was planned that the sample would include between 900 and 1,000 respondents preferably with heads of the

household over 18 years of age. Data from the Central Bureau of Statistics (Census 2001) as well as data collected by the Ministry of Environmental Protection, Physical Planning and Construction through their county offices was used for the purposes of this study. As there are a small number of Roma in some counties or there are no separate settlements where the Roma live in larger numbers, the sample only includes counties where representation of the Roma is larger and where settlements/localities have a concentration of the Romani population that is large enough for research to be conducted. In these counties, the participation of 100 respondents was planned (200 in the County of Međimurje) so that the processing of the data, analysis and interpretation would be *lege artis*.

Figure 1
Settlements included in this study



97% of the planned sample was realised: a total of 969 surveys were conducted with respondents. Data on the number of Roma is unreliable; this number varies from

9,600 (Census 2001) to 30,000 (National Programme for the Roma). Despite this, the sample can be considered as adequately representative of the Romani population in Croatia. In addition, the obtained sample data in all “prominent” counties facilitates correct interpretations.

Maja Štambuk
Methodological Remarks

Counties	Towns/municipalities	Locations of settled Roma
County of Zagreb	Velika Gorica/Lukavec	Lukavec
County of Sisak-Moslavina	Sisak Kutina	Palanjak Capraške Poljane Kutina/Radićeva st.
County of Karlovac	Ogulin Josipdol	Puškarići Oštarije
County of Varaždin	Petrijanec/Cestica Sveti Đurd Ludbreg	Strmec Podravski Karlovac Ludbreški Ludbreg (former abattoir)
County of Koprivnica-Križevci	Đurđevac	Stiska
County of Primorje-Gorski kotar	Rijeka	Rijeka-Škurinje Rijeka-Rujevica
County of Slavonski Brod-Posavina	Slavonski Brod	Slavonski Brod Settlement “J. Rimac”
County of Osijek-Baranja	Belišće Osijek Bolman Darda Tordinci	Bistrinci Tenja Bolman Darda Tordinci
County of Međimurje	Kotoriba Goričan Donja Dubrava Čakovec Podturen Mala Subotica	Kotoriba Goričan Donja Dubrava Kuršanec Lončarevo Piškorovec
County of Istria	Pula Vodnjan	a few locations in the town Vodnjan
City of Zagreb		Kozari Bok Borongaj Ferenščica Plinarsko naselje Struge Sopot Savica Petruševac Požarinje Dubec

Counties and settlements
included in the study

Besides the survey, an inventory of the settlement was also taken in the localities included in the sample. Namely, during this study, additional data on the state of the settlement was collected through an interview with a competent person as well as observation of localities where this research was conducted.

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

Nenad Pokos
**A Demographic Analysis of
the Roma Based on the
Central Bureau of Statistics
Data**

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.

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

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

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 Slavonski Brod-Posavina, 14 County of Osijek-Baranja, 16 County of Vukovar-Sirmium, 18 County of Istria, 20 County of Međimurje, 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 Romani 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%.

Ivan
ROGIĆ

SOME
SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL
DETERMINANTS OF
ROMANI SETTLEMENTS

Introductory barrier. The compilation of a typological scheme of Romani settlements comes up against two basic difficulties.

The first difficulty is that existing Romani settlements **physiognomically differ very little**. As far as it can be seen, three groups of factors have influenced the physiognomic “surface”. The first is rooted in the traditional Romani inclination of temporary residence at a chosen place. Even though, this tendency was markedly weakened in the second half of the 20th century, at least in the everyday life traditions in Croatia, it has left a trace in a kind of **lack of concern** towards the environment of the settlement. Clearly, the Roma now live in permanent settlements and that except for negligible examples, there is no longer data that supports the survival of the nomadic tradition (Pitomača – only settlement with temporary residence). However, on the other hand, traditional lack of concern for the environment of the settlement is clearly evident. The second group of factors that influences the physiognomy of Romani settlements is **endemic poverty**. Even though examples of successful families and individuals can be found in Romani groups, it is unarguable that the group, as a whole, are in the claws of endemic poverty. Against this background, indifference towards the habitat of the settlement is additionally amplified. The third group of factors that influences the physiognomy of Romani settlements is rooted in the fact the Romani builders are, in the main, **“wild” builders**. The adjective “wild” is not used here in passing (Rogić, 1990). This describes a method of building that threatens building norms in two ways: First, it breaks the laws that conventionally regulate building and property relations. When building is limited to this kind of transgression it is usually, although euphemistically called “irregular” building (or more precisely: illegal). However, “illegal” building is substandard and refers to the method of building. Thus, the used building mate-

rial and plan, functional organisation, access to infrastructure networks and similar determinants in this form of “wild” building are substandard, or exceedingly below building standards and so their constructions are “unlawful” or illegal. Thus, **the tradition of lack of concern, poverty and “wild” patterns of building** crucially determine the physiognomic surface of the Romani settlement. When applying measures of physiognomic difference, it is almost impossible to separate particular types of Romani settlement. Only one physiognomic type will be continually repeated.

The second difficulty is that **it is not possible to convincingly differentiate the economic basis**, which determines the status of the settlement. As far as the data shows, there is no special difference between the economic basis of Romani settlements in cities and Romani settlements in rural areas. Local differences are certainly present. However, they are not adequate for a sound typological scheme, compared to those that divide urban and rural settlements, tourist and industrial, etc. It is useful here to turn to the research results on the most important sources of income in Romani households.

Table I
The most important sources
of income in Romani
households

Source of income	County in %									Total sample
	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	
Agrarian economy (agriculture)	0.9	.0	3.8	.0	1.0	2.0	.0	1.8	.0	1.1
Breeding and sale of livestock	.0	.0	.0	.0	2.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	0.2
Employment	7.1	16.7	2.5	61.1	12.0	6.0	59.2	6.0	.0	17.6
Work abroad	2.7	1.0	.0	1.1	6.0	.0	2.0	.0	.0	1.3
Cottage industry	1.8	4.1	3.8	7.8	5.0	3.0	5.1	2.8	.0	3.6
Temporary, seasonal work	24.1	20.8	28.8	3.3	23.0	34.0	21.4	38.7	33.3	26.9
Transport (truck, horse, etc.)	0.9	1.0	.0	.0	.0	1.0	.0	.0	.0	0.3
Collection of raw materials (metal, glass, paper, etc.)	42.9	32.3	42.6	1.1	16.0	6.0	3.1	10.6	38.7	19.7
Odd jobs (washing windcreens, selling door-to-door)	13.4	4.2	7.5	5.5	5.0	3.0	4.1	6.9	6.6	6.4
Rent (renting of office space, flats, property, shares, etc.)	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	1.0	0.5	.0	0.2
Pension	2.7	5.2	2.6	1.1	15.0	2.0	11.2	3.2	1.3	4.8
Social welfare	59.8	79.2	88.8	45.6	69.0	89.0	52.0	83.4	97.3	74.2
Help from relatives	4.5	.0	1.3	10.0	1.0	1.0	3.1	2.8	2.7	2.9
Begging	4.5	.0	6.3	1.1	4.0	1.0	2.0	9.2	2.7	4.1
Fortune-telling	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	5.1	.0	.0	0.5

Source: Field study 2004

This distribution shows that the main source of income is **social welfare**, if we consider the total sample. It is well-known that this not a “profitable” activity, which would help establish differences which are a consequence of work activities. In other words, it is not incorrect to say that the main source of income is non/activity. **Temporary seasonal work** is in second place. This is limited to particular seasons of the year. Considering the poor educational qualifications and professional competencies of the Romani population, it is evident that the work that they do is at the bottom of the economic pyramid. In short, these sources of income do not have the power to shape a specific economic foundation of a settlement. Income from formal employment and collection of waste and “scrap” raw materials are in third place. Evidently, formal employment is a more prominent source of income in two counties only: the County of Istria and County of Primorje-Gorski kotar. In other counties, it is noticeably inconspicuous. In these counties, important sources of income are from collection of raw materials (metal, glass, paper, etc.) in contrast to employment. Evidently, this is the most important source (except in the two counties mentioned above). The other sources of income are marginal, and are mainly related to “odd jobs”, begging and similar.

In short, the economic practices of Romani groups are not structurally connected to the use of specific developmental assets or with the shaping of a specific professional subculture. For this reason, there is no special generator of settlement differences according to which the Romani settlement could be classified in terms of their fixed connections with particular sectors of activity or particular professions. In this respect, on the contrary, they are similar. These are settlements **with economically dependent populations**. Dependency is, on the one hand, tormenting. However, on the other it is the source of a specific behaviour that is a result being a **rentier**. Since a suitable expression is lacking, the term **a rentier of poverty** is appropriate.

Thus far, it can be concluded that a conventional physiognomic and functional base for a typological classification of Romani settlements is not especially useful. Three **secondary** features remain. The first is **positional**. This allows us to differentiate where Romani structures are located: in the town, in the village, or in a rural area. The second feature is **the degree of separation**. There are clear differences between Romani settlements that are parts of existing settlements and Romani settlements that are detached structures. The third feature is **genetic**. According

to this feature, premises initially built for other purposes and housing built for family residence can be differentiated. Needless to say, the unassuming physiognomic or functional differences where they are indisputable need to be taken into account. A few types of settlement are apparent.

1. Town settlement structures. There are several settlement subtypes in the town area. It is useful to differentiate these types for basic orientation purposes in working out a suitable programme of renovation and renewal

1.1. A small group of houses or individual houses. There are many examples of this type. They are either a group of separate family houses sometimes built in harmony with the ambient or small groups (ten structures at the most). They can be found in Zaprešić, Sveti Ivan Zelina, Jastrebarsko, Karlovac, Bjelovar, Garešnica, Grubišno Polje, Delnice, Gospić, Otočac, Virovitica, Šibenik, Vodice, Knin, Pula, Umag, Čakovec, Mursko Središće, and other cities. Strictly speaking, they are not especially a settlement phenomenon. Instead they are a conventional symbol of town differences, without which even the smallest towns cannot be imagined without these symbols.

1.2. Settlement structures that have come about by taking over premises that were initially built for other purposes. In the main, these are barracks or similar constructions. The Roma have taken over these premises gradually, depending on the local opportunities. Some of the well-known sites include the barracks in "Mario Gennari" in Rijeka, occupied since 1968 after being abandoned by construction workers; the barracks in Bakar, a similar outcome; army barracks in Gerova, in the town area of Čabar; the locality of Šijan in Pula; barracks in the suburb of Sopot (in New Zagreb) as well as the barracks in Plinarsko naselje, Zagreb. These are constructions with minimum sanitary conditions made up small units that are approximately 15–30m² in size. As a rule, roofs and walls of these constructions are problematic. Electricity is not even available in the suburb of Sopot, New Zagreb. According to an interviewer, the electricity pole is there, but they have no access to electricity. At these addresses, living conditions are markedly miserable. Moreover, it is apparent that the town's homeless persons, with the most modest needs, do not compete for these addresses.

1.3. Romani fragments in town settlements. This group is numbered. Well-known examples can be found in Varaždin, Čakovec, Bjelovar, Ludbreg, Koprivnica, Crikvenica, Virovitica, Garešnica, Slatina, Osijek, Beli Manastir, Pula, and Zagreb. The settlements Ferenščica, Kozari pu-

tovi, Savica, and Petruševac are well-known in Zagreb. The main feature of this group of Romani settlements is that they are **rooted in already existing or in structurally set up parts of the town**. Romani builders, as a rule, behave similarly as when they build their “own” detached settlements at the edge of the town or in an area outside town. Thus, Romani fragments come about at the margins of existing town areas, on “no one’s” land (that is owned by the town in the first place). Frequently, these sites are close to rubbish dumps or an industrial zone where waste originates. The main building unit is the family house, which cannot always be defined as such. The layout plan of the settlement is usually chaotic. However, data shows that, in these types of structures the basic technical infrastructure is **better** than in other Romani constructions. As a rule, the Romani parts of already existing suburbs have access to communal and social infrastructure **like the rest of the settlement**. Of course, this equality is not so geometrically balanced in all cases. The survey results obtained in this field study show how Romani inhabitants inadequately use the mechanisms of local government that are available in their settlements. It is therefore reasonable to assume that despite initial, normatively guaranteed possibilities, there are asymmetrical patterns of infrastructural privileges at work. Still, they are not endangered by this. Romani inhabitants, together with other inhabitants of this type of settlement share a common “infrastructural fate”. The statement of a local Romani inhabitant in Ferensčica illustrates this well. In response to a survey question on the quality of communal and social infrastructure, the respondent concisely concludes: we have everything (referring to the main infrastructure network), but there is a need to improve employment opportunities. The opportunities, in the towns mentioned above, are not all similar. However, it is evident that Romani fragments of an existing settlement have more difficulty aligning with the settlement’s environment. In their aspirational schemes, aspirations of an “average” citizen are most clearly reflected.

1.4. Detached Romani settlements in the town. Most of these settlements emerged in the “golden” years of socialist industrialisation and urbanisation between 1960–1975. This period is special according to many determinants that have been analysed elsewhere (see Rogić, 1990). One of these already mentioned determinants is “wild building”. This is not an exclusive building “style” of Romani groups. On the contrary, as a type of “grey” right to public assets (read as nationalised private land) the system generously divided this among the numerous participants of

the “egalitarian union” (Županov, 1995), and in this way shaped the legitimization of the system that “revolutionarily” protected the future of “employed people and the working class”. In different cyclical dramatisations of socialist social rights, always started **subsequently**, many of these settlements and constructions were labelled lawful because the “wild” builders had already carried out their plans. However, it was easier for buildings that were not erected in an extremely substandard way (i.e., buildings that were “only” illegal but met acceptable building standards) to change this label. It is not about resistance to the system. The system was continually trying to legitimate the system’s protector of society’s lowest stratum. Instead it is a fact that the substandardness of many “wild” structures was so evident that the most imaginative application of law, not even in socialist times, could not turn it into anything lawful. In the morphology of “wild” construction, at least in the initial stage during this period, **these structures are closest to the favella**. The Romani group had “bad luck” that structures were mainly built in this way. This could not have been different since they were only just marginally included in the newly formed group of industrial workers. It is worth asking: did the Romani “elite” back then want anything else? In short, Romani builders have remained the most consistent “wild” builders in Croatia. Of course, over the past few decades, circumstances have improved. Builders have obtained better building materials, houses have expanded, and the environment has become more ordered. However, some features of “wild” settlement have stubbornly “crossed” through time. There are five basic features. These are: the **chaoticness** of the settlement “plan” as a direct impression of the spontaneous approach used in building a settlement; **detachment** from the rest of the town, as a rule, adjacent to heavy traffic, industrial zones or rubbish dumps; **reduction** of infrastructural networks: electricity, water, the eventual removal of rubbish and telephone; **unlawful** house building, which hinders law regulation and the improvement of housing conditions; **predominance of detached family houses**, Romani settlements do not typologically differ significantly from other settlements with family builders, but there is a great difference in quality to the detriment of Romani houses. The term **para-urban settlement** is used for this type of settlement in the analytical literature. One more feature needs to be added: they emerged, as a rule, in town spaces as **negatively marked** in earlier territorial symbolic schemes of the town. (Or Romani “wild” builders have strengthened this latent aspiration.)

The territorial “portrait” of such settlements is determined by two main features. The first feature is a **clear aspiration for separate, detached settlements**. The second aspiration is a **marginal, peripheral position** independent of this or that side of sociality that describes and intersects existing town reality. Seizure of the town’s margins in urban clashes between particular town groups **is not** an ambiguous indicator of less or loss of social power.

The reason is simple: in the conception of many town groups, the town’s margins are desired areas among other groups e.g., the rich and powerful. In the struggle to acquire these town areas the periphery is **structurally** divided according to axes that determine contrasts: ecological/cultural oasis – zone of accumulated risks. Detached Romani settlements, in the main, are located where marginal town areas are predominantly risky. According to the drafted scheme, the genesis of the described Romani fragments in already existing town settlements can be explained. Respectively, the examples of Ferenščica or Kozari putovi in Zagreb are instructive. The mentioned settlements **were not** “model” settlements during the period of intensive socialist urbanisation; they are Trešnjevka, Trnje and Novi Zagreb. As a result, Ferenščica, Kozari putovi and related settlements are pressed “towards the bottom” on the hierarchical ladder of desirable/important settlements. In this context, the territorial path of Romani groups is predictable. Their work, professional and social aspirations only marginally correspond to the central political and ideological figures of the system. The Roma prefer to “wander about” than be under factory discipline. They prefer to be occasional crafts persons rather than full-time employees, etc. For this reason, they can only compete for settlements on the margins, that is, beyond the borders of “model” settlements. There, “no one’s” space is suitable for “wild” usurpation. There, with more spill over of “grey”, a specific informal union between the system and participants from the margins is shaped. On this basis, the **models of settlement – peripheral hybrid** are established, where “wild” builders and dual family economics, work on the side and craft initiatives, informer’s optimism and inn “folk” subculture are directly connected. In this wide circle, in which nuances determine **shadows of the system**, extension is to the area of the town’s margins. Undoubtedly, when socialist urbanisation lost its momentum, various participants “down below” who were not only the main favourites but considered ideally and typically as **unimportant, revolting, unappealing** had more possibility and a more important role. The

gradual improvement of these settlements is predominantly the result of decades of residue success and non-success of these participants. As a result there is a thin difference that does not disappear between these types of settlement and those that are more centred. In short, the presence of Romani settlements in former established town settlements can be interpreted using the same pattern of peripheral separation. The difference between them and marginal town areas with detached Romani settlements is that town settlements with Romani fragments were no longer positioned in the “strict” periphery. An almost exclusive form of Romani migration into Croatian towns can be found in places where detached Romani settlements are unmistakably maintained.

Detached Romani settlements appear predominantly in towns where other Romani settlements were set up before the formation of different town parts. Some of the well-known are: Capraške Poljane in Sisak; Palanjak in Sisak; Radićeva street in Kutina; a locality in Varaždin; Žlebci in Koprivnica; Rujevica and Mihačeva Draga, in Rijeka; a settlement near Barutane, in Delnica; Glogovica and “Josip Rimac” in Slavonski Brod; “At the Orthodox church” in Beli Manastir. As a rule, these are structures in groups that are the most numbered.

1.5. Conventional town settlements. Their main feature is that the Roma **did not** actively model them. **They did not model the settlement or the houses in which they live.** Moreover, the settlements and houses emerged during the town’s evolution in which the Roma were not even present. During a particular period, the Romani population moved into these settlements and acquired permanent residence there. A settlement called **Vodnjan** in Istria is a representative example of this group. Namely, a small Romani group moved into deserted houses where Italians and Croats (who decided to be Italian citizens after World War II) had lived until the end of the 1940s. The Roma, of course, were not the only group that took over these deserted houses. They are integrated in a larger migratory contingent. Field research shows that these Roma have shaped their social survival according to patterns used by other groups. For example, family structures, professional styles, measures of personal and community welfare, work aspirations and territorial behaviour are related. For this reason, stereotypical misperceptions about the Roma are not projected onto them as a group whose lifestyle is incompatible with conventional styles of town/civil life in Croatian towns. The survey report on Romani parts of town settlements, where tendencies of forming detached

settlements have faded, shows that Romani aspirations are **most related** to aspirations that are based on social survival of the Roma in Vodnjan and similar settlements.

1.6. "Black holes". If the hygienic, communal and building qualities of Romani settlements in their entirety are compared to other settlements where other Croatian inhabitants live, it is easy to see that only a small number of Romani settlements can successfully avoid this depressing label. Still, it is possible to separate some extreme examples. Clearly, most of them are outside of town and in rural areas. However, they can also be found in town areas. According to the available data, there are more of these examples; these are groups of Romani houses in Popovača, near the fairgrounds; a group of Romani houses in Orlovac, in Karlovac; a Romani group in Sveti Đurđ; a Romani group at the locality Vučja jama, in Brod on the Kupa; a Romani group in Slatina, in the settlement Kozica; and a Romani group in Glogovica in Slavonski Brod. A common definition of the mentioned places is not possible. The only thing that can be pointed out is that these structures are at the margins of town areas. Their 'blackness' is determined by two basic facts: the absence of technical and communal infrastructure, complete or partial electricity, as well as markedly poor building materials (sheet metal, cardboard, wood, trailers, nylon). At these sites, there are no larger Romani groups. However, this fact is not particularly comforting. Undoubtedly, their settlement practices are **conventional in homelessness**.

2. Romani settlements in rural areas. It already has been mentioned: from a structural perspective there is no adequate reason to expect settlement types that are not in town areas. The main difference, as in town settlements, can be attributed to different positions, distances and "genetic determinants of the settlement. Within this framework, of course, a specific ruralisation of lifestyle needs to be taken into account. However, it needs to be remembered that this is manifested in a context that is mainly resistant to profound differentiations according to the urban-rural scheme thanks to the manifold decline of conditions and styles. Ruralisation is vaulted in limited and marginal traces.

2.1. Small group of houses or individual houses. They are visible in many municipalities. For example, in the settlement Svinjarec, municipality of Dubrava; in the settlement Brezine, municipality of Farkaševac; in the settlement Pulska, municipality of Luka; in the settlements Donja Kupčina, Lijevo Sredičko, Dvoranči, Topolovec Pissarovinski; in Lesovac, municipality of Šandrovac, in De-

žanovac and Ivanska in the same municipality; in the settlement Domankuš municipality of Rovišće; in the settlement Narta, municipality of Štefanje; Konjsko Brdo, municipality of Perušić; Popovac; in the settlements Kneževi Vinogradi; Devrske; Hlapčina; Štrukovec; Sveta Marija; and elsewhere. They are either individual houses or a smaller group of houses in the existing rural settlements. Similar to the town areas, they are not structures that are special phenomena as a result of their features. Simply, they are a part of the conventional varying context of rural settlements in particular regional areas. Larger social control, a characteristic of small settlements, certainly reduces the probability of scattered Romani inhabitation of small settlements. However, there are examples, where demographic exhaustion of these settlements has weakened the mechanisms of social control so that those groups with migratory intentions are more open than we think they are.

2.2. Settlement structures that have come about by occupying houses that were initially built for other purposes. In the available documentation, we could not find typical examples of this. It is reasonable to assume that there are examples, but they have not been documented. In a number of settlements, in different areas of Croatia, groups of Roma have occupied abandoned houses. As a rule, the state of these houses is problematic and it cannot be said that they are suitable for use. Strictly speaking, they do not completely belong to this group. However, it still can be said that this entails occupying a house intended for other purposes, more precisely, for demolition. Where it was possible – the Roma “occupied” these derelict houses.

2.3. Romani fragments in rural settlements. Examples of this have been noted in a smaller number of settlements. Examples can be found in the settlement Karlovec Ludbreški; in the settlement Lučice, in the town area Delnica; in the settlement Pribislavec, in the town area Čakovec; in the settlement Goričan in the municipality area Goričan; in the settlement Tenja (also known as Velika Bara or Šangaj). There are surely more, but the available data is limited to these examples. The relatively small number allows us to hypothesise that this pattern of territorial behaviour is **less suitable** for the Roma. Surely, the main reason is related to the fact that Romani builders, as a rule, build on land that does not belong to them, that is, municipality or town land and then lastly on privately owned land. In rural settlements, in between particular parts, there is simply less of “no one’s” land, especially

larger areas, suitable for building Romani streets or larger neighbourhoods. The “interpolation” of individual houses, or smaller groups of houses is easier. The data shows that there are more of these settlements. On the contrary, the “building” of larger Romani parts in a settlement is much harder, under the circumstances. The already mentioned data on an analogous type in town areas shows that the town area is more suitable for this type of territorial behaviour. There is a larger “offer” of “no one’s” /town land and the informal forms of social control are not tight.

2.4. Detached Romani settlements in rural areas.

Based on the insights presented in the previous section, it is reasonable to assume that the tendency of forming detached settlements is **strongest** in the territorial behaviour of Romani groups in rural areas. It is strong in the town area as well. As a rule, those town margins are markedly low on the ladder of desires. They are in fact **sociofugal**. In rural areas, the choice of place for detached settlements is not markedly connected to their sociofugality, as in towns. In other words, the adjective “separate” or “risky” cannot be used to describe these locations as in towns. However, on the other hand, the already drafted scheme related to the economic behaviour of the Roma shows that even in rural areas the Roma do not want to distance themselves from important waste areas, especially industrial as well as road and rail networks for different “initiatives” ranging from exchange to begging.

Orientating examples are the settlement Gračanica; settlement in the municipality of Velika Ludina; Puškarići near Ogulin; Gornje Selo near Oštarija; Strmec Podravski; Sveti Đurđ; Karlovac Ludbreški; Omišalj, on the island of Krk; Brod on the Kupa; Donja Dobra; Čandrište; Pitomača; Lončarevo; Piškorovec; Kuršanec; Palanjak; Bistrinci; Bolman; Sitnice; Parag I and Parag II, next to the settlement Trnovec (along the border with Slovenia); Držimurec; Kotoriba; and others. Data shows that the patterns of settlement formation and infrastructural difficulties in these settlements are similar to those settlements in town areas. However, the general advantages of town settlements compared to rural ones needs to be taken into account. These include greater possibility of using technical, social and the communal infrastructure. If this **contextual** variable is considered, then the living conditions in this group of settlements are in the main of a dark grey spectrum colour.

2.5. Conventional Romani rural settlements. The available data shows that there are in fact none of these settlements. Nevertheless, the settlements in County of Vu-

kovar-Sirmium should be mentioned. The Romani rural population in this county is closest to the conventional living conditions of an average village.

2.6. “Black holes”. When the living conditions in rural Romani settlements are compiled, the competition for membership in this sad group would be more than harsh. Nevertheless, it is possible to differentiate some completely marginal examples. According to our evaluations, they are: Strmec Podravski and Donja Dubrava. The ground is predominantly swampy in Strmec Podravski. The available data shows that a large number of “houses” have been built in a small area: 19 made out brick and 45 huts. Electricity is available in the settlement but the quality of water is a problem since it is pumped directly from the swamp.

The settlement Donja Dubrava is situated between the embankment and a bed of the Drava, on the border between the counties of Međimurje and Koprivnica-Križevci. Since this is a flood area, every water level change of the Drava is risky. These inhabitants can use a telephone, but there is no water or electricity. Even though the total number of “objects” is relatively small (about 15) this fact does diminish the discomfort: the settlement is simply unsustainable.

It is not incorrect to include a small Romani group near Brod on the Kupa into this group. Out of the three settlements, not one has basic technical infrastructure (electricity, water). In addition one of these settlements is built out of “cardboard barracks”, that is, material that is characteristically found in favellas.

Three examples are on a list that is completely black. However, identification does not imply that the unmentioned examples deserve lighter coloured adjectives.

Size

There are four basic groups that were differentiated in the presented typological scheme that can reliably outline size. They are settlements that emerged like parts/fragments of town and rural settlements and those detached settlements. The other groups are marginal in terms of size. The **number of inhabitants** in a discussion on size offers orientation. Data on the surface area of Romani dwellings can also be found but this is unfortunately unsystematic. For this reason, this data is not used. Moreover, data on the number of inhabitants are based mainly on evaluations

As a rule, Romani settlements in town areas, like other town parts, or detached settlements are the largest

according to **number of inhabitants**. On the other hand, if the absolute size is taken into consideration a **picture of small /or smaller** structures is evident. Among the peak numbers, there are approximately 1,050 inhabitants in Ferensčica, a settlement in Zagreb. In the Romani settlement “Josip Rimac”, in Slavonski Brod, it is estimated that there are 1,150 Roma. In Capraške Poljane, a settlement in Sisak, the Romani population is approximately 600. Estimations show that there are 650 Roma in Kutina. In other town settlements, the estimations indicate lesser numbers, in the range of 100–450 inhabitants. In smaller towns, the number is frequently less than a 100.

Why is the presented data important? This generally indicates the **scarcity** of Romani town settlements. In other words, the Roma cannot compete by relying on their statistical size. Small settlements such as these can hardly get labelled: crucial case or something similar, which would place them in a better position with regard to priorities in programmes of infrastructural renewal. Related to this is the already mentioned professional and economic base of these settlements; it is not difficult to anticipate how miserable a settlement’s perspectives are in their struggle for a better future. Thus, it is clearly anticipated that Romani parts in larger town settlements will **have better chances**. To their benefit, (even though this is limited) units of local government, where they are established, are at work or the wider local lobby networks, according to territorial needs, attempt to meet Romani needs.

Romani settlements in rural areas are **smaller** compared to urban areas. Some examples include: Gračanica, with a population of 270; Strmec Podravski with 420 inhabitants; Kuršanec with 700 inhabitants; Parag I and Parag II with a total of 900 inhabitants; Bistrinci with 500 inhabitants; and Piškorovec with a population of 700. The range of settlement size is approximately between 100 – 700 inhabitants. Settlements with more than 700 inhabitants are very rare. Still, there are a few settlements with less than 100 inhabitants, but their number is relatively inconspicuous in the overall distribution. Thus, there are **small and very small settlements**. Considered from a socio-ecological perspective, it is more than evident that their size **per se** – is limited. They are, simply too small for successful and autonomous supervision of their own development. Two more factors also need to be added. The first is notorious: according to all measures in Croatian research **rural areas are “spaces beyond”** (see Štambuk, Rogić & Mišetić, 2002). Thus, as a whole, rural areas have difficult access to development (if at all). The second factor is, the

already mentioned professional and economic (in)competencies of the Romani group, especially in the village. This is simply of poor quality. For this reason, it is improbable that this type of settlement, even though there are clear aspirations to separate, as a whole, that they **will be able to support themselves as independent structures in the long-term**. The programmes of sanitation and regulation of the living conditions will have, in the main, occasional and limited effects.

Infrastructure in Romani settlements

Table 2
Evaluation of settlement
infrastructure quality

For discussion of the quality of the communal and social infrastructure in Romani settlements the provided data in the following tables is useful.

Infrastructure	Evaluations in counties in %								
	Zagreb			Sisak-Moslavina			Varaždin		
	Not a problem	Somewhat important	Very important	Not a problem	Somewhat important	Very important	Not a problem	Somewhat important	Very important
Electricity	39.3	8.0	52.7	21.9	9.4	68.8	12.5	7.5	80.0
Waterworks	36.6	7.1	56.3	33.3	16.7	50.0	13.8	5.0	81.3
Sewerage	34.8	8.9	56.3	2.1	12.5	85.4	2.5	3.8	93.8
Telephone network	49.1	18.8	32.1	46.9	30.2	22.9	47.5	30.0	22.5
Footpaths	31.3	19.6	49.1	.0	13.5	86.5	.0	17.5	82.5
Paved streets	30.4	19.6	50.0	1.0	4.2	94.8	.0	15.0	85.0
Grocery shop	55.4	14.3	30.4	20.8	26.0	53.1	26.3	37.5	36.3
Specialised shops	44.1	30.6	25.2	38.5	37.5	24.0	42.5	40.0	17.5
Kindergarten	49.1	12.5	38.4	9.4	20.8	69.8	18.8	36.3	45.0
Primary school	52.7	9.8	37.5	21.9	13.5	64.6	25.0	31.3	43.8
Health clinic or surgery	45.5	8.9	45.5	19.8	18.8	61.5	27.5	21.3	51.3
Social club	39.3	26.8	33.9	7.3	30.2	62.5	22.5	51.3	26.3
More jobs	5.4	11.6	83.0	3.2	10.8	86.0	5.2	14.3	80.5
Ordered settlement	19.6	17.9	62.5	1.1	15.8	83.2	.0	11.3	88.8
Religious institutions (church, mosque, etc.)	52.7	19.6	27.7	42.7	33.3	24.0	26.3	42.5	31.3
Cemetery	64.3	20.5	15.2	66.7	17.7	15.6	67.5	17.5	15.0
Public transport stop	58.9	8.9	32.1	38.5	24.0	37.5	21.3	30.0	48.8
Organised removal of rubbish	50.9	7.1	42.0	57.3	15.6	27.1	22.5	25.0	52.5

Table 2
(continued)

Infrastructure	Evaluation in counties in %								
	Primorje-Gorski kotar			Brod-Posavina			Osijek-Baranja		
	Not a problem	Somewhat important	Very important	Not a problem	Somewhat important	Very important	Not a problem	Somewhat important	Very important
Electricity	21.1	11.1	67.8	33.0	3.0	64.0	46.0	5.0	49.0
Waterworks	18.9	8.9	72.2	29.0	5.0	66.0	24.0	10.0	66.0
Sewerage	3.3	4.4	92.2	4.0	1.0	95.0	17.0	18.0	65.0
Telephone network	25.6	28.9	45.6	29.0	21.0	50.0	39.0	26.0	35.0
Footpaths	6.7	26.7	66.7	5.0	27.0	68.0	19.0	24.0	57.0
Paved streets	5.6	13.3	81.1	14.1	11.1	74.7	18.0	19.0	63.0
Grocery shop	28.9	18.9	52.2	42.0	22.0	36.0	26.0	24.0	50.0
Specialised shops	38.9	45.6	15.6	52.0	36.0	12.0	49.0	31.0	20.0
Kindergarten	15.6	15.6	68.9	11.0	23.0	66.0	16.0	26.0	58.0
Primary school	24.4	26.7	48.9	12.0	15.0	73.0	36.0	21.0	43.0
Health clinic or surgery	18.9	12.2	68.9	9.0	12.0	79.0	17.0	17.0	66.0
Social club	21.1	30.0	48.9	15.0	22.0	63.0	21.0	30.0	49.0
More jobs	1.1	10.0	88.9	3.0	.0	97.0	1.0	4.0	95.0
Ordered settlement	.0	12.2	87.8	.0	2.0	98.0	9.0	19.0	72.0
Religious institutions (church, mosque, etc.)	13.3	27.8	58.9	35.0	21.0	44.0	57.0	12.0	31.0
Cemetery	22.7	35.2	42.0	59.0	17.0	24.0	58.0	17.0	25.0
Public transport stop	28.9	33.3	37.8	15.0	15.0	70.0	33.0	19.0	48.0
Organised removal of rubbish	31.1	21.1	47.8	36.0	14.0	50.0	40.0	14.0	46.0

Table 2
(continued)

Infrastructure	Evaluations in counties in %											
	Istria			Medimurje			Other			Total sample		
	Not a problem	Somewhat important	Very important	Not a problem	Somewhat important	Very important	Not a problem	Somewhat important	Very important	Not a problem	Somewhat important	Very important
Electricity	59.8	6.2	34.0	20.0	11.6	68.4	29.3	18.7	52.0	30.7	9.0	60.3
Waterworks	59.8	4.1	36.1	10.6	8.3	81.0	37.3	10.7	52.0	27.2	8.4	64.4
Sewerage	52.6	9.3	38.1	2.8	9.7	87.6	5.3	.0	94.7	13.2	8.1	78.7
Telephone network	44.3	34.0	21.6	32.6	26.0	41.4	46.7	8.0	45.3	39.1	25.1	35.9
Footpaths	58.8	23.7	17.5	9.3	29.6	61.1	2.7	9.3	88.0	14.9	22.6	62.5
Paved streets	61.7	17.0	21.3	12.0	20.8	67.1	2.7	4.0	93.3	16.4	15.0	68.6

Infrastructure	Evaluations in counties in %											
	Istria			Medimurje			Other			Total sample		
	Not a problem	Somewhat important	Very important	Not a problem	Somewhat important	Very important	Not a problem	Somewhat important	Very important	Not a problem	Somewhat important	Very important
Grocery shop	66.7	11.5	21.9	39.4	21.3	39.4	26.7	29.3	44.0	37.9	22.1	40.0
Specialised shops	74.0	18.8	7.3	46.8	27.3	25.9	56.0	24.0	20.0	48.8	31.6	19.6
Kindergarten	53.6	21.6	24.7	20.0	18.1	61.9	22.7	25.3	52.0	24.0	21.2	54.7
Primary school	57.3	11.5	31.3	29.6	18.5	51.9	45.3	25.3	29.3	33.5	18.5	48.0
Health clinic or surgery	45.8	9.4	44.8	19.0	14.4	66.7	48.0	18.7	33.3	26.5	14.4	59.1
Social club	49.5	29.9	20.6	25.5	38.9	35.6	26.7	22.7	50.7	25.6	32.0	42.4
More jobs	12.5	9.4	78.1	6.9	11.1	81.9	6.9	6.9	86.1	5.2	8.9	85.9
Ordered settlement	35.4	32.3	32.3	1.9	19.4	78.7	2.7	6.7	90.7	7.5	16.0	76.5
Religious institutions (church, mosque, etc.)	42.7	13.5	43.8	28.8	30.2	40.9	52.0	20.0	28.0	38.1	24.8	37.1
Cemetery	42.3	10.3	47.4	67.1	17.1	15.7	74.7	13.3	12.0	59.0	18.3	22.7
Public transport stop	51.5	23.7	24.7	31.6	26.5	41.9	44.0	18.7	37.3	35.8	22.3	42.0
Organised removal of rubbish	52.6	22.7	24.7	24.7	11.6	63.7	37.3	17.3	45.3	37.9	15.5	46.5

Source: Field study 2004

Some of the given data in the tables is instructive.

(a) Considering the survey sample as a whole, convincingly it can be seen how the smallest share of the sample (only a minor percent) stated that **more jobs and an ordered settlement** are not a problem. On the other hand, convincingly most expressed that more jobs (85.9%) and an ordered settlement (76.5%) are markedly important. The mentioned priorities hold a similar position in each county. It can be concluded that there is a **social potential** on the basis of which a long-term and stable mobilisation of the Roma in these settlements could be shaped. This possibility is challenged by a few relevant factors; some of these have already been mentioned. However, we should not “jump” to optimistic conclusions just on the basis of the presented findings and then establish how the mentioned potential can be linearly activated. In this respect, local developmental policies are important. Just how competent are local self-governing units (where there are Romani settlements) is an issue outside the framework of this analysis. It should be noted that towns – the size of Sisak have difficulties formulating these types of policies and more difficulty can be expected in smaller units in a predominantly rural network of settlements.

(b) Out of the three basic public utilities (electricity, waterworks, sewerage), most agreed that sewerage is clearly

important. Namely, as many as 79% claimed that this is very important in terms of further development of the settlement, while only 13.2% of the respondents claimed that this is not a problem. It is well-known that sewerage is the “torture” of many Croatian settlements. In comparison to the other mentioned public utilities, sewerage is the **slowest developed**. On the other hand, a number of Croatian addresses use septic tanks in the absence of a sewerage system. Thus, it is not obvious why the absence of a sewerage system, in view of the septic tank possibility, is a problem in Romani settlements. It seems that this reaction implies the expectation that this is someone else’s responsibility rather than one’s own, i.e., the use of a septic tank is a widespread practice among the non-Roma population. Still, the other two utilities are in a better state. Nearly a third of the respondents (30.7%) stated that electricity is not a problem in the settlement. On the other hand, as many as 60.3% respondents stated that electricity is an important priority with regard to orderliness in the settlement. This alludes to the fact that electricity is available in many Romani settlements, but the Roma cannot pay their electricity bills so they are the “victims” of disconnection. The available documentation shows that electricity is accessible in most Romani settlements.

Considering the basic models of public utility facilities, present in Croatian urbanisation, it is reasonable to anticipate that the percentage wise share of respondents that are satisfied with waterworks in the settlements will be less than the percentage wise share of respondents that are satisfied with electricity. The findings indicate that this is the case. Less (even though this is insignificantly less) 27.2% of the respondents claimed that waterworks are not a problem in the settlement. On the other hand, nearly 65% state that waterworks are very important and necessary. This percentage indicates a clear lagging of Romani settlements. This is also evident in the available town-planning documentation.

(c) The three basic institutions of social infrastructure: the kindergarten, primary school and health clinic are not a problem for 24–33% of the respondents. Approximately, the same share of respondents claims that electricity and water are not a problem. However, on the other hand, significantly less express the importance and urgency of their building – between 48–59%. The first percentage refers to a primary school. It can be concluded that this network is “closer” to Romani settlements. However, the percentage that refers to the health clinic (59%) and kindergarten (55%) indicates that the opportunities in

this perspective are, to put it very mildly, substandard. Besides the primary school network, the other networks of social infrastructure are completely unsuitable to meet needs of the community.

(d) Paved footpaths, paved streets and similar improvements **are at the very initial stage**. It is evident that their shortage is visible not only in rural settlements, where it is usual and more probable but also in town settlements.

(e) The telephone network is not a source of problems for, approximately 40% of respondents while public transport is not a problem for approximately 36% of respondents. Even though both data show, like all the others previously mentioned, the obvious substandardness, it is evident that the “softer” forms of technical services, with less obligatory investment in huge and expensive equipment, break through Romani settlements more easily. The same conclusion can be drawn for the share of respondents satisfied with the organisation of rubbish removal.

(f) The bad news also extends to the data on the remaining municipal services. Responses suggest how respondents have the least difficulty with – death. The respondents have the “least problem” with burial places. Similarly, they have the least difficulty with places of worship. Evidently, that ‘a Romani perspective of the other side’ is somewhat brighter than the perspective on this side.

(g) Thus, considered as a whole, Romani settlements according to the respondents’ perception are **markedly substandard in terms of infrastructure**. Of course, in this sense, a town settlement is somewhat better. However, just “townness” does not guarantee a better quality infrastructure. Greater differences are evident between settlements in particular county areas. Generally considered, the better ones are in the Counties of Istria and Osijek-Baranja as well as the City of Zagreb. However, despite this, the paramount conclusion is that Romani settlements are at the extreme margins as a result of their substandardness. In essence, there is a simple paradox at work. It can be schematically formulated in the following way: **it is more probable that settlements will be better equipped if they are of less Romani origin**. In the three mentioned areas, there are more of these settlements that are less Romani so the total picture has less black/grey tones.

Ideas about desirable settlements

It is well-known that entirely precise ideas are usually evaded in research of this kind based on surveys. This is not because of the methodological framework restrictions. Rather

simply, most of the respondents are not capable of clearly defining more important territorial aspirations. This statement does not only apply to the Romani group but also to other groups that are present in Croatian settlements. Nevertheless, it is possible to propose some basic ideas on a desirable settlement. These ideas have been reduced to a few **orientation** desires and thoughts. As they are, they certainly cannot be used as a completed plan of action. However, they undoubtedly contribute a clearer boundary determination between particular possibilities that define an action base of a renewal programme and settlement revitalisation.

The main descriptor of the settlement. For its identification, it is useful to consider the distribution of data in the following table.

Table 3
Characteristic features of
lifestyle in the settlement

Features	County in %								
	Zagreb			Sisak-Moslavina			Varaždin		
	Not at all	Somewhat	Clearly	Not at all	Somewhat	Clearly	Not at all	Somewhat	Clearly
Great role of tradition	23.1	33.7	43.3	31.8	43.5	24.7	29.9	35.8	34.3
Threatened by the polluted environment	30.9	16.4	52.7	1.0	15.6	83.3	5.1	8.9	86.1
The possibility of acquiring a good standard in a short time	51.4	21.9	26.7	58.2	32.9	8.9	56.8	27.0	16.2
Safe everyday life	29.7	30.6	39.6	19.4	35.5	45.2	13.9	46.8	39.2
The possibility of living according to one's own choice	25.2	31.8	43.0	20.5	46.6	33.0	16.0	36.0	48.0

Table 3
(continued)

Features	County in %								
	Primorje-Gorski kotar			Brod-Posavina			Osijek-Baranja		
	Not at all	Somewhat	Clearly	Not at all	Somewhat	Clearly	Not at all	Somewhat	Clearly
Great role of tradition	3.8	28.2	67.9	26.6	40.4	33.0	29.3	34.8	35.9
Threatened by the polluted environment	13.7	27.4	58.9	5.3	14.7	80.0	23.2	31.6	45.3
The possibility of acquiring a good standard in a short time	81.8	7.8	10.4	59.1	20.4	20.4	57.6	21.7	20.7
Safe everyday life	39.2	22.8	38.0	10.3	41.2	48.5	13.0	37.0	50.0
The possibility of living according to one's own choice	33.3	24.0	42.7	22.6	25.8	51.6	18.0	31.5	50.6

Table 3
(continued)

Features	Counties in %											
	Istria			Medimurje			Other			Total sample		
	Not at all	Somewhat	Clearly	Not at all	Somewhat	Clearly	Not at all	Somewhat	Clearly	Not at all	Somewhat	Clearly
Great role of tradition	5.7	31.0	63.2	27.2	42.8	30.0	32.3	38.5	29.2	23.6	37.2	39.2
Threatened by the polluted environment	32.3	39.8	28.0	12.2	18.3	69.5	9.6	28.8	61.6	15.0	21.7	63.3
The possibility of acquiring a good standard in a short time	42.2	16.7	41.1	48.9	22.8	28.3	50.8	33.3	15.9	55.2	22.4	22.4
Safe everyday life	7.7	38.5	53.8	17.8	28.7	53.5	8.2	26.0	65.8	17.9	33.6	48.5
The possibility of living according to one's own choice	17.0	33.0	50.0	20.6	26.9	52.6	15.6	35.9	48.4	21.0	31.7	47.2

Source: Field study 2004

The given data shows in a convincing way that the majority of the respondents agree that the main distinguishing feature of the settlement in which they live is that their **life is endangered by conditions**. More than 60% of the respondents completely agree that this is a characteristic feature of their lifestyle while an additional 20% claim that the threat is “somewhat” present. On the other hand, only 15% of the respondents think that hazard is not a feature of life in the settlement in which they live. The **polluted environment** is the source of hazard in most cases. This is also due to the chaotic availability of municipal services. Moreover, many Romani settlements were set up near larger industrial polluters or larger rubbish dumps, which many Roma see as an important “resource”. Likewise, the majority convincingly agree that people in these settlements cannot count on fast life successes or on speedy improvements of life opportunities and welfare. In other words, according to the Roma, their settlements are dangerous places in terms of health and life where **only a minority** believe that they have the possibility to acquire a good standard in a short time and live according to their desires.

However, nearly 50% of the respondents maintain that the possibility of a safe everyday life is “obvious” in this, not especially enchanting context. This is like the possibility to live according to one's choice. Both findings need to be read as linked. Their more precise meaning is comprehensible in the context of endemic poverty and poor literacy, which as the data shows is paramount in these settlements. In these contexts, the mentioned state-

ments indicate a type of **social autarky**, which permeates their relation towards their settlement. The settlements, according to the respondents, are risky and dangerous. In the main, they are chaotic. However, on the other hand, in this **social isolation**, everyday life is relatively successfully monitored and lived with minimum external pressure. Since eventual external pressure would be targeted at change of the ecological configuration and technical systems as well as lifestyles on an independent income, the Roma think of this change in terms of its **limiting nature** with respect to their autonomy until now. Thus, dedication to the settlement, despite the negative main descriptor, is considerable. Paradoxically, minor deprivation enslaves, but it seems that major deprivation – liberates.

What type of settlement? The distribution of responses, which indicates their main needs is shown in table 4.

Table 4
What type of settlement do the Roma want?

Features of the settlement	County in %									Total sample
	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Medimurje	Other	
An ordered and clean settlement with nice fronts/facades	31.3	50.0	42.6	17.8	33.0	17.0	1.0	52.5	58.7	35.3
A settlement with public utilities (gas, electricity, water, sewerage...)	6.3	26.1	35.0	26.6	12.0	18.0	1.0	23.5	14.7	18.2
A settlement with ordered traffic infrastructure	3.6	31.3	22.5	28.9	10.0	17.0	.0	24.5	28.1	18.5
A settlement with different social infrastructure (school, kindergarten, playground, cultural centre...)	1.8	7.2	6.3	6.7	4.0	4.0	.0	15.2	5.3	6.7
An urbanised settlement (building permit)	0.9	1.0	5.1	7.8	1.0	6.0	.0	1.9	5.4	2.9
A rural type of settlement	0.9	.0	1.3	.0	.0	2.0	.0	4.6	.0	1.4
Settlements like other “non-Roma” settlements, nothing special	43.8	29.2	26.3	27.8	42.0	40.0	32.7	18.4	21.3	30.3
Big, grouped settlements	4.5	.0	1.3	.0	1.0	.0	3.1	3.2	.0	1.8

Source: Field study 2004

In this table, two groups are evidently larger than others: the group of respondents that dream about an ordered/clean settlement and a group of respondents who want settlements that are similar to other “non-Roma” settlements – nothing special. At a level of meaning, it is not incorrect to assume how the respondents link these two responses. Ideas about a desirable settlement directly rest on

cleanliness and related ecological descriptors and on the **non-Roma difference** – more precisely on the similarity of Romani settlements with other non-Roma settlements. The possible confusion here may be caused by the use of the words: Romani and non-Romani settlement.

In this section, they do not denote specific determinants inseparable from ethnic or socio-cultural identity. They denote, on the contrary, the difference between settlements that are municipally and economically “normal” and settlements that are municipally and economically substandard, which in this research has operatively qualified as Romani. Thus, the aspirational reaching out of the respondents for non-Romani settlements indicates their yearning to snap out of sad/grey settlement neglect. In short, the central aspirations of the respondents can be understood as a wish for a settlement-that-is-like-every-other. They do not cease to be Romani with respect to the determinants of Romani identity. However, they cease to be Romani by erasing the configurations of neglect.

In light of this data, the insight mentioned earlier is not erased. The forces of social autarky are still effective. However, the functioning settlement framework is simply transferred to an existentially and municipally less dangerous/risky place. Only as much as it is “less” dangerous/risky, is it more similar to non-Romani settlements. Aspiration, in essence, only shows the main direction of desired settlement **position** of Romani inhabitants. It does not include the desire to change some limiting characteristics of the **inhabitants themselves**. In this respect, aspirations are not so unambiguous.

Configuration of desires up close. The concrete outline of desirable settlements can be seen in table 5

If the “Romani” results are compared to results obtained in other cases, it is evident that the basic pattern of housing aspirations is similar. Their main points of reference are: a house with a vegetable plot and yard; pedestrian zone; a low-rise building; and small town. Their expression among the Romani group does not distinguish them, but, on the contrary, **makes them similar** to the majority population.

However, there are three points of reference that are impossible to neglect. The surveyed Roma more often express that they wish to live in settlements **with town streets** (74%) and in **newer settlements** with **modern** architecture (63%). Still, **less** respondents 44.3% want to live in a Romani settlement with other Roma and **more** 55.7% want to live in another (non-Romani) settlement.

Table 5
Where would the Roma most prefer to live?

Determinant of the settlement	County in %									Total sample
	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Medimurje	Other	
Along a river	34.5	29.2	24.4	83.1	48.0	42.4	29.9	35.0	31.3	38.4
Away from a river	65.5	70.8	75.6	16.9	52.0	57.6	70.1	65.0	68.7	61.6
Close to the town centre	75.5	63.5	53.2	67.1	71.0	68.0	74.0	66.8	52.2	66.5
Away from town centre	24.5	36.5	46.8	32.9	29.0	32.0	26.0	33.2	47.8	33.5
In a settlement with town streets	68.2	71.9	75.9	63.8	67.0	82.0	86.8	75.5	73.1	73.9
In a settlement without typical town streets	31.8	28.1	24.1	36.2	33.0	18.0	13.2	24.5	26.9	26.1
In an older part of the town with classical (traditional) architecture	40.7	40.6	27.8	33.3	21.0	42.0	23.5	43.9	53.7	37.2
In a newer settlement with modern architecture	59.3	59.4	72.2	66.7	79.0	58.0	76.5	56.1	46.3	62.8
In a house with a vegetable plot and yard	94.5	96.9	94.9	96.4	90.0	96.0	87.9	93.5	91.0	93.5
In an apartment building or family house without a vegetable plot and yard	5.5	3.1	5.1	3.6	10.0	4.0	12.1	6.5	9.0	6.5
In a pedestrian zone	70.0	82.1	83.3	78.8	90.0	80.0	84.2	86.3	73.1	81.6
In a zone with town traffic	30.0	17.9	16.7	21.2	10.0	20.0	15.8	13.7	26.9	18.4
In a low-rise building	92.7	94.8	94.9	97.1	89.9	94.0	86.8	93.0	95.5	93.1
In a high-rise building	7.3	5.2	5.1	2.9	10.1	6.0	13.2	7.0	4.5	6.9
In a big town	57.0	29.2	29.1	72.6	37.0	18.2	44.3	30.0	21.2	36.5
In a smaller or small town	43.0	70.8	70.9	27.4	63.0	81.8	55.7	70.0	78.8	63.5
In a Romani settlement	22.9	45.8	57.0	55.3	47.0	46.0	19.2	48.1	56.7	44.3
In another (non-Romani) settlement	77.1	54.2	43.0	44.7	53.0	54.0	80.8	51.9	43.3	55.7
In a village	24.5	62.5	82.3	5.7	52.0	60.0	17.0	79.2	85.1	54.8
In a town	75.5	37.5	17.7	94.3	48.0	40.0	83.0	20.8	14.9	45.2

Source: Field Study 2004

The first two are related to the insights presented in previous sections. **Ground-plan order, new buildings and modernity** are features of a town-planning directive that resulted in the building of a number of settlements during the socialist period. These features were not threatened in the period following 1990. Romani desires **directly** express a **negation** of abandoned/”wild” settlements where most of them now live. In this respect, they want to live in settlements that are similar to other settlements.

However, the third determinant deserves a special comment. Over half of the respondents desire to live in a

settlement where there is **no** Romani community, at least where this community has a role in administration and the orienting development of the settlement. However, on the other hand, less than half of the respondents state that the already mentioned determinants of a desirable settlement are **directly connected to the presence of the Romani community** in that type of settlement. Two hypotheses are useful in the reading of the obtained differences.

The first hypothesis indicates that there is a strong sub-group in the Romani population in which the accumulation of life and social successes is connected to weaker “overriding” links with other members of the group. A number of insights, even though unsystematic, show that a number of Roma who have succeeded in life (whatever that means) socially represent their success by underlining similarities or affiliation to the majority/non-Romani population. In other words: they do not emphasise/dramatise their Romani roots. According to this scheme, the accumulation of life successes leads to the social and symbolic distancing from Romani groups. Of course, the mentioned 55% of the respondents that do not wish to live in Romani settlements cannot be classified into this group mechanically. We do not have the necessary data for this type of classification. However, it can be unambiguously maintained that the choice of a non-Romani settlement as desirable is related/connected to this type of orientation.

The second hypothesis shows that the Romani population live on an independent income more than they depend on economic opportunities. This, as other reliable data shows, is maintained in a context of limited functional literacy and reduced professional and social competency. *The rental of poverty*, thus, appears in the wider sub-cultural configuration; its strength is predominately absorbed from the social autarchy of the Romani group, where its marginal quality only can maintain it as a rational acceptable fact. It seems that the critical separation of Romani identity and social autarchy has not advanced. This means that some of the important patterns of Romani identity, especially traditional **lifestyles**, in Romani self-representation appear, as a rule, closely tied to the social autarchy of the group and living on social welfare. Indirectly, this structurally blocks the evolution of particular determinants of Romani identity and the possibility of directly linking socially successful behaviour and Romani identification. According to this scheme: to be a Roma means being at the social/sub-cultural margin. It needs to be noted that social overheads and reduction is **not** an exclusive product of a

global society. The Romani *rentiers of poverty* get the most from this; as a specific Romani “upper layer” they are interested, first of all, in rewarding dependence and only marginally in training the Romani group for roles as social participants capable of more than just living on an unearned income. It certainly needs to be mentioned that 44% of the respondents cannot be mechanically classified into this group dedicated to understanding the Romani identity as a skill of living on an independent income. However, it is unambiguous that the expression of these desires is related to the outlined orientation.

Both of these hypotheses imply that the Romani group **is not homogeneous** in comparison to the central developmental issue of the group: how to cross the margin and become a successful group, at least as much as the others and not repress or disintegrate traditional determinants of Romani identity?

Desirability of institutions. The desirability of a number of institutions of social infrastructure can be seen in the next table. It should be noted that the respondents were not asked to make choices but rather ranked the given list of institutions according to their desirability.

Table 6
The desirability of local
institutions

Rating	County				
	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina
1.	Health clinic, chemist's	School and kindergarten	School and kindergarten	Health clinic, chemist's	Health clinic, chemist's
2.	School and kindergarten	Health clinic, chemist's	Health clinic, chemist's	School and kindergarten	School and kindergarten
3.	Grocery shop	Grocery shop	Grocery shop	Grocery shop	Sport-recreational facilities
4.	Fair, market	Sport-recreational facilities	Sport-recreational facilities	Religious place of worship	Grocery shop
5.	Religious place of worship	Cultural-entertainment facilities	Religious place of worship	Sport-recreational facilities	Fair, market
6.	Sport-recreational facilities	Fair, market	Fair, market	Fair, market	Cultural-entertainment facilities
7.	Cultural-entertainment facilities	Religious place of worship	Cultural-entertainment facilities	Cultural-entertainment facilities	Religious place of worship
8.	Catering establishment (inn/café)	Catering establishment (inn/café)	Catering establishment (inn/café)	Catering establishment (inn/café)	Catering establishment (inn/café)

Table 6
(continued)

Rating	County				
	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
1.	Health clinic, chemist's	School and kindergarten	School and kindergarten	School and kindergarten	School and kindergarten
2.	School and kindergarten	Health clinic, chemist's	Health clinic, chemist's	Grocery shop	Health clinic, chemist's
3.	Grocery shop	Religious place of worship	Grocery shop	Health clinic, chemist's	Grocery shop
4.	Sport-recreational facilities	Grocery shop	Sport-recreational facilities	Sport-recreational facilities	Sport-recreational facilities
5.	Fair, market	Fair, market	Religious place of worship	Fair, market	Fair, market
6.	Cultural-entertainment facilities	Sport-recreational facilities	Fair, market	Cultural-entertainment facilities	Religious place of worship
7.	Catering establishment (inn/café)	Cultural-entertainment facilities	Cultural-entertainment facilities	Religious place of worship	Cultural-entertainment facilities
8.	Religious place of worship	Catering establishment (inn/café)	Catering establishment (inn/café)	Catering establishment (inn/café)	Catering establishment (inn/café)

Source: Field study 2004

The obtained results clearly show/state the previously outlined findings. In all counties, as in Croatia as a whole, the first and second place was precisely taken up by three basic institutions of social infrastructure: the school, kindergarten and health clinic/chemist's. In short, these are institutions of education and health. On the other hand, in the whole surveyed area, like in most counties, except for the County of Osijek-Baranja, the catering establishment (inn/café) is last in terms of importance and desirability to the Roma. A religious place of worship is last on the list in the County of Osijek-Baranja. Considering that Romani settlements in this county were predominantly part of the existing settlement network, there is no need for religious places of worship because they already exist there.

Sport-recreational facilities and grocery shops are in the middle of the range. It is evident that there is less need for cultural-entertainment facilities. In the main, they are in second to last place (in five out of nine area groups), or in third to last place. The only exception is in the County of Sisak-Moslavina where these facilities are middle of the range.

These results reflect the existing circumstances that predominate in Romani settlements and the obtained distribution offers a useful general indicator of the aspirational

framework in which the idea of a desirable settlement is shaped. It is evident that the central aspirational forces are related to an ordered settlement, where it is comfortable to live and where the basic welfare of children and youth as well as health care **is guaranteed**. In general, the respondents express how they want to substitute para-urban improvised pressured living for settlements where there is visible/present **systematic public welfare** for a quality life of their inhabitants. Occasional municipal service investments and improvements in this respect are not adequate. An **institutional network** that can continually monitor and transform “wild” settlements is needed.

Who is the settlement?

A few special questions are masked behind this seemingly unusual heading. Their common link is with a certain “inventory-making” of the community which was shaped in the analysis of Romani settlements.

The authority of the community. A detailed analysis of the authority of a settlement community in survey research of this kind comes up against many practical difficulties. Thus, the analytical demands in this case are clearly reduced. The discussion is on two findings. The first is visible in the next table.

Table 7
Sources of information in
settlement

Source of information	County in %								
	Frequency of use								
	Zagreb			Sisak-Moslavina			Varaždin		
	Never	Sometimes	Often	Never	Sometimes	Often	Never	Sometimes	Often
Croatian TV	10.7	29.5	59.8	10.4	21.9	67.7	15.0	30.0	55.0
Local TV	33.0	33.9	33.0	20.8	35.4	43.8	40.0	38.8	21.3
Foreign TV stations (satellite)	72.1	10.8	17.1	91.6	5.3	3.2	82.5	10.0	7.5
Croatian radio	35.7	30.4	33.9	33.3	35.4	31.3	25.0	37.5	37.5
Other radio stations	40.2	33.9	25.9	37.5	36.5	26.0	47.5	35.0	17.5
Daily paper	44.6	29.5	25.9	66.7	22.9	10.4	57.5	32.5	10.0
Weekly paper	66.1	24.1	9.8	71.9	19.8	8.3	68.8	26.3	5.0
Talks with members of family or friends	.0	10.7	89.3	4.2	15.6	80.2	3.8	17.5	78.8

Table 7
(continued)

Source of information	County in %								
	Frequency of use								
	Primorje-Gorski kotar			Brod-Posavina			Osijek-Baranja		
	Never	Someti- mes	Often	Never	Someti- mes	Often	Never	Someti- mes	Often
Croatian TV	1.1	28.1	70.8	8.0	14.0	78.0	5.0	18.0	77.0
Local TV	9.1	44.3	46.6	43.0	35.0	22.0	39.0	31.0	30.0
Foreign TV stations (satellite)	25.0	46.6	28.4	65.0	19.0	16.0	79.0	12.0	9.0
Croatian radio	31.5	36.0	32.6	18.0	36.0	46.0	14.0	30.0	56.0
Other radio stations	34.8	40.4	24.7	41.0	34.0	25.0	13.0	32.0	55.0
Daily paper	41.1	43.3	15.6	54.0	34.0	12.0	62.0	24.0	14.0
Weekly paper	68.9	24.4	6.7	65.0	27.0	8.0	73.0	24.0	3.0
Talks with members of family or friends	.0	2.3	97.7	4.0	12.0	84.0	.0	14.1	85.9

Table 7
(continued)

Source of information	County in %											
	Frequency of use											
	Istria			Medimurje			Other			Total sample		
	Never	Some- times	Often	Never	Some- times	Often	Never	Some- times	Often	Never	Some- times	Often
Croatian TV	9.2	22.4	68.4	8.3	33.8	57.9	10.7	25.3	64.0	8.6	25.8	65.6
Local TV	34.7	37.8	27.6	43.5	31.5	25.0	28.0	30.7	41.3	34.0	34.8	31.2
Foreign TV stations (satellite)	43.9	33.7	22.4	85.6	8.8	5.6	90.7	6.7	2.7	72.2	16.0	11.8
Croatian radio	21.4	44.9	33.7	25.0	37.5	37.5	18.9	51.4	29.7	25.0	37.2	37.8
Other radio stations	33.7	40.8	25.5	44.4	28.7	26.9	42.7	32.0	25.3	37.8	34.1	28.2
Daily paper	39.2	38.1	22.7	63.4	29.6	6.9	56.0	37.3	6.7	54.9	31.8	13.4
Weekly paper	57.1	27.6	15.3	75.9	19.4	4.6	69.3	28.0	2.7	69.3	23.8	6.9
Talks with members of family or friends	.0	17.5	82.5	3.7	13.0	83.3	2.7	21.3	76.0	2.2	13.5	84.3

Source: Field study 2004

The given data shows that most respondents mention two sources of information most often: **Croatian TV and Talks with members of family or friends**. The first source, as it is known, is a public company; its main job is to inform. Since many studies have shown that television is the most effective public media, it is not especially surprising that the Roma watch it often. However, the other mentioned source: talks with members of family or friends, is

not, evidently a specialised source of information. Moreover, oral speech is the medium that this circle most often uses. Considering the level of literacy among the Roma, it is not incorrect to assume that oral speech is their only medium. However, despite the technical “simplicity” of their main medium, the informational authority of family/friend circle is based on the percentage of respondents who put this in first place. The group of respondents who “often” use the family/friend circle as a source of information is nearly **20% more** than the group that “often” watches Croatian TV. In other words, despite the strength of particular information companies, a particular strong source of information is the family/friend circle in Romani settlements. This is a **parallel type** of informing that directly depends on mutual communication that is predominately face-to-face. Clearly, the authority of the family/friend circle as a source of information would not be established, especially in light of competing professional television companies, if it were not **structurally dependent** on the authority of family/friend networks in other areas of everyday life. This indicates that the **network** of wider family units that are present in particular settlements is the basic mechanism and framework of differentiation of the settlement community. The network breaks up and “filters” external influences that range from simple pieces of information to far-reaching demands and limitations.

The role of the family/friend network, in light of the circumstances, is not extended to the duty of provoking change in the settlement. Its job is to define patterns that are obligatory for members more clearly. The duty of provoking change is addressed to those participants “outside”. The data in the following table suggests this hypothesis.

Table 8
Who needs to be the main
initiator of improving the
quality of housing?

Initiator	County in %									Total sample
	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	
Municipality/town	80.2	90.4	80.0	92.0	78.7	79.8	90.1	80.3	90.1	83.8
Inhabitants of the quarter/settlement	19.8	9.6	20.0	8.0	21.3	20.2	9.9	19.7	9.9	16.2

Source: Field study 2004

It is visible that a convincing majority of the respondents consider that the town or municipal administration has the responsibility of provoking change/improvement.

If this considered practically, this response is not without foundation. The town and municipal authorities deal with money, technical matters and land anyway. In comparison to their potential, the possibilities of the Romani community are more than humble.

However, it needs to be remembered that the duties of improvement initiators are not directly dependent on the mentioned possibilities. They emerge out of a deeper circle of “ecological” duties where the local community itself knows best what “hurts” in the area and how to produce the main actors of change/improvement. The Romani responses “skip” this fact. The respondents’ message reads: The initiator needs to be someone who has authority. The thought of a partnership between the settlement community and external initiators of change has just been announced.

Who is the “boss” in settlements? The distribution of responses to questions on the institutions or individuals who influence the development and living conditions of the settlement were obtained in the same basic way. This distribution is shown in the following table.

Table 9
Who influences settlement
development and living
conditions?

Subject of influence	Counties in %								
	Degree of influence								
	Zagreb			Sisak-Moslavina			Varaždin		
	Not at all	To some degree	Noticeably	Not at all	To some degree	Noticeably	Not at all	To some degree	Noticeably
State, government	41.9	34.3	23.8	48.2	43.4	8.4	46.5	39.4	14.1
Town/municipal government	40.2	30.8	29.0	42.9	45.1	12.1	49.3	33.3	17.3
Experts	63.5	27.1	9.4	83.3	16.7	.0	78.6	17.1	4.3
Settlement inhabitants	30.0	39.1	30.9	18.9	58.9	22.2	19.5	45.5	35.1
NGOs that promote human rights and liberty	52.5	27.3	20.2	72.8	23.5	3.7	63.4	26.8	9.9
Romani associations	44.5	23.6	31.8	45.3	45.3	9.5	48.7	28.9	22.4
Political parties	74.0	13.0	13.0	85.2	12.5	2.3	87.1	7.1	5.7

Table 9
(continued)

Subject of influence	Counties in %								
	Degree of influence								
	Primorje-Gorski kotar			Brod-Posavina			Osijek-Baranja		
	Not at all	To some degree	Noticeably	Not at all	To some degree	Noticeably	Not at all	To some degree	Noticeably
State, government	52.1	28.2	19.7	25.3	45.3	29.5	50.5	31.2	18.3
Town/municipal government	45.8	34.7	19.4	18.4	48.0	33.7	26.8	43.3	29.9
Experts	63.5	27.1	9.4	83.3	16.7	.0	78.6	17.1	4.3
Settlement inhabitants	22.2	46.9	30.9	21.1	49.5	29.5	22.4	35.7	41.8
NGOs that promote human rights and liberty	53.3	25.0	21.7	38.2	40.4	21.3	49.4	31.5	19.1
Romani associations	14.5	34.2	51.3	35.5	36.6	28.0	27.8	33.0	39.2
Political parties	63.6	27.3	9.1	71.6	17.9	10.5	82.8	9.7	7.5

Table 9
(continued)

Subject of influence	Counties in %											
	Degree of influence											
	Istria			Medimurje			Other			Total sample		
	Not at all	To some degree	Noticeably	Not at all	To some degree	Noticeably	Not at all	To some degree	Noticeably	Not at all	To some degree	Noticeably
State, government	28.6	47.6	23.8	35.8	40.6	23.5	29.6	49.3	21.1	39.2	39.9	20.9
Town/municipal government	26.1	35.2	38.6	28.6	48.1	23.3	20.5	46.6	32.9	32.4	41.5	26.2
Experts	68.3	24.4	7.3	67.5	21.5	11.0	81.3	10.9	7.8	71.7	21.2	7.0
Settlement inhabitants	28.7	41.5	29.8	26.6	35.5	37.9	26.8	45.1	28.2	24.5	42.9	32.6
NGOs that promote human rights and liberty	48.2	32.5	19.3	59.4	29.1	11.5	73.5	13.2	13.2	56.4	28.3	15.3
Romani associations	24.1	27.6	48.3	42.9	45.0	12.2	61.6	19.2	19.2	38.7	34.2	27.1
Political parties	62.0	19.0	19.0	74.6	20.3	5.1	86.8	5.9	7.4	76.2	15.3	8.5

Source: Field study 2004

According to the respondents, **experts and political parties** are entirely marginal. Less than 10% of the respondents express their “distinct” influence respectively. On the other hand, a convincing majority, more than 70% of the respondents in the total sample, claim that experts and political parties do not have influence in Romani settle-

ments. Approximately 20% of the respondents claim that the State government has a “distinct” influence, while 40% claim that this influence is not strong, but present. **Town/municipal government and Romani associations** have a somewhat stronger influence in settlements than the State government. According to the Roma, non-governmental associations in the third civil sector **are not** especially successful (only 15% said that they have “distinct” influence) in their settlements compared to Romani associations. According to the respondents, the inhabitants of the settlement have the strongest influence. Closer inspection of the distribution of responses reveals that the main influence in the total sample can be divided into a triangle: **settlement inhabitants–Romani associations–town/municipal government**.

From the research results, an optimistic hypothesis can be put forward: that the inhabitants of Romani settlements are influential even within the triangle of main actors. However, on the other hand, the reality of Romani settlements directly challenges this hypothesis. Endemic neglect is not a special sign of power among the inhabitants of this type of settlement. At least, not of power that is required for long-term and deep-rooted improvement. In essence, both statements are not incorrect. The Romani inhabitants are really influential, more than any other entity in the settlement. However, on the other hand, the range of that influence is limited to “patching up” the holes in the landscape of neglect. In other words, they are influential, **but without power and they are incapable of “producing” settlement development**. For this reason, the responsibilities of stimulating local development are addressed to external participants; first of all to town/municipal government followed by Romani associations.

What can the community do? Answers to this question are in the next table.

According to the respondents, the distribution of responses show that settlement communities can only do **marginal jobs**, like putting settlement into order, cleaning, and rubbish removal. The response: **nothing** is in second place. In other words, the community cannot do anything. The groups of respondents who express the possibility of entrepreneurial behaviour or the building up of internal solidarity between settlement inhabitants or long-term investment in schooling are marginal. It is not difficult to see that the obtained results are compatible with the professional potential of the Romani population that live in the surveyed settlements. Considered from this perspective, the responses do not contradict some “realisticness”.

Table 10

What can the community of the settlement do to improve the settlement?

Community potential	County in %									
	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
Participate in putting settlement into order, cleaning, rubbish removal and similar	13.4	43.8	32.5	10.0	34.0	28.0	.0	30.0	42.7	25.9
Give suggestions/advice/initiatives	.9	.0	1.3	.0	.0	1.0	9.2	1.0	1.3	1.5
Be the work force in actions	2.7	3.1	1.3	18.9	.0	7.0	.0	5.0	.0	4.3
Invest in schooling	3.6	1.0	1.3	.0	2.0	.0	.0	6.9	1.3	2.5
Participate in building and maintaining the communal infrastructure	1.8	18.7	8.8	11.1	3.0	.0	.0	5.1	12.0	6.2
Nothing	8.9	11.5	15.0	5.6	16.0	15.0	2.0	6.5	10.7	9.6
Improve mutual relations, help financially	18.8	1.0	7.6	13.3	6.0	10.0	7.1	5.0	1.3	7.7
Invest in the opening of some facility (shopping, service, entertainment)	.9	3.1	1.3	.0	2.0	2.0	.0	.5	.0	1.0

Source: Field study 2004

However, on the other hand, that type of community, as can be seen, has considerable integration authority. **Incongruence** between developmental inability and integration authority is too evident to be a marginal fact. For its explanation, we do not have reliable empirical sources. For this reason, we are limited to a hypothesis that is supported by unsystematic insights only. According to this hypothesis, the size of the mentioned incongruence is a direct indicator of the strength of the Romani **parasitic elite** that monitors the main integration patterns of the Romani group. On the one hand, this influential group dramatises Romani inability for professional self-building and for collective development. Thanks to this, it **successfully absorbs** (even though limited) sources of social welfare of these marginal groups. In addition, it directly monitors “grey” activities such as odd jobs, begging and similar, where women and children are mostly “employed”. On the other hand, it dramatises “internal” issues about authority and in this way widens the possibility of supervising the integration patterns of Romani community members. As far as it can be seen, **the main obstacle is internal – obstructing the modernisation of a Romani lifestyle**. Like all related modernisation events this is necessary to start the shifting of education/schooling values of young members – to the top. The **unconditional** investment in education in this way becomes the foothold of reconstruction of other fundamental objectives of the group and their lifestyles.

The following two tables follow the same pattern. It is useful to draw attention to the percentage of Roma that participated in jobs to clean up the settlement; this shows that there is an above average majority that are prepared to work to improve the settlement. This data is not compatible, at best, with the pessimistic evaluation about how the community cannot do anything on its own. Substitute this with the previously mentioned parasitic entrepreneurial elite, which is oriented more directly by a need for education, competency and effectiveness, the already mentioned percentage becomes a more useful indicator of the limits of development mobilisation of the Romani group. These are limitations at the public utilities level, at least.

Table 11
Past actions of putting
settlement into order

Action	County in %									Total sample
	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	
Putting into order, cleaning the settlement, rubbish removal	26.8	47.9	48.8	38.9	76.0	57.0	22.4	34.6	49.3	43.1
Building and maintaining traffic infrastructure	5.4	2.1	1.3	32.2	1.0	2.0	1.0	4.1	.0	5.3
Deratization	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	1.9	.0	.4
House building	3.6	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.9	.0	.6
Digging canals for electricity, water	.0	11.4	.0	4.4	.0	1.0	1.0	1.4	.0	2.1

Source: Field study 2004

Table 12
Did the respondents participate in putting the settlement into order?

Participation	County in %									Total sample
	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	
No	48.0	31.1	31.7	35.9	32.6	48.9	87.2	35.3	43.4	43.3
Yes	52.0	68.9	68.3	64.1	67.4	51.1	12.8	64.7	56.6	56.7

Source: Field study 2004

The scope of being domiciled. A convincing majority of the respondents 92.3% consider themselves as “local” participants “at home” in the settlements in which they live. It is a fact that most settlements were set up on seized, predominantly town or municipal land, and that the history of these settlements do not extend beyond

forty years. This evidently does not affect assessments of feeling at home that can be seen in the following table.

Table 13
How do inhabitants feel in their settlement?

	County in %								
	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other
Local	91.8	96.9	95.0	92.2	88.0	94.0	74.5	98.1	94.7
Newcomer	8.2	3.1	5.0	7.8	12.0	6.0	25.5	1.9	5.3
Total sample	92.3								7.7

Source: Field study 2004

This finding is not atypical. Following a number migratory waves, the scope of being domiciled is not strictly dependent on place of birth. It depends, first of all, on the place of life investment and place where success has been accumulated. Considering the daily quality of life in Romani settlements, it is reasonable to assume that this does not secure an awareness of home. However, the facts show the reverse. The surveyed Roma report that they feel at home. This is clearly shown in the next table.

Table 14
Readiness to change address because of better life conditions

Counties	Degree of readiness to change address in %											
	Move to another quarter or location in place of living			Move to another place or town within region			Move to another region in Croatia			Move to another state		
	Not ready	Undecided	Ready	Not ready	Undecided	Ready	Not ready	Undecided	Ready	Not ready	Undecided	Ready
Zagreb	29.1	.9	70.0	51.4	3.6	45.0	67.9	2.7	29.5	78.4	3.6	18.0
Sisak-Moslavina	33.3	4.3	62.4	43.6	8.5	47.9	73.4	2.1	24.5	84.4	1.0	14.6
Varaždin	39.7	3.8	56.4	50.6	6.3	43.0	75.0	1.3	23.8	90.0	2.5	7.5
Primorje-Gorski kotar	24.7	10.1	65.2	51.7	12.4	36.0	83.9	8.0	8.0	89.7	2.3	8.0
Brod-Posavina	58.9	8.4	32.6	62.9	7.2	29.9	63.9	7.2	28.9	54.1	3.1	42.9
Osijek-Baranja	46.5	8.1	45.5	51.0	9.0	40.0	67.7	8.1	24.2	65.0	2.0	33.0
Istria	38.1	5.2	56.7	49.5	11.3	39.2	70.8	9.4	19.8	75.5	9.2	15.3
Međimurje	42.7	1.9	55.4	49.3	3.3	47.4	78.0	4.2	17.8	87.4	.0	12.6
Other	52.0	4.0	44.0	65.3	2.7	32.0	82.7	1.3	16.0	94.7	.0	5.3
Total sample	40.6	4.7	54.7	52.1	6.7	41.2	73.8	4.9	21.3	80.1	2.4	17.5

Source: Field study 2004

Generally speaking, inasmuch as the (eventual) place of residence is farther from the present place of living, the number of persons ready to move is less. Roughly, **every second respondent** is prepared to change address within

the framework of the same settlement. Nearly 40% are prepared to change their address within the same region. The share ready to move within Croatia and abroad is almost equal, varying around 20%. Thus, even though life in the settlements where they live is predominantly determined by endemic misery and municipal service neglect, the **majority** of the surveyed Roma are not ready to change address for better life conditions, **unless it is in the same settlement**. This fact describes them as a **realistic group**. Namely, their professional competencies and educational qualifications are already meagre for successful competition in the labour market. A change of address would not bring about perceptible improvement. However, on the other hand their “realisticness” cannot be interpreted partially like the impression of lifestyle that is shaped and monitored in Romani communities by the already mentioned parasitic elite. Since **living on an independent income** is predominant, the search for better life perspectives implies **separation from the paradoxically main development assets**. A type of closed vicious circle surfaces. Misery is necessary. Still, the “rent” is spent on the – removal of poverty. However, since poverty is a source of income its “removal” has to be monitored in the long-term so that it is not removed from the roots. Thus, besides temporary relief, support **has to** generate new actors of poverty. In this context, active territorial behaviour is simply not a rational behaviour. This implies a fundamental modernisation of Romani lifestyle. It is not necessary to caution that the successful and long-term benefits to the Romani community can only be shaped outside of the sketched pattern.

Table 15
Is a change of address
planned in the near future?

Similar insights are shown in the distribution of results in the next table.

Change of address	County in %									Total sample
	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	
In another part of the city/village	.9	5.2	6.3	3.4	1.0	5.0	7.1	7.4	5.5	4.9
In another settlement in the county area	6.3	1.0	11.3	.0	.0	3.0	1.0	5.6	4.1	3.7
In another part of Croatia	1.8	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	1.0	.5	.0	.4
Abroad	.9	.0	.0	1.1	7.0	4.0	3.1	.5	.0	1.8
I intend to move but I still do not know where	9.8	10.4	6.3	23.6	13.0	8.0	18.4	12.0	2.7	11.8
I do not intend to move	80.4	83.3	76.3	71.9	79.0	80.0	69.4	74.1	87.7	77.4

Source: Field study 2004

The Roma, contrary to the ingrained representations **are not nomads**. At any rate, the inhabitants of present-day Romani settlements, where this study was conducted, are not nomads. Less opportunity to compete with other groups in terms of professional competency and education as well as their dependency on an independent income in Romani settlements determines their identification as a **reserve group**. It is not probable that this fatal position can change without the modernisation of Romani lifestyles. Compulsory schooling/education of the younger generations is significantly the first and certainly the starting point of future changes.

Responses in the following table show that the previously mentioned insight is slowly marking the experiences of the Roma themselves. Even though the largest group, with approximately 40% of respondents, stated that their children will stay on to live in the same settlements, every fifth expressed that they will leave, if they have not already, and every third is not sure.

Table 16
According to respondents' opinion how many children will stay on in the settlement?

Evaluation	County in %								
	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other
I believe that they will stay	42.0	42.7	31.6	47.2	43.0	24.0	51.0	28.7	53.3
I think that they will move away	14.3	10.4	29.1	27.0	6.0	23.0	14.6	27.3	9.3
One or more children have already moved away	3.6	3.1	1.3	1.1	.0	8.0	4.2	6.5	2.7
I don't know, can't say	33.0	41.7	29.1	18.0	32.0	36.0	19.8	34.3	32.0
I don't have children	7.1	2.1	8.9	6.7	19.0	9.0	10.4	3.2	2.7

Source: Field study 2004

It is obvious that the share of the respondents who claim that their children will not move away is larger in counties where the total developmental perspectives are larger/more varied. In other words, where the possibilities of modernisation, at a principle level at least, are larger and more accessible to younger Roma, it is reasonable to expect a higher number of younger people. In the same way, in accordance with compulsory modernisation of the Romani way of life, new models of their integration into Croatian society certainly need to be formulated. The existing model is without perspective.

Maja
ŠTAMBUK

THE FEATURES OF
ROMANI FAMILIES –
HOUSEHOLDS

Just as there is no unique type of family, there is no unique definition of it. This especially applies to the contemporary family, although there were many variants in the past. In some societies, it is still the foundation unit; in others individualism has pushed the family into the background.

As much as the family, definitions, social order, and immediate social environment have changed, Romani society has maintained the family as a fundamental (and) organisational unit. Apart from providing an emotional and social community of parents and children as well as other close relatives, the Romani family remains the base of Romani social organisation. In this way, the Roma differ from other nomadic groups. Perhaps some “delays” towards integration of the Roma into mainstream society is due to the strength of these preserved traditional families, particularly in relation to most of its functions (including socialisation/education). Accordingly, the family has preserved a high degree of autonomy, independence and even economic independence although a high dependence on the social welfare system has been noted. Thus, when poverty appears as one of the main socio-cultural elements of Romani (self)identity, the family succeeds to preserve its traditional meaning. Or perhaps it is because of this. Like in other social milieus, the family changes. It remains an emotional link between members, but it also can be realised “at a distance”. The economic interdependence of family members is perhaps that which sticks the family together. *It seems that among the Roma a type of economic activity adaptation and sources of income up to a point are at work, which do not disrupt the existing family system.* Activities that include a larger number of family members, from the youngest to the oldest, including women are chosen. This hypothesis, due to its probability, needs to be kept in mind when planning measures for the improvement of quality of life among the Romani population.

In addition, it needs to be noted that the Roma like to live in big families with lots of children. They like to socialise so a great importance is given to family events such as weddings, christenings, and funerals. Researchers have agreed that the home (among sedentary Roma) is the *only* point of stability, a place where the family meets (Coupry, 1999). Moreover, it is desirable that the immediate social environment, the area beyond, belongs to relatives.

Size of households

A big family is almost the rule in Romani tradition. Some authors think that a large number of children is a remnant from times when the mortality of children was high. And in Croatia, the Romani family is large; most probably with the highest averages. It should be noted that the process of nuclearisation (married couple with children) is evident in the Romani population. Namely, a third of all households have up to 4 members. Differences were noted in counties.

The least number of small households (with up to 4 members) can be found in the County of Istria (all in all, 17.3%). Similarly, only 18.8% of households in the County of Primorje-Gorski kotar are small. Averages were found in Counties of Slavonski Brod-Posavina (29.0%), Varaždin (32.6%) and Međimurje (32.8%) while above average representation of small households was found in County of Sisak-Moslavina (36.4%), in the City and County of Zagreb and surroundings (38.4% and by far the largest share in the County of Osijek-Baranja (57.0%).

Table I
 Households according to
 number of members (%)

Number of members	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
1	2.7	1.0	1.3	2.2	5.0	4.0	0.0	1.4	4.0	2.3
2	5.4	9.4	10.0	1.1	6.0	19.0	5.1	8.3	6.7	8.0
3	9.8	12.5	6.3	12.2	4.0	11.0	5.1	8.3	12.0	8.9
4	20.5	13.5	15.0	3.3	14.0	23.0	7.1	14.8	16.0	14.4
5	16.1	21.9	13.8	18.9	12.0	17.0	26.5	15.7	17.3	17.5
6	17.0	17.7	8.8	23.3	24.0	12.0	7.1	12.0	13.3	14.8
7	11.6	11.5	18.8	18.9	15.0	3.0	15.3	14.8	16.0	13.8
8 and over	16.9	12.5	26.3	19.9	20.0	11.0	33.6	24.6	14.6	20.5

Source: Field study 2004

It is easy to read the other indicators – on large families and the counties in which they are represented to a smaller or larger degree.

Composition of households

Data on the composition of households shows that the process of reducing the family to a married couple with unmarried children has already “spread to” the Romani sphere. Nearly 53% of the households in this sample have this type of family structure. This process has affected a smaller number of Romani families in the Counties of Osijek-Baranja (37.8%), Istria (38.7%) and in the County and City of Zagreb (42.3%). In other “Romani” counties, this share is much larger (e.g., 71.2% in the County of Primorje-Gorski kotar).¹

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
Single households	2.7	2.1	1.3	3.5	5.1	16.3	1.1	5.2	4.1	4.8
Married couples without children	4.5	5.3	7.6	2.4	4.0	10.2	2.2	6.6	5.5	5.5
Married couples with unmarried children	42.3	46.3	67.1	71.8	62.6	37.8	38.7	55.9	56.2	52.9
Single-parent households	9.9	5.3	10.1	8.2	3.0	11.2	16.1	6.1	2.7	7.9
“Complete” extended households	10.8	10.5	1.3	10.6	10.1	19.4	9.7	4.7	8.2	9.1
Incomplete extended households	6.3	1.1	5.1	0.0	5.1	3.1	32.3	3.8	1.4	6.2
Other extended households	23.4	29.5	7.6	3.5	10.1	2.0	0.0	17.8	21.9	13.6

Source: Field study 2004

Table 2
 Households according to
 composition (%)

All other types of households are small in number. It needs to be emphasised that there are an insignificant share of single households (the largest share in the County of Osijek-Baranja – 16.3%, and the least in the County of Istria – 1.1%) and that there are few married couples without children (again the most in the County of Osijek-Baranja and the least in the County of Istria). There are a larger number of complete extended households (at least two married couples, with or without children), and the remaining extended households (in which there does not have to be close or any type of relative). Incomplete ex-

tended households (lacking at least one marital partner from at least two married couples in the household), was found in large numbers in the County of Istria. In the main, a small number of extended households in the Romani population can be attributed to the relatively small number of old Roma.

Composition of households by sex

Table 3
Households according to
number of female
members (%)

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
No female members	3.6	1.0	1.3	2.2	3.0	2.0	0.0	1.8	0.0	1.8
1	22.3	22.9	25.0	14.4	18.0	38.0	7.1	19.8	26.7	21.3
2	22.3	26.0	12.5	24.4	29.0	29.0	33.7	26.7	30.7	26.2
3	24.1	27.1	23.8	24.4	21.0	16.0	23.5	24.0	29.3	23.6
4 and over	27.7	22.9	37.7	34.5	29.0	15.0	35.8	21.6	27.6	27.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field study 2004

Households without female members are rare, so we cannot expect them in a larger number among the Roma. Especially when we bear in mind that Romani households are on average large. Moreover, the number of single households is insignificant among the Roma. (Single households are prevalently female in most populations.)

Table 4
Households according to
number of male
members (%)

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
No male members	1.8	1.0	1.3	2.2	3.0	7.0	1.0	2.8	5.3	2.8
1	12.5	17.7	26.3	10.0	13.0	20.0	9.2	14.7	14.7	15.1
2	28.6	34.4	27.5	16.7	28.0	34.0	28.6	26.3	25.3	27.7
3	33.9	28.1	18.8	37.8	21.0	27.0	19.4	20.3	24.0	25.1
4 and over	23.3	18.7	26.4	33.3	35.0	12.0	41.8	36.0	30.6	29.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field study 2004

The largest share of households without male members is in the County of Osijek-Baranja. It should be re-

membered that a very high share of single households are in fact (and only) in this county. This county with its autochthonous Romani population shows more similarity to the majority population. A more detailed analysis would undoubtedly show this as well as a comparative analysis of other socio-demographic features.

Composition of households by age

The Romani population is younger. There are at least two reasons for this:

1. they give birth to a larger number of children (compared to the rest of the population)
2. the lifespan of the Romani population is shorter than the lifespan of the surrounding population.

In view of the aims of this study, it is important to stress precisely this fact. Namely, without enquiring about the health status of the population, medical check-ups, inclusion of children in vaccination programmes, tests on the level of hygiene in everyday life, specifics of work activity, quality of food, habits of hygiene and similar it is not possible not to mention the housing conditions in which the Roma live. In addition, this includes the level of equipment and facilities of dwellings, the technical and social infrastructure of the settlement that are all important (and deficient) prerequisites for a longer life. Thus, data on large numbers of youth, somewhat fewer numbers in the active (employment) age group and almost absence in the over 60 age group in this study on Romani households shows a generally complex picture of the Romani population.²

Like elsewhere, here it is shown that it is almost *impossible to circumvent the mentioned Romani picture of poverty and concentrate on one (given) problem in a research sense*. With regard to this population, everything is really related and it is pointless to look for a solution in one quality of life aspect. This also applies to the level of active participation to improve the life of the Roma.

Returning to the data and their eventual variation depending on the county – most households have **mostly young members**, in the age group under 18 (4 and over). These households are mostly found in the Counties of Međimurje and Varaždin (46.1% and 43.9% respectively).

Households **without young persons** from the age of 18 onwards can mostly be found in the County of Osijek-Baranja (32.0%) followed by the County of Slavonski Brod-Posavina (22.0%) and the County of Sisak-Moslavina (14.6%). It is worth noting that these spaces were de-

stroyed the most during the Homeland War. A more detailed analysis would surely reveal other reasons. In any case, these households, precisely because of a smaller number of younger persons are the oldest Romani households in Croatia.

Table 5
Households according to
number of members aged 18
and over (%)

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
None of these	13.4	14.6	10.0	10.0	22.0	32.0	8.2	11.5	13.3	14.8
1	18.8	18.8	7.5	16.7	9.0	13.0	17.3	11.5	12.0	13.7
2	25.9	10.4	25.0	14.4	17.0	25.0	12.2	14.7	20.0	17.9
3	17.9	20.8	13.8	22.2	15.0	14.0	24.5	16.1	22.7	18.2
4 and over	24.1	35.4	43.9	36.6	37.0	16.0	37.6	46.1	32.0	35.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field study 2004

Most of the households (60.5%) have two members of the working age group between 19–59 years. The Counties of Sisak-Moslavina, Međimurje, Varaždin and Osijek-Baranja have an above average number of these households. Households with a larger number of members in this age group (4 and over) are mostly in the Counties of Istria, Primorje-Gorski kotar, Slavonski Brod-Posavina followed by Zagreb and the City of Zagreb. In the main, these are richer counties, with more employment possibilities and other opportunities for this population.

Table 6
Households according to
number of members aged
between 19 and 59 years (%)

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
None of these	3.6	3.1	7.5	3.3	4.0	9.0	0.0	5.1	5.3	4.5
1	4.5	4.2	7.5	8.9	3.0	4.0	1.0	8.8	5.3	5.6
2	54.5	69.8	67.5	44.4	50.0	63.0	48.0	68.7	73.3	60.5
3	14.3	14.6	11.3	11.1	11.0	13.0	12.2	9.7	5.3	11.4
4 and over	23.2	8.3	6.3	32.2	32.0	11.0	38.7	7.8	10.6	17.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field study 2004

Lastly, to complete this short overview of the age structure of Romani households, with a look at the popu-

lation aged over 60, it can be said once again that older Roma are a rarity. All in all, 11.2% of households in the sample have a member that is aged over 60 and most often this is one member (6.9%). The difference between counties is not large according to this indicator.

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
None of these	82.1	90.6	90.0	93.3	85.0	83.0	86.7	92.2	96.0	88.8
1	7.1	5.2	6.3	4.4	13.0	8.0	8.2	6.0	4.0	6.9
2 and over	10.7	4.2	3.8	2.2	2.0	9.0	5.1	1.8	0.0	4.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field study 2004

Table 7
 Households according to
 number of members over 60
 years (%)

Most households with members aged over 60 were found in the Counties of Zagreb, Osijek-Baranja and Slavonski Brod-Posavina. Fewer of these households with an elderly member were noted in the Counties of Primorje-Gorski kotar and Međimurje.

The socio-economic features of Romani households

Many will think that the Roma do not work and that they live “without an income”. It is correct that few are employed in full-time jobs with exact working times among them. They can be seen on the streets at any time of the day. However, it is not true that they do not work. Often these jobs are not carried out in the places where they live; they are often outside of regular working times and in non-standard locations. Today they differ, as a rule, from the traditional frameworks. Traditional socio-professional structures included:

1. different trades (makers and “service persons” of metal containers or copper-smiths, knife sharpeners, umbrella repairers, basket-makers, producers of straw items, cane and similar);
2. musicians, dancers;
3. horse breeders; some still remember the bears that the Roma trained and exhibited at fairs.

Researchers of the Roma mainly agree that modernisation processes in the surrounding mainstream society (with emphasis on industrialisation and the significance of education) created larger differences at the socio-profes-

sional level between the Roma and majority population. Thus, traditional trades have gradually died out (at least in Croatia) and many Roma have abandoned their dominant nomadic lifestyle. A strong influence of tradition remains in all spheres of life but one that is not adaptable to new times, which additionally socially, culturally and economically burden the Romani group (Štambuk, 2000).

Today's work activities have little to do with tradition. Old trades are rarely found. Many are involved in the following:

1. collection and sale of raw materials (metal, materials);
2. some are involved in trade (which are often on the margins of the black market) although not in their own shops but at fairs close by or in the distant surroundings;
3. sale of souvenirs during the summer in tourist areas (at the seaside).

It is probable that the extinction of traditional occupations, which presupposed movement of those who provided these services is one of the reasons why the Roma have become sedentary.

The usual classification of the population into active working population, dependent population and persons with income was applied to members of the Romani household. The 'working active' is a group that are involved in some occupation and in this way earn a living. According to the definition, they are persons who work but do not receive a wage and those who temporarily do not work for various reasons (unemployed, sick, doing army service, etc.). Thus, working active is related to the professional status of the individual (whether that person works or not) (Štambuk, 2000).

Considering the low level of education and the low skilled competency of the Romani population, unemployment is high. However, there is also a large diversity of sporadic, temporary, seasonal activities that provide some income. The type of activities and the eventual amount of income is difficult to establish in this type of research so the researcher has to rely on the honesty of the respondent. And this is disputable when it comes to this data. Of course, this is the case in other populations that are researched.

Temporarily inactive members of the population, housewives and children are usually involved in work. This activity is almost impossible to precisely establish. It is relatively widespread and includes children, even younger ones in some suitable jobs. However, it is difficult to obtain precise data on their activities and eventual income.

For this reason, it could be said that the presented data is more illustrative than precise.

Active members

The central problem of the Romani population is their lack of education. Whatever is spoken about, planned, organised with them is confronted with this problem. Many Roma are aware of this problem. Few Roma can come to terms with the fact that after eight years of primary school, children do not have a qualification of any kind. Everything seems to be a reason not to go to school and that everything else is more important than school.³

The situation is constantly alarming. On the one hand, the best solution is sought and in the end social benefits are the only way out. This is spent, and possible long-term solutions are always at the beginning.

The basic issue, the issue of all issues is education among the Romani population. And two very specific sub questions: Why do the Roma avoid school so much (when they are aware that any social and economic shift for the better is almost impossible without education) and why isn't the state in a position to implement its law on compulsory primary schooling when it comes to the Roma.

For this reason, a number of Roma families remain outside the economic life of the country as they do not have quality connections to this sphere. The number of potentially active members is large; many are young but because of the mentioned reasons they remain marginally utilised. Few are employed in full-time jobs, they wander from job-to-job and do not succeed not even informally (through experience) to specialise in some of these jobs. When they do work, it is often in jobs that are poorly paid, which additionally does not stimulate personal effort to advance in a job. On a scale of values, schooling and professional competency evidently are not highly valued and in this sense there is no great motivation to advance among the Roma.

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
No employed	79.5	80.2	76.3	37.8	76.0	90.0	33.7	89.9	93.3	74.9
1	14.3	19.8	18.8	50.0	18.0	6.0	44.9	8.8	5.3	19.2
2 and over	4.5	0.0	5.0	12.2	6.0	4.0	17.4	1.4	1.3	5.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field study 2004

Table 8
 Households according to
 number of employed (%)

Even though, the interviewers were recommended to additionally consider every member that has been working actively for a longer period throughout the year as employed, i.e., who is not formally employed but does not exclusively work seasonally or temporarily, the number of employed persons is still disillusioning. At the level of the entire sample, 75% of all households do not have an employed person. The share of Romani households without an employed person is around a third only in the Counties of Istria and Primorje-Gorski kotar. In households that have an employed person, this is most commonly one person.

Dependent members

Members without an income (child endowment is not calculated as income) are supported by persons who work or in another way obtain an income. Most of the dependent members are children. This is followed by housewives and other adults who do not have an income.

35% of the households in the entire sample do not have preschool children. In comparison, there is by far an above average representation of households without preschool children (59%) in the County of Osijek-Baranja. On the other hand, there are considerably less households without preschool children in the Counties of Varaždin and Međimurje (26.3% and 27.2% respectively).⁴

Table 9
Households according to
number of pre-school
children (%)

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
Without	40.2	33.3	26.3	31.1	43.0	59.0	33.7	27.2	28.0	35.2
1	24.1	27.1	17.5	41.1	21.0	18.0	28.6	20.7	24.0	24.2
2	23.2	22.9	23.8	11.1	17.0	17.0	16.3	29.5	21.3	21.4
3	9.8	11.5	22.5	10.0	11.0	5.0	12.2	16.6	14.7	12.8
4 and over	2.7	5.2	10.1	6.7	8.0	1.0	9.2	6.1	11.9	6.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field study 2004

46.5% of the households in the sample are without children in primary school. 17.5% are with one pupil in primary school, 19.4% with two while 16.5% are with three pupils.

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
Without	60.7	44.8	43.8	46.7	53.0	52.0	33.7	41.0	46.7	46.5
1	20.5	27.1	12.5	14.4	17.0	17.0	14.3	16.6	17.3	17.5
2	10.7	13.5	20.0	24.4	23.0	24.0	33.7	13.8	20.0	19.4
3 and over	8.1	14.5	23.9	14.4	7.0	7.0	18.3	28.4	15.9	16.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field study 2004

Table 10
Households according to
number of primary school
pupils (%)

94.2% of the households in the sample are without children in secondary school. In view of the number of children in Romani households, it is easy to conclude that the number of secondary school students is too small. Nevertheless, there are some differences between counties: as many as 10% of households have one or more children that attend secondary school in the Counties of Primorje-Gorski kotar and Osijek-Baranja. An above average share of households with secondary school students can also be found in the Counties of Istria and Međimurje.

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
Without	95.5	95.8	96.3	90.0	96.0	90.0	92.9	93.5	100.0	94.2
1 and over	4.5	4.1	3.8	10.0	4.0	10.0	7.1	6.5	0.0	5.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field study 2004

Table 11
Households according to
number of secondary school
pupils (%)

Composition of households by educational attainment

Considering the (low) inclusion of Romani children in the formal education system that has been shown so far, it can be expected that data analysis on the level of education of all members of the Romani family (besides those who at the time of the survey go to school) will reflect a depressing situation.

Members without schooling were found in nearly 70% of all households.⁵ The differences between different counties, according to this feature, are almost insignificant. The households in the Counties of Varaždin and

Table 12
 Households according to
 number of members with no
 schooling (%)

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Medimurje	Other	Total sample
Without	32.1	24.0	20.0	27.8	31.0	38.0	34.7	38.7	30.7	32.0
1	33.9	30.2	25.0	20.0	34.0	25.0	34.7	21.7	33.3	27.9
2	20.5	21.9	21.3	14.4	15.0	27.0	17.3	20.7	22.7	20.1
3 and over	13.4	23.9	34.0	37.7	20.0	10.0	13.2	18.9	13.3	19.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field study 2004

Sisak-Moslavina have a higher percentage of uneducated members, i.e., less members with schooling than elsewhere. Thus, it seems that the educational opportunities are more difficult in these counties. 28% of all households have one member without one grade of primary school while more than 20% have two members with no schooling. 20% of the surveyed households have three and more illiterate members.

Even if someone went to school, but did not finish, this can mean something relatively positive in the Romani population. However, we wanted to primarily gain more information on those persons that succeeded to finish primary school in a quite discouraging Romani milieu. Therefore this data (about unfinished primary school) can be read as a chance to note every attempt to go to school rather than a level of schooling.

32.6% of households have one member that started primary school but did not finish, 24% have two and 12.4% have three. In 30.9% of all households we did not find members with unfinished primary school (either they all finished or no one started).

Table 13
 Households according to
 number of members with an
 unfinished primary school
 education (%)

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Medimurje	Other	Total sample
Without	47.3	31.3	37.5	25.6	21.0	28.0	31.6	28.6	28.0	30.9
1	26.8	43.8	28.8	25.6	41.0	33.0	30.6	30.4	37.3	32.6
2	14.3	21.9	22.5	24.4	21.0	33.0	22.4	27.2	26.7	24.0
3 and over	11.6	3.1	11.4	24.3	17.0	6.0	15.3	13.9	8.0	12.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field study 2004

In nearly two thirds of all households not one member finished primary school. Most often one member of the household is like this. County differences are significant. On the positive side, one person has finished primary school in nearly 70% of all households in the County of Istria. This is followed by the Counties of Primorje-Gorski kotar, Osijek-Baranja, etc. A particularly dramatic situation in terms of education was noted in Counties of Međimurje and Varaždin.

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
Without	56.3	67.7	78.8	48.9	58.0	51.0	30.6	82.9	90.7	64.3
1	20.5	27.1	17.5	21.1	27.0	35.0	46.9	13.4	8.0	23.2
2	15.2	2.1	3.8	17.8	13.0	8.0	10.2	3.2	0.0	7.9
3 and over	8.1	3.1	0.0	12.2	2.0	6.0	12.2	0.5	1.3	4.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field study 2004

Table 14

Households according to number of members with a primary school education (%)

The base for recruiting young persons who will continue with their schooling is evidently very “thin”. Thus, the number of secondary school or tertiary students in the Romani population is in accordance with this.

In 12.4% of all households, some child attends secondary school.

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
Without	75.0	90.6	92.5	82.2	84.0	86.0	85.7	93.5	96.0	87.6
1 and over	25.1	9.4	7.5	17.8	16.0	14.0	14.3	6.5	4.0	12.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field study 2004

Table 15

Households according to number of members with a secondary school education (%)

Most of the households that have secondary school students are in Zagreb and its surroundings, followed by the Counties of Primorje-Gorski kotar, Slavonski Brod-Posavina and Istria, etc. Undoubtedly, one of the reasons is that there is easier accessibility to secondary schools in these counties (the sample included more urban than rural households in these counties). Moreover, these are richer

counties in which accessibility to employment or potential sources of income are greater than in other counties and this is a significantly influential variable at the level of school education.

Table 16
 Households according to
 number of members' tertiary
 education (%)

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
0	99.1	99.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.0	95.9	100.0	100.0	99.3
1	0.9	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	4.1	0.0	0.0	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field study 2004

Finally, there are almost no members with a higher education in Romani families, except in the County of Istria (4.1%). This naturally does not mean that there are no highly educated Roma. However, in the introduction, we mentioned the problem of resistance towards integration among most of the Romani population. Thus, it seems that all members of the Romani minority who wish to join the working, educational, and social systems of the majority are in a way obliged to change their immediate life milieu and ethnicity.

Ethnic composition of the households

The Roma live in exclusively ethnic surroundings. Of course, there are Roma that move to non-Romani settlements or areas, but they are rare. This is clearly shown in the census. There are Roma in other counties besides the ones where this research was conducted, but they (those who declare to be Roma) are small in number and spatially dispersed.

Like others, the Roma like to live close to their country people, so they move in smaller-larger numbers to a particular territory. It needs to be mentioned that there are a relatively small number of settlements in which the Roma are considered as an autochthonous population. Most of them moved to where we found them during this study. Thus, this is not about a classical concept of home, as a place where they have deep roots. This is about a chosen home: and this is where they feel (relatively) good.⁶ There is an expressed self-containment of the Romani population towards other nationalities in some counties (Counties of Varaždin, Međimurje and Istria) which can partly explain (we did not research this) the reserved relation of the majority population towards the Roma in these parts.

Table 17

Households according to ethnic composition (%)

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
All Roma	88.4	91.4	96.3	91.1	85.0	86.0	95.9	96.3	94.5	92.0
More Roma	7.1	1.1	0.0	1.1	3.0	3.0	2.0	1.9	1.4	2.4
Equal number of Roma and other	0.0	1.1	2.5	2.2	9.0	8.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	2.4
More of the other	4.5	6.5	1.3	5.6	3.0	3.0	1.0	1.9	4.1	3.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field study 2004

The most ethnically mixed households can be found in the Counties of Slavonski Brod-Posavina, Osijek-Baranja and Zagreb as well as the City of Zagreb.

Religion of household members

The Roma are of different religions. Without thorough investigation into their religious behaviour, it is difficult to talk about their belonging to particular churches, what religion means to them and how they practice their religion. From field experience, which can be imprecise, it seems that their religious behaviour is not particularly important. But without any additional explanation, they differentiate religiously. There are only a small number of households in which members do not belong to any religion (4.1% all in all). Moreover, members of different religions live together only in a small number of households. It is difficult to conclude why this is the case. Possibly religion is an important criteria of marital partner choice and it also possible that they do not dramatise a change of religion.

Table 18

Households according to religion of members (%)

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
Mostly Catholic	14.4	51.0	97.5	.0	5.0	52.5	1.0	91.7	100	49.1
Mostly Muslim	69.4	0.0	0.0	97.8	6.0	0.0	96.9	0.5	0.0	27.7
Mostly Orthodox	5.4	39.6	0.0	1.1	73.0	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.6
No one belongs to any religion	6.3	4.2	2.5	0.0	6.0	3.0	1.0	7.9	0.0	4.1
Members belong to different religions	4.5	5.2	0.0	1.1	10.0	11.1	1.0	0.0	0.0	3.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field study 2004

Almost half of the Roma are Catholic. This is followed by Muslims (27.7%) and Orthodox (15.6%).

Knowledge of Romani and Croatian languages among household members

Without analysing the quality of Croatian that is spoken among the Roma in Croatia, it is important to stress that most claim to speak Croatian. Based on this, it can be concluded that it should not be a problem for the Roma to communicate with the rest of the population. The counties with the largest share of households in which no one speaks Croatian are the Counties of Istria (a relatively “fresh” migration from Kosovo) Međimurje and Varaždin. The percentage of these households is not high, but indicates some possible communication blockades. Besides, knowledge of the spoken language, it is important to know how to read and write in contemporary communication. It is precisely in this segment of communication (not to mention computer literacy) the Roma significantly lag behind.

Table 19
Do members of the household speak Croatian? (%)

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
All speak	97.3	93.6	91.3	96.7	96.0	100	88.7	87.9	100	93.8
Only some speak	0.9	6.4	8.8	3.3	4.0	0.0	11.3	10.7	0.0	5.7
No one speaks	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field study 2004

Table 20
Do members of the household speak a Romani dialect? (%)

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
All speak	48.2	85.4	93.8	34.4	54.0	65.0	89.8	98.1	68.0	73.6
Only some speak	22.3	8.3	6.3	22.2	16.0	20.0	9.2	1.9	0.0	11.1
No one speaks	29.5	6.3	0.0	43.3	30.0	15.0	1.0	0.0	32.0	15.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field study 2004

There are more Roma that do not speak a Romani language than Croatian. One form of Romani language is spo-

ken by all in 73.6% of all households. The differences are evident at the county level: there are a significant share of households in which all members speak a Romani language in the Counties of Međimurje, Varaždin and Istria. In comparison, households in which no one speaks a Romani language could be found in the Counties of Primorje-Gorski kotar (43.3%), Slavonski Brod-Posavina (30.0%) and Zagreb and its surroundings (29.5%).

The autochthony of household members

In 41.6% of all households in the sample, all members were born in the place where the research took place. It was mentioned in the introduction of the study that research was exclusively on sedentary Roma and not Roma travellers. This can be seen from the data. Along with mentioned households, in which all members are born in place of living, the second largest group comprise households in which most of the members were born in their place of living.

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
All here from birth	20.5	56.3	62.5	15.6	39.0	48.0	3.1	53.7	73.3	41.6
Most are here from birth	29.5	31.3	27.5	55.6	21.0	20.0	46.9	32.2	17.3	31.5
Most have moved	25.9	5.2	6.3	23.3	14.0	12.0	31.6	10.3	5.3	14.8
All have moved	24.1	7.3	3.8	5.6	26.0	20.0	18.4	3.7	4.0	12.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field study 2004

Table 21

Have the members of the household moved to the settlement or are they here from birth? (%)

Statistically significant differences were established between particular counties. Most households in which the majority or all members moved are in the County of Istria and the City of Zagreb and its surroundings (50% respectively). Following, according to this indicator, are the Counties of Slavonski Brod-Posavina (40% of all households), Osijek-Baranja (32.0%) and Primorje-Gorski kotar (28,9%).

The least number of households with migrant members were found in the Counties of Varaždin (10.1%), Sisak-Moslavina (12.5%) and Međimurje (14.0%).

Thus, the most autochthonous Romani population settled in northern Croatia as well as parts of central Croatia. In all other counties, most Roma have migrated. As we did not investigate migration routes, we cannot make any further detailed interpretations of the causes and reasons. Of course, larger towns such as Zagreb, Rijeka, Osijek and Pula with their economic and social advantages are more appealing to migrants and to the Roma as well. It is a well-known fact that migration is a selective process. But this is related to the individuals. The more capable, more ambitious and more entrepreneurial migrate. The extent, to which this rule can be applied to the Roma, remains to be researched because the Roma most often migrate in family groups, not individually.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ In this county, research was conducted in a few locations within the City of Rijeka. The Roma in other, especially in the rural parts of the county do not declare themselves as Roma. For this reason, we did not interview them. This is not only a problem in the County of Primorje-Gorski kotar. In other counties there is quite a number of Roma who do not declare their Romani heritage.
- ² In Spain, in 1990 it was established that the life span of “their” Roma is shorter by 8–9 years compared to the majority population. Thus, only 2% of Roma are over the age of 65. A large number of Roma live in Spain (estimates are between 650 and 800,000) (Gustierrez, 1995).
- ³ Children often do not attend class for up to a month because together with their mother, they accompany their father who works outside their place of living. These are not isolated examples.
- ⁴ As expected there is further strong pressure on Romani children at primary schools in these counties.
- ⁵ We construed a positive attitude about the necessity of primary school education at least when household members attempted to hide information about the level of illiteracy in the household.
- ⁶ The Roma themselves say that they leave areas that are not doing well.

Anka
MIŠETIĆ

THE SOCIO-CULTURAL
FEATURES OF THE
ROMANI POPULATION

Romani culture is the topic of a number of studies, particularly today when cultural difference is a prime issue and majority/minority relations are considered to be a criterion of social relevancy. Collective identity and the culture of the Roma have been transmitted and preserved over the generations even though they are dynamic social constructions that are shaped in social contacts with other cultures and groups. In spite of the variations that appear and the specificity of a number of Romani subcultures, it is easy to observe a few stable markers. Nomadic life and the creation of the so-called “*imagined communities*” in the here and now regardless/despite of where they are at the forefront (Theodosiou, 2003). Do the Roma need some special place (territory, settlement) to construct a narrative about social identity? Do they develop a feeling of “dedication to a place” or the feeling of being domiciled and belonging to some region? Or is indifference towards spatial and physical frameworks of the community a durable component of their culture? As themes – Romani lifestyle and their socio-cultural profile undoubtedly exceed the scope of a few indicators obtained through empirical investigations of the Romani population in Croatia. Nevertheless, valuable empirical data about life in Romani settlements in Croatia, collected in a survey, make it possible for us, in one way, to gain insight into these aspects that are at the core of the research problem – state and perspective, especially the improvement and development of settlements inhabited by the Roma.

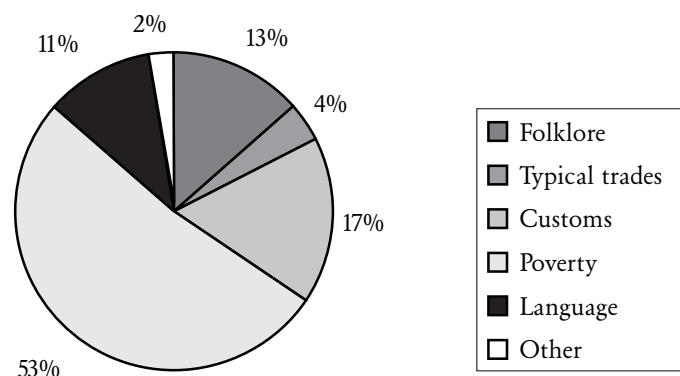
In light of the given objectives, an analysis of a few components of socio-cultural life aspects will be presented in this chapter: Romani identity features, assessment of Roma’s social position, value profile of the respondents, some social characteristics of their lifestyle and everyday life in Romani settlements as well as the subjective evaluations of quality of life elements.

The components of Romani identity

In the empirical research that we conducted among the Roma population in Croatia, the respondents were asked to identify one feature out of the five listed that best described them as a special ethnic and social group. In other words, they were required to single out a feature that is central to Romani identity. Some recent research on Romani populations in Central and Eastern Europe, mainly in Hungary has shown that the Roma have a tendency to shape their identity by defining themselves in ways they differentiate from others through common elements of identity (or difference) “skin colour, descent, language and lifestyle/culture” (Szekelyi, Csepeli, & Orkeny, 2003). The features that were offered to respondents in this study were selected on the basis of traditional Romani culture (folklore, typical trades, customs, language). A dominant socio-economic feature, poverty, that designates them to the position of an economically marginalised group and as a group that is “excluded from the system of social stratification” (Šućur, 2000) was also included. Besides the mentioned features, the respondents were also given the opportunity to include some other feature, which according to their opinion, is typical for the Roma to the fullest extent.

In diagram 1, it is visible that the distribution of responses to this question above all point to the fact that the elements of socio-cultural Romani tradition (folklore, typical trades, customs, and language) are overshadowed by poverty in our study. In other words, the Roma, as a social group, see themselves primarily in the context of poverty. Thus, it can be said that this socio-economic aspect of identity has repressed the traditional socio-cultural components.

Diagram 1
What best describes the
Roma according to the
respondents (%)



Source: Field study 2004

Following the majority of respondents who tend to describe the Roma in terms of “poverty”, the second group of respondents claimed that specific Romani phenomena such as “customs and folklore” (in total 30.5%) best described the Roma. Thus, less than a third of the respondents link Romani identity to socio-cultural tradition. In other words, among this group of Roma, identity is determined, first of all, by traditional heritage which guarantees continuity with the past and in a symbolic way (what is characteristic for customs and folklore) makes it possible for them to join together as a community, to renew solidarity within the community and lastly, to revitalise their identity.

The special quality of language as a central determining feature of identity was identified by just over one tenth of the respondents. Interestingly, 82.2% of the respondents speak one of the Romani dialects and about half of the respondents stated that only Romani is spoken in their households (27.9%) or that everyday family communication is in Romani and Croatian (19.5%). Despite their minority position within the framework of Croatian society, in which they are required to use the Croatian language in public/social areas, it is evident that within everyday life frameworks, the symbolic shaping of the community is successfully first realised in the sphere of language. Moreover, this realisation is considerable (47.4% of families communicate in the Romani language and 82.2% of respondents speak one of the Romani dialects) and is more extensive than it is at a declarative level (11.1%). In this sense, language also successfully qualifies/is established as a determinant of Romani identity.

Traditional professions – especially trades are considered to be an important component of Romani identity. In recent times, a change of professions has taken place: “from traditional (horse traders, musicians, musical instrument makers, basket-makers, blacksmiths, broom-makers) towards new (sale of rugs, old metal, textiles and used cars, and similar) that are better adapted to the needs of the market...” (Posavec, 2000).

The disappearance of typical or traditional Romani trades (only 4% state that this is an important feature of their identity) not only had an impact on the identity framework of the Romani population but also on their overall socio-economic perspective. No other occupation successfully replaced the extinction of these activities mostly because of the extremely low levels of education among the Roma. Thus, as a result of their lack of qualifications, the Roma remain outside every socially acceptable chal-

lence that is related to employment. The consequence of this, which can be read as poverty is so chronic that it is built into their social identity. This becomes a way of life.

The given data is related to the sample as a whole. However, it is worth noting that some differences are evident if the distribution of responses is considered at a county level (table 1).

Poverty as a dominant special quality of the Romani population is prominent in six of the eight counties that were part of the sample. This is stressed in the County of Varaždin (80%) and the County of Međimurje (75%) to the largest measure. Compared to the other counties in which poverty is in first place, the Counties of Istria and Primorje-Gorski kotar, for the most part, emphasise Romani customs as a component of Romani identity. Besides this, it is worth mentioning that typical trades in the County of Primorje-Gorski kotar (12.4%) and that language in the County of Slavonski Brod-Posavina (25%) were primarily identified and valued as components of Romani identity.

Table 1
What best describes the
Roma according to the
respondents (%)

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
Folklore	19.6	8.5	2.5	19.1	20.0	18.0	28.6	3.3	9.9	13.5
Typical trades	5.4	2.1	5.0	12.4	7.0	3.0	1.0	.9	2.8	4.0
Customs	24.1	9.6	7.5	41.6	11.0	8.0	46.9	6.5	7.0	17.0
Poverty	45.5	64.9	80.0	18.0	33.0	63.0	6.1	74.9	62.0	52.0
Language	3.6	13.8	5.0	3.4	25.0	6.0	17.3	11.6	12.7	11.1
Other	1.8	1.1	.0	5.6	4.0	2.0	.0	2.8	5.6	2.5

Source: Field study 2004

Survey responses were also compared according to sex, age, place of birth, employment status and Romani dialects.

In table 2, it is visible that there is a statistical significant difference between responses according to sex even though the range of responses is identical.

Table 2
What best describes the
Roma according to the
respondents (%) distribution
by sex

	Folklore	Typical trades	Customs	Poverty	Language	Other	Total
Men	14.1	5.5	16.6	49.3	11.1	3.4	100
Women	12.8	2.2	17.5	55.3	10.6	1.5	100

Source: Field study 2004

p<0.05

Even though both of these groups mention poverty as the feature that best describes Romani identity, the share of respondents within the female group is significantly larger than the share of males who think this way. It is also evident that the share of women who link Romani identity to typical trades is two times smaller than the share of men in this category. It can be assumed that a larger share of women mention poverty as a consequence of their position in the family in which they are constantly confronted with everyday concerns for food, clothes and other items that are required by large families with young children. Furthermore, even though links with old trades are disappearing, it seems that male members of the Romani community (who traditionally were the bearers of these trades and skills) are inclined to identify typical trades as a component of their culture to a larger extent.

Moreover, a statistical significant difference was also found among different age groups (table 3).

	Folklore	Typical Trades	Customs	Poverty	Language	Other	Total
18–29 yrs	16.0	4.0	12.6	53.2	13.4	0.8	100
30–39 yrs	9.5	3.2	19.8	51.9	12.7	2.8	100
40–49 yrs	13.7	6.2	18.6	49.1	6.8	5.6	100
50 and over	15.5	3.1	23.3	48.8	6.2	3.1	100

Source: Field study 2004

p<0.05

Table 3

What best describes the Roma according to the respondents (%) distribution by age

Differences in the category of poverty can also be seen here; it is more stressed among the younger generations (the majority of respondents are under 39 years of age). This group is in its most crucial period; members are burdened by problems of parenting and welfare for younger as well as older members of the community. However, this table shows some interesting differences with regard to the other components of socio-cultural identity. If customs and folklore are regarded as a category that represents Romani traditional heritage, it can be seen that the tendency to single out this feature as the best descriptor of Romani identity, compared to identification with poverty, increases with age. The importance of language, as a component of Romani identity, is more stressed among the younger age groups. Namely, language was emphasised among the youngest age group two times more than among the oldest age group. Generally, it can be said that younger respondents are more inclined to identify the Romani ethnic group with the aid of language. They are also more inclined to describe their own ethnic group by

Table 4
What best describes the
Roma according to the
respondents (%) distribution
by place of birth

	Folklore	Typical trades	Customs	Poverty	Language	Other	Total
Born in place of living or somewhere else in county	10.4	3.4	11.8	60.8	11.1	2.6	100
Born somewhere else in Croatia or abroad	19.2	4.4	27.5	35.2	10.9	2.7	100

Source: Field study 2004

p<0.01

referring to poverty even though this is to a smaller extent while the older population characterise Romani identity by relying on traditions (customs and folklore). The stressed features of Roma, should be interpreted as a factor of difference compared to others here. The younger population as expected is a more open group that experiences difference compared to others in the field of communication, in language and through the dramatic experiences of poverty. It is a fact that older persons rely on traditional heritage to describe their ethnic group although it should be noted that customs and folklore also have a high rating among the younger Roma (2nd in the range).

Although nomadism is one of the most striking features of the Roma, it can be said that the Roma are less active in a migratory sense and that more Roma live in permanent settlements today (Štambuk, 2000). In line with these lifestyle changes, it can be expected that relations towards the places where they live will also change. In this case, data on place of birth serves as an indicator of “rootedness” to a place. We assumed that respondents who live in their place of birth or within the same county view their way of life and attitudes differently from those that are born elsewhere or have at least moved once. While it is easier to imagine the development of “feeling at home” among the first group, for the other it can be said that they are more “mobile” and have a tendency to migrate. It should be noted that use of the concept “feeling at home” or “dedication to a place” has to be interpreted with caution in research of the Romani population. Research has shown that a place of living for the Roma “is a matter of convention after all; it does not contribute anything to their understanding of themselves” (Theodosiou, 2003). Moreover, it should be mentioned that it is difficult to clearly demarcate this type of division due to the special quality of Romani lifestyle. “Traditional, nomadic lifestyle still exists in a somewhat changed form. It is often difficult to speak about a sharp distinction between nomadic and a sedentary way of life because some nomads spend their winters in one place

while settled Roma often leave for longer periods to do seasonal work to earn a living.” (Posavec, 2000). For this reason, this division of the Romani population – into indigenous inhabitants and newcomers has to be interpreted very carefully. Still, results show that there is reason to further investigate this theme. Namely, the two groups differ in the way they experience and describe the Romani population. Poverty overshadowed all the other features among those respondents for whom we assumed a strong “rootedness” to their home place. In comparison, respondents that we assumed are more mobile and less connected to a place appreciate customs and folklore as Romani features to a significantly larger measure. We can assume that this attitude among the latter is the result of frequent confrontations with other different social and cultural groups where precisely these socio-cultural elements of identity are expressed as elements of difference. This is especially probable among the Roma who live or lived in large (Croatian and European) towns where poverty is not an exclusive feature of one group and differentiation towards others unfolds in other features, especially those from the cultural sphere.

In response to this question on what feature best describes the Roma, there is no statistically significant difference with regard to level of education. However, a statistically significant difference was noted when the respondents were divided into the employed and unemployed (table 5). As expected, “poverty” is the dominant description among the unemployed of their own ethnic group, while customs are in first place and typical trades is mentioned two times more often among the employed.

	Folklore	Typical trades	Customs	Poverty	Language	Other	Total
Employed	15.7	7.2	33.7	28.9	12.0	2.4	100
Unemployed	13.2	3.7	15.5	54.3	10.9	2.5	100

Source: Field study 2004

p<0.01

Table 5

What best describes the Roma according to the respondents (%), unemployed and employed

Finally, between the two “dialect” groups there is also a statistically significant difference in response to this question.

In the first group of Roma that speak *Romani chib*, it is claimed that customs (together with folklore 59.7%) best describe the Roma to the largest extent. Poverty (65.2%) is identified in the second group that speaks *Ljimba d' bjaš* as a feature that best describes the Roma (table 6).

Table 6

What best describes the
Roma according to the
respondents (%) distribution
by dialect

	Folklore	Typical trades	Customs	Poverty	Language	Other	Total
Romani chib	22.1	3.3	37.6	24.9	11.3	0.9	100
Ljimba d' bjaš	8.4	3.5	7.9	65.2	13.0	2.1	100

Source: Field study 2004 p<0.01

While the responses of the first group of Romani respondents reflects a more specific socio-cultural community in which poverty is one of the components, it is evident from the responses of the other group that these Roma experience themselves as a socio-economic group characterised by poverty.

For a somewhat clearer picture of the compared groups, it is necessary to point out that the difference between these two groups extends beyond the “language sphere”. The analysis shows that respondents who belong to a particular dialect group statistically significantly differ according to religion, migratory habits (measured on the basis of birthplace, that is, immigration to a place) as well as territorial dispersal.

Table 6a
Dialect and religion

	Catholic	Islam	Orthodox	Not a believer	Other
Romani chib	10.8	84.0	3.3	0.9	0.9
Ljimba d' bjaš	74.1	0.7	17.1	7.6	0.5

Source: Field study 2004 p<0.01

Table 6b
Dialect and migration
tendencies

	All here from birth	Most are here from birth	Most have immigrated	All have immigrated
Romani chib	14.6	47.6	25.6	12.7
Ljimba d' bjaš	56.4	27.0	9.2	7.4

Source: Field study 2004 p<0.01

Table 6c
Dialect and territorial dispersal

	Romani chib	Ljimba d' bjaš
Zagreb County/City	24.5	1.2
Sisak-Moslavina	3.3	10.6
Varaždin	1.4	16.1
Primorje-Gorski kotar	21.1	0.2
Brod-Posavina	3.8	9.0
Osijek-Baranja	2.8	14.5
Istria	39.9	–
Međimurje	2.3	38.7
Other	–	9.7

Source: Field study 2004 p<0.01

These language groups can be further differentiated on the basis of the data presented in tables 6a, 6b, and 6c. Members of the dialect group *Romani chib* are followers of the Islam religion and most often live in the Counties of Istria, Zagreb, and Primorje-Gorski kotar as well as the City of Zagreb. It can be said that they are more inclined to migrate and that they have richer migratory experiences. Members of the dialect group *Ljimba d' bjaš*, are mostly Christian (mainly Catholics, but there are Orthodox followers as well), and most often live in the County of Međimurje, generally in the continental part: in the Northwest area of Croatia as well as Eastern Croatia. Most of the respondents and members of their families in this group did not move but live permanently in their place of birth.

Personal experiences of social status: Are the Roma respected?

Social respect is certainly one of the indicators that we can use to analyse social integration or social exclusion of the Roma population in society. In this study, we were interested in the subjective evaluation of the Roma themselves about whether they, as Roma are respected in society. This question was asked directly and they had the possibility of responding in two ways: “yes” or “no”. In spite of the fact that they are a marginal group, which in many respects (economically, politically, socially) is dangerously close to social exclusion, most of the respondents (84.7%) based on personal experience claimed that as members of the Romani minority they feel respected in society (table 7). Respondents in the County of Primorje-Gorski kotar felt that they were respected the most as a special ethnic group (95.6%) while respondents in the County of Međimurje (79%) and the City of Zagreb (79.3%) felt that the Roma were respected the least.

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
No	20.7	17.4	10.0	4.4	12.2	16.0	16.7	21.0	7.4	15.3
Yes	79.3	82.6	90.0	95.6	87.8	84.0	83.3	79.0	92.6	84.7

Source: Field study 2004

Table 7
Do they feel, as Roma, respected in society? (%)

Evaluation of respect that the Roma feel in society does not statistically significantly differ among respon-

dents with regard to sex, age, place of birth, employment or language (dialect) groups. However, the level of education variable showed a statistically significant difference (table 8).

Table 8
Do they feel, as Roma,
respected in society,
according to education (%)

	Yes	No	Total
no schooling	87.7	12.3	100
unfinished primary school	83.6	16.4	100
finished primary school	86.3	13.7	100
finished secondary school	71.7	28.3	100

Source: Field study 2004

p<0.05

Results show that respondents with a higher level of education feel less respected in society while those without schooling feel more respected. This is not entirely paradoxical. Namely, we can assume that respondents that have finished secondary school have more contact (at school or at work or of a private nature) with members of other social groups and that they are more exposed to eventual expressions of disrespect than the uneducated Roma whose social experience is limited to the same social and ethnic groups. Educated respondents, it can be assumed, more often and in many more different ways come into contact with members of the non-Roma group. Thus, in view of the total educational structure of the sample (17% finished primary school and 5.8% finished secondary school) this finding that optimistically expresses an attitude of respect that the respondents, as Roma, experience in society should be interpreted with caution.

Review of values

Generally speaking, values help us to behave properly. With their help, we determine what is good and what is bad, what is desirable and what is undesirable. Šućur (2000) considers that the cultural marginalisation of the Roma reflects in fact the level of a value system whose peaks have not broken through values of “western materialism”. The respondents described the framework within which the shaping of their behaviour, as well as lifestyle can be expected by rating the importance of particular values of social and individual life. All together they rated 18 concepts (table 9) and consider that most of them are “important”.

Namely, only one potential value (politics) in the total sample received an (average) negative rating (“mainly unimportant”). The respondents either answered positively

or negatively to all of the presented values and for this reason there are no responses in the category “I’m not sure” in the total sample. Even though, besides politics, it is useful to see how all values in the categories (mainly important” or “very important” are rated.

Results shown in table 9 point to a number of possible conclusions and they also indicate the desirable values of the Romani population.

	Rank	Total sample	Evaluation
Health	1	4.96	
Children	2	4.90	
Freedom	3	4.85	
Honesty	3	4.85	
Friendship	5	4.80	
Love	6	4.72	very important (5)
Marriage	7	4.71	
Work	8	4.70	
Money	9	4.69	
Knowledge and skill	10	4.52	
Protection of the environment	11	4.49	
Equality of the sexes	12	4.43	
Sex life	13	4.40	
Finished school	13	4.40	mainly important (4)
Leisure time	15	4.38	
Religion	16	4.26	
Nation	17	3.85	
Politics	18	2.14	mainly unimportant (2)

Answers that were offered included: *not at all important* (1), *mainly unimportant* (2), *I’m not sure* (3), *mainly important* (4) and *very important* (5)

Source: Field study 2004

Table 9

The importance respondents give to particular values of social and individual life (average rating)

The values were divided into three larger groups on the basis of the ratings. The concepts that were given the largest rating (5) are in the first group. There is consensus around elementary values and general existential conditions of life and the group: health and children are very important. This attitude is compatible to statements that there is “an emphasis on sociability in the family and close relatives” in Romani populations (Štambuk, 2000). Two highly rated concepts from the ethical sphere follow: “freedom” and “honesty”. Even though “freedom” associatively points to the traditional nomadic life of the Roma, which uncoils outside and regardless of established social institutions and

structure, a more high-quality interpretation requires further research along with the operationalisation of these general concepts. Friendship, love and marriage follow – values that regulate interpersonal relations in a narrower social group. The next subgroup comprises conditions of economic survival – work, money, knowledge and skills. Even though “protection of the environment” is the last of the most important, this gives rise to optimism, especially in terms of improvement and development of settlements and locations of settled Roma.

Values are rated as “mainly important” in the second group of values. However, it would not be correct to interpret them as priorities in the range of values. The most significant finding is that “finished school” is at the bottom of the scale of importance. Even though this is not unexpected, this attitude draws attention to additional subjective (as well as those objective) barriers in solving one of the biggest Romani problem – an exceptionally uneducated population. In a separate group, politics is considered to be a “mainly unimportant” aspect of life; this follows “nation” which was also rated lowly and reflects their lack of interest in state institutions. In short, to be healthy, to be free and surrounded by a good family, to be able to work and have money – are the most important values of social and individual life among this Roma population. On the other hand, it was confirmed that inclusion in state institutions and systems like the “school system, employment, acceptance of rights and duties from existing laws regulated by rules of the game” is less important (Štambuk, 2000). In other words, social integration is less important.

In these ratings, application of the t-test showed that there is a statistically significant difference between women and men for some values. Children, leisure time and equality of the sexes received a higher rating among women while marriage, love and sex life are more important among men (table 10).

Table 10
The importance respondents
give to particular values of
social and individual life
(average rating) – differences
according to sex

	Women	Men
Children	4.95	4.86
Love	4.65	4.78
Marriage	4.64	4.77
Equality of the sexes	4.52	4.35
Sex life	4.11	4.67
Leisure time	4.47	4.30

Source: Field study 2004

p<0.01

In addition, a statistically significant difference was found when different age groups were compared. Generally, it can be said that younger respondents on average consider love and sex life as more important than older respondents. The latter give more importance to children, politics and equality of the sexes (table 11).

	18-29	30-39	40-49	50 and over	
Children	4.82	4.95	4.95	4.96	p<0.01
Love	4.78	4.74	4.73	4.50	p<0.05
Knowledge, Skills	4.56	4.49	4.63	4.38	p<0.01
Equality of the sexes	4.33	4.46	4.56	4.55	p<0.01
Sex life	4.56	4.41	4.45	3.87	p<0.01
Politics	2.01	2.08	2.48	2.24	p<0.05

Source: Field study 2004

Table 11

The importance respondents give to particular values of social and individual life (average rating) – differences according to age

Verification of the differences between groups that are tentatively called “rooted in home place” and “migratorially active” or “weakly connected to place” also showed some statistically significant differences. In table 12, it is clear which values show differences.

	Born in settlement or somewhere else in the county	Born somewhere else in Croatia or abroad
Freedom	4.82	4.90
Work	4.65	4.78
Friendship	4.77	4.86
Politics	2.05	2.27
Nation	3.78	3.98

Source: Field study 2004

Table 12

The importance respondents give to particular values of social and individual life (average rating) – difference according to “place of birth”

The data shows that the Roma who are “more mobile” and have lived in different spaces usually place more worth on those values that are linked to the social dimension of life. Even though this is only difference in intensity of importance, this points to possible deeper social differences in lifestyle as well as aims and aspirations between these two groups.

There were more values that showed statistically significant differences between the two language (dialect) groups (table 13).

This finding points to how this group, besides at the language level, separates value orientations even though it is only in intensity. The biggest difference was in the rating of politics where a neutral attitude was expressed in one group while the other expressed a negative attitude.

The Roma who speak the *Romani chib* dialect on average are indecisive in their ratings of politics while members of the dialect group *Ljimba d' bjaš* on average claim that politics is “mainly unimportant” in their lives. It can be generally said that members of the *Romani chib* language group place more importance on social values than those that speak the *Ljimba d' bjaš* dialect. In this sense, it is probable that they can be counted on more in terms of social commitments. They are more mobile and have varied life experiences in more spaces that could increase their social sensitivity. However, it is interesting that, on average, the Roma who speak *Ljimba d' bjaš* were more sensitive to “the protection of the environment” issue.

Table 13
The importance respondents
give to particular values of
social and individual life
(average rating) – differences
according to “language groups”

	Romani chib	Ljimba d' bjaš	
Freedom	4.94	4.78	p<0.01
Work	4.82	4.63	p<0.01
Friendship	4.86	4.73	p<0.01
Protection of the environment	4.30	4.51	p<0.01
Equality of the sexes	4.52	4.34	p<0.05
Leisure time	4.49	4.21	p<0.01
Politics	2.51	1.97	p<0.01
Religion	4.48	4.14	p<0.01
Nation	4.24	3.66	p<0.01

Answers that were offered included: *not at all important* (1), *mainly unimportant* (2), *I'm not sure* (3), *mainly important* (4) and *very important* (5)

Source: Field study 2004

Way of life

The Romani way of life is in many ways special; the most important is their differentiation and separation from other social groups. This special quality is partly the result of Romani customs/traditions, value systems mentioned in the previous section as well as objective circumstances and interpersonal relations of the Romani population and the wider society in which they live. The following section will cover the Romani way of life in Croatia on the basis of their evaluations. This includes: to what extent are particular features characteristic of lifestyle in a settlement as well as their self-evaluation of aspects of quality of life and readiness to migrate.

Table 14 shows that two thirds of the respondents are definitely aware of how their lives are threatened by the polluted environment. On the other hand, they experience their everyday life as safe so it can be assumed that this

polluted environment threat is anticipated more as a long-term consequence of life in an unacceptable environment. This unsuitable life framework is probably compensated by the relatively large “possibilities to live according to one’s choice” that is line with the already mentioned desires for freedom and its high value among the Roma. As expected, the great role of tradition is claimed by a large share while the “the possibility of acquiring a good standard in a short time” is the only feature that they claim is not typical for their settlements.

	Total sample		
	Not at all	Somewhat	Definitely
Threatened by the polluted environment	15.0	21.7	63.3
Safe everyday life	17.9	33.6	48.5
The possibility of living according to one’s own choice	21.0	31.7	47.2
Great role of tradition	23.6	37.2	39.2
The possibility of acquiring a good standard in a short time	55.2	22.4	22.4

Source: Field study 2004

Table 14
The characteristic features of
lifestyle in the settlement (%)

Distribution by counties (tables in appendix) show that the life-threatening consequences of the polluted environment is particularly alarming in settlements that are in the Counties of Sisak-Moslavina, Varaždin, Slavonski Brod-Posavina where more than 80% of the respondents claimed that this is definitely a problem. Beyond doubt, these are places that require most urgent intervention to improve the quality of life in settlements. There is no statistically significant difference in the way these characteristics were evaluated with regard the respondents’ age or level of education. Although a significant difference in evaluations was found between women and men in relation to “threatened by the polluted environment” where men to a larger degree (67.3% definitely) identified this problem compared to women (58.6% definitely). Besides, a difference was shown in the evaluation in the role of tradition among respondents who belong to the “indigenous population” or who were “born in settlement” as well as those who “immigrated” to the settlement. Namely, the indigenous population indicate the threatening polluted environment to a larger degree while the newcomers emphasise the role of tradition in the life of the settlement (table 15).

Table 15

The characteristic features of
lifestyle in the settlement (%),
according to place of birth

	Born in settlement or somewhere else in the county			Born somewhere else in Croatia or abroad		
	Not at all	Some- what	Defini- tely	Not at all	Some- what	Defini- tely
Great role of tradition	26.6	41.6	31.8	18.5	29.2	52.3
Threatened by a polluted environment	13.0	19.8	67.2	18.9	24.1	57.0

Source: Field study 2004

p<0.01

Evaluations of these settlement characteristics differ more substantially when the respondents are divided into two groups according to language criteria (table 16).

Table 16

The characteristic features of
lifestyle in the settlement (%),
according to dialect

	Romani chib			Ljimba d' bjaš		
	Not at all	Some- what	Defini- tely	Not at all	Some- what	Defini- tely
Great role of tradition	11.7	28.4	59.9	28.4	43.8	27.9
Threatened by a polluted environment	24.0	30.0	46.0	10.8	19.5	69.7
The possibility of acquiring a good standard in a short time	57.1	14.8	28.1	53.4	25.3	21.4

Source: Field study 2004

p<0.01

Like “place difference” among the Roma who speak different dialects the “possibility to acquire a good standard in a short time” is a little more promising, even though small, among the Roma who belong to the dialect group *Romani chib*. Nevertheless, twice as many respondents from this group indicate that life unfolds in a traditional way in their settlements while the threat of a polluted environment is expressed by a smaller share. The differences towards tradition are possible due to the connection of the language group with a religion, which in some segments, with more or less success determines a way of life.

A representation of life in Romani settlements certainly completes the ratings of the most important aspects of the quality of life (table 17).

Health, reputation, perspective and personal freedom – were best rated by the respondents. However, the items that are at the bottom of this list are of more interest than the ones at the top. Considering the worst components of a quality of life, (in this case: employment, material status, housing conditions and the general opportunities in the settlement) it can be seen that life in a Romani settlement was given a very low rating. This rating only changes in

Table 17

Average ratings of particular quality of life aspects

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
Health of family members	3.7	3.9	4.0	3.7	3.9	4.1	3.6	3.7	3.6	3.8
Reputation among persons in the immediate environment (neighbours, work colleagues)	3.9	3.7	3.7	4.2	3.9	4.0	3.8	3.5	3.3	3.7
Diet	3.8	3.4	3.7	3.6	3.8	3.7	3.7	3.4	3.4	3.6
Personal health	3.3	3.5	3.7	3.5	3.5	3.7	3.6	3.4	3.5	3.5
Personal life perspective of young family members	3.5	3.7	3.8	3.4	3.3	3.4	3.6	3.5	3.5	3.5
Personal life perspective	3.3	3.2	3.4	3.0	3.2	3.0	3.3	3.1	3.2	3.2
Possibility of choosing a lifestyle according to own desires and standards	3.1	2.9	3.6	3.1	3.3	3.4	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.2
Housing conditions	2.8	2.6	2.8	2.5	3.3	3.1	2.9	2.7	2.6	2.8
General life opportunities in the settlement	2.9	2.4	2.4	2.2	3.0	2.9	3.0	2.5	2.7	2.7
Material state of the household	2.4	2.2	2.6	2.3	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.1	2.2	2.3
Employment	1.6	1.6	1.8	2.3	1.7	1.8	2.5	1.6	1.3	1.7

The offered ratings were from 1 (inadequate) to 5 (excellent)

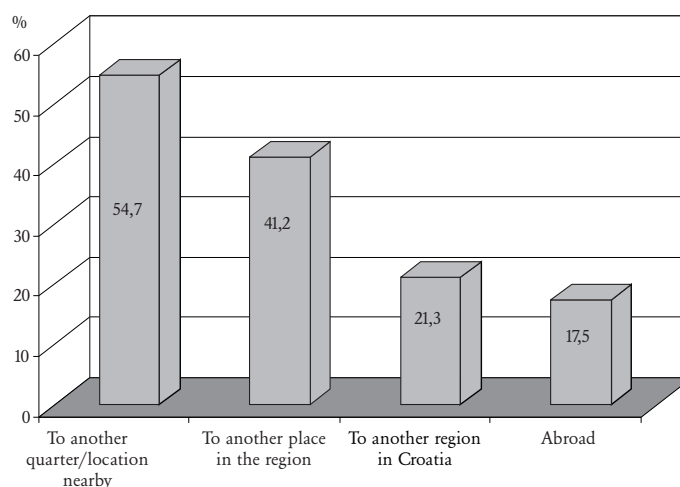
Source: Field study 2004

nuances in different counties. The general impression is that the life standard is low. The worst rated aspect of life (employment) is probably the key to exiting this described situation. Even though 92.3% of the respondents consider themselves to be local and not newcomers to the settlements they are prepared to move because of better life conditions and work. However, their readiness to change address decreases as the distance of their “new home” increases from their present place of living (diagram 2). This highlights the need to improve their current settlements and locations bringing them closer to an acceptable standard of life.

Despite the general pessimistic picture, the state of affairs is not evaluated as “equally bad” in all the subgroups of the sample. Statistically significant differences were shown in all tested groups. Grouped into two dialect groups statistical significant differences were obtained to two questions when the respondents were grouped according to dialect. Members of the *Romani chib* dialect group are more satisfied with employment and gave this on average a rating of 2 in comparison to members of the *Ljimba d' bjaš* dialect group who on average rated this as 1.7. Sec-

Diagram 2

Are the respondents prepared
to move away to improve
work and life conditions



Source: Field study 2004

ondly, with regard to general opportunities within the settlement the first group rated this as 2.80 while the second gave this a rating of 2.55. The indigenous population compared to newcomers give higher ratings to the following: personal health (3.61 compared to 3.33); health of household members (3.89 compared to 3.57); and material status (2.34 compared to 2.28). Men compared to women gave higher ratings to the following: employment (1.81 compared to 1.61); personal health (3.64 compared to 3.35); personal life perspective (3.32 compared to 3.04); and the life perspectives of youth (3.60 compared to 3.41).

A larger number of items statistically differ when the ratings of the employed and unemployed are compared (table 18).

Table 18
Average ratings of particular
quality of life aspects

	Employed	Unemployed
Personal health	3.89	3.47
Life perspective of young family members	3.78	3.48
Personal life perspective	3.53	3.16
Housing conditions	3.21	2.76
Material state of the household	2.79	2.29
Employment	3.39	1.55

The offered ratings were from 1 (inadequate) to 5 (excellent)

Source: Field study 2004

As expected, employed respondents are satisfied with all the items that they rated and this is especially evident in those items that are more directly related to employment and material status. Statistically significant differ-

ences in ratings were shown for the largest number of items (shown in table 19 and 20) when respondents were compared according to different age groups and levels of education.

	18-29	30-39	40-49	50 and over
Health of family members	3.95	3.87	3.85	3.00
Possibility of choosing lifestyle according to own desires and standards	3.23	3.13	3.40	2.76
Diet	3.65	3.69	3.65	3.08
Personal health	4.06	3.48	3.25	2.27
Life perspectives of young family members	3.62	3.54	3.70	2.95
Personal life perspective	3.38	3.22	3.23	2.51
Housing conditions	2.79	2.90	2.98	2.42
Material state of household	2.38	2.36	2.51	1.86
Employment	1.65	1.75	2.00	1.50

Source: Field study 2004

p<0.01

Table 19
Average ratings of particular quality of life aspects, according to age

In most items, there is a larger degree of satisfaction in the younger age group but it is interesting that respondents in their forties are the most satisfied with employment while the youngest and oldest are the least satisfied. Related to this, the highest rating for material state of the household and employment is found in the 40-49 age group. It can be generally stated that this age group are more optimistic than others with regard to life perspectives of youth, housing conditions and the possibility to live according to one's own choice.

	no schooling	unfinished primary school	primary school	secondary school
Health of family members	3.51	3.89	3.90	4.00
Reputation among persons in the immediate environment (neighbours, work colleagues)	3.63	3.69	3.93	4.11
Diet	3.35	3.62	3.74	4.02
Personal health	3.02	3.66	3.79	4.04
Life perspective of young family members	3.31	3.54	3.73	3.65
Personal life perspective	2.88	3.25	3.40	3.70
Housing conditions	2.58	2.80	3.00	3.36
Material state of household	2.12	2.35	2.53	2.76
Employment	1.57	1.63	2.10	2.26

Source: Field study 2004

p<0.01

Table 20
Average ratings of particular quality of life aspects, according to schooling

In table 20 it is evident that educated members of the Romani population are, on average, the most satisfied with their own lives. However, since their total number is very small, the final evaluation about the quality of life is determined by less successful and less satisfied Roma to the largest degree.

Conclusion

The socio-cultural profile of the Romani population was analysed on the basis of a few indicators: identity, social position, values and quality of life. Beyond doubt, the Roma are a specific social group as indicated by many features and a lifestyle that are recognizable in society. However, it should be kept in mind that they are not a homogeneous group since within the Romani population multifarious stratification occurs. This study showed that this stratification occurs in the cultural sphere, shaping some subgroups with a special identity, lifestyle and values. Sometimes, they are not clearly defined; on the contrary, the Romani society shape and differentiate prevailing indispensable cultural specificities that distinguishes them from other societies. However, these analyses have “touched” below the surface, in which comparisons by sex, age, education, connection with place, belonging to a language/dialect circle – has shown that within the Romani population different groups are differentiated. Approaches to improvement and development of their settlements would surely need to take this into account.

There are a few substantial problems, which the Romani community faces and that consequently burden all aspects of life, including socio-cultural aspects. Objectively, a low level of education that diminishes chances for employment and improvement of their life standard is (not only among the Roma) recognised as a cause or key solution to their problems. Regardless, “finishing school” is at the bottom on the scale of values, while poverty is accepted as a feature of the group and is used as an identity marker that pushes other typical cultural features such as folklore, customs, language, trades, etc. into the background.

Along with poverty, they are more inclined to a larger degree to describe their lifestyle as “threatened by the polluted environment”, which additionally reflects their low level of satisfaction with housing conditions, general life opportunities in the settlement, the material state of the household and especially employment.

Based on this analysis, the general evaluation is that the traditional socio-cultural identity of the Roma is fading.

ing away and that the Roma to a large degree are socially identified and represented through the negative features or deficiencies: poverty and threat. In a society that is oriented towards multiculturalism and encouragement of an equal *Other*, deficiencies and absences cannot over the long-term be the basis of identity differentiation and subjectivity.

For the shaping of a recognizable socio-cultural profile of the Roma like for the revitalisation of their social identity there is more perspective if the foothold of their own identification rests on the living components of cultural heritage. It should be remembered that nearly half of the respondents claim that Romani customs, folklore, language and traditional trades best describe the Roma. Whether this percentage is large or small is perhaps not the issue. However, it is certainly adequate to be the foothold of an optimistic scenario of development for the Romani population.

Zoran
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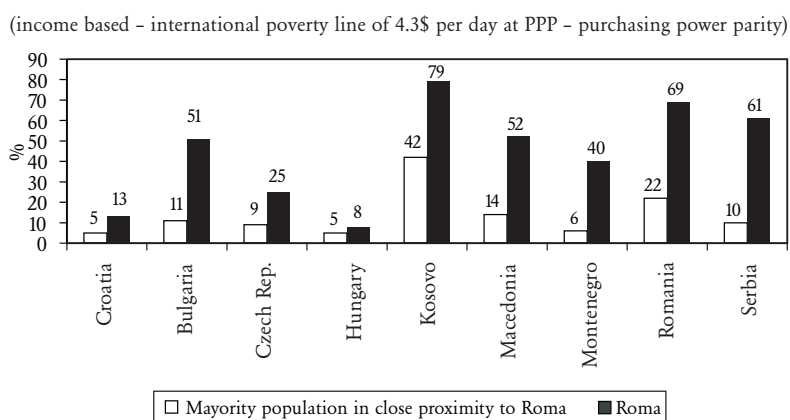
POVERTY AS
A COMPONENT OF
THE SOCIO-CULTURAL
IDENTITY OF
THE ROMA

The objective and subjective indicators of Romani poverty

There is a close connection between the Roma and poverty and this has lasted for centuries. Almost certainly, the Roma are a group with the highest risk of poverty in all societies in which they live. Romani poverty is specific in relation to poverty of other ethnic or social groups. First, poverty among the Roma is significantly more widespread compared to other groups. The rates of poverty among the Roma can be ten and more times larger than the rates of poverty among the non-Roma. In Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary (countries that are members or candidates for entry into the EU) between 40–80% of Roma live below a poverty threshold of 4.3\$ a day per person (Ringold et al., 2003). On the other hand, the Roma easily become poor and stay poor for longer periods (their whole lives for many). This means that Roma poverty is often characteristically deeply ingrained and permanent.

Diagram 1

Share of the population below the internationally comparable poverty line (2004)



Source: <http://vulnerability.undp.sk>

Note: When calculating per capita household income the OECD 'equivalence scale' was used (this assigns the coefficient 1 to the first adult household member, 0.5 to other adult members and 0.3 to children under 14). This means that per capita household income is not obtained by dividing the total income by the number of members, but with the "an equalized number of household members". For example, if the total income of a household consisting of a married couple with two children amounts to 1,200kn, the equivalised household income is not 300kn (1,200÷4), but 571.43kn (1,200÷2.1).

A large majority of the Roma in Croatia are also absorbed by the problems of poverty, indicated by both the objective and subjective indicators of poverty. As can be seen in diagram 1, the rate of poverty among the Roma in Croatia is approximately two and a half times larger than the rate of poverty among the majority population who live with the Roma in the same settlements or close by. It is certain that the difference between the poverty of the Roma and the non-Roma majority in general would be substantially larger. When compared to other countries, Croatia belongs to the group of countries where there is less difference between the rate of poverty among the Roma and non-Roma who live in Romani neighbourhoods. It is evident that the material and financial circumstances of the Romani populations are far worse than the financial circumstances of Croatian citizens that live in absolute poverty (Table 1).

Table 1
The Living Conditions of the
total population, the poor and
Roma in Croatia

Life Standard Indicators	Total population (%)	The poor (%)	Roma (%)
< 10m ² of housing space per household member	8.1	25.0	67.2*
No electricity	0.3	2.1	26.0
No indoor toilet	8.8	37.2	66.0
No indoor bathroom	7.9	38.1	63.3
No running water	5.7	22.0	48.9
No sewerage	24.0	45.2	78.8
No telephone	10.7	40.1	61.1
No fridge or freezer	5.9	16.6	20.9
No washing machine	8.9	32.6	49.9
No car	37.0	89.2	67.5

Source: Field study 2004

Note: The life standard indicators for all citizens and the poor are based on Luttmner (2000). The threshold of poverty has been determined on the basis of minimum expenditure on food and other necessities.

* It needs to be mentioned that we did not have precise data on the floor space of Romani households, as household responses were classified into different categories of housing space. To calculate the size of housing spaces for each household member, it was supposed that all households in a particular category have the average amount of the mentioned category. This means that data on the size of housing spaces for each person in a household is not entirely precise.

When certain elements of the infrastructure and living standard are compared, for which a large part of household expenditure is spent in Croatia, then it is evident that more than a quarter of the Roma do not have electricity, while the share of these types of households among the overall poor population is around 2%. Almost a half of the Romani households do not have a washing

machine, which is considered to be a component of a minimum life standard in Croatia. The Roma have a significantly higher level of deprivation with regard to all life standard elements compared to the poor in general, with the exception of car possession. Research on poverty until now has shown that car possession is a relatively good rough indicator of poverty in Croatia. Approximately 90% of the poor and 95% of social welfare recipients do not own a car (Šućur, 2001; World Bank, 2000). It seems that the car has an additional function for the Roma. For a large number of Romani families, a car is very important in terms of livelihood, considering their livelihood activities to ensure existence (collection of scrap metal, small-scale trade and resale). For other citizens, a car in this respect is not existentially indispensable.

When we compare the present-day life standard of Romani households with those of six or twenty years ago, then it is evident that the standard of living has improved (measured by the possession of durable consumer goods) (Table 2).

Durable consumer goods	1982 study	1988 study	2004 study
No electricity	48.1	14.3*	26.0
No fridge	72.9	40.0	37.1
No TV	61.9	20.2	15.0
No washing machine	92.2	65.9	49.9
No car	83.1	72.9	67.5

Source: Hodžić, 1985: 30–31 (for 1982 study), Štambuk, 2000: 307 (for 1998 study) and field research in 2004.

Note: The samples in these studies were different, which may have affected the obtained results. The 1982 study included 20 Romani settlements, compared to the study in 1998 that included 5 settlements while the most recent study in 2004 included 43 settlements.

* Of the five settlements that were included in this study, the percent of households without electricity was between 0–11.5% in four of them, while in the fifth more than half of the households had no electricity.

The number of households without electricity has been halved in twenty years. Compared to 1998, the percentage of households without washing machines has mostly decreased (even though it is still relatively high). Still, the obtained results need to be considered carefully because there could be large differences in the standards of living between inhabitants of particular Romani settlements.

The subjective Romani perception of their own material position does not differ greatly from the objective indicators (Table 3). On a scale of 1 to 5, more than a third of the respondents graded their material position as 1, i.e.,

Table 2
Changes in the living standard
of the Roma

unsatisfactory. Moreover, if we add the number of respondents who evaluated their material position as 2 to this figure, then almost 60% of all households live in unsatisfactory or hardly bearable material conditions. In addition, the standard the Roma used while grading their material position also needs to be considered. Romani perception of an acceptable or decent living standard is likely to be more modest compared to the perception of other social and ethnic groups.

Table 3
The material conditions of
households according to
subjective evaluations of
respondents* (N=962)

	%
1	35.1
2	24.3
3	22.6
4	8.4
5	9.6

Source: Field study 2004

* The rating is on a scale of 1–5, where 1 is unsatisfactory and 5 is excellent.

In addition, in table 4 it is evident that by far the biggest problem that Romani households face, based on respondents' opinion, is poverty and shortage of goods. Since the respondents could list up to two problems, it is indicative that there is a huge difference between poverty and all the other problems mentioned as first. Namely, 64.7% of the respondents first and foremost stressed the problem of poverty while 11.3% mentioned poor housing conditions, which as a rule, are closely related to poverty. When all the problems are ranked according to importance, regardless of whether they were mentioned first or second, poverty remains at the top of the list, followed by unemployment and poor housing conditions. All those who mentioned poverty as a problem, stated it exclusively first.

Table 4
The biggest problems of
Romani households* (N=958)

Problem	% of respondents who list problem as first	% of respondents who list problem as first or as second
Poor material status (shortage, poverty)	64.7	64.7
Poor family health	8.6	19.9
Difficulty with schooling of children	4.4	8.1
Poor housing conditions	11.3	33.4
Long distance to place of work	1.3	2.6
Unemployment	8.5	47.0
Overburdened women (job, family obligations)	0.3	4.0
Other	1.0	1.8

Source: Field study 2004

* Two problems could be listed

Not only is poverty a key problem for the Roma but a “trade mark” or recognisable feature of the Roma (table 5). More than half of the respondents (52%) consider that poverty best describes the Roma as an ethnic group.

	%
Poverty	52.0
Customs	17.0
Folklore	13.5
Language	11.1
Typical trades	4.0
Other	2.4

Source: Field study 2004

Table 5
What best describes the
Roma (N=959)

The Roma and the “culture of poverty”

The Roma are traditionally perceived through different stereotypes. The community perceives them as beggars and vagabonds or as thieves. They are often marked as the “undeserving poor” (Katz, 1989), that is, like people who are lazy, avoid work, have uncontrolled reproduction, are irresponsible and immature, who do not accept modern values and live off social welfare, etc. In other words, the Roma are blamed for their own poverty. There is a widespread image of the Roma as those who live in misery and poverty. However, the Roma are also perceived as those who excessively and unacceptably use state welfare, which promotes frustration and rivalry among Roma and non-Roma groups. Therefore the following question can be asked: Is Romani poverty “situational” or “cultural”? Is poverty an intrinsic part of Romani culture, such that the wider public in that respect cannot do anything or very little?

Some authors have the tendency to see elements of pathology and culturalism in Romani poverty. The “pathological” approach suggests that the sole responsibility for poverty lies with the individual, that is, that poverty is the result of social and personal disadvantages of the individual. The word pathology alludes to the active role of the individual in the “creation” of poverty such that individuals actively and consciously create their own misery. Moreover, it can be concluded from this approach that the poor are predisposed to be criminals and deviants and that any social intervention will not be successful due to the character of these people.

Nevertheless, authors more often endeavour to explain Romani poverty with the “culture of poverty” theory (Lewis, 1965; 1968), because culturalism does not allude to

the “genetic” code of the Roma but to their culture that encourages them, in accordance with stereotypes, to avoid work, to have lots of children or to accept a criminal way of life. According to this theory, the poor use life strategies, which are a result of culturally conditioned practices. They develop their own culture with peculiar norms and values that is completely different from the culture of wider society. According to Lewis’s findings, culture of poverty features can be analysed at the individual, family and community levels (table 6).

Table 6
Culture of poverty features

Individual level	Family level	Community level
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • marginality • helplessness • fatalism • present-time orientation • lack of impulse control • weak ego-structure • belief in male superiority • high tolerance for psychopathologies of all types 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • free unions and consensual marriages • early initiation into sex • absence of childhood as a specific protective period of life • lack of privacy • matrifocal family • high divorce rate • abandonment of children and mothers by men 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-membership and non-participation in social institutions (economic organisations, unions, political parties, etc.) • Weak use of social services (health, cultural, educational, bank, etc.) • Social disorganisation and chronic instability

Theft, begging, petty fraud, prostitution, loan-sharking, drugs, teenage pregnancies and other deviations are also included as features of the culture of poverty. The poor are caught up in an endemic persistent vicious circle, because they do not have the strength to stop the processes that cause and maintain their poverty. At first glance, the intergenerational poverty transmission argument can be “easily” illustrated using examples from Romani life. Lewis maintained that the culture of poverty is internalised and learned in socialisation processes, and for this reason has a great impact on children. Lewis (1968: 50) claims that: “By the time slum children are age six or seven they have usually absorbed the basic values and attitudes of their subculture and are not psychologically geared to take full advantage of changing conditions or increased opportunities which may occur in their lifetime.” In addition, new theories emphasise that the poor transmit beliefs, practices, ambitions and expectations from one generation to the next as a form of “heritage”. For example, if a poor (Romani) family have developed the practices of begging and fraud, these “skills” will be transmitted to the younger members of the family, because they present a mechanism

through which the poor can cope with social and economic marginalisation. Similar to the rich who transfer their wealth to descendents, the poor transfer their family “heritage” to the young, who internalise and use it later in life. In the same way, low educational aspirations or life ambitions among the young in these circumstances can be explained. This would mean that the poor contribute to their impoverishment by collecting, preserving and transmitting behaviour connected to poverty.

If a Romani culture of poverty exists, what is its content? It is true that some of the features of Lewis’s culture of poverty are present among the Roma (feeling of marginality and helplessness, orientation towards the present, free unions, early sexual relations, absence of childhood as a specific protective period, and poor participation in social institutions, etc.) However, some components of the culture of poverty have become characteristic not only for the Roma and the poor but for other social strata in Croatia today. Many feel helpless and uncertain in situations of economic recession and limited employment opportunities. How is it possible at all to plan a future in a situation when individuals do not have influence whatsoever on the social environment. Cohabitation and a high divorce rate are not specific for the poor, but are already general trends in contemporary society. The same can also be said about the birth of children out of wedlock. In the most developed countries, more than half of the children are born outside of marriage. Early sexual relations are not a particularity of the poor or the Roma either. Following the sexual revolution, young people from different social strata had earlier sexual relations. However, there is a big difference between the Roma and non-Roma with regard to entry into a first marriage. “Macho cultures” or beliefs in the superiority of men are not especially linked to the Roma but with a patriarchal culture, which is still present in Croatian society. It is also true that Romani parents expect their children to “grow up” considerably earlier (to get married, earn a living or become independent) compared to non-Roma children (Šućur, 2004), while the Roma are simultaneously “accused” of having an overprotective relation towards children (i.e., too lenient and spontaneous upbringing).

If the Roma upheld the culture of poverty, this means that they would accept different values to those in society. However, table 7 shows that their system of values in all probability does not differ greatly from a non-Roma one (unfortunately, we do not have a sample control group to check this).

Table 7
System of Values among the
Roma*

Values	Not important at all	Very important	Average	Rank towards category "very important"
Marriage	1.6	82.0	4.71	7
Children	1.3	95.2	4.90	2
Work	1.3	79.5	4.70	8
Knowledge	0.8	67.8	4.52	13
Education	4.6	68.2	4.40	12
Honesty	0.4	88.6	4.85	3
Friendship	0.4	85.1	4.80	5
Leisure time	1.0	59.0	4.38	16
Love	1.6	83.6	4.72	6
Sex life	4.3	70.7	4.40	10
Environmental protection	2.5	68.4	4.49	11
Politics	48.3	11.7	2.14	18
Religion	6.0	62.9	4.26	15
Nation	12.9	49.7	3.85	17
Money	1.2	79.0	4.69	9
Freedom	0.2	88.4	4.85	4
Sex equality	3.0	67.1	4.43	14
Health	0.1	96.6	4.96	1

Source: Field study 2004

* The importance of each value is evaluated on a scale of 1-5 (1 – not important at all, 2 – mostly unimportant, 3 – I am not sure, 4 – mostly important, 5 – very important).

Family values, personal values and liberties (health, children, honesty, freedom, friendship, love, marriage) are at the top of the scale. These are followed by work-material values (work and money), while traditional and political values (politics, nation, religion) are at the bottom of the scale. It can be concluded from the represented hierarchy of values that life in poverty is not a way of life that the Roma prefer.

Work also occupies a high place on the scale of values, as a means of realising many other values. Thus, the value system of the Roma is not imperatively different from the value system of society as a whole. However, it is questionable to what extent these obtained value orientations are the result of the Roma's efforts to alter their responses to match general social expectations. There is a discrepancy between so-called explicit and implicit values among the Roma (Županov, 1995). Explicit (publicly recognised) values can be only declarations according to which people do not follow in real life, while implicit values are real values from which behaviour follows. This discrepancy between explicit and implicit values is not only particular to the Roma, but it is most noticeable among the Roma because they often do not have the possibilities to realise the values that they declaratively uphold. As the Roma are not in a

position to realise the goals of the culture of society, they create norms that are more appropriate to the situations in which they live ("value stretch") (Mitrović, 1990). Through their actions and behaviour the Roma and the poor can violate their own moral norms and values.

How can we explain the presence of some culture of poverty elements among the Roma? It needs to be noted that Lewis emphasised that the culture of poverty is simultaneously an adaptation and reaction of the poor to their marginal position in a highly individualised capitalist society. The culture of poverty represents poor people's attempt to grapple with feelings of hopelessness and despair, which come from knowing that the achievement of success consistent with the values and aims of wider society is impossible. That which some call "culture" in fact represents mechanisms of survival; the adaptation of the poor to life's difficulties. For example, are social disorganisation or instability really features of the Roma community?

A number of investigations have shown that the living conditions in Romani communities are not the same: in some they are stable, some communities struggle with life problems and misfortunes, and some are poorly organised and unstable. The Roma can organise their community activities successfully in a way that is different from the non-Roma. The Roma have their own models for solving problems. In this way, kinship networks can be understood as a form of "cultural capital", and not something that hinders cooperation and enterprise. Multigenerational family networks present a means of survival for different generations because they ensure the regular inflow of finances (child endowment, family allowances, pensions and unemployment benefits). These family networks also serve as information networks about the labour market, the possibilities of making money, gains and losses of leaving the local area and similar.

It needs to be acknowledged that life in poverty affects the development of those forms of behaviour that are more of a situational character, but there is no need to exclude the possibility that poverty creates long-term patterns of behaviour (Gans, 1968) that can negatively influence the pace of change leading to the cessation of poverty. The adopted patterns of behaviour can lead to a "cultural lag", that is, they can prevent or obstruct an easy and quick "comeback" to society, even though it is believed that a cultural lag is of a temporary character. Thus, it is important during research on Romani poverty to establish which patterns of their behaviour are situational and which are internalised and have features of "culture". Situational behaviour changes in ac-

cordance with changes in life circumstances (without social intervention) while internalised behaviour can be changed mainly through organised activities.

A shortcoming in the culture of poverty theory is its implication that the poor and the Roma do not have their “own culture”, but that their economic position determines their values in a predictable way. Moreover, it is not clear whether the Roma have one culture or two: their ethnic culture and the culture of poverty. To what extent is the ethnic culture of the Roma compatible to the culture of poverty? The Roma are an ethnic minority in Croatia and other countries, which means that they have particular culture specificities in relation to the majority group. For example, early marriages are characteristic for the Romani ethnic group. They are a part of Romani tradition and Romani socialisation (Šućur, 2004). Early marriages, per se, do not have to lead to poverty. They are more an indicator of low level educational aspirations, early drop-out rate from school, which is related to low qualifications and poorly developed work skills that in the end decrease their chances in the labour market.

Here it is important to ask which traditional patterns of Romani culture prevent or obstruct the modernisation of the Romani community. It is possible to improve the material position of the Roma by holding onto past cultural patterns. Vašečka and Radičova (2001) claim that the following features of the Romani family, which differ from the non-Roma majority, can be related to problems of modernisation and poverty:

- life in extended families (there is still no dominant orientation towards nuclear families),
- community oriented life style,
- an absence of boundaries between what is private and what is public (privacy does not exist not only because of their way of life but also because of their relationship to property),
- considering the present housing as temporary and provisional,
- a clear division of sex roles in the family (the man is the breadwinner and the woman is responsible for household maintenance and bringing up the children),
- specific demographic features (young population with many children).

Thus, it needs to be recognised that the culture of poverty is based on unproved assumptions that there is only one functional model of adaptation to long-term deprivation. However, among the Roma and the poor we come across complex and various strategies of adaptation

to similar social circumstances. For example, the Roma can plan mass migration abroad as a form of political protest against discriminating local conditions or they can individually go abroad as illegal immigrants or migrate to countries in which there are more favourable conditions for the development of “small business” (Stewart, 2002).

The causes of Romani poverty

All research shows that the Roma are more vulnerable with respect to poverty compared to other social or ethnic groups. Some advocate the notion “the racialization of poverty” (Emigh, Fodor and Szelenyi, 2000) namely, that members of minority groups begin to abound among the poor, changing the profile of the poor. First of all, poverty is generally connected to some socio-demographic features like sex, age, employment status, education, the size and structure of the household and similar. However, the connection of poverty with these features varies between societies as well as between the Roma and non-Roma.

There are a number of factors that influence the increasing vulnerability of the Romani population. First, it is known that the Roma have low levels of education and poorly developed professional skills, which determines their position on the changing (transitional) labour market. The risk of poverty is generally high if the head of the household is unemployed or without an education or has three or more children. The connection between poverty and these three features (unemployment, low educational achievements, and a large number of children) among the Roma is considerably stronger than among the non-Roma. Non-Roma households with the mentioned features do not have to necessarily prevail among the poor. For example, most of the poor in Croatia with regard to their employment status are not unemployed but pensioners (Šućur, 2001; World Bank, 2000). According to one study (Ringold et al., 2003), the rates of poverty among non-Roma families headed by persons without any education are several times higher than those among non-Roma families headed by persons with a secondary school education. There is a similar ratio between the rates of poverty of non-Roma households who are run by unemployed and employed persons. In comparison, there is a relatively high level of poverty among Romani families regardless of the household heads’ educational or employment status. The risk of poverty is high among the Roma even when the head of the household is employed. Data on the evaluations of material status show that the subjective evalua-

tions of material status do not significantly differ with regard to the educational and employment status of the household head or with regard to the structure of the household (tables 8, 9, and 10).

Table 8
Subjective evaluations of the material conditions of the household (on a scale 1–5) with regard to education of household head

Education	1	2	3	4	5	Total
No schooling	77 41.2%	48 25.7%	37 19.8%	11 5.9%	14 7.5%	187 100.0%
1–4 grades primary	54 33.5%	47 29.2%	30 18.6%	15 9.3%	15 9.3%	161 100.0%
Unfinished primary	41 34.5%	29 24.4%	29 24.4%	13 10.9%	7 5.9%	119 100.0%
Primary school	31 34.8%	19 21.3%	25 28.1%	6 6.7%	8 9.0%	89 100.0%
Secondary school	9 25.0%	6 16.7%	16 44.4%	3 8.3%	2 5.6%	36 100.0%
Total	212 35.8%	149 25.2%	137 23.1%	48 8.1%	46 7.8%	592 100.0%

$hi^2=20,94$ $df=16$ $p\leq .207$

Source: Field study 2004

Table 9
Subjective evaluations of the material conditions of the household (on a scale 1–5) with regard to employment of household head

Employment status	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Employed	16 28.6%	14 25.0%	18 32.1%	4 7.1%	4 7.1%	56 100.0%
Unemployed	196 36.6%	135 25.2%	119 22.2%	44 8.2%	42 7.8%	536 100.0%
Total	212 35.8%	149 25.2%	137 23.1%	48 8.1%	46 7.8%	592 100.0%

$hi^2=3,17$ $df=4$ $p\leq .529$

Source: Field study 2004

Table 10
Subjective evaluations of the material conditions of the household (on a scale 1–5) with regard to structure of household

Structure of household	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Single HH	21 47.7%	12 27.3%	6 13.6%	3 6.8%	2 4.5%	44 100.0%
Married couple without children in HH	26 50.0%	12 23.1%	10 19.2%	2 3.8%	2 3.8%	52 100.0%
Married couple with unmarried children in HH	163 32.8%	121 24.3%	108 21.7%	52 10.5%	53 10.7%	497 100.0%
Incomplete one-family HH	33 44.0%	14 18.7%	17 22.7%	4 5.3%	7 9.3%	75 100.0%
“Complete” extended HHs	23 26.7%	23 26.7%	22 25.6%	6 7.0%	12 14.0%	86 100.0%
Incomplete extended HHs	17 29.3%	12 20.7%	16 27.6%	5 8.6%	8 13.8%	58 100.0%
Other extended HHs	45 35.2%	35 27.3%	35 27.3%	7 5.5%	6 4.7%	128 100.0%
Total	328 34.9%	229 24.4%	214 22.8%	79 8.4%	90 9.6%	940 100.0%

$hi^2=32,27$ $df=24$ $p\leq .121$

Source: Field study 2004

The sole breadwinner model of the Romani family (the role of the man as the breadwinner, while the woman is reserved a place in the home with lots of children) amplifies Romani poverty. It is evident in table 11 that in nearly half of the Romani households only one person obtains a means for livelihood, while in 64% of the households there are no women among the “earners”. If we count the number of households in which only one person earns a living (49.2%) and households in which no one obtains a means for livelihood (15.6%), then in 65% of households one person at the most ensures a means for livelihood.

The number of members who obtain a means for livelihood	%	The number of women among members who obtain a means for livelihood	%
0	15.6	0	63.8
1	49.2	1	32.2
2	25.6	2 and more	4.0
3 and more	9.6		

Source: Field study 2004

Table 11

The total number of family members who obtain means for livelihood and the share of women among them (N=968)

Second, the post-socialist transition amplified the old and created new problems, which confront the Roma. In the formation of new inequalities, the Roma appear to be the “losers of transition”. Besides the already mentioned problems related to the labour market, transition has negatively affected Romani housing in many countries. It is clear that the Roma did not benefit from privatisation or property restitution. Moreover, the fiscal problems of post-socialist states resulted in the reduction of public funds for building or the maintenance of council housing which a part of the Roma population live in. Generally, changes in the market did not facilitate access to accommodation for the poor and low-income groups.

Third, the political transformation in post-socialist countries resulted in increased discrimination and aggression towards the Roma. Political liberation represented a “mixed blessing” for the Roma. Namely, opportunities for free expression of ethnic and cultural identities were created as well as chances to participate in society. However, new challenges and difficulties appeared as extremist groups entered the political scene, which opened new avenues for the expression of intolerance towards the Roma. Anti-Roma aggression was intensified in nearly all transition countries (skinhead attacks on the Roma occur in Croatia).

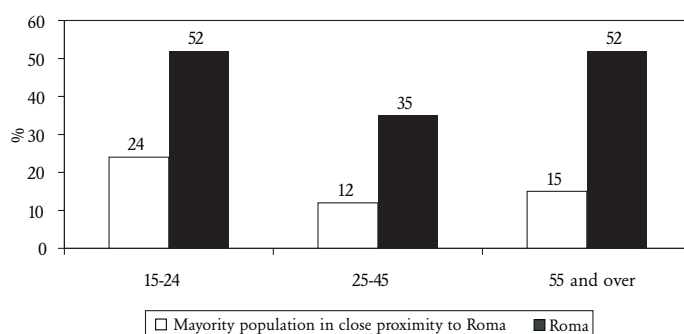
Fourth, the Roma also faced restricted access to social services because of a growth in the need for these services

and budget cuts. Most services were free-of-charge in socialism. Today, the use of these services requires formal or informal payment, and the quality of services has been reduced. Geographically isolated Roma communities are distant from the offices that offer these services. In view of their distance from these social services and illegal residence, a number of Roma do not have the required documents for school enrolment or to use health services. The over-representation of the Roma in the informal economy also reduces their rights in the social security system (i.e., their right to an unemployment benefit).

*Romani ethno economy, sources of income and changes
in the labour market*

Throughout history, the Roma have been mostly excluded from formal types of employment. There were high rates of formal employment (especially in some countries) among the Roma during socialism, when socialist ideology decreed that unemployment was considered to be a form of pathology (Human Rights Watch 1992; 1993). However, even when they were employed, the Roma most often did low-status, physically demanding and poorly paid jobs. The professions of the Roma today are also low-status and without significant social prestige. There are very few Roma who are in professions that are high prestige, which are linked to high economic rewards and power.

Changes in the labour market certainly did not help the Roma. The Roma, as a rule, are the first to lose their jobs (not only because of low qualifications). They are confronted with considerable problems when they attempt to return to the labour market, which influences their material well-being. During the socialist period, the Roma were employed in labour-intensive and unqualified jobs, which only existed because of the egalitarian-redistributive logic of the socialist economy. Many of the jobs that the Roma do are threatened by technological progress, since scientific-technological development generally decreases the need for low-skilled work. Considering the low level of human capital, the Roma have exceptionally high rates of (long-term) unemployment (diagram 2). This reveals the chronic instability of Romani formal employment. The data in table 12 shows the diminishing role of formal employment in ensuring livelihood since 1998. It is important to stress that the absence of formal employment means the absence of social status that mainly comes from formally paid work. Besides this, it implies exclusion from the social security system (Šućur, 2000).



Zoran Šućur
**Poverty as a Component of
 the Socio-cultural Identity of
 the Roma**

Diagram 2

The rate of unemployment
 among the Roma and
 non-Roma according to age
 categories (2004)

Source: <http://vulnerability.undp.sk>

Note: The rate of unemployment means the share of the unemployed in the workforce, where the notion “workforce” includes all persons of working age (over the age of 15), excluding pensioners, persons at school and persons who do domestic duties.

On the other hand, the Roma have been connected to some traditional occupation throughout their history (Clébert, 1967), but those links have disappeared today. It is well-known that traditionally the Roma were not landowners, which means that they rarely participated in farming or livestock-raising. The Romani non-agrarian community are not able to support themselves with their own resources. Moreover, the Roma as a non-agrarian culture had an indifferent relation towards land so they never established mechanisms and institutions connected to an agrarian type of ownership. The Roma mainly did not “belong” to a specific territory, nor did they give importance to the acquisition of ownership. On the contrary, their traditional trades gave them flexibility in relation to the territory. They often resorted to trades that guaranteed them independence from the majority population and those jobs that fitted into their way of life. As is the case with other nomadic peoples, the Roma had a different relation towards work and a different relation towards time. They worked as much as was needed to satisfy momentary needs. However, many traditional Romani occupations disappeared in the last century or have become seriously weakened as a result of industrialisation (the processing of metal and wood) so the Roma have turned to other economic activities. It is evident from table 5 that only 4% of the respondents perceive symbols of Romani identity in former Romani trades, which means that those occupations are no longer significant as a source of income.

The situation in the formal labour market illustrates only one side of the Roma’s material status. For the Roma, activities in the informal (“grey”) economy are a very im-

Table 12
Sources of income for the
Roma*

	1998 study	2004 study**
Agriculture	4.8	1.1
Livestock raising	2.4	0.2
Employment	23.0	17.6
Work abroad	...	1.3
Cottage industry	...	3.6
Temporary, seasonal work	31.0	26.9
Transport (truck, horse, etc.)	...	0.3
Collection of raw materials (metal, glass, paper, etc.)	20.6	19.7
Odd jobs (washing windscreens, selling door-to-door, etc.)	2.4	6.4
Rent (renting of office space, flats, property, shares, etc.)	...	0.2
Pension	15.9	4.8
Social welfare	46.8	74.2
Help from relatives	6.3	2.9
Begging	11.1	4.1
Fortune-telling	...	0.5
Other	...	4.2

Source: Štambuk, 2000: 309 (from 1998 study)

* It was possible to specify two sources **N=697

portant source of income, which is to be expected if one considers their sporadic presence in formal employment. In general, the relation towards the informal sector is not identical in all countries or at all times. In periods of economic stagnation or recession, this sector can even play the role of a social shock-absorber. However, since they are not regulated by societal institutions, informal activities sometimes become part of the “black economy” in which criminal and deviant activities dominate. The public believes that a significant part of Romani economic activity takes place on the border of what is permitted or on the other side of legality. The Roma are often not able to obtain licences for trade or for any other jobs that they do (Danova and Russinov, 1998).

The Roma obtain a means for livelihood in different ways and these ways of ensuring an existence can significantly change even during the lifetime of an individual. The Roma combine a number of income sources in ensuring their material existence. Even when they are formally employed, the Roma supplement their wage with other income. It needs to be mentioned that non-Roma also supplement their formal earnings with work on the side or production on their own property. Considering the non-agrarian features of Romani culture, the Roma rarely satisfy their needs with their own food production (because they

do not have their own land and/or they do not have a tradition of working the land). Therefore, it is not surprising that the Roma adapt to state paternalism in situations when the communities in which they live can hardly meet their needs.

The following occupations are widespread among the Roma: small trade and resale, work abroad, temporary and seasonal work for a wage in farming, small services (which are primarily related to repair work), the collection and sale of waste materials, the collection of medicinal herbs (table 12). Some old occupations have been kept, primarily as an additional source of income (music, entertainment, fortune-telling, begging, etc.). The inclinations of the Roma towards particular occupations and jobs (which as a rule have low prestige) have led some authors to suppose that a Romani “ethno economy” exists (Šućur, 2000).

The data from table 12 verifies that social welfare is most often a source of income for the Roma (in nearly three quarters of the households social welfare is a first or second source of income). In comparison with the 1998 study, the number of households that depend on social welfare as a source of income has significantly increased. With reference to state social benefits, a significant number of the Roma receive child endowment, which is not visible in table 12. Child endowment and social welfare do not collide because child endowment payments are disregarded as income in claims for social welfare benefits. Since the share of Roma among the recipients of social welfare is considerably larger than their share in the population this continually arouses public attention. These figures are often interpreted as an indicator of the mentality of dependency and shameless use of the state’s funds. It is generally thought that people are ashamed of being poor or receiving social welfare, but this does not apply to the Roma, who are always ready to seek state aid. There is a prevailing stereotype that the Roma are shameless because they seek whatever they can take from the state, while the non-Roma seek help because they live in poor living conditions. One can conclude that the Roma do not always live in undesirable living conditions. Or that they intentionally live in poverty so that they can get help from the state. The Roma are accused of living “from one benefit to the next”, even though it is recognised that those benefits are not adequate to cover the basic life costs. This type of accusation occurs in situations when a large part of the population perceives themselves as poor, that is, when “victims” compete for meagre state resources (“competitive victimisation”).

The Roma as an “underclass”

The Roma have always been poor and have occupied the lowest position in the stratification system. Following the collapse of socialism, the Anglo-Saxon concept “underclass” has been used more frequently to describe the social position of the Roma (see Katz, 1993; Mincy, 1996; Wilson, 1987; Gans, 1995). Some authors have endeavoured to show that the so-called transition led to the deterioration of the Roma’s social position and their constitution as an “underclass” (Emigh and Szelenyi, 2000; Szelenyi, 2001; Vašečka and Radičova, 2001). In pre-socialist times, the Roma were marked as “under-caste”, “pariah” and as “untouchables”. They were poor and discriminated against, but they lived in their traditional communities and carried out their socio-economic function that was neither prestigious nor socially “rewarded” (playing musical instruments, entertaining, repair work, etc.). They were considered important for the social functioning of society. Socialism, in many ways, wanted to integrate the Roma into society, but left them at the bottom of the social ladder. The Roma had to carry out physical, dirty and poorly paid jobs along with the discrimination that continued. They constituted a part of society (the lowest level in the stratification system), even though some positive results during socialism were achieved by forced measures, without Romani participation and acceptance. Post-socialist transition pushed the Roma back “beyond” the borders of society and intensified processes of their social exclusion. The Roma are no longer only poor; they are now “useless” and socially “superfluous”.

By applying the underclass concept to the Roma, social scientists emphasise their discrimination and isolation from the rest of society in such a way that they as an underclass have almost no chance of finding their roles in the new divisions of labour or of having a “normal” jobs, incomes, housing, security or access to better education for their children (Stewart, 2002). An underclass would then be made up of persons who have a high probability of staying unemployed and poor their whole lives as a result of inadequate education and work skills and whose children are “trapped” in a similar social world, detached from the rest of society as the “undeserving poor” or “no-hoppers”.¹

By merging different definitions of underclass MacDonald (1997: 3–4) understands underclass as “a social group or class of people located at the bottom of the class structure who, over time, have become structurally sepa-

rate and culturally distinct from the regularly employed working class and society in general through processes of social and economic change (particularly deindustrialisation) and/or through patterns of cultural behaviour, who are now persistently reliant on state benefits and almost permanently confined to living in poorer conditions and neighbourhoods". From this definition it follows: 1) that underclass is a level below the lowest class in the population of the employed, 2) that the unfavourable situation of an underclass member is long-term and permanent (lasts a lifetime or for generations), 3) that an underclass is socially, culturally and spatially separated from the unemployed or other poor groups and 4) that the "culture" of the underclass can be a barrier to renewed inclusion in the regular work force.

J. Wilson (1987) also insists on the difference between "lower class" and "underclass". Wilson claims that their community or social milieu that contributes to their marginal position or their weak connection with the labour force market distinguishes members of an underclass from other economically deprived groups. In other words, the problems of marginal economic position and social isolation in areas of concentrated poverty present a dysfunction, which cannot be explained by using the standard concept of "lower class". Areas of concentrated poverty have a drastically high level of dependency on social benefits ("dependency culture"). Moreover, large shares of people living in areas of concentrated poverty are excluded from the workforce and a high percentage leaves the educational process (Hajnal, 1995). These three features are present in a large number of Romani communities. The underclass approach singles out social isolation; one of the key problems of Romani life.

From a historical point of view, the concept of underclass is similar to Marx's concept - lumpenproletariat (Stewart, 2000), as an aggregate of individuals on the margins of the social structure, who are not integrated in the social division of labour, who do not have a systematic approach to professional training, who mainly do marginal or seasonal jobs that do not guarantee an income or a career, and who live on the outskirts of society as well as depend on help from the social services. Besides, while other classes are constituted through relations (conflict or cooperation) with other classes, the formation of an underclass is due to the absence of relations with other classes.

Some have warned of the dangers, which are related to using the underclass concept when discussing the Roma

(Stewart, 2002). First, there is a fear that members of an underclass are attacked by right-wingers as “social parasites” and persons “in the grip of crime”. There is also a trend among researchers to avoid concepts that could contribute to “blaming the victim” (Wilson, 1987). However, it needs to be mentioned that G. Myrdal, who coined the term of underclass, used this concept in a structural sense (underclass as a group of individuals who did not participate in post-war economic growth because they did not acquire an education and skills required in a modern economy). Cultural and behavioural components are not the focus of structural approaches to underclass. It is absolutely unacceptable to relate the concept of underclass to concepts such as “asociality” or “criminality”. The term – underclass, per se does not relate to pathology. For example, in comparison to underclass, the term underworld refers to a more pathological social space that has its own rules and norms.

Perhaps underclass overemphasises a real social separation of the Roma and there is a danger that the Roma are blamed for their situation. This is one of the reasons why M. Stewart (2002) prefers the concept “social exclusion” to underclass. The term – social exclusion is milder. However, does a concept need to be rejected just because there is a possibility that it will be used differently or abused? The underclass approach suggests that the key theoretical concept “is not a culture of poverty but social isolation” (Wilson, 1987: 6). The culture of poverty implies that the basic values and attitudes of that culture are internalised and in this way influence the behaviour of the poor. This means that improvement of their life’s opportunities presupposes social policies that are directed towards changing the sub cultural features of the poor. On the other hand, social isolation does not only imply the absence of contact between classes and ethnic groups, but that the nature of this contact influences the life of those that live in areas of concentrated poverty. Social isolation implies limited opportunities with regard to: the ecological conditions of life, access to jobs and information concerning the labour market, choice of suitable marriage partner, inclusion into a quality school, and adoption of conventional role models.

In comparison to poor members of the lower class, whose poverty is a result of low income, family characteristics, as well as shorter and longer absences from the labour market, poverty and unemployment among members of an underclass (the Roma) infrequently are a permanent state (many Roma are never formally employed). Besides,

when they are registered as unemployed, there is suspicion around the motive of their application (registration at an unemployment office may be motivated by an interest to receive social benefits, and less by a desire to find a job). The concept of underclass cannot be applied to all Roma, but to some Romani communities or to parts of these communities.

Is it possible to break out of the “vicious circle” of poverty?

When planning measures to alleviate Romani poverty, the multidimensional roots of Romani poverty and the heterogeneity of Romani population (the Roma differ according to their ethnic, professional, religious and economic characteristics) need to be considered. The different causes of Romani deprivation influence one another in a vicious circle of poverty and social exclusion. Romani poverty is indeed partly linked to low levels of education, limited opportunities to participate in work and large families, but it is also connected to a minority status, that is a number of social exclusion dimensions. For the Roma, to be poor does not only mean to be without money, but to have a poor work situation and education, inadequate accommodation and a long history of problematic relations with the majority group. The level of poverty is infrequently linked to the marginalisation of Romani settlements (the problem of space segregation). The Roma who live in distant and segregated communities have considerably less possibility of participating in the formal economy or using the social services (educational, health). Geographical and social exclusion are important correlates of Romani poverty.

An efficient campaign against Romani poverty is necessarily directed towards different areas and would include a wide range of activities, among which the following should be selected:

- Improve housing conditions through the building of infrastructure and development of public services especially in distant and isolated Romani settlements (development of roads and telecommunications). The advancement of housing conditions also implies the clarification of ownership rights to land where the Roma live and stimulates the local authorities to offer services in these Romani settlements.
- To increase employment and earning opportunities among the Roma through their inclusion in training programmes, consistent with anti-discriminatory legislation and stimulating employers to employ the Roma. It

certainly will be difficult to reduce the high unemployment rates among the Roma not only because of Romani employees' unfavourableness among employers but because the motive of some Roma for registering as unemployed. It is well-known that some Roma register at employment offices to take advantage of their social rights.

- Encourage schooling among Romani children by reducing or eliminating the barriers that discourage Romani children from entering or staying in the educational system (sometimes Romani children do not have enough food, clothes or support to continue their education). To increase inclusion of Romani children in preschool institutions or to facilitate their attendance at secondary schools.
- To improve access to health services through information on health, health campaigns, and more frequent presence of health workers in Romani settlements. In view of their living conditions, the Roma are more susceptible to some diseases than non-Roma, which means that it is necessary to systematically monitor their health status. Moreover, the average lifespan of the Roma is a third shorter than the average lifespan of non-Roma. It is necessary to raise awareness of the importance of health, especially reproductive. The promotion of different activities linked to health is necessary especially among children.
- To deal with problems of social exclusion of the Roma through anti-discriminatory legislation and practices. To inform the non-Roma public of the life problems that the Roma face through multicultural education and information on Romani history and culture. Socio-cultural factors influence Roma's access to social services or their communication with those who offer these services. The Roma can have difficulties in communications with teachers, doctors, local or state employees as a result of their poor language knowledge. Weak communication and deep-rooted stereotypes nourish interpersonal distrust between the Roma and non-Roma. There is a distinct absence of Roma who work in the social services; this would contribute to the bridging of the gap between cultures.
- To transform social welfare programmes in such a way that they do not create a "dependency culture" and "poverty trap" (not to discourage the work initiative of the user). It has already been mentioned that social welfare benefits provide an important source of income among the Roma and that the Roma are over-repre-

sented among the recipients of these benefits. It is necessary, to a greater extent, to include a component of work in aid programmes (public works) to improve and gain work skills to increase the level of employment. In addition, it is necessary to monitor how these social benefits are spent, as in many Romani settlements alcoholism and other forms of unacceptable behaviour are linked to poverty.

- To integrate the Roma into institutions of wider society (educational, economic, social, and political). As some authors have warned (Šporer, 2004), exclusion from the community and group in which members belong needs to be differentiated from exclusion from society and social institutions. Participation in social institutions is the foundation of social status and ensures the material conditions of life. Besides, inclusion in institutions of wider society facilitates interaction with members of non-Roma and other Romani groups and participation in the dominant values of society. Intervention needs to be directed towards offering more opportunities for Romani initiative as well as reducing their isolation and social exclusion. A different relation and responsibility of the Roma towards ownership as well as different cultural patterns have created a specific social structure based on kinship ties. Vašečka and Radičova (2001) call the specific normative and cultural system of the Roma “the strategy of permanent provisory”. Education in its institutional form puts limits on the Roma strategy of provisory. As the authors claim, the educational and economic institutions do not have an equivalent in the institutional structure of the Roma community. This refers to two types of organisation and social functioning. Inclusion into the world of work and education presents an “asymmetrical” process, because it requires the Roma to adjust to institutions in which they have played no part. The traditional (dominant) patterns of behaviour create more problems in urban areas.
- To ensure the inclusion of the Roma in projects which in turn will have an impact on their lives. It is necessary for the Roma to actively participate in programmes that are intended for them. “Rescue” from poverty and isolation cannot be realised without their involvement.

The social exclusion of the Roma is obvious, first of all, in the absence of material security, which implies the availability of food, clothes, housing and other basic needs. However, the achievement of material security is only a

pre-condition for social security and to fulfil secondary needs (educational, cultural, needs for self-fulfilment, etc.). Modernisation processes of the Romani community cannot only be oriented towards the material aspects of life. The basic prerequisites for social security are social contacts, as the only means of inclusion into the social organisations of society. The Roma, who under the circumstances are oriented towards material security, are not in the position to organise participation in informal social networks on their own so they need help for different social activists.

FOOTNOTE

- ¹ Vašečka and Radičova (2001) mention the following features of an underclass: long-term unemployment, disrupted or non-existent career, exclusive presence on the secondary labour force market, dependency on welfare benefits and activities of the shadow economy, general resignation, low respect for authorities, low level of social self-control, poor labour ethics.

Geran – Marko
MILETIĆ

HOUSING
CONDITIONS
AND RESIDENTIAL
ASPIRATIONS OF
THE ROMA

Among the Roma, marginality is a basic feature and problem, which more or less encumbers almost all Romani communities on the European continent. Marginality is a concept that implies the exclusion of the Roma from important social processes – economic, cultural, and political (Šućur, 2000). It is very difficult to distinguish what the cause is – it seems to be a type of “vicious” circle in which distinct cultural patterns interfere with education. Subsequently, this blocks access to employment and encourages marginality and stigmatisation that results in particular cultural patterns and a no-win situation (Macura et al., 1997). Thus, the space within which Romani life unfolds is greatly determined by poverty, social exclusion and cultural specificity – the result is life that is frequently beneath human dignity.

There are many elements that relate to the social marginalisation of the Roma in Croatia (Štambuk, 2000). The necessity to change this state of affairs stimulated the state to invest additional effort and to become more actively involved in the solution of accumulated Romani problems. For this reason, the *National Programme for the Roma* was implemented. This proposes to “help the Roma in a systematic way to improve their living conditions and to be a part of social life and decision-making processes in the local and wider community while preserving their identity, culture and tradition in the process” (National Programme for the Roma 2003: 3). The success of the programme can only be anticipated if the solution of all three dimensions (economic, spatial and socio-cultural) of marginalisation is approached in a parallel way (Šućur, 2000). In this context, the improvement and development of Romani settlements becomes one of the priority objectives.

“Wild residence” is one of the basic problems and simultaneously a feature of the locations where Roma have settled. Rogić includes two different forms of residence

“outside of the law” in this term. On the one hand, this is in flats/houses that meet civilisation standards but are not compatible to positive legal regulations and on the other hand, this is residence that is predominantly below existing civilisation standards (Rogić, 1990). Residence in Romani settlements unites both forms of “wild” – since this is most often a combination of different forms of illegal building and unsuitable housing.

Residence in this type of setting that is remote from civilisation standards, especially in light of the unhygienic life conditions produces many risky situations both in the environment and in terms of health for the inhabitants of the settlement. Precisely, health risk is frequently the base of stigmatisation and marginalisation and serves, for example, as an argument for separating Romani and non-Romani children that are included in educational programmes. Thus, solving deficiencies primarily at the level of the settlement and improvement of the living standard of Romani households seem to be a priority. Since, in the end, a dwelling is a place where most human beings carry out essential activities and for this reason must adequately fulfil its function; first of all, this is undoubtedly the insurance of health and welfare of individuals and their families (King, 1996 according to Clapham, 2002). Solving settlement and residential problems would speed up processes for the Roma to get closer to the average life standard of the majority population. In other words, by raising quality of life, the Roma could be more easily integrated into mainstream society.

Thus, it is difficult to anticipate social integration without town-planning in Romani settlements. Accordingly, urbanisation and improving the quality of life received a very important place in the *National Programme for the Roma*. For this purpose, it is necessary to obtain an insight into the existing state of affairs in Romani settlements. This is related to the aims of this chapter. This includes showing the basic features of existing residential practices of Romani households; primarily features of housing through the examination of particular objective indicators. It also encompasses reviewing the residential aspirations of the Roma i.e., their subjective experience of housing problems.

This paper is based on data obtained in a field survey study conducted within the framework of the scientific project “The locations of settled Roma – the state and improvement of settlement development as well as aspirations for types of housing”. The survey was carried out in ten counties in summer-autumn 2004 and consisted of a

random sample of an adult Romani population who live in separate locations that are predominantly or exclusively inhabited by the Roma (N=968). Results from counties with extensively unordered and unequipped (illegal) settlements that have a larger share of Romani population will be highlighted. These include the Counties of Sisak-Moslavina, Varaždin, Primorje-Gorski kotar, Slavonski Brod-Posavina, Osijek-Baranja, Istria, and Međimurje and Zagreb.¹

Features of housing

Types of residential space. Survey results show that most respondents live in flats and houses; structures that nominally should guarantee an adequate standard of housing (see table 1). Barracks, board huts, shacks (from sheet metal, wood, and cardboard) as well as those structures in the *Other* category are home for 20% of the surveyed Romani households. These are constructions that do not meet standard housing norms; they cannot offer household members an environment in which, at least, the basic human needs (protection, food, and sleep) can be adequately met. The analysis shows that these types of structures (barracks, board hut, shack and other) are more frequent in the City of Zagreb and the County of Zagreb, where 33% of the respondents in these areas live. Similarly, in the County of Primorje-Gorski kotar just over 36% of the respondents live in barracks, board huts, and shacks.

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Total sample
Flat	8.9	.0	2.5	.0	2.0	16.0	26.5	.9	6.0
House	58.0	88.5	78.8	62.2	96.0	80.0	50.0	77.9	74.5
Barracks (abandoned at building sites)	14.3	5.2	5.0	16.7	1.0	4.0	23.5	8.3	9.1
Board hut - shack (from sheet metal, wood, cardboard)	16.1	4.2	10.0	20.0	1.0	.0	.0	12.9	9.5
Other	2.7	2.1	3.8	1.1	.0	.0	.0	.0	.9

Source: Field study 2004

Table 1
Types of residential space (%)

On the other hand, survey results show that 75% live in houses while 6% live in flats. Living in either a house or flat is considerably more frequent in the Counties of

Slavonski Brod-Posavina and Osijek-Baranja; in both counties over 95% of the households are either houses or flats. As was mentioned, household members that live in a house or flat should be in a better position. However, it became evident during fieldwork that there is a considerable difference in housing standard between different residential spaces. In a similar way, this applies to the building material – even though they are mostly built from durable material (bricks, stone, concrete blocks) their construction is often of very questionable quality. Thus, better building material does not necessarily guarantee better housing conditions.

Space standard. With regard to housing space, it can be said that the space standard of Romani households is very low (see table 2). Nearly half of the surveyed households live in no more than 35 m² and 11% of these households have living spaces that are less than 10 m². The situation is by far the worst in the Counties of Međimurje and Varaždin; around 45% of the respondents live in spaces that are less than 20 m², while not one respondent in the County of Istria lives in such a small living space.

Table 2
 Area of residential space (%)

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Total sample
Up to 10 m ²	20.5	5.3	26.3	3.3	7.0	3.0	.0	17.1	11.3
10–20 m ²	10.7	24.2	18.8	5.6	8.0	17.2	.0	28.6	17.6
20–35 m ²	15.2	26.3	18.8	12.2	17.0	34.3	9.2	25.3	20.4
35–50 m ²	17.0	14.7	12.5	22.2	12.0	17.2	31.6	10.6	16.6
50–75 m ²	20.5	18.9	11.3	15.6	38.0	8.1	24.5	8.3	16.6
75 m ² and over	16.1	10.5	12.5	41.1	18.0	20.2	34.7	10.1	17.6

Source: Field study 2004

It is important to mention that scientific studies have pointed out the negative health, psychological and social effects of living in a crowded space (for example, Housing-health indicators, 2004; The social report, 2004). The mentioned studies suggest that the minimum living space area threshold is 14 m² a person. Thus, anything below this is often linked to the mentioned negative effects (Housing-health indicators, 2004). The most optimal variants here do not seem to be too applicable but for illustrative purposes, increasing the living space standard to 20 m² a person for every inhabitant of Croatia is suggested as a long-term objective of housing reproduction (Rogić, 1990).

In table 3, the average size of the household is shown with regard to the surface area of living space. The average household in this sample has around 6 members while a household with a living space of less than 10 m² has an average of 5 members. Alarming, this is only 2 m² a person. Beyond doubt, it is highly improbable that this provides adequate housing to all members. Substandardness does not adequately describe this housing as these conditions are far from humane.

Area of residential space	Average number of household members
Up to 10 m ²	5
10-20 m ²	4
20-35 m ²	5
35-50 m ²	5
50-75 m ²	6
75 m ² and over	6
Total sample	5

Source: Field study 2004

Table 3

The average size of household with regard to the area of their dwelling

Even though we highlighted the group of households that live in less than 10 m², not a large majority of remaining households live in conditions that provide the essential 14 m² of living space for each person of the household. Only about 17% of the surveyed households (flats/houses larger than 75 m²) ensure a space standard that crosses the mentioned pathological threshold for their members.

The crowded nature of these living spaces is indicated by the fact that in 21% of cases these are spaces without functional divisions e.g., these homes do not have separate bedrooms (see table 4). The remaining constructions most often have only one to two bedrooms (64% of surveyed households) while only 14% have three or more bedrooms. The fact that household members do not have their own bed in 45% of the surveyed households is additional confirmation of the inhumane crowdedness of Romani living spaces (see table 5).

Not one	21.6
One	38.5
Two	25.9
Three	8.6
Four and over	5.5

Source: Field study 2004

Table 4

Number of bedrooms (%)

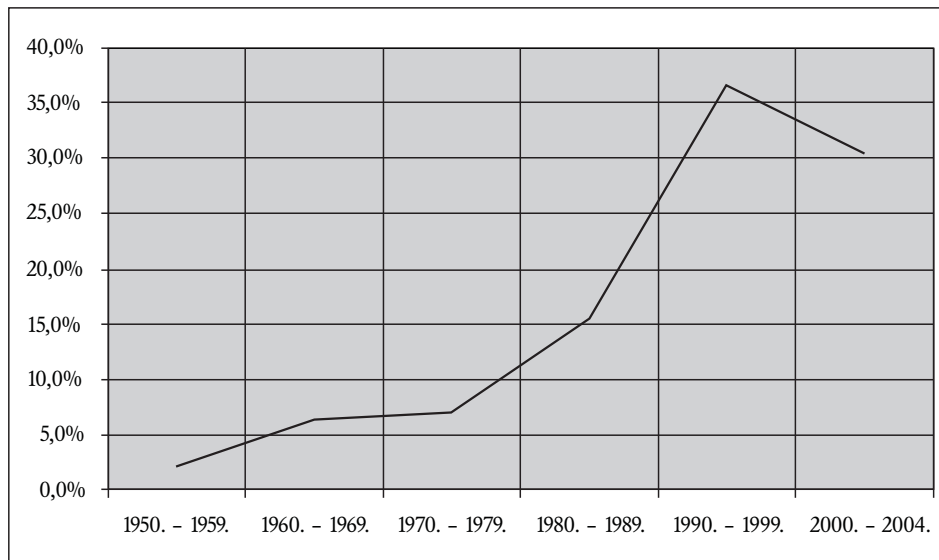
No	45.0
Yes	55.0

Source: Field study 2004

Table 5

Does each member of the household have their own bed? (%)

Diagram 1
The dynamics of
construction/adaptation of
housing objects



Source: Field study 2004

Table 6
Year of construction (or last
alteration) of housing
structure (%)

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Total sample
Until 1949	8.2	2.2	.0	.0	.0	5.5	5.0	.0	2.2
1950 – 1959	2.1	2.2	1.3	.0	.0	11.0	1.7	.0	2.1
1960 – 1969	8.2	2.2	2.7	5.1	10.8	25.3	.0	2.0	6.4
1970 – 1979	4.1	7.7	5.3	10.3	8.6	12.1	.0	5.4	7.0
1980 – 1989	19.6	12.1	10.7	26.9	18.3	15.4	10.0	14.4	15.4
1990 – 1999	41.2	38.5	30.7	26.9	32.3	15.4	51.7	43.6	36.5
2000 – 2004	16.5	35.2	49.3	30.8	30.1	15.4	31.7	34.7	30.4

Source: Field study 2004

Area of residential space	%
Up to 10 m ²	11.9
10-20 m ²	19.8
20-35 m ²	18.8
35-50 m ²	16.0
50-75 m ²	16.3
75 m ² and over	17.2

Source: Field study 2004

Table 7
 Construction from 1990 in
 relation to housing space area

Equipment and facilities of living spaces. Access to public utilities such as electricity, waterworks and sewerage are definitely among the most important services that facilitate proper functioning of dwellings. 74% of households have electricity, 51% have running water and 21% have sewerage in the sample (see table 8). It needs to be noted that sewerage is not a common public utility in rural villages in Croatia and a considerable number of locations where this survey was conducted are in fact of a rural character. In these situations, rural households have septic tanks but this is not common in Romani settlements. If they do exist, they are rarely built properly.

Water supply is very poor; 49% of the surveyed households do not have running water in their homes. Some households (precisely half of the households that do not have connections to waterworks) compensate this deficiency by using wells or water pumps in their yards. Moreover, the surroundings of these Romani settlements is extremely polluted, which puts the Roma at risk, especially in terms of their health.

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Total sample
Electricity	79.5	67.7	51.3	91.1	80.0	91.9	76.5	61.8	73.9
Waterworks	57.1	60.4	13.8	82.2	59.0	52.5	76.5	24.9	51.1
Well or pump in yard	25.2	42.7	60.0	4.4	32.0	45.5	13.4	51.6	35.3
Sewerage	53.6	6.3	8.8	13.3	8.0	25.0	77.6	3.7	21.2
Kitchen	67.0	65.3	57.5	85.6	63.6	85.0	86.7	52.5	66.8
Bathroom	58.9	22.9	17.5	65.6	32.0	38.0	77.6	18.0	36.7
Indoor toilet	57.1	16.7	7.5	70.0	32.0	41.0	76.0	12.4	33.9
Outdoor toilet	33.9	72.9	60.0	41.1	88.0	86.0	36.5	59.5	59.4
Fridge	76.8	40.6	49.4	95.5	81.0	83.0	90.8	34.7	63.0
Freezer	46.4	66.7	58.8	48.9	66.0	51.0	67.0	66.8	58.7

Table 8
 Level of household
 equipment/facilities by
 counties (%)

Table 8
(continued)

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Medimurje	Total sample
Washing machine	58.9	16.7	25.0	73.3	62.0	55.0	71.4	48.8	50.1
Television	83.9	81.3	80.0	96.7	96.0	90.0	87.8	79.3	85.0
Video or DVD	53.6	25.0	12.5	59.6	55.0	31.0	62.2	14.3	36.0
Bicycle	47.3	74.0	63.8	20.2	90.0	74.0	44.8	73.7	63.5
Motorcycle	5.4	2.1	2.5	2.2	6.1	2.0	8.2	2.8	3.6
Car	46.4	46.9	35.0	37.1	32.0	22.0	39.8	19.4	32.5
Holiday house	.9	.0	5.1	.0	3.0	5.0	8.2	.0	2.2
PC	9.8	.0	.0	5.7	7.1	3.0	15.6	.5	4.4
Satellite antenna	30.4	5.2	15.0	65.2	31.0	14.0	57.1	6.5	23.5
Telephone	36.9	40.6	43.8	58.9	37.0	52.0	30.2	27.6	38.8
Mobile phone	68.8	25.0	28.8	65.6	41.0	39.0	79.6	21.7	42.4
Radio	64.9	60.4	62.5	73.0	81.0	85.0	84.5	55.8	69.1

Source: Field study 2004

Only 18% of all surveyed households have all three public utilities (electricity, running water and sewerage) – in other words, they live in minimum hygienic conditions (see table 9). On the other hand, as many as 21% of the surveyed households live in conditions that are anachronic to say in the least – they do not have one single public utility. Romani households with no public utilities are mostly in the Counties of Varaždin (approx. 42%) and Medimurje (approx. 34%).

Table 9
Share of households that
have connections to
electricity, running water
and sewerage (%)

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Medimurje	Total sample
Households with all three connections	46.4	4.2	3.8	13.3	8.0	23.2	70.4	2.8	18.6
Households without one connection	15.2	21.9	42.5	6.7	17.0	6.1	16.3	34.6	20.9

Source: Field study 2004

This aforementioned data reveals the poor hygienic conditions that a significant number of Romani households live in. Additional proof of this is the following: only 36% of households have a bathroom and 33% have an indoor toilet. Outdoor toilets are more common: 56%

of households in the sample have outdoor facilities. However, these types of toilets are often improvised and accomplish the opposite effect – pollute the environment and are often the source of disease. Moreover, it needs to be emphasised that 17% of Romani households do not have an indoor or outdoor toilet. All this indicates a lack of sanitary-hygienic conditions essential for a normal life. A distinct lack of these facilities was noted once again in the Counties of Međimurje and Varaždin.

It needs to be emphasised that the analysis shows that only 4% of households in the sample have facilities that guarantee a hygienic standard necessary for a normal life, that is, a household equipped with all the essential public utilities (running water, electricity, and sewerage) as well as a bathroom and indoor toilet.

Results also show that a significant share of households (between 50% and 63%) own a fridge, freezer and washing machine. 85% of the surveyed households have a television, even more than those households that have connections to electricity. This is not rare because Romani households that do not have their own electricity often access their neighbour's with an extension cord. Most often they do not have their own connection or they cannot afford to pay their electricity bills. On the other hand, their homes may have been unlawfully built and lack the necessary documentation for connection to public utilities.

Out of transport means, the bicycle is the most represented; 63% of households have a bicycle while 32% of the surveyed households have a car. It is interesting to note that the mobile phone is more common (42%) than the telephone (38% of the households in this sample have a connection). Holiday houses, motorcycles and personal computers are 'luxuries' to most of the respondents.

Perception of housing conditions among respondents

The subjective perception of their own situation, especially in the case of specific communities that have special cultural patterns, seems to be an important aspect worth examining. The previous analysis of objective indicators shows that the state of housing in the sample is devastating and it is difficult to expect that respondents are satisfied with the existing housing situation. However, in response to a question on the biggest problems of the household, poor housing conditions were in third place (see table 10). This per se should not be so surprising because poverty and unemployment are most often considered to be the biggest problems of the household. In a sense, they objectively are the major

problems because they in many ways generate all other problems. However, what is surprising is that only 33% of the respondents perceive poor housing conditions as a big problem of their household. This is particularly unusual since 95% of households live in housing conditions that are spatially and in terms of equipment and facilities or in some other way – substandard.

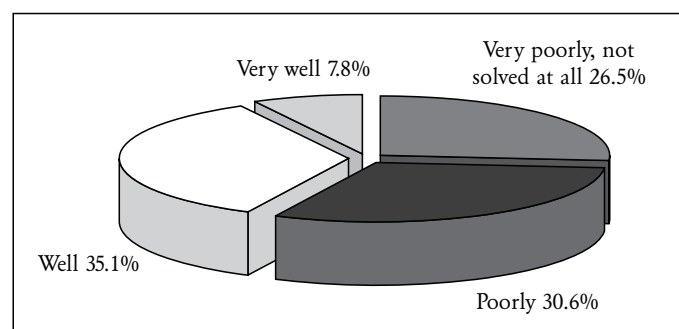
Table 10
The biggest problems of the
household (%)

	%
Poor material status (shortage, poverty)	64.1
Poor family health	19.6
Difficulty with schooling of children	8.0
Poor housing conditions	33.1
Long distance to work	2.5
Unemployment	46.5
Overburdened women (job, family obligations)	3.9

* two responses were possible

Source: Field study 2004

Diagram 2
How have housing problems
been solved according to
respondents?



Source: Field study 2004

Results show that 57% of the respondents rated that their housing problems had been solved poorly and very poorly. Moreover, even though it was estimated that 17% of households have adequate living surface area and that only 4% have adequately equipped homes to ensure the requisite sanitary conditions, nearly 43% of respondents think their housing problems were solved well and very well. It can be concluded from these results that ‘a roof over one’s head’ it seems is enough for satisfaction. This is confirmed by the data in table 11 that shows that almost a quarter of the respondents (that live in households that are less than 20 m²) consider that their housing problems have been solved.

Area of residential space	Well and very well
Up to 10 m ²	24.1
10-20 m ²	23.6
20-35 m ²	33.0
35-50 m ²	42.5
50-75 m ²	65.4
75 m ² and over	65.7

Source: Field study 2004

Table 11
How have housing problems
been solved with regard to
the area of their dwelling (%)

Research results show that respondents most often mention that a lack of equipment and facilities in a dwelling is a big problem; 63% of the respondents claimed that a poorly equipped dwelling (lack of water, gas and electricity) is a definite housing problem (see table 12). However, excluding the mentioned dissatisfaction, respondents more often link the main housing problems with the setting and atmosphere of their settlement rather than features of their housing. Thus, the polluted air and environment, ugly appearance of the settlement and its poor maintenance as well poor conditions for marginal groups (children, the elderly...) are perceived more frequently as definite problems rather than particular housing conditions. The location of these settlements is considered by 36% of the respondents as definitely problematic. One would expect more dissatisfaction since their homes are often on other people's land, spatially isolated and located in dangerous zones.

Table 12
Definite housing problems
according to the respondents

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Total sample
Too small living space	47.3	49.0	62.5	54.4	41.0	47.0	43.9	64.5	53.6
Unsuitable interior arrangement	44.6	45.3	57.5	63.3	41.0	34.0	42.9	53.0	49.0
Poorly equipped dwelling (lack of water, gas and electricity)	51.8	68.4	78.8	73.3	60.0	53.0	29.6	77.0	62.9
Dampness and dilapidated condition of dwelling	46.8	36.8	47.5	67.8	43.0	49.0	46.9	51.6	49.1
Difficult accessibility to dwelling (awkward location)	25.0	18.9	25.0	66.7	33.0	29.3	16.7	29.0	30.4
Ugly or abandoned residential building	30.4	20.0	28.8	62.2	13.1	26.0	28.6	24.9	28.9
High expenditures for dwelling (high rent, overheads)	42.9	46.3	22.5	46.7	33.0	41.0	58.2	38.6	41.6
Unpleasant neighbours	15.5	11.6	22.8	6.7	17.0	7.0	14.4	15.7	14.7
Poorly equipped settlement (lack of shops, school)	25.9	77.1	65.0	55.6	69.0	49.0	15.3	56.7	51.9

Table 12
(continued)

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Total sample
Ugly appearance and poorly maintained settlement	40.2	77.1	87.5	76.7	71.0	43.0	21.4	52.1	57.2
Polluted air and environment	50.9	88.5	86.3	55.6	75.0	38.0	19.4	56.5	58.1
Unsuitable location	25.0	41.7	46.8	56.7	41.0	25.3	14.4	36.3	36.6
Poor conditions for children in the settlement	42.0	77.1	77.5	71.1	74.0	77.0	26.8	61.1	62.4
Poor conditions for women	36.6	71.9	72.5	70.0	64.6	56.0	25.5	50.0	54.7
Poor conditions for the elderly	43.8	76.0	77.2	70.0	69.0	71.7	27.8	55.3	60.1

Source: Field study 2004

Besides poorly equipped dwellings, living spaces that are too small are frequently perceived as another deficiency. 53% of respondents perceive this as a definite problem followed by dampness and a dilapidated condition of the dwelling as well as unsuitable interior arrangement, which are perceived as big problems to half of the respondents. Around 40% of the respondents mention high expenditures as a definite problem. Difficult accessibility to dwellings (within the settlement) and the ugly appearance of buildings/houses are problems that are mentioned by about 30% of respondents. Only 15% of respondents in this sample have problems with unpleasant neighbours. Problems related to housing are considerably more frequent in the Counties of Primorje-Gorski kotar and Međimurje while in the Counties of Sisak-Moslavina and Varaždin, the main housing problems are linked to the features of the settlement.

The residential aspirations of the respondents

Analysis showed that the most desirable type of dwelling is a house with a vegetable plot and yard. This was first choice among 93% of respondents (see table 13). Respondents almost equally have aspirations to live in either a village or town, although the rural setting was somewhat more appealing (55%). With regard to distribution by county, the choice of a rural or urban settling was linked to current place of living. A more frequently expressed aspiration to live in a town was expressed by respondents who now live at locations within town settlements in the Counties of Istria, Primorje-Gorski kotar and Zagreb.

Table 13

Where would respondents from different counties like to live? (%)

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Total sample
Close to the town centre*	83.1	86.1	85.7	67.2	83.3	77.5	77.6	81.8	79.1
Away from town centre*	16.9	13.9	14.3	32.8	16.7	22.5	22.4	18.2	20.9
In an older part of the town with classical (traditional) architecture*	31.7	38.9	21.4	35.5	14.6	32.5	22.2	27.9	28.5
In a newer settlement with modern architecture*	68.3	61.1	78.6	64.5	85.4	67.5	77.8	72.1	71.5
In a house with a vegetable plot and yard	94.5	96.9	94.9	96.4	90.0	96.0	87.9	93.5	93.5
In a residential building or family house without a vegetable plot and yard	5.5	3.1	5.1	3.6	10.0	4.0	12.1	6.5	6.5
In a big town*	90.4	91.7	92.9	96.9	80.9	92.5	85.1	84.1	90.4
In a smaller or small town*	9.6	8.3	7.1	3.1	19.1	7.5	14.9	15.9	9.6
In a Romani settlement	22.9	45.8	57.0	55.3	47.0	46.0	19.2	48.1	44.3
In some other (non-Romani) settlement	77.1	54.2	43.0	44.7	53.0	54.0	80.8	51.9	55.7
In a village	24.5	62.5	82.3	5.7	52.0	60.0	17.0	79.2	54.8
In a town	75.5	37.5	17.7	94.3	48.0	40.0	83.0	20.8	45.2

* Only respondents that expressed that they would like to live in towns are included in the analysis.

Source: Field study 2004

Respondents who are more inclined to live in an urban setting (58%) would more often choose a big rather than a small town. While there seems to be some uncertainty about living in a big or small town that cannot be said about living on the periphery or in the centre of a town – nearly 80% of the respondents that would prefer to live in a town would also prefer to live closer to the centre. In addition, these *urbanites* would prefer to live in a newer settlement as confirmed by 72% of the respondents. Based on these ratings, it can be concluded that there is a group among the Roma, even though this is a minority group, whose residential aspirations tell us that their desired place of living is considerably different from where they now live.

A desire for change is confirmed by the fact that more than half of the respondents (55%) who now live in settlements that are predominantly inhabited by the Roma are willing to live in a non-Romani settlement. Town, a non-Romani settlement, newer settlements with modern architecture, closer to the centre of the town – these are all images and motives that reflect that this

Table 14
 Living preferences among
 respondents with different
 levels of education

	No schooling	1-4 grades	Unfinished primary school	Primary school	Secondary school	Total sample	p
Close to the town centre*	65.7	59.6	69.0	72.7	71.2	66.4	.074
Away from town centre*	34.3	40.4	31.0	27.3	28.8	33.6	
In an older part of the town with classical (traditional) architecture*	44.0	41.3	29.6	31.6	28.8	37.2	.004
In a newer settlement with modern architecture*	56.0	58.7	70.4	68.4	71.2	62.8	
In a Romani settlement	54.7	46.7	46.0	26.0	25.9	44.4	.000
In some other (non-Romani) settlement	45.3	53.3	54.0	74.0	74.1	55.6	
In a village	60.0	67.3	51.7	37.2	38.5	54.9	.000
In a town	40.0	32.7	48.3	62.8	61.5	45.1	

Source: Field study 2004

Concluding remarks

group of respondents would like to live in another place; a place where life is lived in a totally different way from what they are accustomed to. It was shown that these residential aspirations from which desires to change their lifestyle as well as social integration can be read are linked to level of education. The chi-square test confirmed that respondents that finished primary and secondary school more often desire to live in a non-Romani settlement, in a town and in a newer settlement with newer architecture (see table 14).

This analysis has shown that the housing conditions at locations where the Roma have settled are exceptionally poor. First, there is a lack of housing units, which indicates that a large share of households live in barracks and huts. Poverty is evident since 29% of surveyed households accommodate several families. Thus, it can be assumed that many of them cannot realise basic housing aspirations, especially younger members who cannot live on their own (Bežovan, 1987). However, besides the fact that the existing housing is inadequate, the space standard is very low; there is a lack of living space and rooms. Dwellings are very poorly equipped and a lack of public utilities (electricity, running water) and facilities (bathroom and toilet) is evident. Residential structures often have earth floors. Moreover, walls even if they are made of proper building materials often do not provide insulation. All in all, housing conditions are so poor that they are often below the level of human dignity.

In the Counties of Varaždin and Međimurje, it was shown that housing in Romani settlements most often does not have features that are not compatible with standards of civilisation. Evidently, these locations of settled Roma are poorly equipped and to a greater measure have been abandoned in these counties. Settlements that stand out are Donja Dubrava (County of Međimurje) and Sveti Đurd (County of Varaždin).

In summary, existing housing is inadequate, the space standard is very low and the level of equipment is very poor. All this indicates that these households, in most cases, do not fulfil the required functions of a normal life, for example eating and sleeping. This is commonly housing that, apart from the mentioned deficiencies does not offer the most basic need – security – and in this way does not fulfil conditions of being a shelter let alone a living space. On the other hand, according to the subjective evaluations of the respondents, although they voiced dissatisfaction with the housing situation, it is often not that dramatic as would be expected considering the mentioned features of their housing. This reflects a particular resignation that is present among the respondents. However, in a similar way, *in light of the expressed residential aspirations, it is evident that there is a group of respondents who would like to live differently.* Ideas about a desirable lifestyle are opposite to the housing practices and the scenery that Romani settlements offer. Moreover, it was shown that these aspirations are often linked to a higher level of education.

In this way, it was shown that raising the level of education is imperative and the only guarantee of modernisation of the Romani community. Abandonment of traditional patterns of behaviour is necessary since these habits often threaten the health and welfare of the individual, family and the whole community. *Therefore it is difficult to expect a better life standard without a change within the Romani cultural code. Thus, it is necessary to include the Roma in modernisation processes and in this way ensure the necessary preconditions to boost the general quality of life in the settlements where they live.*

¹ Locations in the City of Zagreb as well as the County of Zagreb are included.

FOOTNOTE

Neven
HRVATIĆ

THE EDUCATION
OF THE ROMA
IN CROATIA:
PREREQUISITES
FOR A BETTER
QUALITY OF LIFE?

In this study, since lifestyle and housing of the Roma are closely related to education (schooling), the importance of a systematic approach to education is emphasised.

The Roma even after more than a thousand years of migration¹ have maintained a distinctive culture, lifestyle and habitation. They have also more or less managed to successfully adjust to the local social, economic and religious environment. Two characteristic forms of coexistence have determined the life of the Roma today. If they lived isolated in separate rural (or suburban) settlements they preserved an original awareness of their ethno-cultural identity but with permanent underdevelopment and poverty in comparison to the rest of society. In cases where they lived together or mixed with the majority, the local population gradually lost determinants of their ethnic identity, were almost assimilated and improved their life standard.²

The Romani people have maintained these basic lifestyle characteristics since the beginning of migration until today. Even though there are smaller differences between particular tribal groups, they have common characteristics of social relations. The Romani lifestyle is a collection of distinctive approaches; a style developed in continual conflict between isolation and assimilation. For the Roma, life in the group meant real social, economic and psychological security regardless of the low life standard. Independence from the social surroundings determined mutual solidarity within the group as well as a global oppositional attitude towards external factors (local population, milieu).

This lifestyle, typical in their original homeland, India was hardly acceptable to Europeans who, since their arrival, have wanted to get rid of them or make them adjust to an ordinary sedentary lifestyle, somewhere on the outskirts of the village or city.

The nomadic lifestyle is not only a reality for the Roma but a state of spirit, which produces some advan-

tages: the possibility to choose and do different jobs, space mobility-dynamic, adaptability, and connection in the work and living community.

Regarding education of the Roma, these advantages still need to be identified and structured in the entire school system. This should include all segments and the majority of Romani children who today are both in reality and formally outside the processes of education.

The Roma as a nomadic people – social structure and forms of housing

The Roma have resided in the Republic of Croatia for more than six centuries. The first written document that mentions the Roma comes from Dubrovnik and is dated 1362. Ten years later (1373) the Roma are mentioned in Zagreb in the "*Poviestnoj spomenici slobodnog kraljevskog grada Zagreba*" (*Historical charter of the free royal city of Zagreb*) written by I. K. Tkalčić in 1885. The first Roma came to Croatia with the largest groups that arrived in Europe between the 10th and 14th century across Asia Minor and South East Europe.

The position of the Roma in the Austrian empire in the 18th century (that relates to the area of Croatia as well) is demonstrated by the orders of Empress Maria Theresa (the first in 13th November 1761 and the second "a(ller)h(öchste) Entschliessung" on 28th November 1767) as well as Emperor Joseph II's order in 1783.

The latter order relates to the structure of everyday life of the Roma.³ Along with the prohibition on nomadic migration (except to fairs), the Roma had to accept the folk costume of the village, official language, one personal name and surname, and house numbers in the settlement. They were allowed to work in the blacksmiths trade (in those districts where this was useful and necessary), as well as to a limited extent, in music. Begging and intermarriage was forbidden to the Roma and abandoned Romani children needed to be looked after like orphans (Matasović, 1928).

Large Romani groups came to Croatia in the 19th century from Romania (slavery of the Roma in Romania was abolished in 1855). They belonged to the Romani Koritar group, worked with wood and settled in the areas of Međimurje and Podravina. They speak *Ljimba d' bjaš*, one of the Romanian dialects (*vla*x-dialect), *Romani chib* and the present-day *Kalderaši* and *Lovari* constitute the core of today's Romani population in Croatia.⁴

The Roma were an autochthonous ethnic minority in Croatia, but since they lived in cities (Dubrovnik, Zagreb,

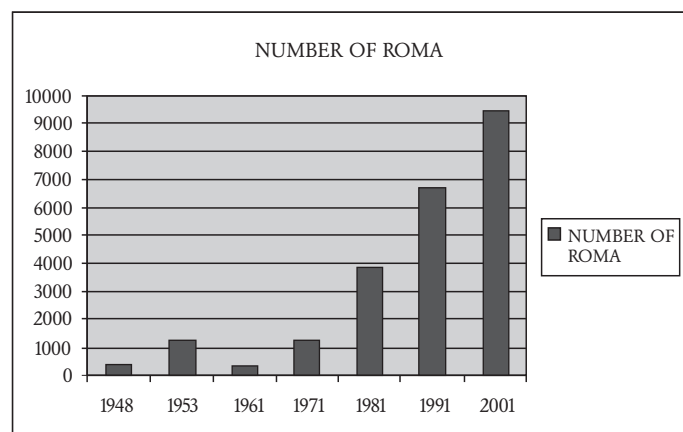
Šibenik...) and integrated quickly in medieval life doing useful jobs for the rest of the population, they lost their basic Romani characteristics within 100 years (i.e., did not speak the Romani language, abandoned their original customs and nearly “disappeared”). The first Romani groups that came to Croatia did not survive as a separate community (Romani ethnic characteristics are rarely prominent in historical sources throughout the century), and a similar process is characteristic today in urban spaces and places where the Roma live in better conditions. Romani groups that lived in isolated settlements or a difficult nomadic life were successful in preserving their ethnic identity.

Although the number of Roma according to the censuses from 1948 to 2001 grew, matching the situation in Europe (the estimation is around 7 to 8.5 million Roma) it can be assumed that the number of Roma in Croatia is significantly higher than the official statistics (2001 – 9,463 Roma – table 1). This number is somewhere between 30,000 and 40,000, even though the estimations, in view of the different methodologies, considerably differ.

Census year	1948	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
No. of Roma	405	1,261	313	1,257	3,858	6,695	9,463

The Census of Population, Households, Dwellings and Agricultural Economy 1991, Zagreb, Central Bureau of Statistics, (1992); Statistical Yearbook of Croatian Counties, Zagreb, Central Bureau of Statistics (1995); Statistical Yearbook, Zagreb, Central Bureau of Statistics (1995); The Census of Population, Households and Dwellings 2001, Zagreb, Central Bureau of Statistics.

Table 1
The number of Roma
according to the censuses
1948–2001



Graph 1
The number of Roma
according to the censuses
1948–2001

The continuation and formation of tribal and economic systems among the Roma was parallel during migration. Although social structure has its starting point in the family, the tribe was in fact a characteristic form for

the Roma. The nomadic way of life shaped a strong feeling of belonging among the Roma, who are a homogeneous whole, despite their dispersion. The tribal community was connected through kinship ties, customs, and language and economic interests (Barthélémy, 1990), as well as lifestyle and housing.

The description of this complex process of social structure development depends on established criteria, but the central component is common and characteristic:

1. *family (nuclear)* – father, mother and small children. Similar to the tent (the caravan) is home for the Romani family;
2. *extended family* – *vitsa* (clan) – a community of relatives made up of a few families (brothers with their families);
3. *communal family* – *big vitsa* (clan) – usually has a few dozen members and common ancestors by which they are called. The surnames are the same regardless of the departure of individuals from the big *vitsa* and dispersion;
4. *tribal group* – is made up of two or more big *vitsa* (clan), and can be from ten to more than a hundred tents. They usually recognise the “authority” of the tribal leader (*Lovari, Kalderaši, Arlije...*). They rarely exist in this form if they are mobile, due to organisational difficulties and economic reasons (involvement in work connected to a trade in some area).

The Roma who live in settlements to a certain extent differ from nomads, but elements of this structure exist today. This is most evident in Međimurje, where the Roma live in fourteen satellite settlements according to related rules. The number is between a few dozen to a few hundred (Trnovec).

Today, the Roma live as “**inhabitants**” in **permanent settlements** (more than 50% of the Roma in Europe live in a sedentary way), as **half-nomads** who temporarily take cover during the winter or as **nomads** in tents. Romani settlements have taken on an urban form but some have not changed over the centuries.⁵

The migration of the Roma and/or forms of housing to a large degree depended on the dominant occupations within the tribal group. Since these trades were the basic economic activity that the Roma “maintained” over the centuries, their role was crucial in structuring their lifestyle (residence). In recent times, when these trades do not have primary importance (blacksmithery, woodwork, horse trade, music, collection of scrap metal), the Roma more frequently engage in different types of work, which to a certain extent, determines a different type of habitation.

Since trades are vital for economic support of the Roma, it needs to be stressed that work activity also caused the dispersion of the tribal groups, because their services in particular areas (villages and cities) were limited and their search for work was continual. Some Romani groups, who specialised in particular trades and accepted a sedentary way of life, have almost completely lost some of the essential determinants of ethnic identity (language, customs...) in their continual contact with the local population.

Migration, as a global process, is especially characteristic for the Roma and their lifestyle. Some Romani groups have an absurd position because their sheer poverty hinders their inclusion in nomadic movements, so they remain forgotten, even though migration is the foundation of their lives.

Romani migration is unique, specific and original, since the Roma, in comparison to other nomads whose space for expansion is limited and reduced, are the only people that “wander” throughout the world within a coherent and clearly structured civilisation. The Romani lifestyle emerges from complex historical and social opportunities at the beginning of migration, which later became a way of life, even for groups of half-nomads and for the Roma who continually live in some area.

Besides the migration process, the place and position of the Roma in particular states depends on many other factors such as: the absolute and relative number of Roma in comparison to the majority population, the attained degree of democracy, the historical experiences of coexistence, and the length of residence in the country. Clearly, the full realisation of human and minority rights is the basis for modelling a specific school system for the Roma such that education will become a part of the affirmative policies towards the Romani population.

The status, lifestyle and housing of the Roma in Croatia and the relation towards education – research results

The real-life situation of the Roma in Croatia and their marginal position (demographic data, social and economic structures, lifestyle and migration, and education of Romani children) cannot be read unambiguously from statistics.

The project “The social and developmental position of the Roma in Croatia” – 1998–1999 carried out by the Institute of Social Sciences *Ivo Pilar*, Zagreb was implemented to cover these themes. In the latest project, “The locations of settled Roma – the state and improvement of

settlement development as well as aspirations for types of housing”, emphasis is on housing as an important determinant of position and lifestyle of the Roma (socio-ecological features of the Romani settlement). Some of the results are also significant in the area of education. Namely, low levels of education, a lifestyle that was (or still is) predominantly nomadic, customs, a lack of concern or long-term insufficient concern on the part of the authorities all caused the Roma in Croatia, regardless of different occupations, languages, religions or other characteristics to be more or less socially marginalised.

Spatial marginalisation of the Roma matches other types of marginalisation: economic, cultural and political:

- The Roma are mainly located at the peripheries of cities (and of villages), partly because they do certain types of work;
- A part of the Romani settlement in cities is clearly separated and spatially isolated, which results in reduced contact with the non-Roma population (spatial segregation);
- Most Romani settlements do not have the basic technical infrastructure and the quality of social services is extremely low (lack of kindergartens, schools, health clinics, public transport...).

The consequences of spatial marginalisation are evident in many different areas and to a large measure obstruct the integration of the Roma into society (the community).

Since every coherent strategy of improving the position of the Roma in Croatia includes many relevant components, the area of housing not only presents a starting-point, but a permanent activity in various directions:

- ensure full-time employment among the Roma who are part of the potential work force;
- to make it possible for Romani groups to share residence (urbanisation of the settlement, measures against aggressive and concealed assimilation), along with gradual inclusions into the local community and the promotion of social measures;
- support for the cultural and traditional achievements of the Roma (education, language, artistic works...).

Their specific housing conditions, as already mentioned, to a large measure influence the position of the Romani ethnic minority in Croatia.

The Roma mainly live isolated on the periphery of a settlement. When they live close to an inhabited place they are often separated by some barrier, like a stream or river or railway tracks from their neighbours.

Our research was conducted in 43 Romani settlements (with 968 participants) in ten counties where a considerable number of Roma live.

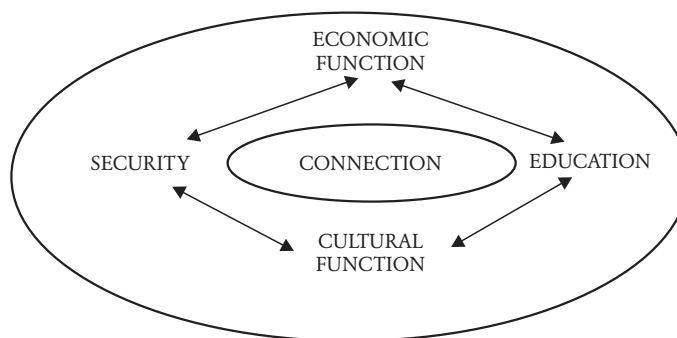
With regard to education of Romani children, especially important are the obtained results that are related to: *characteristics of the Romani family, educational qualifications, which Romani dialect is spoken, the biggest problems of the household and settlement, the perception of needs (the most needed) in settlements, and social distance.*

Since features of the Romani family/household are dealt with in another section of this book, the characteristics of the Romani family that are important for the conceptualisation of specific points of the education system are outlined here.

The structure of existence and functioning of the Romani family is connected with a pre-Indian tradition, original elements that emerged during migration, the adopted archetypal behaviours from the east and peoples where they lived for longer periods, as well as contemporary relations. There were two almost obsolete ways of family formation among the Roma: purchase (exchange) and kidnapping of girls, which are now more or less a symbolical custom. As a rule, marriage takes place between members of the same tribal group. A large number of children is a common feature of the Romani family, though an improvement in the standard of living decreases this number. Children are the main preoccupation in the family; the mother mainly looks after children as well as the household. Through family relations, status in the tribe is regulated; relatives are connected regardless of whether they live in the same area. The position of women is often marginalised, which creates real and psychological problems with regard to the functioning of the family. Children between 10 and 12 years of age often have an important role with regard to the work activities of their parents, which disqualifies them in regular schooling. However, it needs to be emphasised that a child, regardless of age, is protected and secure in a family. The contemporary Romani family has multiple functions: security (biological function), upbringing function, economic function, cultural function, and connection (cohesion).

There is no doubt that the family is a fundamental element of the social structure of the Roma, with a specificity that emerges from a tradition of tribal authority and law. The relations between individual families within a tribal group are regulated by a “judicial” system called the *kris*, which means justice, as well as institutions, councils,

Diagram I
The wider functions of the
contemporary Romani family



and advice. The competencies of this system are wide: in the resolution of disagreements, arguments, kidnapping of girls, and disrespect for Romani laws. The social structure (tribal and economic system) and the functioning of the Romani family are the basis for shaping an ethnic Romani identity: names, worldview, historical symbols, cultural features and language. Considering the components of social structure among the Roma, a wealth of forms is observed as well as a clear structure of special laws, traditional norms and codes of behaviour.

The new educational function of the Romani family includes aspirations for schooling as well. Earlier, the family was the only place for learning and instruction because the work of the Roma was connected to particular trades in which they continually had to change their places of living. Today, this role is changing since a sedentary lifestyle among the Roma is predominant; this creates suitable conditions for learning and cooperation with school institutions.

Not going to school and/or early dropping out is one of the basic problems of education among the Roma in Croatia (and Europe), which assumes the inauguration of a new approach and implemented models. Since the standard of housing and urbanisation of Romani settlements is one of the important factors that give meaning to educational policies in this area, the possible interventions are necessary.

Knowledge of the Croatian language and Romani dialects

Knowledge of the Croatian language is one of the prerequisites for the inclusion of Romani children into kindergarten/primary school. Even though the number of household members that speak Croatian is relatively high (93.8%), this data does not refer to the degree or level of language knowledge.

Bilingualism among the Roma is most often the case,⁶ since almost all of them speak some dialect of the Romani language (*Romani chib*, *Ljimba d' bjaš*), as well as Croatian.

The experiences of schools in which there are enrolled Romani pupils have shown that the knowledge of the spoken Romani language is good among these pupils, but their writing skills are poor. In addition, although Romani pupils can understand Croatian, they do not speak it well, which is a problem with regard to the inclusion of these children in primary school.

		Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
Romani dialects	Romani chib	48.2	8.0	.0	3.8	50.0	8.0	6.1	87.6	2.3	22.3
	Ljimba d' bjaš	4.5	52.3	56.0	87.5	1.1	39.0	63.6	.0	77.8	45.4
	Other	7.1	28.4	13.3	2.5	4.4	31.0	15.2	9.3	16.7	14.6
	Does not speak any dialect	40.2	11.4	30.7	6.3	44.4	22.0	15.2	3.1	3.2	17.8

Source: Field study 2004

Table 2
Which Romani dialect do you speak? (%)

At the beginning of primary school (first and second grade) Romani pupils reach receptive levels of bilingualism, while only a part of the population masters a reproductive degree (independent thinking in the non-native Croatian language, use of a larger number of words and grammatical rules, and repetition of complex sentence forms) at the end of fourth grade. Since a productive degree of bilingualism is a precondition for successful acquisition of the syllabus in higher grades, it is evident why there is a low success rate. Since the Roma are bilingual (multilingual) throughout Croatia, as shown in the results of the research (table 2), this by all means needs to be respected.

The biggest problems of the household and settlement

Education (schooling) of the Roma is undoubtedly an important area with respect to the functioning of the Romani family, as well as the entire settlement, since pre-school and school-aged children are the most numbered group. One way of alleviating this problem is by setting up/building a kindergarten and school in the framework of (larger) settlements. It is not realistic to expect that with the sum of all (possible) existential, health, and housing

circumstances that education will specifically occupy the place that it really deserves. In the segment related to evaluations of the importance of particular problems in the settlement, research results show that around half of the participants consider that a kindergarten (54.7%) and a primary school (48%) are definitely important, while only a small number think that this is not a problem. There are marked differences in particular counties (comparison between Zagreb, Istria and Međimurje) (see table 3) that surface as a result of the different degrees of access, the level of development and proximity of the schools, like the quality of equipment in the settlement.

Since the biggest problems of Romani families stem from poor material conditions (poverty), many consider the availability of more jobs (85.9%) and tidying up the settlement (76.5%) as very important. Poor living conditions and communal standards (spatial segregation exists) are related.

One of the most important life issues for the Roma is poor and inaccessible health protection and services (especially for children) – 59.1% of the participants consider it markedly important to build a health clinic or surgery. A smaller number consider it clearly important to have a social club (42.4%) and religious institutions (37.1%) in Romani settlements. Even though the Roma, in this study, principally claimed to believe in a religion (49% Catholic, 27.9% Islam and 15.6% Orthodox), they are often “temporary” and “occasional” believers. By all means, this can be attributed to their adoption of the religion of the area and even the combination of elements of particular religious beliefs.

Table 3
Evaluation of the importance
of solving particular problems
in the settlement (%)

County problem	County of Istria			County of Međimurje			Zagreb			Total sample		
	Not a problem	Somewhat important	Definitely important	Not a problem	Somewhat important	Definitely important	Not a problem	Somewhat important	Definitely important	Not a problem	Somewhat important	Definitely important
Kindergarten	53.6	21.6	24.7	20.0	18.1	61.9	49.1	12.5	38.4	24.0	21.2	54.7
Primary school	57.3	11.5	31.3	29.6	18.5	51.9	52.7	9.8	37.5	33.5	18.5	48.0
Health clinic or surgery	45.8	9.4	44.8	19.0	14.4	66.7	45.5	8.9	45.5	26.5	14.4	59.1
Social club	49.5	29.9	20.6	25.5	38.9	35.6	39.3	26.8	33.9	25.6	32.0	42.4
More jobs	12.5	9.4	78.1	6.9	11.1	81.9	5.4	11.6	83.0	5.2	8.9	85.9
Tidy/organised settlement	35.4	32.3	32.3	1.9	19.4	78.7	19.6	17.9	62.5	7.5	16.0	76.5
Religious institutions (church, mosques, etc.)	42.7	13.5	43.8	28.8	30.2	40.9	52.7	19.6	27.7	38.1	24.8	37.1

Source: Field study 2004

More indicative are the results related to the biggest problems of the household, where difficulty with schooling of children is expressed by only 4.3% of the participants (table 4).

Education – (kindergarten and primary school) in situations when Romani children do poorly in class, are often absent or disrupt their schooling, have difficult finding employment..., *this is not recognised as a clearly important need, or a real problem by the majority of parents.* And especially not in a supportive role in the social and economic sense, which would have a decisive role in integration processes.

Table 4
The biggest problems of the household (%)*

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
Poor material status (shortage poverty)	47.3	69.8	82.5	72.2	60.0	50.0	55.1	71.0	68.0	64.0
Poor family health	51.8	27.1	12.5	23.4	27.0	32.0	36.7	21.2	20.0	28.0
Difficulty with schooling of children	2.7	6.3	2.5	0.0	5.0	10.0	1.0	5.5	4.0	4.3
Poor housing conditions	23.2	28.1	21.3	20.0	22.0	18.0	11.2	29.0	18.7	22.4
Long distance to place of work	2.7	6.3	3.8	6.6	7.0	3.0	5.1	4.6	5.3	4.8
Unemployment	41.0	33.4	21.3	54.4	23.0	21.0	38.8	22.6	24.0	30.3
Overburdened women (job, family obligations)	0.0	0.0	2.5	1.1	1.0	2.0	4.0	1.8	1.3	1.5
Other	24.1	27.1	48.8	21.1	54.0	60.0	29.6	39.7	52.0	39.1

two answers were possible

Source: Field study 2004

*Social distance*⁷

The integration of the Roma in Croatia (cultural ⇒ structural ⇒ citizen) has a range of specific difficulties. Particular parts of the culture have different influences in the integration process. Extrinsic culture (dress code, patterns of expressing emotion, fixed habits, spoken dialects...) is more often a barrier to integration among the Roma than intrinsic culture (language, beliefs, traditional values, musical taste...).

Reversed acculturation occurred among the Roma; they adapted the customs, religion, tradition and sometimes the language of the majority, but maintained their specific way of life (tribal organisation) and external symbols of difference.

Consequently, the Roma did not even have a chance to selectively integrate (cultural pluralism) or to assimilate. On the one hand, (until today) they have been under pres-

sure to reject their culture, while on the other their structural integration has been simultaneously prevented or restricted (because of social distance, isolation, prejudice, stereotypes...).

Even though the social distance towards different national and ethnic groups in Croatia has been longitudinally traced in the past 15 years, this is one of the first to investigate the social distance of the Roma towards the non-Roma. The obtained results show a minimal social distance – when we take into account the categories – *marriage and close friend*, as many as 78.9% of the Roma would accept a person that is not of Romani nationality (table 5).

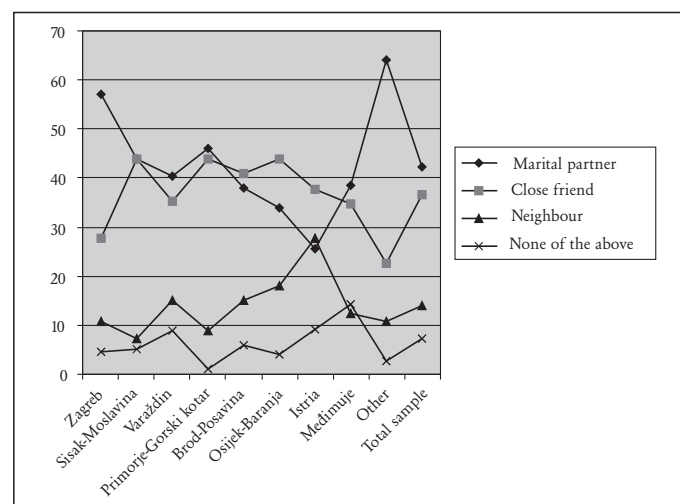
Table 5
I would accept a person that
is not of Romani nationality
as: (%) (social distance)

Social distance	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
Marital partner	57.1	43.8	40.5	46.1	38.0	34.0	25.5	38.4	64.0	42.2
Close friend	27.7	43.8	35.4	43.8	41.0	44.0	37.8	34.7	22.7	36.7
Neighbour	10.7	7.3	15.2	9.0	15.0	18.0	27.6	12.5	10.7	13.9
None of the above	4.5	5.2	8.9	1.1	6.0	4.0	9.2	14.4	2.7	7.3

Source: Field study 2004

These results can be a significant indicator of intercultural orientation since the participants with reference to social distance express attitudes based on specific life situations that they personally experienced, consistent with the norms of the group in which they belong and a general understanding of some national and ethnic groups' reputation (stereotypes, prejudice...).

Graph 2
I would accept a person that
is not of Romani nationality
as: (%) (social distance)



Secondary school pupils' social distance towards the Roma, in earlier studies,⁸ was considerably large in comparison to other national and ethnic groups (table 6), which could have been the result of a number factors: reduced contact between the Romani and non-Romani populations, prejudices towards the Roma (encounters most often with Romani beggars and resellers), and lack of familiarity with Romani culture (insignificant representation in the media and syllabus).

NATIONAL AND ETHNIC GROUPS	PUPILS - in 1998			N=3970			
	As a marriage partner	As a friend	As a neighbour	As a classmate	As a citizen of Croatia	As a visitor to Croatia	As someone banned from Croatia
1 Albanians	10.2	54.8	47.9	52.1	50.2	36.1	11.2
2 Americans	62.8	80.7	68.1	65.2	61.5	27.3	2.7
3 Bosnians (Muslims)	10.8	47.7	42.0	4.7	41.6	35.8	20.3
4 Montenegrins	10.3	39.2	35.3	37.5	34.9	36.9	24.1
5 Croatians	87.7	83.9	79.1	78.4	78.7	17.0	2.7
6 Hungarians	21.3	63.5	55.3	52.0	48.4	33.6	5.7
7 Germans	48.6	76.1	65.8	61.2	56.1	30.2	3.9
8 Roma	9.1	40.1	33.4	37.3	38.0	36.2	22.0
9 Russians	16.2	50.0	42.9	43.2	39.3	38.1	15.0
10 Slovenians	32.4	66.2	58.0	54.3	50.0	31.5	8.3
11 Serbians	11.3	33.0	28.1	30.5	27.9	26.9	45.4
12 Italians	52.7	73.7	62.8	69.6	54.2	30.3	4.6
13 Jews	15.7	56.1	48.2	47.7	46.0	33.6	14.1

Source: Research study 1991–2001

Table 6
The social distance towards
national and ethnic groups

Social distance was less noticeable in areas where the Roma have lived for longer periods and are more represented in the total population (Međimurje) as well as areas where they are more integrated (Podravina, Istria). Nevertheless, our research results showed the opposite. Social closeness towards the non-Roma was the least in the Counties of Istria, Međimurje and Osijek-Baranja which suggests the complexity of social relations between the Roma and non-Roma.

Besides the possible interventions in media space (impact on parents) and the shaping of social zones in which interethnic (and interconfessional) dialogue, cooperation, intercultural relations will be specially valued, schools will

undoubtedly also have important tasks concerning the full acknowledgement of human, national and religious rights as well as the culture of peace.

The complete research results within the framework of the research project "The locations of settled Roma – the state and improvement of settlement development as well as aspirations for types of housing", especially those related to education provide a real base for the conceptualisation of a specific school/class form and model for Romani children.

The education of the Roma in Croatia: Prerequisites for a better quality of life?

The multicultural features of European society are characteristic for Croatia as well. The intercultural approach is especially significant in relations towards the Roma, since contact until now has been burdened by stereotypes, inadequate knowledge of the Romani culture and rare encounters.

The place of the Roma in Europe (and Croatia) can be observed in two ways: like a minority meaning a lifestyle or the culture of a socially marginalised group, which as a result of their specific lifestyle and position are not able to equally participate in the distribution of awards in society (Ogbu, 1978) or like a "ethnic minority" whose members do not belong by birth to the dominant group, in which the Constitution and Laws guarantees all civil rights (and a right to cultural independence) (Spajić, 1996: 288). The position of the minority (ethnic community) for the Roma in Croatia means: dispersion throughout the whole state area; periodical, seasonal migration for work reasons; and life in small isolated communities in settlements or undeveloped sites on the outskirts of the city. The migration of the Roma had different consequences compared to the migration of other peoples; it has not brought them to significant changes in the cultural milieu of immigrant societies. One of the consequences of this position (cultural and ethnic identity) and attitudes towards the Roma in Europe is a relatively low level of tolerance for group plurality and culture (Castles, 1995: 294–301) as well as the existence of different models.

- a) complete exclusion (prevention of migrant entry into country);
- b) differential exclusion (the participation of ethnic groups and migrants in the totality of social life is most often reduced to the labour market through for-

mal and informal mechanisms) or finding ways of transferring the Roma to other countries (return), with financial support to open up the labour market there for the Roma;

- c) assimilation model: inclusion in society through the loss of cultural, language and social qualities, where most activities related to cultural autonomy and education of the Roma is oriented towards their quicker inclusion into the regular educational system without interventions oriented towards their adaptation or supplementary contents and forms specific for Romani identity;
- d) pluralistic model: along with acceptance of the local environment's fundamental values, ethnic communities maintain all specific aspects of their identity and work towards the preservation of Romani culture and ethnic qualities through the intercultural approach.

Many studies have shown that an increase in the number of Romani school pupils does not improve a quality adaptation to the environment. One of the basic problems related to access of Romani children to schooling is the impossibility of establishing contact.

Success at school \Rightarrow better economic or social status

Traditional Romani trades do not require long-term schooling (trades), but early specialisation with instruction from elders (parents) in the tribal group. Moreover, separation from the environment for schooling disrupts the internal integrative dynamics of the group.

The conceptualisation of an education system for the Roma by all means needs to acknowledge the demands of the environment (within the framework of the regular school system) and the Roma. This needs to entail the construction of a new integrative school and not the mechanical reconstruction of the existing. The phenomenon of double marginalisation of Romani children in school and within the environment as well as their insignificant school results often lead to fatigue among both the teachers and children. The schooling of Romani children is immanently a social (in a socio-political context), and not a narrow pedagogical issue. The emphasis is on respecting the compulsion of a larger number of Romani children at school, to create a suitable social climate that decreases the possible conflicts (aggression and rejection) between the environment and the Roma.

In comparison to other ethnic minorities in Croatia, there are specific *socio-cultural factors* that hinder the conceptualisation of the education system among the Roma:

- ensuring an existence is a primary task for a part of the Roma population in Croatia, so they do not even think about the possible positive effects of an education for their children;
- the urbanisation of the settlement – Romani settlements are mainly located on the periphery of cities or outside villages (spatial segregation). Urbanisation issues include the creation of more suitable life conditions as well as acknowledging Romani desires;
- the employment of the Roma – since almost a half of the Roma population belongs to the below 20 age group, employment is a crucial step towards economic independence of young parents, which by all means has an impact on family upbringing and schooling of children. The Roma do not even have a formal possibility of finding employment since a relatively small number of Romani pupils finish primary school and only some individuals continue their schooling in a secondary school. Only a small number of Roma have succeeded to adapt to the changes (or they already did similar work in countries from which they migrated) and completely solve their existential problems. A potential possibility for a part of the Roma population (along with a larger number of pupils that finish primary and secondary school to ensure more employment opportunities) is the encouragement of old trades and cottage industries in a new sense (production of souvenirs, hand-made articles, use of products that are not industrially produced...). In this way the Roma can earn a living in ways that they are accustomed to. Perhaps in the next period so-called positive discrimination of the Roma with regard to employment will be necessary to improve integration and diminish marginalisation.
- Programme of social welfare – along with the existing measure that the Roma use, *it would be worthwhile to target schooling and the urbanisation of settlements in the programme of social welfare*;
- the self-organisation of the Roma – even though the Roma have been in Croatia for more than six centuries, they have not (in entirety) built up their national community, which hinders the realisation of some of their rights and they have not found a common activity programme. *Most Roma are still actually and formally outside of associations and organisations.*

The social integration of the Roma (that does not imply neglecting identity, culture, tradition and the past) assumes, first of all, the prevention of Romani population ghettoisation. The Roma themselves in choosing social dis-

tance as a mode of “communication” with the non-Roma population have preserved their special qualities and relatively successfully procrastinated or slowed down assimilation processes towards integration processes in Croatian society. Superficial and rare contacts of the Roma with members of the majority group often have created and maintained prejudices and stereotypes about the Roma, as well as noticeable social distance. One of the social objectives is to help the Roma break away from ghettoised marginal communities. Social integration is not a negation of Romani special qualities and erasure of their socio-cultural identity. The concept of integration should be understood as acceptance and inclusion in the ordinary processes that occur in the social environment. In this context, it is very important to improve the socio-economic status of the Roma, especially their housing conditions, which is not possible without state and societal support (urbanisation and the building of standard Romani settlements). The experience of some countries has shown the usefulness of establishing a common entity (representatives of local government and the Roma), that would analyse and monitor the state of affairs (housing, health and social welfare, employment, education...) of the Romani population in particular areas. First, the concept of social integration implies acceptance of rights and duties in existing legal documents, including those related to the education system (formal and real), employment and the realisation of specific minority rights (Štambuk, 2000: 198).

With regard to outlining the elements or the structure of specific forms of education for the Roma the authorities and the Romani ethnic minority community have to acknowledge the following:

1. The special quality of the Romani ethnic and cultural identity (language, tribal and economic structure, culture and art, religious affiliation, lifestyle...);
2. The theoretical framework of particular aspects of education of the Roma in the world and Croatia;
3. Actual number, dispersion and way of life/housing of the Romani population in Croatia;
4. Guidelines and models of European associations (like the national programmes of education of the Roma throughout the world), the possibilities within legislation in Croatia as well as the experience of other ethnic minorities in Croatia with developed specific elements of the school system;
5. Realistic possibilities within existing school system and organisation of classes in the language of the ethnic minority;

6. An intercultural approach, on the basis of research results and implementation of specific schools and classes for the Roma;
7. Evaluation of future progress in the area of housing for the Roma and/or aspirations towards particular forms of housing.

One of the possible indicators is perception/opinion about housing for future generations within present-day settlements. If we exclude the factor of unrealistic expectations or nice wishes for our children, brought about by general dissatisfaction with the present way of housing (57.1% of respondents consider that their housing issue is not solved or solved very poorly and poorly) and it can be assumed that this situation will continue for some time. At least 38.7% of parents think that their children will stay on in their present-day places of living, and 31.3% do not know (cannot foresee whether their children will stay or move away). 18.9% of Romani parents envisage that their children will leave the settlement, while one or more children have already moved away in only 3.8% of families (table 7).

Table 7
Do you think that your
children will stay on in the
settlement or move
away? (%)

	Zagreb	Sisak-Moslavina	Varaždin	Primorje-Gorski kotar	Brod-Posavina	Osijek-Baranja	Istria	Međimurje	Other	Total sample
I believe that they will stay	42.0	42.7	31.6	47.2	43.0	24.0	51.0	28.7	53.3	38.7
I believe that they will move away	14.3	10.4	29.1	27.0	6.0	23.0	14.6	27.3	9.3	18.9
One or more children have already moved away	3.6	3.1	1.3	1.1	.0	8.0	4.2	6.5	2.7	3.8
I don't know, can't say	33.0	41.7	29.1	18.0	32.0	36.0	19.8	34.3	32.0	31.3
I don't have children	7.1	2.1	8.9	6.7	19.0	9.0	10.4	3.2	2.7	7.3

Source: Field study 2004

The existing education system in the Republic of Croatia, even though it offers equal opportunities to all children, is not flexible enough to suit the specific needs of Romani pupils and does not respect the Romani way of life and forms of housing. We can conclude that innovations, like the *gradual establishment of the complete and a specific education system for the Roma* are indispensable given the following: a small number of Romani children are included in preschool education; that schools are not based on the Romani language and writing system (bilingual classes, content on the special quality of the Roma); that there are no Romani teachers or someone who knows

Romani in the regular school system; that the success rate in primary school is very low (and that only a small number of students pass in secondary school); that there are no textbooks and handbooks for classes in the Romani language (except a beginner's book on *Romani chib*). The experience of other countries in Europe⁹ can in any case be significant in the area of housing as well as schooling of the Roma.

Acknowledging the differences in approaches, education of the Roma in Europe has some common characteristics. Along with becoming familiar with the mutual relations between Romani and European culture, an important element in the conception of education of the Roma is the relation and preparations for communication in a multicultural environment, which implies the realisation of cooperative connections between: pupils, parents, school, (local) authorities, scientific institutions, non-governmental organisations, and the Romani community. Teaching and activities towards preserving human rights and democratic values is the basis for an intercultural approach at school.

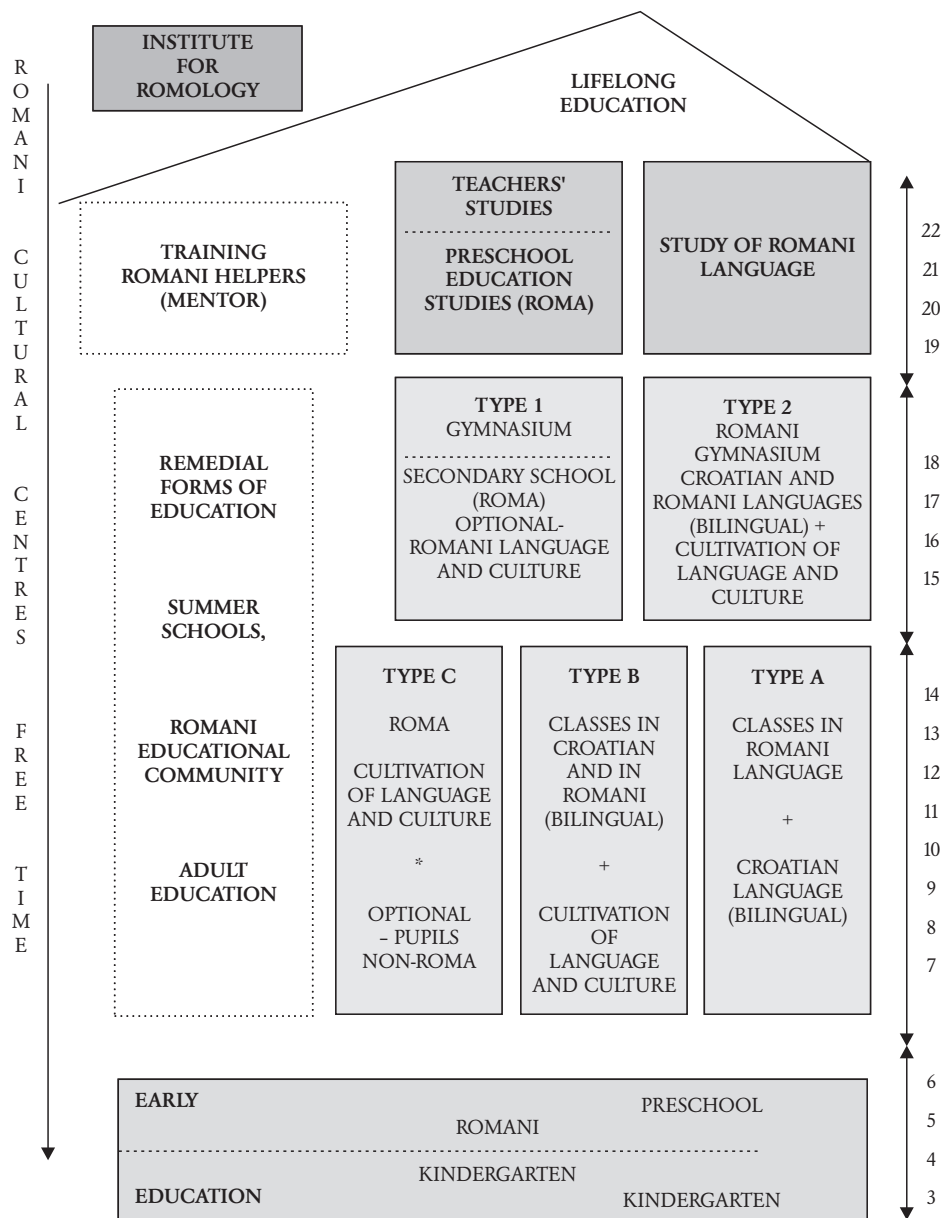
By all means, the entire proposal needs to fully acknowledge the original assumption to expect future development (scheme 2). In this wider context, early and primary school education will be described only, while the complete system includes all segments: secondary school, the schooling of Romani kindergarten teachers and school teachers, the training of Romani helpers (mentors), and different remedial forms of education.

Preschool education – *The Romani kindergarten*¹⁰ (within the framework of the Romani settlement or outside of it) in which Romani along with Croatian would be the spoken languages could be the basic type of institution for the education of Romani children of preschool age. Considering the current impossibility of including more Romani children in kindergartens (3–7 years), solutions are possible in two directions: *to intensify the building of kindergartens in Romani settlements*, or in places near the settlement (bilingual groups) or to consistently *carry out a preschool education programme* (as compulsory for all children who are not part of a basic kindergarten programme).

Primary school is the most important segment (in present-day conditions) for the Roma, since a large number of pupils do not finish school and do not have possibilities to continue their schooling. Subsequently, they can only find employment in simple, seasonal and poorly valued jobs. For Romani pupils, the anticipated forms of classes in the language and writing system of the ethnic

Scheme 2

Proposal of the croatian model of education for the Roma



minority have not been realised. Acknowledging the actual language status of Romani pupils, it would be necessary to organise three basic type-models (forms) of classes in the Romani language.

Type A - primary school: anticipated for areas where there are a considerable number of Romani pupils and where *Romani language* is predominantly used by Romani

children. A lack of knowledge (or inadequate knowledge) of the Croatian language presents a clear difficulty in the realisation of a syllabus. All classes would be held in the Romani language and writing system. Supplementary class material on the special qualities of the Romani ethnic minority (Romani language and literature, history, geography...) would be realised throughout the primary school years.

Romani pupils would also compulsorily learn the Croatian language in this programme of Romani language and writing system.

Type-A primary school is more suitable for the lower grades, within the framework of Romani settlements, where pupils upon completion could continue their schooling in a type-A school or in higher grades or transfer to a type-B primary school. The importance of organising schools with classes in the Romani language (four or eight grades) or in large Romani settlements (which would also go together with the process of urbanisation) is exceptional – as a place of education as well as the cultivation of the Romani language and culture. A “Romani” primary school supplements the activities of a Romani cultural centre, as a meeting place and a place where pupils can spend their free time: library, reading room, clubs, associations...

Type - B primary school: would be realised in areas where there are a significant number of Romani pupils (like in type-A and in parts of Romani settlements or in larger cities), where they know Romani and Croatian well enough to follow classes in both languages—bilingual, multilingual areas.

Both the Roma and non-Roma can attend bilingual classes, which would be especially significant in mixed areas for mutual understanding and better integration of the Roma.

Type - C primary school: realisation of a type-C primary school and associated organisational forms make its wider application possible in different areas: majority Romani population (Romani language-spoken), mixed, Romani population (Romani language is not in daily use), particular schools in larger cities that would be attended by Romani pupils (and non-Roma) from schools in the wider area. The syllabus is identical to classes in Croatian, but Romani pupils choose optional classes related to the special quality of the Romani ethnic minority (Romani language and literature, history, geography...) to preserve ethnic and cultural identity.

Conclusion

Without diminishing the importance of a complete, systematic study of numerous phenomena connected to the Roma: language, ethnic culture and art, social and economic structure, marginalisation, social integration... in fact, housing like education are a special synthesis of different starting points and uniqueness in approach.

Integration in all segments of society and the indisputable need to preserve culture, tradition and lifestyle for the Romani ethnic community is crucial, along with improvement of their socio-economic position.

A qualitative advancement in the social integration and cultural autonomy of the Roma in Croatia is only possible to achieve by acknowledging all the specific qualities and through prompt but systematic activity according to consistent implementation of the achieved standards of other ethnic minorities. The initial results commit state institutions and the Romani ethnic community to cooperate and to be realistic so that Croatian Roma can preserve their ethnic identity, realise their minority rights, stop living in ghettoised, non-urban settlements as unemployed persons on social welfare. In this context, urbanisation, the improvement of living spaces and settlements (locations of settled Roma) presents a priority task especially since Romani settlements/localities are often outside of building zone areas that as a rule have unsuitable/poor public utilities and facilities and where the Roma do not have ownership.

Every further improvisation and lack of initiative further marginalises the Roma, who in Croatia, on the basis of historical experiences and events, can be valuable and recognisable parts of a multicultural environment.

Although the structural conceptualisation of specific school and class types in Romani language at the very beginning is on the basis of a research theoretical framework, research project results, experimental programmes, etc. it can be assumed that the structural process of specific forms of education for members of the Romani ethnic minority will be realised on a scientific basis and pedagogically in a competent way.

FOOTNOTES

¹ The beginning of migration of the Roma dates back to the period of the Persian Shah, I. Ardashira (224-241). The reasons for migration include lack of security in the northern areas of India where the Roma lived as well as internal social differences (caste), which can be established by comparing religious symbols and beliefs of the period,

which the Roma brought into Europe from India and Persia (Kenrick, 1994: 17).

- ² Throughout history, the migration of the Roma has been regularly accompanied by distrust, repulsion, and different forms of discrimination and injury, largely due to the indisputable attitude of the community and not as a reflection of Roma's undesirable, traditional lifestyle in closed Romani settlements or continuous (temporary) migrations.
- ³ "Gypsy settlements" are not permitted in forests (partibus sylvosus) – in gypsy tents, but rather Gypsies should settle in areas where there are no forests, in sections of arable land, so that they can get used to farming. Gypsies do not need any other head except for the local leader, which means that they lose the right to have their own leader (cassatis jam alioquin Vajvodis). Gypsy children from the age of four onwards need to disperse to nearby places every two years (per gremialia loca). Parish priests will take care of their educational welfare. Gypsy wandering is forbidden and "regular" sedentary gypsies can exceptionally, in cases of need, be given passports to go to the fairs, but these needs have to be monitored (Matasović, 1928: 3).
- ⁴ The last major migration of the Roma to Croatia was about twenty years ago: from Kosovo (894), Bosnia-Herzegovina (421), Serbia (202) and Macedonia (178). At this time, the *Arlije*, *Gurbeti* and *Čergari* groups arrived, which today are mainly concentrated in urban populations (Zagreb, Rijeka, Pula...). In total, 1,888 Roma migrated, while 1,180 migrated to the interiors of Croatia. During the Homeland War, some Romani groups came from Bosnia-Herzegovina to Croatia, stayed for a short period and then left for another European country.
- ⁵ Until recently in Croatia, it was possible to find homes that were dug half underground, while upper parts were made out of clay and wood (e.g., in the Romani settlement, *Stiska* – Đurđevački pijesci Đurđevac and some settlements in Međimurje). The huts were covered with materials such as cardboard or sheet metal and were 3 x 3.5m in size. Mattresses for sleeping, meagre "furniture" and a fireplace or stove could be found inside these huts. Family life often including many generations and lots of children took place in these huts. The level and hygienic standards of these living conditions are very low, as in bands where people sleep in tents or in caravans. Begging, collection of herbs and scrap metal are often the compatible "occupations" of people that live in this way.
- ⁶ Bilingualism – in a narrow sense: a person who has more or less command over two languages; – in a wider sense: a social phenomenon when an individual, a part or the entire ethnic minority systematically use their native language and the language of another people (Rosandić, 1983: 15).
- ⁷ Social distance is a concept that measures our personal attitude towards members of other groups: national, religious, sexual... (a group that behaves differently from the group that we belong to). Social distance "social gap" tells us to what degree some groups are close or further from other (Mijatović and Previšić, 1999: 18).
- ⁸ A part of the research within the framework of the scientific research projects "Genealogy and the transfer model of interculturalism" and "School syllabus and features of Croatian national culture" in the period 1991–2001. Participants included: Vlatko Previšić, project coordinator, Vlatka Domović, Zlata Godler, Stjepan Jagić, Đurđa Jureša-Per-

soglio, Vjeran Katunarić, Antun Mijatović, Elvi Piršl, Koraljka Posavec, Gordana Uzelac, Dijana Vican, Vinko Zidarić, Amzi Zimberi, Ante Žužul and Neven Hrvatić.

⁹ An interesting example can be found in *Italy* where education of the Roma is approached from different perspectives between traditional and new pedagogical projects. According to data from the Centre for nomads, some of the first schools for the Roma opened up in the surroundings of Torin in 1973/74. Romani children had to be picked up from camps in the area and taken to school. The basic precondition of success was the establishment of trust and continual contact with parents (teachers started to learn Romani chib). At the beginning, little Romani children adopted hygienic practices, participated in the preparation of food (traditional Romani food), and the classes were individualised with no grades. Achievement, activity as well as acknowledgement of capability and previous knowledge were valued. Romani pupils learned to read and write, read Romani newspapers and they often visited other schools and institutions to intensify the process of socialisation. Classes were held periodically (*Roma-Sinta* families travel in autumn), and in spring the teachers held classes in the Romani camps, out in the open in the context of life of Romani group. Research on the possibilities of organising a primary school in Piacenzi in which Romani children from six surrounding settlements would attend confirmed the need for an intercultural approach in class. Marginality, a specific life style and socio-cultural specificity shape the programme, form of education and class methods. Namely, the percentage of Romani children in the first two grades was more than 30%, but by the fifth grade this (often) falls to 7.5%. Moreover, out of the enrolled Romani pupils, only 55% regularly attend class, while just 25% successfully master the syllabus (Novara, 1990, 10–11).

¹⁰ In the last five years, since the implementation of the Law, the inclusion of Romani children in preschool and different programmes has been growing. In 2002, 512 children in 21 groups were included in programmes of preschool education.

Lynette
ŠIKIĆ-MIĆANOVIĆ

ROMANI WOMEN
AND THEIR LIVING
CONDITIONS

The Roma population has been described as “a people on the brink” whose lifestyle differs considerably from their surrounding cultural and social environment. Since they often live at the fringes of society in economically deprived and socially isolated settlements, it is likely that their vulnerability will be even greater than the rest of the population. Studies have consistently shown that the Roma are over-represented in all categories in need of social protection: the very poor, the long-term unemployed, the unskilled, the uneducated, members of large families, individuals without residence permits/citizenship, etc. One of the aims of this study is to analyse gender differences in the living conditions and to understand the nature and causes of these differences. Romani women often suffer *triple* discrimination: **for being poor, for being Romani and for being women**. Early marriage, multiple child-birth, and their central role in domestic work and child-care as well as reproducing traditional Romani cultural norms often prematurely determines the fate of many Romani women. Consequently, Romani women have inferior access to different forms of capital¹ that in turn determines their marginalised position.

While the Roma share origins, history and a common culture, they are not a homogeneous group. Frequently, they are falsely perceived as a group rather than many little groups. In other words, Roma communities are indisputably diverse and this diversity applies to the experiences of Romani women too. Bitu (1999: 6) attributes this diversity to Romani women’s varied experiences as members of different groups:

The whole debate is complicated by the fact that the experience of Romani women can differ substantially, according to which Roma group they belong to, which country (the specificities of the culture of the majority population) and which social conditions they live in (nomadic/settled, urban or rural area, social group, etc.),

and/or which religion they follow (Roma can be Catholic, Orthodox Christians or Muslims).

Accordingly, it is not my intention in this paper to generalise and presume that the role of women and their gendered experiences in all Romani communities are identical as these communities are very diverse.

Romani women

In any case, Romani women are in a particularly difficult position as they are at the intersection of traditional culture and modernity. It has been reported that Romani women are often excluded from educational opportunities, either through outright social discrimination or because traditional Romani values provide other priorities for Romani girls (Report on Romani Women from Central and Eastern Europe 2002). Studies have shown that Romani women bear a lot of responsibility for the preservation of a Romani culture and identity, both as women and as child bearers (see Fonseca, 1995; Pomykala & Holt, 2002). Being a mother is regarded as a woman's single most important task; if she is childless she is not considered to be an adult female. Along with this strong family orientation comes the appreciation of a large number of children in the family, because the more children the family has, the happier it is. Children are considered to be signs of prestige and good luck. According to the Refugee Women's Resource Report (2002), women are expected to be virgins when they marry and to be faithful to their husband until death. School education for girls is often restricted as a way of controlling female sexuality and soon after the onset of puberty; Romani girls are often married to prevent sexual experimentation. Romani girls and women have little power, little control over their sexual or married life, the number of children they have and the time between births. Any attempt made by Romani women to change such a role (e.g., higher levels of education, formal employment, contraception) can sometimes be seen as "giving away" the Romani identity. Some foresee the complete disappearance of the Roma culture if their women are going to live like all other women.

Research with Romani women

Research for this study included interviews with 20 women and fieldwork in five different counties.² It also draws on the results of the national survey that included 968 households in Romani settlements throughout Croatia. Although

women were willing to participate, my access to them had been occasionally impeded by Roma males. Moreover, it was almost impossible to conduct a “private” interview without the presence of other women and children who frequently walked in and out of each other’s houses and participated in the discussion.

Prior to discussing Romani women’s living conditions, the following section briefly outlines their backgrounds, gender roles and fieldwork observations. Analysis of the research interviews shows that early marriage and/or social responsibilities (childcare and domestic duties) contribute to the high levels of illiteracy among Romani girls and women. Interviews with Romani women indicated that their age of “marriage” ranged between 12 and 21 (the average age was 16.5). However, only six of these women are officially married, the rest are in de facto relationships in which they use their own surnames which they subsequently pass onto their children. In accordance with virilocal patterns of residence, only 6 women now live in their places of birth compared to 14 who moved to their “husband’s”. As expected, they had their first-born as early as 12 and only two women were as “old” as 21 when they had their first child (the average age was 17.5).³ Most of the women (12) in this sample had three or four children while one even had six children.⁴ Three women did not have any children at all (one was pregnant, and the other two were planning to have children). It was easy to mistake girls (who often look much older) for grown women. In most cases, they were children themselves, in every respect, when they started to have children.

Quite alarmingly, their levels of education are extremely low: Nine women had no schooling at all; seven women had only attended 1–4 grades of primary school; three did not manage to finish primary school and only two finished high school. This became clearly evident during our interviews because many had difficulty recalling years and the ages of their children. Some admitted that they only knew how to sign their names and produced their ID cards and certificates of citizenship, etc. as soon as I started to ask questions. Many could not even understand or reply to my questions without a translator/interpreter. Most explained (13) that they did not go to school or stopped going to school early because they had to look after siblings while their own mothers worked or that they had to work themselves (e.g., begging, collecting herbs). These social responsibilities mean that many girls were deprived of education; this reflects a strong patriarchal culture of Roma commu-

nities and expectations of female children to work rather than attend school. Many girls accept this inequality and justify this by saying that they had no desire to go to school anyway or that they had had enough after a few grades. Contrastingly, one particular women, aged 30 with 4 children told me that she desperately wanted to go to school and that she successfully finished secondary school (with the help of the school) even though both her parents were alcoholics who sold her for a crate of beer to her husband's parents when she was 15.

Discussions with these women revealed that gender roles in these communities are dominated by patriarchal norms such that the roles of women and men are clearly divided: they are still expected to fulfil traditional functions such as domestic work and childcare even though they substantially contribute to the household budget. Thus, Romani women, regardless of what their husbands do are ultimately charged with supporting and feeding their children. They are deeply resistant to being separated from their children under any circumstances. For this reason, they rarely leave their home spaces and why they prefer the irregular nature of work in the grey economy. They often engage in seasonal farm work, collecting herbs and scrap metal, but only Romani women and children beg – for whom begging is not generally felt to be shameful (as it would be for men).

Women in many ways resemble indentured servants, with no place of their own, who rarely go out or leave the home area. Hardly anyone and certainly not any of the women I spoke to, considered it remotely unfair that they did most of the work. Only 1.5% of the national sample participants agreed that the large workloads of women (work, family obligations) were the main problem of the household. This inability to recognise discriminatory practices, on the one hand, reflects the strength of patriarchal norms in these communities but also point to how they regard this as insignificant compared to more pressing problems. Accordingly, most participants (64%) claimed that the poor economic circumstances (shortage, poverty) were the main problem of the household. Clearly, this shows that they are more concerned about survival problems caused by common causes (poverty, discrimination), which then does not leave much space for “separate” problems like gender issues.⁵

Typically, the most presentable or more substantial homes that make an impression are usually at the front or centre of a Roma settlement (e.g., Kuršanec and Piškovec in the County of Međimurje) and conveniently con-



ceal the real slums at the rear.⁶ Purposely, I usually headed for the areas that disintegrated into squalor but nevertheless spaces that were constantly churned by children. Surprisingly, the interiors of the households I visited were relatively tidy (considering the number of people who all lived together in these cramped spaces and the rivers of mud outside). Nonetheless, outside these living spaces, the setting beyond the front door was invariably a dump with piles of rubbish, broken furniture and fixtures, as well as huge mounds of metal scraps.

Pregnant, aged 15,
no schooling...

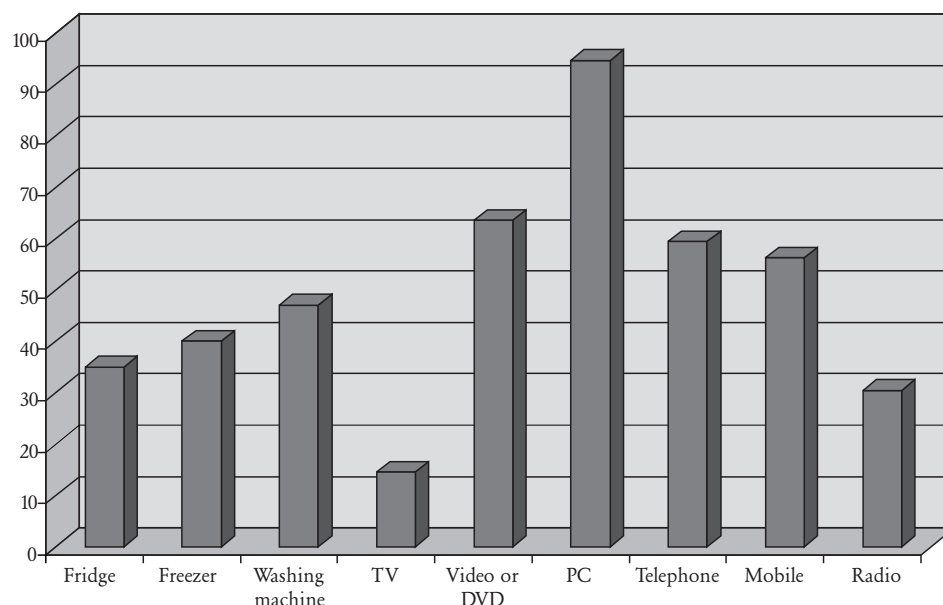
Romani women and their living conditions

A basic premise of this paper is that living conditions are multi dimensional. This means that the situation that individuals (specifically women) and households experience have to be seen as consisting of several factors simultaneously. These factors include housing, education, access to infrastructure, income, social support, rights, etc. They all make up a complex picture and can be accessed by using measures of well-being. Living conditions can considerably affect the ways in which Romani women are able to care for their families and themselves.

Measures of Well-being⁷

1) The possession of common types of appliances and electrical goods within a household is an important measure of well-being (e.g., fridges, TV, washing machines, dishwashers, telephone, computers, etc.). Noticeably, Romani households in most cases do not have a “full set of consumer durables” that would undoubtedly alleviate the burdens of domestic duties for women. Many households lack “ordinary” household items such as washing machines (47%), fridges (35%), and freezers (40%) that would considerably ease women’s domestic work that often entails washing and feeding large households.⁸ In addition, most households do not have computers (94.7%) and (mobile) phones (56.2% & 59.4%), which reflects their lack of (computer) literacy skills and contributes to their isolation.

Diagram 1
 The percentage of households
 that do not have appliances
 and electrical goods N=968



Source: Field study 2004

2) Household conditions are also an important measure of well-being and a safe and comfortable house is a basic condition for any family life (McLoyd and Wilson, 1991). Results indicate that most of the national sample participants live in houses (74.5%) and that their homes are mostly made out of brick, stone, or concrete blocks (85.7%). At a glance, these statistics appear optimistic but it should be noted that they can be very misleading. Many of the “houses” I saw are in substantial disrepair and provide impoverished substandard accommodation to the



Romani population. While not completely unfit for habitation, many have broken windows, leaking/unsatisfactory roofs, structural instability (visual external evidence of structural movement – fractures/bulges within the external walls), dampness, pests (i.e., rats, cockroaches), lack of adequate heating⁹/lighting, lack of ventilation, and no plumbing or running water that make family life very difficult. Nearly half of the national sample participants (49.1%) are dissatisfied with the dampness and the run-down condition of their homes.

Đurđevac – Stiska

Over crowdedness is another perpetual problem; in almost half the national sample households (45%), family members do not have their own beds. Moreover, 21.6% of the households in the national sample do not have more than one living space, which means that all the activities of the household (i.e., cooking, eating, bathing, sleeping, homework, leisure activities, etc.) are most probably all carried out in the one room. This undoubtedly disrupts and complicates most of what women are required to do as “wives” and mothers. Results also indicate that national sample participants are also dissatisfied with the size of their living spaces (53.6%) as well the arrangement (49%).

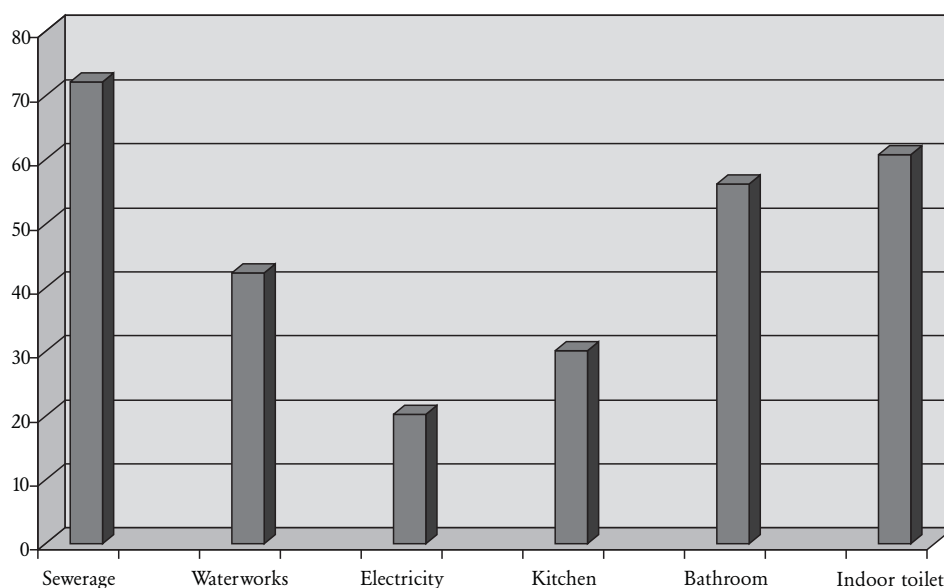
Results indicate that sanitation services, running water and electricity do not extend to quite a number of Romani neighbourhoods/households (see Diagram 2).



Sveti Đurd, home for six

Clearly, lack of access to public services and utilities is a significant problem in many Roma neighbourhoods. Moreover, the Roma themselves see this as a problem; 62.9% of the national sample participants are dissatisfied with the absence of water, gas and electricity in their settlements. Besides these deficiencies, in 30% of all households women do not have kitchens (including a sink with running hot and cold water) where they can prepare and cook food for their families. A large number of households do not have bathrooms (56.1%) with a satisfactory supply of hot and cold water which mostly disadvantages women who are solely responsible for washing their children.¹⁰ 60.7% of households do not have indoor toilets while 17.5% of households have no toilet facilities (indoor or outdoor) whatsoever.

Beyond doubt, all of these disadvantages (especially if their cumulative effects are taken into account) influence the health and safety of all household members which is unavoidably linked to Romani women. The household is often the locus of Romani women's employment, childcare and social interaction and all the activities that take place in the household are her responsibility (e.g., she is solely accountable for making sure that her children are clean, fed, rested, and have done their homework, etc.). Sherman (1994) has noted that overcrowding, utility



Source: Field study 2004

shutoffs, inadequate heating and other housing quality problems may disrupt children's ability to rest or do homework and may also contribute to stress and depression in adults. Undoubtedly, the Roma endure more extreme hardships as a result of their poor living conditions which inevitably cause more anxiety and despair among this population. For example, a family (with three children all under the age of five with another child on the way) in Sveti Đurđ (no electricity, sanitation services, etc.) described to me the terrifying fear of sleeping at night in the dark because rats run rampant and bite their children. Another woman that lives in Capraške Poljane explained to me that she has to sleep with the lights on because her home is infested with cockroaches. During fieldwork, it also became evident that many children do not have suitable conditions (tables/desks, lighting, peace and quiet) for learning in the home environment. Consequently, addressing a problem behaviour at school e.g., sleepy, inattentive children with soiled clothes may be futile without addressing the multiple poverty factors in family environments (e.g., no bed, no washing facilities and lack of paved roads) that are contributing and maintaining the problem behaviour. Thus, low achievement among Romani children needs to be linked to their home environment, problems of overcrowding, lack of furniture, and suitable lighting. Clearly, adequate housing conditions are indispensable to ensure the well-being of all household members.

Diagram 2
Lack of facilities in the household (%) N=968

Clearly, poor housing conditions are one of the major manifestations of poverty but environmental problems also exacerbate poverty. Since “better” locations are unaffordable, Romani settlements are often in highly polluted, unsafe areas adjacent to railway lines, rubbish tips or in the middle of industrial zones that are unattractive to others. Even though many depend on these areas for their livelihood,¹¹ 63.3% of the national sample participants said that their lives were threatened by the polluted environment and 58.1% claimed that they are dissatisfied with this. Although there is less fear of eviction among the Roma who live in these marginal areas, they (including children) are often at greater risk (e.g., accidents on railway tracks and at rubbish tips).¹² Unsurprisingly, these areas are often pest infested (e.g., Capraške Poljane, Sveti Đurđ, Đurđevac – Stiska) or swamps (e.g., Lončarevo) and do not make it feasible for women to grow home grown vegetables and fruits for their families that would in turn greatly improve their families’ otherwise poor diets. Many women told me that they cannot afford to buy fruits for their families and that they live on cheaper foods such as potatoes and beans. Home-grown produce would place fewer burdens on the household budget and make it easier to feed so many children that appear to show signs of malnourishment. In any case, communal neighbourhood

Đurđevac – Stiska



space that is often cramped with no dividing boundary markers is unusable for gardening because it is most often cluttered with abandoned pieces of furniture, appliances, and scrap metal.

3) Neighbourhood and community conditions are also important aspects of well-being. These include: (access to and quality of schools, access to medical services, and other local public services; neighbourhood quality – threat of crime, traffic problems, neighbour relations, police and fire protection). Over half of the national sample participants (51.9%) indicated that they were dissatisfied with the lack of facilities in their settlements (i.e., shops, schools, etc.). In addition, many claimed that living conditions are poor for children (62.4%), as well as for women (54.7%) and the elderly (60.1%). Consistently in all counties, the national sample participants indicated that the following (listed in order of importance) would improve the well-being of life in their neighbourhoods: school and kindergarten; health clinic, chemist's; shops; sport-recreational facilities, etc.¹³ Educational and health facilities are needed in Romani communities and these suggestions may hint at their poor educational and health status.¹⁴ Inevitably, an absence of these facilities also points to a distinct lack of accessible positive role models who might encourage a higher quality of life among the Roma. For the Roma, the effects of inadequate healthcare and education often impact disproportionately on women who frequently bear principal responsibility for family healthcare and education. Romani women also often provide the point of contact between Romani communities and public health services as well as educational institutions. By improving access to healthcare/education for Romani women this would in turn improve the health/education and overall welfare of entire Romani communities. With regard to neighbourhood quality, many women also expressed to me that they often feared for their children's safety as there are "no traffic-free" areas or playgrounds for children in their neighbourhoods. Despair, as a result of isolation was often voiced by women (e.g., medical services are reluctant to respond to emergency calls from Piškorovec because the journey along the long unpaved, potholed road leading to this Romani settlement is too time consuming and expensive in terms of ambulance repairs). Paradoxically, although Romani communities are far from ideal and neighbourhood and community conditions at some locations seriously affect their well-being, as many as 77.4% of the national sample participants do not intend to move away in the near future.

4) Making ends meet is a central challenge to well-being since financial instability is a direct source of stress.¹⁵ Only 17.6% of the national sample participants stated that employment in the formal economy provided the main sources of income in the household while over 50% claimed that work in the grey economy supplied the household with some earnings. Beyond doubt, the quality, security and the longevity of jobs in the shadow economy is lower than in the formal sector. However, they (especially women with large numbers of children) may be in favour of self-employment and more independent flexible kinds of work rather than regimented wage labour. An alarmingly high number of national sample participants said that their households also relied on social benefits (74.2%) (excluding child endowment). Some Roma during fieldwork explained to me that the State has turned them into “social welfare addicts” in the sense that many young Roma get married as soon as they can, have children (child endowment increases with the number of children) and then retire. However, Romani women are powerless to retire so quickly since girls/women are primarily responsible for both the biological and cultural reproduction of Romani tradition and values. Thus, apart from their never-ending tasks related to child-bearing, childcare and domestic duties, as guardians of “culture” they are also responsible for transmitting Romani values to their children.

This may be their only alternative since mothers often cannot provide intellectually stimulating experiences for their children as a result of their own bleak educational backgrounds. Alarmingly, nearly half of the female participants (over 18 years of age) in the national sample are illiterate (45.8%), while more than a third (39.7%) did not finish primary school. Discouragingly, 12.3% finished primary school and only 2.2% finished secondary school while none of the women in this sample completed tertiary studies. These statistics show that even compared to Romani men, women fare poorly and evidently have poor access to education (see Table 1), which in turn disadvantages them to gaining access to economic forms of capital (i.e., employment opportunities) as well as other forms of capital.

Table 1
 Educational attainment (%)
 among Romani women and
 men over 18 years of age

	No schooling	1-4 grades	Unfinished pri- mary school	Primary school	Secondary school	Total
Women	45.8	21.5	18.2	12.3	2.2	456
Men	18.9	26.9	23.8	21.4	9.0	509

Source: Field study 2004

Unfortunately, even though their children may have more opportunities to attend school now compared to when they were young, poverty also affects children's learning because parents cannot afford toys, books, quality childcare, school supplies, extracurricular activities, or private lessons. Poverty also limits families' choices for recreation and leisure which is also important to well-being. This often encourages high-risk and unhealthy habits – such as smoking and drinking because they have an over-supply of unstructured time (Park, Turnbull & Turnbull, 2002). As a rule, Romani women do not leave their neighbourhoods and certainly do not play sports or participate in any type of recreational programme; this is related to social expectations and traditional norms, limited mobility as well as their abject poverty. This has certainly encouraged harmful and high-risk habits as smoking among Romani women is rife, even among pregnant and breast-feeding women.

Since most household incomes are irregular (e.g., scrap metal can only be collected between March and December depending on the weather conditions or working on farms is seasonal work) and hardly sufficient to satisfy their basic family needs, households in the lowest echelons of income distribution cannot save. As a result they have less access to housing credits and experience more fear of eviction. A very high number of participants (57.1%) rated their living arrangements as unsolved, substandard and very poor. Expulsion from their homes can entail loss of physical capital, separation from their support networks, disruption of daily and childcare routines, separation of children from families, as well as the breakdown of existing links with health care services and educational institutions that all have severe repercussions for women especially.¹⁶

5) Social capital¹⁷ consists of help from family, friends and other sources and is also a measure of well-being. One would expect Romani women to fare better in kinship and friendship relationships, but this is yet another way they are marginalised. Their relationship networks are usually small since most of them had to leave their natal households upon “marriage” based on rules of virilocal residence.¹⁸ Moreover, getting help when in need from family and friends is often impossible in their present neighbourhoods since other women are often in the same predicament. For example, many women told me that they cannot ask other women (mother-in-law/kin/friends) to help out in childcare because these women have their own children to look after. In addition, an individual's social capital is determined by the sum of its cumulated resources

(both cultural capital and economic capital) in which Romani women fare very poorly. Undoubtedly, Romani women's reproductive as well as social expectations (i.e., their prescribed role as women as well as the social control mechanisms – gossip, physical punishment) that are at work in a Romani community limit their mobility and time availability and thus considerably limit the size of their network, which is almost always comprised of women who have in all probability less cumulated cultural and economic resources. Overall, national sample participants claimed that their main sources of information come from talks with family members or friends (84.3%). Although more than a third of the women (36.1%) according to the national sample data participate in work outside the home, this is in the informal sector doing seasonal farm work, helping out in a (farm) household, collecting herbs and scrap metal, begging, etc. Wider support from wider community groups, social services and educational/religious institutions is not within Romani women's reach as a result of their low educational attainment levels and lack of employment in the formal economy outside their Roma communities.

All in all, the Roma fare poorly on all of these measures of well-being (household appliances, housing condi-

Kuršanec



tions, neighbourhood and community conditions making ends meet, and social capital) which makes life to a large extent more difficult for Roma women. These poor living conditions significantly adversely affect the ways in which Roma women can look after their families and themselves.

Concluding remarks

There is a conspicuous absence of the elderly in Roma communities that seems to have everything to do with the difficulty of Romani life (88.8% of all household members in the national sample are under 60 years of age). Poor living conditions (inadequate housing/conditions, poor infrastructure, low income levels, and weak social capital networks) almost certainly have a negative impact on their health. Undisputedly, a population who has low levels of education have probably not acquired the tools to take control over their own health, since schools are a key source of information on hygiene, nutrition, disease prevention and access to the health system. Women, in particular, often do not acquire the literacy and critical thinking skills to care for themselves and their families as well as to modify cultural practices which adversely impact their well-being (Pomykala & Holt, 2002). Many women expressed feelings of helplessness: this was related to their inability to read instructions on medicine bottles, to decipher bills, to understand their children's homework, to comprehend road signs, to figure out bureaucratic procedures, etc. People who cannot read are helplessly disadvantaged in their everyday lives but also powerless before governments.

Recommendations

- Since the Roma are a semi-illiterate population and have limited chances of representing themselves properly,¹⁹ non-governmental organisations with the aim of improving all social, cultural and economic opportunities for the Roma population should ensure that all Roma are included in their programmes and initiatives. Special consideration should be given to Romani women so that they are not overlooked in policies devised on behalf of Roma at the non-governmental and governmental levels.
- Children (both girls and boys) from diverse circumstances should be able and encouraged to equally participate in the education system. As a way of developing the country's human capital, attention should be on the critical periods: early childhood (pre-school) and

secondary levels. Early childhood programmes are crucial to eliminate language barriers and to familiarise children with a school environment. Following primary level, higher levels of education are important to improve children's access to different forms of capital and to amend their marginalised position. Women are crucial for this integration. As they are primarily responsible for their children, they also have important roles as mediators between their children and the school (e.g., parent-teacher meetings, school events, educational programmes).

- Home-learning programmes could also be developed specifically for Romani women to improve their skills since most adult women have been deprived of education. By improving their knowledge this would in turn improve the health, education and welfare of the entire Romani community.
- There is also a strong need to raise awareness, education and understanding as well as infrastructures and programmes to address problems that directly and indirectly impact women so that they are not so vulnerable. For example, to protect Romani women against domestic violence who are more vulnerable in poor social and economic situations exacerbated by high unemployment rates and alcoholism problems.²⁰

FOOTNOTES

¹ According to Bourdieu (1986) who was particularly interested in the reproduction of inequalities, an individual's position in a social space is defined not by class, but by the amounts of capital they have access to. He distinguished four different forms of capital (economic, cultural, social and symbolic) that are all interconnected, context-specific and together constitute advantage and disadvantage in society.

² The Romani settlements included: Capraške Poljane, Palanjak, Kutina-Radićeva (County of Sisak-Moslavina); Ludbreg, Sveti Đurd (County of Varaždin); Kuršanec, Lončarevo, Piškorovec (County of Međimurje); Đurđevac – Stiska (County of Koprivnica-Križevci); and Puškarići, Oštarije (County of Karlovac).

³ These figures show that processes of traditionalisation are at work among the Roma population. In comparison, according to the 2001 census, women in Croatia marry at a later age (25.1 years) and have their first-born at 25.4 years.

⁴ Participants in the national sample ranked children as one of the most important values of social and individual life.

⁵ Mršević (2000) has noted similar practices in Serbia.

⁶ Although these Romani settlements never failed to shock me, in some way, I was taken aback by a small impoverished settlement called Sveti Đurd in the Varaždin County; a slum in its entirety.

⁷ These extended measures of well-being are based on Kurt J. Bauman's report (2003).

- ⁸ Based on statistics from the national sample over half of the households have between 5 to 8 members.
- ⁹ In many homes it was wet and cold enough to see your breath and even though they are one of the groups most vulnerable to the effects of cold indoor temperatures (dampness and condensation) they often cannot afford a suitable/efficient system of heating.
- ¹⁰ Poor living conditions including overcrowding and inadequate sanitation make Gypsy communities more susceptible to communicable diseases – for example, hepatitis and tuberculosis and skin diseases such as eczema; Ringold (2000).
- ¹¹ This not only includes scrap metal collection but collection of anything that has some value, including food for pigs. A woman (mother of three children in her early thirties) from Ludbreg told me that she often goes to the nearby dump (in her backyard) in search of food and clothes because begging for her would be shameful.
- ¹² Over the last year, several accidents have been reported at various hazardous sites: A thirteen year old was tragically killed when he was run over by a waste disposal truck while collecting scraps at the rubbish dump in Kutina; A father (50) and son (17) were killed in an accident when a train hit the truck they were in. The other two persons in the truck are in a critical condition. They were looking for scrap metal.
- ¹³ Encouragingly, catering establishment (inn/café) was last on their list.
- ¹⁴ Participants from the national sample rated finished school (4.96) and health (4.40) as very important on a scale of 1–5.
- ¹⁵ Studies have shown that adequate family financial resources are linked with self-esteem in mothers (see Brody and Flor, 1997).
- ¹⁶ A number of Romani communities are currently facing eviction. 1) About three hundred Roma are facing eviction from Plinarsko naselje in the City of Zagreb after living there for 15 years. Since no alternative accommodation has been offered, Romani children will be separated from parents and placed in homes. 2) The resettlement of the Roma from Rujevica, a settlement that the Roma have been building for about 40 years. This particular group of Roma do not want to be ghettoised in barracks that do not offer minimal living conditions compared to their present homes. 3) The eviction of displaced Roma from different parts of Croatia who have been living in Luka-vec for the past 14 years.
- ¹⁷ Bourdieu points out that an individual's social capital is determined by the size of their relationship network, the sum of its cumulated resources (both cultural and economic) and how successful (quickly) the individual can set them into motion in that these networks must be continuously maintained and fostered over time to be called upon quickly in the future.
- ¹⁸ Results from the national sample indicate that more Romani men (60.6%) still live in their places of birth compared to women (39.4%), who left their natal households.
- ¹⁹ It became evident during fieldwork that even between two neighbouring counties such as Međimurje and Varaždin that the Roma in the former have more privileges (e.g., food stamps, local kindergarten) and perhaps more representation.

- ²⁰ Only one Romani women spoke openly about domestic violence that was initiated by her refusal to partake in two arranged marriages during her youth. Nevertheless, some of the men that were present at the interviews besides interrupting frequently, degraded their “wives” without shame by saying that they were ignorant and referred to them in derogatory ways despite my efforts encouraging women to speak.

Maja
ŠTAMBUK
and collaborators

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Inadequate knowledge about the lifestyle and living conditions of the Roma

First, it is important to emphasise or to repeat the following: *It is necessary to be well acquainted with the Roma and their lifestyle to help them. Thus, every study and every action to improve the quality of their lives must take into account the social, economic and cultural aspects of their numerous problems and the unknown nature of their status, especially in Croatian society.* Even though a number of (social science) studies have been conducted, we still do not know the Roma population well.¹

What are the direct consequences of lack of good insight?

- Inevitably activities on the part of the state (and civil associations that deal with the identification and solving of problems, which, among other things, afflicts the Roma) as well as those joint activities with (a number) of Romani associations, do not succeed or do not succeed in the expected way because they were not adequately prepared;
- In addition, it is not impossible that particular activities undertaken with the best intentions cause more harm than good because the possible as well as the unexpected consequences were not foreseen in the preparatory stages.

Besides knowing the circumstances well, it is important to mutually agree on the steps of development with the respective population from the beginning. Namely, many studies and development project analyses in smaller societies or communities (just like rural) have shown that progress was more successful in those places *where the local population was included from the very beginning. These persons know what to expect in the long-term from particular activities or projects as well as the nature and extent of their role in them.*

Research of the Roma in Croatia is hindered by the fact that a significant number of persons that belong to this national minority declare themselves as non-Roma at censuses. In 2001 census, their official number was 9,463. According to census data, somewhat more than 50% of Roma live in only two counties (County of Međimurje and the City of Zagreb), while their number is insignificant in nine counties. Out of all national groups in Croatia, in the period 1991–2001 the Roma had the largest growth rate. The sample in this study was to a great extent adjusted to this “census situation”.

1. The Roma are the most nomadic people among the peoples of Europe. However, their greater attachment to space can be noted, and today they are less nomadic compared to recent times. Their social organisation has always been based on the family and in this way they significantly differ from other nomadic groups. Today, there are more Roma that are sedentary than those without addresses. The process of becoming sedentary is also at work in Croatia. The Roma are not a unique group since they differ in many ways. Unfortunately, research of the Roma in Croatia, in this sense, has not been carried out so we can only guess the differences. More of them permanently live in settlements and houses (barracks, huts) or flats.
2. It is often thought that the “nomadic” component of Romani identity facilitates their movement from place to place even when there is no special reason for this. However, results from this study show that they are very attached to spaces and that their eventual spatial aspirations are not far from their present locations. This finding directly shows that (for different reasons) the relocation of the Roma is an extremely traumatic experience and that it would be worthwhile to prevent the beginning of new wild “Romani settlements”.
3. The traditional socio-cultural identity of the Roma is fading so the Roma are to a large extent socially identified and presented through negative features or deficiencies: such as poverty and threat. In a society oriented towards multiculturalism and encouragement an equal *Other*, deficiencies and absences cannot be the long-term basis of identity differences that the subjectivity of the group is based on. There is more potential if the basis of their identification depends on the existing components of their cultural heritage for the shaping of a recognisable socio-cultural profile of the Roma as well as the revitalisation of their social identity.

4. The transition period did not favour the Roma population. Moreover, it is clear that the Roma did not reap any benefits from privatisation or ownership restitution. Similarly, the fiscal problems of the post-socialist state reduced public funds for construction or the maintenance of council housing, and we know that a part of the Roma population live in council housing.
5. Political transformation in post-socialist countries resulted in increased discrimination and violence towards the Roma. Political liberalisation created opportunities for the free expression of ethnic and cultural identities and for participation in society. Nevertheless, new challenges and difficulties appeared, because extremist groups gained political power and dominated the political sphere via which intolerance towards the Roma could be expressed. Moreover, the Roma were confronted with limited access to social services, as a result of the overall increased need for these services as well as budget cuts.
6. Although the Roma are a marginal group that in many ways (economic, political, social) dangerously come close to social exclusion, most of the respondents as members of the Romani minority (84.7%) said that based on personal experiences they feel respected in society.

The structure of communities

7. Since the Roma are undoubtedly a specific social group according to many features that are identifiable in society, it is worthwhile keeping in mind that they are not a homogeneous socio-cultural group but that within the Romani population there is diverse stratification. This study showed that stratification also occurs in the cultural sphere, shaping subgroups with special identities, lifestyles, and values. Sometimes these are not clearly defined; on the contrary, they remain canopied by unavoidable cultural specificities that make Romani society different to other societies.
8. The *absence* of a distinguished, autochthonous, social, cultural elite that would mediate in relations between "global" society and their small, minority society *makes it difficult to solve all the different sorts of problems that confront this minority*. The existence of a mediator that belongs to both sides would facilitate communication between the Romani local community and state i.e., state institutions.
9. The Roma population is young. There are two reasons for this: they have a larger number of children and the

life span of the Roma population is shorter compared to the surrounding populations. Data on a large number of youth, somewhat fewer numbers in the active workforce age group and almost absence in the over 60 age group in the researched households clearly indicates a very complex picture of the Romani population.

10. Modernisation processes in the surrounding majority society (industrialisation and the significance of education should be emphasised) create larger differences at the socio-professional level between the Roma and the majority of people. There is weak interest for their traditional services and products. Further, they did not manage to successfully “retrain” on time. Thus, traditional trades are gradually dying. Since there is still a strong influence of tradition in all social areas of life, a lack of adjustment to new times also socially, culturally and economically threatens Romani groups.
11. Unemployment within this population is high due to the low level of education and low skilled competency of the Romani population. On the other hand, sporadic, temporary, seasonal activities that bring in an income are widespread.
12. The low level of education among the Roma is recognisable as a cause or the key to the solution of their problems. On the scale of values “finished school” is at the bottom while poverty is accepted as a feature of the group and typical cultural features of the Roma such as folklore, customs, language and trades, etc. are belittled. Commonly, the nature of Romani poverty is extreme and permanent.
13. The roots of Romani poverty and heterogeneity of the Romani population are multi-dimensional. The different causes of Romani deprivation influence one another in a vicious circle of poverty and social exclusion. Romani poverty is indeed partly related to low education attainment, limited possibilities of participation in the workforce and large families, but it is also connected to minority status, i.e., with minority status and many dimensions of *social exclusion*. The level of poverty is frequently linked to the marginalisation of Romani settlements (the problem of spatial segregation). The Roma who live in distant and segregated communities have less chance of participating in the formal economy or of using the social services (educational, health). *Geographical and social exclusion* are important correlates of Romani poverty.

Economic base

14. The main source of income in Romani settlements is social welfare and not from “profitable” activity. Thus, it is not incorrect to say that this is non/activity. Temporary seasonal work is in second place. This is limited to particular seasons of the year. Considering the low education levels and poor professional competency of the Romani population, the jobs that they get are usually poorly paid ones. *The locations of settled Roma* are exclusively, first of all, provides their *sphere of life* because the settlement most often, in most cases, is not a place of work. They live there but do not work there and in this way the “Romani settlement” is “cheated” of a form of sociability.
15. Insight into this feature with regard to *locations of settled Roma* can serve as a guide to improve the housing conditions towards the installation of suitable activities within or at the edge of localities, especially those with a larger number of permanent inhabitants. Namely, the absence of employment/work in the settlement or somewhere nearby forces those who are educated and more entrepreneurial to seek work elsewhere. This essentially weakens the potential of the community to shape a complex social structure in the settlement that is necessary to make the life of the local community more dynamic and creates a level of solidarity and community that transcends the family. There is a distinct absence of roles that are based on “status in professions” or some special function in Romani settlements.

Family

16. The Romani family has mostly maintained two traditional functions (upbringing and education) and in this way preserved a high level of autonomy, independence and even economic independence as well as high inclusion especially in the social welfare system. Thus, when poverty appears as one of the main socio-cultural elements of Romani (self) identity, the family succeeds to preserve its traditional significance. Or perhaps it is because of this. *It seems that among the Roma a type of adaptation is at work with regard to economic activity and sources of income to the point that this does not disrupt the existing family system.* They choose activities that will include most family members, from the youngest to the oldest, including women.

17. The Roma like to live in large families with many children. They like to socialise, so a great importance is given to family occasions. The home (among sedentary Roma) is the *only* point of stability; it is the place where the family gathers. It is also desirable that the immediate social milieu (the external space) belongs to relatives.
18. The process of reducing the family to a married couple with unmarried children has already “migrated” into the Romani milieu. Almost 53% of the households in this study have these types of family. Single households are rare among the Romani population.
19. Family values, personal values and freedom are at the top of the list (health, children, respect, freedom, friendship, love, marriage) followed by work-materialistic values (work and money) while traditional and political values (politics, nation, religion) are at the bottom of the list. Based on these hierarchies, it can be concluded that life in poverty is not a lifestyle that the Roma prefer. Work is also rated highly on the scale of values, like as a means of creating many other values. Thus, the value system of the Roma is not importantly different from the value systems of society as a whole. However, it is questionable whether the Roma are able to realise the values that they declaratively support.
20. Extended family networks present a means of survival because they ensure a regular flow of finances (child endowment, family benefits, pensions, unemployment benefits). These family networks also serve as an information network on the labour market, possibilities of earning money, gains and losses of leaving the local community, etc.
21. Early marriages are also characteristic for the Romani ethnic group. These marriages, per se do not necessarily lead to poverty. They are more an indicator of poor educational aspirations and an early dropout rate that is further linked to low qualifications and poorly developed work skills.

Education

22. Education is the fundamental issue of the Romani population. Two sub-questions are imperative: why do the Roma avoid school so much (when they know that any social and economic shift is impossible without education) and why the state is not prepared to implement its law on compulsory primary education among

the Roma. Many Romani families do not have access to the economic life of the country. The number of potential active members in the Romani population is great. However, many are young whose skills are only marginally used.

23. Ideas about better lives are contrary to the housing practices and landscapes that the Romani settlement offers. It was shown that these types of aspirations were frequently related to higher levels of education. Thus, raising the level of education is imperative and the only guarantee of modernising Romani communities. The abandonment of some traditional types of behaviour is necessary since they threaten the health as well as the welfare of the individual, family and the whole community. *Thus, it is difficult to expect an improvement of life standard without change within the Romani cultural code.*
24. *Education is not recognised as an important need or as an actual problem among most parents.* Moreover, the role of education is not seen in a social and an economic sense, which could have a decisive role in integration processes in society.
25. The conceptualisation of an education system for the Roma needs to recognise the needs of the surrounding environment (within the framework of the regular school system) and the Roma. This should be towards the construction of a new integrative school and not a mechanical reconstruction of the existing. *The phenomena of dual marginalisation of Romani children at school and in the environment as well as poor results often bring about fatigue among both teachers and children. The schooling of Romani children is immanently a social issue.*
26. The most common sources of information are *Croatian television and the family/ friends.*

Settlements

27. In an analysis of Romani settlements, it is difficult to discover elements that are necessary for a credible and practical utilisable typology. Nevertheless, it is worth noting the following features: The first is *positional*. This allows us to differentiate where Romani structures are located: in the town, in the village, or in a rural area. The second feature is *the degree of separation*. There are clear differences between Romani settlements that are parts of existing settlements and Romani settlements that are detached structures. The third feature is *genetic*. According to this feature, pre-

mises initially built for other purposes and housing built for family residence can be differentiated.

28. Ideas about a desirable settlement directly rest on *cleanliness and related ecological descriptors* and on the *non-Roma difference* – more precisely on the similarity of Romani settlements with other non-Roma settlements. The use of the words: Romani and non-Romani settlements mean the difference between settlements that are municipally and economically “normal” and settlements that are municipally and economically substandard, which in this research has operatively qualified as Romani. Thus, the aspirational reaching out of the respondents for non-Romani settlements indicates their yearning for equipped and unneglected settlements. This is a wish for a settlement-that-is-like-every-other. The Roma, in this way, do not cease to be Romani with regard to the determinants of Romani identity.
29. It is worthwhile to *activate* the Roma and to motivate them to do more things together. Traditional neglect towards the settlement environment is clearly evident. An influential factor on the physiognomy of Romani settlements is rooted in the fact that Romani builders are, in the main, “*wild*” *builders*. Thus, their transformation in the community is necessary in which it will not be indifferent to where how and where they live.
30. We consider it interesting to caution state actors of development that more than half of the respondents state that they desire to live in a settlement where there is *no* Romani community, at least not as a decisive factor in administration and the orienting development of the settlement. However, on the other hand, less than half of the respondents state that the already mentioned determinants of a desirable settlement are *directly connected to the presence of the Romani community* in that type of settlement. It is possible to interpret this as a sign that sub-group has now appeared in the Romani population whose accumulation of life and social successes has loosened ties with other members of the Romani group. The choice of a non-Romani settlement as desirable is undoubtedly linked to an orientation towards social success. This suggests that the Romani group *is not homogeneous* in comparison to the central developmental issue of the group: how to cross the margin and become a successful group and not repress or disintegrate traditional determinants of Romani identity?
31. Distinct influences on the life of the community can be divided into a triangle: *settlement inhabitants-Romani*

associations-town/municipal government. Civil associations, political parties, experts, the government and others, according to the respondents only marginally influence the situation in the Romani settlement. However, response to the question as to what the community can do for itself only discloses *marginal jobs* like rubbish removal, cleaning, tidying up and similar. In second place, responses indicate that the community cannot do anything.

32. The existing housing is inadequate; the standard is very low; there is a marked lack of housing space and rooms. Dwellings are very poorly equipped and a lack of public utilities (electricity, running water) and facilities (bathroom and toilet) is evident. Residential structures often have earth floors. Moreover, walls even if they are made of proper building materials often do not provide insulation. All in all, housing conditions are so poor that they are often below the level of human dignity.
33. According to the subjective evaluations of the respondents, even though there is considerable dissatisfaction with the existing housing situation, it is often not as dramatic as one would expect considering the mentioned features of housing. *However, it is evident that among the respondents there is a group who would like to live differently.*

Recommendations

It is possible to combat Romani poverty in a number of ways among which the following should be included:

1. *Improve housing conditions* through the construction of infrastructure and development of public services especially in removed and distant Romani settlements (development of roads and telecommunications). The improvement of housing conditions also presupposes the clarification of ownership rights with regard to the land on which the Roma live and the encouragement of the local authorities to offer their services in Romani communities.
2. *Increase employment and earning opportunities* for the Roma through their inclusion in training programmes, consistent with anti-discrimination legislature and stimulating employers to employ the Roma. It is difficult to reduce high Romani unemployment rates not only because employers' disinclination towards the Romani employees but due to the motive of some Roma to register as unemployed. It is well-known that some Roma

register at employment bureaus to realise particular social rights

3. *Encourage schooling among Romani children* through reducing or eliminating the barriers that discourage Romani children to enter or stay in the education system (sometimes Romani children do not have enough food, clothes, or family support to continue their education). An important objective is to increase the inclusion of Romani children in pre-school institutions and to facilitate a secondary school education). A real possibility for some Roma (along with a larger number of students that finish primary and secondary school who are then more likely to find employment) is the encouragement of old trades, cottage industries in new ways (making souvenirs, handicrafts, useful products that are not manufactured) to earn a living in ways that are familiar to them.
4. *Improve access to health care* through information on health, health campaigns, and more frequent presence of health care workers in Romani settlements. Considering their living conditions, the Roma are more exposed to some illnesses compared to the non-Roma population, which means that it is necessary to systematically monitor their health. Moreover, the average lifespan of the Roma is one third shorter than the average lifespan of a non-Roma. *It is necessary to increase awareness on the importance of health, especially reproductive.* The promotion of different activities linked to health is necessary, especially among children.
5. *Deal with problems of social exclusion of the Roma* through anti-discriminatory legislature and practice. Raise awareness among the non-Roma through multi-cultural education and teaching about Romani history and culture. Socio-cultural factors influence the Roma's access to social services or on their communication with the providers of these services. As a result of poor knowledge of the language or poor communication skills, the Roma can have difficulty communicating to teachers, doctors, local and state employees. Poor communication and deep-rooted stereotypes on the part of the Roma and non-Roma foster interpersonal mistrust. There are almost no Roma that work in the public services that would bridge the two cultures.
6. *Transform social welfare programmes* in such a way that they do not create a "dependency culture" and "poverty trap" (not to discourage the work initiative of the user). Social welfare benefits provide an important source of income among the Roma and the Roma are *over-repre-*

sented among the recipients of these benefits. It is necessary, to a greater extent, to include a component of work in aid programmes (public works) to improve and gain work skills to increase the level of employment. In addition, it is necessary to monitor how these social benefits are spent, as in many Romani settlements alcoholism and other forms of unacceptable behaviour are linked to poverty.

7. *Integrate the Roma into institutions of wider society* (educational, economic, social, and political). As some authors have warned exclusion from the community and group in which members belong needs to be differentiated from exclusion from society and social institutions. Participation in social institutions is the foundation of social status and ensures the material conditions of life. Besides, inclusion in institutions of wider society facilitates interaction with members of non-Roma and other Romani groups and participation in the dominant values of society. Intervention needs to be directed towards offering more opportunities for Romani initiative as well as reducing their isolation and social exclusion.
8. *Inclusion of the Roma in projects that have an impact on their lives. It is necessary for the Roma to actively participate in programmes that are intended for them.* "Rescue" from poverty and isolation cannot be realised without their involvement.
9. *Programmes of social protection* – along with the existing measures that the Roma use, assistance should be towards *schooling and projects of settlement urbanisation*.
10. *Find suitable ways of helping the Roma in self-organisation.* Namely, they have not (completely) built their national community, which hinders the realisation of their rights. In addition, they have not found a common plan of action. *Most of the Roma in Croatia are still formally outside of associations and organisations.*
11. It is absolutely necessary to *improve the existing educational system*, as well as the gradually establish a whole and specific education system for the Roma (setting up of kindergartens in Romani settlements, better organisation of preschool education...).
12. The initial results exist and they commit state institutions and the Romani national community to *cooperate and to be real in their approach* so that the Roma can preserve their national identity and cease living in ghettoised suburbanised settlements, without employment and on social benefits. Within the framework of all the problems related to the advancement of the Romani minority, *space planning, urbanisation and or-*

ganising the settlement in which the Roma live is a priority task. On the other hand, Romani settlements/localities of settled Roma are most often outside of city areas, often on somebody else's land and frequently without suitable/poor public utilities.

13. *Romani women have a central role in the dynamics of the household and in improving the quality of life.* The household is often the locus of their work, childcare, and social interactions and all the activities that occur in the household are her responsibility (e.g., she is solely accountable for making sure that her children are clean, fed, rested, and have done their homework, etc.). All public utility deficiencies and a lack of facilities in the household (especially if their cumulative effects are taken into account) influence the health and safety of all household members *which especially burdens Romani women.* Researchers noted that overcrowding, utility shutoffs, inadequate heating and other housing quality problems *may disrupt children's ability to rest or do homework and may also contribute to stress and depression in adults.* Addressing problem behaviour at school e.g., sleepy, inattentive children with soiled clothes may be futile without addressing the multiple poverty factors in family environments (e.g., no bed, no washing facilities and lack of paved roads...).
14. *Absence of educational and health facilities* also points to a distinct lack of accessible positive role models (e.g., doctors, child care workers, teachers) who might encourage a higher quality of life among the Roma. The effects of inadequate healthcare and education often impact disproportionately on women who frequently bear principal responsibility for family healthcare and education. Romani women also often provide the point of contact between Romani communities and public health services as well as educational institutions. *By improving access to healthcare/education for Romani women this would in turn improve the health/education and overall welfare of entire Romani communities.*
15. *Home-learning programmes* could also be developed specifically for Romani women to improve their skills since most adult women have been deprived of education. By improving their knowledge this would in turn improve the health, education and welfare of the entire Romani community.

FOOTNOTE

¹ It should be noted that not even Croatian society has been entirely researched yet.



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TABLIČNI
PREGLED
REZULTATA
ANKETNOG
ISTRAŽIVANJA

REVIEW OF TABLES
WITH SURVEY
RESEARCH RESULTS

Tablica 1. Lokacije na kojima su obavljena anketiranja te veličina uzorka
Table 1 Locations at which surveys were conducted and the size of samples

Županija / County	Lokacije / Locations	N	%
Zagreb i Zagrebačka županija / City of Zagreb and County of Zagreb	Kozari Bok	112	11,6
	Borongaj		
	Ferenščica		
	Plinarsko naselje		
	Livadarski odvojak		
	Petruševac		
	Peščenica		
	Dubrava		
	Struge		
	Sopot		
	Savica		
	Sopnica		
	Požarinje		
	Lukavec		
Sisačko-moslavačka / County of Sisak-Moslavina	Capraške Poljane	96	9,9
	Palanjak		
	Kutina - Radićeva		
Varaždinska / County of Varaždin	Strmec Podravski	80	8,3
	Ludbreg		
	Sveti Đurđ		
Primorsko-goranska / County of Primorje-Gorski kotar	Škurinje	90	9,3
	Rujevica		
Brodsko-posavska / County of Slavonski Brod-Posavina	Slavonski Brod	100	10,3
Osječko-baranjska / County of Osijek-Baranja	Bolman	100	10,3
	Darda		
	Tordinci		
	Tenja		
	Beli Manastir		
	Velika Bara (Šangaj)		
	Bistrinci		

Table 1 (continued) Locations at which surveys were conducted and the size of samples

Županija / County	Lokacije / Locations	N	%
Istarska / County of Istria	Pula – Šijana	98	10,1
	Pula – Centar		
	Pula – Monte Zaro		
	Vodnjan		
Međimurska / County of Međimurje	Kotoriba	217	22,4
	Donja Dubrava		
	Goričan		
	Kuršanec		
	Lončarevo		
	Piškorovec		
Ostalo (Koprivničko-križevačka i Karlovačka) / Other (Counties of Koprivnica-Križevci and Karlovac)	Đurđevac – Stiska	75	7,7
	Puškarici		
	Oštarije		
UKUPNO / TOTAL		968	100,0

Tablica 2. Sociodemografska obilježja ispitanika (%)

Table 2 The socio-demographic features of the respondents (%)

		Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Ošječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Kućedomaćin / Household head	Da / Yes	62,2	88,5	83,8	74,2	66,0	64,0	29,6	83,1	90,7	71,7
	Ne / No	37,8	11,5	16,3	25,8	34,0	36,0	70,4	16,9	9,3	28,3
Spol / Sex	Muški / Male	57,1	59,4	67,5	45,6	71,0	43,0	40,8	45,4	56,8	52,8
	Ženski / Female	42,9	40,6	32,5	54,4	29,0	57,0	59,2	54,6	43,2	47,2
Dob / Age	18–29	39,3	37,9	48,7	35,6	53,0	28,0	34,7	41,1	36,5	39,5
	30–39	34,8	29,5	26,9	23,3	22,0	31,0	28,6	32,1	35,1	29,6
	40–49	11,6	22,1	7,7	32,2	11,0	25,0	18,4	12,9	17,6	17,1
	50 i više / 50 and over	14,3	10,5	16,7	8,9	14,0	16,0	18,4	13,9	10,8	13,8
Bračni status / Marital status	U braku / Married	54,1	62,5	46,3	74,4	69,0	65,0	69,1	38,9	48,0	56,5
	Izvanbračna zajednica / Out of wedlock	24,3	31,3	41,3	8,9	4,0	15,0	11,3	45,8	41,3	26,7
	Razveden(a) / Divorced	2,7	1,0	0,0	4,4	0,0	3,0	0,0	1,9	1,3	1,7
	Udovac (udovica) / Widowed	6,3	4,2	6,3	2,2	5,0	7,0	6,2	7,9	5,3	5,9
	Neoženjen/neudana / Unmarried	12,6	1,0	6,3	10,0	22,0	10,0	13,4	5,6	4,0	9,2

Tablica 2. (nastavak) Sociodemografska obilježja ispitanika (%)

Table 2 (continued) The socio-demographic features of the respondents (%)

		Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Mjesto rođenja / Place of birth	U mjestu boravka / In place of residence	47,7	41,9	42,5	36,4	43,2	46,0	13,3	49,5	54,3	42,3
	U županiji (u kojoj ima mjesto boravka) / In county (where they now reside)	0,0	37,6	30,1	0,0	0,0	48,0	4,1	32,8	34,3	21,5
	U regiji (u kojoj ima mjesto boravka) / In the region (where they now reside)	2,7	3,2	15,1	0,0	13,7	1,0	0,0	3,4	5,7	4,5
	Negdje drugdje u Hrvatskoj / Somewhere else in Croatia	13,5	3,2	5,5	0,0	14,7	1,0	4,1	13,2	5,7	7,7
	U inozemstvu / Abroad	36,0	14,0	6,8	63,6	28,4	4,0	78,6	1,0	0,0	24,0
Obrazovanje / Education	Bez škole / No schooling	35,7	40,6	30,0	27,8	28,0	23,0	20,4	34,3	42,7	31,5
	1-4 razr. OŠ / 1-4 primary school	18,8	16,7	31,3	13,3	20,0	21,0	14,3	38,9	30,7	24,4
	Nepotpuna OŠ / Unfinished primary school	11,6	20,8	21,3	25,6	29,0	24,0	29,6	16,7	18,7	21,2
	OŠ / Primary school	24,1	15,6	15,0	23,3	18,0	24,0	31,6	6,0	5,3	17,1
	Srednja škola / Secondary school	9,8	6,3	2,5	10,0	5,0	8,0	4,1	4,2	2,7	5,8
Zaposlen / Employed	Da / Yes	1,8	11,5	5,0	22,2	9,0	4,0	27,6	3,7	0,0	8,8
	Ne / No	98,2	88,5	95,0	77,8	91,0	96,0	72,4	96,3	100	91,2
Nacionalnost / Nationality	Rom	96,4	90,6	100	92,2	90,9	90,0	100	97,2	89,3	94,5
	Ostalo / Other	3,6	9,4	0,0	7,8	9,1	10,0	0,0	2,8	10,7	5,5
Vjeroispovijed / Religion	Katolička / Catholic	16,1	51,0	93,8	1,1	8,0	55,0	1,0	89,4	98,7	49,0
	Islamska / Islam	71,4	0,0	0,0	96,7	7,0	0,0	96,9	0,5	0,0	27,9
	Pravoslavna / Orthodox	7,1	42,7	0,0	0,0	64,0	38,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	15,6
	Ne pripada ni jednoj vjeroispovijedi / Does not belong to a religion	5,4	6,3	6,3	2,2	15,0	5,0	2,0	10,2	1,3	6,6
	Ostalo / Other	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	6,0	2,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,8
Govore li hrvatski / Speaks Croatian	Ne / No	3,6	0,0	8,8	2,2	3,0	4,0	6,1	9,2	0,0	4,8
	Da / Yes	96,4	100	91,3	97,8	97,0	96,0	93,9	90,8	100	95,2
Romski dijalekt / Romani dialect	Romani chib	48,2	8,0	3,8	50,0	8,0	6,1	87,6	2,3	0,0	22,3
	Ljimba d' bjaš	4,5	52,3	87,5	1,1	39,0	63,6	0,0	77,8	56,0	45,4
	Ostalo / Other	7,1	28,4	2,5	4,4	31,0	15,2	9,3	16,7	13,3	14,6
	Ne govori ni jedan / Does not speak any	40,2	11,4	6,3	44,4	22,0	15,2	3,1	3,2	30,7	17,8
Porodaj / Birth	U medicinskoj ustanovi / In a health institution	56,8	73,4	70,9	53,3	75,0	47,0	62,2	63,3	81,3	64,7
	Doma, u kući / At home	43,2	22,3	27,8	46,7	24,0	51,0	37,8	36,1	18,7	34,2
	Drugdje / Elsewhere	0,0	4,3	1,3	0,0	1,0	2,0	0,0	0,7	0,0	1,1

Tablica 3. Povjerenje u institucije (*srednje ocjene*)

Table 3 Trust in institutions (*average ratings*)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Vojska / Army	3,71	3,94	4,01	3,96	3,62	3,64	3,74	3,80	4,12	3,82
Znanstvene institucije / Scientific institutions	3,34	3,41	3,60	3,75	3,18	3,17	3,35	3,52	3,76	3,45
Pravni sustav/sudstvo / Legal system/courts	3,13	3,40	3,68	3,69	3,17	3,22	3,12	3,32	3,68	3,35
Tisak / Press	2,59	3,25	3,50	3,57	2,93	2,91	2,85	3,18	3,47	3,12
Televizija / Television	3,31	3,70	4,09	3,82	3,38	3,25	3,26	3,72	4,00	3,60
Policija / Police	3,06	3,94	3,91	3,89	3,68	3,59	3,48	3,30	3,85	3,57
Vlada / Government	3,10	3,31	3,39	3,52	3,29	3,13	2,75	3,39	3,69	3,28
Sabor / Parliament	3,08	3,34	3,24	3,58	3,16	2,97	2,71	3,37	3,61	3,23
Lokalna samouprava / Local self-government	3,11	3,27	3,18	3,63	3,15	3,21	3,12	3,18	3,71	3,26
Romske udruge / Romani associations	3,05	2,96	3,28	4,31	3,01	3,30	3,86	3,07	3,17	3,29
Vijeće romske nacionalne manjine / Council of Romani national minorities	2,86	2,89	3,39	4,28	3,08	3,44	3,81	3,09	3,28	3,30
Nevladine organizacije / Non-governmental organisations	2,76	2,76	2,68	3,69	2,72	3,03	3,01	2,90	3,20	2,95
Crkva / Church	3,81	3,70	3,96	4,18	3,31	3,82	3,52	4,17	4,55	3,90

Ponudeni su bili odgovori: *uopće nemam povjerenja* (1), *uglavnom nemam povjerenja* (2), *nisam siguran* (3), *uglavnom imam povjerenja* (4) te *imam potpuno povjerenje* (5)

Answers that were offered included: *I don't trust at all* (1), *I mainly don't trust* (2), *I'm not sure* (3), *I mainly trust* (4) and *I completely trust* (5)

Tablica 4. Važnost koju ispitanici pridaju pojedinim vrijednostima društvenoga i individualnoga života (*srednje ocjene*)

Table 4 The importance respondents give to particular values related to social and individual life (*average ratings*)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Brak / Marriage	4,56	4,78	4,60	4,89	4,84	4,85	4,78	4,55	4,73	4,71
Djeca / Children	4,89	4,96	4,85	4,98	4,70	4,91	4,94	4,94	4,92	4,90
Rad / Work	4,73	4,60	4,65	4,91	4,78	4,76	4,83	4,49	4,79	4,70
Znanje i vještine / Knowledge and skills	4,55	4,52	4,39	4,79	4,57	4,57	4,42	4,38	4,73	4,52
Završena škola / Finished school	4,44	4,58	4,38	4,70	4,32	4,37	3,96	4,35	4,64	4,40
Poštenje / Honesty	4,85	4,83	4,84	4,99	4,84	4,87	4,87	4,82	4,81	4,85
Prijateljstvo / Friendship	4,78	4,74	4,74	4,97	4,92	4,86	4,89	4,64	4,85	4,80
Slobodno vrijeme / Leisure time	4,58	4,19	4,02	4,83	4,46	4,31	4,33	4,28	4,57	4,38
Ljubav / Love	4,64	4,68	4,77	4,96	4,83	4,85	4,80	4,50	4,77	4,72
Seksualni život / Sex life	4,34	4,58	4,49	4,88	4,58	4,49	4,20	4,08	4,46	4,40
Zaštita okoliša / Protection of environment	4,37	4,66	4,46	4,72	4,72	4,51	3,95	4,47	4,69	4,49

Tablica 4. (nastavak) Važnost koju ispitanici pridaju pojedinim vrijednostima društvenoga i individualnoga života (*srednje ocjene*)
Table 4 (continued) The importance respondents give to particular values related to social and individual life (*average ratings*)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Politika / Politics	1,58	1,74	1,86	3,64	1,95	2,35	2,44	2,05	1,89	2,14
Vjera / Religion	4,08	4,03	4,10	4,71	4,13	3,96	4,60	4,25	4,55	4,26
Nacija / Nation	4,03	3,85	3,41	4,77	3,67	3,55	4,16	3,59	3,99	3,85
Novac / Money	4,64	4,75	4,60	4,85	4,64	4,63	4,85	4,65	4,67	4,69
Sloboda / Freedom	4,90	4,77	4,77	4,99	4,93	4,87	4,92	4,73	4,89	4,85
Ravnopravnost spolova / Equality of the sexes	4,38	4,32	4,00	4,94	4,56	4,54	4,39	4,25	4,77	4,43
Zdravlje / Health	4,97	5,00	4,84	5,00	4,98	4,95	4,99	4,94	4,99	4,96

Ponudeni su bili odgovori: *uopće nije važno* (1), *uglavnom nevažno* (2), *nisam siguran* (3), *uglavnom važno* (4) te *vrlo važno* (5)

Answers that were offered included: *not important at all* (1), *mainly unimportant* (2), *I'm not sure* (3), *mainly important* (4) and *very important* (5)

Tablica 5. Osjećaju li se ispitanici, kao Romi, poštovani u društvu? (%)

Table 5 Do the respondents, as Roma, feel respected in society?(%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Ne / No	20,7	17,4	10,0	4,4	12,2	16,0	16,7	21,0	7,4	15,3
Da / Yes	79,3	82,6	90,0	95,6	87,8	84,0	83,3	79,0	92,6	84,7

Tablica 6. Što po mišljenju ispitanika najbolje opisuje Rome (%)

Table 6 What best describes the Roma according to the respondents (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Folklor / Folklore	19,6	8,5	2,5	19,1	20,0	18,0	28,6	3,3	9,9	13,5
Tipični obrti / Typical trades	5,4	2,1	5,0	12,4	7,0	3,0	1,0	,9	2,8	4,0
Običaji / Customs	24,1	9,6	7,5	41,6	11,0	8,0	46,9	6,5	7,0	17,0
Siromaštvo / Poverty	45,5	64,9	80,0	18,0	33,0	63,0	6,1	74,9	62,0	52,0
Jezik / Language	3,6	13,8	5,0	3,4	25,0	6,0	17,3	11,6	12,7	11,1
Ostalo / Other	1,8	1,1	,0	5,6	4,0	2,0	,0	2,8	5,6	2,5

Tablica 7. Domaćinstvo živi u: (%)

Table 7 The household lives in: (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Stan / Flat	8,9	,0	2,5	,0	2,0	16,0	26,5	,9	,0	6,0
Kuća / House	58,0	88,5	78,8	62,2	96,0	80,0	50,0	77,9	77,3	74,5
Baraka (napuštena na gradilištu) / Barracks (abandoned at building sites)	14,3	5,2	5,0	16,7	1,0	4,0	23,5	8,3	2,7	9,1
Daščara - koliba (od lima, drva, kartona) / Board hut - shack (from sheet metal, wood, cardboard)	16,1	4,2	10,0	20,0	1,0	,0	,0	12,9	20,0	9,5
Ostalo / Other	2,7	2,1	3,8	1,1	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,9

Tablica 8. Godina izgradnje (ili zadnjega preuređenja) stambenog objekta (%)

Table 8 Year of construction (or last alteration) of dwelling (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
do 1949. / until 1949	8,2	2,2	,0	,0	,0	5,5	5,0	,0	1,5	2,2
1950. - 1959.	2,1	2,2	1,3	,0	,0	11,0	1,7	,0	3,0	2,1
1960. - 1969.	8,2	2,2	2,7	5,1	10,8	25,3	,0	2,0	3,0	6,4
1970. - 1979.	4,1	7,7	5,3	10,3	8,6	12,1	,0	5,4	10,6	7,0
1980. - 1989.	19,6	12,1	10,7	26,9	18,3	15,4	10,0	14,4	9,1	15,4
1990. - 1999.	41,2	38,5	30,7	26,9	32,3	15,4	51,7	43,6	43,9	36,5
2000. - 2004.	16,5	35,2	49,3	30,8	30,1	15,4	31,7	34,7	28,8	30,4

Tablica 9. Površina kuće/stana (%)

Table 9 Area of dwelling (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
do 10 m ² / up to 10 m ²	20,5	5,3	26,3	3,3	7,0	3,0	,0	17,1	13,3	11,3
10-20 m ²	10,7	24,2	18,8	5,6	8,0	17,2	,0	28,6	37,3	17,6
20-35 m ²	15,2	26,3	18,8	12,2	17,0	34,3	9,2	25,3	18,7	20,4
35-50 m ²	17,0	14,7	12,5	22,2	12,0	17,2	31,6	10,6	18,7	16,6
50-75 m ²	20,5	18,9	11,3	15,6	38,0	8,1	24,5	8,3	10,7	16,6
75 m ² i više / 75 m ² and over	16,1	10,5	12,5	41,1	18,0	20,2	34,7	10,1	1,3	17,6

Tablica 10. Broj spavaćih soba (%)
Table 10 Number of bedrooms (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Ni jedna / Not one	29,5	22,1	20,0	13,3	8,0	8,0	11,2	35,5	30,7	21,6
Jedna / One	30,4	36,8	52,5	16,7	33,0	50,0	36,7	40,6	52,0	38,5
Dvije / Two	19,6	33,7	17,5	50,0	36,0	27,0	24,5	18,4	13,3	25,9
Tri / Three	8,9	6,3	7,5	15,6	19,0	10,0	9,2	3,2	2,7	8,6
Četiri i više / Four and over	11,6	1,1	2,5	4,4	4,0	5,0	18,4	2,3	1,3	5,5

Tablica 11. Ima li svaki član domaćinstva svoju postelju? (%)
Table 11 Does each member of the household have their own bed? (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Ne / No	42,9	41,1	53,8	53,3	21,0	23,0	39,8	64,1	46,7	45,0
Da / Yes	57,1	58,9	46,3	46,7	79,0	77,0	60,2	35,9	53,3	55,0

Tablica 12. Vrsta materijala od kojeg je kuća građena (%)
Table 12 Type of building materials (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Drvo / Wood	21,4	12,6	2,5	30,0	1,0	,0	,0	3,7	34,7	10,3
Cigla, kamen, betonski blokovi / Bricks, stone, concrete blocks	73,2	86,3	92,5	57,8	99,0	87,0	100	94,9	65,3	85,7
Karton, lim / Cardboard, sheet metal	1,8	1,1	2,5	4,4	,0	,0	,0	1,4	,0	1,2
Ostalo / Other	3,6	,0	2,5	7,8	,0	13,0	,0	,0	,0	2,7

Tablica 13. Vlasnički status (%)
Table 13 Ownership status (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Vlasnik stana / Owner of dwelling	58,0	87,4	91,3	63,3	76,0	59,0	29,4	91,2	92,0	73,9
Ostalo / Other	42,0	12,6	8,8	36,7	24,0	41,0	70,6	8,8	8,0	26,1

Tablica 14. Opremljenost domaćinstva (%)

Table 14 Level of equipment and facilities in the household (%)

	Zagreb			Sisacko-moslavačka			Varaždinska		
	Da / Yes	Ne / No	Namjerava nabaviti / Intends to obtain	Da / Yes	Ne / No	Namjerava nabaviti / Intends to obtain	Da / Yes	Ne / No	Namjerava nabaviti / Intends to obtain
Električnu struju / Electricity	79,5	17,0	3,6	67,7	28,1	4,2	51,3	32,5	16,3
Vodovod / Waterworks	57,1	38,4	4,5	60,4	38,5	1,0	13,8	66,3	20,0
Bunar ili pumpu u dvorištu / Well or pump in yard	25,2	74,8	,0	42,7	56,3	1,0	60,0	40,0	,0
Kanalizaciju / Sewerage	53,6	42,9	3,6	6,3	90,6	3,1	8,8	76,3	15,0
Kuhinju / Kitchen	67,0	32,1	,9	65,3	34,7	,0	57,5	33,8	8,8
Kupaonicu / Bathroom	58,9	40,2	,9	22,9	74,0	3,1	17,5	66,3	16,3
WC u kući / Indoor toilet	57,1	42,0	,9	16,7	80,2	3,1	7,5	78,8	13,8
WC u dvorištu / Outdoor toilet	33,9	66,1	,0	72,9	27,1	,0	60,0	33,8	6,3
Hladnjak / Fridge	76,8	22,3	,9	40,6	58,3	1,0	49,4	48,1	2,5
Ledenicu / Freezer	46,4	51,8	1,8	66,7	33,3	,0	58,8	40,0	1,3
Perilicu rublja / Washing machine	58,9	38,4	2,7	16,7	80,2	3,1	25,0	67,5	7,5
Televizor / Television	83,9	14,3	1,8	81,3	18,8	,0	80,0	18,8	1,3
Video ili DVD / Video or DVD	53,6	45,5	,9	25,0	75,0	,0	12,5	87,5	,0
Bicikl / Bicycle	47,3	50,9	1,8	74,0	26,0	,0	63,8	33,8	2,5
Motorkotač / Motorcycle	5,4	92,8	1,8	2,1	97,9	,0	2,5	97,5	,0
Automobil / Car	46,4	52,7	,9	46,9	53,1	,0	35,0	62,5	2,5
Kuću za odmor / Holiday house	,9	99,1	,0	,0	100	,0	5,1	94,9	,0
Osobno računalo / PC	9,8	89,3	,9	,0	100	,0	,0	100	,0
Satelitsku antenu / Satellite antenna	30,4	67,9	1,8	5,2	94,8	,0	15,0	83,8	1,3
Telefon / Telephone	36,9	62,2	,9	40,6	59,4	,0	43,8	53,8	2,5
Mobilni telefon / Mobile phone	68,8	30,4	,9	25,0	75,0	,0	28,8	71,3	,0
Radio / Radio	64,9	35,1	,0	60,4	38,5	1,0	62,5	37,5	,0

Tablica 14. (nastavak) Opremljenost domaćinstva (%)

Table 14 (continued) Level of equipment and facilities in the household (%)

	Primorsko-goranska			Brodsko-posavska			Osječko-baranjska		
	Da / Yes	Ne / No	Namjerava nabaviti / Intends to obtain	Da / Yes	Ne / No	Namjerava nabaviti / Intends to obtain	Da / Yes	Ne / No	Namjerava nabaviti / Intends to obtain
Električnu struju / Electricity	91,1	8,9	,0	80,0	9,0	11,0	91,9	8,1	,0
Vodovod / Waterworks	82,2	17,8	,0	59,0	19,0	22,0	52,5	46,5	1,0
Bunar ili pumpu u dvorištu / Well or pump in yard	4,4	93,3	2,2	32,0	61,0	7,0	45,5	52,5	2,0
Kanalizaciju / Sewerage	13,3	86,7	,0	8,0	70,0	22,0	25,0	72,0	3,0
Kuhinju / Kitchen	85,6	13,3	1,1	63,6	26,3	10,1	85,0	13,0	2,0
Kupaonicu / Bathroom	65,6	33,3	1,1	32,0	48,0	20,0	38,0	57,0	5,0
WC u kući / Indoor toilet	70,0	28,9	1,1	32,0	55,0	13,0	41,0	54,0	5,0
WC u dvorištu / Outdoor toilet	41,1	57,8	1,1	88,0	11,0	1,0	86,0	14,0	,0
Hladnjak / Fridge	95,5	4,5	,0	81,0	15,0	4,0	83,0	17,0	,0
Ledenicu / Freezer	48,9	50,0	1,1	66,0	32,0	2,0	51,0	49,0	,0
Perilicu rublja / Washing machine	73,3	26,7	,0	62,0	33,0	5,0	55,0	42,0	3,0
Televizor / Television	96,7	3,3	,0	96,0	3,0	1,0	90,0	10,0	,0
Video ili DVD / Video or DVD	59,6	40,4	,0	55,0	43,0	2,0	31,0	69,0	,0
Bicikl / Bicycle	20,2	78,7	1,1	90,0	10,0	,0	74,0	26,0	,0
Motorkotač / Motorcycle	2,2	97,8	,0	6,1	92,9	1,0	2,0	98,0	,0
Automobil / Car	37,1	61,8	1,1	32,0	61,0	7,0	22,0	78,0	,0
Kuću za odmor / Holiday house	,0	98,9	1,1	3,0	95,0	2,0	5,0	94,0	1,0
Osobno računalo / PC	5,7	93,2	1,1	7,1	87,9	5,1	3,0	96,0	1,0
Satelitsku antenu / Satellite antenna	65,2	33,7	1,1	31,0	66,0	3,0	14,0	86,0	,0
Telefon / Telephone	58,9	41,1	,0	37,0	60,0	3,0	52,0	44,0	4,0
Mobilni telefon / Mobile phone	65,6	34,4	,0	41,0	55,0	4,0	39,0	56,0	5,0
Radio / Radio	73,0	27,0	,0	81,0	18,0	1,0	85,0	14,0	1,0

Tablica 14. (nastavak) Opremljenost domaćinstva (%)

Table 14 (continued) Level of equipment and facilities in the household (%)

	Istarska			Međimurska			Ostalo / Other			Ukupno uzorak / Total sample		
	Da / Yes	Ne / No	Namjerava nabaviti / Intends to obtain	Da / Yes	Ne / No	Namjerava nabaviti / Intends to obtain	Da / Yes	Ne / No	Namjerava nabaviti / Intends to obtain	Da / Yes	Ne / No	Namjerava nabaviti / Intends to obtain
Električnu struju / Electricity	76,5	23,5	,0	61,8	28,6	9,7	77,3	17,3	5,3	73,9	20,2	5,9
Vodovod / Waterworks	76,5	23,5	,0	24,9	66,8	8,3	62,7	36,0	1,3	51,1	42,3	6,6
Bunar ili pumpu u dvorištu / Well or pump in yard	13,4	86,6	,0	51,6	48,4	,0	24,0	76,0	,0	35,3	63,4	1,2
Kanalizaciju / Sewerage	77,6	20,4	2,0	3,7	88,9	7,4	4,0	92,0	4,0	21,2	72,1	6,7
Kuhinju / Kitchen	86,7	13,3	,0	52,5	44,7	2,8	50,7	45,3	4,0	66,8	30,1	3,1
Kupaonicu / Bathroom	77,6	22,4	,0	18,0	71,4	10,6	12,0	82,7	5,3	36,7	56,1	7,2
WC u kući / Indoor toilet	76,0	24,0	,0	12,4	80,2	7,4	6,7	89,3	4,0	33,9	60,7	5,5
WC u dvorištu / Outdoor toilet	36,5	63,5	,0	59,5	38,6	1,9	57,3	42,7	,0	59,4	39,4	1,1
Hladnjak / Fridge	90,8	9,2	,0	34,7	60,2	5,1	40,5	58,1	1,4	63,0	35,0	2,1
Ledenicu / Freezer	67,0	33,0	,0	66,8	30,9	2,3	45,3	53,3	1,3	58,7	40,0	1,2
Perilicu rublja / Washing machine	71,4	27,6	1,0	48,8	47,9	3,2	32,0	68,0	,0	50,1	47,0	2,9
Televizor / Television	87,8	12,2	,0	79,3	20,3	,5	74,7	25,3	,0	85,0	14,5	,5
Video ili DVD / Video or DVD	62,2	37,8	,0	14,3	83,4	2,3	30,7	69,3	,0	36,0	63,2	,8
Bicikl / Bicycle	44,8	55,2	,0	73,7	25,3	,9	70,7	29,3	,0	63,5	35,8	,7
Motorkotač / Motorcycle	8,2	91,8	,0	2,8	96,8	,5	1,3	98,7	,0	3,6	96,0	,4
Automobil / Car	39,8	60,2	,0	19,4	77,4	3,2	28,0	72,0	,0	32,5	65,7	1,9
Kuću za odmor / Holiday house	8,2	91,8	,0	,0	100	,0	,0	100	,0	2,2	97,4	,4
Osobno računalo / PC	15,6	84,4	,0	,5	99,1	,5	,0	100	,0	4,4	94,7	,9
Satelitsku antenu / Satellite antenna	57,1	39,8	3,1	6,5	93,5	,0	4,0	96,0	,0	23,5	75,5	1,0
Telefon / Telephone	30,2	67,7	2,1	27,6	70,0	2,3	37,3	61,3	1,3	38,8	59,4	1,9
Mobilni telefon / Mobile phone	79,6	20,4	,0	21,7	76,5	1,8	29,7	70,3	,0	42,4	56,2	1,4
Radio / Radio	84,5	15,5	,0	55,8	43,3	,9	70,7	29,3	,0	69,1	30,4	,5

Table 15 The biggest problems of the household (%)

* moguća su bila dva odgovora
* two responses were possible

Table 16 The number of family members that participate in making a living (%)

		Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Broj / Number	0	16,1	10,4	1,3	27,8	15,0	33,0	20,4	10,1	9,3	15,6
	1	44,6	51,0	50,0	53,3	57,0	31,0	50,0	53,5	48,0	49,2
	2	28,6	33,3	40,0	14,4	18,0	16,0	18,4	26,7	38,7	25,6
	3	4,5	2,1	3,8	2,2	4,0	4,0	7,1	2,8	1,3	3,5
	4	1,8	2,1	1,3	2,2	2,0	6,0	,0	1,8	1,3	2,1
	5	2,7	1,0	,0	,0	1,0	4,0	2,0	1,4	,0	1,4
	6	,0	,0	,0	,0	2,0	2,0	1,0	1,4	,0	,8
	7	,9	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,9	1,3	,4
	8	,9	,0	3,8	,0	1,0	4,0	1,0	,5	,0	1,1
	9	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,9	,0	,2

Tablica 16. (nastavak) Broj članova obitelji koji sudjeluju u pribavljanju sredstava za život (%)

Table 16 (continued) The number of family members that participate in making a living (%)

		Zagreb	Sisačko- -moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- -goranska	Brodsko- -posavska	Osječko- -baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Od toga djeca / Share of children	0	99,1	99,0	91,3	98,9	97,0	87,0	99,0	93,5	97,3	95,6
	1	,0	,0	1,3	1,1	,0	6,0	,0	,5	,0	,9
	2	,9	1,0	2,5	,0	,0	2,0	1,0	1,8	1,3	1,2
	3	,0	,0	1,3	,0	,0	2,0	,0	,9	,0	,5
	4	,0	,0	,0	,0	1,0	3,0	,0	,9	,0	,6
	5	,0	,0	1,3	,0	1,0	,0	,0	,5	1,3	,4
	6	,0	,0	2,5	,0	1,0	,0	,0	,9	,0	,5
	7	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,5	,0	,1
	8	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0
	9	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,5	,0	,1
Od toga žene / Share of women	0	57,1	53,1	43,8	91,1	71,0	60,0	81,6	59,4	61,3	63,8
	1	36,6	43,8	52,5	8,9	28,0	28,0	12,2	38,2	37,3	32,2
	2	3,6	3,1	1,3	,0	1,0	7,0	5,1	1,8	1,3	2,7
	3	2,7	,0	1,3	,0	,0	4,0	1,0	,5	,0	1,0
	4	,0	,0	1,3	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,1
	5	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	1,0	,0	,0	,0	,1

Tablica 17. Najvažniji prihodi domaćinstva (%)*

Table 17 The most important income to the household (%)*

	Zagreb	Sisačko- -moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- -goranska	Brodsko- -posavska	Osječko- -baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Poljoprivredno gospodarstvo (ratarstvo) / Agrarian economy (agriculture)	0,9	0,0	3,8	0,0	1,0	2,0	0,0	1,8	0,0	1,1
Uzgoj i prodaja stoke (stočarstvo) / Raising and sale of livestock	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	2,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,2
Radni odnos / Employment	7,1	16,7	2,5	61,1	12,0	6,0	59,8	6,0	0,0	17,6
Rad u inozemstvu / Work abroad	2,7	1,0	0,0	1,1	6,0	0,0	2,1	0,0	0,0	1,3
Kućna radinost / Cottage industry	1,8	4,1	3,8	7,8	5,0	3,0	5,1	2,8	0,0	3,6
Povremeni i sezonski rad, nadničarenje / Temporary, seasonal work	24,1	20,8	28,8	3,3	23,0	34,0	21,5	38,7	33,3	26,9
Prijevozništvo (kamionom, konjem i sl.) / Transport (truck, horse, etc.)	0,9	1,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	1,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,3
Prikupljanje sekundarnih sirovina / Collection of raw materials (metal, glass, paper, etc.)	42,9	32,3	42,6	1,1	16,0	6,0	3,1	10,6	38,7	19,7

Tablica 17. (nastavak) Najvažniji prihodi domaćinstva (%)*

Table 17 (continued) The most important income to the household (%)*

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Sitni uslužni poslovi (pranje automobilskih stakala, prodaja sitne robe) / Odd jobs (washing windscreens, selling door-to-door, etc.)	13,4	4,2	7,5	5,5	5,0	3,0	4,1	6,9	6,6	6,4
Renta (iznajmljivanje poslovnoga prostora, stana, imanja) / Rent (renting of office space, flats, property)	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	1,0	0,5	0,0	0,2
Mirovina / Pension	2,7	5,2	2,6	1,1	15,0	2,0	11,3	3,2	1,3	4,8
Socijalna pomoć / Social welfare	59,8	79,2	88,8	45,6	69,0	89,0	52,1	83,4	97,3	74,2
Pomoć rodbine / Help from relatives	4,5	0,0	1,3	10,0	1,0	1,0	3,1	2,8	2,7	2,9
Prosjačenje / Begging	4,5	0,0	6,3	1,1	4,0	1,0	2,0	9,2	2,7	4,1
Gatanje / Fortune-telling	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	5,2	0,0	0,0	0,5

* moguća su bila dva odgovora

* two responses were possible

Tablica 18. Procjena važnosti rješavanja pojedinih problema u naselju (%)

Table 18 Evaluation of the importance of solving particular problems in the settlement (%)

	Zagreb				Sisačko-moslavačka				Varaždinska			
	Nije problem / Not a problem	Donekle važno / Somewhat important	Izrazito važno / Very important		Nije problem / Not a problem	Donekle važno / Somewhat important	Izrazito važno / Very important		Nije problem / Not a problem	Donekle važno / Somewhat important	Izrazito važno / Very important	
Električna struja / Electricity	39,3	8,0	52,7	21,9	9,4	68,8	12,5	7,5	80,0			
Vodovod / Waterworks	36,6	7,1	56,3	33,3	16,7	50,0	13,8	5,0	81,3			
Kanalizacija / Sewerage	34,8	8,9	56,3	2,1	12,5	85,4	2,5	3,8	93,8			
Telefonska mreža / Telephone network	49,1	18,8	32,1	46,9	30,2	22,9	47,5	30,0	22,5			
Uređeni nogostupi / Footpath	31,3	19,6	49,1	,0	13,5	86,5	,0	17,5	82,5			
Asfaltirane ulice / Paved streets	30,4	19,6	50,0	1,0	4,2	94,8	,0	15,0	85,0			
Trgovina prehrambenim proizvodima / Grocery shop	55,4	14,3	30,4	20,8	26,0	53,1	26,3	37,5	36,3			
Specijalizirane trgovine / Specialised shops	44,1	30,6	25,2	38,5	37,5	24,0	42,5	40,0	17,5			
Dječji vrtić / Kindergarten	49,1	12,5	38,4	9,4	20,8	69,8	18,8	36,3	45,0			
Osnovna škola / Primary school	52,7	9,8	37,5	21,9	13,5	64,6	25,0	31,3	43,8			
Zdravstveni dom ili ambulanta / Health clinic or surgery	45,5	8,9	45,5	19,8	18,8	61,5	27,5	21,3	51,3			

	Zagreb			Sisačko-moslavačka			Varaždinska		
Društveni dom / Social club	39,3	26,8	33,9	7,3	30,2	62,5	22,5	51,3	26,3
Otvaranje radnih mjesta / More jobs	5,4	11,6	83,0	3,2	10,8	86,0	5,2	14,3	80,5
Uređeno naselje / Ordered settlement	19,6	17,9	62,5	1,1	15,8	83,2	,0	11,3	88,8
Vjerska institucija (crkva, džamija i sl.) / Religious institutions (church, mosque, etc.)	52,7	19,6	27,7	42,7	33,3	24,0	26,3	42,5	31,3
Groblje / Cemetery	64,3	20,5	15,2	66,7	17,7	15,6	67,5	17,5	15,0
Postaja javnoga prijevoza / Public transport stop	58,9	8,9	32,1	38,5	24,0	37,5	21,3	30,0	48,8
Organizirani odvoz smeća / Organised rubbish removal	50,9	7,1	42,0	57,3	15,6	27,1	22,5	25,0	52,5

Tablica 18. (nastavak) Procjena važnosti rješavanja pojedinih problema u naselju (%)

Table 18 (continued) Evaluation of the importance of solving particular problems in the settlement (%)

	Primorsko-goranska			Brodsko-posavska			Osječko-baranjska		
	Nije problem / Not a problem	Donekle važno / Somewhat important	Izrazito važno / Very important	Nije problem / Not a problem	Donekle važno / Somewhat important	Izrazito važno / Very important	Nije problem / Not a problem	Donekle važno / Somewhat important	Izrazito važno / Very important
Električna struja / Electricity	21,1	11,1	67,8	33,0	3,0	64,0	46,0	5,0	49,0
Vodovod / Waterworks	18,9	8,9	72,2	29,0	5,0	66,0	24,0	10,0	66,0
Kanalizacija / Sewerage	3,3	4,4	92,2	4,0	1,0	95,0	17,0	18,0	65,0
Telefonska mreža / Telephone network	25,6	28,9	45,6	29,0	21,0	50,0	39,0	26,0	35,0
Uređeni nogostupi / Footpaths	6,7	26,7	66,7	5,0	27,0	68,0	19,0	24,0	57,0
Asfaltirane ulice / Paved streets	5,6	13,3	81,1	14,1	11,1	74,7	18,0	19,0	63,0
Trgovina prehrambenim proizvodima / Grocery shop	28,9	18,9	52,2	42,0	22,0	36,0	26,0	24,0	50,0
Specijalizirane trgovine / Specialised shops	38,9	45,6	15,6	52,0	36,0	12,0	49,0	31,0	20,0
Dječji vrtić / Kindergarten	15,6	15,6	68,9	11,0	23,0	66,0	16,0	26,0	58,0
Osnovna škola / Primary school	24,4	26,7	48,9	12,0	15,0	73,0	36,0	21,0	43,0
Zdravstveni dom ili ambulanta / Health clinic or surgery	18,9	12,2	68,9	9,0	12,0	79,0	17,0	17,0	66,0
Društveni dom / Social club	21,1	30,0	48,9	15,0	22,0	63,0	21,0	30,0	49,0
Otvaranje radnih mjesta / More jobs	1,1	10,0	88,9	3,0	,0	97,0	1,0	4,0	95,0
Uređeno naselje / Ordered settlement	,0	12,2	87,8	,0	2,0	98,0	9,0	19,0	72,0
Vjerska institucija (crkva, džamija i sl.) / Religious institutions (church, mosque, etc.)	13,3	27,8	58,9	35,0	21,0	44,0	57,0	12,0	31,0
Groblje / Cemetery	22,7	35,2	42,0	59,0	17,0	24,0	58,0	17,0	25,0
Postaja javnoga prijevoza / Public transport stop	28,9	33,3	37,8	15,0	15,0	70,0	33,0	19,0	48,0
Organizirani odvoz smeća / Organised rubbish removal	31,1	21,1	47,8	36,0	14,0	50,0	40,0	14,0	46,0

Tablica 18. (nastavak) Procjena važnosti rješavanja pojedinih problema u naselju (%)
Table 18 (continued) Evaluation of the importance of solving particular problems in the settlement (%)

	Istarska			Međimurska			Ostalo / Other			Ukupno uzorak / Total sample		
	Nije problem / Not a problem	Donekle važno / Somewhat important	Izrazito važno / Very important	Nije problem / Not a problem	Donekle važno / Somewhat important	Izrazito važno / Very important	Nije problem / Not a problem	Donekle važno / Somewhat important	Izrazito važno / Very important	Nije problem / Not a problem	Donekle važno / Somewhat important	Izrazito važno / Very important
Električna struja / Electricity	59,8	6,2	34,0	20,0	11,6	68,4	29,3	18,7	52,0	30,7	9,0	60,3
Vodovod / Waterworks	59,8	4,1	36,1	10,6	8,3	81,0	37,3	10,7	52,0	27,2	8,4	64,4
Kanalizacija / Sewerage	52,6	9,3	38,1	2,8	9,7	87,6	5,3	,0	94,7	13,2	8,1	78,7
Telefonska mreža / Telephone network	44,3	34,0	21,6	32,6	26,0	41,4	46,7	8,0	45,3	39,1	25,1	35,9
Uređeni nogostupi / Footpaths	58,8	23,7	17,5	9,3	29,6	61,1	2,7	9,3	88,0	14,9	22,6	62,5
Asfaltirane ulice / Paved streets	61,7	17,0	21,3	12,0	20,8	67,1	2,7	4,0	93,3	16,4	15,0	68,6
Trgovina prehrambenim proizvodima / Grocery shop	66,7	11,5	21,9	39,4	21,3	39,4	26,7	29,3	44,0	37,9	22,1	40,0
Specijalizirane trgovine / Specialised shops	74,0	18,8	7,3	46,8	27,3	25,9	56,0	24,0	20,0	48,8	31,6	19,6
Dječji vrtić / Kindergarten	53,6	21,6	24,7	20,0	18,1	61,9	22,7	25,3	52,0	24,0	21,2	54,7
Osnovna škola / Primary school	57,3	11,5	31,3	29,6	18,5	51,9	45,3	25,3	29,3	33,5	18,5	48,0
Zdravstveni dom ili ambulanta / Health clinic or surgery	45,8	9,4	44,8	19,0	14,4	66,7	48,0	18,7	33,3	26,5	14,4	59,1
Društveni dom / Social club	49,5	29,9	20,6	25,5	38,9	35,6	26,7	22,7	50,7	25,6	32,0	42,4
Otvaranje radnih mjesta / More jobs	12,5	9,4	78,1	6,9	11,1	81,9	6,9	6,9	86,1	5,2	8,9	85,9
Uređeno naselje / Ordered settlement	35,4	32,3	32,3	1,9	19,4	78,7	2,7	6,7	90,7	7,5	16,0	76,5
Vjerska institucija (crkva, džamija i sl.) / Religious institutions (church, mosque, etc.)	42,7	13,5	43,8	28,8	30,2	40,9	52,0	20,0	28,0	38,1	24,8	37,1
Groblje / Cemetery	42,3	10,3	47,4	67,1	17,1	15,7	74,7	13,3	12,0	59,0	18,3	22,7
Postaja javnoga prijevoza / Public transport stop	51,5	23,7	24,7	31,6	26,5	41,9	44,0	18,7	37,3	35,8	22,3	42,0
Organizirani odvoz smeća / Organised rubbish removal	52,6	22,7	24,7	24,7	11,6	63,7	37,3	17,3	45,3	37,9	15,5	46,5

Tablica 19. Kakvo bi naselje bilo najprikladnije za Rome (%)*

Table 19 What would make the settlement more suitable for the Roma (%)*

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Uređeno i čisto naselje s lijepim pročeljima/fasadama... / An ordered and clean settlement with nice fronts/facades	37,1	52,2	45,3	22,2	38,4	21,3	2,7	55,5	60,3	41,9
Naselje opremljeno komunalnom infrastrukturom (plin, struja, voda, kanalizacija...) / A settlement with public utilities (gas, electricity, water, sewerage...)	7,0	26,6	36,3	33,0	12,8	21,0	2,7	24,3	14,9	20,3
Naselje s uredenom prometnom infrastrukturom / A settlement with ordered traffic infrastructure	3,6	31,4	22,7	30,8	10,2	18,0	0,0	24,6	28,2	19,0
Naselje s raznovrsnom socijalnom infrastrukturom (škole, vrtići, igrališta, kulturne ustanove...) / A settlement with different social infrastructure (school, kindergarten, playground, cultural centre...)	2,0	7,4	6,3	6,7	4,5	4,3	0,0	15,3	5,3	7,0
Urbanizirano naselje (građevinske dozvole) / An urbanised settlement (building permit)	1,1	1,0	5,1	9,3	1,2	7,0	0,0	2,0	5,4	3,2
Seoski tip naselja / A rural type of settlement	1,1	0,0	1,3	0,0	0,0	2,5	0,0	4,9	0,0	1,7
Naselje kao i druga "ne-romska" naselja, ništa posebno / Settlements like other "non-Roma" settlements, nothing special	52,0	30,4	28,0	35,7	48,8	50,0	86,5	19,5	21,9	36,1
Velika, grupirana naselja / Big grouped settlements	5,3	0,0	1,3	0,0	1,2	0,0	8,1	3,4	0,0	2,1

* moguća su bila dva odgovora

* two responses were possible

Tablica 20. Karakteristična obilježja načina života u naselju (%)

Table 20 The characteristic features of lifestyle in the settlement (%)

	Zagreb			Sisačko-moslavačka			Varaždinska		
	Uopće ne / Not at all	Donekle / To some degree	Izrazito / Noticeably	Uopće ne / Not at all	Donekle / To some degree	Izrazito / Noticeably	Uopće ne / Not at all	Donekle / To some degree	Izrazito / Noticeably
Velika uloga tradicije / Great role of tradition	23,1	33,7	43,3	31,8	43,5	24,7	29,9	35,8	34,3
Ugroženost života onečišćenim okolišem / Threatened by the polluted environment	30,9	16,4	52,7	1,0	15,6	83,3	5,1	8,9	86,1
Mogućnost da osoba u kratkom vremenu stekne dobar standard / The possibility of acquiring a good standard in a short time	51,4	21,9	26,7	58,2	32,9	8,9	56,8	27,0	16,2
Siguran svakodnevni život / Safe everyday life	29,7	30,6	39,6	19,4	35,5	45,2	13,9	46,8	39,2
Mogućnost da se živi po vlastitu izboru / The possibility of living according to one's own choice	25,2	31,8	43,0	20,5	46,6	33,0	16,0	36,0	48,0

Tablica 20. (nastavak) Karakteristična obilježja načina života u naselju (%)
Table 20 (continued) The characteristic features of lifestyle in the settlement (%)

	Primorsko-goranska			Brodsko-posavska			Osječko-baranjska		
	Uopće ne / Not at all	Donekle / To some degree	Izrazito / Noticeably	Uopće ne / Not at all	Donekle / To some degree	Izrazito / Noticeably	Uopće ne / Not at all	Donekle / To some degree	Izrazito / Noticeably
Velika uloga tradicije / Great role of tradition	3,8	28,2	67,9	26,6	40,4	33,0	29,3	34,8	35,9
Ugroženost života onečišćenim okolišem / Threatened by the polluted environment	13,7	27,4	58,9	5,3	14,7	80,0	23,2	31,6	45,3
Mogućnost da osoba u kratkom vremenu stekne dobar standard / The possibility of acquiring a good standard in a short time	81,8	7,8	10,4	59,1	20,4	20,4	57,6	21,7	20,7
Siguran svakodnevni život / Safe everyday life	39,2	22,8	38,0	10,3	41,2	48,5	13,0	37,0	50,0
Mogućnost da se živi po vlastitu izboru / The possibility of living according to one's own choice	33,3	24,0	42,7	22,6	25,8	51,6	18,0	31,5	50,6

Tablica 20. (nastavak) Karakteristična obilježja načina života u naselju (%)
Table 20 (continued) The characteristic features of lifestyle in the settlement (%)

	Istarska			Međimurska			Ostalo / Other			Ukupno uzorak / Total sample		
	Uopće ne / Not at all	Donekle / To some degree	Izrazito / Noticeably	Uopće ne / Not at all	Donekle / To some degree	Izrazito / Noticeably	Uopće ne / Not at all	Donekle / To some degree	Izrazito / Noticeably	Uopće ne / Not at all	Donekle / To some degree	Izrazito / Noticeably
Velika uloga tradicije / Great role of tradition	5,7	31,0	63,2	27,2	42,8	30,0	32,3	38,5	29,2	23,6	37,2	39,2
Ugroženost života onečišćenim okolišem / Threatened by the polluted environment	32,3	39,8	28,0	12,2	18,3	69,5	9,6	28,8	61,6	15,0	21,7	63,3
Mogućnost da osoba u kratkom vremenu stekne dobar standard / The possibility of acquiring a good standard in a short time	42,2	16,7	41,1	48,9	22,8	28,3	50,8	33,3	15,9	55,2	22,4	22,4
Siguran svakodnevni život / Safe everyday life	7,7	38,5	53,8	17,8	28,7	53,5	8,2	26,0	65,8	17,9	33,6	48,5
Mogućnost da se živi po vlastitu izboru / The possibility of living according to one's own choice	17,0	33,0	50,0	20,6	26,9	52,6	15,6	35,9	48,4	21,0	31,7	47,2

Tablica 21. Utjecaj institucija i pojedinaca na razvitak i organizaciju života u naselju (%)

Table 21 The influence of institutions and individuals on the development and organisation of life in the settlement (%)

	Zagreb			Sisačko-moslavačka			Varaždinska		
	Uopće ne / Not at all	Donekle / To some degree	Izrazito / Noticeably	Uopće ne / Not at all	Donekle / To some degree	Izrazito / Noticeably	Uopće ne / Not at all	Donekle / To some degree	Izrazito / Noticeably
Država, vlada / State, government	41,9	34,3	23,8	48,2	43,4	8,4	46,5	39,4	14,1
Gradsko/općinsko poglavarstvo / Town/municipal government	40,2	30,8	29,0	42,9	45,1	12,1	49,3	33,3	17,3
Stručnjaci / Experts	63,5	27,1	9,4	83,3	16,7	,0	78,6	17,1	4,3
Stanovnici naselja / Settlement inhabitants	30,0	39,1	30,9	18,9	58,9	22,2	19,5	45,5	35,1
Nevladine udruge koje promiču ljudska prava i slobode / NGOs that promote human rights and liberty	52,5	27,3	20,2	72,8	23,5	3,7	63,4	26,8	9,9
Romske udruge / Romani associations	44,5	23,6	31,8	45,3	45,3	9,5	48,7	28,9	22,4
Političke stranke / Political parties	74,0	13,0	13,0	85,2	12,5	2,3	87,1	7,1	5,7

Tablica 21. (nastavak) Utjecaj institucija i pojedinaca na razvitak i organizaciju života u naselju (%)

Table 21 (continued) The influence of institutions and individuals on the development and organisation of life in the settlement (%)

	Primorsko-goranska			Brodsko-posavska			Osječko-baranjska		
	Uopće ne / Not at all	Donekle / To some degree	Izrazito / Noticeably	Uopće ne / Not at all	Donekle / To some degree	Izrazito / Noticeably	Uopće ne / Not at all	Donekle / To some degree	Izrazito / Noticeably
Država, vlada / State, government	52,1	28,2	19,7	25,3	45,3	29,5	50,5	31,2	18,3
Gradsko/općinsko poglavarstvo / Town/municipal government	45,8	34,7	19,4	18,4	48,0	33,7	26,8	43,3	29,9
Stručnjaci / Experts	63,5	27,1	9,4	83,3	16,7	,0	78,6	17,1	4,3
Stanovnici naselja / Settlement inhabitants	22,2	46,9	30,9	21,1	49,5	29,5	22,4	35,7	41,8
Nevladine udruge koje promiču ljudska prava i slobode / NGOs that promote human rights and liberty	53,3	25,0	21,7	38,2	40,4	21,3	49,4	31,5	19,1
Romske udruge / Romani associations	14,5	34,2	51,3	35,5	36,6	28,0	27,8	33,0	39,2
Političke stranke / Political parties	63,6	27,3	9,1	71,6	17,9	10,5	82,8	9,7	7,5

Tablica 21. (nastavak) Utjecaj institucija i pojedinaca na razvitak i organizaciju života u naselju (%)

Table 21 (continued) The influence of institutions and individuals on the development and organisation of life in the settlement (%)

	Istarska			Međimurska			Ostalo / Other			Ukupno uzorak / Total sample		
	Uopće ne / Not at all	Donekle / To some degree	Izrazito / Noticeably	Uopće ne / Not at all	Donekle / To some degree	Izrazito / Noticeably	Uopće ne / Not at all	Donekle / To some degree	Izrazito / Noticeably	Uopće ne / Not at all	Donekle / To some degree	Izrazito / Noticeably
Država, vlada / State, government	28,6	47,6	23,8	35,8	40,6	23,5	29,6	49,3	21,1	39,2	39,9	20,9
Gradsko/općinsko poglavarstvo / Town/municipal government	26,1	35,2	38,6	28,6	48,1	23,3	20,5	46,6	32,9	32,4	41,5	26,2
Stručnjaci / Experts	68,3	24,4	7,3	67,5	21,5	11,0	81,3	10,9	7,8	71,7	21,2	7,0
Stanovnici naselja / Settlement inhabitants	28,7	41,5	29,8	26,6	35,5	37,9	26,8	45,1	28,2	24,5	42,9	32,6
Nevladine udruge koje promiču ljudska prava i slobode / NGOs that promote human rights and liberty	48,2	32,5	19,3	59,4	29,1	11,5	73,5	13,2	13,2	56,4	28,3	15,3
Romske udruge / Romani associations	24,1	27,6	48,3	42,9	45,0	12,2	61,6	19,2	19,2	38,7	34,2	27,1
Političke stranke / Political parties	62,0	19,0	19,0	74,6	20,3	5,1	86,8	5,9	7,4	76,2	15,3	8,5

Tablica 22. Rangiranje sadržaja potrebnih za ugodan život u naselju

Table 22 Ranking of facilities necessary for a comfortable life in the settlement

Zagreb	Sisačko-moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko-goranska	Brodsko-posavska
1. Ambulanta, ljekarna/Health clinic, chemist's	Škola i vrtić/School and kindergarten	Škola i vrtić/School and kindergarten	Ambulanta, ljekarna/Health clinic, chemist's	Ambulanta, ljekarna/Health clinic, chemist's
2. Škola i vrtić/School and kindergarten	Ambulanta, ljekarna/Health clinic, chemist's	Ambulanta, ljekarna/Health clinic, chemist's	Škola i vrtić/School and kindergarten	Škola i vrtić/School and kindergarten
3. Trgovina mješovitom robom/Grocery shop	Trgovina mješovitom robom/Grocery shop	Trgovina mješovitom robom/Grocery shop	Trgovina mješovitom robom/Grocery shop	Sportsko-rekreacijski sadržaji/Sport-recreational facilities
4. Sajam, tržnica/Fair, market	Sportsko-rekreacijski sadržaji/Sport-recreational facilities	Sportsko-rekreacijski sadržaji/Sport-recreational facilities	Vjerski objekt/Religious place of worship	Trgovina mješovitom robom/Grocery shop
5. Vjerski objekt/Religious place of worship	Kulturno-zabavni sadržaji/Cultural-entertainment facilities	Vjerski objekt/Religious place of worship	Sportsko-rekreacijski sadržaji/Sport-recreational facilities	Sajam, tržnica/Fair, market
6. Sportsko-rekreacijski sadržaji/Sport-recreational facilities	Sajam, tržnica/Fair, market	Sajam, tržnica/Fair, market	Sajam, tržnica/Fair, market	Kulturno-zabavni sadržaji/Cultural-entertainment facilities

	Zagreb	Sisačko-moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko-goranska	Brodsko-posavska
7.	Kulturno-zabavni sadržaji/ Cultural-entertainment facilities	Vjerski objekt/ Religious place of worship	Kulturno-zabavni sadržaji/ Cultural-entertainment facilities	Kulturno-zabavni sadržaji/ Cultural-entertainment facilities	Vjerski objekt/ Religious place of worship
8.	Ugostiteljski objekt/ Catering establishment (inn/café)	Ugostiteljski objekt/ Catering establishment (inn/café)	Ugostiteljski objekt/ Catering establishment (inn/café)	Ugostiteljski objekt/ Catering establishment (inn/café)	Ugostiteljski objekt/ Catering establishment (inn/café)
	Osječko-baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
1.	Ambulanta, ljekarna/Health clinic, chemist's	Škola i vrtić/ School and kindergarten	Škola i vrtić/ School and kindergarten	Škola i vrtić/ School and kindergarten	Škola i vrtić/ School and kindergarten
2.	Škola i vrtić/ School and kindergarten	Ambulanta, ljekarna/Health clinic, chemist's	Ambulanta, ljekarna/Health clinic, chemist's	Trgovina mješovitom robom/ Grocery shop	Ambulanta, ljekarna/Health clinic, chemist's
3.	Trgovina mješovitom robom/ Grocery shop	Vjerski objekt/ Religious place of worship	Trgovina mješovitom robom/ Grocery shop	Ambulanta, ljekarna/Health clinic, chemist's	Trgovina mješovitom robom/ Grocery shop
4.	Sportsko-rekreacijski sadržaji/ Sport-recreational facilities	Trgovina mješovitom robom/ Grocery shop	Sportsko-rekreacijski sadržaji/ Sport-recreational facilities	Sportsko-rekreacijski sadržaji/ Sport-recreational facilities	Sportsko-rekreacijski sadržaji/ Sport-recreational facilities
5.	Sajam, tržnica/ Fair, market	Sajam, tržnica/ Fair, market	Vjerski objekt/ Religious place of worship	Sajam, tržnica/ Fair, market	Sajam, tržnica/ Fair, market
6.	Kulturno-zabavni sadržaji/ Cultural-entertainment facilities	Sportsko-rekreacijski sadržaji/ Sport-recreational facilities	Sajam, tržnica/ Fair, market	Kulturno-zabavni sadržaji/ Cultural-entertainment facilities	Vjerski objekt/ Religious place of worship
7.	Ugostiteljski objekt/ Catering establishment (inn/café)	Kulturno-zabavni sadržaji/ Cultural-entertainment facilities	Kulturno-zabavni sadržaji/ Cultural-entertainment facilities	Vjerski objekt/ Religious place of worship	Kulturno-zabavni sadržaji/ Cultural-entertainment facilities
8.	Vjerski objekt/ Religious place of worship	Ugostiteljski objekt/ Catering establishment (inn/café)	Ugostiteljski objekt/ Catering establishment (inn/café)	Ugostiteljski objekt/ Catering establishment (inn/café)	Ugostiteljski objekt/ Catering establishment (inn/café)

Tablica 23. Srednja ocjena pojedinih aspekata kvalitete života

Table 23 Average ratings of particular quality of life aspects

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Prehrana / Diet	3,8	3,4	3,7	3,6	3,8	3,7	3,7	3,4	3,4	3,6
Uvjeti stanovanja / Housing conditions	2,8	2,6	2,8	2,5	3,3	3,1	2,9	2,7	2,6	2,8
Radno mjesto / Employment	1,6	1,6	1,8	2,3	1,7	1,8	2,5	1,6	1,3	1,7
Osobno zdravlje / Personal health	3,3	3,5	3,7	3,5	3,5	3,7	3,6	3,4	3,5	3,5
Zdravlje članova obitelji / Health of family members	3,7	3,9	4,0	3,7	3,9	4,1	3,6	3,7	3,6	3,8
Materijalno stanje kućanstva / Material state of the household	2,4	2,2	2,6	2,3	2,5	2,5	2,5	2,1	2,2	2,3
Ugled među osobama iz bliže okolice (susjedima, kolegama s posla) / Reputation among persons in the immediate environment (neighbours, work colleagues)	3,9	3,7	3,7	4,2	3,9	4,0	3,8	3,5	3,3	3,7
Osobna životna perspektiva / Personal life perspective	3,3	3,2	3,4	3,0	3,2	3,0	3,3	3,1	3,2	3,2
Životna perspektiva mladih članova obitelji / Personal life perspective of young family members	3,5	3,7	3,8	3,4	3,3	3,4	3,6	3,5	3,5	3,5
Mogućnost biranja načina života prema vlastitim željama i mjerilima / Possibility of choosing a lifestyle according to own desires and standards	3,1	2,9	3,6	3,1	3,3	3,4	3,1	3,1	3,1	3,2
Opće životne prilike u naselju / General life opportunities in the settlement	2,9	2,4	2,4	2,2	3,0	2,9	3,0	2,5	2,7	2,7

Ponudene su bile ocjene kao u školi od 1 (nedovoljno) do 5 (odlično)

The offered ratings were from 1 (inadequate) to 5 (excellent)

Tablica 24. Kako je riješeno stambeno pitanje ispitanika (%)

Table 24 How the respondents' housing problems have been solved (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Vrlo loše, uopće nije riješeno / Very bad, have not been solved at all	39,6	21,9	21,8	35,6	16,2	20,6	15,3	32,3	26,7	26,5
Loše / Bad	18,0	46,9	41,0	34,5	26,3	30,9	21,4	29,5	33,3	30,6
Dobro / Good	32,4	25,0	28,2	29,9	46,5	40,2	51,0	30,9	34,7	35,1
Vrlo dobro / Very good	9,9	6,3	9,0	,0	11,1	8,2	12,2	7,4	5,3	7,8

Tablica 25. Na što se ispitanici mogu požaliti u vezi sa sadašnjim uvjetima stanovanja (%)

Table 25 What respondents complain about with regard to present housing conditions (%)

	Zagreb			Sisačko-moslavačka			Varaždinska		
	Nije problem / Not a problem	Donekle problem / Somewhat of a problem	Izrazit problem / A major problem	Nije problem / Not a problem	Donekle problem / Somewhat of a problem	Izrazit problem / A major problem	Nije problem / Not a problem	Donekle problem / Somewhat of a problem	Izrazit problem / A major problem
Premalen stambeni prostor / Too small living space	33,0	19,6	47,3	21,9	29,2	49,0	18,8	18,8	62,5
Neprikladan stambeni raspored / Unsuitable interior arrangement	32,1	23,2	44,6	26,3	28,4	45,3	16,3	26,3	57,5
Slaba opremljenost stana (nedostatak vode, plina, struje) / Poorly equipped dwelling (lack of water, gas and electricity)	31,3	17,0	51,8	6,3	25,3	68,4	5,0	16,3	78,8
Vlažnost ili oronulost stana / Dampness and dilapidated condition of dwelling	45,0	8,1	46,8	30,5	32,6	36,8	36,3	16,3	47,5
Teška pristupačnost stana (nezgodna lokacija) / Difficult accessibility to dwelling (awkward location)	64,3	10,7	25,0	42,1	38,9	18,9	38,8	36,3	25,0
Ružna ili zapuštena stambena zgrada / Ugly or abandoned residential building	54,5	15,2	30,4	47,4	32,6	20,0	42,5	28,8	28,8
Veliki izdaci za stan (visoka stanarina, režije) / High expenditures for dwelling (high rent, overheads)	34,8	22,3	42,9	29,5	24,2	46,3	43,8	33,8	22,5
Neugodni susjedi / Unpleasant neighbours	60,0	24,5	15,5	55,8	32,6	11,6	51,9	25,3	22,8
Slaba opremljenost naselja potrebnim objektima (trgovine, škole) / Poorly equipped settlement (lack of shops, school)	47,3	26,8	25,9	5,2	17,7	77,1	8,8	26,3	65,0
Ružan izgled i slabo održavanje naselja / Ugly appearance and poorly maintained settlement	42,0	17,9	40,2	1,0	21,9	77,1	,0	12,5	87,5
Onečišćenost zraka i okolice / Polluted air and environment	35,7	13,4	50,9	,0	11,5	88,5	2,5	11,3	86,3
Neodgovarajuća lokacija / Unsuitable location	53,6	21,4	25,0	16,7	41,7	41,7	13,9	39,2	46,8
Loši uvjeti za život djece u naselju / Poor conditions for children in the settlement	43,8	14,3	42,0	1,0	21,9	77,1	3,8	18,8	77,5
Loši uvjeti za život žena / Poor conditions for women	49,1	14,3	36,6	1,0	27,1	71,9	7,5	20,0	72,5
Loši uvjeti za život starijih osoba / Poor conditions for the elderly	42,9	13,4	43,8	2,1	21,9	76,0	6,3	16,5	77,2

Tablica 25. (nastavak) Na što se ispitanici mogu požaliti u vezi sa sadašnjim uvjetima stanovanja (%)

Table 25 (continued) What respondents complain about with regard to present housing conditions (%)

	Primorsko-goranska			Brodsko-posavska			Osječko-baranjska		
	Nije problem / Not a problem	Donekle problem / Somewhat of a problem	Izrazit problem / A major problem	Nije problem / Not a problem	Donekle problem / Somewhat of a problem	Izrazit problem / A major problem	Nije problem / Not a problem	Donekle problem / Somewhat of a problem	Izrazit problem / A major problem
Premalen stambeni prostor / Too small living space	17,8	27,8	54,4	25,0	34,0	41,0	25,0	28,0	47,0
Neprikladan stambeni raspored / Unsuitable interior arrangement	12,2	24,4	63,3	32,0	27,0	41,0	36,0	30,0	34,0
Slaba opremljenost stana (nedostatak vode, plina, struje) / Poorly equipped dwelling (lack of water, gas and electricity)	8,9	17,8	73,3	16,0	24,0	60,0	17,0	30,0	53,0
Vlažnost ili oronulost stana / Dampness and dilapidated condition of dwelling	17,8	14,4	67,8	44,0	13,0	43,0	30,0	21,0	49,0
Teška pristupačnost stana (nezgodna lokacija) / Difficult accessibility to dwelling (awkward location)	24,4	8,9	66,7	55,0	12,0	33,0	55,6	15,2	29,3
Ružna ili zapuštena stambena zgrada / Ugly or abandoned residential building	21,1	16,7	62,2	59,6	27,3	13,1	53,0	21,0	26,0
Veliki izdaci za stan (visoka stanarina, režije) / High expenditures for dwelling (high rent, overheads)	22,2	31,1	46,7	51,0	16,0	33,0	37,0	22,0	41,0
Neugodni susjedi / Unpleasant neighbours	85,6	7,8	6,7	55,0	28,0	17,0	85,0	8,0	7,0
Slaba opremljenost naselja potrebnim objektima (trgovine, škole) / Poorly equipped settlement (lack of shops, school)	18,9	25,6	55,6	9,0	22,0	69,0	15,0	36,0	49,0
Ružan izgled i slabo održavanje naselja / Ugly appearance and poorly maintained settlement	4,4	18,9	76,7	5,0	24,0	71,0	21,0	36,0	43,0
Onečišćenost zraka i okolice / Polluted air and environment	11,1	33,3	55,6	8,0	17,0	75,0	23,0	39,0	38,0
Neodgovarajuća lokacija / Unsuitable location	26,7	16,7	56,7	29,0	30,0	41,0	37,4	37,4	25,3
Loši uvjeti za život djece u naselju / Poor conditions for children in the settlement	6,7	22,2	71,1	8,0	18,0	74,0	9,0	14,0	77,0
Loši uvjeti za život žena / Poor conditions for women	13,3	16,7	70,0	12,1	23,2	64,6	14,0	30,0	56,0
Loši uvjeti za život starijih osoba / Poor conditions for the elderly	10,0	20,0	70,0	9,0	22,0	69,0	11,1	17,2	71,7

Tablica 25. (nastavak) Na što se ispitanici mogu požaliti u vezi sa sadašnjim uvjetima stanovanja (%)

Table 25 (continued) What respondents complain about with regard to present housing conditions (%)

	Istarska			Međimurska			Ostalo / Other			Ukupno uzorak / Total sample		
	Nije problem / Not a problem	Donekle problem / Somewhat of a problem	Izrazit problem / A major problem	Nije problem / Not a problem	Donekle problem / Somewhat of a problem	Izrazit problem / A major problem	Nije problem / Not a problem	Donekle problem / Somewhat of a problem	Izrazit problem / A major problem	Nije problem / Not a problem	Donekle problem / Somewhat of a problem	Izrazit problem / A major problem
Premalen stambeni prostor / Too small living space	38,8	17,3	43,9	18,0	17,5	64,5	12,0	22,7	65,3	23,2	23,1	53,6
Neprikladan stambeni raspored / Unsuitable interior arrangement	29,6	27,6	42,9	20,3	26,7	53,0	16,0	22,7	61,3	24,6	26,4	49,0
Slaba opremljenost stana (nedostatak vode, plina, struje) / Poorly equipped dwelling (lack of water, gas and electricity)	48,0	22,4	29,6	6,5	16,6	77,0	12,2	24,3	63,5	16,1	20,9	62,9
Vlažnost ili oronulost stana / Dampness and dilapidated condition of dwelling	27,6	25,5	46,9	23,5	24,9	51,6	36,5	12,2	51,4	31,4	19,5	49,1
Teška pristupačnost stana (nezgodna lokacija) / Difficult accessibility to dwelling (awkward location)	72,9	10,4	16,7	45,2	25,8	29,0	36,0	29,3	34,7	48,8	20,9	30,4
Ružna ili zapuštena stambena zgrada / Ugly or abandoned residential building	30,6	40,8	28,6	45,2	30,0	24,9	42,7	22,7	34,7	44,6	26,5	28,9
Veliki izdaci za stan (visoka stanarina, režije) / High expenditures for dwelling (high rent, overheads)	13,3	28,6	58,2	35,8	25,6	38,6	21,3	32,0	46,7	32,7	25,7	41,6
Neugodni susjedi / Unpleasant neighbours	66,0	19,6	14,4	57,6	26,7	15,7	52,1	24,7	23,3	62,9	22,5	14,7
Slaba opremljenost naselja potrebnim objektima (trgovine, škole) / Poorly equipped settlement (lack of shops, school)	70,4	14,3	15,3	12,0	31,3	56,7	25,3	20,0	54,7	22,7	25,4	51,9
Ružan izgled i slabo održavanje naselja / Ugly appearance and poorly maintained settlement	41,8	36,7	21,4	10,1	37,8	52,1	10,7	25,3	64,0	15,4	27,4	57,2
Onečišćenost zraka i okolice / Polluted air and environment	53,1	27,6	19,4	16,2	27,3	56,5	16,0	21,3	62,7	18,8	23,1	58,1
Neodgovarajuća lokacija / Unsuitable location	60,8	24,7	14,4	29,8	34,0	36,3	26,7	22,7	50,7	33,2	30,2	36,6
Loši uvjeti za život djece u naselju / Poor conditions for children in the settlement	45,4	27,8	26,8	13,9	25,0	61,1	8,0	29,3	62,7	16,1	21,4	62,4
Loši uvjeti za život žena / Poor conditions for women	56,1	18,4	25,5	22,2	27,8	50,0	12,0	29,3	58,7	21,9	23,4	54,7
Loši uvjeti za život starijih osoba / Poor conditions for the elderly	51,5	20,6	27,8	19,1	25,6	55,3	6,7	30,7	62,7	18,7	21,2	60,1

Tablica 26. Gdje bi ispitanik radije stanovao (%)
Table 26 Where the respondent would like to live (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Uz rijeku / Along a river	34,5	29,2	24,4	83,1	48,0	42,4	29,9	35,0	31,3	38,4
Dalje od rijeke / Away from a river	65,5	70,8	75,6	16,9	52,0	57,6	70,1	65,0	68,7	61,6
Bliže gradskom središtu / Close to the town centre	75,5	63,5	53,2	67,1	71,0	68,0	74,0	66,8	52,2	66,5
Dalje od gradskoga središta / Away from town centre	24,5	36,5	46,8	32,9	29,0	32,0	26,0	33,2	47,8	33,5
U naselju s formiranim gradskim ulicama / In a settlement with town streets	68,2	71,9	75,9	63,8	67,0	82,0	86,8	75,5	73,1	73,9
U naselju bez tipičnih gradskih ulica / In a settlement without typical town streets	31,8	28,1	24,1	36,2	33,0	18,0	13,2	24,5	26,9	26,1
U starijem dijelu grada s klasičnom (tradicionalnom) arhitekturom / In an older part of the town with classical (traditional) architecture	40,7	40,6	27,8	33,3	21,0	42,0	23,5	43,9	53,7	37,2
U novijem naselju s modernom arhitekturom / In a newer settlement with modern architecture	59,3	59,4	72,2	66,7	79,0	58,0	76,5	56,1	46,3	62,8
U kući s okućnicom i dvorištem / In a house with a vegetable plot and yard	94,5	96,9	94,9	96,4	90,0	96,0	87,9	93,5	91,0	93,5
U stambenoj zgradi ili obiteljskoj kući bez okućnice i dvorišta / In an apartment building or family house without a vegetable plot and yard	5,5	3,1	5,1	3,6	10,0	4,0	12,1	6,5	9,0	6,5
U pješačkoj zoni / In a pedestrian zone	70,0	82,1	83,3	78,8	90,0	80,0	84,2	86,3	73,1	81,6
U zoni s gradskim prometom / In a zone with town traffic	30,0	17,9	16,7	21,2	10,0	20,0	15,8	13,7	26,9	18,4
Na nižim katovima / In a low-rise building	92,7	94,8	94,9	97,1	89,9	94,0	86,8	93,0	95,5	93,1
Na višim katovima / In a high-rise building	7,3	5,2	5,1	2,9	10,1	6,0	13,2	7,0	4,5	6,9
U velikom gradu / In a big town	57,0	29,2	29,1	72,6	37,0	18,2	44,3	30,0	21,2	36,5
U manjem ili malom gradu / In a smaller or small town	43,0	70,8	70,9	27,4	63,0	81,8	55,7	70,0	78,8	63,5
U romskom naselju / In a Romani settlement	22,9	45,8	57,0	55,3	47,0	46,0	19,2	48,1	56,7	44,3
U nekom drugom (neromskom) naselju / In another (non-Romani) settlement	77,1	54,2	43,0	44,7	53,0	54,0	80,8	51,9	43,3	55,7
Na selu / In a village	24,5	62,5	82,3	5,7	52,0	60,0	17,0	79,2	85,1	54,8
U gradu / In a town	75,5	37,5	17,7	94,3	48,0	40,0	83,0	20,8	14,9	45,2

Tablica 27. Što bi sami, kao zajednica, mogli napraviti na poboljšanju stambenoga i naseljskoga standarda (%)*
Table 27 What could they, as a community, do to improve the housing and settlement standard (%)*

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Sudjelovati u poslovima uređivanja, čišćenja naselja, odvozu smeća i sl. / Participate in putting settlement into order, cleaning, rubbish removal and similar	13,4	43,8	32,5	10,0	34,0	28,0	,0	30,0	42,7	25,9
Davati prijedloge/savjete/inicijative / Give suggestions/advice/initiatives	,9	,0	1,3	,0	,0	1,0	9,2	1,0	1,3	1,5
Biti radna snaga u akcijama / Be the work force in actions	2,7	3,1	1,3	18,9	,0	7,0	,0	5,0	,0	4,3
Ulagati u školovanje / Invest in schooling	3,6	1,0	1,3	,0	2,0	,0	,0	6,9	1,3	2,5
Sudjelovati u izgrađivanju i održavanju komunalne infrastrukture / Participate in building and maintaining the communal infrastructure	1,8	18,7	8,8	11,1	3,0	,0	,0	5,1	12,0	6,2
Ništa / Nothing	8,9	11,5	15,0	5,6	16,0	15,0	2,0	6,5	10,7	9,6
Poboljšati međuljudske odnose, financijski se pomagati / Improve mutual relations, help financially	18,8	1,0	7,6	13,3	6,0	10,0	7,1	5,0	1,3	7,7
Uložiti u otvaranje nekog objekta (trgovačkog, uslužnog, zabavnog) / Invest in the opening of some facility (shopping, service, entertainment)	,9	3,1	1,3	,0	2,0	2,0	,0	,5	,0	1,0

* moguća su bila dva odgovora

* two responses were possible

Tablica 28. Tko bi trebao biti glavni inicijator unapređivanja kvalitete stanovanja (%)
Table 28 Who should be the main initiator of improving the quality of housing (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Općina/grad / Municipality/town	80,2	90,4	80,0	92,0	78,7	79,8	90,1	80,3	90,1	83,8
Stanovnici četvrti/naselja / Inhabitants of the quarter/settlement	19,8	9,6	20,0	8,0	21,3	20,2	9,9	19,7	9,9	16,2

Tablica 29. Sjećate li se nekih akcija uređenja naselja? (%)*

Table 29 Do you remember some organised activities to tidy up the settlement? (%)*

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Uređivanje, čišćenje naselja, odvoz smeća / Putting into order, cleaning the settlement, rubbish removal	26,8	47,9	48,8	38,9	76,0	57,0	22,4	34,6	49,3	43,1
Izgrađivanje i održavanje prometne infrastrukture / Building and maintaining traffic infrastructure	5,4	2,1	1,3	32,2	1,0	2,0	1,0	4,1	,0	5,3
Deratizacija / Deratization	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	1,9	,0	,4
Gradnja kuća / House building	3,6	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,9	,0	,6
Kopanje kanala za struju, vodu / Digging canals for electricity, water	,0	11,4	,0	4,4	,0	1,0	1,0	1,4	,0	2,1

* moguća su bila dva odgovora

* two responses were possible

Tablica 30. Jesu li ispitanici sudjelovali u akcijama uređenja naselja? (%)

Table 30 Did the respondents participate in tidying up their settlement? (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Ne / No	48,0	31,1	31,7	35,9	32,6	48,9	87,2	35,3	43,4	43,3
Da / Yes	52,0	68,9	68,3	64,1	67,4	51,1	12,8	64,7	56,6	56,7

Tablica 31. Izvori informiranja ispitanika (%)

Table 31 Sources of information for the respondent (%)

	Zagreb			Sisačko-moslavačka			Varaždinska		
	Nikada / Never	Povremeno / Sometimes	Često / Often	Nikada / Never	Povremeno / Sometimes	Često / Often	Nikada / Never	Povremeno / Sometimes	Često / Often
Hrvatska televizija / Croatian TV	10,7	29,5	59,8	10,4	21,9	67,7	15,0	30,0	55,0
Lokalne televizije / Local TV	33,0	33,9	33,0	20,8	35,4	43,8	40,0	38,8	21,3
Strane TV postaje (satelitske) / Foreign TV stations (satellite)	72,1	10,8	17,1	91,6	5,3	3,2	82,5	10,0	7,5
Hrvatski radio / Croatian radio	35,7	30,4	33,9	33,3	35,4	31,3	25,0	37,5	37,5
Druge radijske postaje / Other radio stations	40,2	33,9	25,9	37,5	36,5	26,0	47,5	35,0	17,5
Dnevni tisak / Daily paper	44,6	29,5	25,9	66,7	22,9	10,4	57,5	32,5	10,0
Tjedni tisak / Weekly paper	66,1	24,1	9,8	71,9	19,8	8,3	68,8	26,3	5,0
Razgovori s članovima obitelji ili prijateljima / Talks with members of family or friends	,0	10,7	89,3	4,2	15,6	80,2	3,8	17,5	78,8

Tablica 31. (nastavak) Izvori informiranja ispitanika (%)

Table 31 (continued) Sources of information for the respondent (%)

	Primorsko-goranska			Brodsko-posavska			Osječko-baranjska		
	Nikada / Never	Povremeno / Sometimes	Često / Often	Nikada / Never	Povremeno / Sometimes	Često / Often	Nikada / Never	Povremeno / Sometimes	Često / Often
Hrvatska televizija / Croatian TV	1,1	28,1	70,8	8,0	14,0	78,0	5,0	18,0	77,0
Lokalne televizije / Local TV	9,1	44,3	46,6	43,0	35,0	22,0	39,0	31,0	30,0
Strane TV postaje (satelitske) / Foreign TV stations (satellite)	25,0	46,6	28,4	65,0	19,0	16,0	79,0	12,0	9,0
Hrvatski radio / Croatian radio	31,5	36,0	32,6	18,0	36,0	46,0	14,0	30,0	56,0
Druge radijske postaje / Other radio stations	34,8	40,4	24,7	41,0	34,0	25,0	13,0	32,0	55,0
Dnevni tisak / Daily paper	41,1	43,3	15,6	54,0	34,0	12,0	62,0	24,0	14,0
Tjedni tisak / Weekly paper	68,9	24,4	6,7	65,0	27,0	8,0	73,0	24,0	3,0
Razgovori s članovima obitelji ili prijateljima / Talks with members of family or friends	,0	2,3	97,7	4,0	12,0	84,0	,0	14,1	85,9

Tablica 31. (nastavak) Izvori informiranja ispitanika (%)

Table 31 (continued) Sources of information for the respondent (%)

	Istarska			Medimurska			Ostalo / Other			Ukupno uzorak / Total sample		
	Nikada / Never	Povremeno / Sometimes	Često / Often	Nikada / Never	Povremeno / Sometimes	Često / Often	Nikada / Never	Povremeno / Sometimes	Često / Often	Nikada / Never	Povremeno / Sometimes	Često / Often
Hrvatska televizija / Croatian TV	9,2	22,4	68,4	8,3	33,8	57,9	10,7	25,3	64,0	8,6	25,8	65,6
Lokalne televizije / Local TV	34,7	37,8	27,6	43,5	31,5	25,0	28,0	30,7	41,3	34,0	34,8	31,2
Strane TV postaje (satelitske) / Foreign TV stations (satellite)	43,9	33,7	22,4	85,6	8,8	5,6	90,7	6,7	2,7	72,2	16,0	11,8
Hrvatski radio / Croatian radio	21,4	44,9	33,7	25,0	37,5	37,5	18,9	51,4	29,7	25,0	37,2	37,8
Druge radijske postaje / Other radio stations	33,7	40,8	25,5	44,4	28,7	26,9	42,7	32,0	25,3	37,8	34,1	28,2
Dnevni tisak / Daily paper	39,2	38,1	22,7	63,4	29,6	6,9	56,0	37,3	6,7	54,9	31,8	13,4
Tjedni tisak / Weekly paper	57,1	27,6	15,3	75,9	19,4	4,6	69,3	28,0	2,7	69,3	23,8	6,9
Razgovori s članovima obitelji ili prijateljima / Talks with members of family or friends	,0	17,5	82,5	3,7	13,0	83,3	2,7	21,3	76,0	2,2	13,5	84,3

Tablica 32. Smatraju li se ispitanici, u mjestu u kojem žive, domaćima ili došljacima (%)

Table 32 Do the respondents consider themselves to be local or newcomers in their place of residence (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko-moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko-goranska	Brodsko-posavska	Osječko-baranjska	Istarska	Medimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Domaćima / Local	91,8	96,9	95,0	92,2	88,0	94,0	74,5	98,1	94,7	92,3
Došljacima / Newcomer	8,2	3,1	5,0	7,8	12,0	6,0	25,5	1,9	5,3	7,7

Tablica 33. U kojoj su se mjeri ispitanici spremni odseliti ako bi time poboljšali uvjete rada i života (%)

Table 33 To what extent are respondents prepared to move away if this improves work and life conditions (%)

	Preseliti se u drugu četvrt ili na drugu lokaciju u mjestu Move to another quarter or location in place of living			Preseliti se u drugo mjesto ili grad unutar regije Move to another place or town within region			Preseliti se u drugu regiju u Hrvatskoj Move to another region in Croatia			Preseliti se u drugu državu Move to another state		
	Nespreman / Not ready	Neodlučan / Undecided	Spreman / Ready	Nespreman / Not ready	Neodlučan / Undecided	Spreman / Ready	Nespreman / Not ready	Neodlučan / Undecided	Spreman / Ready	Nespreman / Not ready	Neodlučan / Undecided	Spreman / Ready
Zagreb	29,1	,9	70,0	51,4	3,6	45,0	67,9	2,7	29,5	78,4	3,6	18,0
Sisačko-moslavačka	33,3	4,3	62,4	43,6	8,5	47,9	73,4	2,1	24,5	84,4	1,0	14,6
Varaždinska	39,7	3,8	56,4	50,6	6,3	43,0	75,0	1,3	23,8	90,0	2,5	7,5
Primorsko-goranska	24,7	10,1	65,2	51,7	12,4	36,0	83,9	8,0	8,0	89,7	2,3	8,0
Brodsko-posavska	58,9	8,4	32,6	62,9	7,2	29,9	63,9	7,2	28,9	54,1	3,1	42,9
Osječko-baranjska	46,5	8,1	45,5	51,0	9,0	40,0	67,7	8,1	24,2	65,0	2,0	33,0
Istarska	38,1	5,2	56,7	49,5	11,3	39,2	70,8	9,4	19,8	75,5	9,2	15,3
Međimurska	42,7	1,9	55,4	49,3	3,3	47,4	78,0	4,2	17,8	87,4	,0	12,6
Ostalo / Other	52,0	4,0	44,0	65,3	2,7	32,0	82,7	1,3	16,0	94,7	,0	5,3
Ukupno uzorak / Total sample	40,6	4,7	54,7	52,1	6,7	41,2	73,8	4,9	21,3	80,1	2,4	17,5

Tablica 34. Jezik kojim se govori u kući ispitanika (%)

Table 34 The language that is spoken in the respondent's houshold (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko-moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko-goranska	Brodsko-posavska	Osječko-baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Romski / Romani	77,5	17,7	1,3	22,2	59,5	46,9	12,2	2,3	37,3	27,9
Hrvatski / Croatian	8,1	62,5	76,3	46,0	27,8	28,1	56,1	84,7	46,7	52,6
I hrvatski i romski / Croatian and Romani	14,4	19,8	22,5	31,7	12,7	25,0	31,6	13,0	16,0	19,5

Tablica 35. Planiraju li ispitanici u bliskoj budućnosti promijeniti mjesto stanovanja? (%)

Table 35 Do the respondents plan to change address in the near future? (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
U drugi dio grada/sela / In another part of the city/village	,9	5,2	6,3	3,4	1,0	5,0	7,1	7,4	5,5	4,9
U drugo naselje na području Županije / In another settlement in the county area	6,3	1,0	11,3	,0	,0	3,0	1,0	5,6	4,1	3,7
U neki drugi dio Hrvatske / In another part of Croatia	1,8	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	1,0	,5	,0	,4
U inozemstvo / Abroad	,9	,0	,0	1,1	7,0	4,0	3,1	,5	,0	1,8
Namjeravam se preseliti, ali još ne znam kamo / I intend to move but I still do not know where	9,8	10,4	6,3	23,6	13,0	8,0	18,4	12,0	2,7	11,8
Ne namjeravam se seliti / I do not intend to move	80,4	83,3	76,3	71,9	79,0	80,0	69,4	74,1	87,7	77,4

Tablica 36. Mislite li da će vaša djeca ostati živjeti u naselju ili će se odseliti? (%)

Table 36 Do you think that your children will stay on and live in the settlement or move away? (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Vjerujem da će ostati / I believe that they will stay	42,0	42,7	31,6	47,2	43,0	24,0	51,0	28,7	53,3	38,7
Mislim da će se odseliti / I think that they will move away	14,3	10,4	29,1	27,0	6,0	23,0	14,6	27,3	9,3	18,9
Već se jedno ili više djece odselilo / One or more children have already moved away	3,6	3,1	1,3	1,1	,0	8,0	4,2	6,5	2,7	3,8
Ne znam, ne mogu ocijeniti / I don't know, can't say	33,0	41,7	29,1	18,0	32,0	36,0	19,8	34,3	32,0	31,3
Nemam djece / I don't have children	7,1	2,1	8,9	6,7	19,0	9,0	10,4	3,2	2,7	7,3

Tablica 37. Socijalna distanca – Osobu koja nije romske nacionalnosti prihvatilo bih kao: (%)

Table 37 Social distance – I would accept a person that is not of Romani nationality as a: (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Bračnog partnera / Marital partner	57,1	43,8	40,5	46,1	38,0	34,0	25,5	38,4	64,0	42,2
Bliskog prijatelja / Close friend	27,7	43,8	35,4	43,8	41,0	44,0	37,8	34,7	22,7	36,7
Susjeda / Neighbour	10,7	7,3	15,2	9,0	15,0	18,0	27,6	12,5	10,7	13,9
Ništa od navedenog / None of the above	4,5	5,2	8,9	1,1	6,0	4,0	9,2	14,4	2,7	7,3

Tablica 38. Veličina domaćinstva (%)

Table 38 Size of the household (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
1	2,7	1,0	1,3	2,2	5,0	4,0	,0	1,4	4,0	2,3
2	5,4	9,4	10,0	1,1	6,0	19,0	5,1	8,3	6,7	8,0
3	9,8	12,5	6,3	12,2	4,0	11,0	5,1	8,3	12,0	8,9
4	20,5	13,5	15,0	3,3	14,0	23,0	7,1	14,8	16,0	14,4
5	16,1	21,9	13,8	18,9	12,0	17,0	26,5	15,7	17,3	17,5
6	17,0	17,7	8,8	23,3	24,0	12,0	7,1	12,0	13,3	14,8
7	11,6	11,5	18,8	18,9	15,0	3,0	15,3	14,8	16,0	13,8
8	8,0	9,4	12,5	4,4	9,0	6,0	5,1	12,5	9,3	8,9
9	1,8	1,0	6,3	1,1	1,0	3,0	7,1	5,6	4,0	3,6
10 i više / 10 and over	7,1	2,1	7,5	14,4	10,0	2,0	21,4	6,5	1,3	8,0

Tablica 39. Kvalitativni sastav domaćinstva (%)

Table 39 Households according to composition (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Samačka domaćinstva / Single households	2,7	2,1	1,3	3,5	5,1	16,3	1,1	5,2	4,1	4,8
Bračni parovi bez djece / Married couples without children	4,5	5,3	7,6	2,4	4,0	10,2	2,2	6,6	5,5	5,5
Bračni parovi s neoženjenom/neudanom djecom / Married couples with unmarried children	42,3	46,3	67,1	71,8	62,6	37,8	38,7	55,9	56,2	52,9
Deficijentna jednorodnična domaćinstva / Single-parent households	9,9	5,3	10,1	8,2	3,0	11,2	16,1	6,1	2,7	7,9
“Potpuna” višeporodična domaćinstva / “Complete” extended households	10,8	10,5	1,3	10,6	10,1	19,4	9,7	4,7	8,2	9,1
Deficijentna višeporodična domaćinstva / Incomplete extended households	6,3	1,1	5,1	,0	5,1	3,1	32,3	3,8	1,4	6,2
Ostala višeporodična domaćinstva / Other extended households	23,4	29,5	7,6	3,5	10,1	2,0	,0	17,8	21,9	13,6

Tablica 40. Broj ženskih članova domaćinstva (%)

Table 40 The number of female household members (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
0	3,6	1,0	1,3	2,2	3,0	2,0	,0	1,8	,0	1,8
1	22,3	22,9	25,0	14,4	18,0	38,0	7,1	19,8	26,7	21,3
2	22,3	26,0	12,5	24,4	29,0	29,0	33,7	26,7	30,7	26,2
3	24,1	27,1	23,8	24,4	21,0	16,0	23,5	24,0	29,3	23,6
4	20,5	13,5	23,8	15,6	16,0	11,0	8,2	16,1	8,0	15,0
5	5,4	6,3	8,8	8,9	6,0	3,0	13,3	6,0	1,3	6,5
6	1,8	3,1	2,5	7,8	1,0	1,0	2,0	3,7	2,7	2,9
7	,0	,0	1,3	2,2	5,0	,0	4,1	,9	1,3	1,5
8	,0	,0	1,3	,0	,0	,0	8,2	,9	,0	1,1
9	,0	,0	,0	,0	1,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,1

Tablica 41. Broj muških članova domaćinstva (%)

Table 41 The number of male household members (%)

	Zagreb	Šišačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
0	1,8	1,0	1,3	2,2	3,0	7,0	1,0	2,8	5,3	2,8
1	12,5	17,7	26,3	10,0	13,0	20,0	9,2	14,7	14,7	15,1
2	28,6	34,4	27,5	16,7	28,0	34,0	28,6	26,3	25,3	27,7
3	33,9	28,1	18,8	37,8	21,0	27,0	19,4	20,3	24,0	25,1
4	13,4	13,5	13,8	18,9	14,0	8,0	13,3	20,3	17,3	15,3
5	1,8	4,2	5,0	10,0	7,0	3,0	16,3	6,9	8,0	6,8
6	3,6	,0	5,0	2,2	11,0	1,0	5,1	5,1	4,0	4,2
7	2,7	1,0	1,3	1,1	2,0	,0	1,0	1,4	,0	1,2
8	1,8	,0	1,3	,0	,0	,0	1,0	1,8	,0	,8
9	,0	,0	,0,	1,1	1,0	,0	5,1	,5	1,3	,9

Tablica 42. Broj članova domaćinstva starih 18 godina i manje (%)

Table 42 The number of household members under 18 (%)

	Zagreb	Šišačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
0	13,4	14,6	10,0	10,0	22,0	32,0	8,2	11,5	13,3	14,8
1	18,8	18,8	7,5	16,7	9,0	13,0	17,3	11,5	12,0	13,7
2	25,9	10,4	25,0	14,4	17,0	25,0	12,2	14,7	20,0	17,9
3	17,9	20,8	13,8	22,2	15,0	14,0	24,5	16,1	22,7	18,2
4	9,8	17,7	12,5	24,4	20,0	7,0	17,3	12,4	12,0	14,5
5	7,1	11,5	8,8	7,8	7,0	6,0	9,2	15,7	12,0	10,1
6	3,6	5,2	13,8	2,2	5,0	,0	2,0	8,8	2,7	5,2
7	1,8	,0	5,0	,0	,0	2,0	3,1	5,5	4,0	2,7
8	1,8	1,0	2,5	,0	5,0	1,0	2,0	1,4	,0	1,7
9	,0	,0	1,3	2,2	,0	,0	4,1	2,3	1,3	1,3

Tablica 43. Broj članova domaćinstva starih između 19 i 59 godina (%)

Table 43 The number of household members between 19–59 years (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
0	3,6	3,1	7,5	3,3	4,0	9,0	,0	5,1	5,3	4,5
1	4,5	4,2	7,5	8,9	3,0	4,0	1,0	8,8	5,3	5,6
2	54,5	69,8	67,5	44,4	50,0	63,0	48,0	68,7	73,3	60,5
3	14,3	14,6	11,3	11,1	11,0	13,0	12,2	9,7	5,3	11,4
4	12,5	4,2	2,5	11,1	12,0	8,0	14,3	2,3	4,0	7,4
5	7,1	3,1	2,5	6,7	12,0	3,0	5,1	2,3	4,0	4,9
6	,9	,0	1,3	11,1	3,0	,0	12,2	1,8	1,3	3,3
7	,0	1,0	,0	2,2	2,0	,0	1,0	,0	,0	,6
8	,9	,0	,0	,0	2,0	,0	5,1	,9	1,3	1,1
9	1,8	,0	,0	1,1	1,0	,0	1,0	,5	,0	,6

Tablica 44. Broj članova domaćinstva starijih od 60 godina (%)

Table 44 The number of household members over the age of 60 (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
0	82,1	90,6	90,0	93,3	85,0	83,0	86,7	92,2	96,0	88,8
1	7,1	5,2	6,3	4,4	13,0	8,0	8,2	6,0	4,0	6,9
2	10,7	4,2	3,8	2,2	1,0	9,0	5,1	1,8	,0	4,1
3	,0	,0	,0	,0	1,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,1

Tablica 45. Broj zaposlenih u domaćinstvu (%)

Table 45 The number of employed in the household (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
0	79,5	80,2	76,3	37,8	76,0	90,0	33,7	89,9	93,3	74,9
1	14,3	19,8	18,8	50,0	18,0	6,0	44,9	8,8	5,3	19,2
2	1,8	,0	2,5	11,1	6,0	3,0	14,3	,9	1,3	4,1
3	,0	,0	2,5	1,1	,0	1,0	3,1	,5	,0	,8
4	2,7	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,3
5	1,8	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	2,0	,0	,0	,4
6	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	2,0	,0	,0	,2

Table 46 The number of preschool children in the household (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
0	40,2	33,3	26,3	31,1	43,0	59,0	33,7	27,2	28,0	35,2
1	24,1	27,1	17,5	41,1	21,0	18,0	28,6	20,7	24,0	24,2
2	23,2	22,9	23,8	11,1	17,0	17,0	16,3	29,5	21,3	21,4
3	9,8	11,5	22,5	10,0	11,0	5,0	12,2	16,6	14,7	12,8
4	2,7	3,1	8,8	5,6	8,0	,0	5,1	4,6	8,0	4,9
5	,0	2,1	,0	,0	,0	,0	4,1	,5	1,3	,8
6	,0	,0	,0	1,1	,0	1,0	,0	,5	1,3	,4
7	,0	,0	1,3	,0	,0	,0	,0	,5	1,3	,3

Table 47 The number of primary school pupils in the household (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Ošječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
0	60,7	44,8	43,8	46,7	53,0	52,0	33,7	41,0	46,7	46,5
1	20,5	27,1	12,5	14,4	17,0	17,0	14,3	16,6	17,3	17,5
2	10,7	13,5	20,0	24,4	23,0	24,0	33,7	13,8	20,0	19,4
3	5,4	9,4	16,3	11,1	6,0	5,0	10,2	15,2	13,3	10,5
4	1,8	3,1	5,0	3,3	,0	2,0	7,1	9,2	1,3	4,3
5	,9	1,0	1,3	,0	1,0	,0	1,0	2,3	1,3	1,1
6	,0	1,0	1,3	,0	,0	,0	,0	,9	,0	,4
7	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,9	,0	,2

Table 48 The number of secondary school students in the household (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
0	95,5	95,8	96,3	90,0	96,0	90,0	92,9	93,5	100,0	94,2
1	1,8	3,1	3,8	6,7	2,0	9,0	5,1	5,5	,0	4,3
2	2,7	1,0	,0	3,3	2,0	1,0	2,0	,5	,0	1,3
3	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0
4	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,5	,0	,1

Tablica 49. Broj članova domaćinstva bez školske spreme (%)

Table 49 The number of household members without schooling (%)

	Zagreb	Šišačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
0	32,1	24,0	20,0	27,8	31,0	38,0	34,7	38,7	30,7	32,0
1	33,9	30,2	25,0	20,0	34,0	25,0	34,7	21,7	33,3	27,9
2	20,5	21,9	21,3	14,4	15,0	27,0	17,3	20,7	22,7	20,1
3	8,0	9,4	11,3	6,7	11,0	5,0	3,1	6,9	1,3	7,0
4	2,7	5,2	8,8	4,4	2,0	2,0	7,1	4,6	1,3	4,2
5	1,8	5,2	3,8	12,2	,0	1,0	2,0	2,8	4,0	3,4
6	,9	1,0	5,0	4,4	2,0	,0	,0	1,4	2,7	1,8
7	,0	1,0	2,5	3,3	4,0	2,0	,0	1,4	,0	1,5
8	,0	2,1	1,3	,0	,0	,0	,0	,9	2,7	,7
9	,0	,0	1,3	6,7	1,0	,0	1,0	,9	1,3	1,2

Tablica 50. Broj članova domaćinstva s nepotpunom osnovnom školom (%)

Table 50 The number of household members with unfinished primary school (%)

	Zagreb	Šišačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
0	47,3	31,3	37,5	25,6	21,0	28,0	31,6	28,6	28,0	30,9
1	26,8	43,8	28,8	25,6	41,0	33,0	30,6	30,4	37,3	32,6
2	14,3	21,9	22,5	24,4	21,0	33,0	22,4	27,2	26,7	24,0
3	7,1	2,1	5,0	14,4	10,0	4,0	5,1	7,4	5,3	6,8
4	2,7	,0	1,3	3,3	4,0	2,0	5,1	1,8	2,7	2,5
5	,0	1,0	,0	3,3	1,0	,0	,0	2,8	,0	1,1
6	,9	,0	3,8	2,2	2,0	,0	1,0	,9	,0	1,1
7	,9	,0	1,3	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,2
8	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,5	,0	,1
9	,0	,0	,0	1,1	,0	,0	4,1	,5	,0	,6

Tablica 51. Broj članova domaćinstva s potpunom osnovnom školom (%)

Table 51 The number of household members with a primary school education (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
0	56,3	67,7	78,8	48,9	58,0	51,0	30,6	82,9	90,7	64,3
1	20,5	27,1	17,5	21,1	27,0	35,0	46,9	13,4	8,0	23,2
2	15,2	2,1	3,8	17,8	13,0	8,0	10,2	3,2	,0	7,9
3	6,3	2,1	,0	5,6	,0	4,0	9,2	,5	1,3	3,0
4	,9	,0	,0	3,3	1,0	2,0	2,0	,0	,0	,9
5	,0	,0	,0	1,1	1,0	,0	1,0	,0	,0	,3
6	,0	1,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,1
7	,9	,0	,0	1,1	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,2
8	,0	,0	,0	1,1	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,1

Tablica 52. Broj članova domaćinstva sa srednjom školom (%)

Table 52 The number of household members with a secondary school education (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
0	75,0	90,6	92,5	82,2	84,0	86,0	85,7	93,5	96,0	87,6
1	15,2	9,4	7,5	12,2	13,0	11,0	10,2	5,1	2,7	9,3
2	5,4	,0	,0	4,4	3,0	3,0	3,1	,9	1,3	2,3
3	1,8	,0	,0	1,1	,0	,0	1,0	,5	,0	,5
4	2,7	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,3

Tablica 53. Broj članova domaćinstva sa završenom višom školom, visokom školom ili fakultetom (%)

Table 53 The number of household members with a tertiary school education (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
0	99,1	99,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	99,0	95,9	100,0	100,0	99,3
1	,9	1,0	,0	,0	,0	1,0	4,1	,0	,0	,7

Tablica 54. Nacionalni sastav domaćinstva (%)

Table 54 The nationality composition of the household (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Svi Romi / All Roma	88,4	91,4	96,3	91,1	85,0	86,0	95,9	96,3	94,5	92,0
Više Roma / More Roma	7,1	1,1	,0	1,1	3,0	3,0	2,0	1,9	1,4	2,4
Podjednako Romi i ostali / Equal numbers of Roma and others	,0	1,1	2,5	2,2	9,0	8,0	1,0	,0	,0	2,4
Više ostali / More of the others	4,5	6,5	1,3	5,6	3,0	3,0	1,0	1,9	4,1	3,2

Tablica 55. Vjeroispovijed članova domaćinstva (%)

Table 55 The religion of household members (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Većina rimokatoličke vjeroispovijedi / Majority Roman Catholic	14,4	51,0	97,5	,0	5,0	52,5	1,0	91,7	100	49,1
Većina islamske vjeroispovijedi / Majority Muslim	69,4	,0	,0	97,8	6,0	,0	96,9	,5	,0	27,7
Većina pravoslavne vjeroispovijedi / Majority Orthodox	5,4	39,6	,0	1,1	73,0	33,3	,0	,0	,0	15,6
Nitko ne pripada niti jednoj vjeroispovijedi / No one belongs to a religion	6,3	4,2	2,5	,0	6,0	3,0	1,0	7,9	,0	4,1
Članovi su pripadnici različitih vjeroispovijedi / Members belong to different religions	4,5	5,2	,0	1,1	10,0	11,1	1,0	,0	,0	3,4

Tablica 56. Govore li članovi domaćinstva hrvatski? (%)

Table 56 Do household members speak Croatian? (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Svi govore / All speak	97,3	93,6	91,3	96,7	96,0	100	88,7	87,9	100	93,8
Samo neki govore / Only some speak	,9	6,4	8,8	3,3	4,0	,0	11,3	10,7	,0	5,7
Nitko ne govori / No one speaks	1,8	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	1,4	,0	,5

Tablica 57. Govore li članovi domaćinstva neki od romskih dijalekata? (%)

Table 57 Do household members speak a Romani dialect? (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Svi govore / All speak	48,2	85,4	93,8	34,4	54,0	65,0	89,8	98,1	68,0	73,6
Samo neki govore / Only some speak	22,3	8,3	6,3	22,2	16,0	20,0	9,2	1,9	,0	11,1
Nitko ne govori / No one speaks	29,5	6,3	,0	43,3	30,0	15,0	1,0	,0	32,0	15,3

Tablica 58. Jesu li se članovi domaćinstva doselili u naselje ili su tu od rođenja? (%)

Table 58 Did household members move to the settlement or have they been here since birth? (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Svi su tu od rođenja / All are here from birth	20,5	56,3	62,5	15,6	39,0	48,0	3,1	53,7	73,3	41,6
Većina je tu od rođenja / Most are here from birth	29,5	31,3	27,5	55,6	21,0	20,0	46,9	32,2	17,3	31,5
Većina se doselila / Most have moved here	25,9	5,2	6,3	23,3	14,0	12,0	31,6	10,3	5,3	14,8
Svi su se doselili / All have moved here	24,1	7,3	3,8	5,6	26,0	20,0	18,4	3,7	4,0	12,1

Tablica 57. Govore li članovi domaćinstva neki od romskih dijalekata? (%)

Table 57 Do household members speak a Romani dialect? (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Svi govore / All speak	48,2	85,4	93,8	34,4	54,0	65,0	89,8	98,1	68,0	73,6
Samo neki govore / Only some speak	22,3	8,3	6,3	22,2	16,0	20,0	9,2	1,9	,0	11,1
Nitko ne govori / No one speaks	29,5	6,3	,0	43,3	30,0	15,0	1,0	,0	32,0	15,3

Tablica 58. Jesu li se članovi domaćinstva doselili u naselje ili su tu od rođenja? (%)

Table 58 Did household members move to the settlement or have they been here since birth? (%)

	Zagreb	Sisačko- moslavačka	Varaždinska	Primorsko- goranska	Brodsko- posavska	Osječko- baranjska	Istarska	Međimurska	Ostalo / Other	Ukupno uzorak / Total sample
Svi su tu od rođenja / All are here from birth	20,5	56,3	62,5	15,6	39,0	48,0	3,1	53,7	73,3	41,6
Većina je tu od rođenja / Most are here from birth	29,5	31,3	27,5	55,6	21,0	20,0	46,9	32,2	17,3	31,5
Većina se doselila / Most have moved here	25,9	5,2	6,3	23,3	14,0	12,0	31,6	10,3	5,3	14,8
Svi su se doselili / All have moved here	24,1	7,3	3,8	5,6	26,0	20,0	18,4	3,7	4,0	12,1

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