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The Roma Population in Slovakia

Basic Characteristics of the Roma Population with Emphasis on the Spatial Aspects of its Differentiation

Abstract: *The present work is focused on the Roma spatial distribution analysis in Slovakia and development characteristics of this minority in Slovakia, according to censuses, records of the civil service and other inquiries. In assessing the current state, the paper is based on a qualified estimate from 2010, which was conducted under the auspices of the Office of Slovak Government Plenipotentiary for Roma communities. Main characteristics of the spatial analysis of the obtained data, which are currently the only of its kind, offer a valuable set of information about the spatial differentiation of the Roma ethnic, with a wide range of its subsequent use in planning practice.*

Key words: *the Roma communities, Roma settlements, Roma concentrations, the Roma spatial differentiation,*

Introduction

Obtaining reliable data about the number of the Roma was and is almost always associated with many problems. In Slovakia, in this respect, according to several experts (Marcinčin, Marcinčinová 2009; Mann et al. 2006; Vaňo 2001) a certain terminological ambiguity has been considered as key in terms of the Roma perception especially in the recent years. The cause of this state in our country can be sought after 1989. It consisted in the belief (at a professional level now overcome) that any detection of race, language, social origin, etc. leads to discrimination. This consistent application of the basic constitutional right of the Slovak Republic citizens in the area of statistical inquiry led to the fact that after 1989 in our country there are virtually no relevant statistics on the ethnic composition of the population (Vaňo 2001). Although the help to the Roma comes from knowledge of this ethnic group size and is virtually a permanent part of government policies, paradoxically "*the approach to the statistical collection of ethnic data has not yet been clarified...*" (Marcinčin Marcinčinová 2009, 7-8).

The absence of accurate data is in many different analyses replaced with various qualified estimates which amounts are significantly different. For example, Liégeois (1997, p. 33) gives the estimated number of the Roma in Slovakia in early 1990s at 480 000-520 000.

This resource is often cited in literature, but in our opinion (as we will show later in the text) also very unrealistic. This is confirmed by Arne B. Mann (in Liégeois 1997, p. 14-15), in the introductory note to Slovak translation, as it caused considerable distortion identified by the lack of co-worker directly from Slovakia in his international team. Another, more realistic, estimate is offered by Vaňo (2001, p.13), according to him 360 000 to 365 000 Roma lived in Slovakia in 2000, with predicted increase in 2005 to 403 000.

Objectives and Methodology

In our work, we base on data obtained in a single complex conducted research in the context of this theme (spatially contained the entire territory of Slovakia) on implementing of which we were also involved. It is *sociographic mapping of Roma communities in Slovakia*, also known as *the Atlas of Roma communities in Slovakia*, which was conducted under the auspices of the Office of Slovak Government Plenipotentiary for Roma communities in 2004.

In 2010, the process of update preparation of this Atlas has begun in which the pre-research was conducted (by telephone inquiry), for the purpose to update selected data, which aimed to reveal these municipalities that were not in the Atlas in 2004 for various reasons. They were these municipalities, which in 2004 were not considered because there lived only low-number Roma community (less than 50 Roma people).

The objective of this project was not only to fill the information gaps in the area of the available hard data, but also to review the way of database creating of the Roma settlements and to create standardized and sustainable form of data collection of the Roma in Slovakia.

From the very beginning, the implementers of this research were faced with problems of methodological nature. According to the legal status lawful at present in Slovakia, a member of a particular nation or ethnic group is a person who it voluntarily and freely declares. This declaration is examined in the regular census, which was last time implemented in Slovakia in 2011. The Roma in Slovakia had the opportunity to declare their nationality for the first time after 1991. Although the number of people declaring themselves as the Roma has been rising steadily after 1991 (in 1991 it was 75 802, in 2001 – 89 902, and in 2011 – 105 738 (SO SR)), professional public is consistent that this number is still significantly undervalued.

In this context, the research did not examine the number of people declaring themselves as the Roma, but occurrence, location and nature of communities that are perceived as the Roma by their neighbourhood (the majority). In this context, so-called *attributed ethnicity* was surveyed. The way of such data examination was carried out through information obtained primarily from the representatives of the territorial units (municipality or town). From a methodological point of view, it was a *qualified estimate*. This

approach is not new by its character. It had been applied in the past, before 1991, in all surveys on the Roma.

In this way, created database can be regarded as insufficient for its name "Atlas", which implicitly expects a certain form of cartographic interpretation of obtained data; however it completely absents in the database. Therefore, in our contribution we offer the essential characteristics of the spatial analysis of obtained data that is currently the only of its kind and offers a useful set of information about the spatial differentiation of the Roma ethnic, with a wide range of its subsequent use in planning practice.

Development of the Roma in Slovakia according to censuses, records of the civil service and other inquiries

Early Roma settlement of Slovak area is dating back to the 13th century. According to E. Horváthová (1964), the group of the Roma, who came with Andrew II., could arrive to southern Slovakia. The Roman studies refine the Roma movement from the Balkans to the Central Europe in the 12th and 13th century, which is associated with the pressure of the Ottoman Turks, who successively expanded their territory from the Byzantine Empire to the Balkans and later almost to the central Europe (Jurová 2002 in Matlovič 2005, p. 235). The first written document about the Roma population in Slovakia is a list from 1322, in which the presence of the Roma in Spiš region is mentioned by mayor-John Kunch from Spišská Nová Ves (Matlovič 2005, p. 235). Later, numerous Roma groups came to Slovakia. In 1423, in the Spiš castle, Sigismund of Luxembourg issued the charter which guaranteed certain safeguards and self-government jurisdictions for the Roma (Wolter 1964). Compared with other countries, more favourable conditions for the Roma application in the crafts were in Ugrian because guild organization was not so stable. This determined the progressive extension of the Roma population in 15th – 17th century in present-day Slovakia. Particularly attractive places for the Roma settlement were suburbs (huštáky) and the edges of villages, where they could develop their activities in crafts, trade and in various seasonal occasional works (Horváthová 1964, in Matlovič 2005, p. 235). Gradually, some Ugrian towns and historical administration units started to regulate the Roma immigration with an emphasis on economic factors. At the beginning of the 18th century, the Roma lived mainly in groups in Slovakia. They were lawfully subjected to their Roma mayors (vajda) and land administrator (župan) (Horváthová 1964, p. 109-111).

The Roma distribution in 1770s and 1780s can be partly reconstructed from inquiries, which were conducted by Maria Theresa and Joseph II. They resulted that the Roma preferred the southern regions, where climatic conditions were more favourable. The most Roma families lived in the Bratislava historical administration unit (in 1782 more than 500 - mainly on Great Rey Island- Žitný ostrov), the Nitra historical administration unit (in 1785 452 Roma families, mostly in its southern part), the Tekov historical administration unit (in 1774 246 Roma families, the most in Levice and its surrounding), the Gemer historical

administration unit (in 1785 327, the most in Štítňik and Dobšiná), the Šaris historical administration unit (in 1775 277 families), the Trenčín historical administration unit (in 1785 116 families, again the most in its southern part), the Spiš historical administration unit (in 1775 197 Roma families, of which three quarters lived in the southern part). In the other historical administration units, Roma settlement was more modest – for instance the Zvolen historical administration unit (in 1769 53 families), the Turčianska historical administration unit (in 1782 15 families) (Horvátová 1964 in Matlovič 2005, p. 236-237).

In the 19th century, nomadic Olachian Roma came to the territory of Slovakia. Their arrival was caused by changes in feudal legal restrictions in 1855 and 1856 in Wallachia and Moldavia. The Roma distribution can be reconstructed from inquiries from 1893. According to Horvátová's estimates and calculations (1964 in Matlovič 2005, p. 237), based on whole Ugrian census of the Roma people in 1893, 36 231 Roma lived in Slovakia, of which 92.9% were settled, 5.4% were partially settled, and 1.7% were nomadic. The highest number of the Roma lived in these historical administration units: Gemer (5 552), Nitra (4 303), Bratislava (4 173) and Šaris (3 261). From 2 000 to 3 000 Roma lived in these historical administration units: Zemplín (3 081), Spiš (2 792), Abov (2 782) and Tekov (2 034). From 1 000 to 2 000 Roma lived in these historical administration units: Novohrad, Trenčín, Komárno, Hontianska and Zvolen. Smaller numbers were recorded in Liptov, Turiec and Orava (Matlovič 2005, p. 237). The majority of the Roma lived in this period in the south-western, southern and eastern parts of Slovakia. The lowest number of the Roma lived in the north-western of Slovakia. According to these facts, a spatial mosaic about the Roma distribution was created, which has persisted with small changes to the present.

The Roma distribution in the mid-20th century allows us to reconstruct the first post-war census of the Roma population from 1947. Its extant was affected by resettlement processes from Slovakia to the Czech border and to industrial areas of the northern part of the Czech Republic. It is estimated that in 1945, in consequence of the Holocaust of the Roma, less than 1 000 Roma lived in the Czech Republic and Moravia. In 1947 there were already 16 752. In 1947, 84 438 Roma lived in Slovakia, who were mostly concentrated in the southern and eastern part of Slovakia. Spatial differentiation can be followed by the territorial districts of search stations of the National Security Corps. The highest number of the Roma lived in the districts of Košice (9 208), Levoča (8 773), Prešov (8 202), Bratislava (6 802), Nitra (6 191), Michalovce (5 579), Rožňava (5 354), Humenné (5 238), Rimavská Sobota (4 912), Trnava (4 426) and Levice (4 047). Smaller numbers of the Roma lived in the districts of Komárno (3 499), Banská Bystrica (3 291), Lučenec (3 194), Trenčín (2 090), Martin (1 628), Ružomberok (1 205) and Žilina (799) (Jurová 1993 in Matlovič 2005, p. 240).

In 1950s, the state authorities in Slovakia started to pay attention to the issue of undeveloped Roma settlements, which allows us to accurately reconstruct the historical spatial distribution of the Roma. Based on field research conducted in 1955, 1305 isolated Roma settlements were identified, in which were 14 935 dwellings and where 95 092

inhabitants lived, which was estimated to be approximately 83% of the total number of the Roma in Slovakia. The highest numbers of the Roma settlements were found in the former Banská Bystrica (327), Prešov (317) and Košice (275) self-governing regions; therefore in these regions were 70.4% of the total number of the Roma settlements. The lowest number of Roma settlements was in the Žilina self-governing region (93). The highest number of inhabitants of Roma settlements was showed in the Košice (29 264), followed by the Prešov (22 937) and the Banská Bystrica (19 983) self-governing regions. In these three self-governing regions, 75.9% of the total population of Roma settlements lived in Slovakia. The lowest number of inhabitants in Roma settlements was found in the Žilina self-governing region (2 617) (Jurová 1993, p. 44). At the end of 1950s, the state authorities in Slovakia took measures to prevent nomadic way of life, which affected about 28 000 people (Jurová 2000, p. 21).

During 1960s, the detailed inquiries were carried out in 1967. From the general practitioners' data, 1 223 Roma settlements were in Slovakia with 11 242 dwellings and 14 841 families. According to the Statistical Office's survey, at the end of 1967, 164 526 Roma lived in Slovakia, from that 89 697 (54.5%) were found in the East region, 41 498 (25.2%) in the West Region and 33 331 (20.3%) in the Central region. In accordance with cultural and social sophistication, the Roma were integrated into three groups, where the most undeveloped group consisted of 61 602 people, i.e. 37.4% of their total number (Jurová 1993 in Matlovič 2005, p. 242).

In 1980, in Slovakia in accordance with the census, 199 853 Roma were recorded, who formed 4% of the total population. The Roma distribution was still regionally differentiated with an overwhelming concentration in the southern part of the central and eastern Slovakia (68% of the total number of the Roma lived there). During the post-war decennaries, the position of the Roma was strengthen in municipalities which were affected by the Carpathian Germans' displacement (especially Spiš municipalities) as well as in areas with a decline of agricultural production after the liquidation of private peasant farms, from which people migrated to economically more developed regions (especially the southern part of Slovakia). The lowest number of the Roma lived in the north of central Slovakia, especially in Kysuce and Orava regions (Víšek 1999 in Matlovič 2005, p. 243). The highest share of the Roma population was showed in the districts of Rimavská Sobota (14.2%), Rožňava (12.7%), Vranov nad Topľou (10.7%), Spišská Nová Ves (10.4%), Poprad (9.9%), Košice-country (9.9%), Lučenec (8.9%), Trebišov (8.9%), Michalovce (7.9%), Stará Ľubovňa (7.1%), Svidník (6%), Prešov (6%), Bardejov (5.8%) and Veľký Krtíš (5.6%). Less than 1% of the total population in 1980 was consisted by the Roma from the former districts of Dolný Kubín (0.1%), Žilina (0.5%), Považská Bystrica (0.5%), Čadca (0.6%) and Prievidza (0.8%) (Matlovič 2005, p. 244).

The last inquiry of the Roma population in the period of real socialism was held in 1989. The total number of the Roma population reached 253 943. It was 4.8% of the total

number of population. The number of Roma settlements was reduced to 278, of which 230 were in the eastern Slovakia. In these settlements were 1 973 dwellings and 14 988 inhabitants (Jurová 1993 in Matlovič 2005, p. 244). The highest number of the Roma lived in the eastern Slovakia (140 241, i.e. 55.2% of the total number of the Roma). In the south of central Slovakia (former districts of Rimavská Sobota, Lučenec), there were 29 329 Roma, i.e. 11.5% of their total number. Overall, the southern and eastern Slovakia concentrated 66.7% of all Roma, what means that during 1980s there was no significant Roma placements within the Slovak territory. In the western Slovakia, 56 242 Roma were identified, i.e. 22.2% of their total number and in the central Slovakia 57 460 Roma, i.e. 22.6% of their total number (Podolák 2000, in Matlovič 2005, p. 245).

Table 1: Number development of the Roma in Slovakia, according to censuses, records of the civil service and other inquiries in years 1893-2004

Year	1893	1921*	1927	1930*	1947	1970	1980
Number	36 231	7 284	62 192	30 626	84 438	159 275	199 853
Year	1989	1991*	2001**	2001*	2004***	2010****	2011*
Number	253 943	75 802	379 200	89 920	320 000	352 923	105 738

Source: Horvátová (1964), Vaňo (2001b), Podolák (2000), 2000, SO SR.

Note:

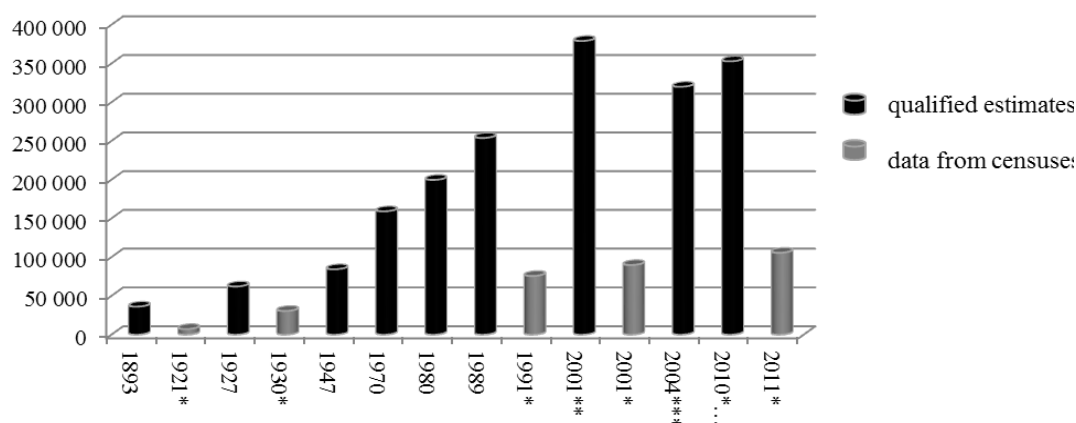
* data from censuses, others are from special records,

** Vaňo's estimate (2001),

*** by Jurásková et al, 2004.

**** survey estimate of the preresearch of the Atlas of Roma communities' planning update in 2004

Graph 1: Development of the Roma population in Slovakia



Source: Horvátová (1964), Vaňo (2001b), Podolák (2000), 2000, SO SR.

Note:

* data from censuses, others are from special records,

** Vaňo's estimate (2001),

*** by Jurásková et al, 2004.

**** survey estimate of the preresearch of the Atlas of Roma communities' planning update in 2004

The distribution of the Roma population in Slovakia nowadays

In the most recent population and housing census in 2011, 105 738 people registered for the Roma nationality, it is 2% of the total number of population. Compared with the previous population and housing census in 2001, it was about 15 818 Roma more and their share increased from 1.7% to 2.0%. This means that the Roma nationality, according to the census results, has become the third most populous in Slovakia after the Slovak and Hungarian nationality, and overtaken the Czech nationality. Romani as mother language was reported by 122 518 inhabitants in the census sheets, which was 2.3% of the total number of population. Romani as the most widely used language in the household was reported by 128 242 inhabitants, i.e. 2.4% of the total number of population (SO SR).

As we mentioned in the introduction above, census data does not reflect the actual total number of the Roma minority members, because the huge number of the Roma do not register for the Roma nationality in the official census; therefore, we based on the inquiry conducted in 2010, which we assume that it better reflects the real state. This information, however, can be still characterized as a qualified estimate so some distortions cannot be excluded.

According to this survey, in 2010, 352 924 Roma with the permanent residence lived in Slovak municipalities. The share of the Roma population reached 6.5% of the total number of population. The Roma registered for the permanent residence in 1 455 municipalities out of total 2 890 municipalities (appendix map 1). This means that the Roma population was observed in 50.3% of the total municipalities of Slovakia. The Roma either live dispersed in the majority population or are concentrated in the areas, which are the parts of the territory of municipalities and towns or are spatially separated from the territories of municipalities and towns and creating Roma settlements (*vieska* or *osada*). The group living in dispersion consists of 121 515 Roma, which is 34.4% of the total number of the Roma. The second part of the Roma population consists of 190 950 Roma (54.1%), concentrated in 967 areas (Roma settlements or concentrated in the territory of municipality)

The spatial distribution of the Roma in Slovakia is significantly disproportionate. In general, we might assert their higher representation is in the southern and eastern Slovakia, and lower representation is in the north-western and western Slovakia. In terms of absolute numbers, the highest number of the Roma live in the district of Košice-surroundings (22 922), i.e. 6.5% of the total number of the Roma in Slovakia followed by districts of Rimavská Sobota (21 131), Spišská Nová Ves (19 036), Michalovce (17 726), Trebišov (17 234), Kežmarok (17 132), Prešov (16 376), Vranov nad Topľou (14 588), Rožňava(12 978), Lučenec (11 490) and Sabinov (10 696). The majority of all Roma in Slovakia (51.36%) live in the mentioned 11 districts. (Table 2)

Table 2: Districts with the highest absolute number of the Roma in 2010

District	Number of the Roma	District share to the total number of the Roma in Slovakia	Share of the Roma to the total number of district's population
Košice - surroundings	22 922	6,49 %	19,71 %
Rimavská Sobota	21 431	6,07 %	25,90 %
Spišská Nová Ves	19 036	5,39 %	19,47 %
Michalovce	17 756	5,03 %	16,12 %
Trebišov	17 234	4,88 %	16,36 %
Kežmarok	17 102	4,85 %	24,81 %
Prešov	16 226	4,60 %	9,68 %
Vranov nad Topľou	14 588	4,13 %	18,44 %
Rožňava	12 978	3,68 %	20,99 %
Lučenec	11 496	3,26 %	15,81 %
Sabinov	10 696	3,03 %	18,52 %
Revúca	9 769	2,77 %	24,18 %
Poprad	9 429	2,67 %	8,97 %
Bardejov	9 038	2,56 %	11,69 %
Košice II	7 317	2,07 %	9,05 %

Source: The Office of Slovak Government Plenipotentiary for Roma communities, SO SR

In connection with the distribution of the Roma population, it is interesting to observe the distribution of municipalities in which the Roma occur. In Slovakia, it is 1 455 municipalities, which is 50.3% of the total number. The highest share of municipalities with the Roma population to the total number of the district's population is in the district of Bratislava I, 100% (it is a special case because it consists of only one municipality) followed by the districts of Šala (92.31%), Trebišov (84,15%), Rožňava (80.65%), Revúca (79.44%), Rimavská Sobota (78.57%), Lučenec (78.19%) and Gelnica (75.86%) (Table 3). In these districts, the Roma population occur at least in three-quarters of municipalities. On the other hand, the districts with a minimum share of municipalities with the Roma population is in the districts of Bratislava V (0%, made up of just 4 boroughs), Považská Bystrica (10.71%), Ružomberok (12%), Námestovo (12.5%), Dolný Kubín (12.5%) and Tvrdošín (13.3%) (Appendix map 2)

Table 3: The districts of Slovakia with the highest municipalities share with the occurrence of the Roma population in 2010

District	Municipality share with the Roma population	Municipality share with the Roma population to the total number of the district's municipalities
Bratislava I	1	100,00 %
Šaľa	12	92,31 %
Trebišov	69	84,15 %
Rožňava	50	80,65 %
Revúca	33	79,44 %
Rimavská Sobota	84	78,57 %
Lučenec	43	77,19 %
Gelnica	15	75,86 %
Veľký Krtíš	53	75,00 %
Žiar nad Hronom	26	74,65 %
Senec	22	74,29 %
Poprad	21	72,73 %
Žarnovica	13	72,41 %
Poltár	17	72,22 %
Michalovce	55	71,79 %
Krupina	25	69,44 %

Source: The Office of Slovak Government Plenipotentiary for Roma communities, SO SR

The highest share of the Roma population (over 20%) was recorded in the districts of Rimavská Sobota (25.9% of the total number of population), Kežmarok (24.81%), Revúca (24.18%), Rožňava (20.99%) and Gelnica(20.32%). Quite a significant number of the Roma (15-20%) is in the districts of Košice -surroundings (19.71%), Spišská Nová Ves (19.47%), Sabinov (18.57%), Vranov nad Topľou (18.44%), Trebišov (16.636%), Michalovce (16.12%), Levoča (15.83%), Lučenec (15.81%), Medzilaborce (15.08%) and Stará Ľubovňa (13.78%). In terms of the traditional historical regions, the Roma are represented mainly in the regions Spiš, Gemer, Abov, central and southern Zemplín and Šariš. Minimum representation of the Roma population (less than 0.2%), is in the districts of Bratislava V (the only district in Slovakia where is no permanent residence of the Roma), Bratislava IV, Tvrdošín, Bytča, Námestovo, Bratislava II and Bratislava III (Table4). (Appendix map 3)

Table 4: The districts with the highest and lowest share of the Roma population in 2010

District (maximum)	Share of the Roma population to the total number of population (in %)	District (minimum)	Share of the Roma population to the total number of population (in %)
Rimavská Sobota	25,9	Bratislava V	0
Kežmarok	24,81	Bratislava IV	0,02
Revúca	24,18	Tvrdošín	0,07
Rožňava	20,99	Bytča	0,07
Gelnica	20,32	Námestovo	0,16
Košice - surroundings	19,71	Bratislava II	0,19
Spišská Nová Ves	19,47	Trenčín	0,2
Sabinov	18,52	Bratislava III	0,2
Vranov nad Topľou	18,44	Ilava	0,26
Trebišov	16,36	Považská Bystrica	0,4
Michalovce	16,12	Púchov	0,48
Levoča	15,83	Piešťany	0,58
Lučenec	15,81	Kysucké Nové Mesto	0,77
Medzilaborce	15,08	Čadca	0,79
Stará Ľubovňa	13,78	Pezinok	0,83

Source: The Office of Slovak Government Plenipotentiary for Roma communities, SO SR

Noticeable trend is the growing share of the Roma living concentrated in the areas of the territories of municipalities and towns and in spatially separated settlements. While in 1988, only 14 988 inhabitants lived in these areas, in 2000 their number was estimated at 127 429 (Matlovič 2005, p. 251) and in 2010 it was 190 950. The highest number of these areas with Roma concentrations (settlements or other concentrations in the territory of municipalities) was in the districts of Nitra (50) and Prešov (49) followed by the districts of Trebišov (46), Michalovce (43), Košice-surrounding (42), Vranov nad Topľou (41), Rimavská Sobota (41), Dunajská Streda (40), Svidník (37), Bardejov (35), Spišská Nová Ves (33) and Rožňava (33). 10 districts have no occurrence of the area with Roma concentration. These are following, the district of Tvrdošín, Topoľčany, Ružomberok, Považská Bystrica, Piešťany, Námestovo, Hlohovec, Bytča, Bratislava V and Bratislava IV. (Appendix map 4)

The distribution of the Roma living in settlements or concentrations is largely similar to their general spatial distribution. The highest share of the Roma living concentrated is in the district of Sabinov, (where they form 18.91% of the district's population) and Spišská Nová Ves (18.49%). Other districts with higher concentration of the Roma in the areas (over 10%) are Kežmarok (14.67%), Levoča (14.27%), Medzilaborce (13.31%), Gelnica (12.83%), Svidník (12.37%), Košice-surroundings (11.75%), Vranov nad Topľou (11.09%), Rožňava (11.02%) (Table 5). On the contrary, clearly the highest share of the Roma living in dispersion is in the district of Rimavská Sobota (21.19%). From the other districts, only the district of Revúca, Lučenec and Levoča reached the amount over 10% (Table 5). (Appendix map 5, 6, 7)

Table 5: The districts with the highest share of the Roma population living concentrated in 2010

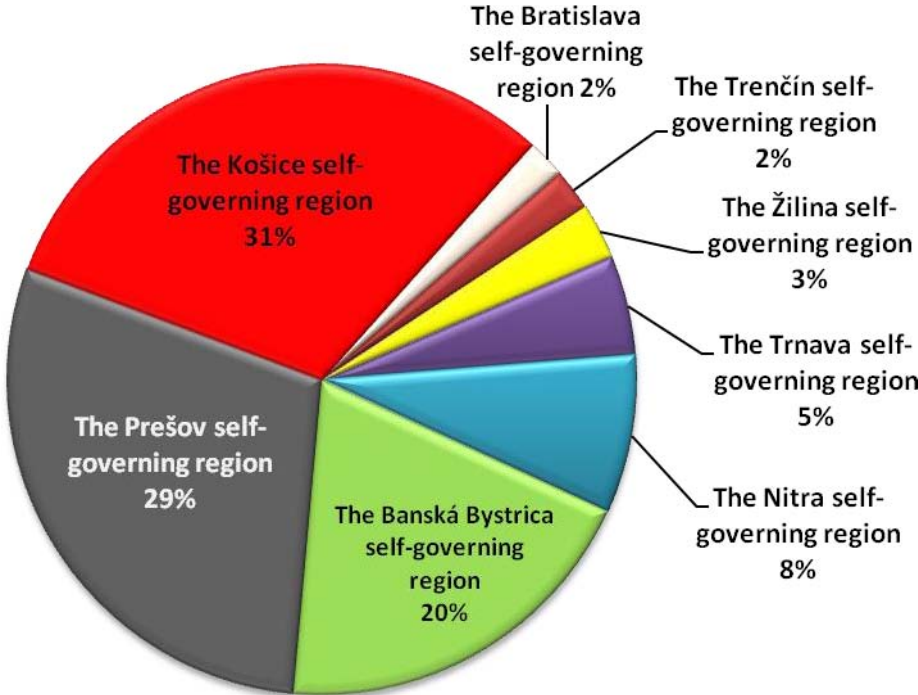
District	Share of the Roma living concentrated to the total number of the district's population	District	Share of the Roma living concentrated to the total number of the district's population
Sabinov	18,91 %	Rimavská Sobota	21,19 %
Spišská Nová Ves	18,49 %	Revúca	14,88 %
Kežmarok	14,67 %	Lučenec	10,78 %
Levoča	14,27 %	Levoča	10,17 %
Medzilaborce	13,31 %	Kežmarok	9,35 %
Gelnica	12,83 %	Gelnica	9,29 %
Svidník	12,37 %	Veľký Krtíš	8,83 %
Košice - surroundings	11,75 %	Poltár	8,61 %
Vranov nad Topľou	11,09 %	Poprad	6,30 %
Rožňava	11,02 %	Brezno	5,89 %
Revúca	9,80 %	Rožňava	5,37 %
Trebišov	9,40 %	Levice	5,07 %
Stropkov	8,84 %	Šaľa	4,83
Michalovce	8,62 %	Žiar nad Hronom	4,50
Košice II	8,29 %	Košice - surroundings	4,02

Source: The Office of Slovak Government Plenipotentiary for Roma communities, SO SR

The problem of the Roma migration within Slovakia is also noteworthy. Unfortunately, monitoring of this phenomenon is very difficult because in order to change the permanent residence, the Roma often deal with the unwillingness of mayors mainly from small municipalities (the initiative of local inhabitants) to register them. The solution, often long-time, is Roma resettlement in other municipalities without changing their permanent residence (cases of the regular seasonal resettlement have occurred). This obviously contributes to a further distortion of obtained data. The above mentioned inquiry also registered the number of the Roma in the municipality without the permanent residence. Overall, the estimated number of the Roma, living outside the municipality of their permanent residence, was approximately 24 800. It is important to note that any interpretation of their spatial distribution is problematic, as we cannot identify the places of their permanent residence.

As our study shows, the highest concentration of the Roma is in the eastern Slovakia, where more than 60% of their total number is concentrated. The largest share of the spatial distribution is in the Košice self-governing region (in which almost 31% of the total number of the Slovak Roma live) and the Prešov self-governing region (29.3%) followed by the Banská Bystrica self-governing region with 19.6%. On the opposite side, is the Trenčín self-governing region (1.28%), the Žilina self-governing region (1.45%) and the Bratislava self-governing region (1.95% of the total number of the Roma) (Graph 2).

Graph 2: Share of the self-governing regions to the total number of the Roma population



We also outlined that the share of the Roma living concentrated in areas within the territories of municipalities and towns or spatially separated in Roma settlements is increasing. From a spatial point of view, again, above-mentioned self-governing regions are dominated, but in this case, the Prešov self-governing region is leadership, with the highest number of concentrations (282), followed by the Košice self-governing region with 217 concentrations, the Banská Bystrica self-governing region (185) and the Nitra self-governing region with 122 concentrations. More than 54% of the Roma living in settlements or concentrations are in the Košice self-governing region (9.04%) and the Prešov self-government region (8, 36). On the contrary, the highest proportion of the Roma living in dispersion from the total number of the Roma in Slovakia was registered in the Banská Bystrica self-governing region (13.36%). The Prešov and Košice self-governing region, as second and third, exceed only 6%.

Conclusion

According to our estimates, currently more than 353 000 Roma live in Slovakia, what is 6.5% of the total country’s population. They are in second place after the Hungarian minority (9.44% according to the Statistical Office). Together with other numerous national minorities, they make up about 20% of the population of Slovakia, what makes Slovakia the multi-national, respectively multiethnic state. As Vaňo notes (2002), differences between groups, particularly the Roma ethnic, acquire such dimensions that the designation of "Roma problem" or the euphemism "Roma issue" is often used in this context. Such designation carries the negative connotation, often based on the media intensive image describing the

Roma in very bad one-side light, which leads to a deepening of the barrier between the majority and the Roma minority. In the context of the European Union accentuated policies of multiculturalism strengthening, the question arises: how to mitigate the existing manifestations of intolerance and to strengthen correlative respect and tolerance for cultural differences of the Roma ethnic? In our opinion, it is important to begin with careful data collecting and information databases creating about the Roma. Their subsequent analysis can be considered as a prerequisite for obtaining a real (or to move as close as possible to the reality) image of the Roma and the consequent understanding of not only their needs but also their possible involvement in shaping our society.

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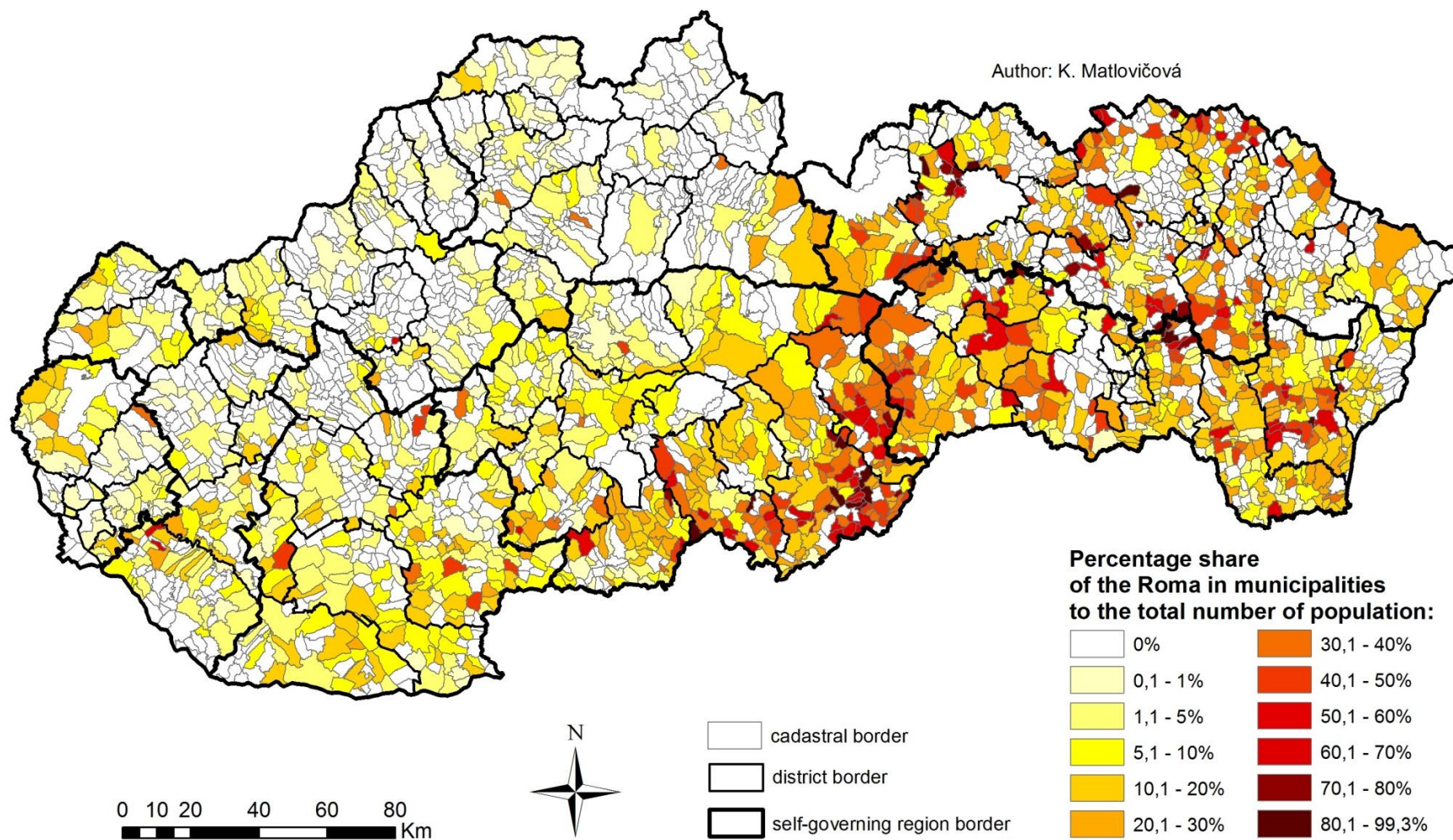
Appendix:

Map 1:

Percentage share of the Roma in the municipalities of Slovakia

Qualified estimate to end of 2010

Author: K. Matlovičová

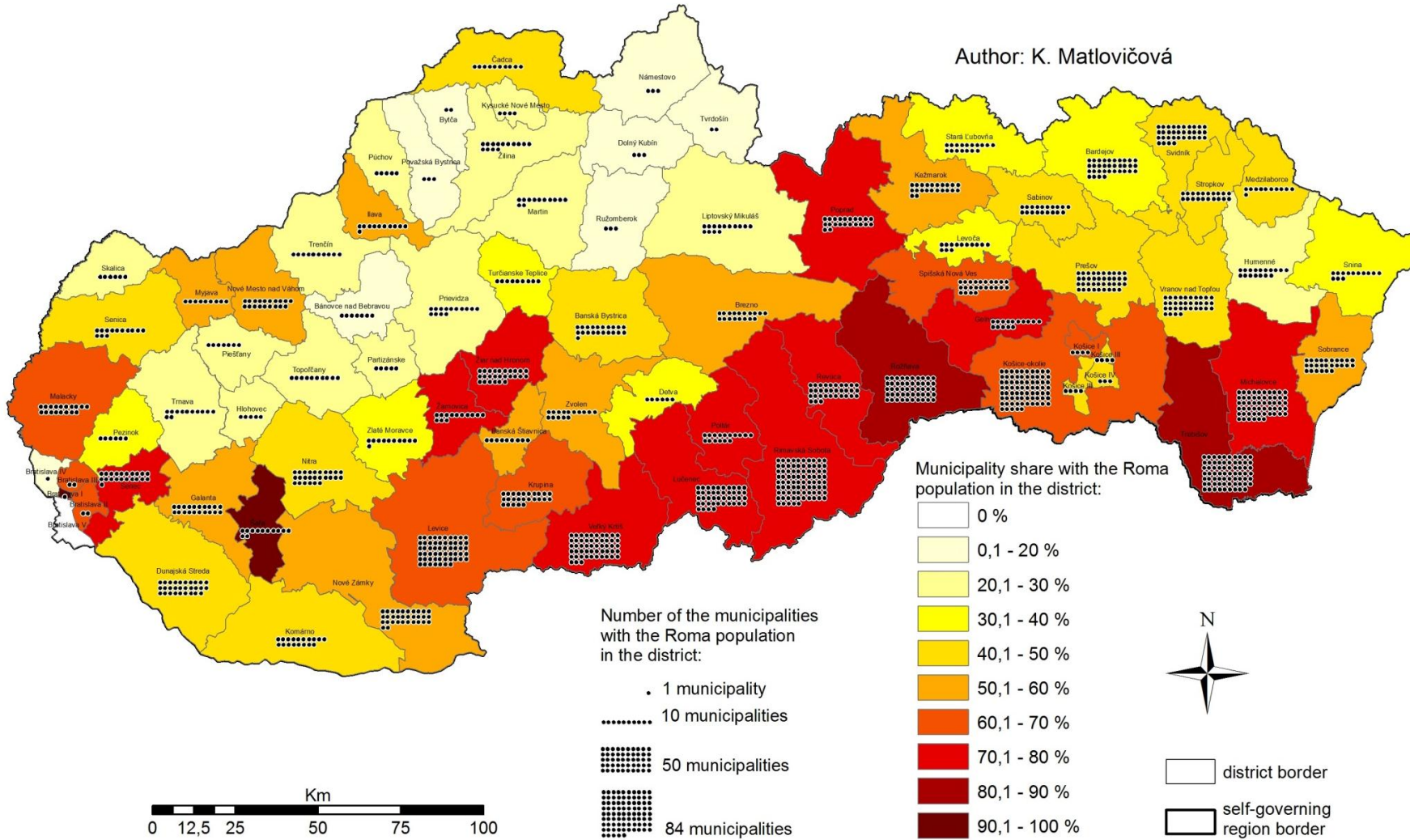


Map 2:

Municipality share with the Roma population in the districts of Slovakia

Qualified estimate at the end of 2010

Author: K. Matlovičová

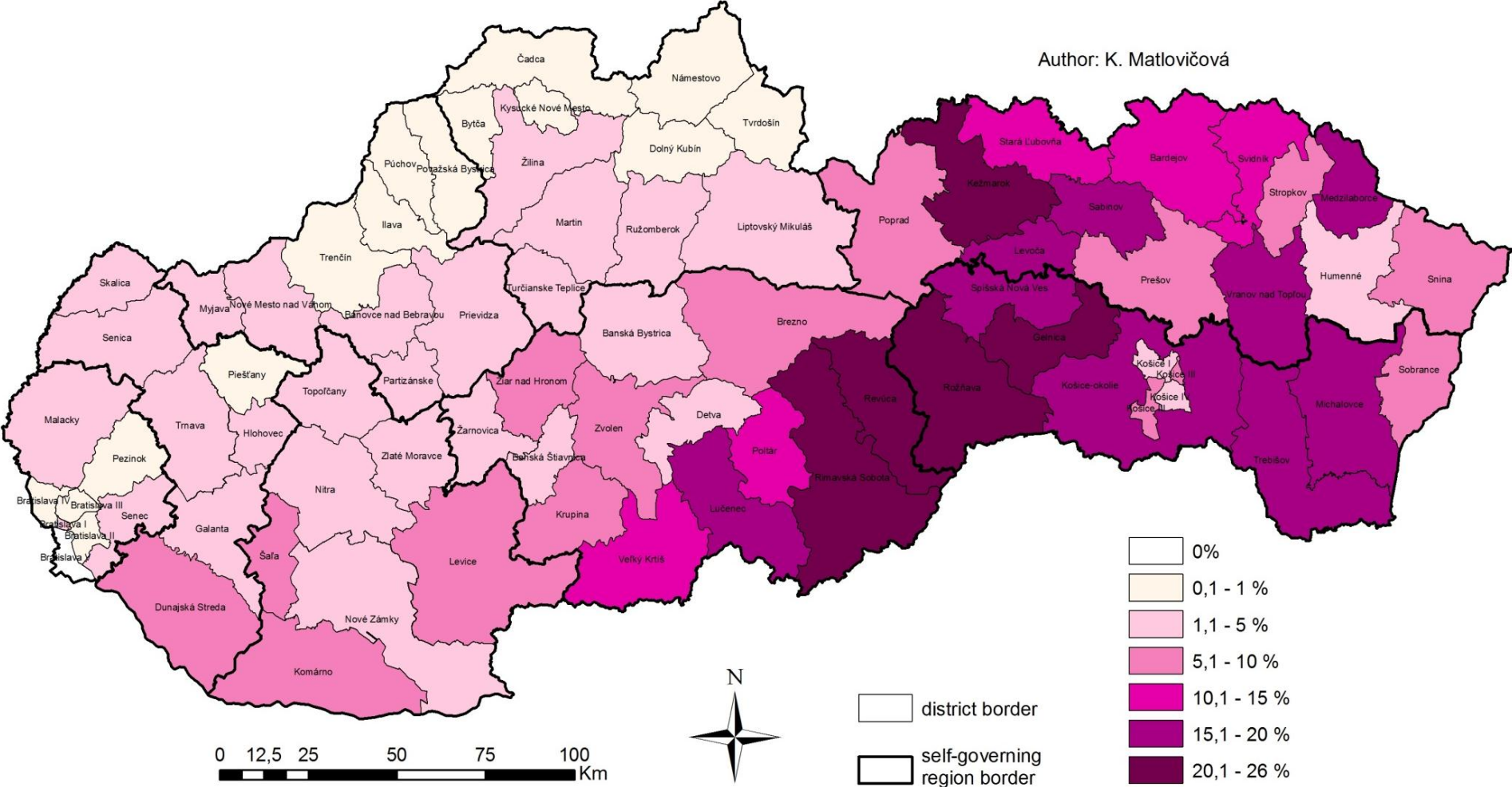


Map 3:

Percentage share of the Roma in the districts of Slovakia

Qualified estimate to end of 2010

Author: K. Matlovičová

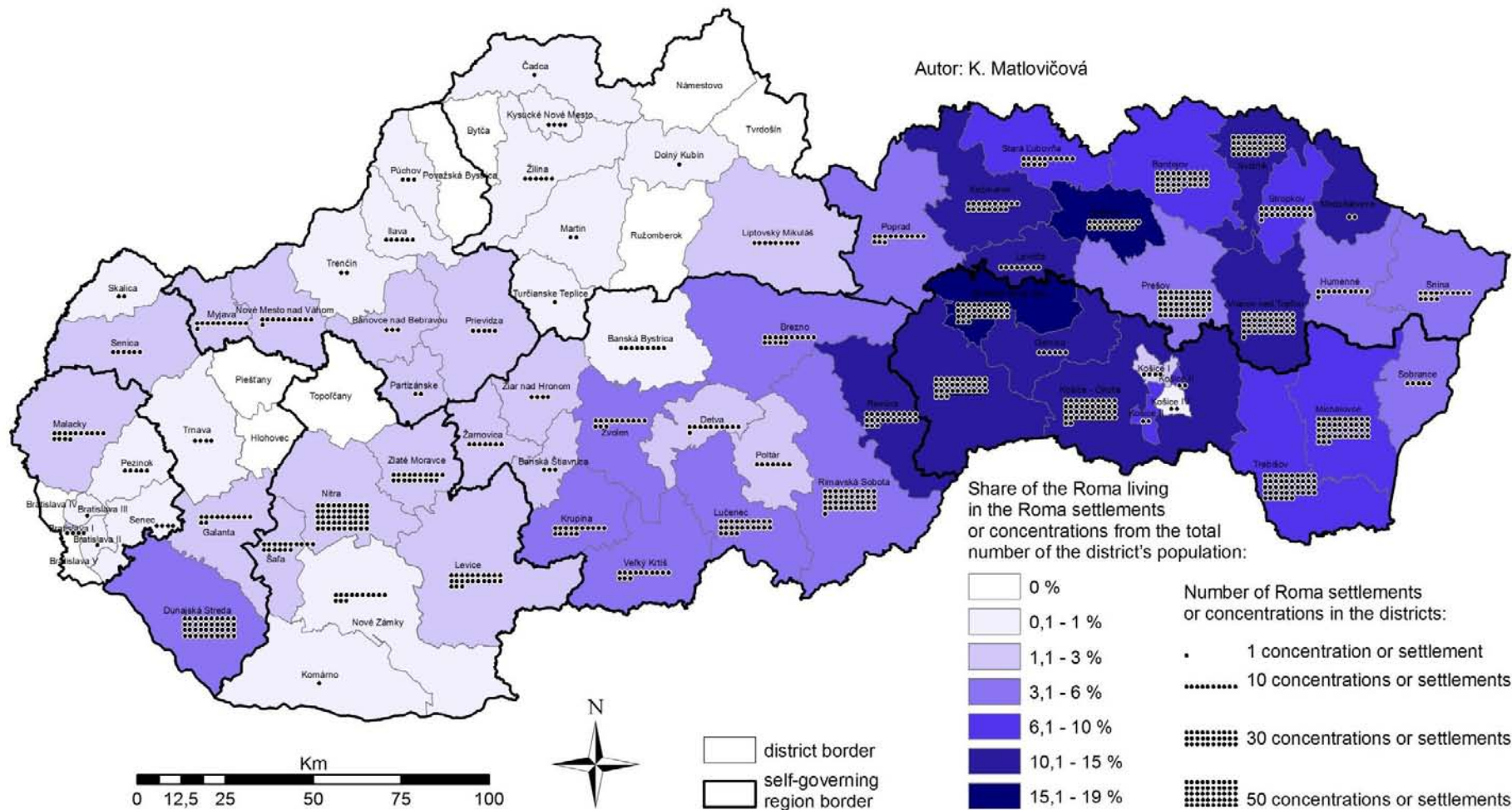


Map 4:

Number of the Roma settlements (or concentrations) and share of the Roma living there

Qualified estimate at the end of 2010

Autor: K. Matlovičová

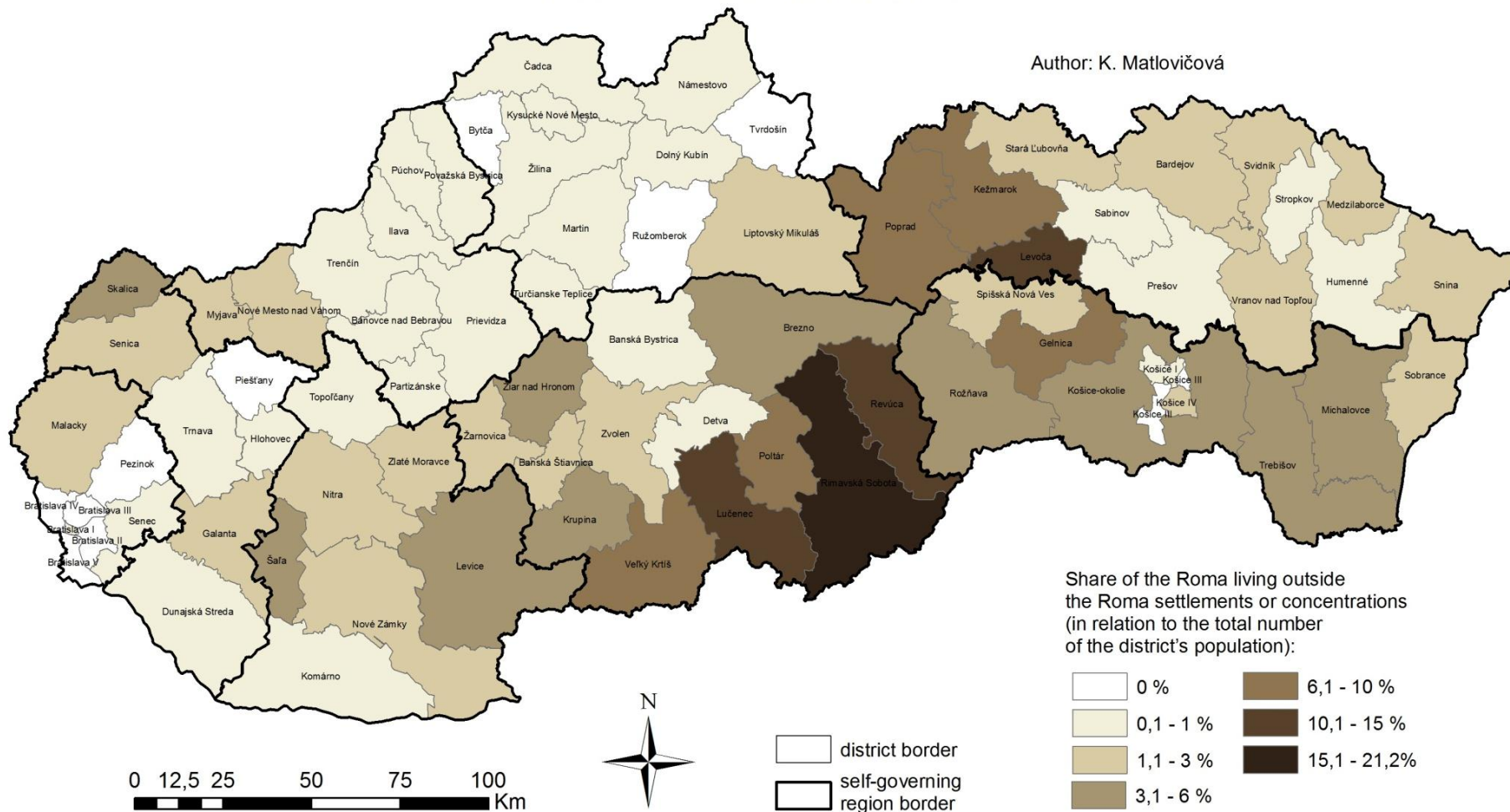


Map 5:

Percentage share of the Roma in the districts of Slovakia living in dispersion

Qualified estimate at the end of 2010

Author: K. Matlovičová

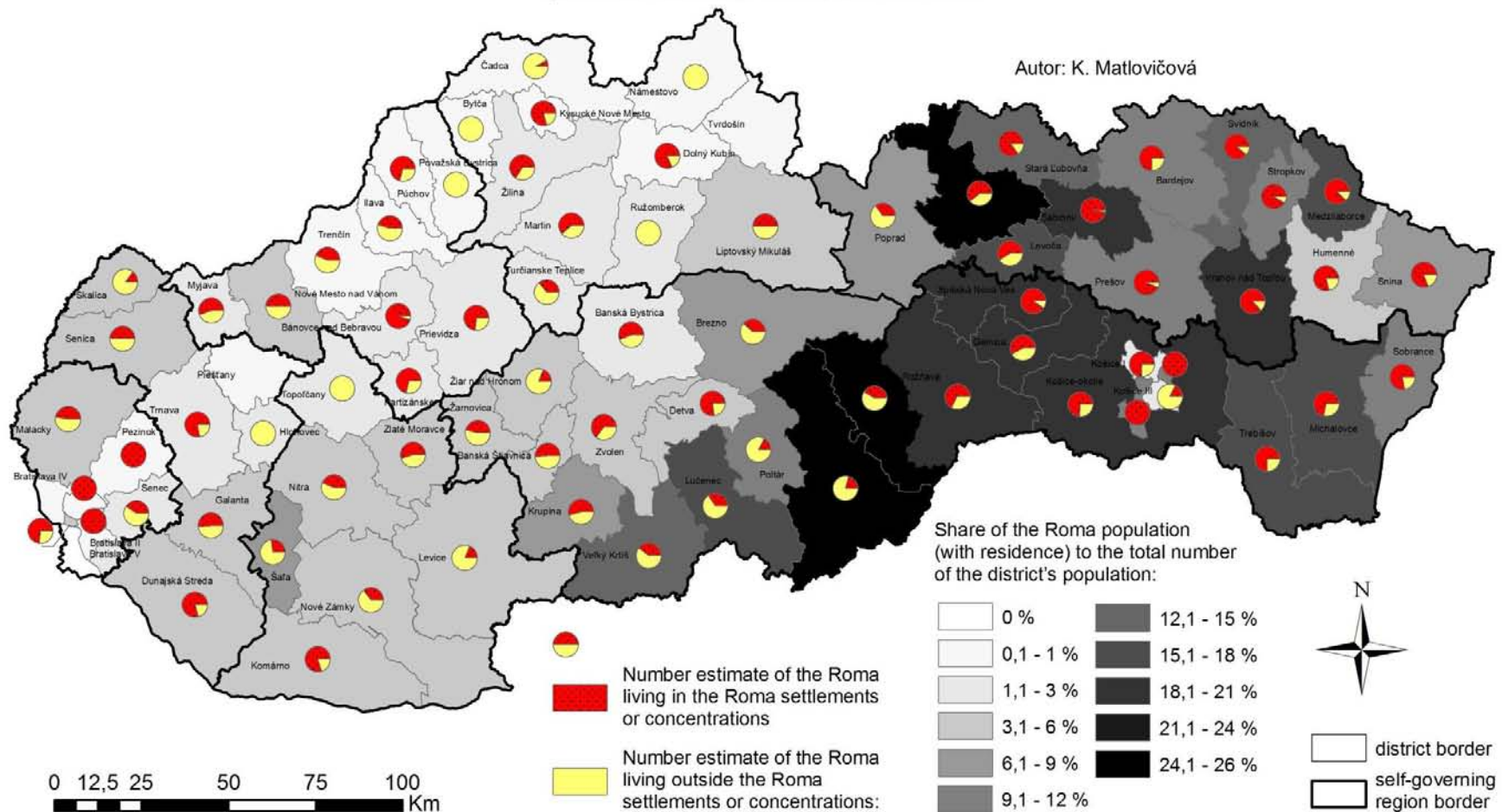


Map 6:

Ratio estimate of the Roma living in the Roma settlements (concentrations) and the Roma living in dispersion

Qualified estimate at the end of 2010

Autor: K. Matlovičová



Map 7:

Ratio of the Roma population with residence in the district to the majority population

Qualified estimate at the end of 2010

