

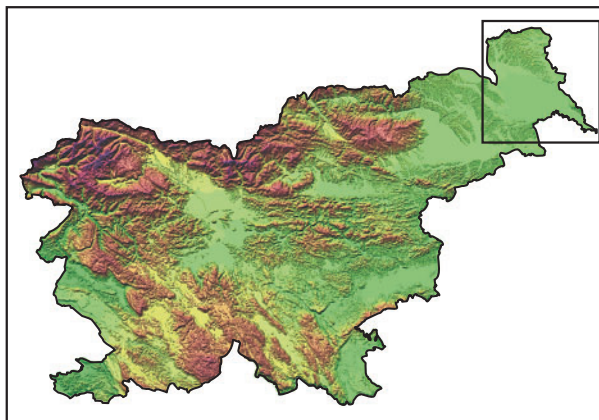
# DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ROMANY IN PREKMURJE DEMOGEOGRAFSKE ZNAČILNOSTI ROMOV V PREKMURJU

Damir Josipovič

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Romany settlement near Dobrovnik (photography Damir Josipovič)  
Romsko naselje pri Dobrovniku (fotografija Damir Josipovič)



# Demographic Characteristics of the Romany in Prekmurje

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## Abstract

The paper deals with the demographic and settlement characteristics of the Romany in Prekmurje (north-eastern Slovenia). Along with ethnic characteristics, there is a series of weaknesses in their socioeconomic structure, particularly poor education and a high proportion of unemployment, that separates them from the rest of the population of the region. Social marginality is a reason that social integration is often linked with ethnic assimilation. Statistical sources indicate that the number of Romany is largely underestimated.

**KEY WORDS:** Romany, Roma, ethnic geography, demogeography, demography, Prekmurje, northeastern Slovenia.

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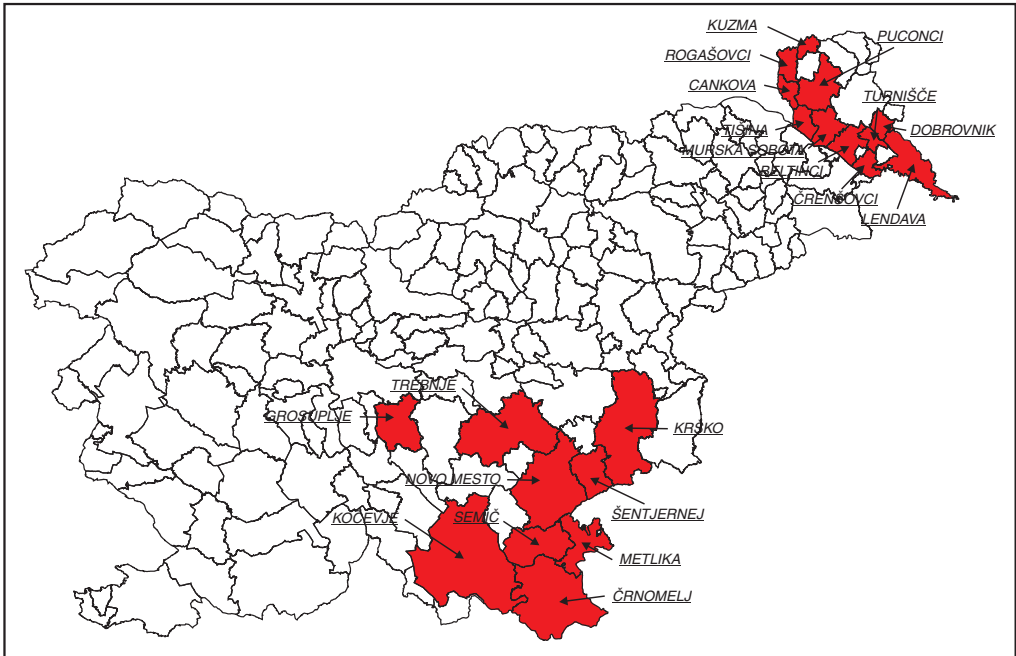
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# 1 General Description of the Romany Population in Prekmurje and Slovenia

The Romany population in Slovenia can be roughly divided into the Prekmurje Romany and other Romany groups. The Prekmurje Romany have only recently been specifically designated as »Romany« (»*Romi*« in Slovene), primarily due to the institutional unification of this population and the rights originating in this identification. Among the Prekmurje Romany themselves, their own denomination »*Ciganje*« is still very much alive. The »other« Romany include those who dispersed and settled in a wide region between Ljubljana, Bela krajina, and Lower Posavje and who are generally called »Dolenjska Romany.« A third group is the »Gorenjska Romany.« Although they are mostly of Sinti origin (the Sinti are an original Romany group who came to Slovenia from German-speaking areas), they are usually not treated independently but together with other Romany groups. The term »German Gypsies« (»*nemški Cigani*« in Slovene) has been applied to this group because they came to Gorenjska from Austria. In Slovenia, Sinti are also found in western Goričko (the northern part of Prekmurje), in several places in Koroška, and in the Celje region (Štrukelj, 1980).

Regarding the uniform denomination for these Indian nomads, the 1979 World Congress of Gypsies held in Switzerland chose the collective proper name »Romany« (»*Roma*« in their language). The Romany in Slovenia and elsewhere in Europe are an endangered community. Article 65 of Slovenia's constitution grants them minority rights in the regions of their autochthonous settlement (Map 1).

According to linguists Miklošič, Uhlik, etc., the Romany in Slovenia are divided by language into the Turkish and Vlah/Vlak groups, and several authors also add the Carpathian group. The Dolenjska Romany belong to the Turkish group, and the Prekmurje Romany to the Vlah/Vlak and Carpathian groups (Štrukelj, 1980). Depending on the region where they originated secondarily, the Turkish group is called »Croatian« Romany, and the Vlah/Vlak are called »Hungarian« Romany. Romany immigration in Prekmurje not only came



Map 1: Legally defined municipalities with autochthonous Romany populations.  
Karta 1: Zakonsko določene občine z avtohtonim romskim prebivalstvom.

from Hungary but also from today's Austria. These Romany are from the Burgenland (»*Gradiščanska*« in Slovene) in Austria, and in Prekmurje they largely have the surname »Horvat,« which originally meant »Croat« in Slovene. They acquired this surname in Burgenland (once the Hungarian part of today's Austria) because they arrived there from Croatia, as did the Dolenjska Romany. This is why different and alternative words are present in certain Romany dialects in Prekmurje, which led to the formation of five groups of Romany in Prekmurje:

- Sinti (western part of Goričko; the surnames Cener, Pestner, Linhart, and Vagner indicate their arrival from the German language territory);
- Hungarianized Romany (in the villages of Dobrovnik and Hodoš; surname Baranja);
- Wallachian (Vlah/Vlak) Romany (Lendava area; surname Olah);
- Carpathian Romany (Goričko, Ravensko (southwestern part of Prekmurje); surnames Šarkezi, Baranja, Farkaš);
- Turkish Romany (wider Črenšovci area; surnames Horvat, Levačič, Kovač).

Due to the migration and marriages of Romany from various Romany settlements, we can no longer speak today about a clear territorial division between individual Romany groups. There are only more or less traditional areas of settlement of Romany families. However, it is characteristic that the Vlah/Vlak Romany from the Lendava area are substantially less linked with other groups of Romany than other Romany are linked among themselves.

## 2 Estimates of the Number of Romany in Prekmurje and the Problem of Undeclared Ethnic Identity

One of the principal problems in the demographic and spatial analysis of the Romany population in Slovenia is determining more accurately their true number and the related patterns of settlement dispersions and local concentration. A general criticism of using official census data is that it presents a greatly underestimated number of Romany. A second characteristic is that their numbers change considerably between the various censuses. Thus, the population censuses in Slovenia record very different numbers of people who declared themselves ethnically as Romany: 663 in 1953, 158 in 1961, 977 in 1971, 1,435 in 1981, and 2,282 in 1991. The reason lies mainly in the fact that a great number of the Romany population do not declare themselves as Romany in censuses. This can explain the huge oscillation in their number between 1953 and 1971 as well as a large part of the difference between 1981 and 1991. The same applies in determining the number of Romany in Prekmurje; the population censuses for 1971, 1981, and 1991 give the numbers 516, 376, and 683 respectively.

More credible data about the number of Romany in Prekmurje (and all of Slovenia) is offered by data from local and regional social work centers. A principal source of data is the *Vprašalnik o Romih* (Stanič - Igličar, 1991, Zadravec, 1991, Center za socialno delo Lendava, 1991), a questionnaire survey carried out in Romany settlements. The 1990 questionnaire gives the number 304 for the Lendava Administrative Unit (1991 Census: 118), and the 1985 questionnaire for the Murska Sobota Administrative Unit, the number 2,609 (1991 Census: 565). The census data therefore underestimates the number of Romany in the Lendava region by three times, and in the adjacent administrative unit of Murska Sobota – where a third of Slovenia's Romany population lives – by as much as five times.

This problem occurs not only in Slovenia but also in other European countries. The Slovene institutions that deal primarily with the Romany population in the field estimate the number of Romany in Slovenia to be between 6,500 and 7,000 (Winkler, 1999) or even between 7,000 and 10,000 (Horvat, 1999). In Austria, the official number is 10,000, while the estimate of the actual number is 20,000 to 25,000 (Erich, 1999). According to the census in Romania, the number of Romany there is 410,000, while the estimate of the actual number exceeds two million (Müller, 1999). The same situation is repeated elsewhere. The Romany are most numerous in southeastern Europe and the countries of the Carpathian Basin, where their actual numbers reach five to ten percent of the total population in Romania, Hungary, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro, and Macedonia. Estimates of the number of Romany in Europe reach from eight to fifteen million, which means that Romany comprise one to two percent of the entire European population.

## 2.1 A More Accurate Determination of the Number of Romany Employing a Detailed Analysis of the 1991 Census Data

A more detailed analysis of the census data enables us to get substantially closer to a realistic number and to determining the local concentrations of the Romany population in Prekmurje. Along with the data on the ethnic affiliation of individuals, we also used the data about mother tongue, the colloquial language used in the home and outside it, and the ethnic structure of households. In this way, the following groups were included in this wider definition of the Romany population:

- Ethnically declared as Romany (»Romany« in the tables);
- Population, who did not declare themselves as Romany but stated Romany as their mother tongue (»Romany mother tongue« in the tables);
- Population who stated Romany exclusively as the language of social intercourse (»Romany language of social intercourse« in the tables), and
- Population who did not declare themselves for either of the Romany ethnic attributes but who live in households with the population from the upper three categories (»other household members« in the tables).

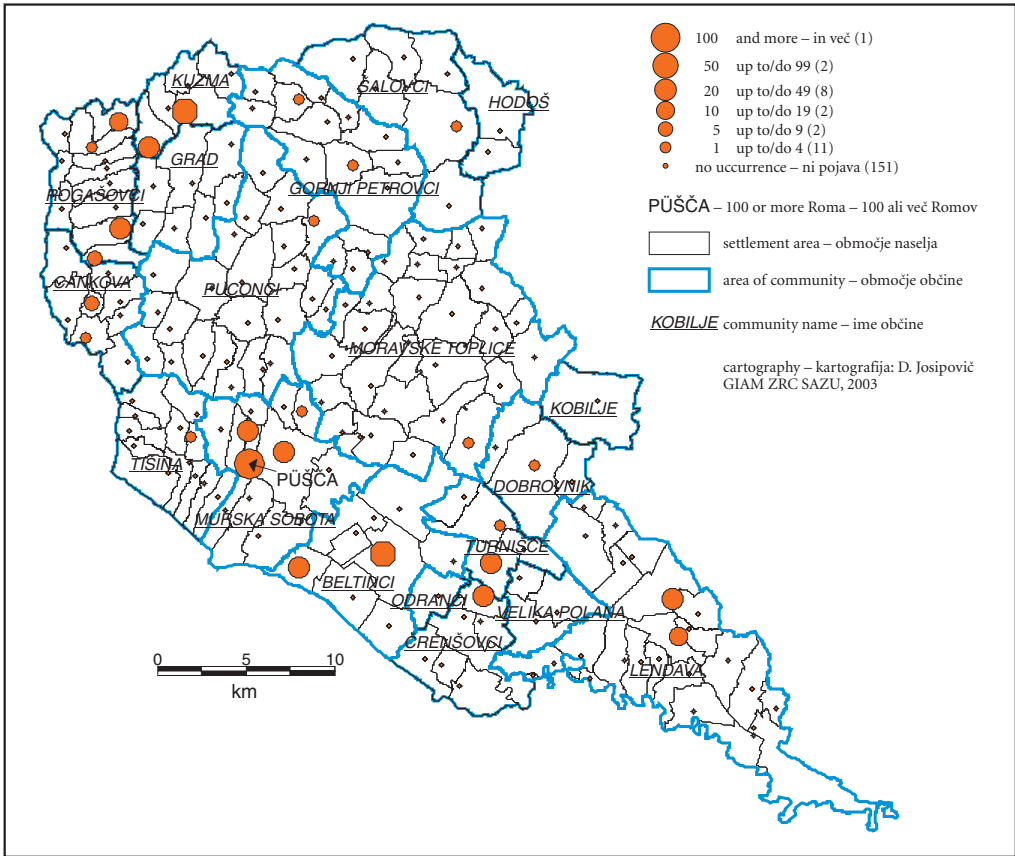
Table 1: Romany population of Prekmurje according to declared ethnic identity, identification by mother tongue, statement of Romany as language of social intercourse, and other population living in the household; 1991, calculated for the new municipalities.

| Municipality     | Romany |      | Romany mother tongue |      | Romany colloquial language |      | Other household members |      | Total |       | % of total municipality population |
|------------------|--------|------|----------------------|------|----------------------------|------|-------------------------|------|-------|-------|------------------------------------|
|                  | No.    | %    | No.                  | %    | No.                        | %    | No.                     | %    | No.   | %     |                                    |
| Beltinci         | 92     | 68.7 | 4                    | 3.0  | 8                          | 6.0  | 30                      | 22.4 | 134   | 100.0 | 1.9                                |
| Čankova          | 9      | 9.0  | 53                   | 53.0 | 21                         | 21.0 | 17                      | 17.0 | 100   | 100.0 | 5.9                                |
| Črenšovci        | 21     | 20.6 | 60                   | 58.8 | 5                          | 4.9  | 16                      | 15.7 | 102   | 100.0 | 2.7                                |
| Dobrovnik        | 2      | 1.4  | 0                    | 0.0  | 117                        | 81.3 | 25                      | 17.4 | 144   | 100.0 | 12.8                               |
| Gornji Petrovci  | 3      | 20.0 | 1                    | 6.7  | 2                          | 13.3 | 9                       | 60.0 | 15    | 100.0 | 1.9                                |
| Hodoš            | 0      | 0.0  | 0                    | 0.0  | 1                          | 50.0 | 1                       | 50.0 | 2     | 100.0 | 0.6                                |
| Kuzma            | 79     | 84.0 | 0                    | 0.0  | 2                          | 2.1  | 13                      | 13.8 | 94    | 100.0 | 5.5                                |
| Lendava          | 55     | 27.6 | 17                   | 8.5  | 45                         | 22.6 | 82                      | 41.2 | 199   | 100.0 | 2.4                                |
| Moravske Toplice | 1      | 2.8  | 1                    | 2.8  | 11                         | 30.6 | 23                      | 63.9 | 36    | 100.0 | 1.4                                |
| Murska Sobota    | 316    | 42.8 | 184                  | 24.9 | 95                         | 12.9 | 144                     | 19.5 | 739   | 100.0 | 4.0                                |
| Puconci          | 1      | 0.7  | 2                    | 1.4  | 57                         | 39.0 | 86                      | 58.9 | 146   | 100.0 | 3.9                                |
| Rogašovci        | 65     | 30.8 | 74                   | 35.1 | 58                         | 27.5 | 14                      | 6.6  | 211   | 100.0 | 10.4                               |
| Šalovci          | 1      | 3.3  | 0                    | 0.0  | 7                          | 23.3 | 22                      | 73.3 | 30    | 100.0 | 2.4                                |
| Tišina           | 2      | 0.8  | 1                    | 0.4  | 212                        | 87.2 | 28                      | 11.5 | 243   | 100.0 | 10.8                               |
| Turnišče         | 40     | 83.3 | 0                    | 0.0  | 1                          | 2.1  | 7                       | 14.6 | 48    | 100.0 | 1.6                                |
| Velika Polana    | 0      | 0.0  | 0                    | 0.0  | 1                          | 16.7 | 5                       | 83.3 | 6     | 100.0 | 0.6                                |
| Total            | 687    | 30.5 | 397                  | 17.7 | 643                        | 28.6 | 522                     | 23.2 | 2249  | 100.0 | 3.8                                |

(Census of the population, households, residences, and farming households in the Republic of Slovenia in 1991; Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia).

Such a wider understanding or criteria of the identification of the Romany increases their number by more than three times. It also places Romany in those settlements where the census only does not list them by ethnic identification, even though in most cases they are recorded in the questionnaire survey on the Romany population (see maps 2, 3, and 4, Table 1). With this method, the number of Romany increased most in the municipalities of Tišina (settlement of Vanča vas), Dobrovnik (settlement of Dobrovnik), Čankova (settlements of Krašči and Čankova), Črenšovci (settlement of Črenšovci), Puconci (settlements of Kuštanovci, Dolina, and Puconci), Lendava (settlement of Gornji Lakoš), and Šalovci (settlement of Čepinci). By regions, the census underestimates the number of Romany most in central and eastern Goričko and in the southern part of Markovsko Dolinsko (central part of Prekmurje).

Prekmurje settlements with more than fifty Romany according to the expanded criteria of the 1991 data included Püšča (554; an independent settlement since 2002 but previously part of Černelavci), Vanča vas



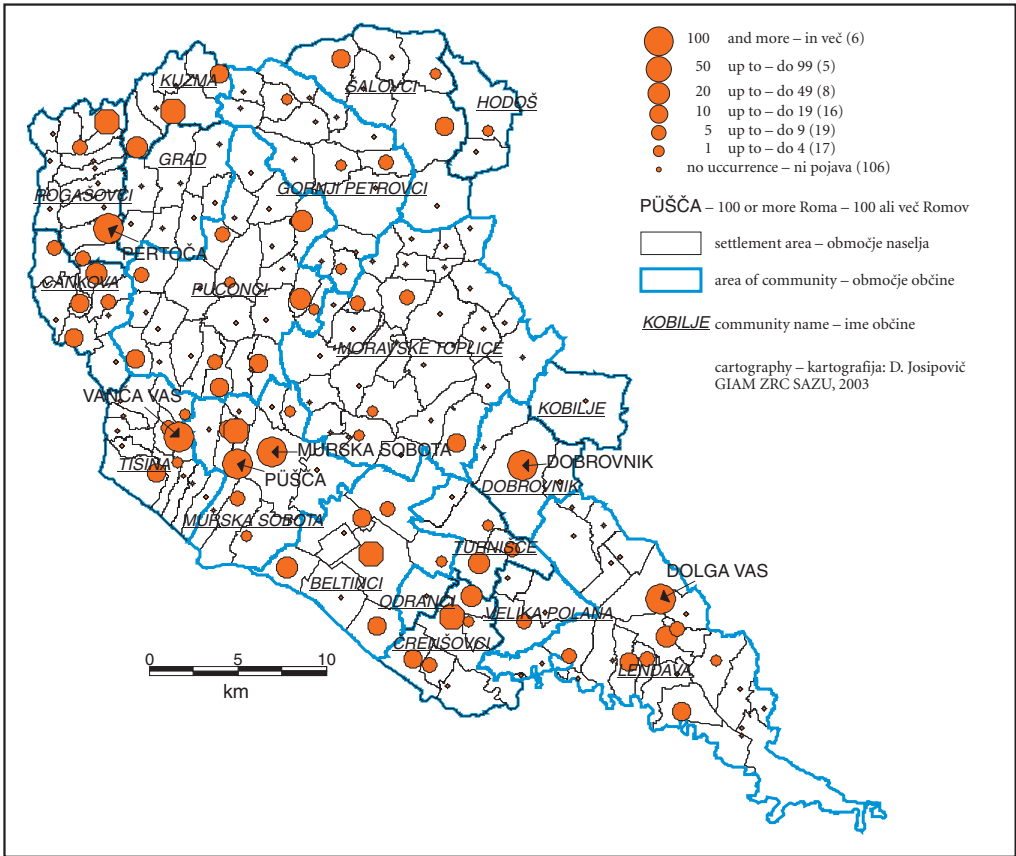
Map 2: Number of Romany by settlements in Prekmurje – ethnically declared according to the 1991 census.  
Karta 2: Število Romov po naseljih Prekmurja – narodnostno opredeljeni po Popisu 1991.

(221), Dobrovnik (144), Pertoča (119), Murska Sobota (109), Dolga vas (103), Sotina (76), Beltinci (66), Črenšovci (61), Dolič (55), and Černelavci (52).

It is characteristic of certain larger local concentrations (Vanča vas, Dobrovnik, Kuštanovci) that only a few individuals identified themselves as Romany or cited Romany as their mother tongue; however, many cited Romany as the colloquial language in the household or in the non-family environment. The reasons can be found in the high level of integration (also assimilation) with the majority Slovene population (in Dobrovnik and Hodoš with the Hungarian population) and in the inconsistent local implementation of the population census.

There can be many reasons for not declaring oneself as Romany:

- Some of the more integrated Romany no longer wish to equate themselves with the Romany identity;
- some Romany evade accurate official ethnic identification because they link potential problems in finding employment, inclusion in society, etc., with this status;
- this non-declaration is obviously influenced by the still negative attitude toward Romany among the majority population;
- language and cultural heterogeneity among the various groups of Romany make a broader identification with the Romany identity more difficult;
- some of the children of hetero-ethnic (i. e. »ethnically-mixed«) families no longer declare themselves as Romany.



Map 3: Number of Romany by settlements in Prekmurje – identified by ethnicity and language (expanded criteria) according to the 1991 census. Karta 3: Število Romov po naseljih Prekmurja – opredeljeni po narodnosti in jeziku (širše zajetje) po Popisu 1991.

Table 2: Census data on the ethnic affiliation of the part of the Romany population in Prekmurje who did not declare themselves as Romany in the census 1991 (in %).

|              | Romany mother tongue | Romany colloquial language | Other household members | Total |
|--------------|----------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|-------|
| Slovenes     | 94.0                 | 71.0                       | 79.5                    | 80.5  |
| Hungarians   | 1.1                  | 27.1                       | 12.8                    | 14.8  |
| Croatians    | 0.7                  | 1.0                        | 2.3                     | 1.3   |
| Other        | 2.2                  | 0.3                        | 2.7                     | 1.7   |
| Unidentified | 1.1                  | 0.0                        | 0.8                     | 0.6   |
| Unknown      | 0.9                  | 0.5                        | 1.9                     | 1.1   |
| Total        | 100.0                | 100.0                      | 100.0                   | 100.0 |

(Census of the population, households, residences, and farming households in the Republic of Slovenia in 1991; Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia).

The majority (64%) of those who cited Romany as their mother tongue declared themselves as Romany also according to their ethnicity. Among the Romany population who declared themselves otherwise (Table 2), the affiliation as Slovene dominates. Almost the entire affiliation as Hungarian can be attributed to the settlement of Dobrovnik and to a lesser extent to the Romany from Lendava and several other settlements in the suburbanized area around it (Gornji Lakoš, Čentiba, Petišovci).



Among the geographical factors of the ethnic non-declaration among the Romany, we can suggest primarily two phenomena:

- permanent settlement in one place lasting several generations that resulted in a higher level of social and economic integration (and also assimilation) with the majority population, which is also reflected in the morphological fusion of the once strictly separate Romany part of a settlement with the rest of the village; these groups of Romany rarely or generally do not communicate with other Romany groups (examples: Dobrovnik and Vanča vas);
- a more mobile part of the Romany live today more dispersed in the wider urbanized hinterland of cities, often in hetero-ethnic households; the transference of the Romany ethnic identity and consciousness to younger generations is rare in these circumstances.

The fact that the social and economic integration of the Romany is frequently linked to ethnic assimilation is also indicated by individual data about the demographic and socioeconomic structure of the Romany population (Table 3). In their demographic, migration, education, and employment characteristics, the part of the Romany who ethnically declare themselves otherwise represents a transition between the Romany (declared as such in the census) and non-Romany population of Prekmurje. In this case, we can talk about an assimilation transition from Romany to »non-Romany« that occurs in three phases. In the first phase, the Romany still identify themselves as Romany and use the Romany language. In the second transitional phase, they no longer identify themselves with the Romany identity but do preserve individual Romany elements (knowledge or occasional use of the Romany language, awareness of their origins, etc.). In the third phase, they identify themselves ethnically, linguistically, and culturally as »non-Romany.«

Table 3: Individual demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the Romany and non-Romany population of Prekmurje (1991, in %).

|   | Romany | Romany mother tongue,<br>Romany colloquial language,<br>other household members | Romany total | Non-Romany<br>population<br>of Prekmurje |
|---|--------|---|--------------|--|
| Age structure                                   |        |   |              |  |
| 0 to 14 years                                   | 35.4   | 26.2  | 29.0         | 18.9                                     |
| 65 years and over                               | 3.3    | 5.5   | 4.8          | 13.9                                     |
| Migration characteristics                       |        |   |              |  |
| Born in place of current residence              | 78.2   | 69.1  | 71.9         | 60.2                                     |
| Immigrants from regions<br>outside Prekmurje    | 3.9    | 7.4   | 6.3          | 9.7                                      |
| Educational structure<br>(15 years and older)   |        |   |              |  |
| No formal education                             | 19.6   | 8.9   | 11.9         | 0.6                                      |
| Uncompleted elementary school                   | 60.6   | 41.4  | 46.7         | 12.0                                     |
| Elementary school                               | 17.6   | 28.2  | 25.3         | 48.2                                     |
| Vocational school                               | 1.4    | 11.5  | 8.6          | 19.0                                     |
| Secondary school                                | 0.5    | 7.0   | 5.2          | 14.0                                     |
| College and university education                | 0.0    | 2.1   | 1.5          | 5.1                                      |
| Unknown   | 0.5    | 0.9   | 0.8          | 1.1                                      |
| Socioeconomic structure<br>(15 years and older) |        |   |              |  |
| Employed  | 13.1   | 36.1  | 29.7         | 60.3                                     |
| Unemployed                                      | 14.9   | 15.5  | 15.3         | 6.0                                      |
| Housewives                                      | 14.2   | 7.2   | 9.1          | 2.9                                      |
| Students  | 3.2    | 6.3   | 5.5          | 4.2                                      |
| Retired   | 6.3    | 8.4   | 7.8          | 14.4                                     |
| Unable to work                                  | 9.2    | 2.6   | 4.4          | 2.2                                      |
| Migrant workers                                 | 5.9    | 10.4  | 9.1          | 8.6                                      |
| Other   | 33.3   | 13.5  | 19.0         | 1.4                                      |

(Census of the population, households, residences, and farming households in the Republic of Slovenia in 1991; Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia).

The two identified Romany populations are similar, primarily in comparison with the majority population. The Romany are still a young population, although their birthrate is decreasing and there are increasingly fewer families with large numbers of children. Compared with Slovene families, Romany families have on average only 6% more children, and the difference between young couples is even smaller (Josipovič, 2002: 196). The other characteristic is the very low percentage of the population that is 65 or older, which is the result of higher levels of age-specific mortality among the Romany population due to poorer housing, health care, and social and educational conditions.

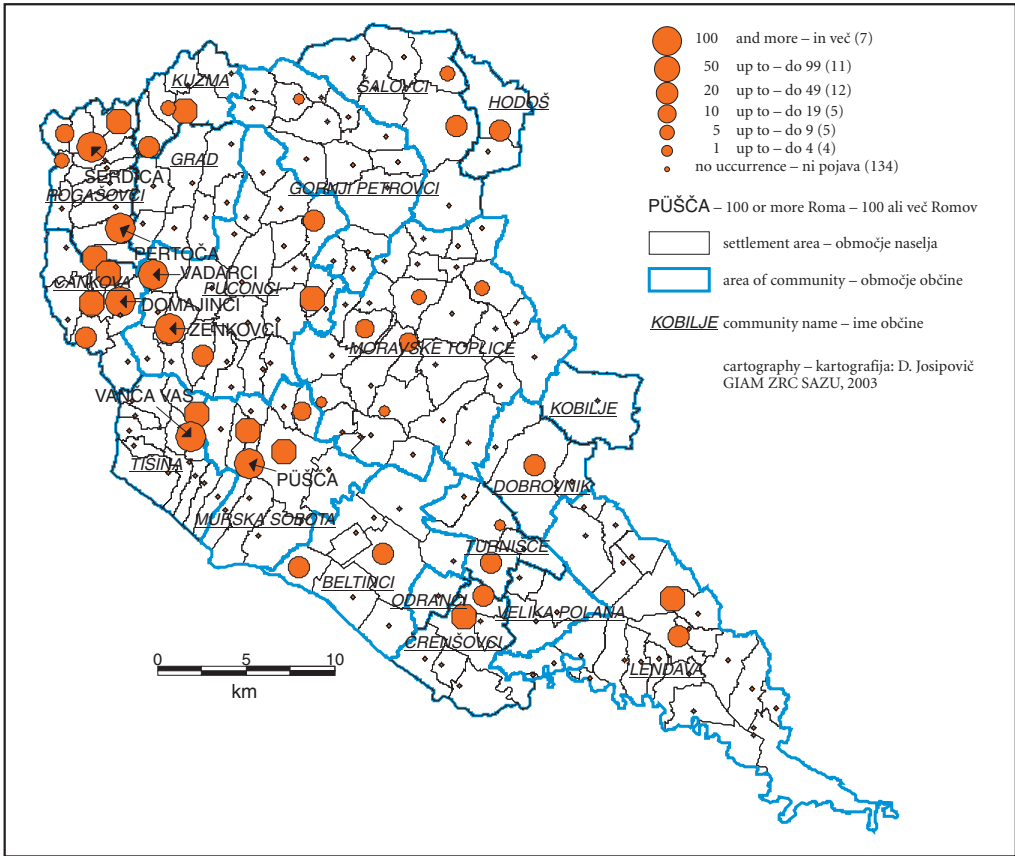
The census data on migration indicates that the Romany population in the conditions of the new type of settlement pattern – no longer nomadic – is substantially less mobile than the rest of the population. Furthermore, the migration is of distinctly regional character. The majority who migrated moved among Prekmurje settlements. The mobility of the Romany who did not declare themselves as such ethnically is similar to that of the remaining population in the region.

The greatest differences between the two groups of the Romany lie in their educational and socioeconomic structures. In 1991, some 80% of the ethnically-declared Romany (population aged 15 and older) did not complete elementary school or had no formal education at all, while in the second group the figure was 50%. The proportion of people in the two groups with educations higher than elementary school was 2% and 21%, respectively. Among the ethnically-declared Romany from the age contingent 15 to 24 years, only 9% of the population continued schooling beyond elementary school, and among the second group, 24%. Among the ethnically-declared Romany, the proportion employed in 1991 was only around 13%, almost three times less than among the second group. Unemployment increased considerably throughout Prekmurje in the 1990's, among the Romany even more than among the remaining population.

## 2.2 Distribution of Romany in Prekmurje

The Romany represent an important element in the spatial or regional-geographical structure of Prekmurje. Features of Romany settlements stand out visibly and distinguish them from other settlements. They are quite compact, they have smaller houses, construction is largely of poorer quality (although it is gradually improving), the yards are smaller, and there are fewer accompanying buildings. Romany settlements in Prekmurje can be divided into two types: the open and the closed or hidden type of settlement. Characteristic of the first type are the Romany settlements that like non-Romany settlements lie in open locations and are visible and noticeable from afar. The largest numbers of these settlements are in Ravensko and Dolinsko, with fewer in Goričko, which is linked to the extent of forested area. The second, closed (hidden) type of Romany settlement mainly includes the Romany settlements in Goričko, and they are less present on the Mura plain. It is characteristic of this type of Romany settlement that they are more withdrawn from the core settlements of the rest of the population and at the same time are either surrounded by forest or lie at the edge of a forest. In Goričko, such settlements are distributed along forested ridges or in narrow forested valleys, usually beside a stream in one of the so-called »Grabas« (»gully, ravine«) such as Kamena Graba near Gornji Slaveči. Characteristic of the closed type of Romany settlements is less traffic and therefore more security from »intruders,« which indicates a certain level of undesirability of these settlements among the rest of the population and along with it the endangered status of the Romany population.

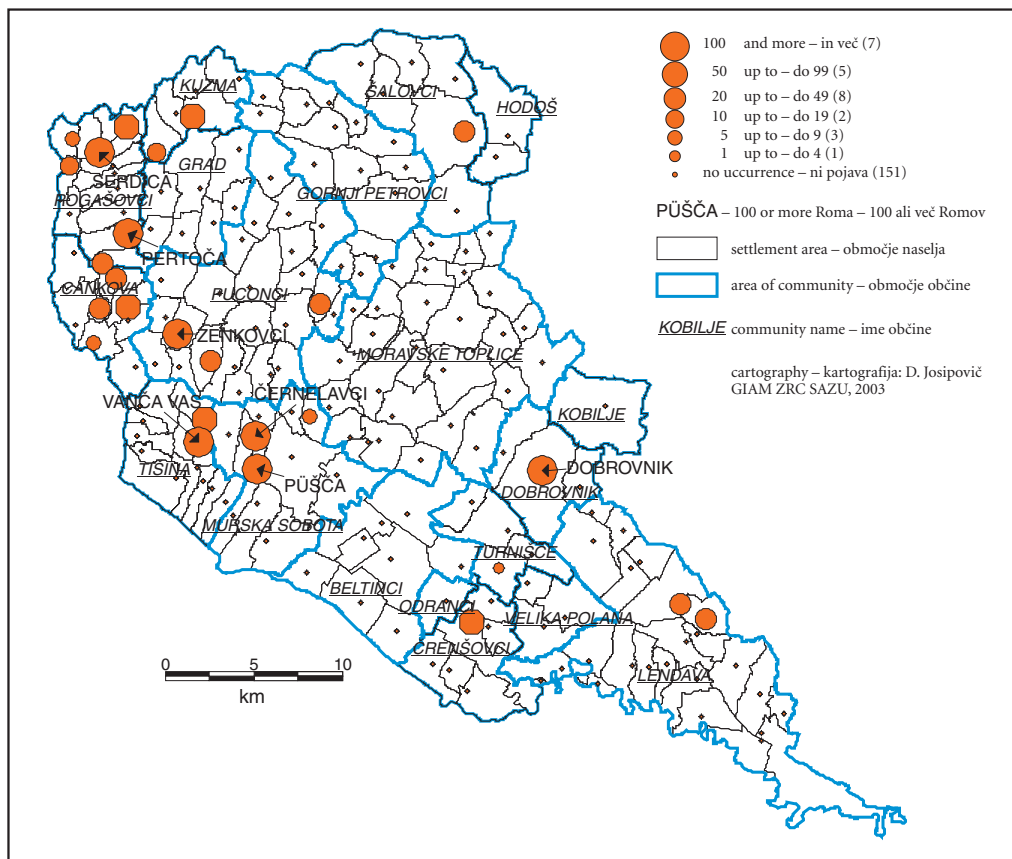
As we have already shown in the case of processing census data relative to estimating the size of the Romany population, a considerable discrepancy is evident between the »census« estimate and other estimates of the number of Romany in Prekmurje. The latter ranges somewhat between 3,500 and 4,000, considering that approximately half of all the Romany in Slovenia live in Prekmurje (Zadavec, 1991). The difference from the »census« figure of 2,249 amounts to somewhere between 1,300 and 1,700. For this reason we compared the census data with the figures from the Center for Social Work, which based on the 1985 and 1990 questionnaires for the Romany came to 2,913 (source: *Romany in Slovenia*, INV 1991). However, this number only included the settlements where the questionnaire survey was carried out and not those settlements where Romany either live dispersed among the non-Romany population or in smaller numbers. To determine the size of this population, in addition to field observations we employed the »RHN« (»Record of House Numbers«) method, on the basis of which we first determined the number of occupied buildings and multiplied this number by four, the estimated average number of members of a household or fam-



Map 4: Number of Romany in Prekmurje settlements according to the 1985 and 1990 Center for Social Work questionnaires.  
 Karta 4: Število Romov po naseljih Prekmurja po Vprašalniku Centra za socialno delo 1985/1990.

ily. We then compared the acquired values (Map 5) with the »census« data (Map 3) and the values from the questionnaire (Map 4). On the basis of maximum value for each individual settlement relative to the estimates used, we reached a »final« estimate (Map 6) putting the number of Romany in Prekmurje at 3,740.

On the other hand, however, the individual estimates, regardless of their varying values, indicate a relatively similar spatial distribution of the Romany population in Prekmurje. The axis of settlement runs in a northwest to southeast direction. This means primarily the areas of western Goričko, western Ravensko, Markovsko Dolinsko, and Lendavsko Dolinsko with individual islands in central and northeastern Goričko and in Dobrovnik. The common denominator of all the evaluations shown on the maps is the exposure by centroids of settlements. As previously stated, the majority of Romany settlements are located outside the »statistical« settlements. Thus, for example, the Romany in Ropča are represented in the unified number, but in reality they live in two settlements or hamlets that do not have the status of independent settlements. Püšča is thus the only Romany settlement with the status of independent settlement, which it has held only since the middle of 2002 (*Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia*, 11. 6. 2002). The presentation according to the centroid of settlements does not reveal the actual spatial distribution of Romany in Prekmurje. For this reason, with the help of field observations and the RHN method tried also to establish the geographical location of all the major separate Romany settlements (Map 5). The majority of the total number of forty-seven settlements are located at the statistical borders of the areas of settlements, often in such a way that these borders separate them into two or even three parts. The distribution of these

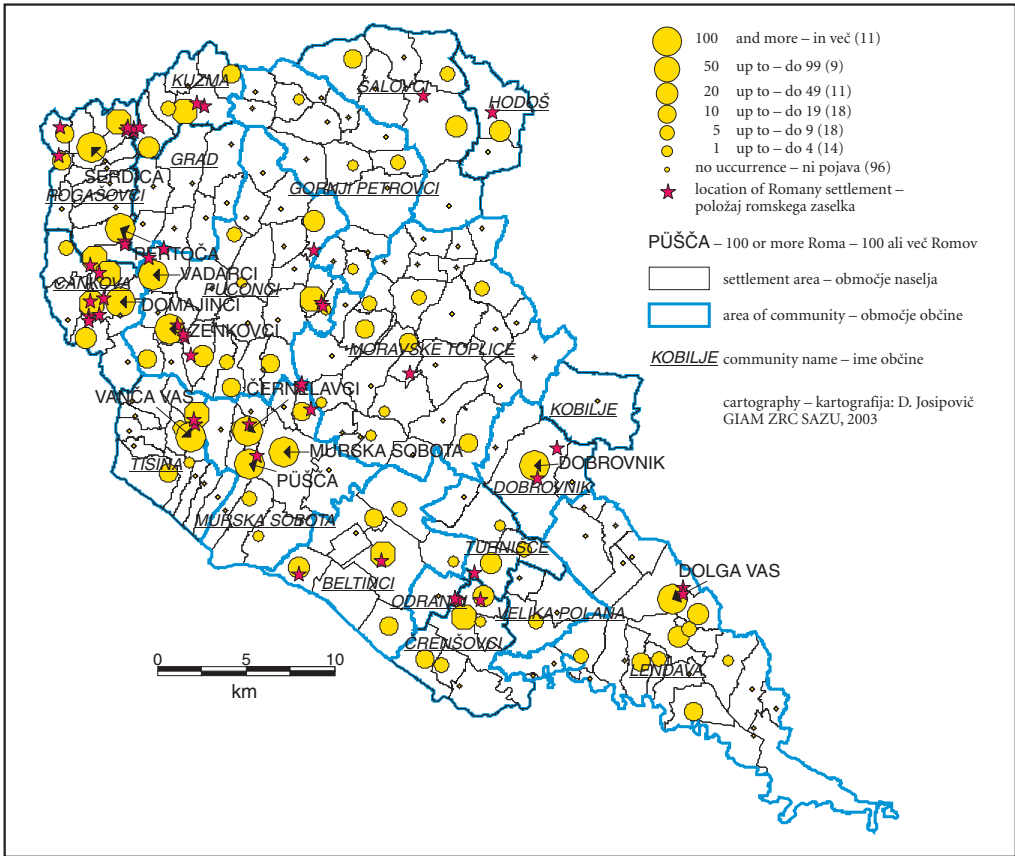


Map 5: Number of Romany in Prekmurje settlements estimated on the basis of the »Record of House Numbers« method.  
Karta 5: Število Romov po naseljih Prekmurja – ocena na podlagi Evidence hišnih števil.

settlements also shows us different concentrations. The most important among them are Püšča–Černelavci–Murska Sobota, Vanča vas–Borejci, Serdica–Sotina–Gornji Slaveči, Dolga vas–Dolgovaške Gorice–Lendava, Pertoča–Ropoča, Ropoča–Krašči–Gornji Črnci–Cankova–Domajinci, and Zenkovci–Lemerje. The largest number of Romany settlements is in western Goričko in the form of hidden settlements. Western Goričko represents a kind of main base of the Romany population, which gradually spread into other parts of Prekmurje, mostly along the former Austro-Hungarian border along the Kučnica and Mura rivers.

### 3 Conclusion

The greatest problem of the Romany today is the unemployment that is the result of stereotypes about the Romany, their low level of education, and social exclusion. Former traditionally Romany occupations such as peddling, horse-trading, etc., are practically no longer possible today. The few employed Romany move toward the Romany »margins« or even move away from the traditional center and in the eyes of the other Romany become »civilians« (»civilik« in Romany and Slovene), as they call the non-Romany population. Thus, within individual Romany settlements, spatial stratification and the formation of districts at the micro level can be observed. Here it must be remembered that the Romany settled spatially only a relatively short time ago. This was an amazing and exceptional transformation of a traditionally travelling people who partly or completely submitted to the pressures of the majority environment. Integration and the affirmation of the Romany as an ethnic group relative to the current situation depend to a large degree on education and employment.



Map 6: Number of Romany in Prekmurje settlements on the basis of the highest inclusive estimates.  
 Karta 6: Število Romov po naseljih Prekmurja na podlagi najvišje izmed vključenih ocen.

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# Demogeografske značilnosti Romov v Prekmurju

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## Izvleček

Članek obravnava demografske in poselitvene značilnosti Romov v Prekmurju. Poleg etničnih značilnosti jih od ostalega prebivalstva regije razlikuje tudi niz slabosti v socioekonomski sestavi, zlasti slaba izobrazbena sestava in visok delež nezaposlenih. Družbena marginalnost je vzrok, da je socialna integracija pogosto povezana z etnično asimilacijo. Statistični viri število Romov večinoma podcenjujejo.

**KLJUČNE BESEDE:** Romi, etnična geografija, demogeografija, Prekmurje, Severovzhodna Slovenija.

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# 1 Splošen oris romskega prebivalstva v Prekmurju in Sloveniji

Romsko prebivalstvo v Sloveniji lahko v grobem razdelimo na prekmurske in ostale Rome. Prekmurski Romi se šele v novejšem času označujejo kot Romi predvsem zaradi institucionalnega poenotenja tega prebivalstva in iz tega izhajajočih pravic. Med njimi je še vedno živo lastno poimenovanje »Ciganje«. Na drugi strani imamo Rome, ki razpršeno poseljujejo široko območje med Ljubljano, Belo krajino ter spodnjim Posavjem in jih na splošno imenujemo »dolenjski Romi«. Tretja skupina so »gorenjski Romi«, pri katerih pa gre večinoma za Sinte, katerih se navadno ne obravnava samostojno, pač pa skupaj z Romi. Za njih se je uveljavila oznaka »nemški« Cigani, ker so na Gorenjsko prišli iz Avstrije. V Sloveniji jih najdemo tudi na zahodnem Goričkem ter ponekod na Koroškem in Celjskem (Štrukelj, 1980).

Glede poenotenja poimenovanja indijskih nomadov je sprejel svetovni kongres Ciganov leta 1979 v Švici skupno lastno ime »Rom«. Romi na Slovenskem in tudi drugod po Evropi so ogrožena skupnost. Slovenska ustava jim v 65. členu priznava narodnostne pravice na območjih avtohtone poselitve (karta 1).

Rome pri nas (po Miklošiču, Uhliku idr.) jezikovno delimo na turško in vlaško skupino, nekateri avtorji pa dodajajo še karpatsko. K turški skupini sodijo dolenjski Romi, k vlaški in karpatski pa prekmurski Romi (Štrukelj, 1980). Glede na območje, od koder sekundarno izhajajo, imenujemo turško skupino »hrvaški« Romi, vlaško pa »madžarski« Romi. Naseljevanje Romov v Prekmurje pa se ni vršilo zgolj iz Madžarske, temveč tudi iz današnje Avstrije. Gre za Rome iz Gradiščanske, ki jih v Prekmurju prepoznamo v glavnem po priimku Horvat. Ta priimek so si pridobili na Gradiščanskem, saj so se tja priselili pravitako iz Hrvaške. S tem so v nekaterih romskih govorih v Prekmurju prisotne druge in drugačne besede, to pa je pripeljalo do oblikovanja petih skupin Romov v Prekmurju:

- Sinti (zahodno Goričko; priimki Cener, Pestner, Linhart, Vagner nakazujejo prihod z nemškega govornega območja);
- madžarizirani Romi (Dobrovnik, Hodoš; priimek Baranja);
- vlaški Romi (okolica Lendave; priimek Olah);
- karpatski Romi (Goričko, Ravensko; priimki Šarkezi, Baranja, Farkaš);
- turški Romi (širše območje Črenšovce; priimki Horvat, Levačič, Kovač).

Zaradi preseljevanja in porok Romov iz različnih romskih naselij danes več ne moremo govoriti o jasni teritorialni razmejitvi med posameznimi romskimi skupinami. Obstajajo le bolj ali manj tradicionalna območja naselitev romskih družin. Značilno pa je, da so vlaški Romi iz območja Lendave bistveno manj povezani z ostalimi skupinami Romov, kot ostali med seboj.

## 2 Ocena števila Romov v Prekmurju in problemi narodnostnega neopredeljevanja

Ena od pglavitnih problematik demografskih in prostorskih analiz romskega prebivalstva v Sloveniji je ugotavljanje njihovega realnega števila in s tem povezanega vzorca naselitvene razpršenosti in lokalnih zgoštitev. Splošna kritika rabe popisnih podatkov je, da le-ti predstavljajo močno podcenjeno število Romov. Druga značilnost je, da se njihovo število med različnimi popisi zelo spreminja. Tako so popisi prebivalstva v Sloveniji beležili zelo različno število ljudi, ki so se narodnostno tako opredelili: 663 leta 1953, 158 leta 1961, 977 leta 1971, 1435 leta 1981 in 2282 leta 1991. Vzroki so predvsem v tem, da se večji del romskega prebivalstva ob popisih narodnostno ne opredeli kot Romi. S tem lahko razložimo velika nihanja števila med leti 1953 in 1971 pa tudi velik del razlike med leti 1981 in 1991. Enako velja za ugotavljanje števila Romov v Prekmurju; popisi prebivalstva za leta 1971, 1981 in 1991 navajajo številke 516, 376 in 683.

Verodostojnejši podatek o številu Romov za Prekmurje (in celo Slovenijo) ponujajo podatki lokalnih in regionalnih centrov za socialno delo. Poglavitni vir je Vprašalnik o Romih (Stanič - Igljčar, 1991, Zdravec, 1991, Center za socialno delo Lendava, 1991). Le-ta za leto 1990 za Upravno enoto Lendava navaja število 304 (popis 1991 118) in za Upravno enoto Murska Sobota za leto 1985 2609 (popis 1991 565). Popis podceni število Romov na Lendavskem za trikrat, v sosednji upravni enoti Murska Sobota, kjer sicer živi tretjina slovenskih Romov, pa kar za petkrat.

Problematika ni samo slovenska, pač pa jo pri ugotavljanju števila Romov srečamo tudi v drugih evropskih državah. Tako slovenske ustanove, ki se z Romi na terenu prvenstveno ukvarjajo, ocenjujejo število Romov v Sloveniji na 6500 do 7000 (Winkler, 1999) ali celo 7000 do 10.000 (Horvat, 1999). V Avstriji je uradno število 10.000, ocena realnega števila pa 20.000 do 25.000 (Erich, 1999). V Romuniji je število Romov po popisu 410.000, ocena realnega števila pa presega 2 milijona (Müller, 1999). Tako je tudi drugje. Romi so najštevilčnejši v Jugovzhodni Evropi in državah Karpatskega bazena, kjer njihovo realno število dosega 5 do 10 % skupnega prebivalstva (Romunija, Madžarska, Slovaška, Bolgarija, Srbija in Črna gora, Makedonija). Ocene števila Romov v Evropi segajo od 8 do 15 milijonov, kar bi pomenilo, da Romi predstavljajo od 1 do 2 % evropskega prebivalstva.

## 2.1 Natančnejša opredelitev števila Romov s pomočjo podrobnejše analize popisnih podatkov iz leta 1991

Podrobnejša analiza popisnih podatkov omogoči, da se bistveno bolj približamo realnemu številu in opredelitvi lokalnih zgostitev romskega prebivalstva v Prekmurju. Poleg podatka o narodnostni opredelitvi posameznikov smo uporabili še podatke o maternem jeziku, pogovornem jeziku v gospodinjstvu ter izven njega in narodnostni sestavi gospodinjstev. V to širšo opredelitev romskega prebivalstva so bile na tak način zajete naslednje skupine:

- narodnostno opredeljeni kot Romi (v preglednicah Romi);
- prebivalstvo, ki se po narodnosti ni opredelilo kot romsko, pač pa je romščino navedlo kot materni jezik (v preglednicah romski materni jezik);
- prebivalstvo, ki je romščino navedlo zgolj kot občevalni jezik (v preglednicah romski pogovorni jezik) in
- prebivalstvo, ki se ni opredelilo za nobenega od romskih etničnih atributov, pač pa živi v gospodinjstvih s prebivalstvom iz zgornjih treh kategorij (v preglednicah drugi člani gospodinjstva).

Preglednica 1: Romsko prebivalstvo Prekmurja glede na narodnostno opredelitev, opredelitev po maternem jeziku, navedbi romščine kot pogovornega jezika ter upoštevanju drugega prebivalstva, ki živi v gospodinjstvih z Romi; 1991, izračun za nove občine.

| občina           | Romi |      | romski materni jezik |      | romski pogovorni jezik |      | drugi člani gospodinjstva |      | Skupaj |       | % od skupnega prebivalstva občine |
|------------------|------|------|----------------------|------|------------------------|------|---------------------------|------|--------|-------|-----------------------------------|
|                  | Št.  | %    | Št.                  | %    | Št.                    | %    | Št.                       | %    | Št.    | %     |                                   |
| Beltinci         | 92   | 68,7 | 4                    | 3,0  | 8                      | 6,0  | 30                        | 22,4 | 134    | 100,0 | 1,9                               |
| Čankova          | 9    | 9,0  | 53                   | 53,0 | 21                     | 21,0 | 17                        | 17,0 | 100    | 100,0 | 5,9                               |
| Črenšovci        | 21   | 20,6 | 60                   | 58,8 | 5                      | 4,9  | 16                        | 15,7 | 102    | 100,0 | 2,7                               |
| Dobrovnik        | 2    | 1,4  | 0                    | 0,0  | 117                    | 81,3 | 25                        | 17,4 | 144    | 100,0 | 12,8                              |
| Gornji Petrovci  | 3    | 20,0 | 1                    | 6,7  | 2                      | 13,3 | 9                         | 60,0 | 15     | 100,0 | 1,9                               |
| Hodoš            | 0    | 0,0  | 0                    | 0,0  | 1                      | 50,0 | 1                         | 50,0 | 2      | 100,0 | 0,6                               |
| Kuzma            | 79   | 84,0 | 0                    | 0,0  | 2                      | 2,1  | 13                        | 13,8 | 94     | 100,0 | 5,5                               |
| Lendava          | 55   | 27,6 | 17                   | 8,5  | 45                     | 22,6 | 82                        | 41,2 | 199    | 100,0 | 2,4                               |
| Moravske Toplice | 1    | 2,8  | 1                    | 2,8  | 11                     | 30,6 | 23                        | 63,9 | 36     | 100,0 | 1,4                               |
| Murska Sobota    | 316  | 42,8 | 184                  | 24,9 | 95                     | 12,9 | 144                       | 19,5 | 739    | 100,0 | 4,0                               |
| Puconci          | 1    | 0,7  | 2                    | 1,4  | 57                     | 39,0 | 86                        | 58,9 | 146    | 100,0 | 3,9                               |
| Rogašovci        | 65   | 30,8 | 74                   | 35,1 | 58                     | 27,5 | 14                        | 6,6  | 211    | 100,0 | 10,4                              |
| Šalovci          | 1    | 3,3  | 0                    | 0,0  | 7                      | 23,3 | 22                        | 73,3 | 30     | 100,0 | 2,4                               |
| Tišina           | 2    | 0,8  | 1                    | 0,4  | 212                    | 87,2 | 28                        | 11,5 | 243    | 100,0 | 10,8                              |
| Turnišče         | 40   | 83,3 | 0                    | 0,0  | 1                      | 2,1  | 7                         | 14,6 | 48     | 100,0 | 1,6                               |
| Velika Polana    | 0    | 0,0  | 0                    | 0,0  | 1                      | 16,7 | 5                         | 83,3 | 6      | 100,0 | 0,6                               |
| Skupaj           | 687  | 30,5 | 397                  | 17,7 | 643                    | 28,6 | 522                       | 23,2 | 2249   | 100,0 | 3,8                               |

(Popis prebivalstva, gospodinjstev, stanovanj in kmečkih gospodarstev v Republiki Sloveniji v letu 1991; SURS).

Tako širše pojmovanje oziroma zajemanje opredelitve Romov poveča njihovo število za več kot trikrat. Prav tako prostorsko opredeli Rome tudi v tistih naseljih, kjer jih popis zgolj po narodnostni opredelitvi ne navaja, v večini primerov pa jih beleži Vprašalnik o Romih (karta 2, 3 in 4, preglednica 1). Število Romov

se po tej metodi najbolj poveča v občinah Tišina (naselje Vanča vas), Dobrovnik (naselje Dobrovnik), Cankova (naselji Krašči in Cankova), Črenšovci (naselje Črenšovci), Puconci (naselja Kuštanovci, Dolina, Puconci), Lendava (naselje Gornji Lakoš) in Šalovci (naselje Čepinci). Regionalno vzeto popis število Romov najbolj podceni na osrednjem in vzhodnem Goričkem ter v južnem delu Markovskega Dolinskega.

Prekmurska naselja z več kot 50 Romi po razširjenem zajemu podatkov leta 1991 so bila: Püšča (554; samostojno naselje od leta 2002, prej del Černelavec), Vanča vas (221), Dobrovnik (144), Pertoča (119), Murska Sobota (109), Dolga vas (103), Sotina (76), Beltinci (66), Črenšovci (61), Dolič (55) in Černelavci (52).

Za nekatere večje lokalne zgotovitve (Vanča vas, Dobrovnik, Kuštanovci) je značilno, da se je le nekaj posameznikov opredelilo za Roma ali navedlo romščino za materni jezik, pač pa jih je veliko navedlo romščino kot pogovorni jezik v gospodinjstvu ali nedružinskem okolju. Vzroke je mogoče iskati v visoki stopnji integriranosti (tudi asimiliranosti) z večinskim slovenskim (v Dobrovniku in Hodošu z madžarskim) prebivalstvom, prav tako pa tudi v nedosledni lokalni izvedbi popisa prebivalstva.

Vzrokov za narodnostno neopredeljevanje pri Romih je lahko več:

- del bolj integriranih Romov se z romstvom ne želi več enačiti;
- del Romov se izmika realni uradni etnični opredelitvi, ker s tem povezuje potencialne težave pri zaposlovanju, vključevanju v družbo ipd.;
- na to lahko vpliva še vedno negativen odnos do Romov pri večinskem prebivalstvu;
- jezikovna in kulturna heterogenost med različnimi skupinami Romov otežuje širše identificiranje z romstvom;
- del otrok narodnostno mešanih družin se ne opredeli več kot Romi.

Preglednica 2: Popisna narodnostna opredelitev tistega dela romskega prebivalstva v Prekmurju, ki se ob popisu ni deklarirala za Rome (1991, v %).

|               | romski materni jezik<br>% | romski pogovorni jezik<br>% | drugi člani gospodinjstva<br>% | skupaj<br>% |
|---------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|
| Slovenci      | 94,0                      | 71,0                        | 79,5                           | 80,5        |
| Madžari       | 1,1                       | 27,1                        | 12,8                           | 14,8        |
| Hrvati        | 0,7                       | 1,0                         | 2,3                            | 1,3         |
| Drugi         | 2,2                       | 0,3                         | 2,7                            | 1,7         |
| Neopredeljeni | 1,1                       | 0,0                         | 0,8                            | 0,6         |
| Neznano       | 0,9                       | 0,5                         | 1,9                            | 1,1         |
| Skupaj        | 100,0                     | 100,0                       | 100,0                          | 100,0       |

(Popis prebivalstva, gospodinjstev, stanovanj in kmečkih gospodarstev v Republiki Sloveniji v letu 1991; SURS).

Večina (64 %) tistih, ki so romščino navedli kot svoj materni jezik, se je tudi po narodnosti opredelila kot Romi. Med romskim prebivalstvom, ki se je po narodnosti drugače opredelilo (preglednica 2), prevladuje opredeljevanje za Slovence. Skoraj celotno opredeljevanje za Madžare gre na račun naselja Dobrovnik, v manjši meri tudi za Rome iz Lendave in nekaterih drugih naselij v suburbanizirani coni okrog mesta (Gornji Lakoš, Čentiba, Petišovci).

Pri geografskih dejavnikih narodnostnega neopredeljevanje med Romi lahko izpostavimo predvsem dva pojava:

- več generacij trajajoča stalna naseljenost, kar je pripeljalo do višje stopnje socialne in ekonomske integracije (in tudi asimilacije) z večinskim prebivalstvom; to se kaže tudi v morfološkem zlitju nekdanjega ostro ločenega romskega dela naselja s preostankom vasi; te skupine Romov z ostalimi romskimi skupinami redkeje ali sploh ne komunicirajo (primera Dobrovnika in Vanče vasi)
- del Romov, ki je prostorsko bolj mobilni, živi danes bolj razpršeno v širšem urbaniziranem zaledju mest, pogosto v narodnostno mešanih gospodinjstvih; prenos romske narodnostne identitete in zavesti na mlajše generacije je v teh pogojih redkejši.

Da je socialna in ekonomska integracija Romov pogosto povezana z etnično asimilacijo, nam kažejo tudi nekateri podatki o demografski in socioekonomski sestavi romskega prebivalstva (preglednica 3). Tisti

del Romov, ki se je narodnostno drugače opredelil, predstavlja v demografskih, selitvenih, izobrazbenih in zaposlitvenih značilnostih prehod med Romi (tako opredeljenimi v popisu) in neromskim prebivalstvom Prekmurja. V tem primeru lahko govorimo o asimilacijski tranziciji od Romov k 'Neromom', ki poteka v treh fazah. V prvi fazi se Romi še opredeljujejo za Rome in uporabljajo romščino. V drugi (prehodni) fazi se z romstvom ne identificirajo več, ohranijo pa nekatere romske elemente (znanje ali občasna uporaba romskega jezika, zavedanje o poreklu itd.). V tretji fazi pa se narodnostno in jezikovno ter kulturno opredeljujejo kot 'Neromi'.

Preglednica 3: Nekatere demografske in socioekonomske značilnosti romskega in ostalega prebivalstva Prekmurja, 1991 (v %).

|   | Romi | romski materni jezik,<br>romski pogovorni jezik,<br>drugi člani gospodinjstva | Romi skupaj | preostalo<br>prebivalstvo<br>Prekmurja |
|---|------|---|-------------|--|
| starostna sestava                               |      |   |             |  |
| 0 do 14 let                                     | 35,4 | 26,2  | 29,0        | 18,9                                   |
| 65 let in več                                   | 3,3  | 5,5   | 4,8         | 13,9                                   |
| migracijske značilnosti                         |      |   |             |  |
| rojeni v naselju trenutnega bivanja             | 78,2 | 69,1  | 71,9        | 60,2                                   |
| priseljeni z območij izven Prekmurja            | 3,9  | 7,4   | 6,3         | 9,7                                    |
| izobrazbena sestava<br>(stari 15 let in več)    |      |   |             |  |
| brez šolske izobrazbe                           | 19,6 | 8,9   | 11,9        | 0,6                                    |
| nepopolna osnovna šola                          | 60,6 | 41,4  | 46,7        | 12,0                                   |
| osnovna šola                                    | 17,6 | 28,2  | 25,3        | 48,2                                   |
| poklicna šola                                   | 1,4  | 11,5  | 8,6         | 19,0                                   |
| srednja šola                                    | 0,5  | 7,0   | 5,2         | 14,0                                   |
| višja in visoka izobrazba                       | 0,0  | 2,1   | 1,5         | 5,1                                    |
| neznano   | 0,5  | 0,9   | 0,8         | 1,1                                    |
| socioekonomska sestava<br>(stari 15 let in več) |      |   |             |  |
| zaposleni                                       | 13,1 | 36,1  | 29,7        | 60,3                                   |
| nezaposleni                                     | 14,9 | 15,5  | 15,3        | 6,0                                    |
| gospodinje                                      | 14,2 | 7,2   | 9,1         | 2,9                                    |
| učenci, študenti                                | 3,2  | 6,3   | 5,5         | 4,2                                    |
| upokojenci                                      | 6,3  | 8,4   | 7,8         | 14,4                                   |
| nezmožni za delo                                | 9,2  | 2,6   | 4,4         | 2,2                                    |
| zdomci  | 5,9  | 10,4  | 9,1         | 8,6                                    |
| drugo   | 33,3 | 13,5  | 19,0        | 1,4                                    |

(Popis prebivalstva, gospodinjstev, stanovanj in kmečkih gospodarstev v Republiki Sloveniji v letu 1991; SURS).

Obe tako opredeljeni romski populaciji sta si, predvsem pri primerjavi z večinskim prebivalstvom, podobni. Romi so še vedno mlada populacija, čeprav rodnost med njimi upada in je vse manj družin z večjim številom otrok. V primerjavi s slovenskimi imajo romske družine v povprečju le še za 6 % več otrok, pri mladih pa je razlika še manjša (Josipovič, 2002: 196). Druga značilnost je zelo nizek delež prebivalstva, starega 65 let ali več, kar je posledica višjih stopenj starostno-specifične smrtnosti romskega prebivalstva zaradi slabših bivalnih, zdravstvenih, socialnih in izobrazbenih razmer.

Popisni podatki o migracijah kažejo, da je romska populacija v pogojih novega tipa naselitve (ni več nomadstva) bistveno manj prostorsko mobilna od ostalega prebivalstva. Tudi migracije so izrazito regionalnega značaja. Večina, ki se je selila, se je selila med prekmurskimi naselji. Mobilnost je pri Romih, ki se tako narodnostno niso opredelili, podobna kot pri preostalem prebivalstvu v regiji.

Največje razlike med obema skupinama Romov so v izobrazbeni in ekonomski sestavi. Leta 1991 je bilo med narodnostno opredeljenimi Romi (prebivalstvo staro 15 let in več) kar 80 % takih z nedokončano

osnovno šolo ali celo brez vsake izobrazbe, pri drugi skupini Romov pa 50 %. Delež ljudi s končano izobrazbo višjo od osnovnošolske je bil pri omenjenih skupinah 2 oziroma 21 %. Šolanje po osnovni šoli je med narodnostno opredeljenimi Romi nadaljevalo le 9 % prebivalstva iz starostnega kontingenta 15 do 24 let, pri drugi skupini pa 24 %. Med narodnostno opredeljenimi Romi je bil delež zaposlenih leta 1991 le okrog 13 %, kar je za skoraj trikrat manj kot pri drugi skupini. Brezposelnost se je v devetdesetih letih krepko povečala v celem Prekmurju, pri Romih še bolj kot pri ostalem prebivalstvu.

## 2.2 Prostorska razmestitev Romov v Prekmurju

Romi predstavljajo pomemben element prostorske oziroma regionalno-geografske strukture Prekmurja. Značilnosti romskih naselij že vizualno izstopajo ter se ločijo od ostalih naselij. So precej kompaktnejša, imajo manjše hiše, gradnja je pretežno manj kvalitetna, vendar se postopno izboljšuje, značilne so manjše ohišnice in manjše število spremljajočih objektov. Romske poselitve v Prekmurju lahko razdelimo na dva tipa. Na odprti in na zaprti oziroma skriti tip poselitve. Za prvega so značilna romska naselja, ki podobno kot ostala ležijo na odprtih lokacijah in so že od daleč vidna in opazna. Največ takih naselij je na Ravenskem in na Dolinskem, manj pa na Goričkem, kar je povezano tudi z obsegom gozdnih površin. Drugi, zaprti (skriti) tip romske poselitve pretežno zajema romska naselja na Goričkem, na Murski ravnini pa je manj prisoten. Za romska naselja tega tipa je značilno, da so bolj odmaknjena od jedrnih naselij preostalega prebivalstva, hkrati pa so bodisi obdana z gozdom bodisi ležijo ob robu gozda. Na Goričkem so taka naselja razmeščena po gozdnatih slemenih ali v ozkih gozdnatih dolinah navadno ob potoku – v takoimenovanih grabah (npr. Kamena Graba pri Gornjih Slavečih). Za zaprti tip romskih naselij je značilna tudi manjša vpadljivost in s tem varnost pred 'vsiljivci', kar opozarja na neke vrste nezazelenost teh naselij pri ostalem prebivalstvu, poleg tega pa tudi na ogroženost romskega prebivalstva.

Kot smo pokazali že na primeru obdelave popisnih podatkov v zvezi z oceno velikosti romske populacije, je viden precejšen razkorak med to 'popisno' oceno in siceršnje oceno števila Romov v Prekmurju. Slednja se giblje nekako med 3500 in 4000, če upoštevamo, da približno 50 % vseh Romov v Sloveniji živi v Prekmurju (Zadavec, 1991). Razlika do 'popisnih' 2249 znaša približno med 1300 in 1700. Zato smo s popisnimi podatki primerjali še podatke Centra za socialno delo, ki je na podlagi Vprašalnika o Romih v letih 1985 in 1990 prišel do števila 2913 (vir: Romi na Slovenskem, INV 1991). Vendar so v tej številki zajeta le tista naselja, kjer so anketo izvedli, ne pa tudi tista naselja, kjer Romi živijo bodisi razpršeno med ostalim prebivalstvom bodisi v manjšem številu. Da bi številčno opredelili tudi to populacijo, smo poleg terenskih opazovanj uporabili še metodo EHIŠ (evidenca hišnih števil), na podlagi katere smo najprej opredelili število naseljenih objektov, to število pa pavšalno pomnožili s 4 (ocena povprečnega števila članov gospodinjstva oziroma družine). Dobljene vrednosti (karta 5) smo nato primerjali s 'popisnimi' (karta 3) in vrednostmi iz Vprašalnika (karta 4). Na podlagi maksimalne vrednosti za posamezno naselje glede na uporabljene ocene pa smo prišli do 'končne' ocene (karta 6), ki število Romov v Prekmurju ocenjuje na 3740.

Po drugi strani pa posamezne ocene ne glede na različne vrednosti kažejo dokaj podobno prostorsko distribucijo romskega prebivalstva v Prekmurju. Os poselitve poteka v smeri od severozahoda proti jugovzhodu. To pomeni predvsem območje zahodnega Goričkega, zahodnega Ravenskega ter območje Markovskega in Lendavskega Dolinskega s še nekaterimi otoki na osrednjem in severovzhodnem Goričkem ter v Dobrovniku. Skupna lastnost vseh na karti prikazanih ocen je prikaz preko centroidov naselij. Kot pa smo že omenili, je večina romskih naselij izven 'statističnih' naselij. Tako so denimo Romi v Ropoči prikazani v enotnem številu, v resnici pa pretežno živijo v dveh naseljih oziroma zaselkih, ki pa nimajo statusa samostojnega naselja. Pūšča je tako edino romsko naselje, ki ima status samostojnega naselja od srede leta 2002 (ULRS, 11. 6. 2002). Torej prikaz po centroidih naselij nam ne razkriva dejanske prostorske distribucije Romov v Prekmurju. Zato smo s pomočjo terenskega opazovanja in metode EHIŠ ugotavljali tudi geografsko lokacijo vseh večjih ločenih romskih naselij (karta 5). Večina od skupno 47-ih je locirana ob statističnih mejah območij naselij, neredko tako, da so s temi mejami razrezana na dva ali celo tri dele. Razmestitev teh naselij nam kaže drugačne zgotovitve. Najpomembnejše med njimi so: Pūšča–Černelavci–Murska Sobota, Vanča vas–Borejci, Serdica–Sotina–Gornji Slaveči, Dolga vas–Dolgovaške Gorice–Lendava, Pertoča–Ropoča, Ropoča–Krašči–Gornji Črnci–Cankova–Domajinci in Zenkovci–Lemerje. Največje število

romskih naselij je na zahodnem Goričkem, in sicer v obliki skrite poselitve. Zahodno Goričko predstavlja nekakšno glavno bazo romskega prebivalstva, ki se je postopoma širilo v druge predele Prekmurja pretežno vzdolž nekdanje avtro-ogrske meje ob Kučnici in Muri.

### 3 Sklep

Najbolj pereč problem Romov danes je brezposelnost kot posledica stereotipov o Romih, nizke izobrazbe in družbene izključenosti. Nekdaj tradicionalni romski poklici, kot so krošnjarstvo, trgovina s konji ipd., danes praktično niso več možni. Redki zaposleni Romi se pomikajo na romsko »obrobje«, ali pa se celo izselijo iz tradicionalne sredine in postanejo v očeh preostalih Romov 'civilni', kakor imenujejo neromsko prebivalstvo. Tako znotraj posameznih romskih naselij opazamo tudi prostorsko razslojevanje in tvorbo četrti na mikro-nivoju. Ob tem moramo vedeti, da so se Romi šele pred relativno kratkim časom prostorsko ustalili. To je bila izjemna transformacija tradicionalno popotniškega ljudstva, ki se je delno ali povsem podredilo pritiskom večinskega okolja. Integracija in afirmacija Romov kot etnične skupine je glede na današnje stanje v veliki meri odvisna od izobraževanja in zaposlovanja.