

SPATIAL PERSPECTIVE OF STEREOTYPING TOWARDS ROMA

PROSTORNA PERSPEKTIVA ISKAZIVANJA STEREOTIPA PREMA ROMIMA

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ABSTRACT

Paper analyses the results of a study of stereotyping of Roma in Međimurje County from a spatial standpoint. Despite the expected differences, it was found that spatial proximity does not affect the level of stereotyping towards members of the Roma national minority. The majority of the population living in the same administrative settlements where the Roma settlements exist do not express stereotypes towards the Roma statistically significantly different from the respondents living beyond the Roma outside the radius of isolation 5 km from the nearest Roma settlement. No statistically significant differences were found in the analysis of the responses of respondents from different sub-regional units of Međimurje County. The possibility and frequency of spatial contact with Roma does not affect the level of stereotyping towards members of the Roma national minority.

Keywords: Roma people, Bajash, Međimurje, stereotypes, spatial perspective

Ključne riječi: Romi, Bajaši, Međimurje, stereotipi, prostorna perspektiva

INTRODUCTION

The notion of stereotype is »a rigid and simplistic generalization that people have about the social behavior of other people or groups, usually built on negative and sometimes positive prejudice«¹. As a sociological term, according to Babić (2004), stereotypes represent biased thinking, rigid and difficult to change perceptions of individuals and groups in society. Although stereotypes, therefore, also apply to individuals, their social significance comes to the fore when they refer to groups of people, or particular groups in society. In this regard, Mackie et al emphasize, »stereotype formation begins when

¹ HERŠAK, E., 1998: *Leksikon migracijskoga i etničkoga nazivlja*, Institut za migracije i narodnosti, Zagreb.

aggregate of persons is perceived to be a group«². In doing so, stereotypes are defined as »psychological representations of the characteristics of people that belong to particular groups«³.

In addition to distinguishing between individual stereotypes and stereotypes expressed by groups of people, »stereotypes can be conceptualized from two complementary perspectives... From one perspective, stereotypes are represented within the mind of an individual person. From another perspective, stereotypes are represented as part of the social fabric of a society, shared by people within that culture«⁴. Although there are four possible combinations of stereotyping with respect to the subject and object of stereotyping: individual by individual, individual by group, group by individual and group by group, certainly the stereotypes that social groups collectively convey to other groups in society are of the greatest social importance.

Stereotypes, therefore, represent pre-formed general perceptions of a social group, that is, opinions and attitudes about Others that may be positive or negative. The negative are, of course, more frequent. Babić (2004) states that stereotype formation is part of the non-formal learning process that an individual adopts throughout his or her life. He adds that in this way, »social,« truths »about Others (and then nationally / ethnically diverse)« are taken over, first in the parents' home and on the »street« and then at school«⁵. In his work, Sibley emphasizes that if the worldview of the others is partially hidden, there is a danger that they may be misunderstood and build a stereotypical view of things⁶. Stereotypes significantly affect the totality of social relationships between members of different social or ethnic groups sharing a common space. »Fragmentation of a society into a series of groups hierarchically arranged in the macro / micro-social space ... enables the creation, transmission and use of stereotypes«⁷. This is certainly the case in Međimurje County, where members of the Roma national minority and the rest of the population share the common space. Although participating in the common county space, the Roma as the largest national minority in Međimurje and their lives remain hidden due to the present spatial segregation of Roma settlements⁸. In such circumstances, the world of Roma as Others is partly hidden and incomprehensible to the rest of the Međimurje County population. Due to mentioned circumstances, the stereotypical view of members of the Roma national minority is an expected situation. While on the one hand, such a view of the Roma impedes integration processes, »on the other hand, the Roma themselves, by their closeness, do not contribute to better acquaintance«⁹ and maintain a high degree of stereotypical view of their own community. As Roma become a growing national minority in Međimurje with an increasing share of the total population¹⁰, overcoming stereotypical views is certainly one of the significant tasks in the process of integration of the Roma minority into Croatian society. Think-

² MACKIE, D.M., HAMILTON, D.L., SUSSKIND, J., ROSSELLI, F., 1996: Social Psychological Foundations of Stereotype Formation, u *Stereotypes and Stereotyping*, ur. MACRAE, C.N., STANGOR, C., HEWSTONE, M., The Guilford Press, New York, London.

³ MCGARTY, C., YZERBYT, V.Y., SPEARS, R., 2002: Social, cultural and cognitive factors in stereotype formation, u *Stereotypes as Explanations. The formation of meaningful beliefs about social groups*, ur. MCGARTY, C., YZERBYT, V.Y., Spears, R., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1-15

⁴ STANGOR, C., SCHALLER, M., 1996: Stereotypes as Individual and collective representations, u *Stereotypes and Stereotyping*, ur. MACRAE, C.N., STANGOR, C., HEWSTONE, M., The Guilford Press, New York, London.

⁵ BABIĆ, D., 2004: Stigmatizacija i identitet Roma – pogled »izvana«: slučaj učenika Roma u naselju Kozari Bok. *Migracijske i etničke teme* 20 (4), 315 – 338.

⁶ SIBLEY, D., 1992: Outsiders in society and space, u *Inventing Places: Studies in Cultural Geography*, (ur. ANDERSON, K; GALE, F), Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 107 –122.

⁷ BABIĆ, D. 2006: Stigmatizacija Hrvata i Srba u prijeratnome, ratnom i poslijeratnom razdoblju. *Migracijske i etničke teme*, 22 (4), 379-397.

⁸ ŠLEZAK, H., 2009: Prostorna segregacija romskog stanovništva u Međimurskoj županiji, *Hrvatski geografski glasnik* 71 (2), 65 – 81.

⁹ ŠTAMBUK, M., 2000: Romi u društvenom prostoru Hrvatske, *Društvena istraživanja*, 9 (2-3 (46-47)), 197-210.

¹⁰ ŠLEZAK, H., BELIĆ, T., 2019: Projekcije kretanja romske populacije u Međimurju - put od manjine ka većini, *Geoadria*, 24 (2), (u tisku).

ing and »developing measures to end stereotypes and racial prejudice against the Roma«¹¹ is a prominent part of the National Strategy for Roma Inclusion for the period 2013 to 2020. It is a strategic document of the Government of the Republic of Croatia for integration and improvement of socio-economic status of Roma in the Republic of Croatia.

According to the *contact hypothesis*, in cases of spatial proximity and the possibility of more frequent social contact with members of the Roma national minority, the level of stereotyping is expected to decrease¹². The territorial rapprochement between the Roma and the majority population during which the Roma become less hidden and with the increase of the possibilities of social contact, it is expected to reduce the stereotypical view of their social community. Despite this spatial segregation, the border space between the Roma and the majority population, both materially and socially, offers the possibility of inclusion by serving »as meeting points«¹³. According to Škiljan and Babić, the perception of Roma about the prejudices that the majority population has towards them decreases in situations of greater spatial integration, ie proximity of Roma and majority population¹⁴. The smaller number of papers that somewhat include a spatial perspective in the study of social relations indicate the different meaning of space and spatial proximity when it comes to the relation to members of the Roma national minority in Croatia. When comparing larger regional units of Croatia, Hrvatić cites Međimurje as a space of longer Roma presence and presence, with a slightly lower social distance towards Roma¹⁵. On the other hand, Šlezak and Šakaja in their paper indicate that local spatial proximity and intensification of spatial contact with Roma do not affect the reduction of the social distance of the majority population towards Roma¹⁶. While the wider regional, in this case, county contact space with the Roma affects a higher level of acceptance of the Roma, the microlocal spatial proximity in the same county is not recognized as a factor of readiness for more intensive social contact.

The aim of this paper is to verify the (non) existence of spatial differences in the expression of stereotypes towards Roma within the area of Međimurje County. The conducted research wanted to check the level and possible existence of differences in the expression of stereotypes between different spatial units of Međimurje County. In this sense, the analysis of the research results was carried out at the sub-regional level between the area of Gornje Međimurje, Donje Međimurje and Čakovec with its surrounding space. The focus of the research is to find the answer to the question of how local spatial proximity and constant spatial contact with the Roma affect the level of stereotyping towards the Roma community. The study was conducted in such a way that the differences in the expression of stereotypes at the local level of settlements with majority population that have or do not have direct spatial contact with Roma settlements were verified.

Accordingly, as part of the conducted research into expressing stereotypes towards the Roma, a hypothesis was developed that assumes a reduction of stereotypes in the part of the majority population that is spatially closer to the Roma, that is, who share the same area of administrative settlement with the Roma. The hypothesis states: »Spatial proximity and constant spatial contact of the majority population and Roma reduces the level of stereotype expression«.

¹¹ VLADA RH, 2012: *Nacionalna strategija za uključivanje Roma, za razdoblje od 2013. do 2020. godine*, Vlada Republike Hrvatske, Zagreb

¹² COLMAN, A. M., 2006: *Dictionary of Psychology*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

¹³ TRUDEA, D., MCMORRAN, C., 2011: The Geographies of Marginalization, u *A Companion to Social and Cultural Geography*, ur. Del Casino, V. i dr., Blackwell Publishing, Malden, MA, 437 – 453.

¹⁴ ŠKILJAN, F., BABIĆ, D., 2014: Romi u Podravini i Međimurju i uključenost u hrvatsko društvo: od predra-suda i stigmatizacije do socijalne distance i diskriminacije (empirijsko istraživanje –intervjui), *Podravina* 25, 141-159.

¹⁵ HRVATIĆ, N., 2004: Romi u Hrvatskoj: od migracija do interkulturalnih odnosa, *Migracijske i etničke teme* 20 (4), 367 – 385.; HRVATIĆ, N., 2005: Obrazovanje Roma u Hrvatskoj: pretpostavka za bolju kvalitetu života?, u *Kako žive hrvatski Romi*, (ur. ŠTAMBUK, M.), Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar, Zagreb, 177-200.

¹⁶ ŠLEZAK, H., ŠAKAJA, L., 2012: Prostorni aspekti socijalne distance prema Romima, *Hrvatski geografski glasnik* 74 (1), 91-109.

SURVEY FLOW AND SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

The study was conducted in two phases. In the first, preparatory section of the survey, a large number of stereotypes were collected on an open-ended question about Roma characteristics on a stratified sample of 32 respondents from the majority population over 15 years of age. The sample was stratified by gender (16 men and 16 women), age (equal proportion of four large 15-year age groups) and educational level. At the same time, half of the respondents (8M and 8F) were from the spatial category »close« and half (8M and 8F) were »far« from Roma. The »near« spatial category refers to members of the majority population living in settlements to which Roma settlements in Međimurje County belong administratively or until recently have been belonging. The »far« category represents respondents from settlements where no Roma settlements exist or more members of Roma community live, and who are at least 5 kilometers away from the nearest Roma settlement. Due to the high population density of Međimurje County, the larger number of settlements at a relatively small distance from each other, and the spatial segregation of Roma settlements, the lack of a Roma settlement within the administrative boundaries of settlements with a majority population was not a sufficient condition for defining the »far« category. There are a number of cases where Roma and majority settlements do not belong to the same administrative settlement, but are spatially very close, in some cases even closer than the distance between the Roma and the majority of the same administrative settlement. Therefore, an isolation of 5 km from the centroids of Roma settlements was taken as an additional condition as a threshold value for the possibility of more intense spatial contact.

At the same time, the same open-ended question with the request to indicate at least seven characteristics of Roma was posed to a sample of the Roma population of also 32 respondents from the Roma national minority who were stratified by gender and education level.

The second, major part of the survey included a stratified sample of 245 members of majority population in Međimurje County. Respondents were defined as a representative sample in terms of nationality, gender, age, education level of education and place of residence in relation to the 2011 Census of Međimurje. On this occasion, it should be noted that the respondents were selected in such a way that at the same time their characteristics fulfill all the characteristics according to which the sample was defined. Accordingly, during the research it was necessary to find 245 persons of a certain gender, a specific age group and pre-defined level of education and place of residence in Međimurje County.

The study included 120 male (48.98%) and 125 female (51.02%) respondents satisfying the requirement that the gender structure of the sample be in line with the gender structure of Međimurje County in 2011 (51.14% of women and 48.86% of men).

Figure 1 shows the age structure of the respondents. As can be seen, for the purposes of the survey, respondents older than 15 years were included. Survey sample distinguish four large age groups: 15-29, 30-44, 45-59 and 60 and over. 23.77% of respondents are 15 - 29 years old, 24.59% are 30 - 44 years old, 25.82% are 45 - 59 years old, while 25.82% are 60 years and older.

An analysis of respondents' birth years revealed an average age of respondents of 45.9 years with a standard deviation of 18,664. The oldest respondent was 95 years old at the time of the survey, while the youngest was 15 years old. The difference in age of the youngest and oldest respondents is 80 years.

According to the place of residence, persons from 24 of the total 25 local self-government units of Međimurje County are included. The interviewed respondents were from all three cities of Međimurje County, Čakovec, Prelog and Mursko Središće, and from 21 municipalities in the area of the surveyed county.

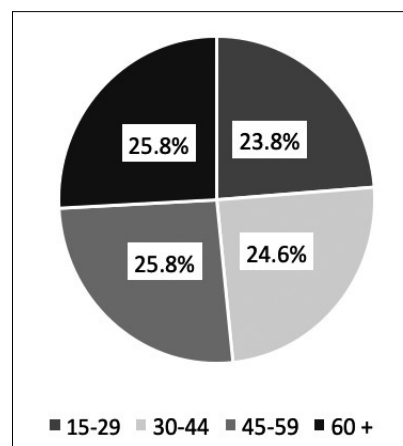


Fig. 1 Age structure of majority respondents

Source: Field research

At the settlement level, the survey included a population of 29 settlements in Međimurje County. The selected sample enabled spatial analysis with regard to the place of residence, ie the spatial proximity of coexistence with members of the Roma national minority. With that aim, two groups of majority respondents were defined: the category »near« and the category »far«. The category »near« represents respondents who live in settlements within which there is a Roma settlement or until recently the Roma settlement belonged to it, as in the case of Trnovec settlement, to which until recently the Roma settlement Parag belonged to and Držimurec settlement, to which the Roma settlement Piškovec belonged to. An additional condition was that these settlements were located within a radius of 5 kilometers from the centroids of the Roma settlement.

By analogy with the above, respondents from the »far« category represent the majority population of settlements that do not have a Roma settlement in their composition and are completely outside the 5km radius of the Roma settlement centroids. In the overall sample, 119 respondents (48.57%) were in the »near« category, while 126 respondents (51.43%) were in the »far« category. Administrative affiliation was chosen as a condition for defining the category »close« due to the gravitational influence of the central functions of settlements with majority population towards Roma settlements. Due to the implementation of certain central functions and the provision of various services, such as the most basic supply in local shops, the social contact of the majority with the members of the Roma national minority is much more frequent and pronounced as a result of their spatial proximity.

In addition to the differentiation of the surveyed majority population into two categories at settlement level, »near« and »far«, selection of the respondents enabled to allow analysis at a wider spatial level. In this regard, the respondents were selected from all parts of Međimurje County. According to the natural-geographical classification, it is possible to identify two or three spatial units in Međimurje County. They are Gornje Međimurje and Donje Međimurje if two units are separated, or Gornje Međimurje, Donje Međimurje and Čakovec with its surroundings if three units are separated. In relation to the aforementioned regionalization of Međimurje County, tables 3 and 4 show the distribution of respondents. The sub-regional division relies on the natural geographical features of the various parts of Međimurje County. However, differences between these units can also be noticed based on socio-economic, cultural and even identity elements.

Tab. 1. Uzorak ispitanika većinskog stanovništva prema mjestu prebivališta, regionalna razina s dvije cjeline

Tab. 1. Sample of majority respondents by place of residence, regional level with two units

Prostorna cjelina Spatial entity	Broj ispitanika Number of respondents	%
Gornje Međimurje	80	32,65
Donje Međimurje	165	67,35
Ukupno / Total	245	100,00

Izvor: Terensko istraživanje / Source: Field research

Tab. 2. Uzorak ispitanika većinskog stanovništva prema mjestu prebivališta, regionalna razina s tri cjeline

Tab. 2. Sample of majority respondents by place of residence, regional level with three units

Prostorna cjelina Spatial entity	Broj ispitanika Number of respondents	%
Gornje Međimurje	61	24,9
Donje Međimurje	109	44,5
Čakovec i okolica	75	30,6
Ukupno / Total	245	100,00

Izvor: Terensko istraživanje / Source: Field research

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION OF STEREOTYPE RESEARCH

In the first, initial part of the survey, 91 different Roma characteristics were extracted after the first phase of linguistic alignment among the majority of the respondents in which the respondents independently listed the characteristics of the Roma. The Roma respondents identified 95 different traits that Roma themselves characterized. The first 20 most frequent responses are listed in Table 3. It is interesting to note that among the first fourteen most frequent responses of the majority population and Roma, as many as nine are in common. It should be noted here that certain terms that were recorded in the two groups of respondents were considered to be synonymous, although different words were used for them,

and in the table they were given exactly in the form in which their frequency of occurrence was highest in a particular group of respondents. This refers to the terms »uneducated« - »low educated«, »aggressive« - »violent«, »thief« - »burglar«.

It is interesting to note that of the above 20 most frequent characteristics, only few of them are positive. For the majority population, this is the characteristic of resourcefulness in the seventh place, and the characteristic that the Roma are cheerful in the ninth place. Depending on the interpretation, the characteristics of sleek in the eighteenth place can be considered positive. The characteristics given by the Roma themselves highlight the characteristics of »good« in the fourth place and »active« and »cultural« that divide 14th and 15th place. Among the twenty most common views of Roma on themselves, the nineteenth place has the positive characteristic of »sociable«.

After the second phase of linguistic alignment, fourteen of the most frequent characteristics selected by the majority population according to the Roma were selected as the main part of the research. The only thing left out is the »Uneducated« feature, since it is not really a stereotype, but an objective characteristic. Therefore, the 'fourteenth feature' was chosen as 'drug dealers', which was largely expressed by the Roma themselves. The aforementioned feature was also taken into account for the significant abuse of substance abuse in recent years within the Roma community in Međimurje. The characteristics of »good« and »bad«, which are among the twelve most common among Roma respondents, are not included in the main survey because they have too broad and vague meaning and their inclusion in the main questionnaire would lose some of the objectivity of the analysis of the results.

Tab. 3. 20 najčešćih karakteristika Roma iskazanih od većinskog stanovništva i Roma Bajaša

Tab. 3. The 20 most common characteristics of Roma expressed by the majority population and Bayash Roma

Većinsko stanovništvo Majority population		Romi Roma people	
Karakteristike Characteristics	Frekvencija Frequency	Karakteristike Characteristics	Frekvencija Frequency
Kradljivci / thieves	12	Nekulturni / uncultured	13
Lijeni / lazy	11	Siromašni / poor	12
Neobrazovani / uneducated	11	Alkoholičari / alcoholics	11
Neodgovorni / irresponsible	10	Dobri / good	10
Neuredni / messy	9	Neškolovali / uneducated	9
Agresivni / aggressive	7	Nasilni / violent	8
Snalažljivi / cagey	5	Neuredni / messy	8
Lažljivci / liars	4	Drogeraši / drug users	7
Veseli / happy	4	Lijeni / lazy	7
Alkoholičari / alcoholics	3	Lopovi / thieves	6
Bezobrazni / arrogant	3	Bezobrazni / arrogant	5
Ne brinu o djeci Do not care about children	3	Loši / bad	5
Ne drže do osobne higijene Do not hold up to personal hygiene	3	Neodgovorni / irresponsible	5
Nekulturni / uncultured	3	Aktivni / active	4
Neodgojeni / rude	3	Kulturni / cultured	4
Neuljudni / impolite	3	Lihvari / usurers	4
Prljavi / dirty	3	Bijedni / puny	3
Slatkorječivi / sleek	3	Crni / black	3
Žive u lošim uvjetima They live in poor conditions	3	Druželjubivi / sociable	3
Glasni / loud	2	Glupi / stupid	3

Izvor: terensko istraživanje / Source: Field research

In the main part of the survey, the respondents answered to the mentioned fourteen Roma traits, for which they had to determine, with the help of a five-degree Likert scale, to what extent they agreed or disagreed with the trait. The levels of the Likert scale were arranged in such a way that two levels were affirmative, one neutral and two negative relative to the acceptance of the proposed trait. Respondents were able to choose one of the levels offered for each proposed character trait: »I disagree at all«, »Mostly I disagree«, »Neither agree nor disagree«, »Mostly I agree« or »I totally agree«.

For calculating the arithmetic mean of the answers, values from 1 to 5 are assigned to each stage of the proposed answer. Table 4 shows the results of the majority population's response to the degree of agreement with the offered Roma character traits.

Tab. 4. Analiza odgovora većinskog stanovništva na ponuđene karakterne osobine Roma

Tab. 4 Analysis of the response of the majority population to the offered characteristics of Roma

Karakteristike Roma Roma characteristics	Stupanj slaganja s tvrdnjom Degree of agreement	Broj ispitanika Number of resp.	%	Aritmetička sredina Arithmetic mean	Standardna devijacija Standard deviation
Romi su nekulturni Roma are uncultured	Uopće se ne slažem / I disagree at all	3	1,2	4,18	0,97
	Uglavnom se ne slažem / Mostly I disagree	13	5,3		
	Niti se slažem niti se ne slažem / Neither agree nor disagree	40	16,3		
	Uglavnom se slažem / Mostly I agree	71	29,0		
	U potpunosti se slažem / I totally agree	118	48,2		
Ukupno / Total	245	1000			
Romi su alkoholičari Roma are alcoholics	Uopće se ne slažem / I disagree at all	4	1,6	3,62	1,04
	Uglavnom se ne slažem / Mostly I disagree	33	13,5		
	Niti se slažem niti se ne slažem / Neither agree nor disagree	75	30,6		
	Uglavnom se slažem / Mostly I agree	74	30,2		
	U potpunosti se slažem / I totally agree	59	24,1		
Ukupno / Total	245	1000			
Romi su nasilni Roma are violent	Uopće se ne slažem / I disagree at all	4	1,6	4,07	0,92
	Uglavnom se ne slažem / Mostly I disagree	9	3,7		
	Niti se slažem niti se ne slažem / Neither agree nor disagree	43	17,6		
	Uglavnom se slažem / Mostly I agree	98	40,0		
	U potpunosti se slažem / I totally agree	91	37,1		
Ukupno / Total	245	1000			
Romi su neuredni Roma are messy	Uopće se ne slažem / I disagree at all	1	0,4	4,26	0,87
	Uglavnom se ne slažem / Mostly I disagree	10	4,1		
	Niti se slažem niti se ne slažem / Neither agree nor disagree	34	13,9		
	Uglavnom se slažem / Mostly I agree	80	32,7		
	U potpunosti se slažem / I totally agree	120	49,0		
Ukupno / Total	245	1000			

Karakteristike Roma Roma characteristics	Stupanj slaganja s tvrdnjom Degree of agreement	Broj ispitanika Number of resp.	%	Aritmetička sredina Arithmetic mean	Standardna devijacija Standard deviation
Romi su drogeraši Roma are drug users	Uopće se ne slažem / I disagree at all	37	15,2	2,89	1,18
	Uglavnom se ne slažem / Mostly I disagree	44	18,0		
	Niti se slažem niti se ne slažem / Neither agree nor disagree	104	42,6		
	Uglavnom se slažem / Mostly I agree	28	11,5		
	U potpunosti se slažem / I totally agree	31	12,7		
	Ukupno / Total	244	1000		
Romi su lijeni Roma are lazy	Uopće se ne slažem / I disagree at all	5	2,0	4,18	0,97
	Uglavnom se ne slažem / Mostly I disagree	10	4,1		
	Niti se slažem niti se ne slažem / Neither agree nor disagree	37	15,1		
	Uglavnom se slažem / Mostly I agree	76	31,0		
	U potpunosti se slažem / I totally agree	117	47,8		
	Ukupno / Total	245	1000		
Romi su lopovi Roma are thieves	Uopće se ne slažem / I disagree at all	3	1,2	4,07	0,94
	Uglavnom se ne slažem / Mostly I disagree	12	4,9		
	Niti se slažem niti se ne slažem / Neither agree nor disagree	45	18,4		
	Uglavnom se slažem / Mostly I agree	90	36,9		
	U potpunosti se slažem / I totally agree	94	38,5		
	Ukupno / Total	244	1000		
Romi su bezobrazni Roma are arrogant	Uopće se ne slažem / I disagree at all	3	1,2	4,27	0,94
	Uglavnom se ne slažem / Mostly I disagree	11	4,5		
	Niti se slažem niti se ne slažem / Neither agree nor disagree	32	13,1		
	Uglavnom se slažem / Mostly I agree	69	28,2		
	U potpunosti se slažem / I totally agree	130	53,1		
	Ukupno / Total	245	1000		
Romi su neodgovorni Roma are irresponsible	Uopće se ne slažem / I disagree at all	3	1,2	4,31	0,92
	Uglavnom se ne slažem / Mostly I disagree	7	2,9		
	Niti se slažem niti se ne slažem / Neither agree nor disagree	38	15,5		
	Uglavnom se slažem / Mostly I agree	61	24,9		
	U potpunosti se slažem / I totally agree	136	55,5		
	Ukupno / Total	245	1000		
Romi su snalažljivi Roma are cagey	Uopće se ne slažem / I disagree at all	9	3,7	3,98	1,13
	Uglavnom se ne slažem / Mostly I disagree	19	7,8		
	Niti se slažem niti se ne slažem / Neither agree nor disagree	46	18,8		
	Uglavnom se slažem / Mostly I agree	65	26,5		
	U potpunosti se slažem / I totally agree	106	43,3		
	Ukupno / Total	245	1000		

Karakteristike Roma Roma characteristics	Stupanj slaganja s tvrdnjom Degree of agreement	Broj ispitanika Number of resp.	%	Aritmetička sredina Arithmetic mean	Standardna devijacija Standard deviation
Romi ne održavaju higijenu Roma do not maintain hygiene	Uopće se ne slažem / I disagree at all	2	0,8	4,24	0,90
	Uglavnom se ne slažem / Mostly I disagree	6	2,4		
	Niti se slažem niti se ne slažem / Neither agree nor disagree	46	18,8		
	Uglavnom se slažem / Mostly I agree	68	27,8		
	U potpunosti se slažem / I totally agree	123	50,2		
	Ukupno / Total	245	1000		
Romi su veseli Roma are happy	Uopće se ne slažem / I disagree at all	12	4,9	3,56	1,09
	Uglavnom se ne slažem / Mostly I disagree	17	6,9		
	Niti se slažem niti se ne slažem / Neither agree nor disagree	98	40,0		
	Uglavnom se slažem / Mostly I agree	57	23,3		
	U potpunosti se slažem / I totally agree	61	24,9		
	Ukupno / Total	245	1000		
Romi su lažljivi Roma are lying	Uopće se ne slažem / I disagree at all	2	0,8	4,13	0,91
	Uglavnom se ne slažem / Mostly I disagree	7	2,9		
	Niti se slažem niti se ne slažem / Neither agree nor disagree	54	22,0		
	Uglavnom se slažem / Mostly I agree	76	31,0		
	U potpunosti se slažem / I totally agree	106	43,3		
	Ukupno / Total	245	1000		
Romi ne brinu o djeci Roma do not care about children	Uopće se ne slažem / I disagree at all	3	1,2	4,05	0,95
	Uglavnom se ne slažem / Mostly I disagree	9	3,7		
	Niti se slažem niti se ne slažem / Neither agree nor disagree	58	23,7		
	Uglavnom se slažem / Mostly I agree	77	31,4		
	U potpunosti se slažem / I totally agree	98	40,0		
	Ukupno / Total	245	1000		

Izvor: terensko istraživanje / Source: Field research

The highest degree of agreement in the majority population is with the »irresponsible« trait with an arithmetic mean of 4.31. »Arrogant« (4.27) and »messy« (4.26) traits are also very close. The following are the characteristics that the Roma do not maintain hygiene (4.26), »non-cultural« and »lazy« with an arithmetic mean of 4.18, »lying« (4.13). The characteristics »violent« and »thieves« have the arithmetic mean of the answer 4.07. Above value 4, there is agreement with the trait that Roma do not care for children (4.05). Below the value of 4.00, there are only four suggested Roma traits. With the claim that Roma are resourceful respondents agree with the value of the arithmetic mean of the answer 3.98. The »alcoholics« trait is in twelfth place with 3.62. The penultimate point is that they are happy with the arithmetic mean of the answer 3.56. The majority of the population agreed with the lowest degree of agreement with the claim that the Roma were »drug users«. The arithmetic mean of the response for the specified trait with a value of 2.89 is only below the value of 3.00.

The standard deviations of the responses on the degree of agreement with the proposed Roma traits range from 0.87 for the »messy« trait to 1.18 for the »drug users« trait.

The stated results of a part of the proposed traits are in line with a similar study by Hrvatić, who explored the existence of stereotypes against Roma more than 20 years ago¹⁷. Although much time has passed since then, stereotypes of Roma people, especially negative ones, are still very high.

The responses of the majority population were also analyzed in relation to the spatial proximity of the respondents to Roma settlements. At the level of settlements divided into categories »near« and »far«, the (non) existence of differences in the expression of stereotypes towards the Roma population was checked.

Tab. 5. Analiza iskazivanja stereotipa iz prostorne perspektive – razina naselja

Tab. 5 Analysis of stereotyping from a spatial perspective - settlement level

Karakteristike Roma Roma characteristics	Blizina Roma (razina naselja) Proximity to Roma (settlement level)	Broj ispitanika Number of respondents	Aritmetička sredina Arithmetic mean	Stand. Devijacija Standard deviation	Standardna greška sredine Standard error of the mean
Romi su nekulturni Roma are uncultured	Blizu / near	119	4,10	1,045	0,096
	Daleko / far	126	4,25	0,892	0,079
Romi su alkoholičari Roma are alcoholics	Blizu / near	119	3,65	1,062	0,097
	Daleko / far	126	3,59	1,030	0,092
Romi su nasilni Roma are violent	Blizu / near	119	4,13	0,996	0,091
	Daleko / far	126	4,02	0,834	0,074
Romi su neuredni Roma are messy	Blizu / near	119	4,23	0,952	0,087
	Daleko / far	126	4,29	0,799	0,071
Romi su drogeraši Roma are drug users	Blizu / near	119	2,95	1,199	0,110
	Daleko / far	125	2,82	1,171	0,105
Romi su lijeni Roma are lazy	Blizu / near	119	4,18	1,055	0,097
	Daleko / far	126	4,19	0,892	0,079
Romi su lopovi Roma are thieves	Blizu / near	119	4,07	1,056	0,097
	Daleko / far	125	4,06	0,811	0,073
Romi su bezobrazni Roma are arrogant	Blizu / near	119	4,25	1,010	0,093
	Daleko / far	126	4,29	0,868	0,077
Romi su neodgovorni Roma are irresponsible	Blizu / near	119	4,29	0,977	0,090
	Daleko / far	126	4,32	0,864	0,077
Romi su snalažljivi Roma are cagey	Blizu / near	119	3,97	1,171	0,107
	Daleko / far	126	3,99	1,084	0,097
Romi ne održavaju higijenu R. do not maintain hygiene	Blizu / near	119	4,07	0,963	0,088
	Daleko / far	126	4,40	0,802	0,071
Romi su veseli Roma are happy	Blizu / near	119	3,67	1,151	0,105
	Daleko / far	126	3,46	1,017	0,091
Romi su lažljivi Roma are lying	Blizu / near	119	4,14	0,932	0,085
	Daleko / far	126	4,12	0,891	0,079
Romi ne brinu o djeci R. do not care about children	Blizu / near	119	4,08	0,979	0,090
	Daleko / far	126	4,02	0,916	0,082

Izvor: terensko istraživanje / Source: Field research

¹⁷ HRVATIĆ, N., 1996: Romi u interkulturalnom okruženju, *Društvena istraživanja* 25-26, 913-933.

The presented statistical analysis of the stereotyping Roma by the majority population with respect to the place of residence of the respondents in the categories »near« or »far« indicates very small and statistically insignificant differences (tab 6). Regardless of the place of residence of the respondents and their proximity to the Roma settlements in Međimurje County, 13 of the 14 Roma characteristics offered do not have statistical significance in the difference of stereotyping.

Tab. 6. T-test statističke značajnosti iskazivanja stereotipa iz prostorne perspektive – razina naselja

Tab. 6 T-test of statistical significance of stereotype expression from spatial perspective - settlement level

Karakteristike Roma Roma characteristics	Pretpostavljenost varijanci Variance presumption	Levenov test jednakosti varijanci Leven's variance equality test		t-test		
		F	Sign	t	Stupnjevi slobode	Sign (dvostrana)
Roma su nekulturni Roma are uncultured	DA / YES	3,528	0,062	-1,172	243	0,242
	NE / NO			-1,167	232	0,244
Roma su alkoholičari Roma are alcoholics	DA / YES	0,000	0,985	0,447	243	0,655
	NE / NO			0,447	241	0,656
Roma su nasilni Roma are violent	DA / YES	2,798	0,096	0,873	243	0,384
	NE / NO			0,868	230	0,386
Roma su neuredni Roma are messy	DA / YES	2,623	0,107	-0,525	243	0,600
	NE / NO			-0,523	231	0,602
Roma su drogeraši Roma are drug users	DA / YES	0,003	0,958	0,827	242	0,409
	NE / NO			0,827	241	0,409
Roma su lijeni Roma are lazy	DA / YES	1,763	0,186	-0,112	243	0,911
	NE / NO			-0,112	232	0,911
Roma su lopovi Roma are thieves	DA / YES	10,914	0,001	0,027	242	0,979
	NE / NO			0,027	221	0,979
Roma su bezobrazni Roma are arrogant	DA / YES	0,902	0,343	-0,346	243	0,730
	NE / NO			-0,344	233	0,731
Roma su neodgovorni Roma are irresponsible	DA / YES	2,135	0,145	-0,198	243	0,843
	NE / NO			-0,198	235	0,844
Roma su snalažljivi Roma are cagey	DA / YES	0,960	0,328	-0,178	243	0,859
	NE / NO			-0,178	239	0,859
Roma ne održavaju higijenu Roma do not maintain hygiene	DA / YES	1,221	0,270	-2,988	243	0,003
	NE / NO			-2,972	230	0,003
Roma su veseli Roma are happy	DA / YES	3,446	0,065	1,530	243	0,127
	NE / NO			1,524	235	0,129
Roma su lažljivi Roma are lying	DA / YES	0,607	0,437	0,204	243	0,838
	NE / NO			0,204	240	0,838
Roma ne brinu o djeci Roma do not care about children	DA / YES	1,471	0,226	0,497	243	0,619
	NE / NO			0,496	239	0,620

Izvor: terensko istraživanje

Source: Field research

If we look at the significance values of the response to the offered characteristic *Roma do not maintain hygiene*, it can be noticed that the significance of the test is less than 5%, ie $p=0.003$. We can say, with a 95% confidence level, that there is a statistically significant difference for the characteristic

Roma do not maintain hygiene in the respondents living near and far, with the arithmetic mean of the response being significantly higher for the respondents in the »far« category, ie in the spatially distant respondents from Roma. The aforementioned characteristic as a stereotype is the only one showing a decrease in the case of increase of the spatial proximity of the majority population and Roma. All other characteristics as stereotypes do not show a tendency to decrease with the spatial approximation of members of the majority population and Roma.

In order to eliminate the influence of some other possible spatial differences in the expression of stereotypes towards the Roma within the area of Međimurje County, an analysis was made which verified the possible existence of differences in the answers between the respondents of Gornje Međimurje and Donje Međimurje, ie Gornje and Donje Međimurje and Čakovec with its surroundings.

A cursory glance at the presented results suggests that the differences in the expression of stereotypes between the respondents of Gornje and Donje Međimurje are minimal. The maximum difference of the arithmetic mean of the response on agreement with the proposed characteristics of Roma is 0.2 for the last characteristic »Roma do not care about children«, where the respondents in Gornje Međimurje have a somewhat more pronounced degree of agreement.

Tab. 7. Analiza iskazivanja stereotipa iz prostorne perspektive – regionalna razina s dvije cjeline

Tab. 7. Analysis of stereotyping from a spatial perspective - regional level with two units

Karakteristike Roma Roma characteristics	Prostorna cjelina Spatial entity	Broj ispitanika Number of respondents	Aritmetička sredina Arithmetic mean	Standardna devijacija Standard deviation	Standardna greška sredine Standard error of the mean
Romi su nekulturni Roma are uncultured	Gornje Međimurje	80	4,15	0,982	0,110
	Donje Međimurje	165	4,19	0,966	0,075
Romi su alkoholičari Roma are alcoholics	Gornje Međimurje	80	3,55	1,005	0,112
	Donje Međimurje	165	3,65	1,064	0,083
Romi su nasilni Roma are violent	Gornje Međimurje	80	4,11	0,811	0,091
	Donje Međimurje	165	4,05	0,964	0,075
Romi su neuredni Roma are messy	Gornje Međimurje	80	4,29	0,860	0,096
	Donje Međimurje	165	4,24	0,884	0,069
Romi su drogeraši Roma are drug users	Gornje Međimurje	79	2,82	1,258	0,142
	Donje Međimurje	165	2,92	1,150	0,090
Romi su lijeni Roma are lazy	Gornje Međimurje	80	4,23	0,954	0,107
	Donje Međimurje	165	4,16	0,983	0,077
Romi su lopovi Roma are thieves	Gornje Međimurje	80	4,10	0,880	0,098
	Donje Međimurje	164	4,05	0,964	0,075
Romi su bezobrazni Roma are arrogant	Gornje Međimurje	80	4,25	0,935	0,104
	Donje Međimurje	165	4,28	0,942	0,073
Romi su neodgovorni Roma are irresponsible	Gornje Međimurje	80	4,34	0,856	0,096
	Donje Međimurje	165	4,29	0,950	0,074
Romi su snalažljivi Roma are cagey	Gornje Međimurje	80	4,04	1,119	0,125
	Donje Međimurje	165	3,95	1,131	0,088
Romi ne održavaju higijenu R. do not maintain hygiene	Gornje Međimurje	80	4,31	0,821	0,092
	Donje Međimurje	165	4,21	0,934	0,073
Romi su veseli Roma are happy	Gornje Međimurje	80	3,56	1,077	0,120
	Donje Međimurje	165	3,56	1,095	0,085

Karakteristike Roma Roma characteristics	Prostorna cjelina Spatial entity	Broj ispitanika Number of respondents	Aritmetička sredina Arithmetic mean	Standardna devijacija Standard deviation	Standardna greška sredine Standard error of the mean
Romi su lažljivi Roma are lying	Gornje Međimurje	80	4,11	0,914	0,102
	Donje Međimurje	165	4,14	0,910	0,071
Romi ne brinu o djeci R. do not care about children	Gornje Međimurje	80	4,19	0,813	0,091
	Donje Međimurje	165	3,99	1,000	0,078

Izvor: terensko istraživanje / Source: Field research

In order to check the (non) existence of statistically significant differences, additional statistical analyzes were performed (tab. 8), which confirm that in no case, or the proposed characteristic of Roma, is there a statistically significant difference in the expression of stereotypes between the respondents of Gornje and Donje Međimurje. In all cases, the significance of the t -test is greater than 0.05 ($p > 0.05$), and it can therefore be concluded that no statistically significant difference was found in the observed variables with respect to the placement of respondents in Gornje or Donje Međimurje.

Tab. 8. Statistička analiza iskazivanja stereotipa iz prostorne perspektive – regionalna razina s dvije cjeline

Tab. 8 Statistical analysis of stereotyping from a spatial perspective - regional level with two units

Karakteristike Roma Roma characteristics	Pretpostavljenost varijanci Variance presumption	Levenov test jednakosti varijanci Leven's variance equality test		t-test		
		F	Sign	t	Stupnjevi slobode	Sign (dvostrana)
Romi su nekulturni Roma are uncultured	DA / YES	0,022	0,883	-0,286	243	0,775
	NE / NO			-0,285	154	0,776
Romi su alkoholičari Roma are alcoholics	DA / YES	0,111	0,740	-0,692	243	0,490
	NE / NO			-0,706	165	0,481
Romi su nasilni Roma are violent	DA / YES	0,669	0,414	0,464	243	0,643
	NE / NO			0,492	183	0,623
Romi su neuredni Roma are messy	DA / YES	0,112	0,738	0,377	243	0,706
	NE / NO			0,381	161	0,704
Romi su drogeraši Roma are drug users	DA / YES	1,600	0,207	-0,569	242	0,570
	NE / NO			-0,551	142	0,582
Romi su lijeni Roma are lazy	DA / YES	0,005	0,944	0,462	243	0,644
	NE / NO			0,467	161	0,641
Romi su lopovi Roma are thieves	DA / YES	0,688	0,408	0,401	242	0,689
	NE / NO			0,413	170	0,680
Romi su bezobrazni Roma are arrogant	DA / YES	0,001	0,970	-0,272	243	0,786
	NE / NO			-0,273	158	0,785
Romi su neodgovorni Roma are irresponsible	DA / YES	0,835	0,362	0,371	243	0,711
	NE / NO			0,385	172	0,701
Romi su snalažljivi Roma are cagey	DA / YES	0,274	0,601	0,560	243	0,576
	NE / NO			0,562	158	0,575

Karakteristike Roma Roma characteristics	Pretpostavljenost varijanci Variance presumption	Levenov test jednakosti varijanci Leven's variance equality test		t-test		
		F	Sign	t	Stupnjevi slobode	Sign (dvostrana)
Romi ne održavaju higijenu R. do not maintain hygiene	DA / YES	0,802	0,371	0,870	243	0,385
	NE / NO			0,909	176	0,364
Romi su veseli Roma are happy	DA / YES	0,041	0,839	-0,008	243	0,994
	NE / NO			-0,008	159	0,994
Romi su lažljivi Roma are lying	DA / YES	0,268	0,605	-0,217	243	0,829
	NE / NO			-0,216	156	0,829
Romi ne brinu o djeci R. do not care about children	DA / YES	3,192	0,075	1,554	243	0,122
	NE / NO			1,668	189	0,097

Izvor: terensko istraživanje / Source: Field research

The spatial perspective of stereotyping was also verified at the regional level with three spatial units of Gornje and Donje Međimurje in the narrow sense and Čakovec with its surroundings as the third, central unit of Međimurje County (tab. 9).

Tab. 9. Analiza iskazivanja stereotipa iz prostorne perspektive – regionalna razina s tri cjeline

Tab. 9 Analysis of stereotyping from a spatial perspective - regional level with three units

Karakteristike Roma Roma characteristics	Prostorna cjelina Spatial entity	Broj ispitanika Number of respondents	Aritmetička sredina Arithmetic mean	Standardna devijacija Standard deviation	Standardna greška sredine Standard error of the mean
Romi su nekulturni Roma are uncultured	Gornje Međimurje	61	4,10	1,044	0,134
	Donje Međimurje	109	4,18	0,944	0,090
	Čakovec s okolicom	75	4,23	0,953	0,110
	Ukupno / Total	245	4,18	0,970	0,062
Romi su alkoholičari Roma are alcoholics	Gornje Međimurje	61	3,56	0,992	0,127
	Donje Međimurje	109	3,63	1,103	0,106
	Čakovec s okolicom	75	3,64	1,009	0,116
	Ukupno / Total	245	3,62	1,044	0,067
Romi su nasilni Roma are violent	Gornje Međimurje	61	4,13	0,885	0,113
	Donje Međimurje	109	4,04	0,922	0,088
	Čakovec s okolicom	75	4,08	0,941	0,109
	Ukupno / Total	245	4,07	0,916	0,059
Romi su neuredni Roma are messy	Gornje Međimurje	61	4,21	0,933	0,119
	Donje Međimurje	109	4,23	0,857	0,082
	Čakovec s okolicom	75	4,33	0,859	0,099
	Ukupno / Total	245	4,26	0,875	0,056
Romi su drogeraši Roma are drug users	Gornje Međimurje	61	2,89	1,226	0,157
	Donje Međimurje	109	2,85	1,161	0,111
	Čakovec s okolicom	74	2,93	1,197	0,139
	Ukupno / Total	244	2,89	1,184	0,076

Karakteristike Roma Roma characteristics	Prostorna cjelina Spatial entity	Broj ispitanika Number of respondents	Aritmetička sredina Arithmetic mean	Standardna devijacija Standard deviation	Standardna greška sredine Standard error of the mean
Romi su lijeni Roma are lazy	Gornje Međimurje	61	4,25	0,977	0,125
	Donje Međimurje	109	4,22	0,936	0,090
	Čakovec s okolicom	75	4,08	1,024	0,118
	Ukupno / Total	245	4,18	0,972	0,062
Romi su lopovi Roma are thieves	Gornje Međimurje	61	4,18	0,940	0,120
	Donje Međimurje	108	4,06	0,940	0,090
	Čakovec s okolicom	75	3,97	0,930	0,107
	Ukupno / Total	244	4,07	0,936	0,060
Romi su bezobrazni Roma are arrogant	Gornje Međimurje	61	4,25	1,011	0,129
	Donje Međimurje	109	4,35	0,917	0,088
	Čakovec s okolicom	75	4,19	0,911	0,105
	Ukupno / Total	245	4,27	0,938	0,060
Romi su neodgovorni Roma are irresponsible	Gornje Međimurje	61	4,36	0,857	0,110
	Donje Međimurje	109	4,37	0,857	0,082
	Čakovec s okolicom	75	4,17	1,045	0,121
	Ukupno / Total	245	4,31	0,919	0,059
Romi su snalažljivi Roma are cagey	Gornje Međimurje	61	3,95	1,175	0,150
	Donje Međimurje	109	3,88	1,168	0,112
	Čakovec s okolicom	75	4,15	1,009	0,117
	Ukupno / Total	245	3,98	1,125	0,072
Romi ne održavaju higijenu Roma do not maintain hygiene	Gornje Međimurje	61	4,23	0,844	0,108
	Donje Međimurje	109	4,24	0,902	0,086
	Čakovec s okolicom	75	4,25	0,946	0,109
	Ukupno / Total	245	4,24	0,898	0,057
Romi su veseli Roma are happy	Gornje Međimurje	61	3,61	1,115	0,143
	Donje Međimurje	109	3,51	1,051	0,101
	Čakovec s okolicom	75	3,60	1,127	0,130
	Ukupno / Total	245	3,56	1,087	0,069
Romi su lažljivi Roma are lying	Gornje Međimurje	61	4,05	0,939	0,120
	Donje Međimurje	109	4,07	0,920	0,088
	Čakovec s okolicom	75	4,28	0,863	0,100
	Ukupno / Total	245	4,13	0,909	0,058
Romi ne brinu o djeci R. do not care about children	Gornje Međimurje	61	4,25	0,830	0,106
	Donje Međimurje	109	4,03	0,957	0,092
	Čakovec s okolicom	75	3,93	1,004	0,116
	Ukupno / Total	245	4,05	0,946	0,060

Izvor: terensko istraživanje / Source: Field research

Similar to the analysis comparing responses between respondents in Gornje and Donje Međimurje, the basic analysis of the responses of three spatially differentiated groups of respondents (Gornje Međimurje, Donje Međimurje and Čakovec with its surroundings) indicates small differences in the expression of stereotypes towards Roma. The largest difference observed in the arithmetic means of the

response on the degree of agreement with the offered Roma characteristics is 0.32. It is a difference between the arithmetic means of the answers of the respondents from Čakovec with its surroundings (3.93) and Gornje Međimurje (4.25) to the statement that »Roma do not care about children«.

An ANOVA test was conducted to check the statistical significance of the differences in the responses of the respondents of the three spatial units of Međimurje (tab 10). Significance scores of the ANOVA test for all proposed Roma characteristics are greater than 0.05 ($p > 0.05$). The above points to the conclusion that no statistically significant difference was found in the observed variables with respect to the respondents from three different spatial units: Gornje Međimurje, Donje Međimurje and Čakovec with its surroundings.

The results indicate a uniform expression of stereotypes towards members of the Roma national minority in Međimurje County, regardless of which part of Međimurje the respondents were from. Subregional differences in the expression of stereotypes within the Međimurje County area based on the results presented can be considered negligible. Since no differences in the level of stereotyping towards Roma are observed between the different parts of the Međimurje County, the results of the settlement-level analysis gain even more weight because they are not masked by any intra-regional differences.

Tab. 10. ANOVA test – regionalna razina s tri cjeline

Tab. 10. ANOVA test - regional level with three units

Karakteristike Roma Roma characteristics	Razina Level	Suma kvadrata The sum of the squares	Stupnjevi slobode Degrees of freedom	Kvadrat aritmetičkih Sredina Square of arithmetic means	F – vrijednost F-value	Signifikantnost significance
Romi su nekulturni Roma are uncultured	Između grupa Between groups	0,566	2	0,283	0,299	0,742
	Unutar grupe Within the group	228,887	242	0,946		
	Ukupno / Total	229,453	244			
Romi su alkoholičari Roma are alcoholics	Između grupa Between groups	0,284	2	0,142	0,130	0,879
	Unutar grupe Within the group	265,650	242	1,098		
	Ukupno / Total	265,935	244			
Romi su nasilni Roma are violent	Između grupa Between groups	0,354	2	0,177	0,209	0,811
	Unutar grupe Within the group	204,324	242	0,844		
	Ukupno / Total	204,678	244			
Romi su neuredni Roma are messy	Između grupa Between groups	0,638	2	0,319	0,415	0,661
	Unutar grupe Within the group	186,162	242	0,769		
	Ukupno / Total	186,800	244			
Romi su drogeraši Roma are drug users	Između grupa Between groups	0,277	2	0,138	0,098	0,907
	Unutar grupe Within the group	340,510	241	1,413		
	Ukupno / Total	340,787	243			

Karakteristike Roma Roma characteristics	Razina Level	Suma kvadrata The sum of the squares	Stupnjevi slobode Degrees of freedom	Kvadrat aritmetičkih Sredina Square of arithmetic means	F – vrijednost F-value	Signifikantnost significance
Romi su lijeni Roma are lazy	Između grupa Between groups	1,188	2	0,594	0,626	0,536
	Unutar grupe Within the group	229,547	242	0,949		
	Ukupno / Total	230,735	244			
Romi su lopovi Roma are thieves	Između grupa Between groups	1,441	2	0,721	0,821	0,441
	Unutar grupe Within the group	211,509	241	0,878		
	Ukupno / Total	212,951	243			
Romi su bezobrazni Roma are arrogant	Između grupa Between groups	1,227	2	0,614	0,696	0,500
	Unutar grupe Within the group	213,450	242	0,882		
	Ukupno / Total	214,678	244			
Romi su neodgovorni Roma are irresponsible	Između grupa Between groups	1,907	2	0,954	1,131	0,325
	Unutar grupe Within the group	204,133	242	0,844		
	Ukupno / Total	206,041	244			
Romi su snalažljivi Roma are cagey	Između grupa Between groups	3,209	2	1,605	1,270	0,283
	Unutar grupe Within the group	305,689	242	1,263		
	Ukupno / Total	308,898	244			
Romi ne održavaju higijenu Roma do not maintain hygiene	Između grupa Between groups	0,020	2	0,010	0,012	0,988
	Unutar grupe Within the group	196,772	242	0,813		
	Ukupno / Total	196,792	244			
Romi su veseli Roma are happy	Između grupa Between groups	0,483	2	0,241	0,203	0,816
	Unutar grupe Within the group	287,787	242	1,189		
	Ukupno / Total	288,269	244			
Romi su lažljivi Roma are lying	Između grupa Between groups	2,435	2	1,218	1,478	0,230
	Unutar grupe Within the group	199,385	242	0,824		
	Ukupno / Total	201,820	244			
Romi ne brinu o djeci R. do not care about children	Između grupa Between groups	3,415	2	1,707	1,923	0,148
	Unutar grupe Within the group	214,896	242	0,888		
	Ukupno / Total	218,310	244			

Izvor: terensko istraživanje / Source: Field research

The conducted analysis of the stereotype expression of the majority population of the Međimurje County towards the Roma from a spatial perspective indicates that regardless of the spatial distance from the Roma settlements and in which part of the Međimurje the respondents lived, differences in the expression of the stereotype do not show any statistical significance. The exception is only one of the fourteen characteristics, »Roma do not maintain hygiene«, which noted the statistical significance of the higher proportion of respondents living far from Roma. In all other characteristics, considering the analyzes of all three different spatial levels, no statistically significant difference in stereotype expression was observed.

The results of the survey confirm a high degree of generalization when it comes to the view of the majority population on the Roma national minority. The high degree of agreement of the majority of the population with the proposed characteristics of Roma indicates a significantly stereotypical view of the Roma community. Hrvatić's conclusion that members of other groups are »not generally perceived as individuals but through stereotypes«¹⁸ is confirmed by the research conducted. The presented results are in line with the results of a study of stereotyping carried out in the early 1990s¹⁹, where it was observed that the majority population largely agrees with the proposed negative stereotypes about the Roma population.

While no statistically significant differences in the expression of stereotypes were observed with respect to the spatial categories of housing of the respondents of the majority population, one non-spatial investigated variable proved to be crucial in the differences in the expression of stereotypes. Considering the arithmetic mean of the responses of the majority population respondents to the proposed stereotypes, a statistically significant difference was observed in relation to the existence of their own negative experience with members of the Roma national minority. Respondents who have experienced negative experiences with Roma tend to be more likely to express negative stereotypes towards Roma. In contrast, when there was a positive experience with members of the Roma national minority, no statistically significant difference in stereotype expression was observed. The above confirms Hrvatić's conclusion that »Stereotypes are often the result of associative linking of events and processing of information«²⁰. It is obvious that individual negative experiences influence the generalization in terms of the view of the majority population towards the Roma national minority. The generalization is very well described by the Roma proverb: »When one Roma is guilty - all Roma are guilty«²¹

As »stereotypes establish and activate borders with the Other«²², the high level of expression of stereotypes of the majority population towards the Roma certainly maintains a strong ethnic border as a social construct of interethnic relations. The specific characteristics of Roma, recognizable cultural elements and patterns of behavior reinforced by generalization in terms of projection to the entire minority community hinder and inhibit integrative processes. As Barth states, »the ethnic frontier directs social life, which implies the often very complex organization of behavior and social relations«²³. Encouraging integration processes by reducing the stereotypical view of the Roma community is imposed as one of the imperatives in transcending the social construct of the ethnic border. However, the possibility and frequency of spatial contact with the Roma do not play a significant role in this regard.

¹⁸ HRVATIĆ, N., 2011: Interkulturalni kurikulum i obrazovanje na manjinskim jezicima, *Pedagogijska istraživanja* 8 (1), 7-18.

¹⁹ HRVATIĆ, N., 1996: Romi u interkulturalnom okružju, *Društvena istraživanja* 25-26, 913-933.

²⁰ HRVATIĆ, N., 2011: Interkulturalni kurikulum i obrazovanje na manjinskim jezicima, *Pedagogijska istraživanja* 8 (1), 7-18.

²¹ HANCOK, I., 2002: *We are Romani people*. University of Hertfordshire Press, Centre de researchersTsiganes, Hertfordshire.

²² ŠAKAJA, L., 2001: Stereotipi mladih Zagrepčana o Balkanu: Prilog proučavanju imaginativne geografije, *Revija za sociologiju* 32 (1-2), 27-37.

²³ BARTH, F., 1969: Introduction, u *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, (ur. BARTH, F.), Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 9 – 38.

CONCLUSION

The perception of the Roma population, at least as far as stereotypes are concerned, is quite uniform throughout the Međimurje County. It does not depend either on the spatial distance of the respondents from the Roma settlements or on the place of residence of the respondents in one of the spatial units of Međimurje. From the spatial perspective, the results of the study of stereotypes of the majority population of Međimurje County towards the Roma point to several conclusions. In view of the hypothesis, the results indicate that, regardless of the spatial distance from the Roma settlements and in what part of Međimurje the respondents live, differences in the expression of stereotypes do not show statistical significance. Within the Međimurje region, no regional differences were observed in the expression of stereotypes between respondents living in Gornje Međimurje and those living in Donje Međimurje. The uniformity of expression of stereotypes towards the Roma was also noted when analyzing the respondents' answers to the three spatial units of Međimurje: Gornje Međimurje, Donje Međimurje and Čakovec with its surroundings. At the local spatial level of the survey, at the level of settlements with and without Roma settlement in their composition or in the immediate vicinity, no statistically significant differences were observed in the expression of stereotypes. In only one case, the stereotype »Roma do not maintain hygiene« revealed a statistically significant difference between the respondents at the local spatial level of the settlement. The results obtained, with the exception of the above, indicate the rejection of the hypothesis on the reduction of stereotypes in the case of spatial proximity of the majority population and Roma. The local spatial perspective on the expression of stereotypes towards Roma is therefore of no importance when considering certain measures and activities aimed at reducing stereotypes towards the Roma community in Međimurje County.

The possibility and frequency of spatial contact with the Roma, at least at the subregional and local levels explored, therefore do not play a role in expressing stereotypes towards members of the Roma national minority. The study found that the only significant role of the variables tested was a personal negative experience with members of the Roma national minority. Obviously, experiencing a negative experience is far more important for a stereotypical view of the Roma community than, for example, a positive personal experience that has no influence on the expression of stereotypes, as the results of the conducted research show.

Overcoming the stereotypical view of the Roma and reducing the ethnic border as a brake on the more successful process of Roma integration in the Međimurje County cannot be expected by intensifying spatial contact and reducing spatial segregation of Roma. Obviously, solutions should be sought in some other aspects of the social relations of the majority population and the Roma.

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SAŽETAK

U radu se analiziraju rezultati istraživanja iskazivanja stereotipa prema Romima u Međimurskoj županiji s prostornog stajališta. Unatoč očekivanim razlikama utvrđeno je da prostorna blizina ne utječe na razinu iskazivanja stereotipa prema pripadnicima romske nacionalne manjine. Većinsko stanovništvo koje živi u istim administrativnim naseljima u kojima egzistiraju i romska naselja ne iskazuju stereotype prema Romima statistički značajno različito od ispitanika koji žive dalje od Roma izvan radijusa izolacije od 5 km od najbližeg romskog naselja. Statistički značajne razlike nisu utvrđene niti u analizi odgovora ispitanika različitih subregionalnih cjelina Međimurske županije. Mogućnost i učestalost prostornog kontakta s Romima ne utječe na razinu iskazivanja stereotipa prema pripadnicima romske nacionalne manjine.