

SocioRoMap

COMPACT ROMA COMMUNITIES IN ROMANIA:
SURVEY OF LOCAL EXPERTS ON SOCIAL
INCLUSION





Authors:

HORVÁTH István, KISS Tamás

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1. Survey of local experts on social inclusion

● The **survey of local experts** on social inclusion aimed to obtain information on Roma communities at the level of each local administrative unit (LAU) in Romania. According to the law, each LAU in Romania ought to employ personnel with attribution on social inclusion. This survey made use of their knowledge on local Roma populations. The survey covered all of the 3182 LAU's, having a three folded objective

1. monitoring of **specialized structures of social inclusion and welfare service providers** at the level of LAU's in Romania.
2. **community census** of Roma communities at the level of LAU's. Information was gathered on the estimated size and residential patterns of Roma inhabited households
3. a multidimensional description of **compact Roma communities aiming to** identify and systematically describe the social circumstances of these communities.

The major targets of this undertaking were to identify the approximate number of Roma households, to gain a view on different dimensions of segregation of these households (concentration, position compared to town/village centre, etc.), and to offer a systematic account of the condition of compact communities.

2. Survey methodology

● In a first phase one questionnaire was sent to all LAU's (municipalities, towns and communes) in Romania with the demand to offer basic information on the institutions of social inclusion at the level of the LAU respectively on the number and residential patterns of Roma households for each settlement belonging to the given LAU (questionnaire A). Experts were also asked to identify all compact Roma communities within the perimeters of their administrative unit.

In a second phase separate questionnaires (questionnaire B) were filled out for each identified compact Roma community.

The expertise of our respondents was based on their regular duties, involving regular fieldwork in marginalized areas, carrying out the so called social pool, the regular monitoring of the social condition of the deprived households.

Local experts were asked to rely on the local system of ethnic classification when identifying the Roma households. These systems of classification usually focus on visible social and cultural traits. Consequently one might argue that the community census reflects only the (culturally and socially) visible Roma communities.

Chapters 3-6 are presenting data based on questionnaire A, thus reflecting the situation of all Roma communities identified. Chapters 7-12 is based on questionnaire B, presenting data only for identified compact Roma communities.

Though social and cultural visibility and the dominant local routines of ethnic classification might, or might not converge with the identification of individuals living in these communities, still, is reasonable to assume, that such modes of constructing local socio-cultural realities is functioning as founding element of local social relations, resulting differential treatment and exclusion.

Regarding the **definition of compact community**, as registered by questionnaire B, an all-encompassing definition was used: “cluster of households/residential area inhabited by Roma”. However, only compact groups with more than 15 inhabitants were included in analysis.

Nevertheless, the number of compact Roma communities identified by the survey still represents an estimate, while during the process of data validation cases of biased under and over-reporting of such communities were identified. In some cases, compact residential units were not reported because of the workload incumbent to the completion of questionnaires, or because pondering the potential negative implication of registration. In other cases, local experts misinterpreted the unit of recording and reported a community for each street of

an expanded compact area. Although several such mis-registered information were revised, general methodological caution is recommended.

During the process the following methods of **data validation** were employed:

- The data provided by experts were confronted to other pre-existing information, such as census data and previous reports regarding the existence of compact communities. In case of significant inconsistencies, further clarifications were requested.
- In the first phase of data processing a workshop with county level Roma experts, employees of the County Offices for Roma (Birou Județean pentru Romi - BJR), was organized. The most important results of the survey summarized in a datasheet for every LAU (containing the number, size, and placement of compact Roma groups) presented. County level experts analysed the datasheet suggesting, if appropriate, revisions. In due cases, local experts were asked for further clarifications even re-evaluation of the initial reports submitted.
- For larger (more than 30 thousand) municipalities instructed field operators endorsed the reports submitted, or assisted LAU experts in concluding their reports.



Following repeated contact attempts and proactive assistance provided for local experts, a **response rate of 97.5%** was reached. Out of a total number of 3182 LAU's 3101 have answered all questions in the questionnaire; 42 have not responded at all, and 39 filled the questionnaires only partially

» **Map 1. Completed questionnaires by LAU (p. 29)**

3. Estimates on the number of Roma population according to survey

- Local experts were asked to **estimate the number of Roma** for each settlement included to the local administrative unit. The task was to offer an estimate based on external identification, according to functioning local logics of ethnic classification. The resulting figure after aggregating the estimates represents almost double of the number recorded, based on self-identification, at the last (2011) Romanian census: **1215 846, representing approximately 6.1–6.3% of the total population.**

In regional terms the largest number of Roma population is located in the Central region (240 104), and Southern-Wallachia, respectively (217 919). Excepting the West region, the number of Roma is above 100 000 in all NUTS2

regions of Romania. According to estimates, Central region has the highest share of Roma population (10.1%) followed by Southern Wallachia and Bucharest-Ilfov. The North-eastern region counts for the lowest proportion of Roma. Reported data are the most convergent to census figures in the case of North-western region, while in Bucharest-Ilfov region experts reported 3.4 times more Roma than it was registered by the 2011 census.

Table 1. Number and proportion of Roma according to survey data and census in 2011, respectively, by region

	Roma according to survey		Roma according to census		Difference (I-III)
	Number (I)	% (II)	Number (III)	% (IV)	
Bucharest-Ilfov	133786	6.9	39607	1.7	3.4
Centre	240104	10.1	111228	4.7	2.2
North-East	135972	4.0	55216	1.7	2.5
North-West	152846	6.0	113711	4.4	1.3
South-Wallachia	217919	6.9	122232	3.9	1.8
South-West	106807	5.4	63899	3.1	1.7
South-East	145825	5.6	69864	2.7	2.1
West	82587	4.5	45747	2.5	1.8

Regarding NUTS3 (county) level, the largest number of Roma was reported for Bucharest municipality (110205), for Mureş (66831), for Braşov (55993), for Călăraşi (46713), for Bihor (45332), and for Sibiu (41027) counties. According to estimates, the number of Roma is higher than 10 000 for each county.

» **Map 2.** Number of Roma according to experts compared to census 2011 data (p. 30)

According to local experts' estimates, there are 33 LAU's where Roma population represents a majority of the local population. 8 LAU's with majority Roma population are located in Braşov county, 7 LAU's in Sibiu, 4 in Covasna, 3 in Mureş, 2 in Iaşi and one in Bacău, Buzău, Constanţa, Galaţi, Dolj, Harghita, Satu Mare, Vaslui and Vrancea counties.

» **Map 3.** Proportion of Roma by LAU (survey data) (p. 31)

Census data (relying on self-identification in an official-bureaucratic context) and expert estimates (relying on external classification from an administrative point of view) are inconsistent. On county level, the numbers reported by experts were always higher than the numbers recorded by census takers. The largest differences were recorded in Bucharest municipality where experts reported 4.6 times more Roma compared to what the census recorded. Significant differences appeared in

Harghita, Covasna, Braşov, Constanţa, Tulcea and Vaslui counties, too. The smallest differences were recorded for Mureş, Cluj, Sălaj, Bihor, Maramureş, Timiş, Mehedinţi, Dolj and Dâmboviţa counties.

The situation is more complex at the level of LAU's. The reported number is significantly higher than the number recorded by the census in case of 1183 LAU's, in the case of 425 LAU's data are more or less consistent, while in 89 LAU's the reported number of Roma is lower than the one recorded by the last census.

Table 2. Number of Roma reported by local experts compared to census data by LAU

	Number	%
There is no significant Roma population	1426	44.8
Less Roma reported compared to census data	89	2.8
Similar data in both cases	425	13.4
More Roma reported compared to census data	1183	37.2
No data	59	1.9
Total	3182	100.0

» **Map 4.** Number of Roma according to experts compared to census 2001 data, by county (p. 32)

4. Social benefits

- Local governments manage various social welfare provisions. These social transfers supplement the income earned by individuals/families.

The aim of the welfare providing system is to ensure the minimal level of subsistence for each family and thus to promote social inclusion and improved quality of life for certain social categories.

Practically, the most important form of social welfare provision is the **Guaranteed Minimum Income benefit (GMI)** introduced in Romanian legislation in 1995. In fact, GMI supplements family income up to certain, legally stipulated level. However, it embarked on a growing trend lately. It should be highlighted that the GMI is among social welfare benefits **allocated from the central budget**, while local governments receive, manage, and approve/reject applications. Local governments are also responsible for carrying out evaluation of the material condition of families applying for GMI.

Heating supplement represents another form of social welfare provision. It is an important benefit because it is not included in the definition of family income established during evaluation of the material condition. Thus, it can be further added to Guaranteed Minimum Income.

The amount of the allowance does not depend on the size of the household, e.g. number of household members. In contrast to the GMI, which is supported by the central budget, local governments are those who allocate heating supplement from their own budget.

Allowance for family support (AFS) is a third important form of social benefit, which targets families with children. The exact amount and the actual transfer of the allowance depend on school attendance of school aged children.

Our results show that 248055 families submitted application for GMI, 320446 for AFS and 962945 for heating supplement in Romania. Two variables were elaborated: (1) the percentage of Roma among all welfare beneficiaries and (2) the percentage of welfare beneficiaries among Roma families. In the case of GMI, local experts categorized as Roma 39.1% of the benefiting families. 23.9% of the beneficiaries were categorized as Roma in the case of allowance for family support and 19.7% in the case of heating supplement. Accordingly, 31.8% of the Roma families receive GMI, 25.1% AFS, and 44.7% heating supplement..

Table 3. Beneficiaries of social transfers on national level

	Total families	Out of which Roma	Percentage of Roma among beneficiaries	Percentage of beneficiaries among Roma families
Guaranteed minimum income	248 055	97 023	39,1	31,8
Allowance for family support	320 446	76 642	23,9	25,1
Heating allowance	692 761	133 898	19,7	44,7

There are significant regional differences regarding the proportion of Roma families within the group of beneficiaries of GMI. In Transylvania (Centre and North-West regions), the majority of beneficiaries were classified as Roma by our respondents, in Moldova (Northeast and Southeast regions), and Oltenia the proportion of those categorized as Roma was much more reduced. The highest proportions are in the following counties: Covasna (80%), Satu Mare (77%), Mureş (77%), Sălaj (76%), Braşov (71%), Harghita (66%), and Sibiu (61%). The proportion of Roma among beneficiaries of GMI is higher in urban settlements.

» **Map 5.** Proportion of Roma households within all beneficiaries of guaranteed minimum income (National level = 37.2%) (p. 33)

On national level, 31.8% of Roma families receive GMI. The proportions are higher in rural areas, communes and in the North-West region. The highest proportion of beneficiaries was found in Teleorman (56%), Maramureş (52%), Suceava (53%), Brăila (50%), Harghita (49%), Sălaj (49%), Vrancea (47%), Dolj (45%) and Bihor (45%) counties. Bucharest (0,5%), Ilfov (11%), Timiș and Tulcea (19%) reported the lowest proportion in this sense.

» **Map 6.** Proportion of beneficiaries of Guaranteed Minimum Income (VMG) within Roma households (National level = 25%) (p. 34)

5. Institutions involved in Roma inclusion

- The general questionnaire for LAU's addressed the presence of various institutional actors facilitating Roma inclusion at local level. Here the main research interest was to find out to what degree LAU's with a significant presence of Roma (5% of population or more than 500 persons, based on estimates) employ institutions dedicated to the inclusion of Roma (health care and school mediators, Roma experts or appointed Roma councillor, etc.)

Table 4. Institutions dedicated to the inclusion of Roma by Roma presence on LAU level, significant presence of Roma

	Considerable Roma presence		Number in official records	Number of interviewees in SocioRoMap
Healthcare mediator	484	40,0%	410	293
School mediator	193	16,0%	306	116
Roma expert/referent on local level	349	28,8%	-	-
Roma councilor elected in the Local Council	296	24,4%	-	-
Appointed Roma councilor	221	18,3%	-	-
Traditional Roma leader (bulibașa Vaida etc.)	257	21,2%	-	-
Roma pastor	295	24,4%	-	-

*Ministry of Health for Health mediators and Ministry of Education for school mediators.

The network of **healthcare mediators** is the most extended among network of professional support for inclusion and assistance. Healthcare mediators work in a double subordination of Public Health County Directorates and Major's Offices and facilitate the access of Roma communities to healthcare providers. Local experts reported the presence of healthcare mediators for 484 LAU's with significant Roma population (5% of population or more than 500 persons, based on estimates). It should be noted that the reported number is higher than the official

figures regarding the presence on the ground of healthcare mediators. Probably, the difference comes from reporting of medical assistants not hired as healthcare mediators, still performing community work, too. Thus data should be interpreted as follows: in 40% of LAU's with significant Roma communities there are individuals who facilitate in their official or unofficial capacity the access of Roma to healthcare services.

In territorial terms, healthcare mediator networks have different densities (including medical nurses/assistants reported as being part of the network). In some counties (especially in the eastern part of Romania), more than 80% of territorial-administrative units have healthcare mediators (Botoșani 85%, Galați 82%, Tulcea 80%). On the other end Timiș (9%), and Teleorman (10%) counties reported the lowest percentage regarding coverage of LAUs.

» **Map 7. Network density, healthcare mediators, by county** (p. 35)

School mediators support the participation of children living in Roma communities in mandatory primary and secondary education, they encourage parental involvement in education and assist families to prevent early drop out of school. Schools or County Centres for Educational Resource and Support employ school mediators. County Centres for Educational Resource and Support

offer methodological guidance, and local school managements monitor and coordinate the work of school mediators working in the respective educational units.

According to survey data, there are school mediators working in 16% of LAU's having significant Roma population. Their territorial distribution, again, is rather uneven. Covasna (49%), Harghita (47%), Neamț (37%), Mureș (28%) and Călărași (27%) counties reported the highest coverage. On the other hand there is no school mediator reported in the entire county of Brăila.

» *Map 8. Network density, healthcare mediators, by county (p. 36)*

6. Patterns of residential cohabitation

• Patterns of residential cohabitation range from random distribution of Roma inhabited households to high degrees of residential concentration in which almost all the Roma households of a given settlement are to be found in one compact cluster. **Mixed models of territorial or spatial cohabitation** (with one or two compact communities and additional Roma households outside of the compact communities) were also reported.

The unit of analysis in this case will be not the LAU's but the settlements (subordinated to LAU's). Information regarding the presence of Roma population were obtained for 12 656 settlements (out of 13,832).

Table 5 summarizes the distribution of various models of cohabitation at the level of settlements. For 8,233 settlements no Roma population was reported.

Table 5. Patterns of spatial cohabitation based on the proportion of Roma living in compact groups/communities

	Number of settlements	Percentage within total settlements %	Total Roma population reported	Percentage within total reported population %
No Roma	8233	63,0%	0	0
Roma live dispersed, exclusively	3006	23,8%	323516	26,6%
Majority of Roma live dispersed (less than 30% in compact groups)	57	0,5%	138463	11,4%
Relative balance (30–60% live in compact groups)	115	0,9%	80433	6,6%

	Number of settlements	Percentage within total settlements %	Total Roma population reported	Percentage within total reported population %
Majority (60–90%) live in compact groups, there are also Roma living dispersed	243	1,9%	112780	9,3%
Nearly all Roma (more than 90%) live in compact groups	1256	9,9%	560654	46,1%
Total	12656	100%	1215846	100%

In 3006 settlements Roma live among non-Roma, while in 1256 settlements almost all Roma live in compact communities, meaning that the bulk (90% or more) of the Roma households are clustered. This further type represents 10% of all settlements, and 46.1% of the total estimated Roma population is to be found here.

The analysis highlighted relatively few cases of intermediary situation (e.g. mixed models of spatial cohabitation). Mixed models are characteristic of urban settings. In rural areas and for the majority of settlements

extreme situations are typical: either dispersion or living in one or more compact communities

The average Roma population in settlements with dispersed residential model is of 231 persons, while in settlements with compact Roma communities is of 510 persons. Consequently, although there is a great number of settlements where cohabitation is undifferentiated, the number of Roma reported by experts as living in such settlements is significantly lower than the number of Roma living in compact communities, in settlements where the typical residential arrangement is the differentiated model of cohabitation (46.1% of total Roma population reported and included in our analysis).

» *Map 9. Roma living in compact groups and Roma living dispersed, by LAU (p. 37)*

7. Compact Roma groups/ communities

- **2315 compact communities in 1661 settlements belonging to 1121 local-administrative units** (communes, cities and municipalities) were identified.

For 94.9% of these compact groups questionnaire B is fully completed. For the additional 118 cases only basic information (the most important, necessary and sufficient one, that of the estimated number of inhabitants) was obtained

According to expert estimates, compact groups comprise 177,525 households and a total number of 722 844 persons.

Table 6. Distribution of compact groups /communities and of the population living in compact groups, by number of households that make up the respective compact group/community

Community type (by number of households)	Compact communities		Population	
	No.	%	No.	%
No data available	5	0,2	16 558	2,3
below 20	682	29,5	33 064	4,6
20–49	676	29,2	90 573	12,5
50–99	448	19,4	130 311	18,0
100–149	190	8,2	941 406	13,1
150 and above	314	13,6	357 932	49,5
Total	2315	100	722 844	100

The average number of household for compact communities is 77. Only 28% of compact communities identified and included in database were larger than 77 household. The majority (58.7%) of identified compact communities

are relatively small ones, made up by less than 20 households or by a number of households between 20–49

Medium and large compact groups (50–150 households) represent approximately one fourth (27.5%) of the total number of identified Roma compact. Large communities having more than 150 households make up 13.6% of the total number of compact groups.

There are 8 compact communities with more than 1000 households (among them there are settlements considered by experts to have only Roma inhabitants). From a territorial perspective, the highest numbers of compact communities were reported for Mureş county followed by the North-West region of Romania, a relatively compact area stretching on the territory of Bihor, Satu Mare and Sălaj counties.

Table 7. Distribution of compact groups/communities and of the population of compact groups by the number of persons living in the compact group

Type of community (by no. of inhabitants)	Within compact communities		Within population living compact communities	
	No.	%	No.	%
Below 150	1203	52,0	86368	11,9
151–300	479	20,7	107212	14,8
301–600	335	14,5	144552	19,9

Type of community (by no. of inhabitants)	Within compact communities		Within population living compact communities	
	No.	%	No.	%
601–900	134	5,8	101352	14,0
Above 900	164	7,1	285360	39,3
Total	2315	100,0	724844	100

According to what local experts estimated, there are 722,844 persons living in the compact communities identified.

The average number of inhabitants in compact groups included in our database is 313 persons. More than half (52%) of the identified compact communities are relatively small (less than 150 persons) regarding population. One fifth (20.7%) has an estimated population of 150–300 and 14.5% are middle sized communities (301–600 persons). Larger communities (601– 900 inhabitants) represent 5.1% of all communities, while very large communities having more than 900 inhabitants represent 7.1% of total communities. However an estimated number 285,360 persons (nearly 40% of a total of 722844 persons living in compact Roma communities) were identified living in such very large groups. The average number of persons in the category of very large compact groups is 1740 persons. On the other hand, approximately 12% of Roma living in compact communities dwell in one of the 1203 (below 150 inhabitant) small compact groups.

As already mentioned, our respondents estimated the the total number of Roma to 1,215,846. This also means that, on national level, 59.1% of Roma live in compact communities. There are significant differences between counties. The highest proportion of Roma in compact groups are to be found in Ialomița, Bihor, Buzău, Brașov counties while the lowest proportions in Timiș, Tulcea and Constanța counties.

» *Map 10. Proportion of Roma in compact groups, by counties (p. 38)*

8. Spatial isolation

8.1. Territorial placement of Roma communities

- As regards the placement of these compact communities, the analysis followed to identify the placement of compact Roma communities along the centre – periphery axis.

Table 8. Where is the compact community located?

	Compact groups		Inhabitants	
	N	%	N	%
Within the settlement	987	44,4	307 382	43,9
At the margins of the settlement	1104	49,6	328 654	47,0
Outside the settlement	71	3,2	13 129	1,9
Settlement (village) with all Roma inhabitants	63	2,8	50 146	7,2
Total*	2225	100	699 311	100

*In 90 cases of compact groups totalling 25533 persons no valid report was obtained.

There were 71 cases of **out of settlement residence** reported, and almost half of compact groups are placed at the margins of the settlement.

Still living outside the settlement or at the margins covers a great variety of situations regarding distance and access to important public services.

Out of settlement means outside the administrative border of the settlement, but not necessarily at great distance from the centre of settlement were the facilities and public services are located in most of the cases. In the same time, living at the margins of the settlement could mean living at a greater distance from centre. Thus is beneath placement on centre – periph-

ery axis, in case of out-of-settlement communities walking distance in minutes from the compact community to the first houses was also estimated. The survey identified only 23 cases in which placement outside the settlement meant great distance of 30 minutes or more from the compact community to the settlement. However, these cases of significant distance between settlement and compact communities are encompassing relatively small communities. In the 23 distant compact communities were estimated to reside 5136 persons in 1244 households. Thus spatial isolation, in terms of great distances between compact Roma community and the settlement they belong, is barely frequent, affecting a relatively small number of persons.

Apart from these outside the settlement communities, experts identified 63 **settlements (villages) as being inhabited exclusively by Roma**.

» *Map 11. Number of persons living in compact Roma, by placement (p. 39)*

8.2. Impeding access

- Large spatial distances represent just one difficulty of access. Walls or other obstacles, barriers, rivers combined with lack of bridges, walled or fenced properties with no trespassing can also impede the access on the shortest way from the community to the centre of settle-

ment. A total number of 35 Roma communities face some sort of physical obstacle. Not all of these limitations were man-made obstacles; some of them represented just unfavourable natural circumstances. Still, having no detailed information the existence of such situation of limited access is indistinctively assumed. 19 such physically isolated communities are situated on the margins of the settlement and 5 outside of it. Five of them are larger communities (with more than 100 households each), and 19 are very small (less than 20 households). Overall, there are 14,218 persons in 4,750 households in the 35 compact Roma communities in case of which experts reported the presence of any form of limitation or obstruction of access to settlement centre.

8.3. Distance to facilities, utilities / service providers

- Placement at the margins of the settlement does not necessarily describe an unproblematic situation in terms of access to essential facilities in everyday life (for example school or grocery, shops). This is why, specific questions about the distance (in terms of walking minutes) from the compact community to various frequently accessed facilities were asked irrespective of the location. Estimates were asked about the walking distance to the primary school (I-IV) attended by children, the City Hall, and medical cabinet. These estimates highlighted a different dimension of isolation.

Table 9. How long it takes, in minutes, to reach the following facilities from the compact Roma community? (Percentage related to the total number of compact communities)

	...less than 10-15 Minutes	...about 15-30 minutesabout 30-60 minutes	...more than an hour	No data
Grocery shop	79,3%	13,8%	1,6%	0,3%	5%
Elementary school (I-IV)	55,9%	33,3%	5,4%	0,4	5,1%
City Hall	29,2%	37,8%	21,3%	6,7%	5,1%
Medical cabinet	35,2%	38%	16,8%	5,1%	5,1%

Nearly 80% of communities have access to a **grocery store** in less than 15 minutes walking distance. For another 319 communities the nearest grocery store is at a distance of 15–30 minutes (an inconvenient, but not necessarily a major problem). In case of 44 compact communities, difficult or very difficult situations regarding daily supply were reported, since the nearest grocery store is more than 30 minutes walking distance away from the community. Twenty-five of them are relatively small communities (less than 20 households), but according to estimates in 8 communities there are more than 300 persons.

In the case of distance to the nearest **elementary school** for 770 compact Roma communities the walking distance reported is about 15–30 minutes from community to the primary school. This could be inconvenient for children, but does not necessarily represent major difficulty. However, 135 compact communities are in difficult or very difficult situation regarding access to primary school, as in these cases the walking distance from community was estimated to be longer than 30 minutes. The bulk of them are rather small communities in term of number of households or persons inhabiting them. Nevertheless, an estimated 6031 children aged 0-14 live in compact communities that are at a walking distance of more than 30 minutes from the nearest primary schools.

8.4. Social isolation, stigma

- Distance between local non-Roma population and a compact Roma community are instituted not only by building obstacles or by pushing communities to the periphery but also by collective stigmatization. A proxy for this distinctive feature was to identify those communities that are represented locally as dangerous areas, “no go” zones. To that end, experts were asked the question: To what extent, non-Roma from the settlement, who do not live in the compact groups circulate in the Roma neighbourhood/ community?

In case of 344 compact communities, experts gave the following answer „The majority of inhabitants tend to avoid going through the neighbourhood/compact area”. In case of 80% of communities experts said: „Persons not belonging to the compact group are walking through colony frequently, without any second thoughts”, for the rest of communities (5%) there is no valid data.

14 out of the 35 situation for which a physical limitation of access was reported were considered “no go” zones (areas that people not belonging to the community hesitate to enter). Fifty-nine communities from the 164 very large (with more than 900 inhabitants) compact communities were reported by experts as being considered by local as dangerous areas, “no go” zones.

9. Quality of housing

9.1. Overcrowding

- Based on expert reports, the average number of persons per household in Roma inhabited compact communities was of 4.08. The value of this indicator was 2.3 for EU-28 in 2014, and 2.7 persons per household for Romania (Eurostat). The data collected in the census in 2011 show a national average of 2.67, while, according to this

census in case households where the head of the household declared to himself Roma the average number of person per household was of 4.5.

Table 10. The structure of compact communities by average size of household

	Number of compact communities	Percentage of total validated cases	Population in these compact communities	Percentage in the total of compact communities
Below the national average of 2,7	287	12,4	72 221	10,2
Between the national average and the average for Roma households (2,7-4,5)	1155	50	315 222	44,5
Above 4,5 (national average for Roma households)	868	37,6	320 843	45,3
Total	2310	100	708 286	100
No data	5			

The table below shows how many rooms are per family in a typical household of a compact community

Table 11. Majority of families in the compact group live in households where there

	Are more than one families in one room	Is a room for one family	Two rooms for one family	Three rooms for one family	Four or more rooms for one family
N	300	1078	695	111	14
%	13%	46,6%	30%	4,8%	0,6%

The indicator of overcrowding takes into account the above mentioned two dimensions (average number of persons per household and typical size of household in compact communities), and additionally the existence of a kitchen in the households.

Overcrowded compact Roma communities are those where:

- The average number of persons per room in the community is estimated above 4,5 irrespective to whether there is or there is no individual kitchen in household (severe overcrowding);
- the average number of persons per room is between 2,7-4,5, but less than half of household have individual kitchen (overcrowding)

1 EUROSTAT: Average number of persons per household by household composition, number of children and age of youngest child <http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do>

2 INSSE Gospodării ale populației pe tipuri, după etnia capului gospodăriei – categorii de localități <http://www.recensamantromania.ro/noutati/volumul-IV-cladiri-locuinte-gospodarii/>

Table 12. Compact communities in relation to the values of the indicator of housing overcrowding

	Number of compact communities	Number of households	Number of persons	Percentage related to total population living in compact communities
Lack of data	117	10 170	52 834	7,3
Severe overcrowding	1122	79 038	367 001	50,6
Overcrowding	535	45 075	165 552	22,8
Close to average or slightly above	541	43 754	139 457	19,2
Total	2315	178 037	724 844	100

As the table shows, half of compact Roma communities and half of the population living in such areas are characterized by severe **overcrowding** (as defined above).

9.2. Structural quality of housing

- Severely degraded housing condition was defined as the situation in which the majority of dwellings in a compact community destination is not residential (154 communities with more than 36 thousand persons), or more than 70% of the households of a given compact community are in a visible state of degradation (cracked, broken roof, improvised doors or windows, or worse, lack of doors or windows).

Communities characterised by improper housing are those where visible degradation was reported for 40–70% of households or dwellings of a compact community. In the category visible poverty compact communities some (below 40%) dwellings might present elements of visible structural damage, however the bulk (above 40%) households and surroundings are badly maintained.

Table 13. Compact communities in relation with quality of housing based on the indicator of improper housing

	Number of compact communities	Percentage in total compact communities	Number of inhabitants	Percentage in inhabitants
Lack of data	130	5,6%	60 514	8,3%
Severely degraded housing	382	16,5	100 892	13,9%
Improper housing	701	30,3	210 486	29%
Visible poverty	390	16,8	163 273	22,5%
Normal condition	712	30,8	189 679	26,2%
Total	2315	100%	724 844	100%

Approximately 47% of compact communities (1083 Roma inhabited compact communities) are characterized by precarious (severely degrade or improper) housing. 43% of all peoples living in compact communities are resident in such communities.

» **Map 12.** *Proportion of people in compact groups living in severely degraded housing condition, by county (p. 40)*

9.3. Equipment of dwellings with household utilities

• Concerning the equipment of dwelling with household utilities comparison between the compact community and the given LAU situation (as it was recorded by the 2011 census) was made, along the following indicators:

- Proportion of households connected to electricity;
- Proportion of households connected to tap water supply and sewerage;
- Proportion of households with bathrooms;
- Proportion of households having kitchens;
- Proportion of households having central heating system.

According to 2011 approximately 3% of households had no electrical grid connection. In the case of compact Roma communities an estimated 14.4% of households are in such situation. The share of Roma compact community households not connected to electric grid is higher in: Harghita, Covasna, Braşov and Cluj counties, while the bellow average counties are Tulcea, Olt, Vrancea, Alba, Botoşani and Caraş-Severin.

» **Map 13.** *Households in compact groups not connected to electricity, by counties (percentage) (national average = 14.4%) (p. 41)*

According to the 2011 census 30.7% of households were not connected to tap water, while according to Socio-romap estimates 71% of households in compact Roma groups/communities are not **connected to tap water** inside their house. Above this average situation are to be found in North-East in Neamţ (89%), Iaşi (87%), Bacău (81%), Vaslui (81%) and Suceava (80%), and in Sălaj (89%), Giurgiu (87%), Călăraşi (86%) and Covasna (84%) counties respectively. Below average, somewhat favourable conditions are in Tulcea, Gorj, Hunedoara, Bistriţa-Năsăud, Vrancea and Mehedinţi.

» **Map 14.** *Proportion of households lacking tap water inside the dwelling in compact groups, by counties (National average = 71,3) (p. 42)*

Compared to the 68% of the Romanian households (census data 2011), only 14% of the households in Roma communities are **connected to sewerage**. The lowest level of access to drainage in compact groups were registered in Călăraşi (99% are not connected), Timiş (98%), Braşov (98%), Iaşi (97%), Suceava (97%) and Ilfov (95%). A more favourable situation was found in Hunedoara (52% of households are not connected), Tulcea (56%), Gorj (59%), Brăila and Mehedinţi (64%).

Values regarding connection to household utilities and existence of basic household facilities (kitchen, bathroom) in compact groups can be compared not just to national but also to local LAU level situation (census 2011 data). A positional indicator was built for every type of facility, utility. The **synthetic indicator of utility deprivation** shows the difference between the compact Roma community and the LAU's average regarding utilities and basic facilities. The theoretical value of the indicator stretches from - 2 to 2, where 2 means well above the average on LAU level, 0 means very close to this average and - 2 means well below the average.

Table 14. Indicator of utility deprivation (compared to LAU average)

	x weight	
Value of positional indicator regarding tap water		+
Value of positional indicator regarding sewerage connected to the house		+
Value of positional indicator regarding connection to electricity inside the dwelling	1,5	+
Value of positional indicator regarding central heating system		+
Value of positional indicator regarding kitchen inside the dwelling	1,5	+
Value of positional indicator regarding Bathroom inside dwelling		+
Total		/7

Cases of connection to electric grid and existence of a kitchen inside the dwelling (meaning that their presence or absence weight more in the final value) were weighted. On national level, 96.6% of dwellings are connected to electricity and 84.6% have a separate space for preparing meals. Thus, these facilities are to be considered a general minimum regarding quality of housing in Romania. Their absence signals relatively severe deprivation of households. For comparison, central heating system is present in 44.4% of settlements and even though there is not a luxury utility, its existence is a sign of relative wellbeing or of a stable urban condition. Its absence does not necessarily show a condition of marginality.

Table 15. Distribution of compact groups/communities compared to LAU average. Absolute numbers

	Sever deprivation	Deprivation	Similar	Better condition	Much better condition
Tap water inside the dwelling	1123	444	348	66	207
Bathroom	1370	465	198	96	63
Kitchen	836	547	655	135	19
Sewerage	1771	169	181	43	28
Central heating system	1691	113	120	81	187
Electricity inside the dwelling	103	170	1914	5	0
Position indicator summarizing utility deprivation	602	1137	403	44	2

Table 16. Distribution of compact groups/communities compared to LAU average. Percentages

	Sever deprivation	Deprivation	Similar condition	Better condition	Much better condition
Tap water inside the dwelling	51,3%	20,3%	15,9%	3,0%	9,5%
Bathroom	62,5%	21,2%	9,0%	4,4%	2,9%
Kitchen	38,1%	25,0%	29,9%	6,2%	0,9%
Sewerage	80,8%	7,7%	8,3%	2,0%	1,3%
Central heating system	77,1%	5,2%	5,5%	3,7%	8,5%
Electricity inside the dwelling	4,7%	7,8%	87,3%	0,2%	0,0%
Position indicator summarizing utility deprivation	27,5%	52,0%	18,4%	2,0%	0,1%

According to the overall indicator, 602 (28%) of compact groups are in the state of severe deprivation compared to the average situation of the LAU where this compact groups are to be found. 1137 compact groups have somewhat lower standards compared to the LAU's average. Thus almost 80% of compact Roma communities are to be considered as having (somewhat or considerably) lower standards in terms of utilities and housing facilities, than the average situation of the LAU where these communities are located. 18% of compact communities, are not diverging from local mainstream

in terms of housing utilities and facilities, and 2% are even in a better position than the local average situation.

10. Sources of income – participation in the labour force market

- Regarding sources of income, a set of questions about the integration into various segments of the labour market and another set about the use of marginal resources were formulated. The questions tackled the following five dimensions:
 - Participation in the formal labour force market (the proportion of those who have salaries based on work contracts);
 - Working abroad (percentage of households benefiting from remittances);
 - Informal work (proportion of people who deliver work on occasions or are day labourers);
 - Proportion of those who earn income from agricultural work
 - Use of marginal resources
 - » Proportion of those who earn income through gathering fruits, plants, mushrooms
 - » Proportion of those who earn income through collecting and selling recyclable materials.

An important statement: **only approximately 13% of the households in compact groups have stable income coming from work based on formal contract**, which confirms earlier studies that emphasize poor integration of Roma in the **formal labour force market**. In this respect above average situation characterizes the capital city and its metropolitan area, and the Western region of Romania. Also Roma living in medium and big cities or in urban areas have better chances to be formally employed and earn salaries. On the other hand, the proportion of households earning incomes from work based on formal labour contract is well below national average in North-East, South-East regions, and in communes having a population of less than 2000 inhabitants.

» **Map 15.** *Integration in the formal labour force market, proportion of households having constant salary income, by county (p. 43)*

In Bucharest, formal employment is more widespread, an estimated 50% of families living in compact Roma communities have regular income based on formally registered contractual labour. The following counties are above average in terms of integration of Roma living in compact communities to the formal labours force market: Ilfov, Brăila, Braşov, Tulcea, Sibiu, Maramureş, Timiş, Arad and Călăraşi. On the other end, the bellow average counties were Harghita, Dolj, Suceava and Bacău.

Migration for work and working abroad represents a major source of income for large segments of the Romanian society. Similarly, working abroad has become an important factor that seriously influences the social and economic position of Roma communities in Romania. An estimated 20.8% of the households in the compact communities received income from working abroad, reflecting a rather intensive connection of these compact groups to various migratory networks and opportunities. An above average share of households benefiting of remittances are to be found in South-Wallachia and South East region. The top sending counties are Mehedinţi, Buzău, Dolj, Constanţa and Covasna. Labour migration is less specific for counties that offer more formal employment opportunities, such as Bucharest, Ilfov, Braşov and Cluj.

» **Map 16.** *Labour force migration: proportion of households receiving income from work abroad, by county (p. 44)*

The questionnaire inquired about the main destination of labour migration. The most important ones are: Italy, Germany, Spain, France, Hungary and the United Kingdom.

Table 17. Destination of labour migration of people living in compact groups (number of LAUs where people mentioned this destination)

	Main destination	Secondary destination
Italy	257	171
Germany	195	117
Spain	179	154
France	162	92
United Kingdom	76	75
Hungary	105	82

Italy was mentioned as main destination of the migration of Roma from compact communities in 257 LAUs, and in 171 as secondary destination. Roma from counties in Moldavia (Iași, Botoșani, Neamț, Bacău, Vrancea, Suceava and Vaslui) and in South-West (Caraș-Severin, Gorj, Mehedinți, Olt) work in Italy. In Transylvania, Bistrița-Năsăud county is the foremost sending region to Italy.

Germany was mentioned 195 times at least by one compact group in the LAU as main destination and in 117 cases as secondary destination. Roma migration to Germany is intense mostly in regions where Romania's German population used to live. The major sending counties are: Sibiu, Mureș, Alba, Bistrița-Năsăud and Brașov. Beside these regions, Roma from compact communities of Ilfov,

Sălaj, Harghita and Covasna counties migrate as well to Germany, in considerable proportions.

Spain was mentioned in 179 LAUs as main destination and in 154 as secondary destination. Roma from compact communities located in the southern regions of the country migrate more extensively to Spain: Călărași, Prahova, Teleorman, Giurgiu, Brăila and București. In Transylvania, Roma from Hunedoara, Cluj and Sălaj migrate to work in Spain.

France is the main destination for Roma in 162 LAU. In 92 cases, they reported France as a secondary destination for labour migration. Arad (especially the northern part of the county), Mehedinți, Alba, Bihor (the southern region of the county), Timiș, Maramureș, Ilfov, Ialomița and Sălaj know a more intense labour migration route to France.

Migration to **Hungary** is relevant in 105 LAU, while in 82 Hungary is the primary destination. Hungarian speaking Roma migrate to Hungary, therefore the sending counties are Covasna, Harghita, Satu Mare, Mureș, Sălaj and Bihor.

United Kingdom is the main destination in 76 cases and secondary destination in 75 cases. The most important sending counties are Ilfov, Galați, Tulcea, Bacău and Giurgiu.

One third of households in compact communities generated income from **informal work** (mostly day labour in agriculture). The ratio is higher in North-West, in small settlements and in rural areas.

Vrancea, Bistrița-Năsăud, Dâmbovița, Satu Mare, Tulcea, Timiș and Iași counties know the highest rate of income generated by occasional work. The lowest rates are characteristic to Hunedoara, Gorj, Ialomița and Botoșani counties.

The umbrella term **marginal resources**, referred to income generating activities like gathering forest fruits, medicinal plants, and edible mushrooms, or collecting and selling recyclable materials. Twelve percent of Roma households generate income from such type of activities. Evidently, such resource generating activities are more widespread in rural areas, in small settlements, and in Centre, North-East and North-West (highland) regions. Collecting forest fruit and plants is above average resource generating activity in Harghita, Bistrița-Năsăud, Sălaj and Argeș. People do not use these natural resources as much in the southern part of the country. In urban areas collecting recyclable materials is more frequent. Thus, the proportion of households that generate this kind of income is higher in Bucharest/Ifov, and in larger and medium size cities, respectively, in Cluj, Brăila, Galați and Tulcea counties.

Five percent of Roma households in compact groups/communities work in **agriculture** as farmers cultivating their plots. Such resource generating activity is more frequent in rural areas, in the Eastern and Southwestern regions.

More than 15% of Roma in compact communities in Botoșani, Vaslui and Iași counties generate resources as farmers. In Mehedinți, Dolj, Olt, Teleorman the share of households benefiting from farming is 10%, while in Transylvania, Bistrița-Năsăud and Sibiu counties have an above average income from farming.

» *Map 17. Proportion of families involved in agriculture, by counties (p. 45)*

11. Language knowledge and use

- According to SocioRoMap survey results, a remarkable linguistic diversity characterizes Roma population in Romania. There are three prominent, dominant languages Roma living in compact groups/communities use, namely, Romanian, Romani and Hungarian. Of course, in many of the registered situations the use of more than one language was confirmed.

The table below shows language use, by groups. It shows that Romanian is the most widespread language. In 1483 compact groups, the majority of Roma (more than 80%) speaks Romanian. However, there are 478 colonies whose inhabitants cannot speak Romanian and another 81 colonies in which the proportion of people speaking Romanian is estimated somewhere between 20–50%.

Table 18. Distribution of compact groups according to language knowledge

	Not significant proportion (below 20%)		Majority Does not speak (20–50%)		Majority speaks (50–80%)		(Nearly) All speak (above 80%)	
	% of compact groups	Number of compact groups	% of compact groups	Number of compact groups	% of compact groups	Number of compact groups	% of compact groups	Number of compact groups
Romanian	22,2%	478	3,8%	81	5,2%	112	68,8%	1483
Romani	57,9%	1242	4,5%	96	8,1%	174	29,5%	632
Hungarian	83,4%	1815	2,5%	54	2,7%	58	11,5%	250
Other	99,3%	2180	0,2%	5	0,2%	4	0,3%	6

Romani language occupies a dominant position in 632 compact groups representing 30% of the communities. However, in the majority of Roma communities (1242 groups, 58%) people do not speak the Romani language.

Hungarian language takes a dominant position in 250 compact groups, while in other 58 groups/communities some people speak Hungarian. In 6 communities more than 80% and in other 50 communities more than 50% speak other languages, which is Turkish in several communities in Dobrogea and Serbian or Croatian languages in Banat.

Approximately 495356 persons, meaning 74% of the Roma population in compact groups speak **Romanian**. There are, however, 6 counties where the majority of Roma cannot use Romanian. In Harghita, only 6% of Roma speak Romanian. The great majority speaks Hungarian, and there is a minority who speaks Hungarian and Romani. In Satu Mare, 32% of Roma speak Romanian while the proportion of those using it regularly in everyday communication is probably even lower. In Bihor, Roma living in the northern part of the county speak Hungarian, while Roma living in the southern region of the country speak Romani. The knowledge of the Romanian language is more widespread among native Romani speakers than among Hungarian speaking Roma. According to expert estimates in Ialomița, only 40% of Roma use Romanian language. The majority of local Roma speak Romani language. In Covasna, 46% of Roma speak Romanian language (in the western and southern parts of the county) in the central and eastern parts of the county, Roma use exclusively Hungarian.

The proportion of Roma who barely use Romanian is high in Vrancea, Gorj, Olt and Buzău counties, too. They use as community language almost exclusively Romani language.

» **Map 18.** *Proportion of Romanian speaking Roma in compact groups, by county (p. 46)*

According to survey estimates, the number of Roma speaking **Romani language** in compact groups is 276 117, meaning 41,3% of the total population in this type of communities. Highest percent of Romani speakers were found in Ialomița (88,1%), Gorj (78,7%), Galați (76,2%), Maramureș (68,0%), Dolj (67,2%), Bacău (64,5%), Cluj (62,9%) and Sălaj (60,3%) counties. The lowest level of Romani knowledge is in Covasna county, where not even 1% of Roma speaks this language. A low percentages of use of Romani was found in Argeș (2.8%, Brașov (6.6%), Constanța (13.5% where the frequent use of Turkish language should be highlighted), Harghita (17.5%) and Satu Mare (18.4%).

» **Map 19.** *Proportion of Romani speaking Roma in compact groups, by county (p. 47)*

A total number of 71 840 Roma living in compact groups speak **Hungarian language**, especially in areas where the non-Roma population speaks Hungarian. Compared to their share in the total population at county level, Hun-

garian speaking Roma are overrepresented in compact groups in Satu Mare, Harghita and Bihor counties and underrepresented in Covasna, Sălaj, Cluj and (to a lesser degree) in Mureș counties.

» **Map 20.** *Number of Hungarian speaking Roma within compact groups, by county (p. 48)*

In 1257 compact communities Romanian is the dominant (most frequently or exclusively used) language, in 614 Romani, and in 313 Hungarian is the dominant language of the community.

» **Map 21.** *Dominant language of Roma in compact groups, by LAU (p. 49)*

12. Religious affiliation

- Majority of Roma belongs to the Orthodox Church. However, compared to the total population, the Roma have a significantly higher presence of neo-Protestant churches. Regarding the distribution of compact Roma groups/communities by religion Roma in 1508 groups/communities (68.6%) are predominantly Orthodox, 126 groups (6%) Roman Catholics, in 66 (3%) compact communities predominantly Reformed. Predominantly Penteco-

stals 149 (7%), Adventists in 8, Baptists in 9, Muslims in 12 compact communities, while the majority in other groups belongs to other confessions, like Unitarian Church, Jehovah's Witnesses or Evangelical Christianity. We should note that neo-Protestant churches are more prominent in compact communities, albeit they are not dominant. Affiliates to Pentecostalism were reported for a total of 939 communities, Adventists in 288, and Baptists in 295 communities. Membership in neo-Protestant Churches is growing, especially in the case of the Pentecostal Church. This also brings a more intense religious life, participation of Roma compared to "traditional" religions, such as the Orthodox Church or the Catholic and Reformed Churches in case of Hungarian speaking Roma.

The majority of Roma living in compact communities belong to the Orthodox Church (427471 persons, 61% of Roma living in compact groups/communities). The second largest church is that of Pentecostals with 106486 followers (15%), which means that Roma are greatly over-represented in the Pentecostal Church. In fact, on local level, Pentecostal Church is often a so-called "Church of the Roma." There are 19112 Roma in the Adventist Church and 16298 in the Baptist one, while there are 25247 Roma in the Roman-Catholic Church, 20063 belong to the Reformed one. The estimated number of Muslim Roma in compact communities is of 3224.

Table 19. Distribution of compact groups according to religion

Religion	Number	%
Orthodox	427472	61,3%
Pentecostal	106486	15,3%
Roman Catholic	25248	3,6%
Reformed Church	20063	2,9%
Adventist	19112	2,7%
Baptist	16298	2,3%
Muslim	3224	0,5%
Other religion	9651	1,4%
No religious affiliation	70107	10,0%

In most counties, the majority of Roma in compact communities belong to the Orthodox Church. The highest proportions are located in the southwestern part of the country. On the contrary, the lowest shares in this respect are in the counties that have Roma belonging to Catholic or Protestant confession, e.g. Harghita.

Satu Mare, and to some degree in Covasna, Mureş and Bihor counties. The proportion of Orthodox followers is below 50% in Arad, Sălaj, Maramureş and Ialomiţa counties due to the expansion of the neo-Protestant churches.

Pentecostal cult is the most widespread neo-Protestant church among Roma in compact groups/communities. It is spread throughout the country. It is nearly absent in Dobrogea, not so frequent in the South, Muntenia and Oltenia, except for Ialomița, Călărași and Mehedinți counties. The highest proportions are in the following counties: Vrancea (41%), Ialomița (38%), Sălaj (34%), Arad (34%), Brașov (31%), Galați (26%), Suceava (25%), Bacău (23%) and Bihor (21%).

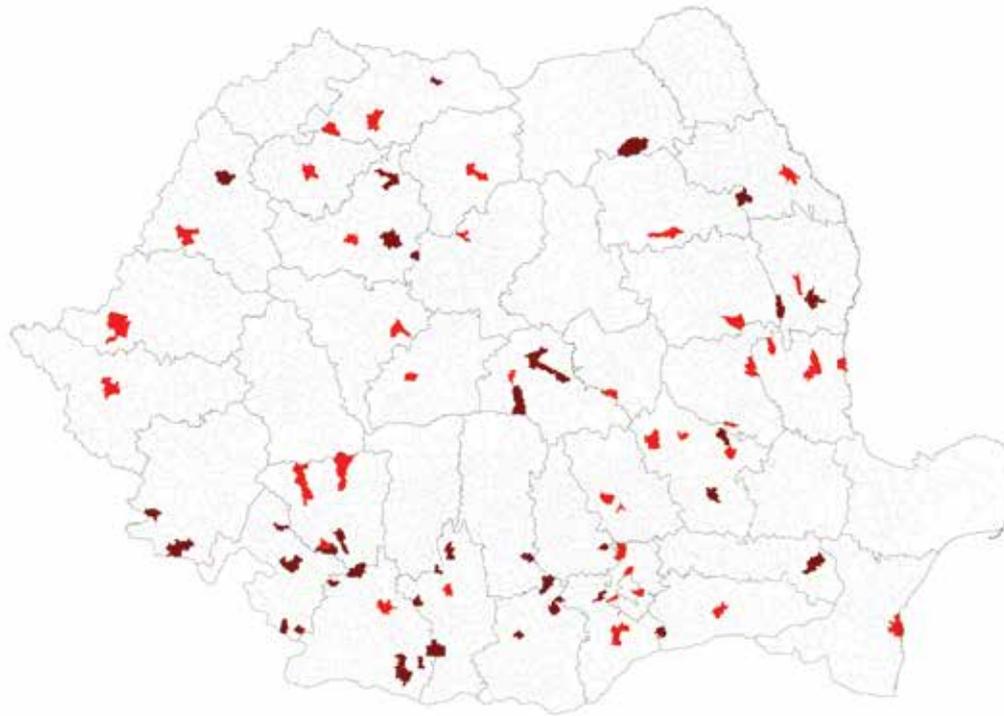
The Roman-Catholic religion is more frequent among Hungarian speaking Roma. 45% of Roma in compact groups/communities embrace Roman-Catholic confession in Harghita, 30% in Covasna, 19% in Satu Mare, 11% in

Timiș and 9% in Bihor. In Moldova we find considerable number of Roman-Catholic Roma in Neamț and Bacău counties.

Hungarian speaking Roma follow Reformed church, too. The number of followers is higher in Satu Mare (15%), Covasna (14%), Harghita (13%), Mureș (13%), Sălaj (11%) and Cluj (7%) counties.

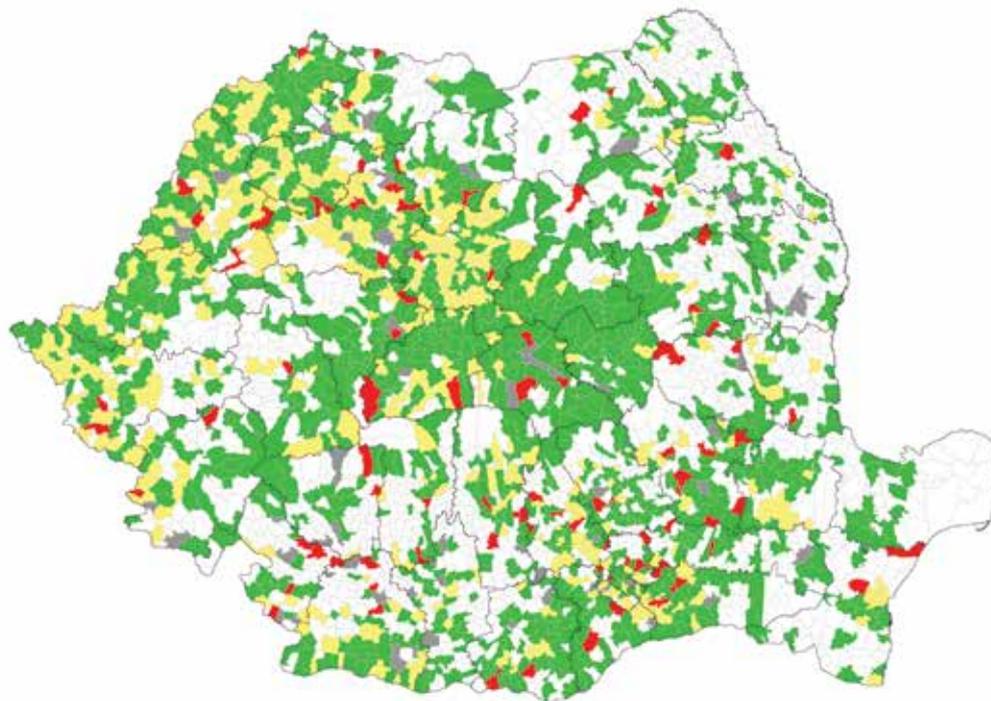
Adventists are relatively powerful in the North of Muntenia, meaning Argeș, Dâmbovița and Buzău counties and in Suceava, Covasna, Mureș, Sălaj and Bihor counties, too. Baptist followers are more present in the Western region in Caraș-Severin, Sălaj, Arad, Satu Mare and Bihor. We also find Baptist communities in Suceava, Mehedinți, Brăila, Hunedoara, Sibiu and Alba. Muslim Roma live mainly in Dobrogea. 31% of Roma in compact groups/communities in Constanța county are Muslims and 23% in Tulcea.

Map 1. Completed questionnaires by LAU



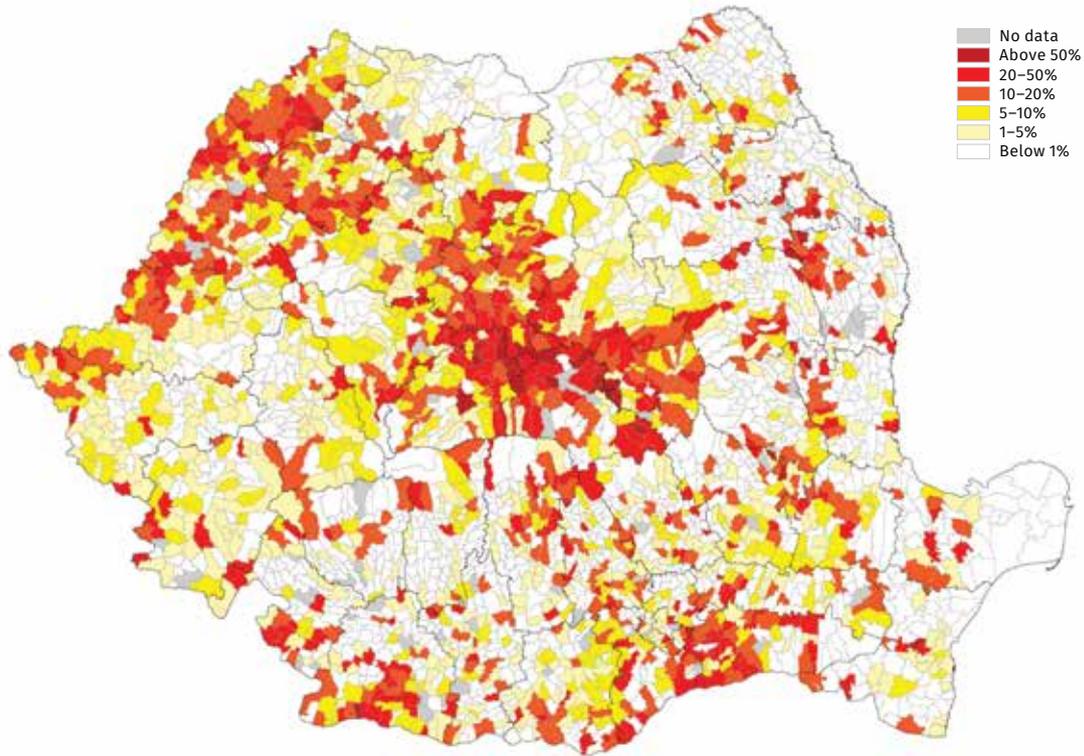
□ Completed questionnaire
■ Partially completed questionnaire
■ Not completed

Map 2. Number of Roma according to experts compared to census 2011 data

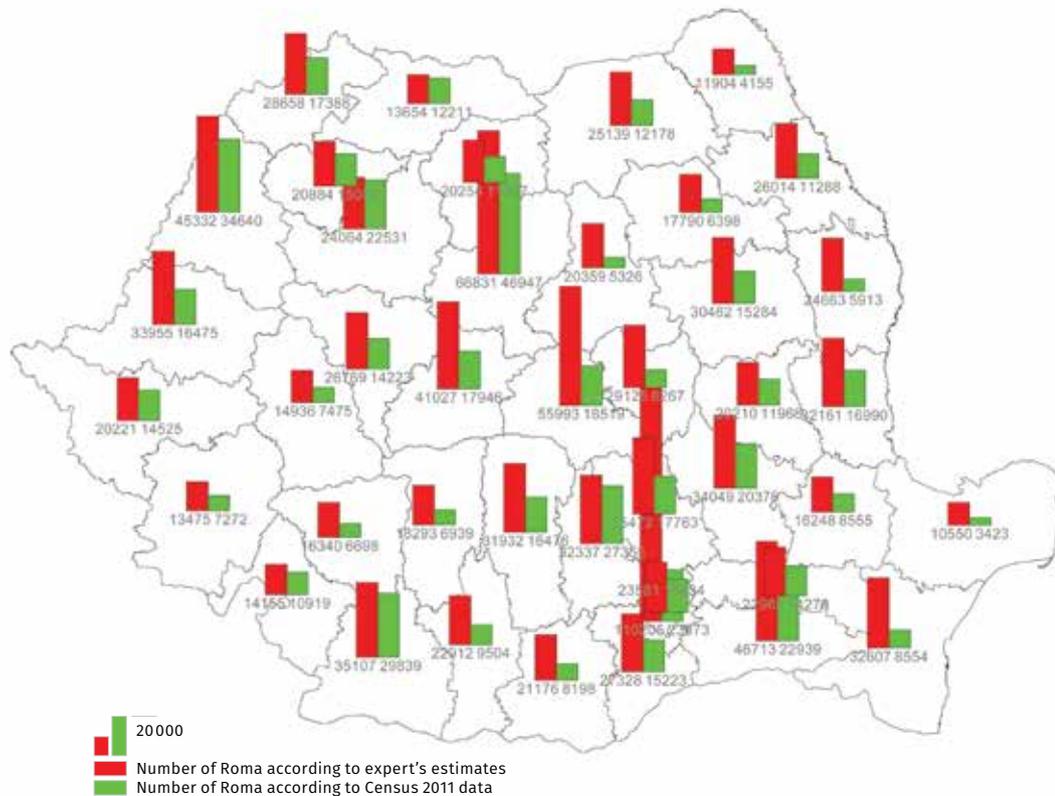


- There is no Roma community of considerable size
- The number of Roma is lower in estimates compared to census data
- Relatively similar data
- The number of Roma is higher in estimates compared to census data
- No data

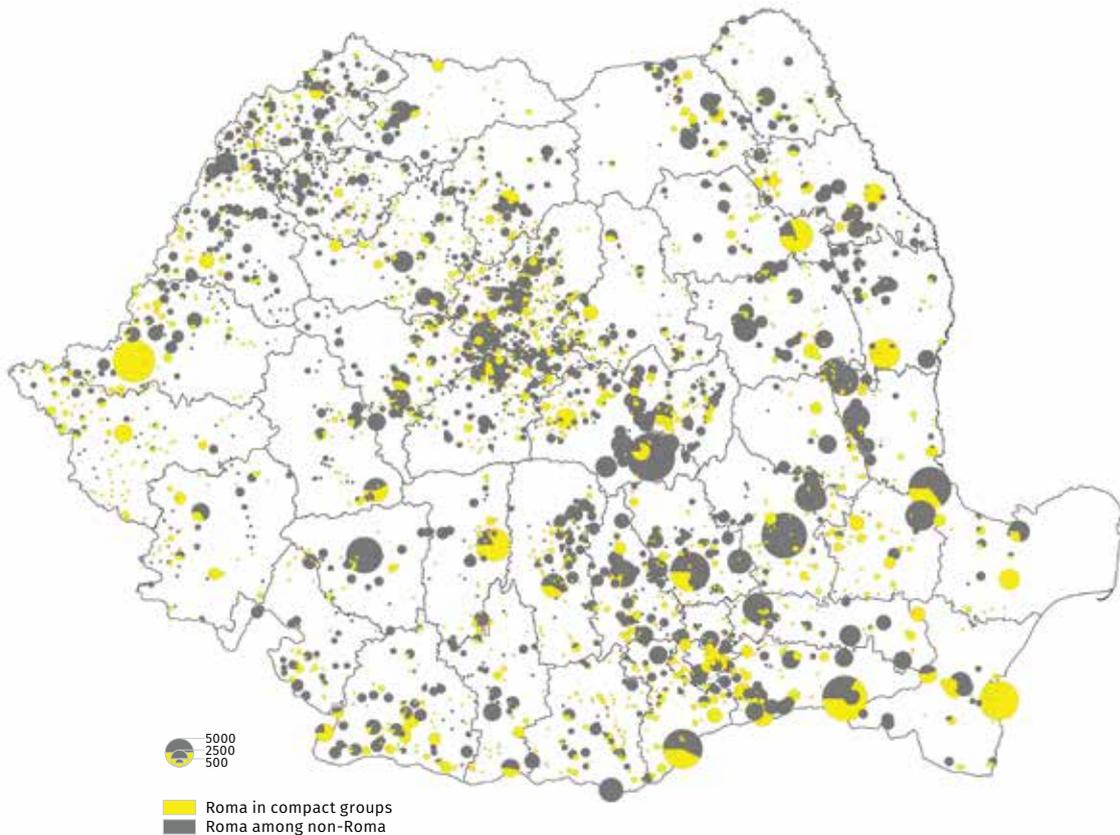
Map 3. Proportion of Roma by LAU (survey data)



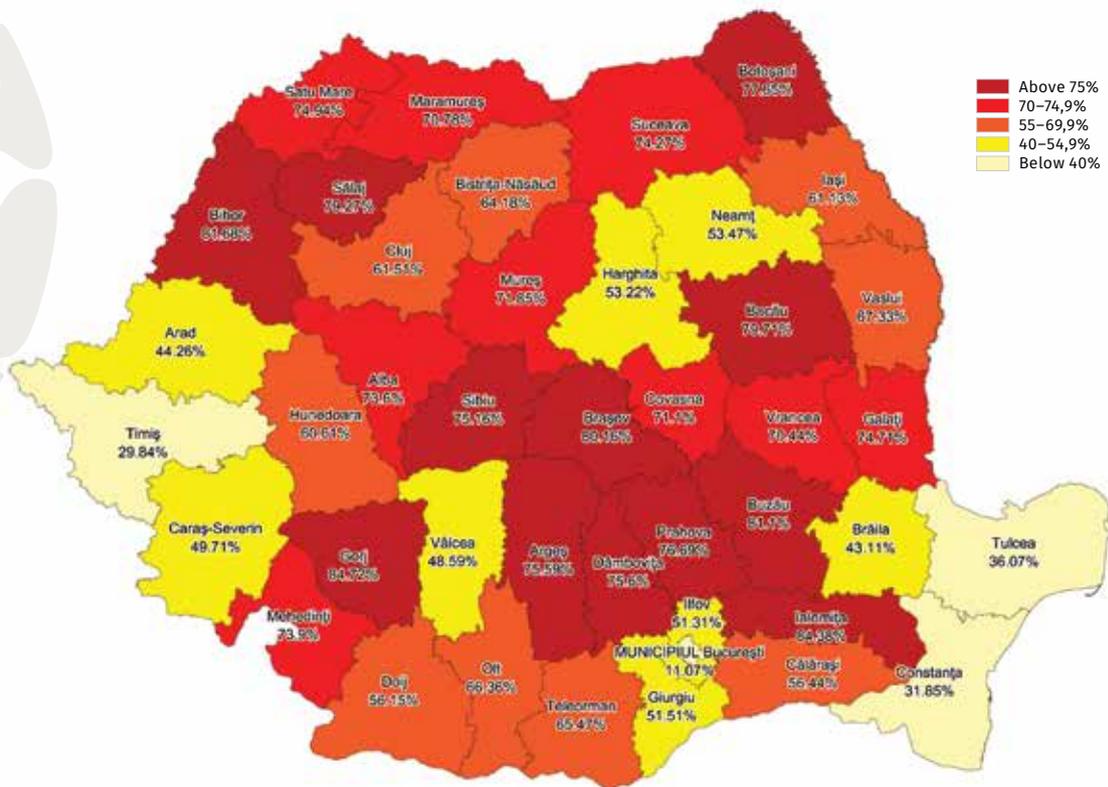
Map 4. Number of Roma according to experts compared to census 2001 data, by county



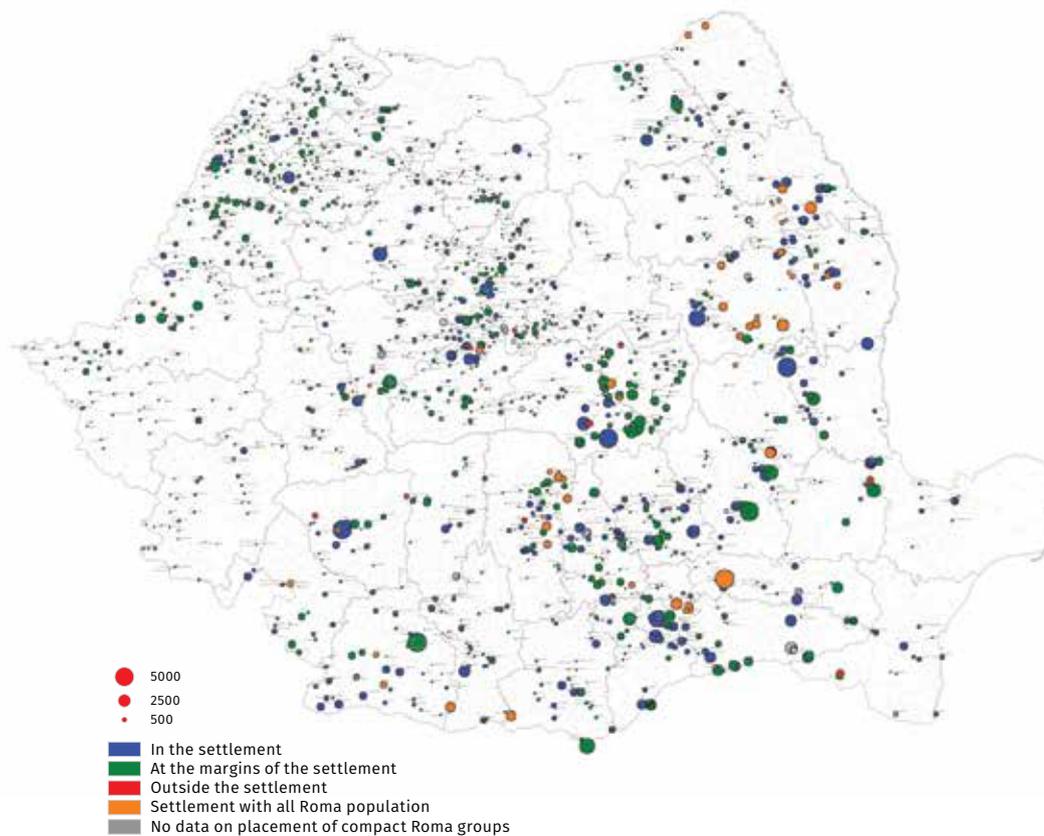
Map 9. Roma living in compact groups and Roma living dispersed, by LAU



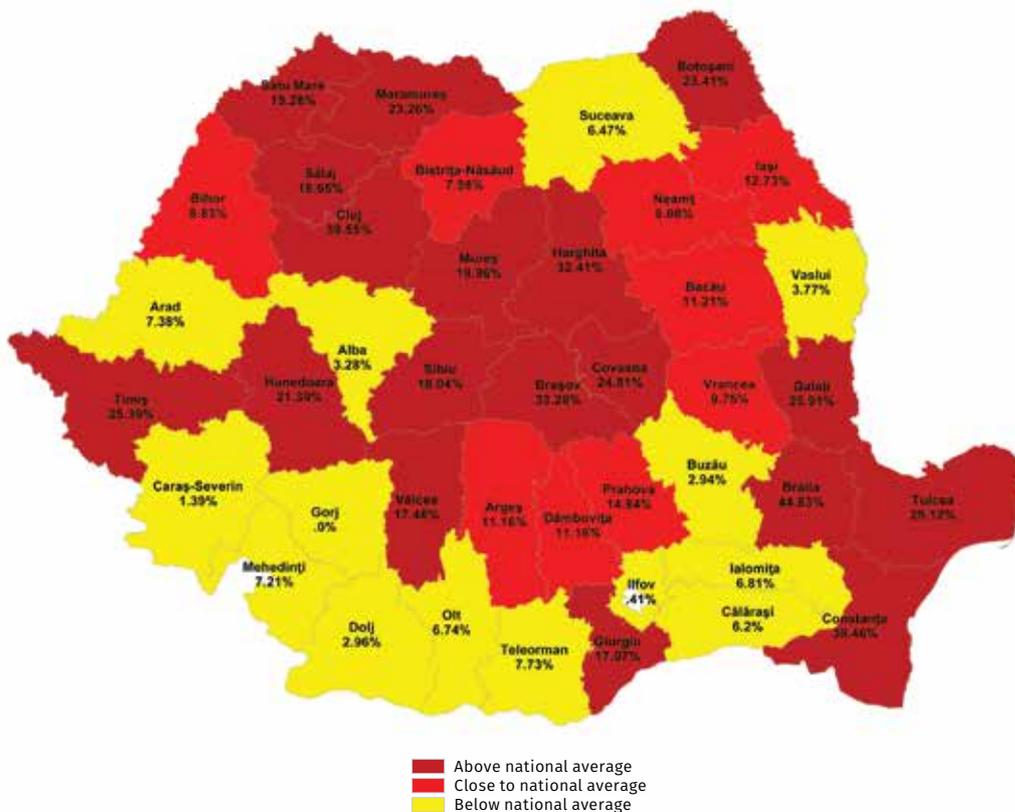
Map 10. Proportion of Roma in compact groups, by counties



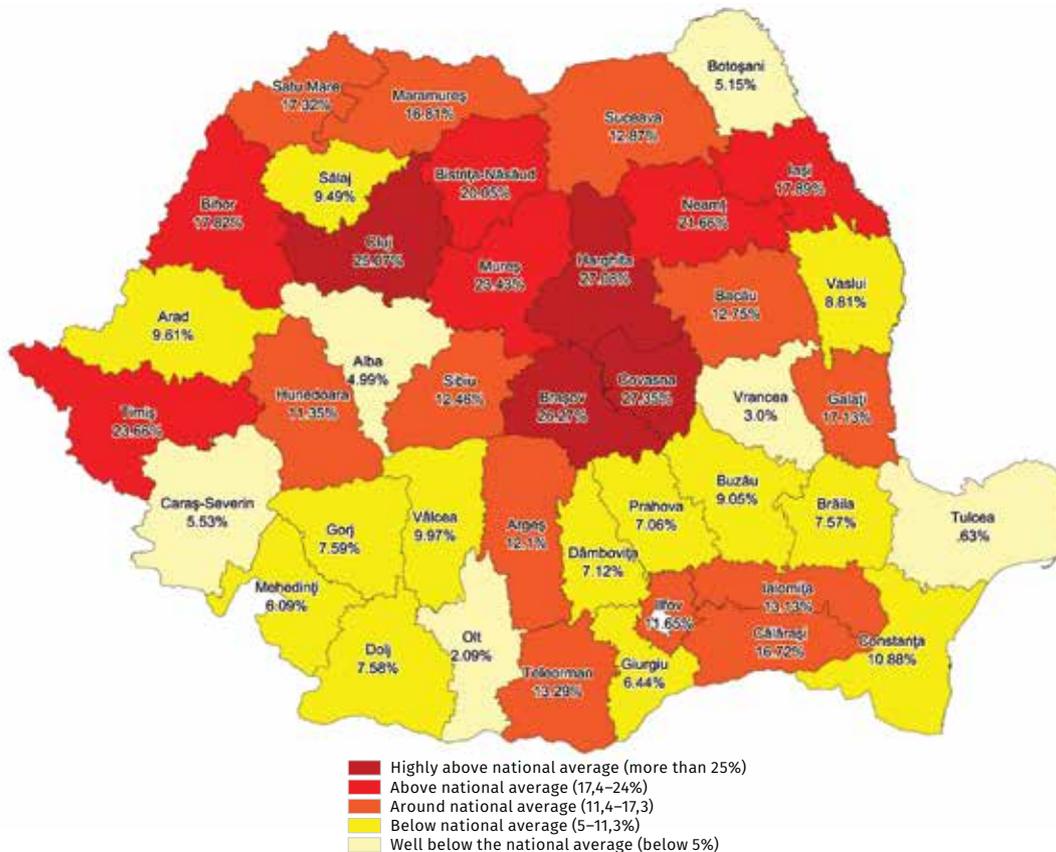
Map 11. Number of persons living in compact Roma, by placement



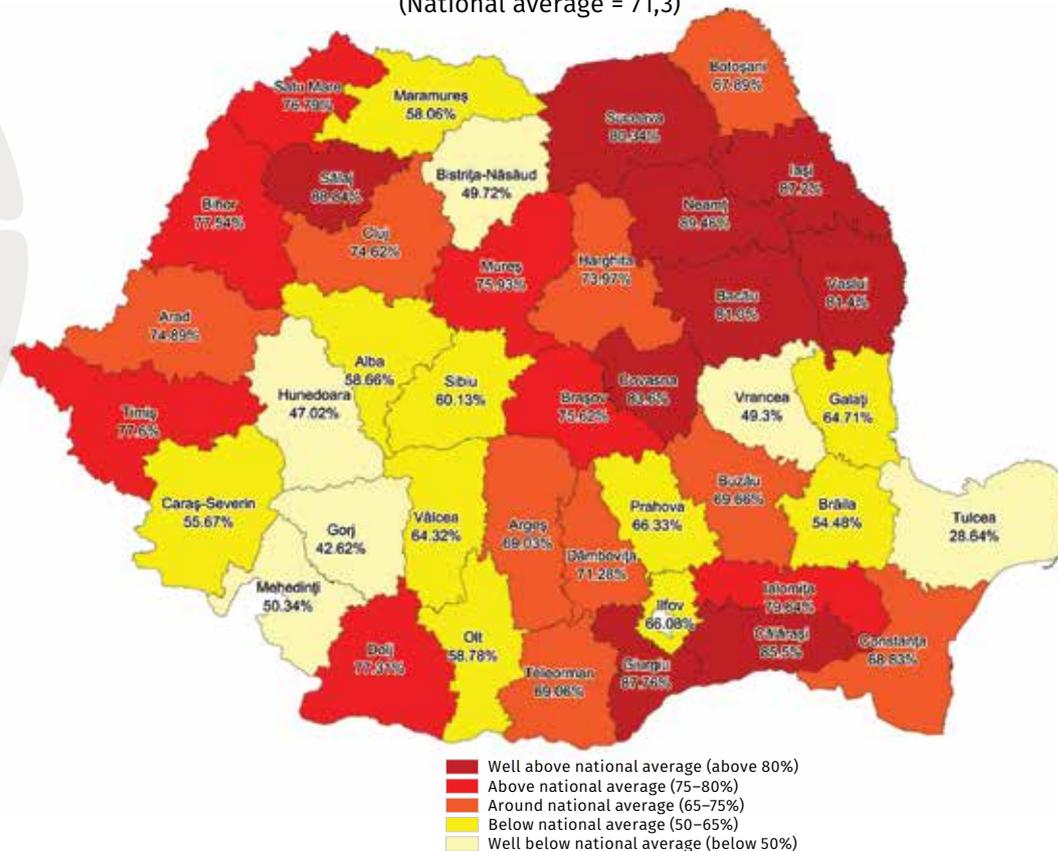
Map 12. Proportion of people in compact groups living in severely degraded housing condition, by county



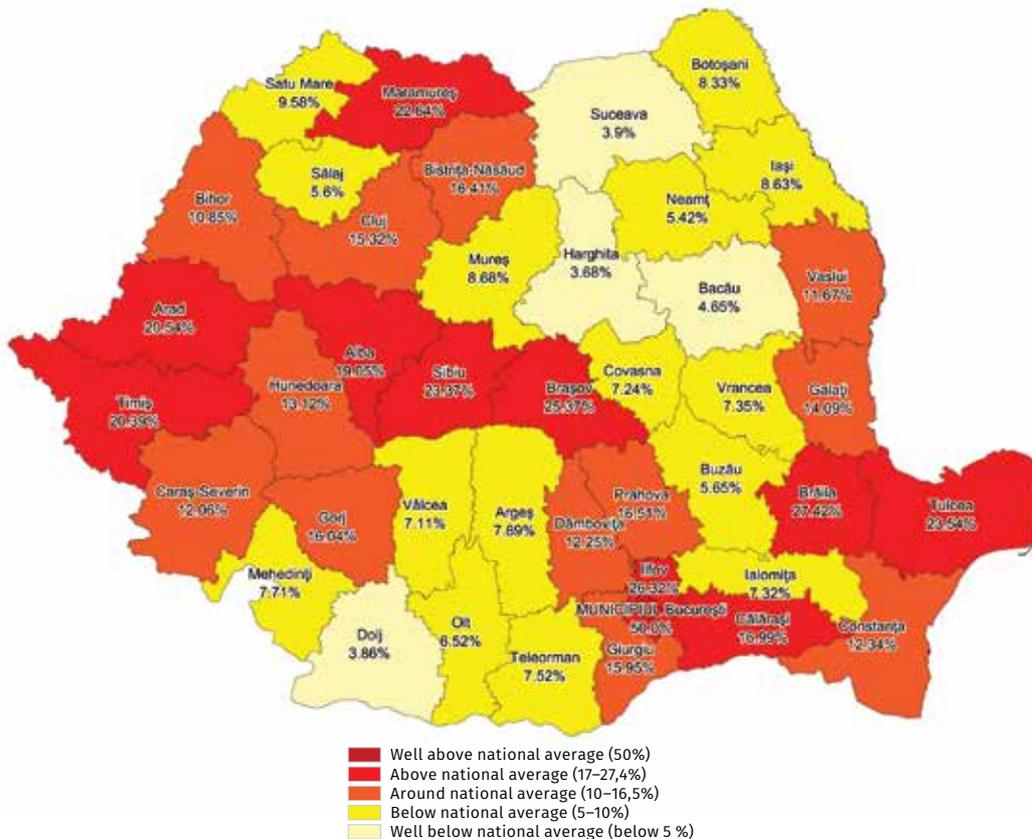
Map 13. Households in compact groups not connected to electricity, by counties (percentage) (national average = 14,4%)



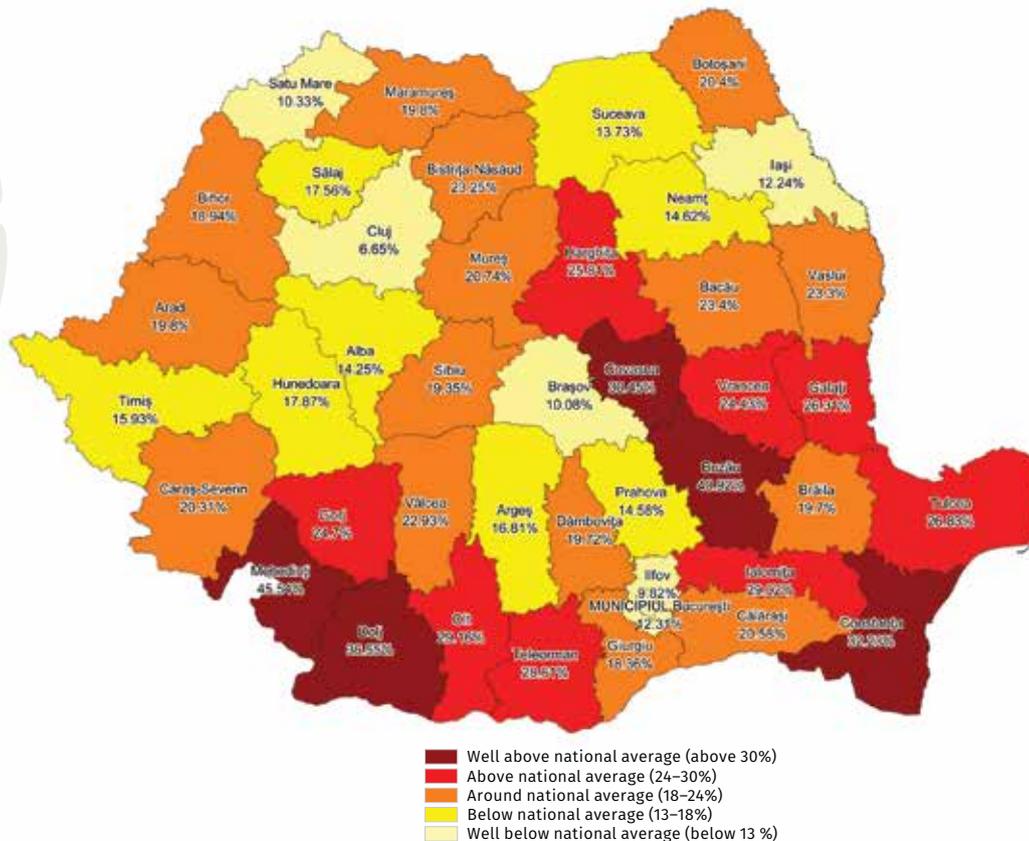
Map 14. Proportion of households lacking tap water inside the dwelling in compact groups, by counties
(National average = 71,3)



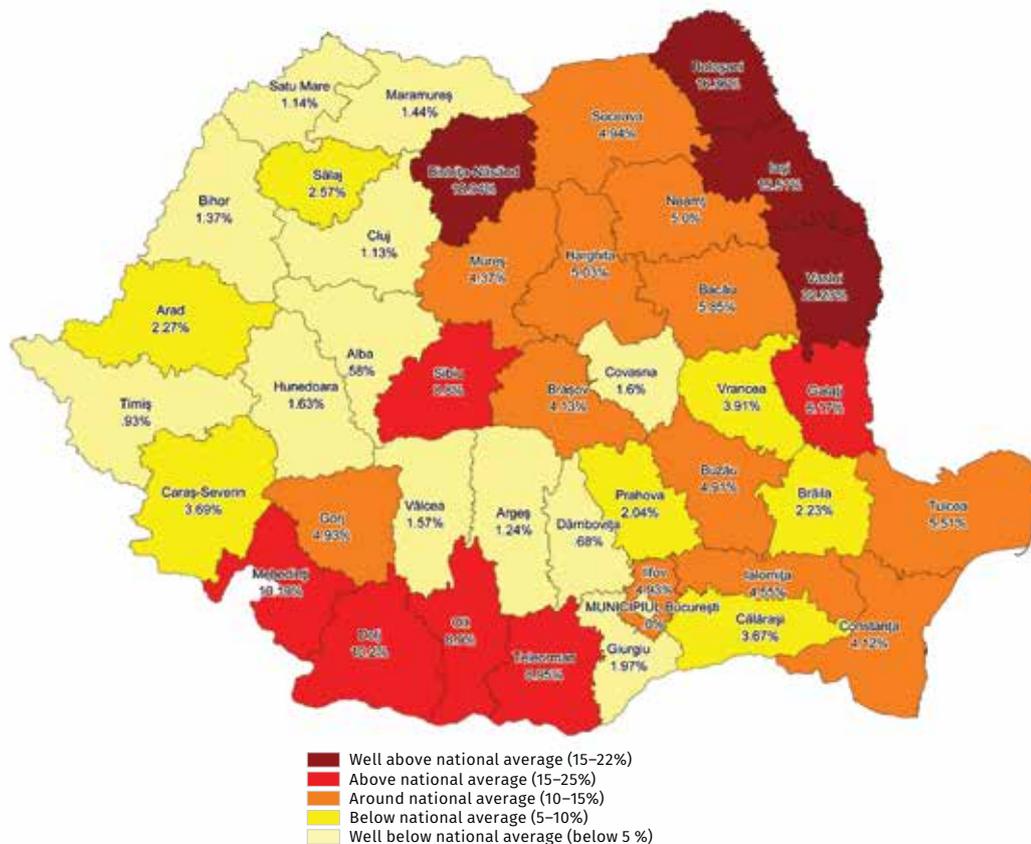
Map 15. Integration in the formal labour force market, proportion of households having constant salary income, by county



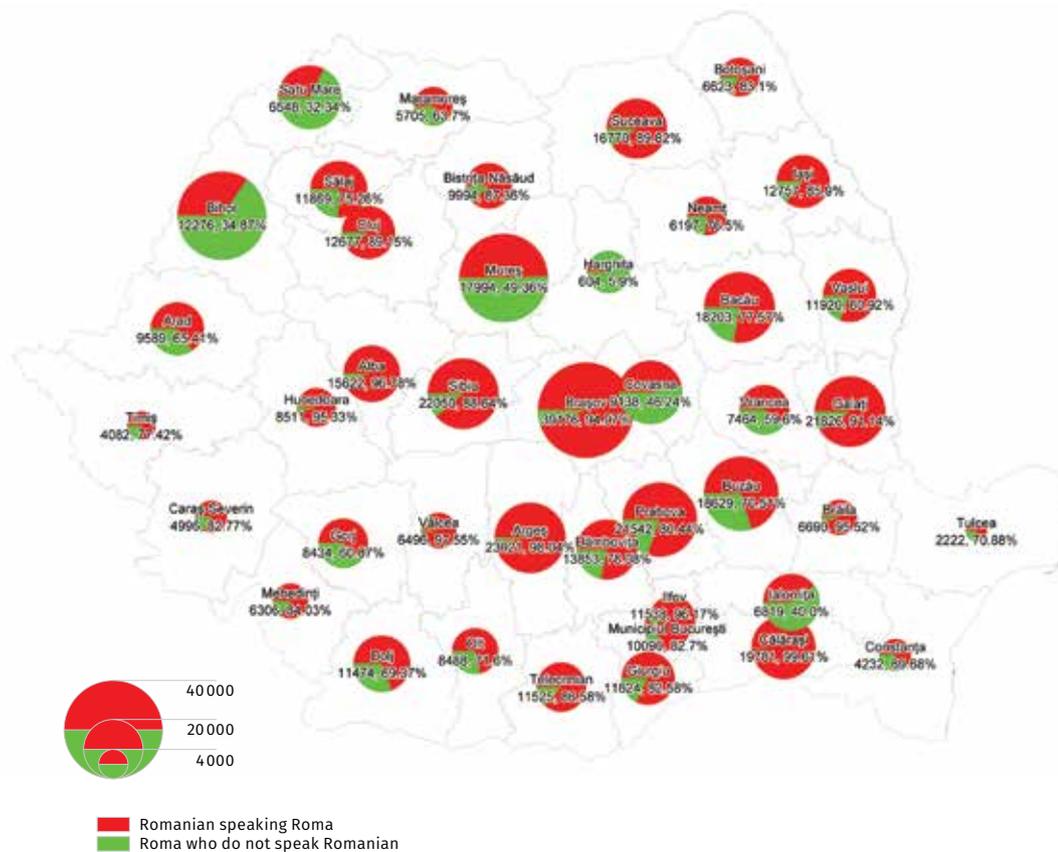
Map 16. Labour force migration: proportion of households receiving income from work abroad, by county



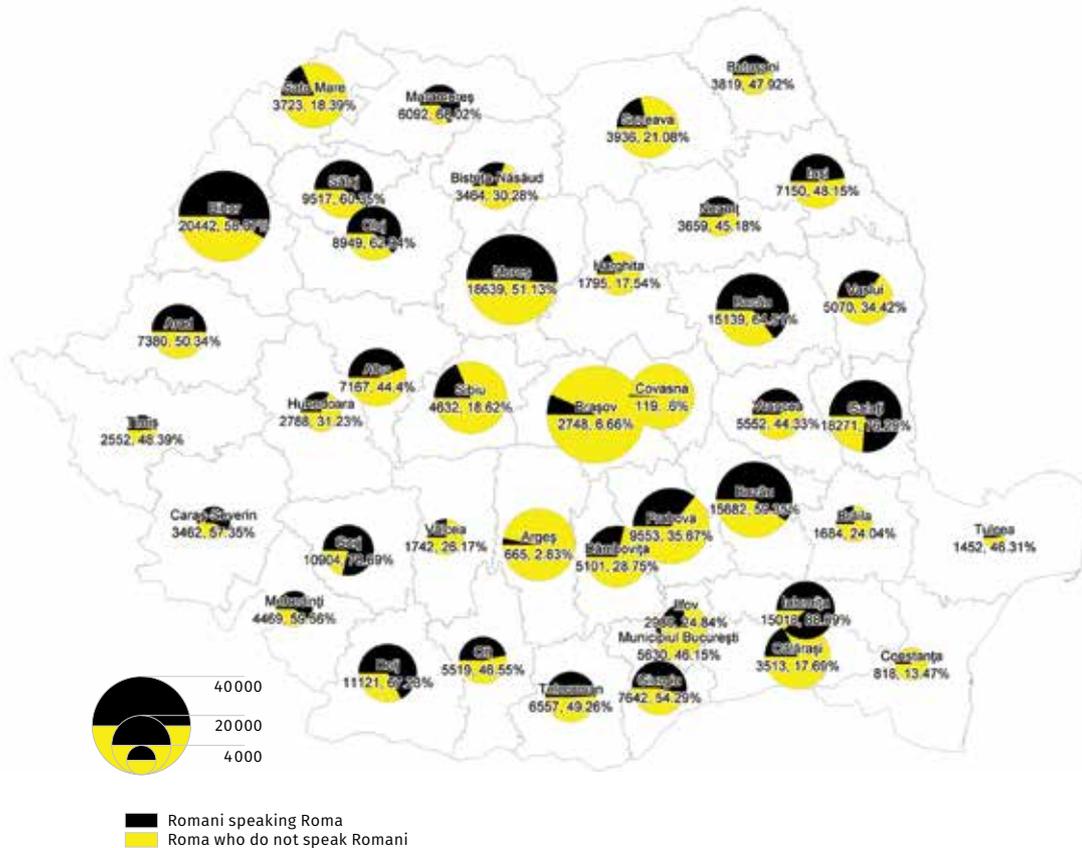
Map 17. Proportion of families involved in agriculture, by counties



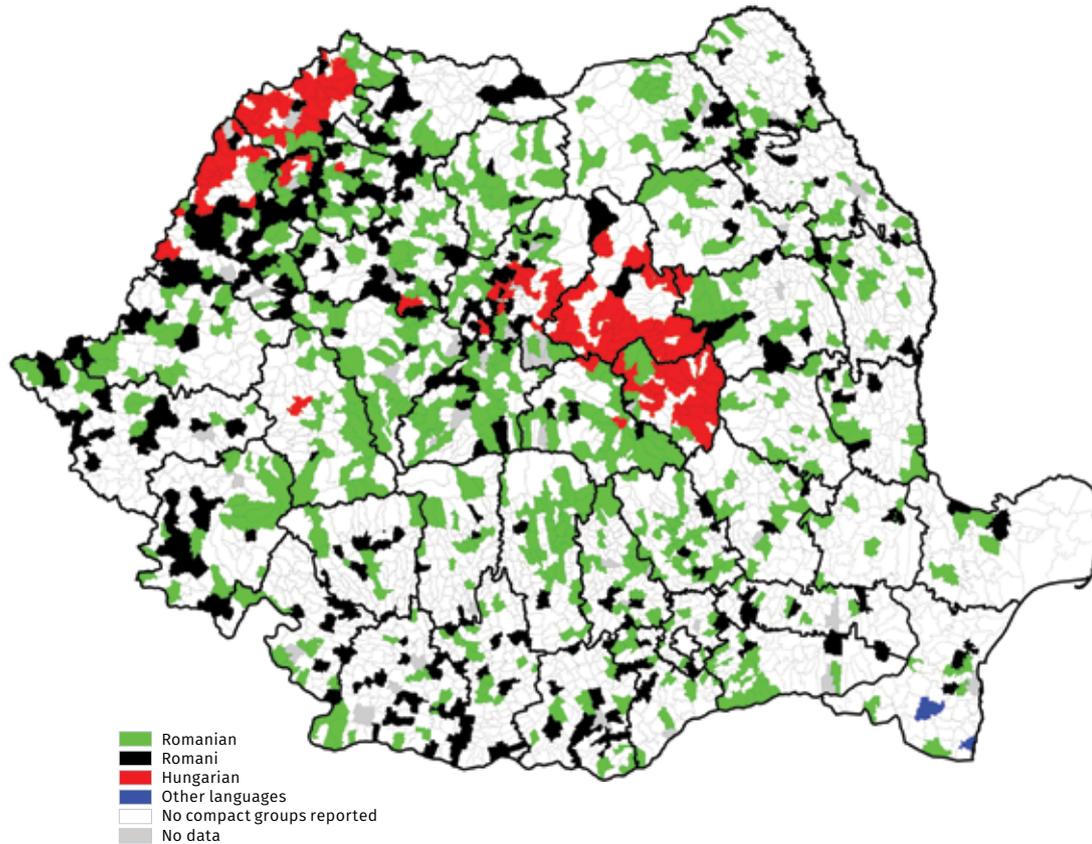
Map 18. Proportion of Romanian speaking Roma in compact groups, by county



Map 19. Proportion of Romani speaking Roma in compact groups, by county



Map 21. Dominant language of Roma in compact groups, by LAU



NOTES



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SocioRoMap

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COMUNITĂȚILE ȘI GRUPĂRILE COMPACTE
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Authors:

HORVÁTH István, KISS Tamás

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