

UDC 911.3

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INTEGRATION OF ROMANI PEOPLE, AS THE MOST IMPORTANT INTERNAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF HUNGARY

The intense population growth of romani people as a result of which every tenth Hungarian citizen will be romani within a few years. However, in contrast of the aging Hungarian society romani population represents a youthful group which unambiguously seems more-and-more significant both in political and human resource aspects. It is generally known that a considerable proportion of Romani people in Hungary live on welfare grants. This, besides that the social and economic integration of romani people, the so-called "romani issue" became a hot political issue, also means a serious burden on the society. This is due to the differences in values, their problems in erudition and mode of life, the bias of the majority of citizens against romani people which can be eliminated or at least reduced by accelerating integration processes. The authors believe that the socio-geographical studies of Romani people, besides the remarkable sociological and romological achievements so far, can give an efficient tool for identifying and solving the problems.

Key words: integration, romani people, demographic boom, education, unemployment, crime, parallel society.

Истван Сюли-Закар, Агнес Палоцзи, Тибор Коти. ИНТЕГРАЦИЯ ЦИГАН ЯК ОДНА З НАЙВАЖЛИВИШИХ ВНУТРІШНЬОПОЛІТИЧНИХ ПРОБЛЕМ УГОРЩИНИ

У статті охарактеризовано проблему інтеграції циган як однієї з найбільш чисельних етнічних меншин в Угорщині. Соціальна та економічна інтеграція циган, так звана «проблема циган», стала гострою політичною проблемою, що створює серйозний тиск на суспільство. Це пов'язано з відмінностями у рівні освіти, способі життя, з упередженістю більшості громадян щодо циган. Ці проблеми можуть розв'язуватися чи мінімізуватися за допомогою прискорення процесів інтеграції. Соціально-географічні дослідження циган можуть надати ефективний інструмент для ідентифікації та розв'язання даної проблеми.

Ключові слова: інтеграція, цигани, демографічний бум, освіта, безробіття, злочин, паралельне суспільство.

Истван Сюли-Закар, Агнес Палоцзи, Тибор Коти. ИНТЕГРАЦИЯ ЦЫГАН КАК ОДНА ИЗ ВАЖНЕЙШИХ ВНУТРИПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ ПРОБЛЕМ ВЕНГРИИ

В статье охарактеризована проблема интеграции цыган как одного из наиболее многочисленных этнических меньшинств в Венгрии. Социальная и экономическая интеграция цыган, так называемая «проблема цыган», стала острой политической проблемой, создающей серьезное давление на общество. Это связано с отличиями в уровне образования, образе жизни, с предубежденностью большинства граждан относительно цыган. Эти проблемы могут решаться или минимизироваться посредством ускорения процессов интеграции. Социально-географические исследования цыган могут предоставить эффективный инструмент для идентификации и решения данной проблемы.

Ключевые слова: интеграция, цыгане, демографический бум, образование, безработица, преступление, параллельное общество.

Introduction. By the middle of the 20th century Hungary became one of the most homogeneous countries of Europe owing to the Treaty of Trianon, the forced relocation of the Swabians, the Czechoslovak–Hungarian “population exchange”, the option to choose the nationality of Serbians, etc. This homogenization has been disappearing primarily due to the intense population growth of gypsies as a result of which every tenth Hungarian citizen will be gypsy within a few years. However, in contrast of the aging Hungarian society gypsy population represents a youthful group which unambiguously seems more-and-more significant both in political and human resource aspects. It is generally known that a considerable proportion of Romani people in Hungary live on welfare grants. This, besides that the social and economic integration of gypsies, the so-called “gypsy issue” became a hot political issue, also means a serious burden on the society. This is due to the differences in values, their problems in erudition and mode of life, the bias of the majority of citizens against gypsies which can be eliminated or at least reduced by accelerating integration processes. The authors believe that the

socio-geographical studies of Romani people, besides the remarkable sociological and romological achievements so far, can give an efficient tool for identifying and solving the problems.

The growing number and spatial spreading of Hungarian gypsies currently in the state of population explosion increase the sensitivity of most people in the aspect of living next to each other. The shift in proportion in population sharpened and enlarged the differences of the two groups in mode and view of life which led to social stress. Therefore ethnic conflicts occur more often between Hungarian population in majority and gypsy population in minority, which are unfortunately generated by party politics, as well. Further escalation of the crisis endangers the social and economic stability of Hungary, which requires the inevitable integration of gypsies as a solution. Since the end of communism in Hungary for such purposes only a few attempts have been made, therefore, it is high time for people from both groups who recognize that accelerating Roma integration cannot be further postponed without serious adverse consequences to meet.

To achieve mutual amending intentions is the aim since the most serious social and ethnic conflicts in Hungary nowadays are related to gypsies.

Romani population in Hungary. The first census of romani population is dated in 1782 and their number was 43,738. Interesting fact that statistical surveys with such high scientific accuracy about gypsy population were carried out only in Hungary probably even up to now (KEMÉNY I. 1997). From the aspect of accuracy of the statistics the so-called Census of Gypsy Population held on 31st January 1983 by the Royal Hungarian National Offices of Statistics (in Hungarian: OMKSH) can

be mentioned as a positive example. This census, which was held nationwide except for Budapest and Croatia, was based on not self-declaration of gypsy people but on the judgment of their neighborhood. In 1893 the number of the registered gypsy people was 274,940 in the Kingdom of Hungary, which was more than the estimations in 1873 by 60.000 people (Figure 1). This great number demonstrates that the immigration of the olah gypsies from Wallachia had been in progress in those decades. At the time of the census the proportion of gypsy people was 1.7 % in Hungary and 5.1 % in the counties of Transylvania (KOCSIS K. – KOVÁCS Z. 1999).



Fig. 1. The proportion of gypsy population in the processes and the cities of Hungary (Source: Census of Gypsy Population 1893)

According to the census of 1893 the mother tongue of a considerable number of the Hungarian gypsies, 104,750 people from the total amount of 274,940 was Hungarian, which is 38.1%. However, 82,405 gypsy people (29.9%) had Gypsy language and 67,046 (24.4%) had Romanian as the native language and many of them had moved to the Carpathian Basin only in the 19th century. Based on this statistical dataset, it can be stated that a considerable part of people speaking Gypsy as their mother tongue, who were in fact itinerant gypsies, lived in counties of NW Hungary (Trencsény, Nyitra, Ugocsa, Zólyom, Árva, etc.) where, however, gypsies do not live at present. It was probably due to that these Vlach gypsies from Old Romania considered NW Hungary only as a transit country while they were migrating towards western Europe and America. As it is in the census of 1893, 69.2% of male gypsies had a regular job and 36.7% of them were day labourers, 28.9% of them were craftsmen and 3.6% of them were musicians. The proportion of craftsmen among gypsies was significant compared to the total population of Hungary at that time,

when the majority of gypsy craftsmen were metalworkers (half of the smiths in the villages were gypsy) and the number of gypsy locksmiths and nailers was high, as well. Among gypsy woodworkers the wooden trough carvers and spindle makers, among gypsy construction workers (mainly mud workers) those who were making adobe bricks and walls were overrepresented (HAVAS G. 1982).

In the Kádár era gypsies were mainly considered to be people of an ethnic group facing social problems, and according to the report of the Central Committee (CC) of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) written in 1961 assimilation was regarded as the solution for these issues. Therefore the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the HSWP passed a resolution at 20th July 1961 with the title of 'Certain tasks about improving the situation of the gypsy population'.

1. Regarding to the resolution the Cultural Association of Hungarian Gypsies (CAHG) was disbanded, and the Ministry of Culture became responsible for the cultural and social tasks. Despite that CAHG could make

some good progresses by drawing attention of the councils and social agencies on the problems, it was stated that 'the CAHG was unable to have an important role in the re-education of gypsy population'.

2. Making the living conditions of gypsies better can be achieved by three tools: work, accommodation, and education.

3. The resolution prescribed that gypsy settlements and the re-house of gypsies into the near municipalities. The aim was not only to raise the living standards but the dispersion of gypsies among the total population in order to quicken their assimilation.

4. The resolution fundamentally defined the social status of gypsies: 'Our politics about the gypsy population is based on the principle that despite some ethnographic features gypsies do not form a whole ethnic group.' The main argument against considering gypsies to be an ethnic group was that it might strengthen their separateness and inhibit their integration into the society (their assimilation).

5. The resolution labeled gypsies as a social class to be eliminated which suggests that the gypsy issue was considered to be only a social issue. Havas G. pointed out that this approach was incorrect since 'it increases drag and gives people identity in whom it was not an »immanent« need and since it forms gypsies, who in fact were not a homogenous group in sociological, ethnic and cultural aspects, to be a cohesive minority'.

The resolution established a ternary category system which determined the perception about gypsies until the end of the era. Integrated gypsies, who were no more considered to be gypsies according to the assimilation ideology, belonged to the first category. The second category included gypsies whose integration was in progress but they still lived separated. Gypsies showing no ability and willingness to be integrated, who were the problematic group, belonged to the last, third category. However, this approach fell in its own trap since it had to face with the dilemma of assimilative politics: "a policy aiming to decrease dissimilarities of a certain group automatically focuses on the particularities of the group thereby implicitly recognizes its dissimilarities.

After this resolution of the Political Committee, the first government decree about the removal of settlements not meeting the so-called social requirements was stated in 1964. However, as a result of socialist industrialization and great construction projects gypsy males could get jobs. 85-90% of gypsy males could work in the mining and industrial districts of Borsod and Nógrád counties while in Szabolcs and Hajdú-Bihar counties gypsy males fit to work were transported to the constructions of the capital and Trans Danube Region by the so-called 'black trains'. The resolution of the Political Committee of the HSWP's CC stated in 1961 resulted in significant achievements such as removal of gypsy settlements unfit for human life, increasing number of gypsy children in education and higher employment rates among gypsies. However, the end of communism stopped, moreover considerably set the integration of gypsies back. After two and a half decades we can declare that gypsies were hit the most by the regime change (KERTESI G. 2000, 2005).

Nowadays, the majority of European gypsies with a

total number of 10-12 million live in SE Europe (Central Eastern Europe and in the Balkan), and they showed a significant population growth in the last decades. At the first meeting of the delegates of European gypsies held in London between 8th and 12th April 1971 when the International Romani Union (IRU) was founded the participants estimated the number of gypsies living in the continent to be around 3-3.5 million. According to very moderate estimations at present the number of the gypsy population is around 10 million people in Europe. However, as it is in the discussion paper prepared by the Hungarian Government in 2011 for the acceptance of European Roma Strategy during its presidency for the European Parliament, there is a gypsy population with the total number of 10-12 million in Europe, most of them with EU citizenship. In contrast to nowadays' Europe with its rapidly aging and decreasing population, gypsy population has shown demographic boom nearly over the whole last decade. SE European countries with the greatest Roma population are already EU members or candidates but their integration to the western market is not trouble-free. In such disadvantageous circumstances the situation of gypsy citizens is especially hopeless in SE Europe, in the actual periphery of EU (Süli-Zakar I., 2012/b). EU members with the greatest gypsy population are those who joined between 2004 and 2007, namely Romania (2-3 million people), Bulgaria (1,2 million people), Hungary (600-700 thousand people) and Slovakia (500-600 thousand people).

In the four decades after the foundation of the International Romani Union (IRU) the number of European gypsies nearly tripled. Gypsy delegates, at the meeting held in London in 1971, said that they were the delegates of European gypsies with a total number of 3-3.5 million, and according to moderate estimations the current number of European gypsies is approximately 10 million. In the report for the EU written during the Hungarian Presidency the number of European gypsy people is estimated to be 10-12 million, also demonstrating that gypsies are in a considerable population growth (BOTLIK ZS. 2012). In nowadays' Europe gypsies show the greatest natural population growth, even ahead of Albanians.

Authors find the gypsy-Hungarian separation only in the aspect of lifestyle not based on ethnical or national criteria. (Although, the authors experienced that some gypsy leaders would demand for it.) Arguments for the opinion of the authors:

1) every Hungarian gypsy is Hungarian citizen, therefore according to national criteria they are all Hungarians;

2) at least 80-85% of Hungarian gypsies speak only Hungarian, Hungarian is their native language, thus the majority belong to the Hungarian nation based on linguistic and cultural national aspects, as well;

3) according to the self-statements about nationality registered at the latest census most gypsy people are Hungarian, and evidently, the fundamental principle that "Hungarian is who declares himself/herself as Hungarian" applies to their cases, as well. (It is worth noting that most people with dual identity put Hungarian at first place.)

Without appropriate statistical studies it is very dif-

difficult to define the place of gypsies in the Hungarian society (FERGE ZS. 2001, SÜLI-ZAKAR I.-CZIMRE K.-PÁLÓCZI Á. 2014). Hungarian gypsies, like underprivileged groups and ethnics in other countries, even very rich countries, are overrepresented in lower social levels (Figure 2).

Regarding integration and social advancement, the geographical distribution of gypsy population is rather unfavourable. According to the census of 2011, 47.2% of gypsy ethnic live in cities (6.4% in Budapest, 9.5% in county cities, 31.3% in other cities). The rest (52.8%) live in strongly segregated conditions of small villages in the most underprivileged periphery in the north-eastern marginal areas, Central Tisza Region and South Trans-

Danube Region.

Based on the 2011 census, gypsy population was overrepresented in 31 settlements, however, recent studies from the Department of Social Geography and Regional Development, University of Debrecen based on the telephone interviews with every settlement, indicate that ethnic change took place in 137 settlements, primarily in Cserehát, Central Tisza Region and in Ormánság (PÉNZES J.-PÁSZTOR I. Z. 2014). Number of gypsies has increased in the periphery not only due to demographic boom but location changes thanks to cheap house prices, as well. Boosting economic growth is extremely difficult in such areas due to the settlement pattern of such segregated small towns (VIRÁG T. 2006).

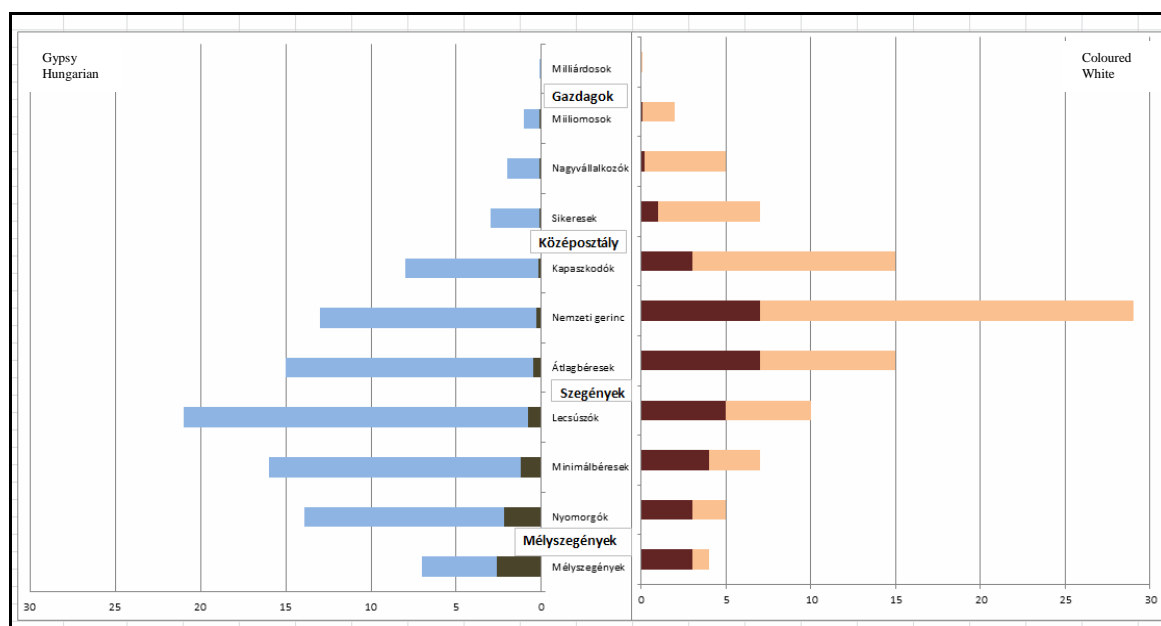


Fig. 2. Underprivileged social groups (ethnics) in Hungary (A) and in the USA (B)

A: Hungary – Hungarians and gypsies

B: USA – white, Afro-Americans, Indians, Hispano-Americans, etc.

Special identity of Romani people. Romani are a 'hiding' ethnic group; to accurately define their number is almost impossible. Nevertheless, their intense demographic growth can be traced both in census data and estimations (HABLICSEK L., 2007). In censuses answers to ethnic questions are voluntary. Formerly one in three gypsies admitted their gypsy roots, while the gypsy population with a total number of 315 600 found in the census of 2011 is only around the half of the number (657 600) estimated by László Hablicsek also in 2011. The data base of the census of 2011 – though the authors agree that only half of the gypsies declared their ethnic status – can be used for representing the geographical distribution of gypsies (Figure 3).

Ratio of gypsy population is the greatest in the following counties: Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén (8.5%), Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg (8.0%), Nógrád (7.65%) and also in other NE Hungarian counties (Heves 6.3%, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok 4.94%, Hajdú-Bihar 3.39%), and South Trans-Danube Region (Somogy 5.28%, Baranya 4.54% and Tolna 3.93%). According to the estimations, which represent reality much better, these numbers

should be doubled. Estimations of sociologists about the actual number of Hungarian gypsies reflect reality much better than the data base of the population census (KEMÉNY I.- JANKY B. 2003, KERTESI G.- KÉZDI G. 2009). These estimations were based on that gypsies are considered to be gypsy by the people living close to the person.

Authors believe that at present the number of Hungarian gypsies can be estimated around 700 thousand people based on former sociological assessments. It is very difficult to define who is considered to be a gypsy in mixed neighbourhoods due to mixed marriages. Living conditions of people in deep poverty have merged so much that it is impossible to distinguish gypsies and not gypsies from each other. István Kemény estimated the number of Hungarian gypsies to be around 320 000 in 1971. He found that for 231 000 people (70.4% of them) Hungarian, for 61 000 people (21.2% of them) Gypsy and for 25 000 people (7.6% of them) Romanian was the mother tongue (KEMÉNY I. 1976). At present days Hungarian gypsies with an estimated number of 700 000 can be categorized into three ethnic groups

(ERDŐS K. 1989, SÜLI-ZAKAR I., 2012a):

- a) The so-called ‘Hungarian Gypsies’, named ‘Romungros’ in Romani language, living in Hungary since the Middle Ages are the greatest group with 70% of the gypsies living in Hungary. Their own former language became extinct a long time ago. Hungarian has been their mother tongue for generations. Most of them self-declared that they had been Hungarians not gypsies in population censuses.
- b) The so-called Vlach Gypsies migrated to Hungary from Wallachia in the 19th century. Nowadays they give 21% of the gypsies in Hungary. Their language is the Lovari dialect of the Romani language, which is still spoken by many of them even today. They name

- themselves as Rom, which means man, husband and its plural is Roma).
- c) Boyash gypsies live in the counties of the South Trans-Danube Region who migrated here from Banat and Southern Transylvania also in the 19th century. Around 8% of the gypsies living in Hungary are Boyash gypsies and belong to this ethnic group. According to our experience, they insist on their mother tongue the most which is the ‘Banat’ dialect of the archaic Romanian language. The remaining 1% of the gypsies living in Hungary are the small groups of Sinti and Wendish gypsies who live in the western border-lands (ERDŐS K.1958) (Figure 4).

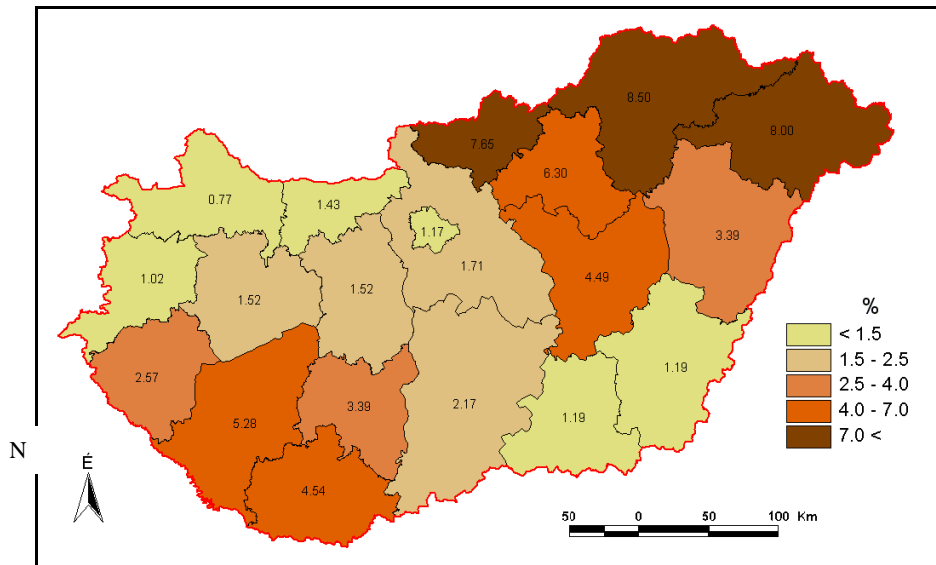


Fig. 3. Geographical distribution of gypsies by counties in 2011
Source: population census from Hungarian Central Statistical Office

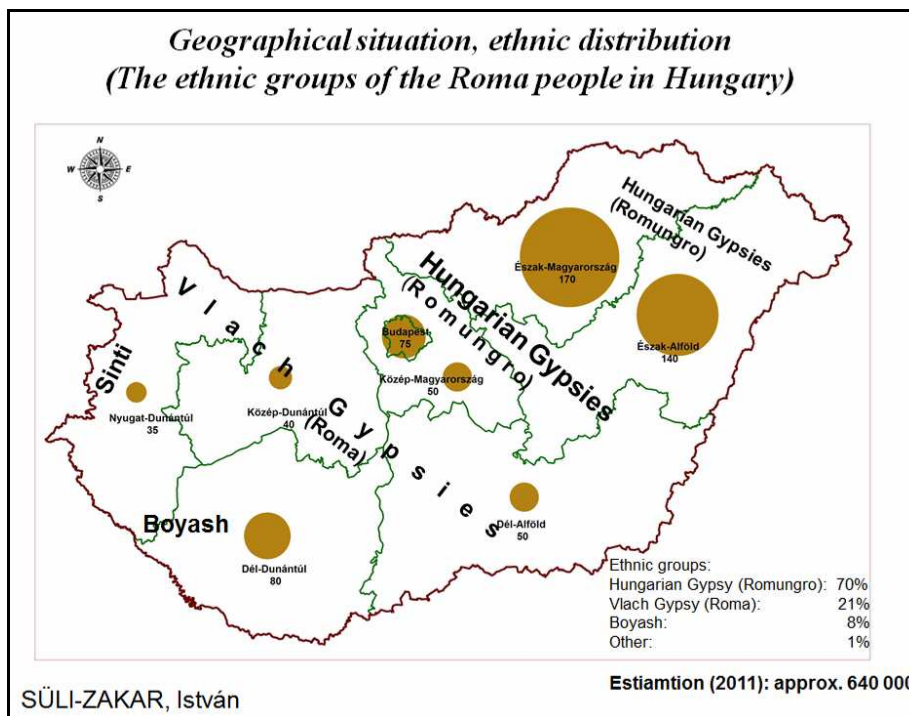


Fig. 4. Estimated numbers of gypsies living in Hungary and their ethnic groups by regions (2009)

Geographical distribution of the ethnic groups was determined by using the data base of the population censuses of 2001 and 2011 (Süli-Zakar I. 2012a). This approach is not unassailable which is recognized by the authors. During the population census in 2001 one third of the gypsies said that they had belonged to a gypsy ethnic (Roma, Boyash, Romani). These rates are rather kind of enlightenment. 25,6% of people belonging to gypsy ethnic (48 685 people) reported that their native language had been not Hungarian (and among family and friends they had spoken Romani and Boyash language instead of Hungarian). In 2011 not Hungarian was the mother tongue of 54 339 gypsy people from the total 315 101, while the national average was 17,2%. The ratio of gypsies speaking not Hungarian as their mother tongue by counties shows significant differences. Their ratio is the lowest in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county where nearly every gypsy is romungro; there are greater olah gypsy population only in Ózd and Miskolc. Their ratio is also high in Heves, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok and Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg counties. It is around the national average in Budapest and Nógrád, Hajdú-Bihar and Békés counties where besides Hungarian gypsies there are a considerable olah gypsy population, as well.

Integration or assimilation. “Attempts to build a multicultural society have failed... and the dream in which people would live side-by-side happily in a multicultural society did not work” said Angela Merkel, the Chancellor of Germany in 2010. At the beginning of the migrant crisis she said that refugees and migrants have to adapt to the German society, they have to learn German and cannot refuse integration and cannot create parallel societies. Fears of the Chancellor are reasonable since no countries can be politically, socially or economically stable if unable to ensure the integration of groups of people living in their territory.

The social, economic and political relations of the majority and minority are usually extremely complicated and the current situation is formed and resulted by dynamic interacts (MOLNÁR J. 2015). Hence the result of cooperation (or non-cooperation) depends not only on the majority but the minority (gypsy population) as well in Hungary. Mutual intents for advancement are of fundamental importance.

In most cases majority is able to spontaneously assimilate minority. Hungarians assimilated Jász and Kun people and those Swabians and Slovaks who migrated to the Hungarian Great Plain in this way. Assimilation is the process by which ethnic identity is changed by another ethnic identity. Ethnic assimilation is frequently forced (e.g. after the Treaty of Trianon the minority of Hungarians in the successor states were forced to change their identity: re-slovakianization). For centuries gypsies living in Hungary were forced to be assimilated, therefore e.g. calling them gypsies was banned and they had to be called as ‘new-Hungarians’. Latest assimilation attempts by the official politics were made in the 1960s and 1970s in the Kádár era. Nowadays the word ‘assimilation’ is a kind of a swearword thus instead of it the main goal is named as achieving integration in the relation of majority and minority. From ethnical aspects integration means that expanding relationships between

certain groups of people (ethnic groups) does not depend on the ethnic identities of the groups any more. Regarding the relation of majority and minority integration refers to union, fusion and cooperation. During assimilation minority give up its cultural traditions and merge with the majority both culturally and linguistically. In the case of integration the establishment of a strong relationship between majority and minority is expected while minority can successfully preserve their traditions, their culture.

One of the main problems of integration of gypsies living in Hungary is that this group of people with a total amount of approximately 700 000 is not homogeneous regarding culture. The most important basis of cultural identity in Europe is common language (despite some counterexamples such as the Scots, Irish, Serbian, Bosnian and Croatian people). In Hungary the mother tongue of most gypsies is Hungarian and contrary to Romungro people not native Hungarian speaking Roma people or Boyash people consider themselves to belong to the gypsy culture (also demonstrated by population census data).

Integration can be obstructed by segregation, discrimination and marginalisation. Segregation is the process when the minority either forcedly or willingly, become separated, set apart from the majority and create or try to create a parallel society. Discrimination is when the majority exclude minority from public goods or opportunities based on racial, ethnic, or religious identity. By marginalisation minority is sidelined to the periphery socially, geographically and economically, and the relationship of these people with majority is weak and they have a slight chance for social advancement.

From the above mentioned phenomena discrimination is the most serious since it occurs due to the deliberate rejection from the majority. It is based on negative stereotypes about the members of the minority and their culture. In Hungary not every marginalized people is gypsy, moreover it can be stated that most people living in social, economic and geographic peripheries are not gypsy, though it cannot be questioned that they are over-represented (SÜLI-ZAKAR I. 2015). Segregation can be a free decision but also a target for the minority, though according to our research, segregation of gypsies living in Hungary is mainly like a forced compulsion on them also from historical perspectives.

Factors hindering integration. Achieving social and economic integration for gypsies is hindered most of all by their low educational level. At present days, as well, activation of gypsy human resources is hindered by their poor education (FORRAY R. K. 2000). Majority of gypsies entered public education only in the second half of the 20th century and mainly due to the coercive measures of the current state power. Before that education of gypsy children happened within the family according to the requirements of gypsy lifestyle. It meant the transmission of traditions and work experience both orally and in practice. Certain ethnic groups (e.g. Chacho Roms) were afraid of public education since they believed that it could degrade and contradict to gypsy identity and values. Great fear of the parents was that their children would leave gypsy society and become ‘gazho’

as a result of public education.

Since 2014 kindergarten became also compulsory besides primary school for all children in Hungary and the state penalizes absenteeism by withdrawal of social aids. However, 13-14 years old gypsy girls are often absent from school due to “marriage” (Janky B. 2007).

According to a sociological survey, two thirds of adult gypsies in Tiszavasvári did not finish elementary school and the one third of the rest have no higher degree than elementary school. The ratio of adult gypsies with middle and higher educational degrees is less than 5% (Figure 5).

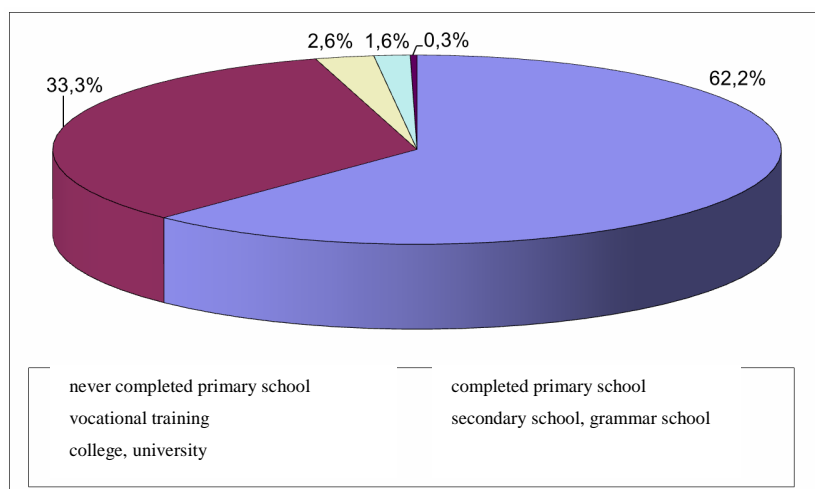


Fig. 5. Distribution of adult romani population of Tiszavasvári by their highest educational degree

Source: using data of Fónai M. – Vitál A. (2005)

By today almost every gypsy children is enrolled in the public educational system in Hungary. This has been greatly encouraged by social welfares, school canteen (free of charge), and governmental compulsion. (After a certain amount of absence of the child from school parents will not get the family allowance, in addition, social workers buy the necessary goods therefore the family does not get any money.) It is frequent and disadvantageous that not gypsy parents take their not gypsy children from schools where gypsy children go, consequently such schools become segregated. Hungarian parents are afraid mainly of illnesses, lice and cabbies and they also emphasize that due to the unruly behavior of gypsy children both the quality of education and the educational success decrease extremely fast.

Nevertheless, education has an important role in achieving integration of gypsies in today's globalised postindustrial society. Children living within the worst conditions learn the fundamental knowledge of hygiene, the use of cutlery and the rules and norms of European coexistence in kindergarten. The educational level of gypsies living in Hungary is so low that it is very far from the expectations of nowadays. Most adult gypsies did not finish elementary school though getting a job is difficult even with a completed elementary school degree. The asked people often say that finishing elementary school is unnecessary since gypsies who finish elementary school become unemployed, public workers or underpaid 'black laborers'.

Unemployment has been hindering gypsy integration for a long time. In the Kádár era after the resolution of the Political Committee the government decision about closing gypsy settlements which did not meet the so-called social requirements was adopted in 1964. After that gypsy settlements in towns and cities became closed

and families were moved to empty houses in the geographical peripheries suffering from depopulation in NE Hungary. In the social industrialization and large construction projects resulted in the employment of gypsy men, as well. In the mining and industrial areas of Borsod and Nógrád 85-90% of gypsy men of working age were employed and those who lived in Hajdú-Bihar and Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg counties were transported by the so-called 'black trains' to the constructions of the capital and Transdanubia. The end of communism not only stopped but degraded the integration of gypsies (KERTESI G., 2000, 2005). Many of them became unemployed by the closing of great factories and companies and since they had no lands before they did not get any land compensation either (KERTESI G.- KÉZDI G., 1998).

By the middle of the 1980s 90% of gypsy men of working age had a permanent job in Hungary. Due to privatization and economic crisis after the end of the communism unemployment was devastating among gypsies. Since then most gypsy job seekers have found no permanent job (PÁSZTOR I. – PÉNZES J. 2012). According to official data only 10% of adult gypsy men are employed. Important to note, that about black laborers no statistical data are available, however, their number can be higher than that of who work legally. The number of seasonal agricultural workers (who harvest vegetables and fruits or pick feathers of geese) is especially high and they are employed mainly illegally. Gypsy employees are related to agriculture only seasonally, gypsy peasantry had no chance to develop for centuries. Gypsy people and families who could become farmers assimilated into the Hungarian peasantry. The number of gypsy female employees was never high and due to prolonged demographic growth the majority of gypsy population is

dependant.

In our socio-geographic surveys the incomes of households were particularly emphasized. According to our interviews, the incomes of gypsy families are mainly childcare aids and social welfares. As a consequence, it can be stated that having many children in a gypsy family is sadly the result of an economic pressure since more children mean more aids and such aids are the most important income of most gypsy families (LENGYEL G. 2004, FÓNAI M.-VITÁLA. 2005).

One of the most significant hindering factors of gypsy integration is that they live in geographical peripheries in small villages near the state borders or in urban ghettos. According to the map created by the study of personal income and personal income taxes, employment rate and investments by settlements, we can declare that mainly Roma people live in pauperized, particularly deprived, extremely peripheral settlements (SÜLI-ZAKAR I. 2005). In such peripheral areas of the country companies barely can be found and the only employer is the local government and unemployment rate exceeds 90% (PÉNZES J. 2010). 33 free enterprise zones planned by the government, and later actually designated as districts, include the most pauperized settlements thus it can be hoped that tax benefits and aids to job creation will result in economic revival even in such disadvantageous periphery areas. Authors hope that after this world economic crisis economic revival will occur and as a result the number of job offers also for gypsy population can rise (e.g. construction industry, food industry). Fundamental breakthrough, however, cannot be expected due to the low educational level of gypsy population. Slow advancements are expected after younger but more educated gypsy people enter the world of work.

From social aspects the prolonged demographic boom of gypsies is a significant issue of Roma integration. In Hungary demographic growth of gypsies started far later than in the cases of other ethnic groups including Hungarians. In the case of the latter, demographic boom started in the 1870s and 1880s but for gypsies this started in the third decade of the 20th century when healthcare acts became compulsory extended for every citizen. The following demographic transition has been still lasting in their case, however, among Hungarian citizens it was over by the 1950s and from 1981 natural population decline can be observed in Hungary. (This is an average value which already includes the considerable amount of population growth of gypsy citizens /KEMÉNY I. 1976/). Notwithstanding among the different gypsy ethnic groups there are some differences in demographic aspects, as well. According to the social survey in Tiszavasvári in the case of Hungarian gypsies demographic growth is in declining stage but in the case of Vlach gypsies it is still in rising stage (LENGYEL G. 2004, FÓNAI M.-VITÁLA. 2005). Age pyramid of Hungarian gypsies (Romungros) shows contracting, aging characteristics while the age pyramid of Vlach gypsies shows an actual pyramid shape which refers to expansion and lots of young people (SÜLI-ZAKAR I., 2012b).

For achieving integration it is also important to decrease segregation of gypsy population, also for demographic reasons. Gypsy streets, gypsy settlements cannot receive the following gypsy generations in great number,

in addition the cheap land and house prices of the part of towns formerly owned by old Hungarian people is attractive for gypsies living segregated. Our field surveys were focused first of all on streets and parts becoming mixed in ethnic aspects. Gypsies and Hungarians think particularly differently about such environments. Hungarians consider this is disadvantageous mainly since they cannot move somewhere else due to financial constraints. On the other hand, gypsy citizens are optimistic to live among Hungarian since for them it means the end of segregation and it is a kind of improvement. But the reality is that gypsies are in touch with the poorest Hungarian citizens. This is also established by our surveys focusing on mixed marriages. It is interesting that in mixed marriages both the Hungarian and the gypsy partner think about their circumstances positively and promisingly. In the future segregation will be unsustainable not only for subjective but also objective reasons (GYERGYÓI S., 1990, VIRÁG T. 2006). However, it is noteworthy that in our interviews most of the prominent people often correct our questions saying that in their town there is no Hungarian-gypsy coexistence but simply coexistence. According to our experience for fading stereotypes positive examples can be found first of all in settlements of mixed population. Close coexistence and what it means in practice help to reduce prejudice, to change people's opinion. Gypsies moved to mixed neighborhoods attempt to become similar to the Hungarians around them. However, it rather means the merging of people at lower social and economic levels.

The most problematic issue of Hungarian-gypsy coexistence is the perception of crime. Ethnographers and sociologists called attention earlier to that gypsies do not consider actions against the law to be moral sin in order to survive, to sustain themselves (ERDŐS K. – VEKERDI J., 1989). Democratic fundamentals of prejudice of the majority is the concept of equal rights – equal duties. This concept questions positive discrimination as well, in addition according to the continuously repeated public opinion crime rates are far higher among the gypsy population. It was the reason for the public outrage induced by the explanation of the former Minister of Internal Affairs of the left-liberal government about talking about 'crime for a living'. The majority do not want to tolerate 'crime for a living', however, due to the living conditions of the gypsy population they often have to break the law and this will lead to more serious ethnic conflicts in the future. This situation can be changed only in cooperation: the majority should to give up stereotypes, segregation should be decreased while gypsies have to accept European values and norms (e.g. European norms of coexistence, respect of private properties, taking care of living environment).

Most conflicts between gypsies and the majority and most stereotypes are related to modesty of gypsies about their living environment. For who ever visited gypsy settlements there is no need for further asseveration. There are untidy overgrown gardens and fronts, messy, dirty streets and the walls of houses are crumbling. On the other hand there are also good examples, e.g. in mixed streets gypsy families making efforts for integration plant flower gardens around their houses and take care of their garden. In the periphery of NE Hun-

gary neglecting gardening and stopping horticulture, related to both majority and minority, are explained partly by the increasing number of theft. By all means efforts like that of the 'Give enough food to all children!' Foundation have to be supported in the course of which gypsy families showing willingness to cultivate their garden are given seeds and young farm animals. In spite of the experience of the last years that only a small portion of such families succeeded in farming, this deserves further support and even this relatively small success should be accepted as positive results. Environmental education about how to be demanding on clean, tidy, organized living environment should be part of school curriculum, children should learn about it in schools. In the course of field surveys we experienced numerous times that roof tiles damaged by storms are not replaced even months after the storm and this can easily result in leakage and by time the house become too dangerous to live in.

In our social geographic surveys living conditions and house equipments were investigated. We could conclude that in Tiszavasvári there are significant differences between the two ethnic groups of gypsies related to their living circumstances. In half of the houses of Hungarian gypsies there are piped water, bath room, water cleaning toilet, sewage system which are essential in modern households. However, in the Széles Street which is situated in the gypsy part of the city gypsy inhabitants get water from the public well in the street. (Local government provides opportunity to have a shower in the community centre.) According to our survey about the equipments in houses we can report that the use of electronic devices, first of all television, washing machine and fridge, is rapidly spreading. Houses of Hungarian gypsies are far well-equipped than the houses of Vlach gypsies. Computers were not registered in any house of Vlach gypsies in our former survey. Further advancements in this field are hindered by the low levels of income. Serious problem is the accumulation of utility bill debts. For this reason power supplier companies often turn off electricity and as a result the number of electricity thieves increases in Tiszavasvári.

Since health situations of gypsies are much worse their life expectancy at birth is less by 10-15 years than that of Hungarians. However, we have to distinguish gypsies who live in gypsy settlements and gypsies who live in different circumstances. While gypsies living in gypsy settlements have a greater chance to be infected than others. For instance, flu epidemic or other epidemics related to respiratory system spread extremely fast through the whole gypsy settlement. They sooner die due to congenital diseases e.g. predisposition to obesity or vascular diseases, hypertension all leading to heart and cerebrovascular diseases. Unfortunately, gypsy females often die in stroke, while gypsy males often die in heart attack. Pulmonary asthma and pneumonia are also frequently occurring diseases. It is explained by the fact that poor people who live in crowded rooms with unhealthy atmosphere which are unheated in winter season and do not wear adequate clothes and do not eat healthy get sick far sooner. Tuberculosis is again a very serious current disease occurring epidemically often among gypsies living in gypsy settlements. Important to note infec-

tious hepatitis, as well, occurring among gypsies more often than among Hungarian citizens. Occurrence and spreading of diseases depend on how crowded the area is and also on hygienic and social conditions. Sexual crimes and inadequate hygiene result in the spreading of venereal diseases such as AIDS and syphilis. The increasing number of gypsy prostitutes coming from Hungary to Western Europe is seriously concerning. Taking care of children inadequately and their bad hygienic situation often cause skin diseases; lice, scabies and, in some gypsy settlements, even ringworms occur. These spread by contact and their spreading is very fast. In schools children infect each other easily and then the recently infected children can infect the family at home. Health visitors, district nurses give lotions and sprays for lice, antiseptics and advices to such families but their efforts are ineffective since their sense of responsibility is inadequate and they do not try to do everything to stop diseases. Family welfare services can work more effectively with gypsies since repugnance decreases by time and social workers and their partners helping on gypsies become respected. Their precious work is extremely difficult since in some cases a single social worker is responsible even for 50 families. This amount of people is almost unmanageable for one person and this reduces the quality of work.

Due to population growth resulted by the demographic boom of gypsies and to high unemployment rate, considerable amount of gypsies attempted to migrate to western countries. However, their efforts were hindered for many reasons. Desperately hopeless gypsies wanted to move to the wealthy regions of Western Europe and North America from Eastern Central Europe. To hinder this the targeted countries took inhuman measures. For instance Canada restored visa requirements against the Czech Republic, and recently attempted to do the same against Hungary as well. Italy and especially France send gypsies in great numbers back to Romania and Bulgaria (Kovács A. 2002). In 2013 the most popular politician of the governing socialist party in France was Manuel Valls, Minister of Internal Affairs, who closed illegal Roma settlements all over the country with broad social agreement. The National Front party in France led by Marine Le Pen, the Lega Nord in Italy, the Vlaams Belang (Dutch for 'Flemish Interest') in Belgium and the Party for Freedom led by Geert Wilders in the Netherlands are all getting more popular due to their anti-Roma politics. Gypsy migrants especially from Romania and Bulgaria, who became able to travel freely within EU thanks to their EU member status, were 'transported' back to their home countries by e.g. France and Italy quite ruthlessly. By 2015 German leaders are planning to send poor migrants (=Roma people) from Serbia and Macedonia back to where they are from (Süli-Zakar I., 2012a). European Union considers every member states to be democratic and safe countries where there is no racism or Roma persecution. Gypsy migrants living in Canada and having 'criminal lifestyle' were obviously transported back to Hungary. The Canadian government started a campaign in Miskolc to stop migration. They decided to do that in Miskolc since 40% of Hungarian Roma migrants with a total number of around 4400 were from Miskolc or its surroundings.

Authors expect that in the future gypsy migration towards the west will be hindered more intensively and the growing population of gypsies will stay in southeast European countries where due to changing ethnic composition coexistence will become more stressful. This will lead to almost unsolvable political problems in countries already devastated by economic problems. It is likely that gypsies will migrate from crowded peripheral gypsy settlements into cities where they will form ethnic ghettos.

Countries in the eastern periphery of EU are expecting financial support from the Union, obviously. Well-known fact is that all former social and economic attempts for the development of the Roma population were undermined by the regime change in post-communist countries. However, the authors believe that executive bodies and leaders of the European Union do not manage the gypsy situation in SE Europe according to its importance, which obviously does not mean they would not respond to atrocities against gypsies. In fact, critics regarding human rights and social situation are offensive against local politics and the majority while ignoring crimes committed by Roma people. However, the problem about the EU's greatest ethnic minority does not seem to be solved as a common issue. In 2011 during Hungarian EU presidency it was planned to write the Pan-European Roma Strategy. Finally, instead of a common European gypsy strategy, the 'EU framework for national Roma integration strategies' was accepted. Not only the titles but especially the essences fundamentally differ from each other. The accepted version made the issue of the integration of gypsies with growing population, with all its financial and moral burden, to be one of the internal affairs of countries which are still in 'second gear' and seriously affected by the world economic crisis. According to the authors' opinion, this policy is unacceptable and countries dealing with the Roma issue should attempt joint applications for EU funds in order to accelerate urgent integration of gypsies (SÜLI-ZAKAR I. – PÁLÓCZI Á. – SZABÓ D.A., 2012).

Summary. 'The rugged path' of integration of gypsies and their special situation analyzed in this social geographical study do not differ much from what can be experienced in the neighbouring countries (MUSINKA A. – KOLESÁROVÁ, J. 2012). In many aspects, such as gypsy self-governments, living circumstances, education, social welfares and supports, Hungary precedes other SE European and Balkan countries. However, cooperation of EU members joined after 2004 in order to accelerate integration of European gypsies would be beneficial. In the preamble of the Pan-European Roma Strategy 10-12 million gypsies are mentioned that means they are the greatest minority in Europe. Focusing on the spatial characteristics of gypsies it can be stated that the most dense gypsy settlements are in the line of South Balkan, Carpathian Basin and Sudetes disregarding Spain. Great numbers of gypsies live in Wallachia and Transylvania (Romania), in the western and northeastern counties of Bulgaria, in NE Hungary and Trans-Danube Region, in Eastern Slovakia and in Sudetes (Czech Republic).

Authors believe the risk of developing parallel societies is high in countries where a considerable gypsy

minority is present due to their number and their political strengthening if gypsy integration fails. This would cause a common European problem (SÜLI-ZAKAR I. – PÁLÓCZI Á. – SZABÓ D.A., 2012). Based on our research the following statement can be made:

1. European gypsies, with increasing population, are forming a unique ethnic group. They are not a homogeneous community. The different gypsy groups are on different levels of integration which must be taken into account in further strategies.

2. In case of significant economic growth many gypsies are ready and able to work and identify with the goals of the majority of the society.

3. Demographic trends can be predicted. (By 2050 the number of the European gypsy population will reach 20-25 million, while in Hungary 2 million gypsies and 6 million Hungarians will live.)

4. If integration fails the number of conflicts will increase and the different demographic trends will amplify the contrast between gypsies and Hungarians.

5. Wealthy countries hinder the migration of Roma people more intensively by time.

6. Education have an important role in the integration of gypsies, its main goal is to familiarize them with European values.

7. Stereotypes can be cleared only by positive examples and practices.

8. The relation of gypsy identity and European identity must be defined and we have to find out how these could be harmonized.

9. Gypsy leaders must be the representatives of European values (the Ten Commandments of Moses, respect for private property, taking care of living environment, etc.), as well, and emphasize the importance of integration since integration cannot be imagined without cooperation.

10. Social and economic integration of gypsies is a common European value and mission. It can be succeeded only by intense sacrifices of the EU. (Gypsies probably will not become an official ethnic minority in the EU but for their prosperity in their homelands wealthy countries of Europe also have to make sacrifices avoiding the social division of the EU.)

One of the goals of our research was to help the integration of gypsies. Achieving integration and activation of reserves of the resources can be succeeded only if the listed conditions are met:

1. Kindergarten and school education of gypsy children has to be complete. Teaching them European values and encourage them to keep to the European moral norms is an additional mission of teachers, which should be honoured both morally and financially. In many cases social deficiencies must be made up, which, in normal case, would be a family duty. By expanding the already existing supports and aids, and by new grants and scholarship programs more gypsy children must be encouraged to finish high school and apply to college or university.

2. Based on our research we concluded that gypsies living in Hungary are not a huge homogeneous community. They show significant social and economic differences; in addition their relation to the majority and their willingness to be integrated are also different. The cer-

tain gypsy ethnic groups are on different levels of integration and this heterogeneity must be concerned in the planning of the aids and supports they need. Negative prejudice from the majority of the society is generated especially by the extreme behaviour and improper attitude of certain gypsies, but such stereotypes deeply hurt those who aspire to integration and hinder peaceful coexistence. Positive examples and the best practice should be popularized by politicians and media more. The responsibility of the media is especially significant while they just love to report Roma cases in details in the news, however, they are not so eager about small, everyday successes having less newsworthiness.

3. Since the end of communism Hungarian gypsy citizens have been the greatest losers in the labour market. Based on the results of this study, the authors believe that the majority of gypsy people of working age – primarily men of course – would be ready to have a regular job and agree with the goals of the majority of the society. The answer for this issue is usually in the circumstances caused by the world economic crisis and until considerable economic growth begins there is barely a chance for them to have adequate jobs. In the international practice of regional development using spatial preferences is quite frequent. In areas with considerable gypsy population, especially in NE Hungary and South Transdanubia, preferences aiming to get job creation aids in order to create jobs where semi-skilled workers are required should be introduced. For this EU funds and grants should be acquired as well.

4. Aging of the majority of the society and their decreasing number and the increasing number of Roma people characterized by a population structure in which young people are overrepresented can be taken for granted. As a result, due to the imbalance, the number of conflicts will increase. To turn the situation better, reducing the prejudice of the majority against gypsies is required. The only tool for this is spreading positive experience. Here, in NE Hungary more and more gypsy leaders emphasize the need for joint actions and the importance of keeping to the European values. If they could move forward in some cases, such as respect for personal

property, taking care of the living environment and respect of labour income, it would be the basis of the success of integration and human resources would be activated.

5. The migration attempts of gypsies towards west have failed, and it is more and more obvious. Thus gypsies of SE Europe stuck in their homelands. However, here, in EU member states in 'second gear', where they are still EU citizens, there are limited financial resources for their integration due to prolonged economic problems. In the near future they cannot expect that they can migrate to wealthy countries in great number. Therefore they have to live in their homelands and find out together what the acceptable way of coexistence is. It will not go easy since it is difficult to reconcile the two different lifestyles and it seems even more difficult in the light of further demographic boom. If attempts towards a positive end fail, the result will be that one part of the society will not be able and the other part will not want to live as they used to. Younger generation from extremely peripheral areas, due to unacceptable housing conditions, will have no choice other than migration. If the wealthy member states make migration of people from the periphery of SE Europe devastated by poverty, these Roma people crowded out from villages will target the housing estates losing their values and as a result expanding ethnic ghettos will form in the near future.

6. In the frame of international cooperation the (affected) south eastern European member states should stand together to demonstrate that social and economic integration of gypsies is a Pan-European interest and task. Development of gypsies cannot be an internal affair solely of the poorest EU members; successful integration requires financial sacrifices from the EU as a whole.

7. Activation of the reserves of human resources of gypsies has become a national issue. Within a few decades the aging majority of the society will become retired and almost half of the population in working age will be gypsy. It is crucial whether the income of these people will be only aids and welfares or as productive citizens they will contribute to the prosperity of Hungary.

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Надійшла до редколегії 02.03.2016 р.