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Analysis of the Effects of Economic Activity on Roma Population in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County

I. Preceding Events¹:

The vast majority of the Roma who struggle with economic problems live in the North Hungarian region. The status of the Northern industry is to be treated with distinct attention, since it was the most heavily hit by the economic recession following the regime change and this is where the proportion of the Roma is the highest. It is not a simple task to introduce the present situation of Roma in County Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén (BAZ). It is also a complex task to describe the reasons and the effects for it is described by researchers as a "vicious circle" of "poverty -lack of education - unemployment - immobility - poverty".² The quality of life is fundamentally determined by the state of health and social situation. The main components are: how the individuals live their social and economic status and how they perceive themselves. It is greatly influenced by economic and financial status since one of the value judgement of society is still measured to what extent the person is able to produce values for the society. Therefore the quality of life is strongly influenced by the economic status of the family. All such indicators have been included in the present analysis which have determining impact on economic activity/inactivity (and by this on the quality of life).

The focus of the research has been determined multilaterally. On the one hand indicators of economic activity and living circumstances of families has also been examined as well as their relations to settlement types.³ On the other hand there are the links between quality of life and participation in education, whether

¹ First station of the research series conducted by the Polilology Department of Eszterházy Károly College was examining the situation of Roma communities in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County in the region of North Hungary.

² Kertesi, Gábor. A cigány foglalkoztatás leépülése és szerkezeti átalakulása 1984 - 1994 között [The cutting down of Gypsy employment and the changes in its system], *Közgazdasági szemle* XLVII. vol. 5/ 2000.

³ Regional Improvement Council of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County approved the catch-up-programme for the Roma. Data gathering, concerning several spheres of topics, was an important stage of this process and was conducted by a professional public opinion research company: Delphoi Consulting. Basis for data consisted of a sample 1500 households which meant 6% representation rate of the Roma population in the county. Delphoi Consulting chose a two-stage, disproportional procedure as a method for taking sample.

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it has any regional aspects and what effects does the emerging segregation have in the examined settlements.⁴ At the beginning of the analysis it is presupposed that economic activity is directly determined by education and by the type and character of the place of living. It is also supposed that economic activity has a strong impact on the schooling of the growing generation.

II. Variables and Coefficients - or the Vicious Circle of the Roma

Generally it is undisputed that the Roma population is one of the greatest losers of the regime change since they were who became unemployed in great masses after the change. Considerably significant proportion of Gypsy workers used to work in such sectors where changing for market economy caused decrease in employment to a mass extent. Factors that hinder employment: elementary level or lack of school and professional education appear in their cases cumulatively. Difference in the present labour market is troublesome in many ways, because employment rates did not use to show considerable difference between able Roma and non-Roma men before the regime change. Being familiar with these facts does not reduce the existing prejudice. Because of their hopeless situation, many Roma families have to make ends meet exclusively relying on social support that is perceived with animosity and prejudice by the non-Roma population. Non-Romas frequently question the rightfulness and reason of support provided for the Gypsy population.

Researches in Borsod County are supportive that the status of economy, especially heavy and building industry has always had a direct impact on the fate and employment of Gypsies living in the area.⁵ Extensive industrialisation of the fifties and sixties required and attracted masses of unskilled or semi-skilled workers into the region among whom Gypsy employees arrived too. The social and economic integration process of the Gypsies in the seventies, the shaping of their financial and living circumstances raised hopes that they can stabilise their status at the lower level of labour class. This process was interrupted by the crisis of the industry of the region as well as the split up of the major company structure and the drastic fallback of the production in heavy and building industry and agriculture. Job opportunities were closed-down in the magnitude of several hundreds of thousands, which affected most heavily and directly the unqualified uneducated, unskilled or semi-skilled workers, among them Gypsies, in Borsod. The long-lasting crisis of County BAZ's economy in the past years made the status of this layer critical from several aspects. "Fate of the Gypsy population living in the county is

⁴ During the process of the research 1500 households were examined. When completing the secondary analysis of data we used variables of economic activity and educational status from the original data base.

⁵ Representative survey 1971, 1993-94, 2003-2004.

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identical in many ways with the fate of the majority of Roma living in other parts of the country while negative impacts, which they were exposed to, - because of the state of the county - are more dramatic and tragic in many ways than those of in the case of their fellow-sufferers living in other regions.**

The pivotal point of the research was to survey the recent economic status. In the course of the analysis we found out that - with 1.5% lack of data - only 16% of the informants had been employed. According to the estimations of the Job Centre of County BAZ approximately 30% of the registered unemployed, which means more than 15.000 persons, are of Gypsy origin but a layer of similar size did not get into or fell out of the unemployment registration.

97% of those who had work places were employees while only 3% of them worked in enterprises. Projecting this rate to the total number of those who were questioned, it decreases to 15.6% employees and 0.5% entrepreneurs. As the chart shows 84% of the informants did not have any employment at the time of data collecting.

Present state			
Economic status	Frequency (person)	Frequency (%)	Proportion without rate of error (%)
Employee	229	15.3	15.6
Entrepreneur	7	0.4	0.5
Registered unemployed	531	35.3	36.0
Unregistered unemployed	128	8.6	8.7
Without any labour relationship	578	38.6	39.2
Total	1472	98.5	100.0
Did not reply	23	1.5	
	1495	100.0	

Chart 1: Proportion of states at present

Global rates of economic activity can be tuned if we overview the peculiarities concerning sex and marital status. While women and men occurred in the same proportion in the sample men indicated almost three times greater economic activity than women: while men take part in the categories of employee and entrepreneur at a rate of 24% of the total, women are represented only in the employee category and with just 8%. The inactivity rate of women is outstandingly high: 92%. "Retirement" of Roma women from the labour market - and from the school desk - into the household is strongly related to whether they have children and how many children do they raise. Single women are active workers at a relatively high (at least above the average of Roma population) 20% rate. When they get married and have children, the rate of their activ-

* Kacsér, Ferenc: Lehetőségek a cigány lakosság munkaerőpiaci integrációjára a Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén megyei tapasztalatok alapján - December 1999 [Possibilities integration of the Gypsy population on the labour market].

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ity radically decreases (6.5%). 16.8% of the single men are active workers the rate of the married men working is higher - 25.4%. Inactive men primarily belong to the category of registered unemployed, while women usually belong to the category of inactive without any labour relationship, which typically covers the category of housewife.

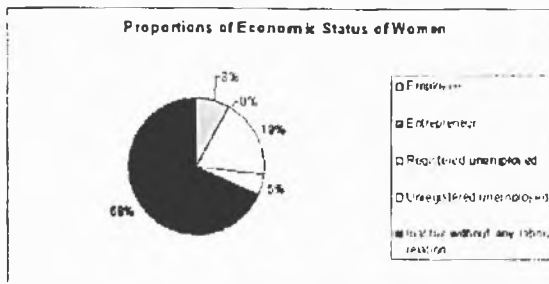
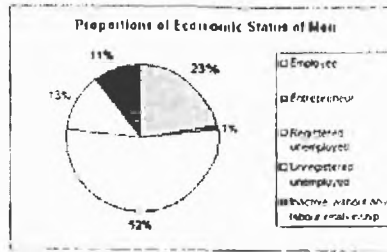


Figure 2: Proportions of economic status of women

When examining correlations between age and status we find that no determining correlation can be identified. All economic states are present in each age groups except for the entrepreneur. This is present at a very low proportion and the generation in their late twenties, early thirties constitute the basis of entrepreneurs. Basically the same tendency can be identified at each age group: low proportion of employment, hardly any or no existing entrepreneurship, relatively high rate of registered unemployment and a similar level of inactive state without any labour relation.

It is generally true that concerning the area of County BAZ Gypsy people live all around the area. But there are major differences between minor regions: Gypsies had settled primarily around industrial and heavy industrial centres and in their agglomeration area which offer job opportunities: near or inside Ózd, Putnok, Edelény, Szendrő, Miskolc, Kazincbarcika and Szikszó. Accordingly, while in the areas of Edelény, Ózd-Putnok and Szikszó the proportion of the

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Roma population is almost 20%; 10% proportion of Roma population live in the areas of Mezőkövesd and Tiszaújváros. Minor regions of Sárospatak, Sátoraljaújhely, Szerencs, Kazincbarcika and Miskolc with its agglomeration area represent medium density of Gypsy population at rates between 10-15%. With this knowledge the proportion of active workers presents a more complex picture. The county average is 16% from which the Tiszaújváros minor region differs in a positive direction and this is the region where the Roma population has the highest economic activity rate. This is approached by the data of Ózd and Sátoraljaújhely but even these constitute only 10-10% of active Roma population. Economic activity is the lowest in Szikszó with 6.1%.

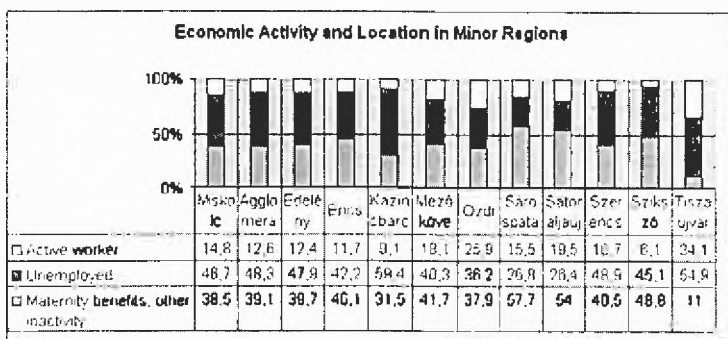


Figure 3: Distribution of economic activity in minor regions in County BAZ

Realising the large extent of inactivity it is advisable to examine the economic status of the spouse of the questioned. (Remark: these data referred to married people in 80%, above that lack of data was hardly experienced.) The 80% of those who were asked claimed to be married or to be living in permanent cohabitation. (Remark: all cohabitation was enlisted into this category.) Divorce was represented at rates of tenths of percent and the category of widow or widower was indicated at the same low levels.

Frequency distribution of economic activity of the spouse unambiguously indicated the outstanding dominance of inactivity. Hardly 15% of those asked claimed their spouse to be active economically which meant being employed; while unemployment and other reasons for inactivity were present over 40-40%, in total at more than 80%. It is typical that economically active spouses in employment are represented at very low rates in any category. Inactivity approaches or even exceeds 80% similar to the results of the informants.

In our sample mostly those spouses were employed where the informant considered themselves to belong to the category of unemployed. It can also be

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noticed that the proportion of households where both the informant and the spouse are employed is very low; it is relevant for only 2.1% of the married couples! In all categories of state the unemployed or inactive in any other ways is over represented. 25% of the total number of informants replied that neither they nor the spouse are employed. It is true for more than 71% of the population that none of the partners living in one household has employment, while in case of hardly more than 26% of the households at least one of the partners has some kind of an employment. (The standard of living of the households is greatly determined by the number of children. 78.5% of the households of the informants raise children: 1-2 children in 38.4% while 3 or more children in 44.4 %.)

The size and type of the settlement had less influence on economic activity than expected to such an extent that the registered and unregistered unemployed can be found at almost the same rates in the case of any settlement type. The only outstanding difference can be spotted at a higher representation rate of the employment state of the Roma living in towns: the rate of all workers is 5-6% higher than that of in minor settlements.

Present state in %	Towns	Villages over 1800 inhabitants	Villages under 1800 inhabitants	Total
Employed	44.4	29.0	26.6	100
Entrepreneur	40.0	20.0	40.0	100
Registered unemployed	32.5	32.5	35.0	100
Unregistered unemployed	32.0	32.8	35.2	100
Inactive without any labour relationship	37.0	30.7	32.3	100

Chart 2: Distribution of present states according to types of settlements

We examined whether there was any correlation between the economic status of the spouse and types of settlements: we found that the rate of unemployment is high in the case of villages with over 1800 inhabitants and the inactive are also over represented while the urban habitat can have a positive impact on the acquisition of employment.

Location of Residence

The most visual symptoms of the Roma population's status and poverty are the conditions of their housing. The number of those living in colonies decreased considerably at the national level as compared with 1971: 65% of the Roma used to live in separate colonies in 1971 while in 1994 only 13.7% of them did.

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This is the result of several factors: rising of living standards and employment rates of Roma people contributed to this process from the middle of the 1970s but programmes to liquidate colonies and the related opportunities for loans on preferential terms accelerated it significantly. It is a commonly known fact that circumstances of housing i.e. the type and urbanizational level of the given settlement, the size and state of the residence as well as the question whether the given Roma household is living among segregated circumstances have an essential impact on chances in acquiring a higher level of education and better job opportunities.

It is a general tendency that the rate of Roma living in the outskirts of settlements decreased and living in the interior of settlements increased. The 1994 research examined the rate to which Roma families live in the neighbourhood of the informants. The received data indicated that almost 60% of the Roma families are located in a segregated area.

Living in segregation i.e. whether in the interior or outskirts of a settlement had an equally important impact on the economic activity. Examining the location of residences in County BAZ we found that 84% of Roma live in the interior of settlements but 16% living in the outskirts seems to be still an excessively high rate. We cannot conclude whether being segregated at the outskirts has any relation to ethnic identity.

Here again it is worth examining the relations of the minor regions. Segregation can be found in any settlement - but to a differing extent. The rate of segregation is lower than 20% in Miskolc and Kazincbarcika; in the Sárospatak region is outstandingly high with 80% (the average rate of segregation is 40% in County BAZ).

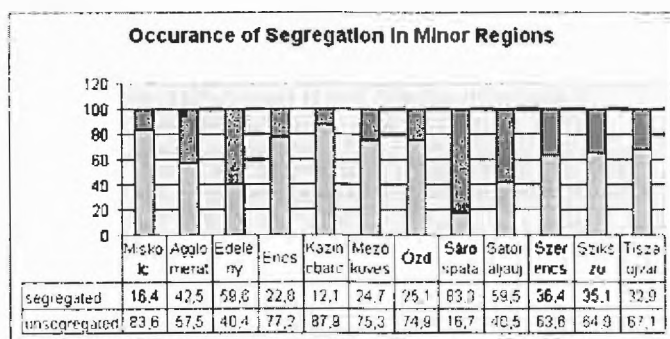


Figure 4: Segregation at the minor regional level

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The distance of outskirts from the centre

Regional examinations suggest that more than half of the Roma live in segregation in three minor regions (Edelény, Sároszatak, Sátoraljaújhely) out of which the Sároszatak region emerges with 83.6% of segregation. The rate is the lowest in the area of Miskolc and Kazincbarcika.

Approach of the homes shows a complex pattern too (Chart 3). Hardly more than 60% of homes can be approached on paved roads and 11% on dirt roads.

Finally when examining the relationship between the settlement and the economic status the following characteristics are found: although the number and rate of entrepreneurs is very low in the sample represented by hardly 1 %, no entrepreneur lives in the outskirts, living in the centre is typical of them. Not even in the case of the unemployed or unwaged in any other way can any strong correlation be found between the present state and the location of the residence in the outskirts.

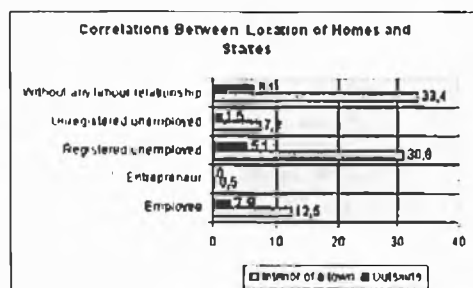


Figure 5: Correlations between the location of homes and present states among all the informants

Among all informants those who live in interior areas and are not employed in any way with 33.4% provide the greatest proportion of presence and they are followed by 30.9% of those who live in the centre and are registered unemployed. However, living in the outskirts shows high rates in the case of both groups too.

According to the census data of 1990 and 2001 almost 60% of the Roma ethnics live in residences without modern conveniences while in the case of the total population this rate is only 15.7%. 74.1% of the total population of the country live at least in residences with the minimum of modern conveniences while this rate is only 22% in the case of Gypsies.

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Level of convenience	Gypsy		Population of the country %
	Native speaker %	Ethnic %	
With minimum modern conveniences	22	25.6	74.1
Semi convenient	8.3	7.7	7.1
Without modern conveniences	61.8	59.2	15.7
Emergency or other home	8.0	7.5	3.1
Total	100	100	100

Chart 2: Distribution of present states according to types of settlements

The comfort level of residences is also varied as opposed to the settlement data - where the housing circumstances of those who belong to the majority society is recorded - we find inferior housing in the possession of Roma. 63% of the Roma residences do not have a separate bathroom, 65% do not have an inside toilet, 3.6% do not have wired electricity, 53.6% do not have running water, 88% lack ducted gas and 35.5% even cylinder gas.

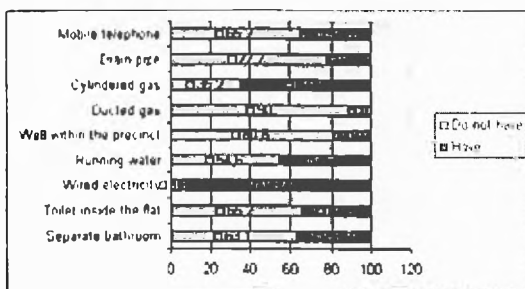


Figure 6: Comfort status of flats

Exploring the Reasons:

Until 1992 changes to the labour market were strongly related to economic reform, which was linked to the regime change. Unemployment then affected a relatively homogeneous group: those who were handicapped in all aspects. They were employees of the former socialist heavy industry, with low levels of education, unskilled or young entrants to the profession. Census data of 1990 and the 1993 data of the United System of Population Data Gathering, as well as representative survey data indicated high rates of Gypsy unemployment. The

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low proportion of active workers and the high rates of dependants are characteristic among Gypsies.⁷

It was in County BAZ at 25.3% the highest proportion of lack of data and refusal to answer

to the question: why do not you have an employment almost 20% answered that they have never had a job, 17.3% replied that his company closed down, because of the economic recession of the region, nearly 10% were made redundant and dismissed and 5.1% quitted their job in County BAZ. The category of "other" also turned out to represent a fairly high rate of more than 23%. Those who did not stay at work after the test period or did not prolong their employment and was also chosen by those who make a living exclusively from taking occasional jobs.

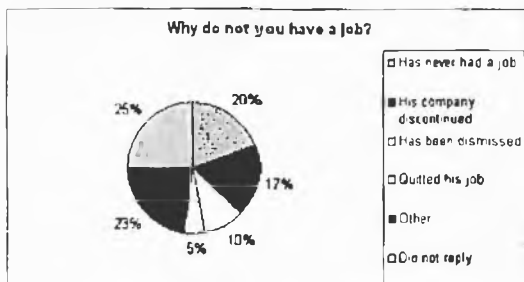


Figure 7. Why do not you have employment?

Correlation of these variables with the ones of: Are you looking for a job? Gave the following results: there is far less willingness for work among those who have never had a job than among those who have already had a job but it was discontinued for some reason or the persons have been dismissed (Fig. 7). Those, who have never had been employed or are without employment for other reasons, have replied that they are not looking for a job in the greatest proportion. In the case of variables examined the lack of data rate was between 1.5% and 9% but in this particular question it was 25%. Considering those who replied to be 100%, 29.1% replied that they are not looking for a job.

Willingness to look for a job can be seen in the case of the group "his company discontinued" followed by the group who "have never had a job" and by

⁷ Hablicsek, László: A roma népesség demográfiai jellemzői, kísérleti előszámítása 2050-ig [The demographic characteristics of the Roma population]. KSH Népszégtudományi Intézete, 1999. [Central Office for Statistics]

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the percentage of those who "have been dismissed". A relatively high rate was found in the variable of "does not look for a job", but the extreme rate of lack of data has to be emphasised. The greatest proportion in this category is of those, who have never had a job or lost it in any other way.

We were searching for a reply to the question in what way the number of items in our sample is relevant to the assumed population. Examining the reasons for not looking for a job made the establishment of the following rates possible.

It is obvious that a lack of expertise or skill is the most frequent reason while the second is making ends meet from social benefits and the approach to give up finding a job. Incapability to commute from the settlement presents similar rates.

Makes ends meet better on social benefits (%)	Manages to make a living from occasional jobs (%)	It is useless for him to look for a job (%)	Cannot leave the settlement (%)	Does not have proper skills, qualifications (%)
37	13	36	32	55

Chart 4: Why do not you look for a job?

Correspondence between Schooling and Determining Factors of Economic Status

Human resources or capital has had increasing significance at the labour market since the regime-change. According to human capital theories one learns because later it will return in benefits. Thus higher-level school education theoretically is accompanied by major advantages but in many cases it can only be felt later. One of the main social mobility channels is education and it has an increasing role in the distribution of jobs as well as determining wages.⁹ Education is one of the most important indicators concerning the chances on the labour market; it is a commonly known fact that higher-level education has the greatest value. Beside the ones with a degree, those who have qualifications linked to school-leaving examination have the best chances to find a job, there very little demand for those who have skilled worker qualification, and those who completed only primary school studies have hardly any chance.

It is an essential problem in the county that the need and opportunities for labour-force of lower qualification is extremely low as compared to the demands of 30-40 thousand lower educated unemployed not exclusively of the Gypsy people.

⁹ Liskó, Ilona: A cigány gyerekek szakképzésének támogatása [Supporting the vocational training of Gypsy children]. In: Cigányok és iskola [Gypsies and school]. Educatio Füzetek 3. 1996.

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Our major hypothesis was that economic activity/inactivity is in interaction with education. Distribution of school qualification: with very low percent (0.4%) of inaccuracy we can say that replies to the questions "incomplete primary school" and "completed primary school" are over represented together by approximately 80% of the replies. Only qualifications gained in vocational training institutes exceed 10%. Because of the inappropriacy of the questionnaire we cannot find an answer to the question whether Roma of County BAZ are present, and if yes in what proportion after completed secondary school studies, in higher education.

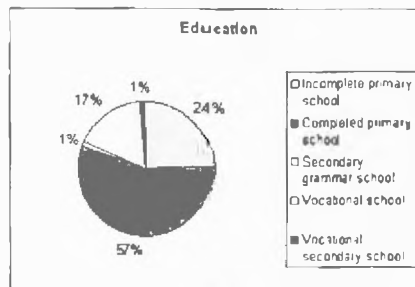


Figure 8. Education among the Roma of Borsodi

Although rates improved in the sphere of completion of primary school no measures of improvement can be felt in higher levels of education. The distance between Gypsy and non-Gypsy increased concerning further education and admittance to secondary school. One of the three school-types, vocational school opened up for the Roma. School success is determined by the circumstances among which and where the Gypsy student lives. The degree of urbanisation in the given settlement and the extent of segregation are serious influential factors in the Romas' completion of primary school. Those Romas have the best chance to complete primary school or any secondary school who live in towns (for whom educational institutions are in available distance) but not those who live segregated (that is without the chance for normal life, lacking of infrastructure and basic facilities). Locations in tiny villages and in segregation are major hindering factors.

The correlation becomes more interesting when examining the question "Do you want to learn in order to get a job?" In this case too the lack of data was very high (28%). Following the earlier pattern 28% replied no and 45% replied yes (Fig. 14.). If we intend to examine the relation between the level of school education and the desire to learn we can see that the proportion of the ones who have completed primary school the wish to learn is significantly high and

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it appears at the same high proportion among those who have completed vocational schools (Chart 5.)

Education	Do you want to learn to get a job?		Total
	No	Yes	
Incomplete primary school	51.9%	48.1%	100.0%
Proportion in the whole	13.8%	12.8%	26.5%
Primary school	33.9%	66.1%	100.0%
Proportion in the whole	19.3%	37.5%	56.8%
Secondary grammar school		100.0%	100.0%
Proportion in the whole		.7%	.7%
Vocational school	29.9%	70.1%	100.0%
Proportion in the whole	4.4%	10.2%	14.6%
Vocational secondary school	35.7%	64.3%	100.0%
Proportion in the whole	5%	8%	13%
Education	37.9%	62.1%	100.0%
Total	37.9%	62.1%	100.0%

Chart 5: Relations between completed education and the variable of wishing to learn in order to get a job

Replies to the question where they wanted to learn indicated the following frequency pattern: most of them wanted to find a job by the help of education directed by a vocational institute or in the retraining schools of Job Centres. Representation of the wish to learn in secondary school was far less frequent. These indicate the relation of Romas to their chances of breaking away and the possible mobilisation channels as well as their preference concerning the results of the education type.

As for the spouses we could examine to what extent does education influence the labour market positions and we found that they are in significant interaction: the most frequent is the completed or incomplete primary school education. Significantly more seldom can completed vocational or vocational secondary school be found. Higher-level education or university degree did not occur among the informants or among their spouses.

If we approach this issue from the point of view what kind of economic status is the result of a given level of education the following are the results: the lower the level of education of the spouse of the informant, the more likely they are not employed (Fig. 9). We find the first higher rate of economic activity in the case of those who have vocational school certificates and it increased in the case of those who completed vocational secondary school. If we keep in mind that the total indicator of inactivity considerably exceeds 50%, it reflects to a far worse proportion than that of the majority society.

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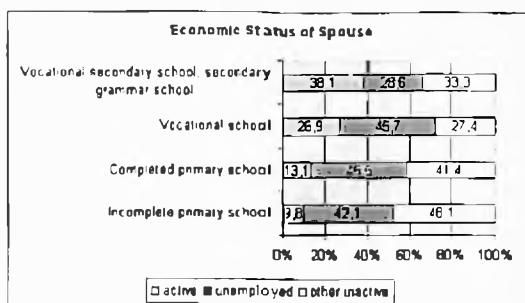


Figure 9: Correlations between the level of education and economic status of spouses

The correlation can be described by the help of correlation coefficient:

	Incomplete primary school	Completed primary school	Completed secondary school
Active worker	-0.70780	0.73292	0.08403
Unemployed	0.04298	-0.35477	0.43094
Maternity benefits etc	0.42749	-0.18075	-0.41885

Chart 6: Correlations between educational layers and recent status

The greater proportion of Roma are found without completing primary schools the more likely the proportion of active workers will be lower, while the greater is the proportion of those Roma who have completed primary school the more likely the proportion of active workers will be higher. The greater the proportion of those in a household who are inactive the more likely that the proportion of those who have not completed primary education is higher and this is relevant for the economic status and employment primarily of women, in agreement to our earlier experience.

Indicators of educational level and economic activity:

	Active worker	Unemployed	Maternity benefits etc
Incomplete primary school	7.4	44.7	47.9
Completed primary school	14.8	45.5	39.7
Completed secondary school	30.2	42.7	27.1

Chart 7: Correlations of indicators of educational level and economic activity

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Significant difference can be spotted between those who have not completed primary school and those who have and who have completed secondary school. We can find unemployed or in other way inactive people in a greater proportion among those with incomplete primary education than among those who have completed secondary education in the case of the sharpest difference, but if we examined only the unemployment variable we could come to the conclusion that the rate of unemployment decreased to a minor extent depending on education but the active worker variable indicated major increase. It is a disadvantageous situation, that the proportion of those who have completed secondary school is fairly low among the Roma population.

Men	Active worker	Unemployed	Maternity benefits etc
Incomplete primary school	13.4	76.3	10.4
Completed primary school	22.2	66.7	11.1
Completed secondary school	35.7	54.6	9.7

Women	Active worker	Unemployed	Maternity benefits etc
Incomplete primary school	2.7	20	77.3
Completed primary school	7.4	24.3	68.3
Completed secondary school	21.7	25.9	52.5

Chart 8: Comparison of correlations between status layers and education layers in respect of sex

In case we include the variable of sex in our analysis we can find one of the fundamental relations of Roma society: education - activity - strongly correlates to the sex variables.

The more educated the men, to a greater rate are they active workers while at the same time they are unemployed to a smaller rate. The correlation can be revealed in case of women too that their education facilitates activity but in spite of it they mostly still belong to the group of inactive people.

The point where the Roma are thought/imagined to be able to brake away from the vicious circle is education, but it is not suitable for the majority of them because they believe that it does not foster their children to get a secure job. It is worth to touch upon what the informants think about how the recent school system could achieve better results.

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Opportunities	Frequency	Distribution	Distribution with ignoring lack of data
Teachers should spend more time	343	23.0	26.1
Exclusively Roma classes	17	1.1	1.8
Mixed classes	479	32.1	53.1
Roma teacher	53	3.5	5.8
Boarding school	10	0.7	1.1
Total I:	902	60.3	100.0
Lack of data	593	39.7	
Total:	1495	100.0	

Chart 9: Chances to achieve better results

As the chart indicates we can examine this variable at 40% of lack of data. Ignoring this lack the support for mixed classes is outstandingly high as well as the wish that the teachers should devote more time to children. Employment of Roma teachers or boarding schools appears at low rates: 5.8% and 1.1%. It is noteworthy that beside the outstandingly high percentage of support for mixed classes, at a very low percentage there still appears the wish for the setting up of exclusively Roma classes.

Conclusion:

As a result of the reform of the structure of economy the Roma were facing a contradictory situation in Hungary. Their social standards are fundamentally determined by the economic status of the members of the household.

As we could see in the analysis of County BAZ the Roma -who live in segregated outskirts - are in the most disadvantageous situation. The rate of living in outskirts is not as high as it was in earlier decades but the development level of this area is necessarily lower than that of the central areas. This segregation had an impact both on economic activity and education.

The type of the settlement does also influence the outcome of the examined correlations though to a lesser extent. Urban or more urbanised areas better facilitate finding employment or become an entrepreneur. Regional inequalities have an impact on employment rates in other ways too. Unemployment rate is outstandingly high in the North Hungarian region and in the examined County BAZ. Employment rates of Roma minority differ in minor regional areas.

Economic activity is mostly determined by education depending on the examined variables. According to human capital theories one learns because later it returns. Roma families are interested in education since the higher level they achieve the higher are the available salaries. They are also more interested in active employment facilitated by education than in inactivity. Having seen the extremely high inactivity rate which has smitten the Roma of County BAZ,

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part of them have already realised that raising the level of education is a means of their braking out and they demand more help for their children from the school, the majority society, teachers, self-governments and other civil organisations. Although rates of completing primary school have improved, higher levels of education have not shown any improvements in the case of the Roma.

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Determinants of the Regulation of Regional Development in Romania¹

I accept that the issue of regional development is primarily an economic and political problem. In Romania - owing to the complex realities of political culture – legal and administrative approach is of equal importance because there are considerable tensions between political concepts and the minimum of compromise necessary to the actual operation of the system has not (yet) emerged. No prudent and modern legal regulation can be formed and introduced for the lack of minimal compromise.

When determining the characteristics of Romanian regional developments, in addition to the requirements of European integration the ideological framework appears to be at least of the same importance and determines legal regulation. In the present study these two aspects will be in the focus and not the requirements of European integration.²

1. The Ideological Framework: the Doctrine of the Unitary State

1. Emil Cernea and the Autonomous Hungarian Province

In his study *Traditions of the Romanian Regional Administration*³ in the 2003/1 volume of the *Romanian Public Law Review*⁴ professor Emil Cernea, legal his-

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¹ Manuscript completed on 7th November 2004.

² My sphere of research is state-structure and within that primarily the organisation and operation of executed power. The issue of regional development is important for me from this constitutional, administrative and economic legal aspects: the centralisation, administrative system of administrative organisations, vertical share of power, economic role and decisions of both state and self-government are of my interest. I have attempted to deal with Romanian regional development from a legal approach several times. Our study which overviews the Romanian regional development: Horváth, R. – Veress, E. (2003): *Regionális politika és területfejlesztés Romániában*, In *Magyar Kisebbség*, 1, pp. 3–31., concerning the critique of the first regional development law: Veress, E. (2003a): *A regionális fejlesztés aktuális problémái*, in *Romania: Magyar Jogtudományi Közlöny*, 2 (July - December), pp. 19–25. From the aspect of European integration see: Veress, E. (2003b): *Az alkotmánymódosítás fő irányai*, in: *Romania Alkotmánya. A bevezetőt írta Varga Attila és Veress Emőd*, Kolozsvár, *Onkormányzati Menedzsment Alapítvány*, 36; Fábrián, Gy.–Veress, E. (2003): *Alkotmánymódosítás Romániában és az európai integrá-*