

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF ROMA POPULATION IN BELGRADE AS AN INDICATOR OF THEIR SOCIAL INTEGRATION

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Abstract: The paper deals with the connection between indicators of the demographic development of Roma population in Belgrade and their level of social integration. Roma in Belgrade are the ethnic group that is most vulnerable, segregated, living mostly in slums and showing no interest in improving their social position. Lack of social integration has a direct impact on Roma's various aspects of life in Belgrade, and in particular on their demographic development. Statistical monitoring of demographic and socio-economical changes within the Roma population is especially difficult on the basis of census data and vital statistics because of Roma tendency to change national declaration. Therefore, we must take into account that statistics provide only information about the population consider themselves "Roma population", which allows the study of only Roma "declared" population. Crude birth rate of 23 ‰, rate of natural increase of 17.8‰ and very good age structure put Roma population among the most vibrant and youngest ethnic groups in Belgrade. Demographic indicators of Roma in Belgrade such as age fertility towards rate, the average age of primogeniture, the average number of children, age structure and Roma household structure by number of members, in a direct way, point out the level of social integration.

Key words: Roma, ethnic hiding, census, demographic development, social integration

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INTRODUCTION

There are no direct statistical sources that confirm a significant presence of Roma in Serbia before 15th century. Roma in Belgrade for the first time are officially recorded as a permanent resident Gypsies-Muslims and Gypsies-Christian in 1536th during of Ottoman occupation of Serbia. It was quoted for Gypsies-Muslims that their settlement consisted of 12 adult males and they lived in the city since the time of the Ottoman conquest. The second group of Gypsies-Christians is believed that they were inhabited in Belgrade before Turks had come, because most of them had Slavic folk or Christian names. Gypsies-Christians lived in separate settlement that had 20 people (Vukanović, 1983, 23-45).

More statistical information on the number of Roma in Belgrade can be found in census lists in the Principality and Kingdom of Serbia in the period 1834-1910. Even Gypsies were not fully entered at censuses until 1866, there are some information about 79 Orthodox Gypsies in Belgrade in 1853 (Group of authors, 1953, 76). The issue of ethnicity of the population in Serbian census, for the first time was set in the 1866, when the Principality of Serbia, listed a total number of 25,527 Gypsies, accounting for 2.1% of the total population. According to the census from 1890, The Kingdom of Serbia had 37,572 residents whose mother tongue was Romani (or 1.7% of the total population), and 46,212 or 2% of the total population in the 1895. In 1890 there were 399 Gypsies listed in Belgrade, while presented to the census list from in 1895, there were listed 400 Gypsies (Knežević, 2010, 18-19) in Belgrade.

Between the Two Worlds Wars (1921 and 1931) censuses were taken and there wasn't any question asking about ethnicity, so ethnic structure of the population could get only indirectly, or through their mother tongue and religion. However, both of these lists there was no Gypsy language in statistical classifications of the languages, so it is impossible to determine the number of Gypsies in Belgrade during this period. But, there are other sources from this period, which can give us some information on the number and distribution of Roma in Belgrade. For example, from 1929-1934 three surveys were conducted in Belgrade slums. At that time, it was recorded that Gypsies lived in Belgrade, were originally from nowadays Romania, lived as nomads, and lived in the settlement called "Jatagan settlement". The results of this survey it was found that in the slums inhabited around 26,000 citizens (Belgrade had about 300,000 inhabitants). The worst situation was in the Jatagan settlement area of about 9,000 square meters, which was built 673 object of bad material, with 2355 rooms, or 1.73 m² of built space per citizen of Jatagan settlement (Vidaković, 1935, 539).

Although the Roma community in Belgrade today is the most vulnerable, it is not yet known the true extent of the economic backwardness in which they live. Social segregation, life in the slums and lack of interest for social progress directly reflect on the different aspects of Roma life, especially in their demographic development. According to all demographic indicators, Roma in Belgrade are very young population, and have reproductive norms which are significantly different from the rest of the population. So the main idea of this article is to show the comparative analysis of various indicators of the demographic development and to show level of social integration of Roma in Belgrade. The study covers the period from 1948-2011 and the main sources are the official census data (mostly from the period 1948-2002, because census data of 2011 are not available yet entirely) and vital statistics. In the period of 1948-2011 there were eight censuses held in Serbia, but the obtained data on Roma population must be taken with great caution. Statistical monitoring of demographic and socio-economical changes within the Roma population is especially difficult on the basis of data census and vital statistics because of Roma tendency to hide their ethnic identity, and thus conceals the true demographic situation.

Demographic data about the Roma on the basis of official statistics often show oscillations that don't have demographic explanation, and usually dependent on the level of socio-economic integration and the intensity of "ethnic transfer" of the Roma into ethnic majority of certain population. Lack of official reliable statistics on Roma requires extra caution in their use also points to the

use of other sources. Thus in order to obtain an objective demographic situation, in addition to official statistics, we use the results of field ethno-demographic researches conducted in 2006 in seven Roma slums in the territory of the five municipalities of Belgrade (Čukarica, Savski venac, Novi Beograd, Voždovac and Zvezdara). This survey included 294 Roma people (1.5% of the total number of Roma in Belgrade, according to 2002 census) living in 52 households, where 100 respondents aged 18-54 years are polled.

According to the Census of population, households and dwellings in 2011 total number of declared Roma in Serbia (excluding Kosovo and Metohija) was 147,604 which shares of 2.05% of the total population of Serbia, and ranks them in third place in the number of ethnic minorities (behind Bosniaks/Muslims and Hungarians). Of the total number of declared Roma in Serbia, 71.3% live in Central Serbia and 28.7% in Vojvodina. The highest concentration of declared Roma is in Belgrade, where there are 27,325, or 18.5% of their total number, and 1.6% in total population of Belgrade. According to census results from 2002, number of Roma households in Belgrade was 4,986, with an average number of approximately 4 members (3.8), where 38.8% of Roma households had five or more members.

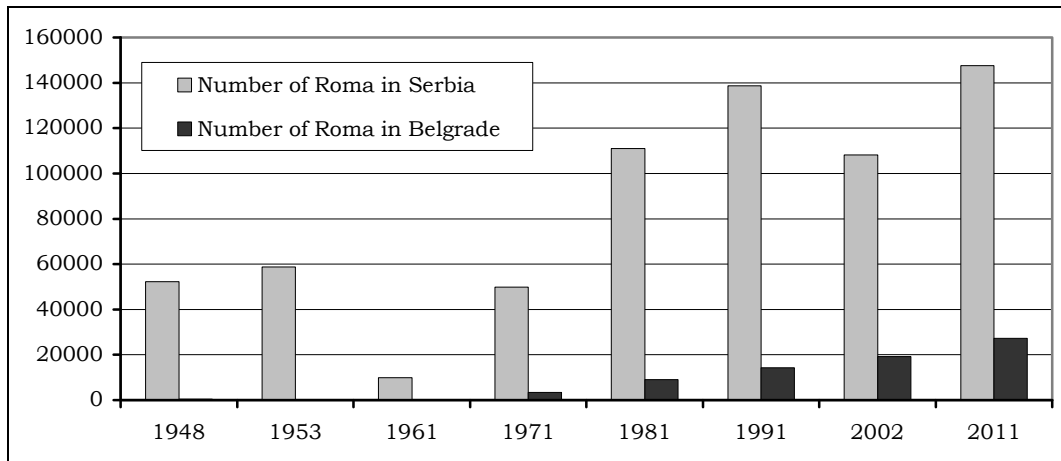
POPULATION DYNAMICS OF ROMA IN BELGRADE – FROM ETHNIC CONCEALMENT TO SOCIAL INTEGRATION

Since World War II until 2011, eight censuses were conducted. When we talk about the ethnic structure of Serbia by the census results, we have to bear in mind that we only have the number of “national declared” population, which may not always correspond with the objective ethnic origin. This indicates the influence of various factors on the national orientation such as socio-cultural, political, social integration, economical, but in the former Yugoslavia and religious factor too. Categorical use of subjective criteria in the national declaration had, to some extent, the negative impact on the accuracy of the census results, because it allowed visible oscillations in the number of ethnic communities. So, if we talk about changes in the number of Roma in Belgrade, we have to consider that statistics provide information about the population consider themselves “Roma declared” at a given moment, and because of that we consider the possibility that only a number of “declared Roma” could be scientifically observed. However, the existing statistical data on number, demographic and social characteristics of the Roma can be used very efficiently, if the content is fully recognized and properly understood the concept of nationality. Population statistics recognize ethnicity as a personal preference, but disagreement of objective ethnicity and declared nationality need a clear separation of the concepts of “ethnic commitment” and “ethnicity “ in the cultural-civilization terms. Serbian population statistics uses only the first term, and often leads to equalize the ethnic origin and the ethnic orientation that causes many problems in the use of available data. This is particularly evident among the Roma in Serbia where the real disagreement of ethnic identity and ethnic orientation is the largest in population censuses, while in vital statistics this divergence is in some way lower at birth than at registration of death, where the informant often return dead person in a group of real ethnic origin. Roma tendency to conceal the ethnicity in the censuses complicate study of many difficult issues such as spatial distribution of the Roma population, changes in the ethnic composition of the local and regional entities, changes in socio-economic structure of the population, and so on.

Table 1. Number of declared Roma in Serbia and Belgrade and the share of Roma in Belgrade in the total number of Roma in Serbia (1948-2011)

(Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, Census results, 1948-2011)

	1948	1953*	1961	1971	1981	1991	2002	2011**
Total population of Serbia	6,527,966	6,979,154	7,642,227	8,446,591	9,313,677	9,778,991	7,498,001	7,186,862
Number of Roma in Serbia	52,181	58,800	9,826	49,894	110,959	138,645	108,193	147,604
%	0.8	0.8	0.1	0.6	1.2	1.4	1.4	2.0
Total population of Belgrade	634,003	731,837	942,190	1,209,360	1,470,073	1,602,226	1,576,124	1,659,440
Number of Roma in Belgrade	378	/	186	3,348	9,086	14,220	19,191	27,325
%	0.06	/	0.02	0.3	0.6	0.9	1.2	1.6
Share of Roma in Belgrade in the total number of Roma in Serbia	0.7	/	1.9	6.7	8.2	10.3	17.7	18.5

**Figure 1.** Trend of declared Roma in Belgrade and Serbia (1948-2011)

As can be seen from Table 1, the trend of declared Roma in Belgrade (and Serbia) shows explicit irregularities that have no demographic explanation. According to census results from 1948, there was 378 Roma in Belgrade, and their number by 2011 has increased over 70 times. During the same period, the number of declared Roma in Serbia tripled. The oscillations in trend of Roma population is especially visible in their share in total population of Serbia, but regardless of the large fluctuations, the proportion of Roma in Belgrade in total number of Roma in Serbia was on the rise during the period Table 1, Figure 1.

There are several approaches to the causes of these shifts in the population dynamics of the Roma censuses population in the period 1948-2011, with special reference to data from 1961.

The first is related to the proper understanding of the census questions on ethnicity of the population, and its methodology development. In comparison to other censuses, only in 1953 and 1961 the practice was that on questionnaire was given a brief explanation for writing the answer on the question on ethnicity.

* Data on the number of Roma in Belgrade was not published for 1953

** Data for 2002 and 2011 without Kosovo and Metohia

The essential difference between these explanations consisted in the fact that in the questionnaire and instructions for census in 1961 the Roma were not included in the exhaustive enumeration of names of ethnic groups that had already been given to the questionnaire and instructions for census in 1953. Since the methodology of the census was identical in all parts of SFR Yugoslavia, it is interesting, for example, that in Macedonia census data on the number of Roma from 1961 was relatively "reliable", and there was not recorded significant decrease or increase in their number in comparison to the data from the previous census, so it could be concluded that methodological flaws may only partially influence this fact. However, the fact is that the Roma were not the only ethnic group in Serbia with a large drop in the numerical results of the census of 1961. A similar phenomenon was noted for the ethnic communities of Vlachs in Serbia, which were, according to the Census in 1953, about 28,047, while in 1961 the listed only 1,368.

Another aspect of the study of the causes of variation in the ethnic declaration of Roma is in connection with the assumption of the assimilation influences. Some authors believe that the process of assimilation of Gypsies, in the contemporary Balkan nations, was not only inherent, but also very important. "The first traces of symbiosis followed by the assimilation took place in the late Middle Ages, when the assimilation transfer of Gypsy population led to their social equality. It is also known example of Gypsy Traveler, who has been living for in five hundred years in the Balkan countries, creating an assimilated ethnic groups such as Karavlahs (Gypsies who became Romanians), Madjupi (Gypsies who became Albanians), Đorgovci-Ardanovci (Gypsies who became Serbians), Edjupci (Gypsies who became Macedonians, Bulgarians and Turks). All of them have retained certain anthropological Gypsy character, Gypsy patriarchal mentality and culture (upgraded with the culture of modern Balkan nations), but mostly lost their mother tongue as an ethnic objective marker" (Vukanović, 1983, 95). However, assimilation is a long term process and cannot be the cause of the Roma population oscillations in a short period of time, and an explanation of the rapid drop in the number of Roma in 1961 should be found in their social status and the level of social integration of the Roma in this period (Knezević, 2007, 75).

The third question should be related to the census difficulties in the field that may affect the insufficient closure of Roma population. Skepticism of the Roma population according to the census enumerators, reliability of data, frequent changes of residence and overproduction slums are the most common problems faced by enumerators. However, there are some socio-psychological problems of the enumerators, which are manifested by various forms of social prejudices such as ethnic stereotypes and ethnic distance. According to researches of psychologists in Serbia "ethnic distance towards Roma is quite evident" (Kuzmanović, 1992, 155). The result of this phenomenon is avoiding of some enumerators to enter the slums, or a partial listing of the Roma on the basis of information given by one person for more households. However, there is a belief that this is not a widespread phenomenon among the enumerators, and as one of the solutions to the problem of insufficient closure of Roma it is suggested Roma engagement as census enumerators.

However, declarative abandoning their own ethnic group after the first post-war decade can be interpreted by the desire of Roma to be integrated as social favored nation, but not really deny their ethnic identity. Therefore,

increase in the number of Roma in the census in 1971 explains beginning of a Roma national awakening at the end of the sixties of the XX century. The growth of national self-confidence of Roma in particular have contributed factors such as: going to work abroad, the popularization of Gypsy music and musicians, and the increase in the number of high school students among Roma youth, the establishment of the first Roma associations, and so on.

INDICATORS OF REPRODUCTION AND DEMOGRAPHIC AGING OF ROMA IN BELGRADE

Demographic changes of the Roma population in Belgrade are closely associated with the level achieved in their social integration. In terms of Demographic Transition Theory Roma in Belgrade approximately belong to a late stage of the expansion of the population, when reduced mortality is joined by a slight decline in the birth rate and natural increase. Compared to the demographic development of the entire population of Belgrade, this represents a significant time delay in the demographic transformation, that is, except the Roma population, is observed only among the Albanian population. The largest number of ethnic communities in Belgrade is placed in post-transitional stage of demographic transition, with low or negative rate of natural increase.

Variations in indicators of birth rate, death rate and natural growth of Roma in Belgrade indicate that the statistical records of vital events in the Roma population, also, are under the influence of subjective national declarations. This is especially evident in births registering and less during deaths registration, where the informant often returning to a group of ethnic origin.

In the period of 1986-2002 the rate of natural increase of Roma in Belgrade declined by 16.5 ‰; crude birth rate had milder decline, which has declined by 15 ‰, and the slightest drop in general had a crude death rate that is with certain oscillations decreased by 1.5 ‰. But, for the total population in Belgrade, the crude birth rate has also declined and crude death rate increased, which drew a marked decrease rate of natural increase (Table 2, Figure 2).

Table 2. Crude birth rate (n), crude death rate (m) and rate of natural increase (j) of Roma in Belgrade and the total population of Belgrade 1986-2002 (‰)
(Source: Calculation based on data from vital statistics and census data (1986-2002))

	1986		1991		1996		2002	
	Roma	Belgrade	Roma	Belgrade	Roma	Belgrade	Roma	Belgrade
n	39,5	12	35,4	10,6	27,9	9,9	23	10,4
m	6,7	8	5,5	9,2	5,9	11,2	5,2	12,4
j	32,8	3,9	29,9	1,4	22	-1,3	17,8	-2

The tabular and graphical representations approved significant decrease of crude birth rate of Roma in Belgrade in the period 1986-2002, although in 2002 it still was high (23 ‰) compared to the crude birth rate of the total population of Belgrade (10.4 ‰).

The crude death rate of Roma in Belgrade in the period observed, with slight oscillations, was stabilized at around 6 ‰. The crude death rate of the population in Belgrade during the same period has increased up to 12.4 ‰, what indicates the fact that the Roma population is much younger age structure than the total population of Belgrade.

Compared with the total population of Belgrade, which in 1992 was a negative rate of natural increase, the rate of natural increase of Roma in

Belgrade in 2002 was nearly halved (17.8 ‰), but its value was still high, compared to the rest of the population.

According to census data from 2002 the share of female Roma population in Belgrade over the age of 50, who have emerged from the fertile and not given birth, was only 6.6% of the total number of female Roma in Belgrade over the age of 50 years. Same year, the share of overall woman in Belgrade over the age of 50 years who have not given birth was 13.1%. Twice a lower proportion of Belgrade female Roma older than 50 who have not given birth in the same contingent of women in the total population of Belgrade, is clear indication of the high fertility of female Roma cause by holding the traditional reproductive norms, which among other things, include early entry of female Roma in common-law marriage and high fertility in non common-law marriage.

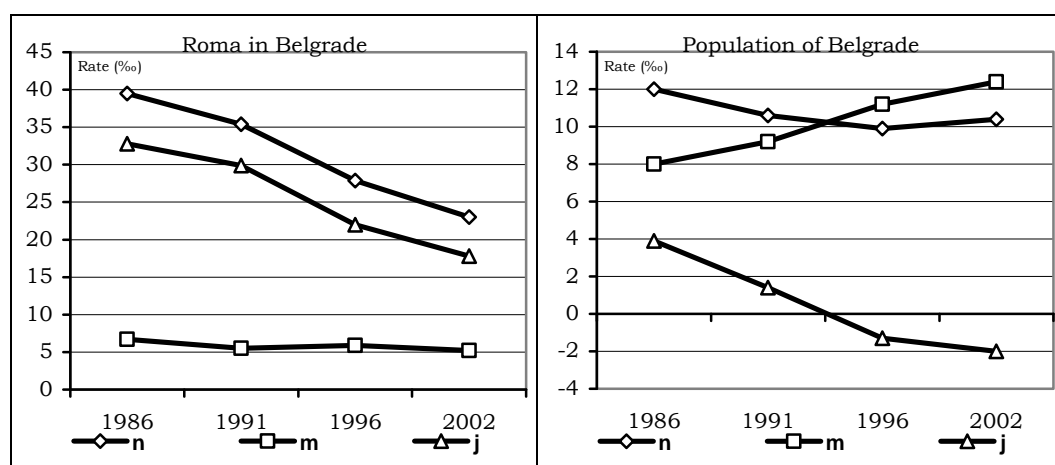


Figure 2. Crude birth rate (n), crude death rate (m) and rate of population increase (j) of Roma in Belgrade and the total population of Belgrade (1986-2002)

Participation or non-participation in the reproduction of the early reproductive age (15-19 years), show even greater deviation of Roma women in relation to the total population of Belgrade. The share of female Roma in Belgrade aged 15-19 who have not given birth is 22.9%, only one in five of the female Roma has not given birth, while the total population of Belgrade, the share of women, aged 15-49, who have not given birth is 98.3%.

There is an interesting fact about a share of Belgrade female Roma aged 15-19 who gave birth to one or two children. The share of female Roma in Belgrade who gave birth to a child in this contingent was 15.6%, while the share of those who gave birth to two children 6.7%.

Share of women aged 15-19 in the total population of Belgrade who gave birth to a child is 1.3%, while the share of women in Belgrade in this contingent who gave birth to two children only 0.29%.

An average number of children living in slums, by Roma females, are 3, but there is a difference in the average number of children of female Roma in relation to religion. Thus we see that the change in reproductive norms of Islamic female Roma is still a significant delay in relation to the Christian female Roma (Table 3).

Table 3. Average age, average number of children and the primogeniture average age of the female Roma in the slums of in Belgrade
(Source: Knežević, A: (2006), Results of field studies of Roma in Belgrade)

Religion – creed	Average age	Average number of children	Primogeniture average age
Christian– orthodox	38.8	2.7	17.3
Islamic	32.2	4.7	15.6

Comparison of demographic indicators of the aging of Roma in Belgrade and the total population of Belgrade in the period of 1981-2002 indicate the continuous process of aging, which took place, in both populations from the base of population pyramid, but it was different in intensity. Roma aging process took much more slowly than the total population of Belgrade. During the observed period, share of young Roma to 19 years decreased from 52.9% to 44.1%, while this ratio decreased from 26.4% to 20.9% in the total population of Belgrade. The main difference in the aging process of Belgrade Roma and the total population of Belgrade is visible in the population contingent from 20-59 years old, and it just shows the aging characteristics of the Roma in relation to the total population of Belgrade (Table 4).

Table 4. Indicators of the demographic aging of Belgrade population and Roma in Belgrade 1981-2011

(Source: Calculation based on Census (1981-2011))

	Average age (years)	Total share in the population			Index of aging 60+ / 0-19
		0-19	20-59	60+	
1981					
Population of Belgrade	34,9	26,4	62,3	11,3	0,43
Roma in Belgrade	21,0	52,9	42,9	4,2	0,08
1991					
Population of Belgrade	37,3	25,3	57,9	16,8	0,66
Roma in Belgrade	22,5	48,6	44,7	3,8	0,08
2002					
Population of Belgrade	40,4	20,9	57,5	21,6	1,03
Roma in Belgrade	25,8	44,1	49,1	5,4	0,12
2011					
Population of Belgrade	41,8	19,1	57,1	23,8	1,24
Roma in Belgrade	26,7	43,3	50,9	5,8	0,16

In the period 1981-2011 the total population of the Belgrade obvious decline in the share of middle-aged population, while the contingent of Belgrade Roma at this age, is evident at the increasing share of 42.9% to 50.9%. Increasing the share of middle-aged population in the Roma population suggests that the aging process of this ethnic community is directly affected by declining of the birth rates. In the same period, it is recorded drop in the birth rate of the total population of Belgrade, but decreased the share of middle-aged population, indicating that the aging process is more advanced in the total population of Belgrade.

Although the period of 1981-2011 the average age of Roma in Belgrade increased, Roma continued to be considered as the youngest ethnic group in Belgrade and Serbia. The average age of the total population of Serbia in 2011 was 42.24 years. Broken down by ethnicity, the lowest average age had Roma (28.3), Albanians (29.6-census data from 2002), Bosniaks/Muslims (33.5), while the oldest were Slovenians (57.8), Germans (53.5), Vlachs (51.3). The average age of the Serbs in 2011 was 42.6 years (*Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia*, 2013, 36).

HOUSING PROBLEM AND ROMA HOUSEHOLDS STRUCTURE IN BELGRADE

The problem of social integration of Roma in Belgrade is in close connection with the severe housing deficit. The housing situation of Roma is the most visible form of their poverty. The social status of Roma as an ethnic minority determines both their housing and settlement standard, which is related to the problem of their integration in the local community, their cultural identity and multiethnic coexistence in the city area.

Roma in Belgrade are populated in the minor areas, with the exception of those who have survived due to the expansion of the urban area. There are very few examples of Roma housing in urban apartment buildings and blocks. Such examples are evident, for example, where the settlements were built on the site of former slums and where there are Roma who were given apartments in exchange for a destroyed house, but their number has declined significantly over the past 20 years. However it is obvious that the majority of Roma from such settlements sold their newly built homes, while those who have chosen to remain in the new residential blocks, an insufficient adaptation can be seen in the new environment in which they no longer constitute a majority. They, therefore, separate themselves in their ethnically homogeneous settlements even when they have solved their housing conditions. But, the spatial distance is in two-ways because non-Roma population in Belgrade does not want to live in the Roma neighborhood. On this circumstance we can talk about the "spatial stereotypes", which are formed on Roma perception of their settlement, as well as with perception of that settlement by non-Roma population.

The collapse of the former Yugoslavia, among other things, resulted in the moving of a large number of people in Belgrade, among who were Roma. The arrival of Roma refugees has caused the appearance of new slums around Belgrade whose records it was almost impossible to keep. Many of these slums have sprouted up quickly and rapidly disappeared or change the location. The main characteristic is that slum settlements were that they were built on the so-called public land without permission and approval of the city authorities. The size of the slum settlements was just a couple of shacks in some cases, to the settlements where several hundred people lived.

According to the research, which was published by the Center for the Study of Ethnicity in 2002 in Serbia (excluding Kosovo-Metohija) existed 593 Roma slums (where at least 15 families or 100 people lived), of which were 102 in Belgrade. In five Belgrade suburban municipalities it was recorded 30 slums from which most of Obrenovac 14, then Mladenovac 6, and Lazarevac and Barajevo 5 and 4. In the municipality of Sopot one Roma settlement was evidenced. Among the Belgrade municipalities, the most of Roma settlements were in Palilula- 15, in the municipalities of Čukarica (13), Zemun (12), Novi Beograd (9) and Vozdovac (10 settlements). In municipalities and Zvezdara and Rakovica 5 settlements was built, in central city districts Vračar, Old Town and Savski Venac one Roma settlement located with more than 15 houses. A suburban municipality Grocka is the only one in Belgrade, where there is no single Roma settlement more than 15 families (*Jakšić, Bašić, 2002*).

In large urban areas such as Belgrade, is very clear impact of society modernization to the transformation of households, primarily in terms of their composition and size. Large urban centers leading household transformation process to reduce an average size due process of reducing family organization and decreasing number of the children in the family. To changes in the structure

of households by number of members in the contemporary urban centers also influence changes in marital behavior, process of aging of population and longer life expectancy, resulting evident increase in the share of single-person and two-person households, a slight increase of three-members households and stagnation or slight decline in four-members households, declining share of households with five or more members. In most developed European countries, the share of single-person and two-person households is 50%, and in some cities only single households reach this ratio (Petrović, 1999).

However, changes in the structure of households are not equal in all societies and are dependent on several factors, among which is a leading economical factor. In societies with advanced economies a greater share is of households with fewer members. The same applies to households within a society, but in addition to economic, cultural factors can have an important role, especially in multi-ethnic societies. According to the Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in 2002 the average household size in Belgrade was about 3 members (2.7), while the average size of Roma households in Belgrade was approximately 4 members (3.8), of which 38.8% of Roma households had five or more members (Table 5 and Figure 3).

Table 5. Structure of households by members- Total population in Belgrade, Roma in Belgrade (2002) and Roma in Belgrade slums (2006)

(Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia - specific processing; Census of population, households and dwellings, 2002; Knežević (2006). The field study)

Huousehold members	Households in Belgrade (2002)	Households of Roma in Belgrade (2002)	Households in slums (2006)
	100%	100%	100%
1	22,5%	9,7%	3,8%
2	24,5%	15,7%	11,5%
3	20,4%	15,3%	7,7%
4	20,6%	20,3%	3,8%
5	6,5%	15,7%	23,1%
6	2,7%	10,5%	15,4%
7	0,8%	5,7%	15,4%
8	0,2%	3,2%	3,8%
9	0,1%	1,8%	11,5%
10 and more	0,08%	1,9%	3,8%

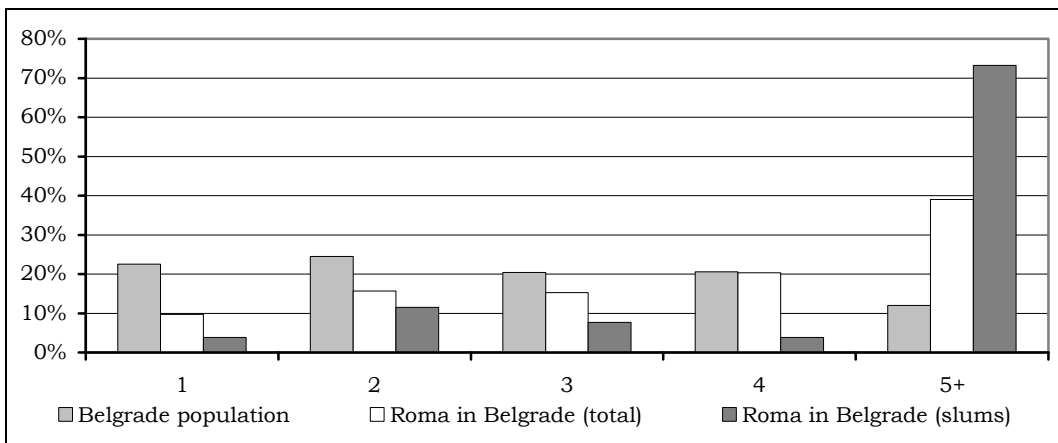


Figure 3. Structure of households by members- Total population in Belgrade, Roma in Belgrade and Roma in Belgrade slums

However, the results of field surveys from 20-30 August 2006, in seven Roma slums on the territory of the five Belgrade municipalities, show significant differences in comparison to the official statistical data regarding the structure of Roma households in Belgrade by number of members. According to these results, share of single and two-member Roma households was 15.3%, but the largest share was five-member households (23.1%). It is also a visible difference in the share of households with five or more members (*Knežević*, 2010, 274). According to the census of 2002 that share was 38.8%, while the result of the field survey was 73% (Chart 3). Such a large difference is expected in the structure of households by number of members as the field survey household covers most of the Roma slums, where economically weakest layers of Roma population in Belgrade live, while the census results are included in the Roma households that are partial, or complete transformation in the process of integration.

CONCLUSION

Although the Roma ethnic community is the most vulnerable in Belgrade, it is not yet known the true extent of the economic backwardness in which they live. Social segregation, a district type of life and lack of interest for social progress of Roma directly reflect on the different aspects of their lives, especially their demographic development. In spite of the fact that Roma population is largely marginalized, on the sidelines of the society, there have been significant demographic and other changes that would lead from traditional to modern Roma society.

These changes are not of the same intensity in all of Roma in Belgrade and depend on several direct and indirect factors such as the degree of social integration, economic conditions, time of immigration of Roma in Belgrade, etc. Statistical monitoring of the dynamics of these changes has been significantly hard by the tendency of the Roma in certain circumstances to change their opinions on declaring the national declaration (ethnic hiding). The consequences of ethnic hiding of Roma are particularly clear in the census results in 1961 when the number of declared Roma in Serbia was six times lower in comparison to the number in 1953 or in 1971 when the number of Roma in Belgrade was 18 times higher compared to the number in Belgrade in 1961. Although and variations in indicators of natural movement of the Roma population show the influence of subjective criteria for the registration of vital events, however, we observe slight changes in the reproductive behavior of Roma from Belgrade, especially in the period 1986-2002 when it was recorded decline in the crude birth rate and the rate of natural increase.

Influence of marginal social position of Roma in Belgrade, is most clearly reflected in their difficult housing problems that are not able to solve any relevant city and state institutions. The slow changes in structure of Roma households, especially concerning its size, are under the strong influence of housing deficit of Roma population. Significant expansion of Belgrade housing in the period since the World War II to the end of the eighties of the 20th century, had only a partial impact on the Roma population for several reasons, one of it was poor socio-economic situation of Roma and specific concept of living culture that derives from the characteristic and approach of Roma population.

Extremely positive age structure and high value birth rate and rate of natural increase ranked Roma population as the most vital and the youngest ethnic group in Belgrade, but also influence the critical structure of households by member number. In the post-World War II period increase in the number of households in Belgrade took place at a faster rate than population growth took place, which was

not the case with the Roma population. On the contrary, the process of fragmentation and increase the number of households is an indicator of modernization and social integration of Roma in Belgrade flowed much more slowly.

Traditional family life frames were more present the Roma who have been settled or were born in Belgrade than Roma who have recently moved to Belgrade. Separating themselves from their own ethnic background and ethnic changes characteristic is largely part of the Roma population. Often change of ethnic orientation (ethnic hiding) is characteristics of those Roma who managed to get out of the typical physical and life borders within the Roma community such as educational, professional status, and integrated into the community. Sense of ethnic identity the most consistently is kept the Roma living in relatively lonely and isolated communities (slums). This means that statistical studies only partially cover the Roma population where the most massive social change happened, which directly reflect the intensity and speed of demographic change and the level of social integration.

SUMMARY

Existing statistical records on demographic and social Roma characteristics can be very effectively used if content is fully appreciated, and concept of the ethnicity properly understood. Population statistics treats ethnicity as a personal preference, but disagreement between objective ethnicity and declared nationality needs a clear separation of concepts “ethnic orientation” and “ethnic origin”, in (the sense of)cultural-civilization sense.

Roma ethnic hiding in Belgrade can be understood as their desire to integrate into the social favored nation, but not in real need for the negation of their ethnic identity.

Statistical data must be considered as the information on population “that considers themselves as Roma”, at the time of the census, therefore only the declared Roma can be scientifically regarded.

Therefore, a change in the number of Roma in Belgrade shows exceptional irregularities in the absence of any linearity, and without being able to determine the explanatory demographic trend. Demographic analysis we found that the Roma population in Belgrade, even though, under the influence of strong traditional framework, is affected by slight changes in reproduction, which is one of the indicators of social emancipation.

Unlike recorded positive changes in reproductive behavior, official statistics and field surveys indicate that there hasn't been fragmentation of Roma households, and household structures, especially in Belgrade Roma slums is extremely bad. The level of social integration of Roma in Belgrade is in a positive correlation with the length of their stay in Belgrade and quality of housing. It is also evident that traditional family life frames are more open with Roma who have been settled or were born in Belgrade than Roma who have recently moved.

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