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# INTERNAL MIGRATION FROM AND TO MUNICIPALITIES IN SLOVAKIA WITH THE HIGHEST PROPORTION OF PEOPLE LIVING IN ROMA SETTLEMENTS

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## **Abstract**

The municipalities in Slovakia in which the majority of people live in Roma settlements are characterised by several specific features. However, only limited attention has been paid to the process of migration and especially internal migration. The main goal of this article is the analysis of internal migration in selected municipalities with the highest proportion (more than 80%) of people living in Roma settlements. We tried to identify both the total volume and intensity of internal migration from and to the analysed municipalities, along with the available structural characteristics of the persons who changed their permanent residence. The results we obtained confirmed lower migration dynamics in these municipalities. We also found that economic factors do not play a significant role in migration within Slovakia. The most important reasons for migration were housing, for younger people following a family member who migrated, and, in older age groups, health reasons, especially in the case of emigrants. Factors behind the younger age of migrants from and to these municipalities include the fact that these migrants tend to complete education and begin some family transitions (childbearing, marriage) earlier than the majority population. Higher chances of migration were confirmed for more educated persons and, except among younger people, for people who not married. The results also confirmed the relatively narrow geographical area in which migration occurs, with most moves taking place over a short distance.

**Keywords:** internal migration, municipalities with Roma settlements, reasons, family status, educational attainment, Slovakia

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## INTRODUCTION

Those municipalities in Slovakia in which a significant proportion of the population live in marginalised Roma settlements are characterised by several specific features of reproductive behaviour and certain demographic characteristics. Persistent high fertility, early childbearing (Šprocha, 2014), high mortality rates (Šprocha, 2008; 2009), poor health status (Filadelfiová *et al.*, 2006; Popper *et al.*, 2009; Šaško, 2002), and a higher abortion rate (Šprocha – Potančoková, 2008) are observed in these municipalities, along with a significantly lower level of education, a younger age structure, and a specific composition of the population by economic activity (Šprocha – Ďurček, 2017).

The people who live in marginalised Roma settlements are a very specific population group that experiences several kinds of marginalisation (Radičová, 2001; 2002) and social exclusion (Džambazovič – Jurásková, 2002; Mareš, 2002, 2004). They often live in geographically marginalised regions, in settlements that are spatially separated or even remote from the non-Roma (or Roma middle-class) population (Rusnáková – Rochovská, 2014). Another important feature is their marginalisation in terms of poverty (insufficient income and a low status in the official labour market, more Loran, 2002; Radičová, 2001), health care access (Popper *et al.*, 2009; Šaško, 2002), education (Kriglerová, 2002), and housing quality (Mušinka, 2002), as well as their symbolic exclusion (Moravec, 2006). In addition, many Roma settlements also tend to have a poor-quality natural environment (Filčák, 2012; Filčák – Steger, 2014) and insufficient or missing infrastructure (Filčák – Škobla, 2021; Škobla – Filčák, 2016). Moreover, these spaces are often perceived as no-go areas (Bauman, 1995; Klimovský *et al.*, 2016). Therefore, a legitimate question to ask is to what extent the people who live in these municipalities try to escape from this marginalisation in multiple forms by physically leaving this environment. Little attention, however, has been paid to the issue of migration from and to the municipalities in Slovakia in which the majority of people live in Roma settlements. In addition, most such analyses have focused on international migration (Jurásková, 2002; Vašečka, 2001, 2002), especially in connection with asylum migration or migration flows in an earlier period (Petrus, 2002; Vašečka, 2000). However,

the issue of internal migration has not received any attention in the recent period. We believe that the internal migration of people from such municipalities is a socially and scientifically significant topic of research given its importance and given the little data and information there is on this issue. Information on the migratory behaviour and reasons for migration of people who either move into this environment or leave is important and can be used to formulate evidence-based local policy. The lack of relevant and up-to-date information is one of the main reasons for writing this article.

The main aim of this paper is to analyse internal migration in selected municipalities that have the highest shares of people living in Roma communities. We try to identify both the total volume and intensity of internal migration from and to the analysed municipalities and the characteristics of the people from these municipalities who change their permanent residence. Another important question is *who* moves to and from the selected municipalities, whether there are any differences in terms of age, gender, family status, and education between those who tend to choose the strategy of leaving this environment. Equally important, we will also try to compare the intensity of migration in this population with the migration intensity in the population of Slovakia as a whole.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND  
AND MAIN RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

Socioeconomic theories explaining the process of internal migration (e.g. Keenan – Walker, 2011, Jia *et al.*, 2023) primarily cite the factors of the uneven regional distribution of work, employment, unemployment, and wages. According to the original theory of internal migration, the goal of migrants is to maximise their profit through migration. This means that by moving, a migrant's earnings should be higher in their destination than in their original place of residence. Although the original theory partly pointed to the psychological, non-monetary aspects of 'price of migration' (e.g. in the form of leaving the family, reducing the frequency of contact with family members and other acquaintances), the 'new economics of labour migration' argues that the decision to leave one's place of residence is not

just a matter for the individual, it is also a decision for the entire household (or family), and therefore the maximisation of profit from migration affects the family and household itself. As *De Haas* (2010) notes, families and households must deal with not just income maximisation but also the spread of risk. Some recent studies from developed countries (e.g. *Clark – Mass*, 2015; *Morrison – Clark*, 2011) point to the fact that economic factors are less important in decision-making than factors related to family events, health, or housing. This has an influence on the theoretical framework of migration, which foregrounds the relationship of migration and the realisation of certain life-course transitions. Migration is an age-specific process, and the motives for it can follow important life-course transitions (such as childbirth, study, the search for or a change of job, marriage, divorce, retirement, etc.). However, the situation is not so simple. As some research has shown (*Biagi et al.*, 2011; *Halás – Klapka*, 2021), the economic motives for migration prevail mainly in the case of longer-distance migration. Non-economic reasons associated with life-course transitions are more often identified when people migrate shorter distances. Migrants who move a longer distance to a more economically developed region may benefit economically from this change, but they they experience the loss of (especially emotional) support from family and local kinship networks.

Education, social status, and ethnicity are among the important differentiating factors affecting the migration preferences of individuals (*Novotný – Pregi*, 2016). Some studies (e.g. *de Haan – Yaqub*, 2009; *McKenzie*, 2017) suggest that people with low education and low social status who come from poor regions are less likely to migrate. *McKenzie et al.* (2002) point to the persistence of an inverse-U-shaped pattern between income levels and emigration rates (sometimes called a migration hump). Among the reasons cited for this situation are the fact that poorer, less educated people cannot afford this strategy. Migration is costly and these people face liquidity constraints that make it hard to meet these costs (*McKenzie et al.*, 2002). Their lower human capital means that the expected rewards from migration are also lower, and they are often at an even greater risk of poverty (*de Haan – Yaqub*, 2009). As shown

by *Docquier et al.* (2014), less educated and poorer people are not only less likely to want to emigrate than more educated and richer people, but they are also far less able to realise such an aspiration. However, the existence of migration networks can be an important factor in this direction. Moving to a place where family relatives, neighbours from the village, or other acquaintances already live can make this decision easier (*McKenzie et al.*, 2017).

Some studies from Slovakia (e.g. *Pregi – Novotný*, 2019; *Novotný – Pregi*, 2016; *Šprocha*, 2011) have arrived at somewhat similar conclusions. Among people with low education the intensity of permanent residence changes tends to be much lower, and they mostly move only a short distance (from one municipality to another within the same district), and, conversely, migration over a longer distance is least common among these people (*Šprocha*, 2011).

As already indicated in the introduction, there is little research that primarily focuses on Roma migration from Slovakia, and what there is deals with Slovakia rather as part of a group of countries, such as CEE countries (*Cherkezova – Tomova*, 2013; *Vidra*, 2013). So what does Roma migration look like in CEE countries? *Cherkezova and Tomova* (2013) found in their research that Roma migrants are typically between 25 and 39 years old (32%), tend not to have completed formal education (38%), are married or cohabiting, and migrate with or after their family (47%) or for the purpose of work and a better life (44%). The most interesting thing was that most Roma migrants (61%) were found to be women, but this was probably due to the given sample of respondents. Men are usually the first ones to go abroad to work, with women eventually following them, while women stay behind to take care of the household and eventually follow later on (*Cherkezova – Tomova*, 2013). The reasons for female migration are thus different from male and are more family-oriented. However, these findings are for CEE countries and not only Slovakia, where the situation may be different. There are several reasons for the migration of the Roma minority cited in contemporary studies. Unemployment as a push factor is presented as one of the factors that motivate Roma migration (*Vašečka – Vašečka*, 2003; *Matlovič*, 2005). Employment is portrayed as a pull factor that motivates migration abroad (*Cherkezova –*

Tomova, 2013; Vidra, 2013). As a factor in migration, discrimination is described as either a pull factor (Cherkezova – Tomova, 2013; Vidra, 2013) or a push factor (Grill, 2012; Grill, 2018).

In the case of Roma labour migration from Slovakia to the Czech Republic, Uherek (2007) identified the existence of chain migration, where kinship networks were used as a support point for short- or medium-term labour migration without the persons having to change their permanent residence. This strategy, when one or more members temporarily leave their place of residence for work, was and still is in some cases an effective life strategy practised in Slovakia (Uherek, 2007). The temporary aspect of this migration has also been confirmed by some research (Kompaníková – Šebesta, 2002a) on the life strategies of Roma when they are looking for work within Slovakia. However, as Kompaníková and Šebesta (2002b) add, this is mainly a strategy used by Roma from integrated Roma settlements. In the case of segregated Roma settlements, significantly less willingness to commute to work and to look for work outside the municipality of residence was found. The likelihood of people in segregated Roma settlements leaving for work in regions with more favourable economic conditions was in many cases very low (Kompaníková – Šebesta, 2002b).

One of the important reasons why the Roma, especially in the 1990s and the beginning of the 21st century, could not find employment in the economically more advanced regions of Slovakia and thus migrated abroad (mostly only temporarily) may be the fact that the Slovak labour market was at that time unable to absorb so many workers from the lowest educational and qualification categories (Ham *et al.*, 1998). Several papers (Vašečka, 2000; 2002) have also shown that those who went to live abroad for a long time tended to be from the Roma middle class. As Kompaníková and Šebesta (2002, p. 608) demonstrate in this regard, Roma from segregated Roma settlements are not potential migrants. The people who live in these places are not interested in leaving the safety provided by the settlement. At the same time, the people who live in Roma settlements are so socially dependent on each other that they are unable to leave that environment, which is the only one that is clear and understandable for them and thus provides them with the best refuge from the outside world.

As Vašečka (2003) adds in this regard, the collective migration strategies of the Roma vary from one location to the next, and thus each locality deals with the possibility of migrating in a different way. According to Uherek (2007), local strategies act in combination with family strategies and represent specific responses to economic, family, and other situations. In addition, within one locality (settlement), mutually distinct migration patterns are created, since individual kinship groups do not have to consciously cooperate with each other or are significantly different from each other (Budilová – Jakoubek, 2007).

An important part of the internal migration of Roma in Slovakia in the 1990s and at the beginning of the 21st century was 'return migration' to Roma settlements (Matlovič, 2005). Misunderstanding, ethnicisation, discrimination, and the indifference of the majority society together with the effects of the transformation-era changes caused the Roma to voluntarily return to the settlements they left or were evicted from under the communist regime. In addition, there were also reports that some local governments tried to get rid of their Roma. Moreover, Matlovič (2005) has identified a tendency for Roma to leave areas with higher living costs. An example is the migration of Roma people from north-eastern Slovakia to southern districts (e.g. Rimavská Sobota, Lučenec, Veľký Krtíš). This kind of movement of the population was usually in the direction of marginalised regions, to segregated Roma settlements, and only contributed to further deepening the social exclusion of the Roma ethnic group in Slovakia.

Based on the theoretical frameworks described above, the Roma's problematic socioeconomic status, the multiple forms of marginalisation they experience, and the existence of relatively close ties to family and place of residence, we can formulate the following hypotheses about the selected municipalities with the highest share of people living in Roma settlements:

Hypothesis 1: The intensity of migration from and to municipalities with the highest share of people living in Roma settlements will be low.

Hypothesis 2: Economic motives will figure minimally among the factors of migration, while certain life-course transitions will be the key causes of migration.

Hypothesis 3: Close family ties and the prevalence of family reasons for migration will be key factors for short-distance migration.

## THE SAMPLE OF MUNICIPALITIES, AND THE SOURCES AND LIMITATIONS OF THE DATA

In line with the main objective of this paper, the selection of analysed municipalities in Slovakia was based on qualified estimates of the number and share of persons in the given municipality who were living in Roma settlements. These estimates represent part of the published results from three specific sociographic mappings known as the Atlas of Roma Communities (ARC) that were carried out in Slovakia in the last two decades (in the years 2003–2004, 2013, and 2019). Their goal was to identify all the Roma settlements there are in municipalities in Slovakia and, above all, their socioeconomic situation and existing infrastructure. Since the number of municipalities in Slovakia in which 100% (or close to that amount) of the population live in Roma settlements is small and the statistical sample of events analysed events does not reach the required robustness, it was necessary to expand the sample of municipalities. When determining the selection criteria, it was also necessary to reflect on the method used to report the share of people in Roma settlements in the last ARC (2019). It was based on interval distribution. Therefore, in our analysis, we worked with all the municipalities in which the people living in Roma settlements made up 80% or more of the entire population.

Based on this set of criteria, a total of 27 municipalities were selected. These municipalities are mainly located in the eastern part of Slovakia (Prešovský and Košice regions) and to some extent also in the southern part of central Slovakia (Banskobystrický region). According to the last Population and Housing Census in 2021, almost 38,000 people were living in these municipalities. The period analysed comprised the years 2000–2021,

which also corresponds to the period in which the aforementioned sociographic mapping was carried out.

We drew our data on persons moving to and from the municipalities in our sample in Slovakia from a comprehensive survey that is carried out annually by the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic (SO SR). In the case of internal migration, this investigation is based on Obyv 5-12 reports ('Migration Reports'), which are completed when a person changes their permanent residence within the territory of Slovakia. This is the first limitation of the data and the conclusions, as these reports only cover spatial movement from and to the municipalities with the highest share of people living in Roma settlements when a change of permanent residence occurred, and that change was also administratively recorded. The second limitation is that, because of the above-mentioned problems, it is not possible to work only with municipalities whose entire population consists of persons living in Roma settlements. Therefore, the obtained results cannot be completely generalised to just the population living in Roma settlements, and some events (albeit probably a disproportionately smaller number) will actually involve the migration of persons not living in a Roma settlement.

## THE INTERNAL MIGRATION OF PERSONS IN THE ANALYSED MUNICIPALITIES WITH ROMA SETTLEMENTS

In the above-mentioned theoretical context and in some of the information about the migration of Roma population in Slovakia, we can assume that the intensity of migration from and to the municipalities with the highest share of people living in Roma settlements is lower than the national average of internal migration in the long term. A total of just over 6,700 people were identified as having physically departed from these municipalities in the form of leaving their permanent residence<sup>3)</sup> in 2000–2021.

3) It is only possible with the available data to analyse that part of migration involves a change of permanent residence. We can assume that the empirical data cover only some migrations. The results of our analysis cannot therefore reflect events in which there was no change of permanent residence.

In relative terms, this figure represented approximately 10 persons per 1,000 inhabitants. In the same period, the average for Slovakia overall was more than 16 changes of permanent residence per 1,000 inhabitants. The number of people who migrated to the analysed municipalities in 2000–2021 was approximately 7,000. The crude rate of net migration was only slightly more than 0.5 ‰.

The municipalities we analysed had slightly positive net migration only in the first decade of the 21st century. There has been a decline in the last decade, and in recent years we have even identified a slight population decline through migration. Likewise, the intensity of migration is decreasing. This contrasts with what is happening at the national level. In Slovakia we can identify a growing trend in the level of internal migration, which increased from approximately 14 to more than 18 persons per 1,000 inhabitants.

The lower rate of emigration of men and women from the selected municipalities with the highest proportion of population living in Roma settlements is also confirmed by the age-specific rates of emigration (Fig. 1). In almost all age groups, the rate of emigration from the analysed municipalities was significantly lower than in Slovakia (total population). The only exception was the age of 15–19 years for women and the oldest age groups (70 and over).

When women migrate at a younger age, we assume the main factor is marriage (see below), while the higher intensity of women's migration at a senior age is associated primarily with migration for health reasons.<sup>4)</sup> The markedly different timing of family transitions and the earlier age at which people tend to end their educational career (Šprocha – Ďurček, 2017) observed in the municipalities with Roma settlements also significantly affects the distribution of migration rates.

However, the age distribution of migration in these municipalities does not differ much from what we can see in the total population of Slovakia. In the youngest age groups, emigration rates are slightly higher due to the migration of entire families in the first years after

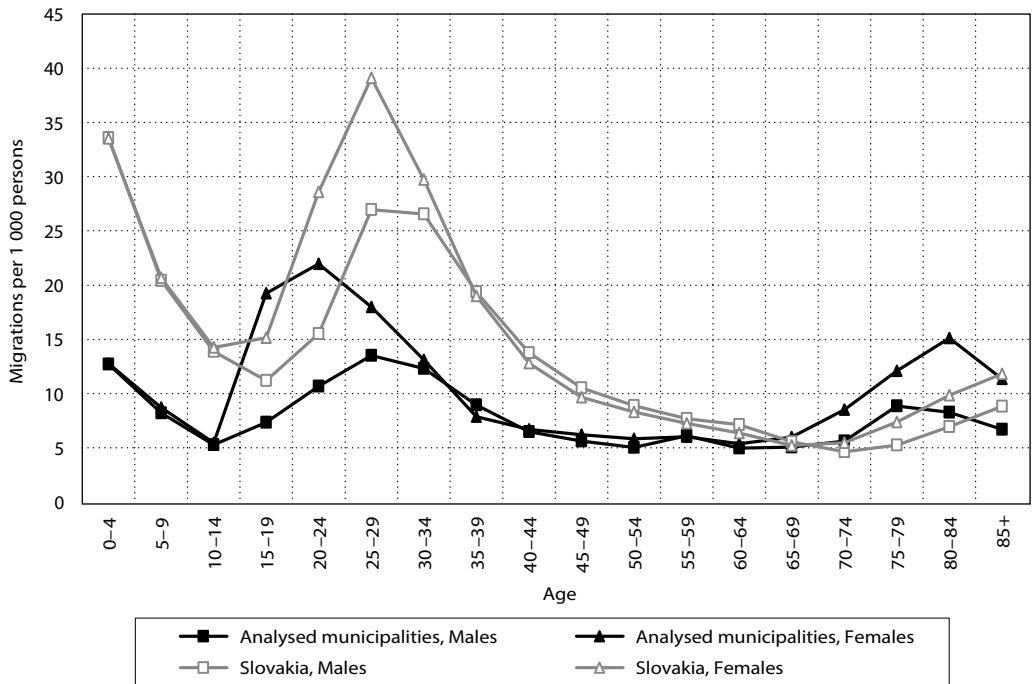
childbirth. Migration rates then decrease and reach a minimum level at the age of 10–14 years. In the total population of Slovakia, however, this decline continues for males until the age of 15–19. These low rates have to do with the education process and with people proceeding to complete their educational career, as the drop-out rate in the total Slovak population is generally low. Because the Roma tend to leave education earlier, however, we can already identify the beginning of the increase in emigration rates at the age of 15–19. It mainly concerns women. This is probably because Roma women not only marry earlier and become mothers at a younger age, but also because of the common habit of them moving into the husband's household after marriage. The emigration rate for women living in the analysed municipalities peaks at the age of 20–24 and then declines relatively quickly. A similar situation exists in the total population of Slovakia, but the peak is at the age of 25–29 and the intensity of migration is approximately twice as high.

Among males living in the selected municipalities, the intensity of emigration also rises from the age of 15, but with much lower dynamics. The peak occurs at the age of 25–29 years, followed by a decline and then stabilisation at a low level. In this way, it differs little from what we see in the total population of Slovakia. It is at the ages associated with the highest emigration rates that we also find the biggest differences between the population of the municipalities with Roma settlements and the total population of Slovakia. At the youngest ages (0–10 years), emigration rates from the analysed municipalities are 2.5 times lower than in the total population, and in the age group of 25–44 years, emigration rates are less than half that seen in the total population.

As already mentioned, a different situation is observed among women over the age of 65. Higher rates of migration of women from the municipalities with Roma settlements may be associated with the overall worse health status of this population (Popper *et al.*, 2009; Šaško, 2002). This partly indicates a higher share of events caused by the health condition

4) This is migration due to the deterioration of a person's state of health and the need to seek care from a family relative or acquaintance, or as a result of the need to travel a shorter distance for a professional medical examination or care, or because of problematic housing conditions in the original residence that are no longer suitable given the person's state of health, etc.

Figure 1 Age-specific emigration rates from the analysed municipalities and in Slovakia, 2000–2021



Source: SO SR, authors' calculation.

of migrants. It is also necessary to draw attention to possible problems with the size of the population sample in this age spectrum and the above-mentioned limitation of the obtained results.

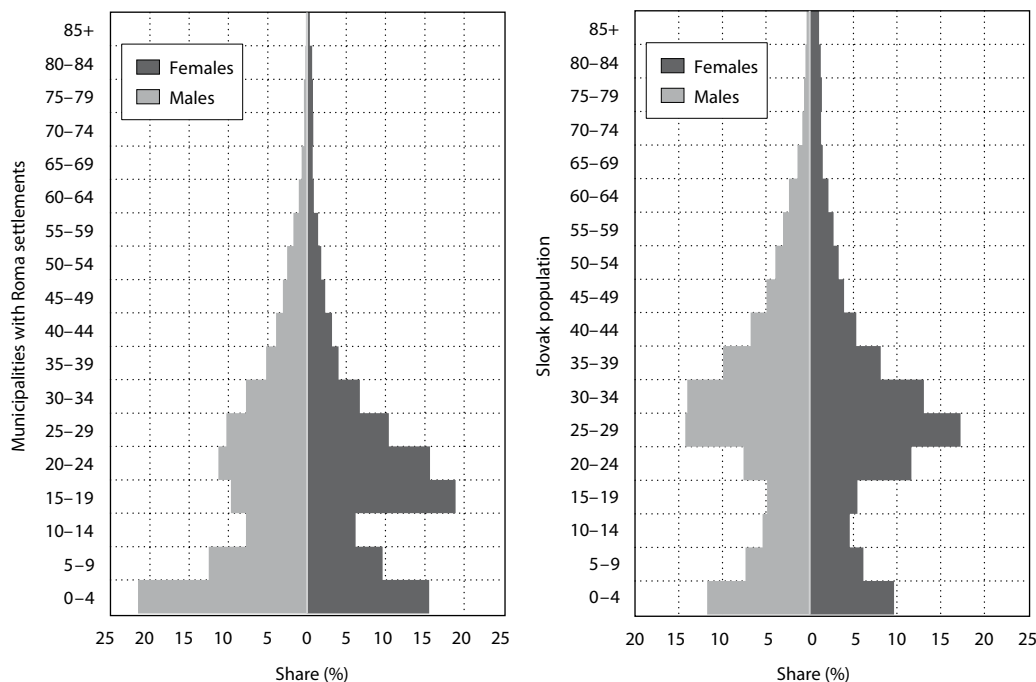
The different age structure of the population in Roma settlements (see e.g. *Mládek – Pukačová, 2012; Šprocha, 2014*) and the different timing of some life transitions on the path to adulthood, combined with age-specific migration rates, significantly affected the age composition of people migrating to and from the analysed municipalities. As is clear from a comparison of Figures 2 and 3, children aged 0–4 and to some extent also those aged 5–9 are over-represented among immigrants. Together, these two age groups accounted for more than one-third of the males and about one-quarter of the females among migrants from and to analysed municipalities in 2000–2021. For comparison, in Slovakia, these age-groups made up less than one-fifth of the total number of migrants in the same period.

The second significant difference was the effect of the migration of women aged 15–19 and 20–24.

Almost 35% of all the changes of permanent residence among women in the municipalities we analysed were concentrated in these age groups. Conversely, the effect of men aged 20–34 on migration is significantly smaller. While in the total Slovak population, this age group accounts for 40% of migrants changing their permanent residence, in the analysed municipalities it was about 10 percentage points less. Despite the higher rates of emigration at an older age in selected municipalities, these older people only account for approximately half of the total number of migrants compared to the situation in the total population of Slovakia.

The overall significantly younger age profile of people migrating into the analysed municipalities with Roma settlements is also indicated by the average age. While in the case of the total population of Slovakia in the years 2000–2021 the average age of migrating men was under 30 years and for women it was almost 31 years, in the municipalities with Roma settlements it was approximately 21 years for men and 22.5 years for women.

Figure 2 and 3 Age structure of persons changing permanent residence in the analysed municipalities and in Slovakia, 2000–2021



Source: SO SR, authors' calculation.

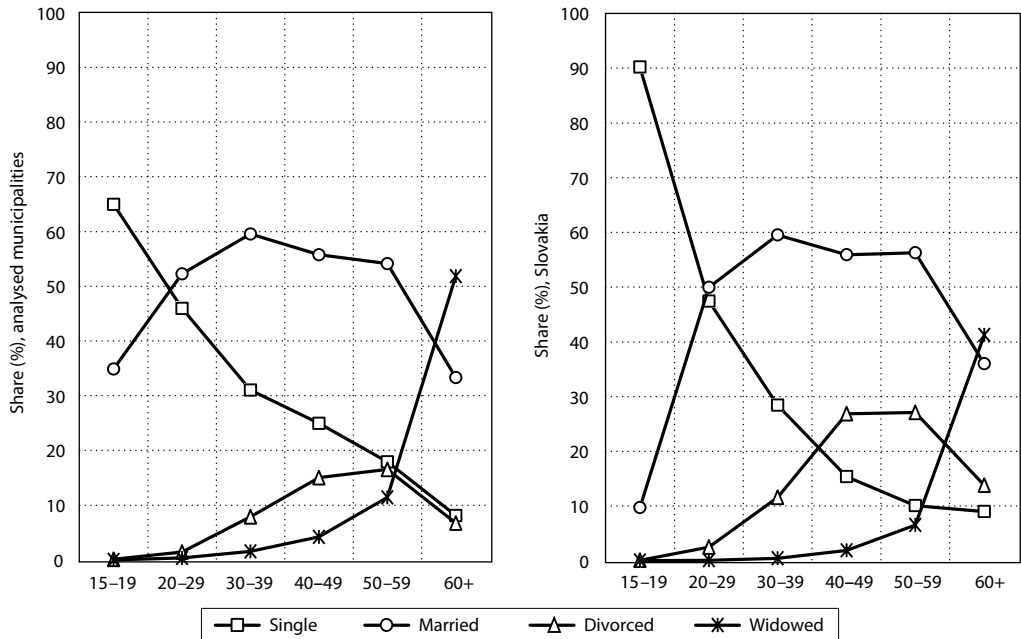
Children are more passive actors in the migration process as they are following other family members. Therefore, in the next part of our differential analysis, we will deal only with persons aged 15 and over. The choice of this age limit is related both to the identified increase in emigration rates at the age of 15–19 and to the analysed structural characteristics. The first such characteristic is marital status.

A younger age structure, more frequent cohabitation, and a lower proportion of divorced persons (Šprocha – Ďurček, 2017) represent the basic characteristics of the marital structure of migrants in the observed municipalities. There is a slight preponderance of married people among migrants (49%), but the share of single men and women is only slightly lower (41%). The rest of the migrants are almost equally divided between divorced and widowed persons. In comparison with the total population of Slovakia, it is true that in the years 2000–2021, there was significantly more migration to and from the

analysed municipalities by single persons than by divorced persons. More detailed differences in the shares of persons changing their permanent residence according to marital status and age are provided in Figure 4 and 5.

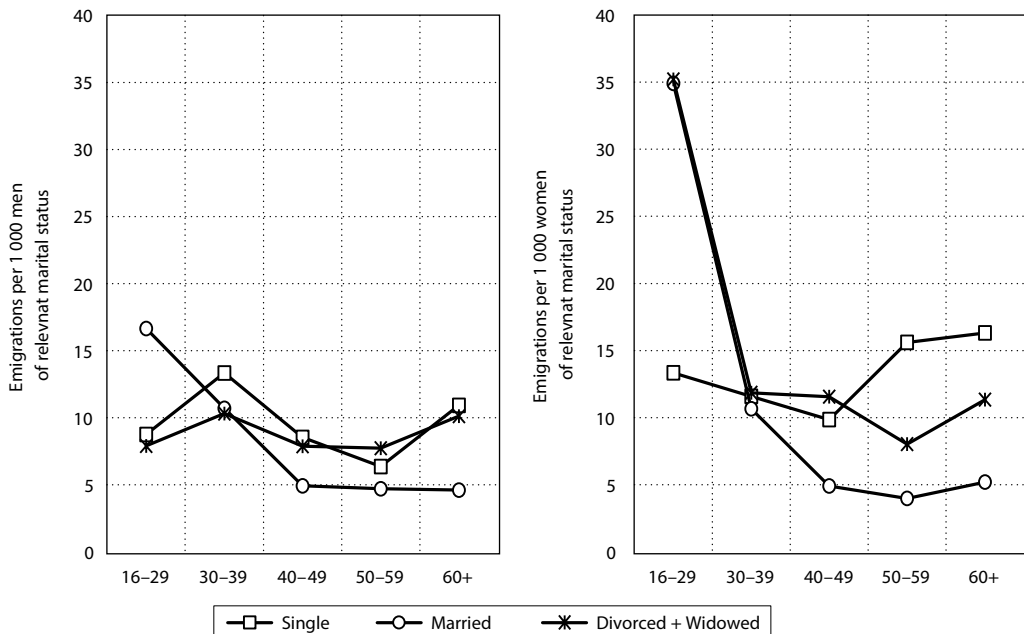
The intensity of emigration from the selected municipalities with Roma settlements, especially among women, is relatively closely related to age and marital status. In the youngest age groups, the highest rate of emigration is achieved by married and ever married women (divorced and widowed). Conversely, with increasing age, the intensity of emigration of married women decreases significantly and increases slightly among single women. We can also see a similar picture for men, but the influence of marital status and age on the rate of emigration is not so significant here. Research by Cherkezova and Tomova (2013) points to a migrant profile where a woman who migrates is either cohabiting or married, the explanation for which is that women are more family oriented.

Figure 4 and 5 The structure of persons changing permanent residence in the analysed municipalities and in Slovakia by age and marital status, 2000–2021



Source: SO SR, authors' calculation.

Figure 6 and 7 Age-specific emigration rates from the analysed municipalities by family status, 2000–2021



Source: SO SR, authors' calculation.

The early termination of the educational path and the related specific educational structure of persons from Roma settlements (*Šprocha – Ďurček, 2017*) also influence the composition of the men and women who change their permanent residence. As Figure 8 shows, in Roma settlements persons with primary education predominate in all age groups. In Slovakia, persons with secondary education with a diploma make up the highest share. In Roma settlements, persons with tertiary education or secondary education with a diploma make up a small share of those who change their permanent residence. This finding is confirmed in research by *Cherkezova and Tomova (2013)*, where the profile of a Roma migrant is someone who has not completed their formal education. However, the proportion of people with secondary education without a diploma also increases towards older ages.

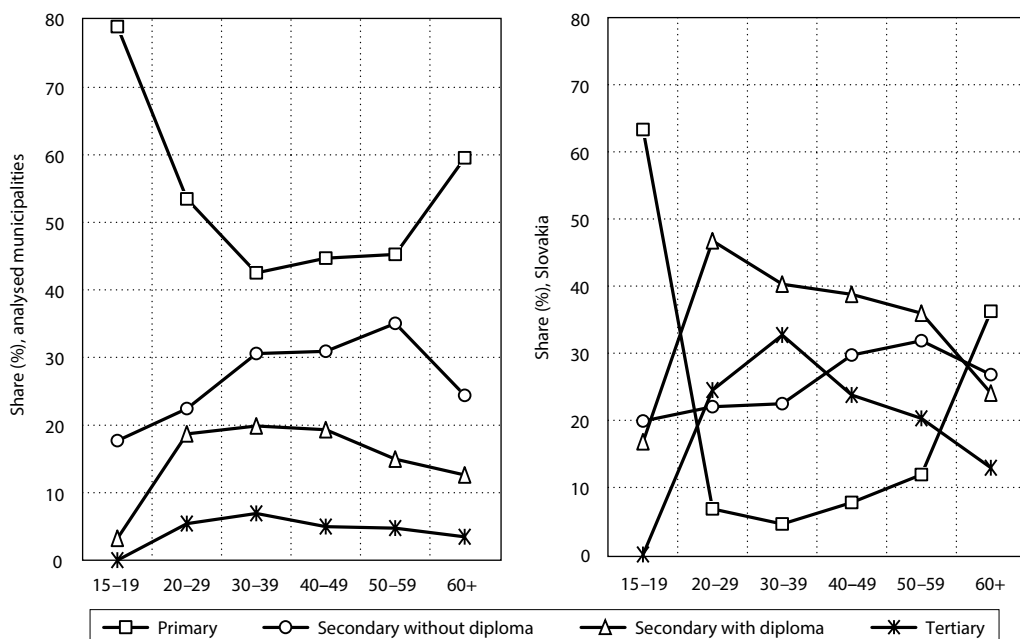
Education is also an important differentiating factor in terms of the chances of emigrating from the analysed municipalities. Figures 10 and 11 confirm that the lowest rates of emigration for both men and women are achieved by persons with primary

education. At a younger age, and especially for women, their chances of leaving analysed municipalities are 2- to 3-times higher if they have attained a higher than primary level of education.

Some idea of the reasons for immigration into the analysed municipalities is provided by Figures 12 and 13. Among both male and female children up to 15 years of age, following a family member can be clearly identified as the predominant reason. At the age of 15–29, the highest share of women migrates for the reason of marriage, while for men the main reason is housing and a group of other unspecified reasons. Among young adults, the influence of housing grows significantly for both sexes, which becomes the dominant factor in immigration at the age of over 30. The second most important group was the unspecified group of other causes of migration.

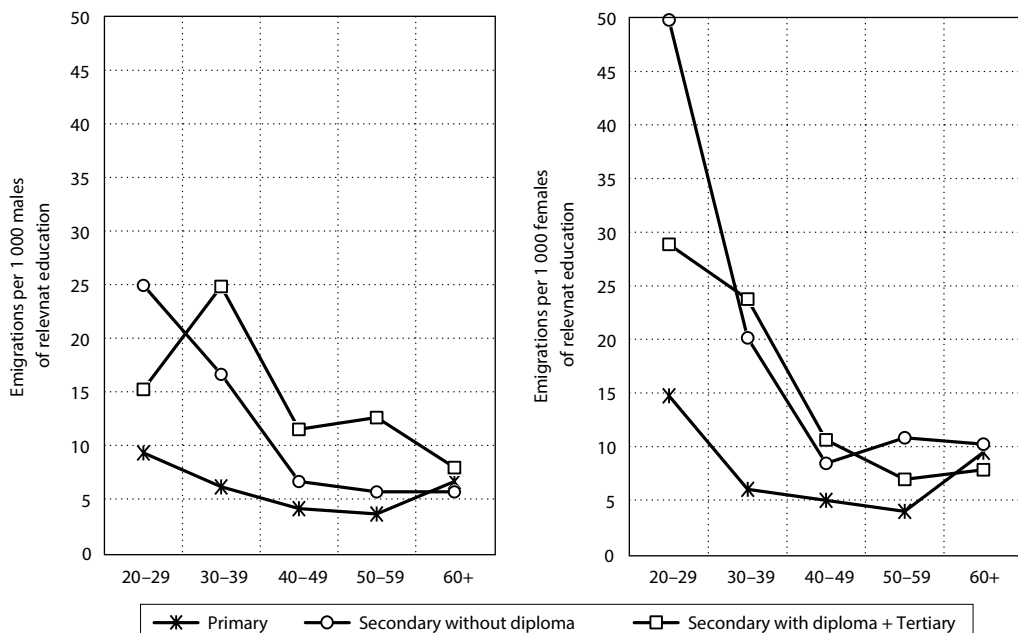
Economic reasons (change of workplace, moving closer to the workplace) and some other specific reasons for migration (divorce, study) were not a significant factor in any of the age groups. These are essentially marginal causes for both emigration from

Figure 8 and 9 The structure of persons changing permanent residence in the analysed municipalities and in Slovakia by age and educational attainment, 2000–2021



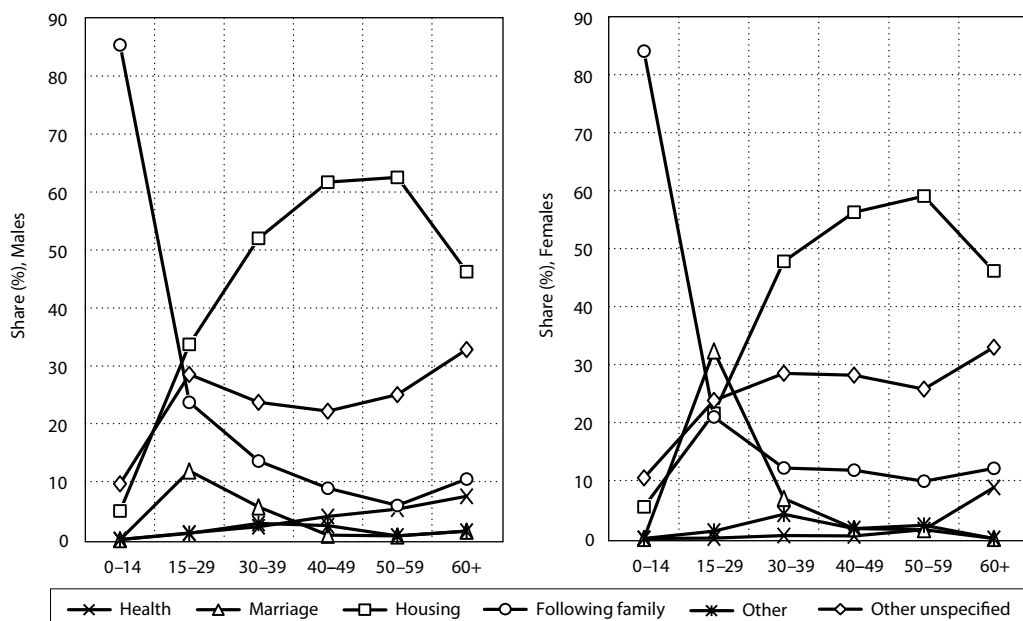
Source: SO SR, authors' calculation.

Figure 10 and 11 Age-specific emigration rates from the analysed municipalities by educational attainment, 2000–2021



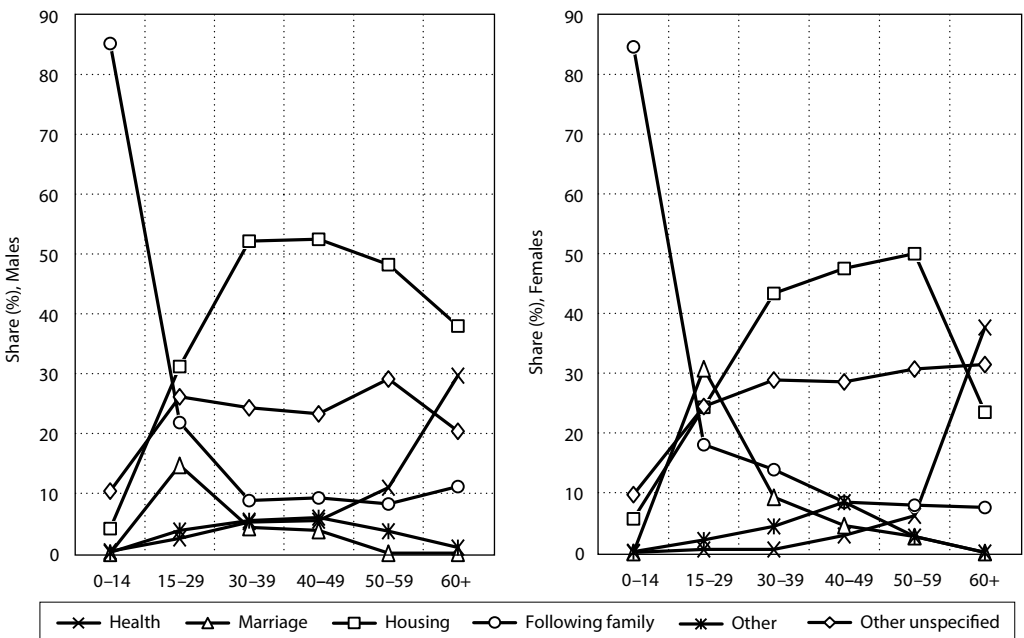
Source: SO SR, authors' calculation.

Figure 12 and 13 The structure of reasons for immigration to the analysed municipalities, 2000–2021



Source: SO SR, authors' calculation.

Figure 14 and 15 The structure of reasons for emigration from the analysed municipalities, 2000–2021



Source: SO SR, authors' calculation.

and immigration to the analysed municipalities. We therefore combined these categories of reasons into one category called ‘other reasons’.

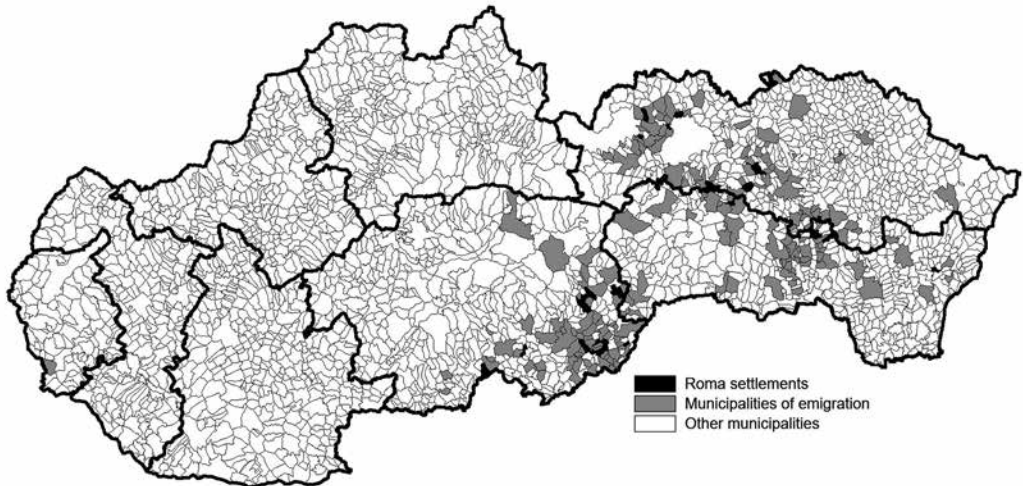
We can identify a similar picture when analysing the reasons for emigration from the analysed municipalities. At a young age, following a family member is the dominant reason. With increasing age, the influence of housing and the category of other unspecified causes increases. Marriage is also an important factor for emigration from the analysed municipalities among women at the beginning of reproductive age. In the oldest age group, the influence of health reasons increased for men and especially for women.

To conclude our analysis, we will look at types of migration and the direction of the main migration flows. In terms of types of migration, migration between municipalities within the district prevails. This accounted for more than half of all changes of permanent residence. In the

period 2000–2021, by contrast, only about one-fifth of events occurred outside the region (NUTS3) of permanent residence. For comparison, in Slovakia, approximately 45% of all migrations took place between municipalities in the same district, while inter-regional migrations accounted for almost one-quarter of all changes of permanent residence. The stated finding indirectly indicates that the migration of persons from analysed municipalities takes place in a smaller geographical area and therefore migrations over a longer distance occur to a lesser extent.

Figures 16 and 17 also confirm the small geographic area within which the internal migration of people from the analysed municipalities occurs. It is obvious that, with rare exceptions represented only by large economic centres (e.g. Banská Bystrica, Trnava, Bratislava), the centres of immigration and emigration are located in close proximity to the analysed municipalities.

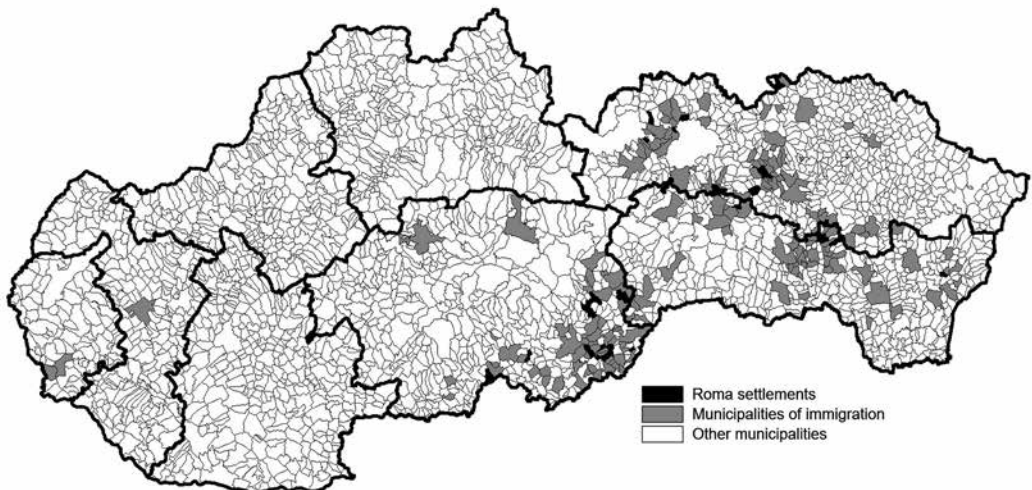
Figure 16 The most important source municipalities of immigrants migrating to the analysed municipalities



Note: Only municipalities with 10 or more immigrants are presented

Source: SO SR, authors' calculation.

Figure 17 The most important receiving municipalities for emigrants from the analysed municipalities, 2000–2021



Note: Only municipalities with 10 or more immigrants are presented

Source: SO SR, authors' calculation.

## CONCLUSION

The main aim of this paper was to analyse internal migration in selected municipalities in Slovakia that have the highest share of people living in Roma communities. The results of the analysis essentially

confirmed all three hypotheses we formulated. Over the long term we find that migration to and from the analysed municipalities is lower than the average internal migration in Slovakia. While migration in these specific municipalities is gradually decreasing,

internal migration in Slovakia it is gradually growing. We hypothesised that since migration would do little to change the socioeconomic situation of persons living in these municipalities, there would be little potential for migration for economic reasons. Therefore, the potential for migration for economic reasons is also low. This was partially confirmed by an analysis of the reasons for internal migration mentioned in the Migration Reports (Obyv 5-12). Reasons relating to certain family transitions (marriage) and especially to housing conditions were found to be key factors for the migration of people from and to the analysed municipalities. Among older people, health reasons become a more predominant factor for emigrants.

Because migration is an age-related event, in a deeper analysis we focused on the combination of age and sex. The results confirmed that the intensity of women's migration to and from the analysed municipalities was lower than the Slovakia average. The only exception was in the age group of 15–19 years, because of the earlier marriage starts among people in the analysed municipalities, and in the age group of 70 and over, where the higher intensity of migration in the analysed municipalities was mainly due to health reasons. The intensity of migration of men to and from the analysed municipalities is even lower. This migration peaked at the age of 25–29, while in the case of women it had already peaked at the age of 20–24. The lower intensity of men's migration may be related to how weak a role economic reasons play in men's internal migration and how it is more frequently motivated by the reasons of housing, following a family member, and marriage. Given the existing significant gender differences and family customs, it is quite common for a woman to follow her husband/partner.

The results also confirmed certain differences in the age structure of people moving from and to the analysed municipalities compared to internal migration in the total population of Slovakia. Overall, the age structure of migrants from and to the analysed municipalities was found to be generally younger because of the earlier start of family transitions in this population and the related migrations after marriage,

the birth of a child, etc. The younger age structure is also partly related to the more frequent change of permanent residence among unmarried persons, while divorced persons played a rather marginalised role in migration from and to the analysed municipalities (compared to the Slovak average). With age, the situation gradually reverses, and the highest intensity of migration is observed among unmarried persons. The results of our analysis also revealed differences in the intensity of migration from and to the analysed municipalities according to the level of education. The lowest emigration rates for both men and women are among persons with primary education. With increasing education, the chances of emigrating from the analysed municipalities also increase. Since we are not working with municipalities in which the population consists only of persons living in Roma settlements, we must point out that some of our findings may be partially distorted or affected by the migration (and especially emigration) of non-Roma persons. From the available data, it is not clear what part of this emigration could be attributed to the phenomenon of white flight.

Our analysis also confirmed that the internal migration of people from the selected municipalities tends to occur within a small geographic area. The source and destination municipalities are located within close proximity to each other. We can assume that this migration within a small area is partly related to the existence of family and kinship ties between the persons living in Roma settlements, is prevalingly for family and housing reasons, and is only minimally prompted by the economic factors for internal migration. On the other hand, the available data, based registered changes of place of residence, cannot reveal all the possible forms of spatial movement that can also take place over a longer distance. We can assume that a significant portion of these moves will also take place for economic reasons, but this migration is probably only temporary and involves certain groups (e.g. the Roma middle class). However, its analysis is still beyond our empirical scope and requires a different method of specialised (especially qualitative) research.

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