

Ethnic residential segregation in three cities of Northwest Romania¹

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Abstract

While ethnic residential segregation research is still current in Western Europe and in North America, there are only few studies about urban ethnic patterns of the former state socialist countries. This article is an attempt to contribute with an analysis of three cities (Oradea, Satu Mare, Baia Mare) in Northwest Romania. As no census data are available below the settlement level, there were used the results of the Hungarian ethnic party achieved at Romanian parliamentary elections. Based on this method the spatial position of the Hungarian inhabitants could be drawn, while field work helped to map the distribution of the Roma population.

The result is a 'quasi-segregated' situation: there exist parts of the cities, where the otherwise minority ethnic group Hungarians live as local majority, but their distribution is rather uniform. The residential segregation of Roma is spectacular, but due to the lack of data it cannot be quantified.

Keywords: Romania, segregation, ethnic geography, electoral geography, urban space

Introduction

Study on the spatial position of ethnic groups is one of the main targets of ethnic geography. In East Central Europe the still existing ethnic diversity creates an opportunity to study the ethnic issues from different perspectives: from national/regional level down to local/settlement level. Until presently most of this research related to ethnic geography focused on the regional level, independently of the size of the territorial unit. While in Western Europe and in the Anglo-Saxon countries, studies on the ethnic patterns of the urban space

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are rooted deeply, in East Central Europe that kind of research only (re)started after the change of regime around 1990.

The target area of the present study is Northwest Romania and its three main cities, *Oradea* (in Hungarian *Nagyvárad*), *Satu Mare* (*Szatmárnémeti*) and *Baia Mare* (*Nagybánya*). This multiethnic region is called *Crișana-Maramureș* by Romanians and *Partium* by Hungarians.

The extraordinary mixture of the population with different ethnic and religious background gives its unique character: from the 18th century five significant denominations and seven large ethnicities formed the religious-ethnic pattern. Nowadays the most sizeable ethnic groups are the Romanians, Hungarians, Roma people (Gypsies) and Germans.

Located only 14 km from the Hungarian-Romanian state border, due to its geographical position Oradea is one of the most important international traffic junctions and most prosperous cities of Romania. Since the late 17th century, Oradea is situated next to the Hungarian-Romanian ethnic-language boundary, and is the seat of the ethnically mixed region *Bihor* (*Bihar*). Oradea is surrounded by Hungarian villages in the north and west, and by Romanian villages in the east and south.

Satu Mare is situated only 10 km from the border crossing point, but before the political transformation in 1989 the border was not traversable. This fact and the remoteness from Bucharest (600 km) resulted in its rather peripheral position, and its being less prosperous as Oradea. Satu Mare is the seat of the ethnically extremely mixed region *Satu Mare* (*Szatmár*). Nowadays the city is surrounded by Hungarian villages in the north-west and east, by mixed villages in the north-east and by Romanian villages in the south.

Baia Mare is situated at the foot of the Mountains *Igniș* (*Rozsály*). It was an important mining town of the medieval Hungary and now is one of the most important industrial centres of Romania and the seat of *Maramureș* (*Máramaros*) county. The surrounding of the city is almost homogeneously Romanian, only some Hungarian villages can be found south of the city.

Earlier studies on segregation – differences between East and West

Although ethnic residential segregation is not the mostly examined issue in the former state socialist countries of East Central Europe, it is an existing research trend. In this region, investigations into residential segregation have been limited, they rather focused on social segregation and on the capital cities (GENTILE, M. and TAMMARU, T. 2006).

Studies on the ethnic dimensions of urban segregation are particularly meagre, which has three main reasons. Firstly, the former Jewish ghettos were transformed after the Second World War so one of the potential scenes

of the segregation disappeared. Secondly, during socialism "...the leaders of these societies had the – more or less seriously believed – illusion that ethnic based inequalities could not exist under the socialism." (LADÁNYI, J. 2008. 64.) Thirdly, in case of national minorities (i.e. minorities with mother-country in the region), research has been missing because no census data were available below the level of settlements (GENTILE, M. and TAMMARU, T. 2006). So only a few works can be mentioned here related mostly to the Roma minority in Budapest (e.g. LADÁNYI, J. 1988, 1993), where one of the first real examples of ethnic-based urban ghettos could be found in post-communist East Central Europe (KOVÁCS, Z. 1998).

Despite the above-mentioned phenomena, ethnic segregation was still investigated, but mostly in rural neighbourhoods. The objects of the research were mostly multiethnic villages in Hungary and in the neighbouring countries, while significantly less work examined the towns and cities (except the capital cities). An important feature of these works is that they do not measure the segregation; they mainly present the actual ethnic structure of the settlement and intend to reveal the causes and results of the (possible) segregated situation.³

Recently we can classify two main trends in the research of the ethnic residential segregation in this region, which are the followings: (1) studying the regional segregation of ethnic groups,⁴ where the basic units are the settlements; or (2) studying the ethnic residential structure of a settlement. In latter category we have to differentiate between (2a) rural and (2b) urban space, because of the different applied methods of these two levels. Dealing with category 1 and 2a is not an objective of this article; we only need to refer works that belong to this group because of their methodology (namely measuring the segregation).

Meanwhile, in Western European or other Anglo-Saxon countries research of the urban ethnic segregation has deep roots and rich present. Outlining this history is not a goal of present study; some outstanding summaries have come out in this topic (e.g. KAPLAN, D.H. and HOLLOWAY, S.R. 2001; ELLIS, M. *et al.* 2004; DEURLOO, M.C. and DE VOS, S. 2008; GUEST, A.M. *et al.* 2008). Below the differences between the 'eastern' and 'western'⁵ approaches will be presented. Ethnic residential segregation according to the perception of the 'eastern' and 'western' researchers is a little bit different, what is caused by

³ E.g. AUBERT, A. 1994; KEMÉNYFI, R. 1994, 1998; TÁTRAI, P. 2004, 2010.

⁴ Four different methods of the research of ethnic circumstances of a region were deployed by BOTTLIK, Zs. (2001), BAJMÓCZY, P. (2005), FARKAS, Gy. (2006) or MAJO, J. and HORŃÁK, M. (2007).

⁵ What is called here 'western' is not a uniform research trend; it is a whole complex of studies about Western European and Anglo-Saxon cities. In this topic significant differences can be found according to the circumstances of the European and American cities (e.g. different structure of urban space, less mobility of population in Europe) or according to the divergent approaches of the research models (e.g. assimilationist or culturally-pluralist models – see FORREST, J. and JOHNSTON, R. 2001).

the divergent ethnic history and the different present ethnic structure, which have resulted in different aims of the studies. In the Carpathian Basin several ethnic groups live together for centuries; ethnic diversity is not something new. Diversity is not restricted to towns and cities but characterizes whole regions, both urban and rural neighbourhoods, and in huge areas minority ethnic groups live as a local majority. Therefore in Hungary and in the neighbouring countries, research focuses not only on urban, but on rural areas as well. On the contrary, 'western' researchers have focused on urban areas as the possible location of ethnic segregation (and main target of immigrants).

So the main factors, which caused the differences between 'eastern' and 'western' (especially Eastern and Western Europe's) scientific development in this issue, are the followings:

- Different type of ethnic groups and ethnic history: in East the existence of ethnic minorities originates from the fact that national borders and ethnic boundaries do not coincide (so migration is not necessary for the formation of a minority),⁶ while in West ethnic/racial minorities are mostly immigrants and the descendants of 19–20th century immigrants.⁷

- Different type of migration: in urban space migration is an essential source of the population growth and ethnic heterogeneity – in East it is mostly due to the internal migration, while in West ethnic diversity is the result of international migration.

- Different type of urbanization: western urbanization has been mostly a spontaneous process, while in East the urbanization was controlled and promoted by the state during the socialist era.

- Different ethnic patterns in rural areas: in East ethnic minorities in rural environment can preserve better their ethnic identity, especially if they are the local majority, whilst in West rural areas are less characterized by ethnic heterogeneity.

Applied methods – how to measure the segregation

Researches in the last decades often focused on the question of measuring segregation (e.g. WONG, D.W. 1993, 2005; DEURLOO, M.C. and DE VOS, S. 2008). They tried to find methods and indices, which can explain all features of the segregation. As until our days no single index can do this, present study accepted MASSEY, D.S. and DENTON'S, N.A. (1988) work as starting point. They

⁶ With the exception of the Roma and Jewish population.

⁷ That is why the classification scheme by JOHNSTON, R. *et al.* (2006) based on the percentage of host communities cannot be applied for the Romanian cities investigated, because there, during the 20th century, the host community (in political meaning) changed three times, while in demographic meaning it changed only once.

highlighted five characteristics of the segregation and tried to find a relevant index to each principle. So according to MASSEY and DENTON evenness (how even the distribution of an ethnic group), exposure (how large the contact area, the possible interactions between the ethnic groups), concentration (how 'compact' the spatial position of an ethnic group), centralization (where live the ethnic group inside the city) and clustering (relative position and contiguity of ethnic groups) can explain all dimensions of the ethnic residential segregation.

What were the indices that MASSEY, D.S. and DENTON, N.A. (1988) recommended for their categories? To examine evenness *index of segregation/dissimilarity* (IS and D) was found the most adequate. It is the most frequently applied index, elaborated by DUNCAN, O.D. and DUNCAN, B. (1955). Almost every work on ethnic residential segregation use this index, thus making the results world-wide comparable. IS and D show the extent of the population in an area, which has to be redistributed to get an equal distribution of every group between the subareas. It suffers from many disadvantages (see WONG, D.W. 2005; DEURLOO, M.C. and DE Vos, S. 2008): among others it only provides an answer to the question of evenness without tackling the question of distance and contiguity.

As already DUNCAN, O.D. and DUNCAN, B. (1955) noticed some of these problems, more researchers suggested several adjustments to strengthen the above mentioned geographical factors in the index and to eliminate the effects of the variation in the size of the areal units (e.g. WONG, D.W. 1993, 2005). Despite the efforts, every method has weaknesses and none of them can explain all dimensions of segregation.⁸

Recognition of the problem that segregation is an asymmetric phenomenon led to the creation of *isolation index* (P^*) by LIEBERSON, S. (1981). According to MASSEY, D.S. and DENTON, N.A. (1988) isolation (or interaction) index can capture the essence of exposure best of all, but similarly to the segregation/dissimilation index, it is neither suitable for measuring the spatial aspects of segregation. It measures the probability that a member of a certain group shares the area or comes into contact with a person from another group in the same area. P^* also has drawbacks (like IS and D), including the lack of the geographical factor (DEURLOO, M.C. and DE Vos, S. 2008).

Another index to be mentioned here is the index of fragmentation. This index is more frequently used in regional research for measuring the degree of segregation of ethnic groups using settlements as basic units (FARKAS, Gy. 2006; MAJO, J. and HORŇÁK, M. 2007). Fragmentation index is suitable for presenting the scale of exposure, but since its value is inversely proportional to the share of the specific ethnic group (expressed in percent of total population), it does not have an extra worth compared to calculating percent values.

⁸ For description, calculation and problems of each measure see MASSEY, D.S. and DENTON, N.A. 1988; WONG, D.W. 2005; MUNOZ, S.-A. 2006.

Whereas the application of the above mentioned 'hard' indices is widespread, some authors call attention to the possibility of using 'softer' indices. JOHNSTON, R. *et al.* (2001) suggest to use thresholds in order to measure the level of concentration of each ethnic group. As a matter of fact, it is only a little more than counting per cent values of the ethnic groups within the total population of each district. Although JOHNSTON, R. *et al.* (2001) introduce this procedure as a new method, it is rather a classic method of ethnic geography widely used in East Central Europe – but mainly in regional studies and less in urban research (e.g. Kocsis, K. *et al.* 2006). For its applicability this study also utilizes the threshold method to present the concentration.

Unfortunately, measuring the rest two categories (centralization and clustering) with the recommended indices is not possible in our case, because the needed data on the areal extent are not available. That is why centralization and clustering is going to be analyzed with the help of maps.

An important question is the source of the data used in the research. In Western Europe and in Anglo-Saxon countries measuring the segregation is generally based on ethnic statistics of census data (see SIMPSON, L. 2004). In these countries censuses provide detailed data on ethnic/racial background of the population on the level of census collection districts. In East Central Europe and in the post-Soviet countries, collecting data on the same level (or at all) is not so easy (GENTILE, M. and TAMMARU, T. 2006). In some countries (including Romania) even the access to the data on the level of settlements run into difficulties. If the necessary data are not available another method should be found. In the case of the cities of Northwest Romania only one option has presented itself: adopting the results of the parliamentary elections.

What is the basis of this method? In Romania and in Hungary's other neighbouring countries, which have sizeable Hungarian minorities (Slovakia, Serbia and Ukraine), there exist Hungarian ethnic parties. Along acting as political parties they generally safeguard Hungarian interests or function as cultural associations too. Since they represent the Hungarian minorities, non-Hungarians hardly cast their votes for them and the same situation is valid inversely: Hungarians usually vote for their ethnic party (see ILIEȘ, A. 1998; BODOCAN, V. 2003; MARIOT, P. 2003 and BOAMFĂ, I. and HOREA-ȘERBAN, R.-I. 2009). So voting for a Hungarian ethnic party is one of the components of the Hungarian identity (VERES, V. 2005); moreover it may be a better indicator of the ethnic affiliation, than the census, because there are less external influencing factors during the voting.

In Romania the Hungarian ethnic party Democratic Alliance of Hungarians of Romania, DAHR (called UDMR in Romanian, RMDSZ in Hungarian) managed to get in the parliament since the first democratic elections in 1990. It is the only ethnic party, which get approximately as many votes as the proportion of the represented ethnic group (*Table 1*), so ethnic voting

is mostly proceeded in case of Hungarians. From the point of view of ethnic segregation research, the results of the DAHR in the parliamentary elections is the only data, which can be used.⁹

Using data of the result of elections naturally have many limits and disadvantages. General features of election data are summarized in the followings:

- First of all it could not be proved that all who votes for DAHR are Hungarian in any sense. Despite, DAHR politicians and local Hungarian elite agree on the coincidence of DAHR voters and Hungarians. According to BOAMFĂ, I. and HOREA-ȘERBAN, R.-I. (2009) the correlation between the proportion of the Hungarians and the voting results of the DAHR in the local elections is persistently over 0.93 on the level of communes (the basic administrative units).¹⁰

- The result of the DAHR strongly depends on the turnout. But as *Table 1* shows, the extent of the fluctuation is not so significant as it could basically influence the results.

- The change of the system of the Romanian elections between 2004 and 2008 also influenced the results and has made the comparison more difficult.

Table 1. Share of Hungarians and result of DAHR in the parliamentary elections in the cities and counties studied, 1990–2008 (%)

Year	Romania	Bihor	Oradea	Maramureș	Baia Mare	Satu Mare	Satu Mare (city)
1992m	7.2	29.1	33.8	10.1	..	39.1	..
1992e	7.1	28.4	33.3	10.2	17.5	35.0	41.3
2002m	6.7	26.9	28.2	8.8	14.4	39.1	41.4
2002e	6.6	26.0	27.6	9.1	15.0	35.2	39.8
1990cd	7.2	28.3	..	10.1	..	38.2	..
1992cd	7.5	25.4	..	9.8	..	31.9	..
1996cd	6.6	23.6	..	9.0	..	29.4	..
2000cd	6.8	23.0	25.6	9.1	14.5	36.2	38.3
2004cd	6.2	23.0	23.4	9.0	13.8	34.7	36.4
2008cd	6.2	25.1	24.3	7.8	12.6	36.1	38.9

Legend: m = mother tongue; e = ethnicity; cd = chamber of deputies; .. = no data.

Sources: <http://www.kia.hu/konyvtar/erdely/erd2002.htm>; <http://www.bec2004.ro>; <http://www.becparlamentare2008.ro>; <http://valasztasok.adatbank.transindex.ro>

⁹ Using electoral data or electoral wards in research of the segregation is not something new (e.g. SIMPSON, L. 2004), even though it is undoubtedly a rarely applied method.

¹⁰ 1992: 0.960; 1996: 0.957; 2000: 0.986; 2004: 0.977; 2008: 0.932 (BOAMFĂ, I. and HOREA-ȘERBAN, R.-I. 2009. 176).

– Since ageing is more characteristic among the Hungarians than within the total population, thus the share of Hungarians eligible to vote is higher than that of the total population.

– Due to mixing and assimilation, the wide group called Hungarians is heterogeneous and includes ethnic groups with Hungarian mother tongue (e.g. Gypsies, Swabians) and groups who declare Hungarian ethnicity but different mother tongue. The electoral behaviour of these groups can be different. At the Romanian census in 2002 different mother tongue and ethnicity was declared by 2.3% in Oradea, 3.2% in Satu Mare and 2.7% in Baia Mare within the total population.

– The electoral wards generally include 1000–2000 inhabitants in the cities studied.

– The size of the electoral wards is also different; and sometimes remote parts of the city belong to the same ward.

– There exists no map showing the boundaries of wards,, just a list about which streets constitute the wards. Moreover this may change between two elections which hinders the comparison.

– Fortunately, districts comprising housing estates are generally not united with other type of built up areas within the same electoral ward.

On the basis of the above mentioned factors, this study uses electoral data as ethnic data regarding to Hungarians, where the DAHR-voters can be interpreted as Hungarians and the valid votes as the total population. The applied methods are determined by the available data, so they will be a sort of mix: evenness can be explained by the index of segregation, exposure by isolation index, and the spatial features (concentration, centralization, clustering) by drawing maps and by the threshold method of JOHNSTON, R. *et al.* (2001)¹¹. But it is still not enough to map the real ethnic situation, because there is another, increasingly significant ethnic group, the Roma, whose number and location cannot be revealed by the census or the elections. To get rid of this problem field research was made too.

Population dynamics and ethnic transformation in the cities of Northwest Romania

Before World War I, Hungarians constituted the majority ethnic group in both cities, moreover, according to the Hungarian censuses, the population was almost homogeneously Hungarian in Oradea and Satu Mare. But con-

¹¹ Applying the isolation index and any types of the adjustment of the dissimilarity index was not possible, because the data on the Romanian, German or Roma population and on the size of each electoral ward were not available.

sidering the fact that both cities had significant Jewish and Greek Catholic community,¹² it cannot be stated that the population would have had such a homogeneous ethnic background. Data are missing whether ethnic segregation could be observed from this period (at the end of the 19th century), except the Jews, who – due to their occupation (e.g. trader, financier) – concentrated in the city centre.¹³

After First World War the state power in the researched area changed, this region became part of the enlarged Romania and many Hungarian left the cities. The new power tried to secure the newly obtained territories, which resulted – among others – in the settling of loyal, mostly Romanian population. Due to these events the ethnic structure of the cities had also changed (*Table 2a,b,c*).

According to the second Vienna Award in 1940, North Transylvania (included Oradea, Satu Mare and Baia Mare) returned to Hungary. As a con-

Table 2a. Ethnic composition of Oradea between 1880–2002(%)

Year	Oradea						
	Total	Romanian	Hungarian	German	Jew	Gipsy	Other
1880m	34,231	6.3	87.4	3.6	..	..	2.7
1890m	42,042	6.1	89.5	2.5	..	..	1.9
1900m	54,109	6.4	89.6	2.7	..	..	1.3
1910m	68,960	5.5	91.3	2.1	..	..	1.1
1920e	73,025	11.8	62.2	0.8	24.6	..	0.6
1930m	88,830	24.5	67.8	1.3	4.7	0.4	1.3
1930e	88,830	26.3	53.7	1.1	16.7	0.6	1.6
1941m	98,621	5.2	92.1	0.9	1.3	0.1	0.5
1941e	98,621	5.2	92.0	0.7	1.6	0.1	0.4
1948m	82,282	32.8	63.9	0.2	2.2	..	0.9
1956m	98,950	34.9	63.5	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.8
1956e	98,950	36.0	59.0	0.3	3.6	0.0	1.0
1966m	122,534	45.5	53.2	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.8
1966e	122,534	46.1	51.4	0.4	1.2	0.0	0.9
1977e	170,531	53.9	44.1	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.6
1992e	222,741	64.8	33.3	0.4	0.1	1.0	0.4
2002m	206,614	70.7	28.2	0.3	0.0	0.5	0.4
2002e	206,614	70.3	27.6	0.3	0.1	1.2	0.6

¹² According to the censuses before First World War, the proportion of the Jews in the total population increased from 20 to 24% in Oradea, from 7 to 21% in Satu Mare and from 2 to 11% in Baia Mare. Due to their gradual assimilation, the Hungarian became mother tongue of their majority. In the same period the Greek Catholics formed 11–12% of Oradea's population (together with the Orthodox believers), 15–20% in Satu Mare and 35–38% in Baia Mare, which numbers indicate a sizeable population with Romanian (and few of them perhaps Ruthenian) origin.

¹³ For detailed data on the streets in Satu Mare with the birthplace of Jewish children in the second half of the 19th century, see CSIRÁK, Cs. (2001).

Table 2b. Ethnic composition of Baia Mare between 1880–2002(%)

Year	Baia Mare						
	Total	Romanian	Hungarian	German	Jew	Gipsy	Other
1880m	8,632	29.6	66.7	2.2	..	..	1.5
1890m	9,838	19.7	77.2	1.1	..	..	2.0
1900m	11,183	21.5	76.5	1.3	..	..	0.8
1910m	12,877	20.8	77.6	1.4	..	..	0.3
1920e	12,780	39.2	36.4	9.6	14.0	..	0.8
1930m	13,904	46.7	41.5	2.1	9.0	0.0	0.7
1930e	13,904	47.6	35.4	1.1	14.0	0.9	0.9
1941m	21,399	17.1	79.4	0.6	1.7	0.9	0.2
1941e	21,399	13.1	82.0	0.4	3.6	0.7	0.2
1948m	20,959	43.3	53.7	0.0	2.6	..	0.3
1956m	35,920	52.2	46.6	0.3	0.6	0.0	0.2
1956e	35,920	53.8	42.7	0.3	2.9	0.1	0.3
1966m	62,658	65.4	33.9	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.2
1966e	62,658	65.7	32.8	0.4	0.7	0.1	0.3
1977e	99,202	72.7	25.8	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.3
1992e	148,363	80.1	17.5	0.7	0.1	1.3	0.3
2002m	136,254	84.5	14.4	0.2	0.0	0.5	0.3
2002e	136,254	82.6	15.0	0.4	0.0	1.5	0.4

Legend and sources: see Table 2a.

Table 2c. Ethnic composition of Satu Mare between 1880–2002(%)

Year	Satu Mare						
	Total	Romanian	Hungarian	German	Jew	Gipsy	Other
1880m	19,708	5.0	88.9	3.8	..	.	2.3
1890m	20,736	3.5	94.5	1.3	..	..	0.8
1900m	26,881	3.4	93.3	2.2	..	..	1.1
1910m	34,892	2.8	94.8	1.8	..	..	0.5
1920e	37,376	12.2	66.0	0.4	21.0	..	0.4
1930m	51,495	27.1	58.9	1.3	11.3	0.1	1.3
1930e	51,495	31.6	42.6	1.8	20.8	1.2	2.0
1941m	52,011	4.6	92.1	0.5	2.4	0.1	0.3
1941e	52,011	4.0	92.9	0.4	2.0	0.5	0.3
1948m	46,519	29.2	65.6	0.2	4.5	..	0.5
1956m	52,096	30.3	67.6	0.3	1.4	0.0	0.4
1956e	52,096	34.8	59.9	0.2	4.6	0.0	0.5
1966m	68,246	43.0	56.2	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.3
1966e	68,246	46.4	50.5	0.8	0.7	1.2	0.4
1977e	101,860	50.3	48.0	1.0	0.3	0.3	0.2
1992e	130,584	54.8	41.3	2.8	0.0	0.8	0.3
2002m	113,697	57.5	41.4	0.5	0.0	0.2	0.3
2002e	113,697	57.5	39.8	1.4	0.0	0.9	0.4

Legend and sources: see Table 2a.

sequence of the wartime events (e.g. mass forced migrations, changing hierarchy of ethnic groups, Jews subjected to discrimination) the overwhelming majority of the population declared themselves Hungarian again at the 1941 census. After the Holocaust in 1944, only the minority of the deported Jews had returned to the cities, and their number decreased on the average by 60% (REMEMBER..., 1985). The Hungarian rule lasted only four years, as the Soviet and Romanian troops captured the cities researched in 1944 and Northern Transylvania got back to Romania.

Since the middle of the last century the changes of ethnic structure have been determined mainly by the socialist urbanization. The Romanian (and the Transylvanian) urbanization had several but ever subsiding waves (BENEDEK, J. 2006). The declared aim of this state-controlled process was the modernization (industrialization), which was to be achieved with the flow of rural population into urban centres. This period had two important administrative characteristics: the monocentric development (the county seats were privileged) and the forming of the so called 'closed cities'; the latter meant that in certain settlements only the selected ethnic group – generally the Romanians – was allowed to immigrate. This points out the second, though non-declared aim of the Romanian urbanization, which was the change of the existing ethnic structure.¹⁴

The arrival of the new, (culturally) diverse population led to breaking the local society into fragments, which had previously been weakened by the deportation of the Jews. Sometimes the theoretically autochthonous Hungarian community became also mixed. So the mass of the (mainly Romanian) immigrants caused a complete transformation of the interethnic relations and hierarchy. With the increasing proportion of Romanians the local political elite and the local policy has also changed, which contributed to a growing tension between the two main ethnic groups.

In Oradea, Satu Mare and Baia Mare the process of the socialist urbanization took place in a similar way: industrialization generated immigration, and – from the early 1960s – the newcomers were accommodated in new housing estates with low comfort. Contrary to South Slovakia – where the newcomers were mainly settled in the centre into the flats/houses of the deported Hungarians¹⁵ (Kocsis, K. and Kocsis-Hodosi, E. 1998) – the new residential quarters are located in the periphery of the cities, because this was the fastest solution to house the new inhabitants. In the first period (in the 1960s) the ethnic composition of the immigrants was more or less balanced (except

¹⁴ For a description of „Romanization“ of Transylvanian towns (especially Cluj-Napoca), see BRUBAKER, R. *et al.* (2006. 109–118).

¹⁵ That is why in towns of South Slovakia ethnic residential segregation cannot be observed.

Baia Mare),¹⁶ because in the first place generally the agrarian population of the environs moved in. From the end of the 1960s the ethnic structure of the incomers has changed; they became Romanian in absolute majority and the proportion of Roma started to increase. By around 1953 the Romanians formed the majority ethnic group in Baia Mare, around 1970 in Oradea and around 1973 in Satu Mare. Since then Hungarians are dual minority i.e. both in political and in demographic sense. On the whole, the highest population growth took place during the socialist period: between the 1948 and 1992 censuses its extent was around 2.7–2.8 fold in Oradea and Satu Mare and 7.1 fold in Baia Mare, which confirms that the latter is a real industrial city (see also GENTILE, M. and TAMMARU, T. 2006).

What were the spatial consequences of the urbanization? The cities enlarged their built-up area and several new residential quarters emerged, where the majority of the population now lives. In ethnic sense along with the management of state-controlled migration another important task of the (local) power was the symbolic appropriation of urban space (see BOBÓ, J. and BÍRÓ, A.Z. 2000; ERŐSS, Á. and TÁTRAI, P. 2010).¹⁷

From the late 1980s, due to the repressive minority policy of the Ceaușescu regime, many Hungarians (and other minorities) left the country and especially the cities included Oradea, Satu Mare and Baia Mare. The emigrants were mainly intellectuals which had a detrimental effect upon the social structure of Hungarians. Later from the early 1990s Romanians joined *en mass* to this emigration wave, because of the inferior economic situation of the country. Due to the disadvantageous processes (ageing, emigration, dezurbanization), the population of the cities decreased by about 10% between 1992 and 2002, which is typical of the former communist countries, and especially of industrial cities like Baia Mare (see GENTILE, M. and TAMMARU, T. 2006).

Patterns of ethnic residential segregation by the results of general elections

In the last decade there were three parliamentary elections in Romania (see *Table 1*). It is only the election in 2004, when the result of DAHR by electoral wards for all the cities could be analysed.¹⁸ Another reason why the research was based on this date is its closeness to the census in 2002, which gives the possibility to compare the electoral results with the ethnic data.

¹⁶ Romanians and Hungarians settled alike, but the majority was Romanian.

¹⁷ For example erecting statues of national (Romanian) heroes, naming streets in the spirit of communist/nationalist ideology or creating a new city centre.

¹⁸ In Romania, parliamentary elections comprise the election of the senate and the chamber of deputies. For the sanalysis only the latter is used.

In *Oradea* there are 131 electoral ward. Generally, the share of the votes cast for the DAHR is changing between 3 and 74 per cent – in this respect the difference between the last three elections is negligible. In 2004, the share of the votes gained by DAHR was less than the share of the Hungarians in the city. Only 41.6% of the ethnic Hungarians and about 45% of Hungarians above 18 years voted for the DAHR.

In 2004, most Hungarians (or to be more precise: DAHR-voters – in the followings simply Hungarians) have been concentrated in Episcopia Bihor (Biharpüspöki), a former village, which was attached to Oradea after the Second World War and has been inhabited predominantly by Hungarians. Here not only their number but their proportion is also the highest (above 72%).

Out of the top ten wards, where the highest number of DAHR-voters lived, six is situated in Oradea's largest housing estate, the Rogerius quarter. On the other hand, five of the last ten wards are situated in Ioşia (Őssi) and two in the south-eastern peripheries.

What is the reason for that? Rogerius is the largest¹⁹ and quite early built housing estate (from the 1960s). That was the period of industrialization and the population of Oradea started to grow to a large extent. Living in a city like Oradea meant much better circumstances and geographical mobility meant social mobility for the immigrants (BRUBAKER, R. *et al.* 2006). So in the first time newcomers arrived mainly from the broad surroundings of Oradea; and since the rural countryside was settled by Hungarians and Romanians as well, it resulted in an almost balanced immigration, which directed towards the new housing estates. The history of Ioşia is quite different. It has started to build up between the two world wars, it looks like a village and mainly Romanian colonists were settled here. The ethnic composition of this quarter has not changed significantly since that time.

For mapping the exposure of Hungarian population it is useful to calculate their proportion in the total voters (*Figure 1*). According to that indicator, the highest values are in two peripheries, where the DAHR-voters are the absolute majority (in the above-mentioned Episcopia Bihor and in Podgoria [Hegyközség], which is a hilly, sparsely populated area and part of Oradea since around 1960). The second highest proportion of Hungarians lives in the city centre, especially south of the river Crişul Repede (Sebes-Körös) in Oraşul Nou (Újváros).

On the contrary, the southern peripheries (e.g. Ioşia, Nufărul, Tokai) can be characterized by the lowest proportion of Hungarians. Nufărul is the second largest housing estate of the city and was built only in the 1980s. By that time the demographic 'reserve' of the rural vicinity had exhausted, so a

¹⁹ About quarter of Oradea's population live in Rogerius.

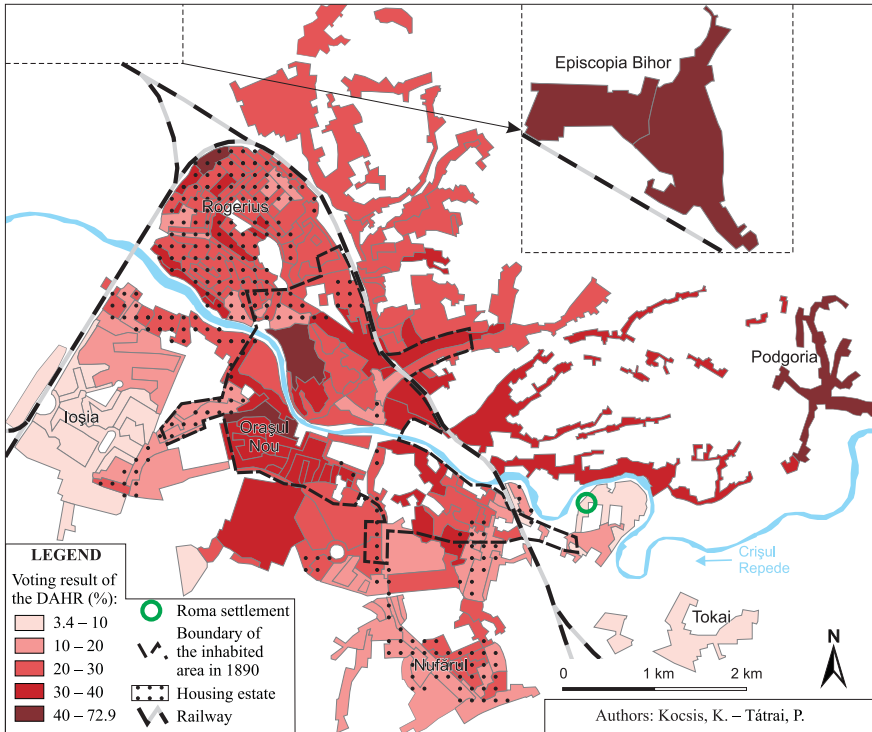


Fig. 1. Proportion of the DAHR-voters in Oradea in 2004. Source of data: DAHR office in Oradea

significant share of the in-migrants arrived from far countrysides, even from beyond the Carpathians – and were mostly Romanians.

In our days suburbanization is the most important process in the transformation of the city. In the southern fringe of the city new gated communities, while in the western, hilly districts, new family houses have been built. In the new quarters, it was not the ethnic affiliation but the social/financial background that determined the composition of the newcomers.

To sum up: the outskirts of Oradea and the large housing estates are mostly inhabited by Romanians; while the centre, the heart of the city still has some Hungarian features, exactly as the former independent villages in the north-western and in the eastern peripheries. While the first housing estates can rather be characterized as the field of coexistence of different ethnic groups, quarters built later are more homogeneous (Romanian).

In *Satu Mare* 60 electoral wards existed before 2008. In 2008 the number of the wards increased to 74. Generally, the share of the votes for the DAHR has changed between 12 and 73%. In 2004 – unlike in Oradea – the share of the

votes cast for the DAHR here (36.4%) was more than the share of the ethnic Hungarians (35.2%). It is observable that the result of the DAHR is commonly between the share of the ethnic Hungarians and the native speaker Hungarians (*Table 1*). Despite the relatively good result of the DAHR, only 40.2% of the ethnic Hungarians and about 43% of Hungarians above 18 years voted for the DAHR.

In 2004, wards with the lowest number of Hungarians coincide with wards with the minimum proportion of Hungarians. All wards with less than 25% votes for DAHR are situated south of the river Someș, mainly in the south-eastern part of the city. Likewise, the wards with maximum number and proportion of Hungarians also coincide; they are located on the opposite, north-western side of the city. This situation refers to the relatively even size of the election wards.

Votes collected by DAHR reached the 50% in eight contiguous wards in the north-western part of Satu Mare, which formed the western part of the city hundred years before (*Figure 2*). This part is a lowly built up area with historic buildings at the edge of the city centre and it turns into garden city beyond. The proportion of the Hungarians is also high in the northern part of the city and is above average in the oldest housing estates (Cartierul Solidarității north of the Someș and Micro 14, Carpați I. south of the Someș) – for the same reasons as in Oradea. The historic city centre itself is considered to be an interim zone concerning the votes for the DAHR with average values. The proportion of Hungarians is below average in the new city centre, in housing estates built after the 1970s and in the southern part of the city (especially next to the road to Cluj-Napoca).²⁰ In the newly built and still expanding suburbs (mostly in the eastern part of Satu Mare) DAHR achieved a result around or below the average, like in Oradea, which reflects that the ethnic proportions here correspond to those of the whole city.

Generally it can be stated that in Satu Mare, the ageing Hungarians live in old, lowly built up and partly in central quarters of the city, where they still form the majority ethnic group (50–70%). East of the railway and in the south their proportion is far from the average, and here they constitute a minority (20–40%). Contrary, the Romanians have younger age structure and live mainly in housing estates built during the last forty years and in the vicinity of the new centre (*Photo 1*). In spite of the above characteristics Hungarians and Romanians are not segregated. The residential differences originate from

²⁰ The new housing estates were built mostly south of the Someș; here can be found seven from the total nine new quarters, where the majority of the population is Romanian. The flood in 1970 also influenced the ethnic structure of the city, because subsequently two Roma camps on the riverbank were liquidated. In addition the construction of the new city centre started and therefore many Hungarians had to move out.

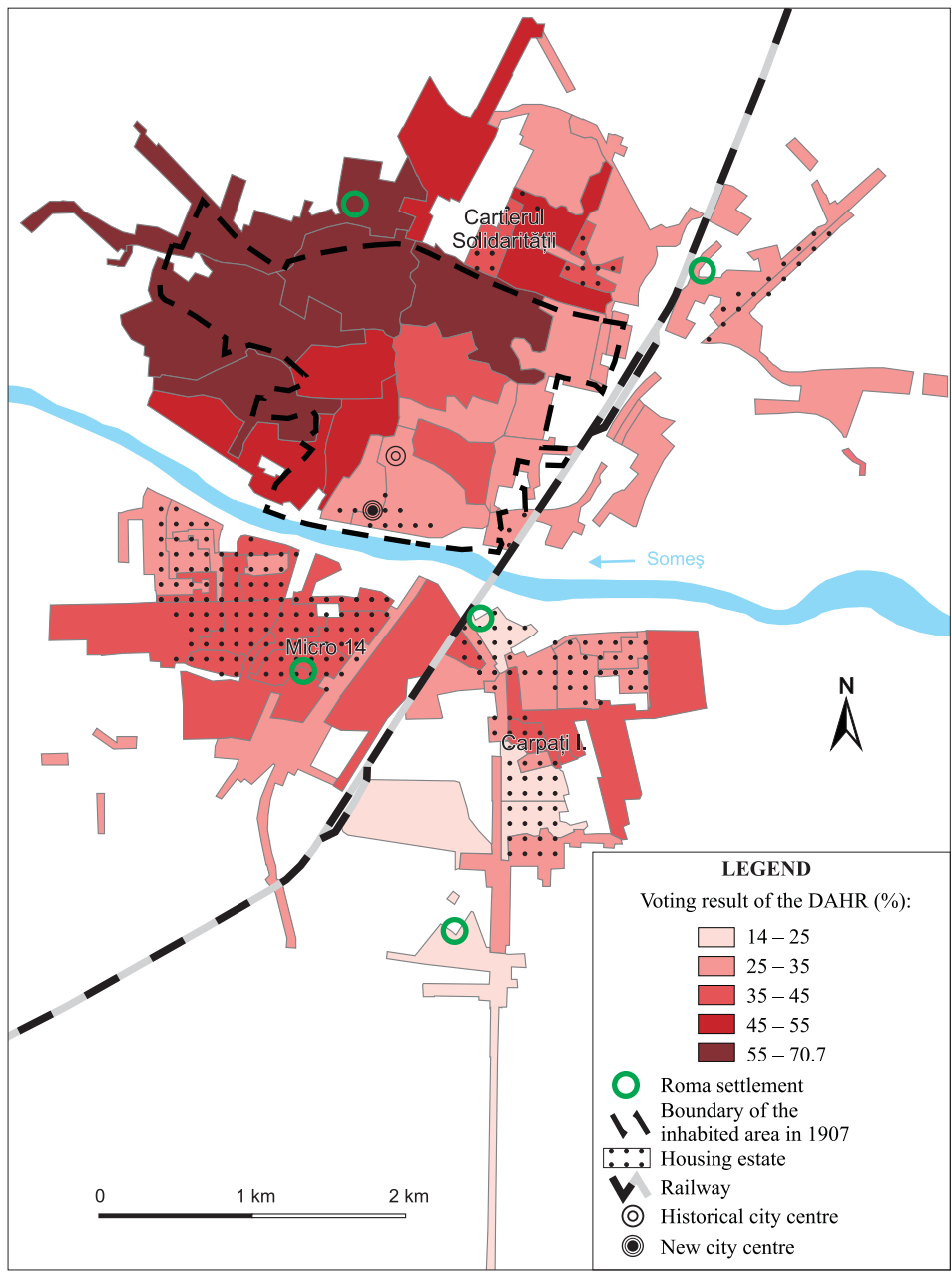


Fig. 2. Proportion of the DAHR-voters in Satu Mare in 2004. Source of data: DAHR-office in Satu Mare



Photo 1. The new city centre with the city hall (in the middle) in Satu Mare. Photo by TÁTRAI, P.

the past settling down of the ethnic groups and from the socialist urbanization with aspirations to change the ethnic composition of the city. In our days segregation on the basis of the financial conditions is more important than that on the ethnic basis. Housing estates are in bad condition and many people move from the flats without the needed comfort to the garden cities built next to the roads eastwards to Odoreu (Szatmárudvari) and Păulești (Szatmárpálfalva).

In *Baia Mare* – unlike the other two cities – Hungarians are considered to be a weak minority. This is the only of the three cities, where the number of the ethnic Hungarians is higher than the number of the native speaker Hungarians, which fact indicates significant assimilation process of Hungarians to the Romanians.

There are 76 electoral wards in the city at the parliamentary elections. Generally, the share of the votes for the DAHR has varied between 1 and 34%. During the 2000s, the share of the votes cast for the DAHR was less than the share of ethnic Hungarians (*Table 1*). In 2004, only 40.7% of the ethnic Hungarians and about 45% of Hungarians above 18 years voted for the DAHR.



Photo 2. The old city centre in Baia Mare. Photo by TÁTRAI, P.

In 2004, DAHR got the greatest number of votes in the eastern and central part of the city. At the same time the greatest proportion of Hungarian votes was found in the eastern areas (in wards mainly east of the old main square). The proportion of the votes gained by DAHR was above average in the whole downtown (with the exception of the new administrative centre) and north of the stream Săsar (Zazár), in garden suburbs stretching up the hills (Valea Roşie – Veresvív). These are the oldest parts of the city, where Hungarian population traditionally live (*Photo 2*). Generally it is stated here too that the proportion of the Hungarians is the highest in the old centre and in its neighbourhood.

The western edge of the centre, where the first housing estates were built is an interim zone with average or just above average Hungarian votes. The proportion of Hungarians is below average in the western part of the city in both bank of the Săsar as well as in some isolated wards in the southwestern and southern part of the city. Wards with the worst result (less than 10%) achieved by DAHR are situated (1) in the eastern and western peripheries (Fernezium [Alsófernezely]²¹ and Valea Borcutului [Borpaták]) and (2) in the

²¹ Fernezium was a Romanian mining village, which was ceded to Baia Mare after Second World War.

southern part of the city, where the newest housing estates and the largest industrial zones can be found (Figure 3).

On the whole, Baia Mare's ethnic configuration is quite similar to what is observable in Satu Mare. Hungarian population resides in the centre and east of the centre in a higher proportion than the average. These are the oldest, lowly built up quarters of the city. The housing estates serve as home mainly for the Romanians having arrived during the socialist urbanization, but a relatively high proportion of Hungarians also live in housing estates built in the 1950–60s. The neighbourhood of the main industrial zones is inhabited mainly by Romanians.

How can be the segregation shown in the cities researched? With the use of the categories by MASSEY, D.S. and DENTON, N.A. (1988), evenness and exposure can be measured by indices (IS and P*), while concentration, centralization and clustering cannot be measured with the indices recommended by them due to the lack of data within electoral wards. Latter three categories can be analysed with the maps (figures 1 through 3) and with the threshold method of JOHNSTON, R. *et al.* (2001).

The index of segregation testifies to the rather even distribution of Hungarians in all the three cities. The values of IS are low – particularly com-

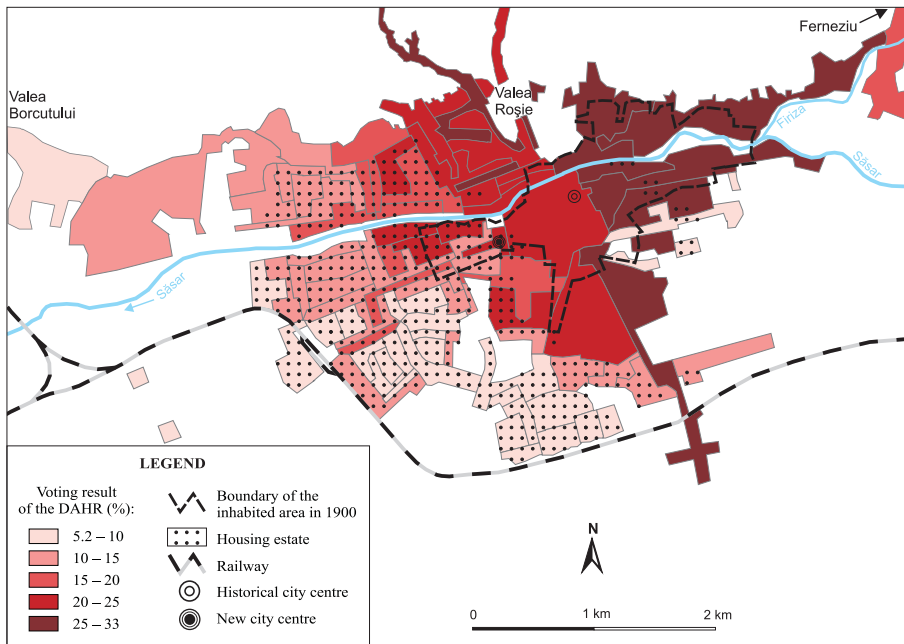


Fig. 3. Proportion of the DAHR-voters in Baia Mare in 2004. Source of data: DAHR-office in Baia Mare

Table 3. Segregation and interaction indices in cities investigated and in some western cities

Year	Oradea		Satu Mare		Baia Mare		Amsterdam	Rotterdam	The Hague	Utrecht
	Hungarians		Hungarians		Hungarians		Non-western minorities			
	IS	P*	IS	P*	IS	P*	IS	IS	IS	IS
2000	17.2	0.71	-	-	-	-	34.9	40.8	45.7	34.8
2004	18.0	0.72	16.7	0.60	23.7	0.83	36.3	38.5	46.1	37.4
2008	18.0	0.75	19.1	0.57	24.9	0.84	-	-	-	-
	Belfast	East Berlin	West Berlin	Bradford	Budapest	Dusseldorf	Glasgow			
	Catholic-Protestant	Foreigners	Foreigners	South Asians	Gypsy pupils	Labour migrants	Indian	Pakistani	IM-PM	IH-IM
	D	IS	IS	IS	IS	IS	IS	IS	P*	P*
1971	49.6	-	-	-	38.7	-	-	-	-	-
1981	57.7	-	-	-	-	36.2	-	-	-	-
1986	-	-	-	-	39.3	37.1	-	-	-	-
1991	60.2	36.8	32.1	75.0	-	36.7	-	-	-	-
1996	-	29.6	30.1	73.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
2001	-	-	-	74.0	-	-	35	38	0.311	0.001

Legend: IS = Index of segregation; D = Index of dissimilarity; P* = Isolation index; IM = Indian Muslim; PM = Pakistani Muslim; IH = Indian Hindu. Sources: Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague: Bolt, G. *et al.* 2008; Belfast: DOHERTY, P. and POOLE, A.P. 1997; East and West Berlin: KEMPER, F.-J. 1998; Bradford: SIMPSON, L. 2004; Budapest: LADÁNYI, J. 1993; Dusseldorf: GLEBE, G. 1997; Glasgow: MUNOZ, S.-A. 2006.

paring with other and somewhat larger cities (Table 3) – and have not changed considerably between 2004 and 2008.²² What is the reason for the low segregation index? Formerly, during the Hungarian rule, the Hungarians were the majority ethnic and political group; they filled up the urban space. During the socialism rural Hungarians immigrated into the cities, and because of the lack of housing and the better state of supply, they could mainly move to housing estates of the peripheries, to where the majority of the Romanian newcomers did too. So comparing with western cities, one important factor is the (partly) autochthonous origin of Hungarians (in contrast to the dominantly migrant background of Western European minorities) and the second factor is the uniform distribution of Hungarians, which is attributed to the historical development of the cities.

²² The change in Satu Mare's IS index is rather the consequence of the transformation of the electoral wards.

Isolation index proved that exposure of Hungarians gives the possibility for close contact with the Romanians. It is due to the even Hungarian distribution in the cities, but it should be emphasized that the value of the index is basically influenced by the current ethnic proportions. In practice interaction is not only a possibility, it is the reality, people with different ethnic background live, work or learn together (e.g. see BLOMQUIST, A. 2006; BRUBAKER, R. *et al.* 2006). The high values of P* also indicate the incompact settling of Hungarians and the huge surface of contact between the two largest ethnic groups.

On the basis of the first two categories (evenness, exposure) and indices, it is concluded that concentration of Hungarians is observable, and *Table 4* shows the dimension of the concentration in the cities. It presents the percentage of Hungarians living in wards where they exceed at least their defined ratio within the total population. According to the results at 2004 election, only a small proportion of Hungarians lived in wards, where they form the majority. But half of Oradea's, 95% of Satu Mare's and 17.5% of Baia Mare's Hungarians lived in wards, where they formed 25% or more of the total. If the threshold is the average of votes cast for the DAHR in each city, then Baia Mare seems to be the first in the relative concentration of Hungarians: their 59.2% in 2004 and 65.4% in 2008 lived in wards where DAHR gained votes above the average.

Unfortunately, concentration can be measured only on the level of electoral wards, which are not small enough to get to know the detailed patterns of residential concentration. Despite this it can be stated – on the basis of field

Table 4. The concentration of the Hungarian population in the cities investigated

Threshold (% of total population)	Oradea		Satu Mare		Baia Mare	
	2004	2008	2004	2008	2004	2008
5	99.7	99.7	100.0	100.0	99.4	97.3
10	98.8	98.2	100.0	100.0	78.2	78.6
15	94.7	90.1	99.5	99.7	53.1	54.7
20	79.4	67.7	99.5	99.0	35.1	34.3
25	49.9	35.9	95.6	97.5	17.5	6.1
30	28.2	18.2	82.2	81.8	5.4	6.1
35	11.9	9.6	61.1	70.6	0.0	0.0
40	8.6	6.3	34.7	50.9	0.0	0.0
45	4.9	6.0	24.4	37.1	0.0	0.0
50	4.9	6.0	20.6	25.0	0.0	0.0
60	4.6	6.0	9.5	13.7	0.0	0.0
70	4.6	2.7	3.9	2.7	0.0	0.0
above city average	56.2	58.9	49.5	53.5	59.2	65.4

work and local opinions – that there are not blocks or small districts (or they are very few) in which Romanians or Hungarians would live exclusively.

As far as fourth category of MASSEY, D.S. and DENTON, N.A. (1988), the centralization is regarded, two characteristics are outlined: first, the proportion of Hungarians is above average in the city centres, but their highest share can be seen in old quarters in the edges of centre and not in the very centre. Second, the ethnic patterns are influenced by the administrative changes, so peripheries may also concentrate sizeable Hungarian population (e.g. in Oradea). An analysis of the maps shows that centralization of Hungarians is equally significant in Satu Mare and Baia Mare and less typical in Oradea.

Clustering and contiguity can be only analyzed by the maps. Wards with high proportion of Hungarians are generally clustered in the vicinity of each other. The position of these wards is contiguous in Satu Mare and Baia Mare and rather scattered in Oradea, however it is neither random in the latter.

Patterns of the residential segregation of Roma population

Roma are a small but increasing ethnic group in all of the cities investigated, but the social, economic and residential circumstances of Roma and non-Roma are clearly distinct. Official data on their distribution inside the cities are not available, but the existing data (e.g. ethnicity, mother tongue on the level of settlement) are also needed to deal with cautiously. Although Roma generally have specific electoral behaviour (e.g. lower turnout or important role of the community leaders in decision on voting – see KOVÁCS, Z. and DINGSDALE, A. 1998; BODOCAN, V. 2003), the election results are neither applicable to present their residential distribution since at this moment there exist no such Roma party, which could represent and unite the whole (heterogenous) Roma community. So the following analysis is based on sporadic data released by the local governments and on own observations (only in Oradea and Satu Mare).

In Oradea the official number of Gypsies is 2,449 persons according to ethnicity and 1,024 persons according to mother tongue (1.2 and 0.5% of the total population). 37% of ethnic Roma has Hungarian and 22% has Romanian mother tongue. According to estimations about 4,500–5,000 Gypsies live in the city, whose majority belongs to the so called Hungarian Gypsy group. They settled here earlier than the Romanian Gypsies and resided in a peripheral colony. This colony was demolished during the socialism and Roma moved to a housing estate (called “Voltaire” – *Photo 3*) formerly owned by the army. Now “Voltaire” and the family houses of the surrounding streets (green ring in *Figure 1*) concentrate about third of Oradea’s Roma population – mainly the Hungarian Gypsies. The rest live in various places throughout the city (but most of all in the south-eastern peripheries).



Photo 3. Roma ghetto in Oradea. Photo by Erőss, Á.

1,115 ethnic Roma and 265 native speaker Roma lived in Satu Mare in 2002 (0.9 and 0.2% of the total population). Hungarian Gypsies formed 60% of this group. According to local estimations about 2,500 Gypsies live in the city, whose predominant majority is Hungarian Gypsy. Until 1970 two colonies had existed, but the flood of the Someş swept away them. Nowadays half of the Roma live in six bigger colonies in different but peripheral points of the city (www.satu-mare.ro), including housing estates, segregated colonies, neighbourhood of industrial zones and deteriorated garden suburbs. In this six colonies Roma live mostly in public social housing, where the 97% of the flats consists of one room, and 4.55 persons fall to each flat (www.satu-mare.ro).

In Baia Mare 2,092 persons declared Roma ethnicity and 733 declared Roma mother tongue according to the 2002 census. Contrary to Satu Mare, here 61% of Roma has Romanian mother tongue. Gypsies mostly live in deprived housing estates in the peripheries or in the neighbourhood of industrial zones.

While the above-mentioned factors describe rather a complex situation of the Roma segregation, some common characteristics still are observable. First of all Roma suffer residential, educational and labor segregation in the cities studied (and over the whole country). Many of them reside in peripheral,

dilapidated housing estates or camps, which are considered to be ghettos. In urban neighbourhoods an important share of Gypsies live in public housing, meanwhile the same indicator for non-Roma is negligible (RUGHINIS, C. 2004). On the whole, Roma is the most segregated ethnic group in Romania, both in rural and urban settlements. According to LADÁNYI, J. and SZELÉNYI, I. (2002) 10.9% of Romanian Roma live in Gypsy settlements, while an additional 17.1% live in neighbourhoods, where a majority of the population is Roma. Strong Roma residential segregation is also observable in the region dealt with in the present study, mainly in the rural areas (see TÁTRAI, P. 2010). But it is also to be emphasized that the segregation of Roma is not a new phenomenon, it has deep historic roots in this region. Already back to 1893, Roma resided separate in 60% of the 226 settlements in the historic Sathmar (Satu Mare/Szatmár) region (A Magyarországon..., 1895).

Conclusion

In East Central Europe – as all over the world – segregation is a tangible phenomenon. Segregation of population with different cultural roots can have various types: it may be based on linguistic, religious or ethnic cleavages as well (see MUNOZ, S.-A. 2006), but the present study only focused on latter. The research aimed to present how these ethnic groups are situated in the (urban) space, what are the similarities and differences in their residential conditions.

In this region, where ethnic and national boundaries do not coincide, ethnicity has a strong political connotation. During the 20th century, state borders changed several times, which resulted in sizeable minorities and tensions among states and among ethnic groups. Therefore segregation cannot be studied without dealing with the general demographic conditions, processes and the current political situation. Segregation depends both on local and national power relations.

Focusing on Northwest Romania, the former ruling (politically dominant) ethnic group, the Hungarians found themselves in minority position after 1920 and 1945. This generated a change in the ethnic composition of (mostly) the cities, so by the last quarter of the century, Hungarians became ethnic and political minority group locally too. The extent of ethnic diversity of cities researched is the result of this process. The relative segregation in the cities is first of all the result of the socialist urbanization imposed by the nationalist-communist Ceaușescu-regime. Another important factor is the different time of settling down of the ethnic groups. Here, coexistence has tradition, but it did not affect a large number of population until the middle of the last century. So the duration of the segregation is quite short yet; much

shorter than in villages (see TÁTRAI, P. 2010). A possible ethnic conflict can also contribute to the development of the segregation, but in the cities investigated it is not typical.

What are the features of the segregation in Oradea, in Satu Mare and in Baia Mare? On the whole, it could be stated that there is not an absolute ethnic residential segregation among Romanians and Hungarians. Nevertheless, in every city one can find quarters dominated by Hungarians (or at least those with a high proportion of Hungarians). These are parts of the settlements where they have lived for at least one hundred years. Examining the history of the immigration, it is found that Romanians practically settled next to Hungarians, instead replacing them – as it happened to new majority and minority groups in many countries in East Central Europe. Another common feature, that Hungarians live in old, lowly built up and central parts of the cities, while the surroundings of the new administrative centres are inhabited by Romanians in most cases. Housing estates rather serve as home for Romanians. Among the other ethnic groups certain residential segregation of Roma is observable; they live mostly in urban peripheries, which can be easily transformed to small ghettos in the near future.

As there is not a real ethnic segregation between the Romanians and Hungarians, the question is the duration of this 'quasi-segregated' status. The index of segregation reported about a stagnating situation, but it only represents a short interval. With the economic and social changes (e.g. suburbanization) ethnicity as worth probably declines. Other processes (e.g. the transformation of the ethnic composition, migration, mixed marriages, assimilation) also have effects against ethnic segregation, but the date of the termination of segregation is unforeseeable.

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