

Ethnic and Religious Patterns

In the course of the 14th–16th century Ottoman conquest, the ethnic structure of the region, having been hitherto relatively stable, collapsed as a consequence of mass migrations. Prompted by the advancement of Turkish troops, then under Ottoman rule, the population of the region started to migrate towards the frontier regions, whilst a lesser quantity of people fled to the protected mountain areas. It was the Serbs who migrated on the largest scale. They had moved towards the north and north west, to the southern parts of the Kingdom of Hungary, and to the eastern and central parts of the medieval Croatian Kingdom, usually after major defeats in battle at the hands of the Turks. They occupied the settlements abandoned by Hungarians and Croats who had fled northwards. In the vast, abandoned, unpopulated mountain areas in the eastern part of Hungary (Transylvania), the devastation wrought by the Turks and the Tartars gave fresh impetus to the settlement of Romanians who had been moving to this area in increasing numbers since the 13th century. Due to this immigration, the proportion of Romanians in Transylvania grew from 25% at the end of the 15th century to 55.8% by 1761. From the 16th and 17th centuries onwards, the settlement of Turks and, in general, Muslims, in areas of strategic importance, as well as the gradual conversion of local people to Islam in other areas, was taking place on an increasingly large scale. In Bosnia, conversion to Islam was more or less voluntary, but in some places it was enforced. This was the case with the Bulgarian-speaking Pomaks, living in the Rhodope mountains in Bulgaria, who were forcibly converted to Islam in three waves, around 1516, between 1666 and 1669, and in 1689. The settlement policy of the Ottoman Empire and conversion to Islam was most successful in Thrace, Bulgaria, Kosovo, Albania, in the Sanjak and Bosnia, where the population became extremely diverse, both ethnically and religiously. Turkish control on the territory of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary eventually ended in 1718 (ruled by the Hapsburgs since 1526) by the reoccupation of the Banat. From 1718 for the next 160 years, the northern border of the Turkish Empire was formed by the Carpathians, the Danube and the Sava. Although, due to the mass immigration of the peoples of the Balkans

into the Carpathian Basin – in particular that of Romanians and Serbs – this line, coinciding with the geographical boundary of South Eastern Europe, by no means represented a language boundary. During this 160-year period it became a boundary between cultures.

The central and southern parts of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, which had come under Hapsburg control after the end of Turkish rule, and had been abandoned by Hungarians, started to be re-populated in the 18th century mainly by Germans, Serbs, Slovaks, Romanians, and Ukrainians, through organised and spontaneous settlement. They arrived in their hundreds of thousands, primarily from Germany, Serbia and from the frontier areas of the Kingdom of Hungary. As a result of this large-scale colonisation, the southern part of present-day Hungary, Voivodina, the Banat (now part of Romania) and the eastern part of present-day Croatia (Slavonia) are nowadays among the most ethnically diverse areas of Europe, where almost all the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe can be found.

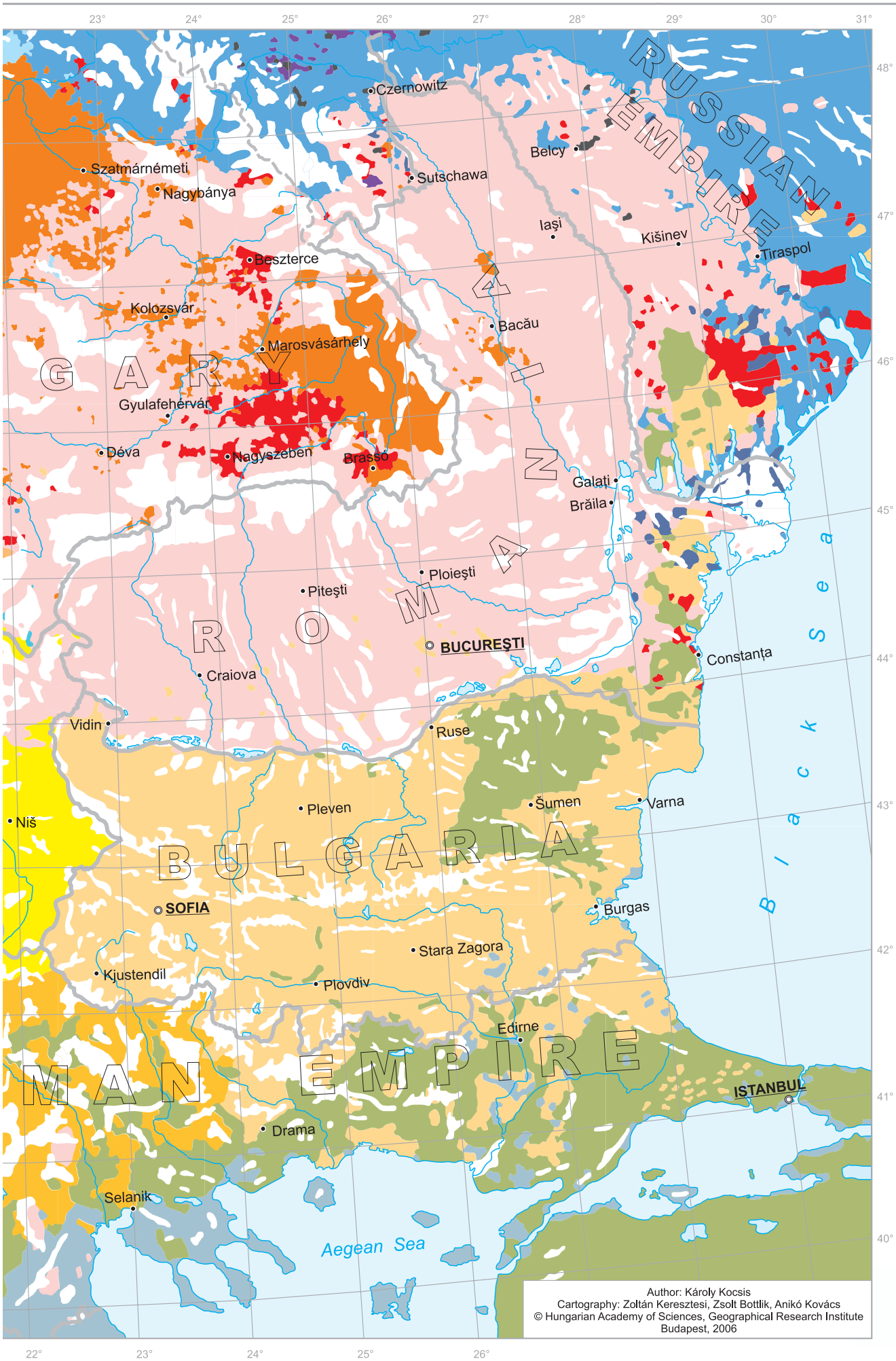
As a consequence of the 150-year Turkish occupation, devastation by wars (having chiefly affected the Croats and the Hungarians, the two peoples divided by the frontline that consolidated between Muslims and Christians in the 16th and 17th centuries), as well as subsequent settlement and immigration, the proportion of Hungarians in the territory of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary was reduced from 65% at the end of the 15th century to 29% by 1787. Simultaneously, the Croatian and Bosnian Krajina, which had been the centre of the Croatian ethnic area between the river Drava and Adriatic Sea, came to be populated by Orthodox Christian Serbs and Muslim Bosnians.

The earliest reliable data on the numbers and proportions of ethnic and religious groups within the population in South Eastern Europe were provided by the censuses carried out by the Austrian and Hungarian authorities. As regards the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, occupied by Austria–Hungary in 1878, the census of 1879 showed that Orthodox Serbs constituted a relative majority (42.9%), with their ratio on the increase since the 18th century, while the percentage of Muslims, which was 66% in

Fig. 17

ETHNIC MAP OF SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE IN 1910

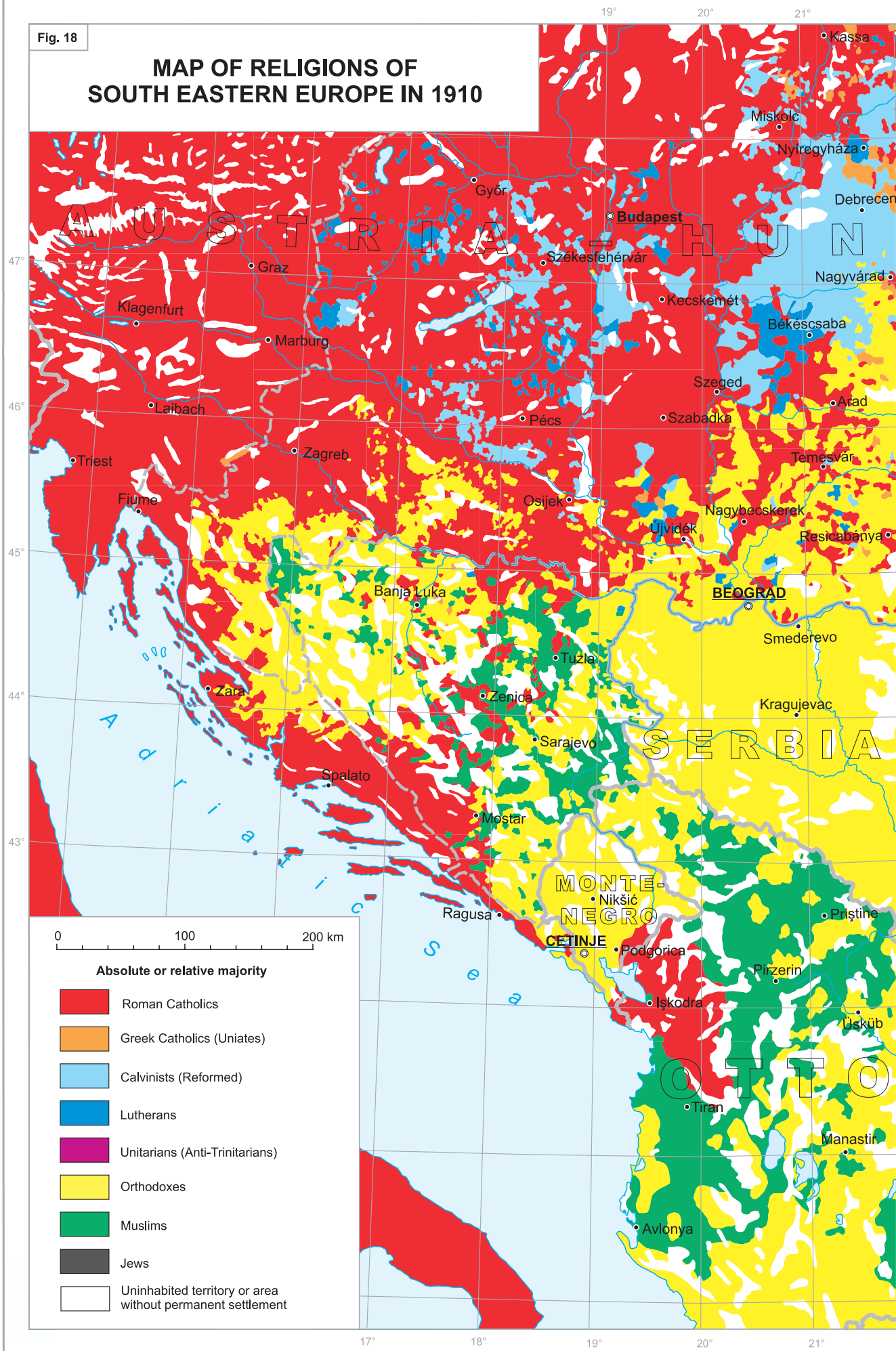


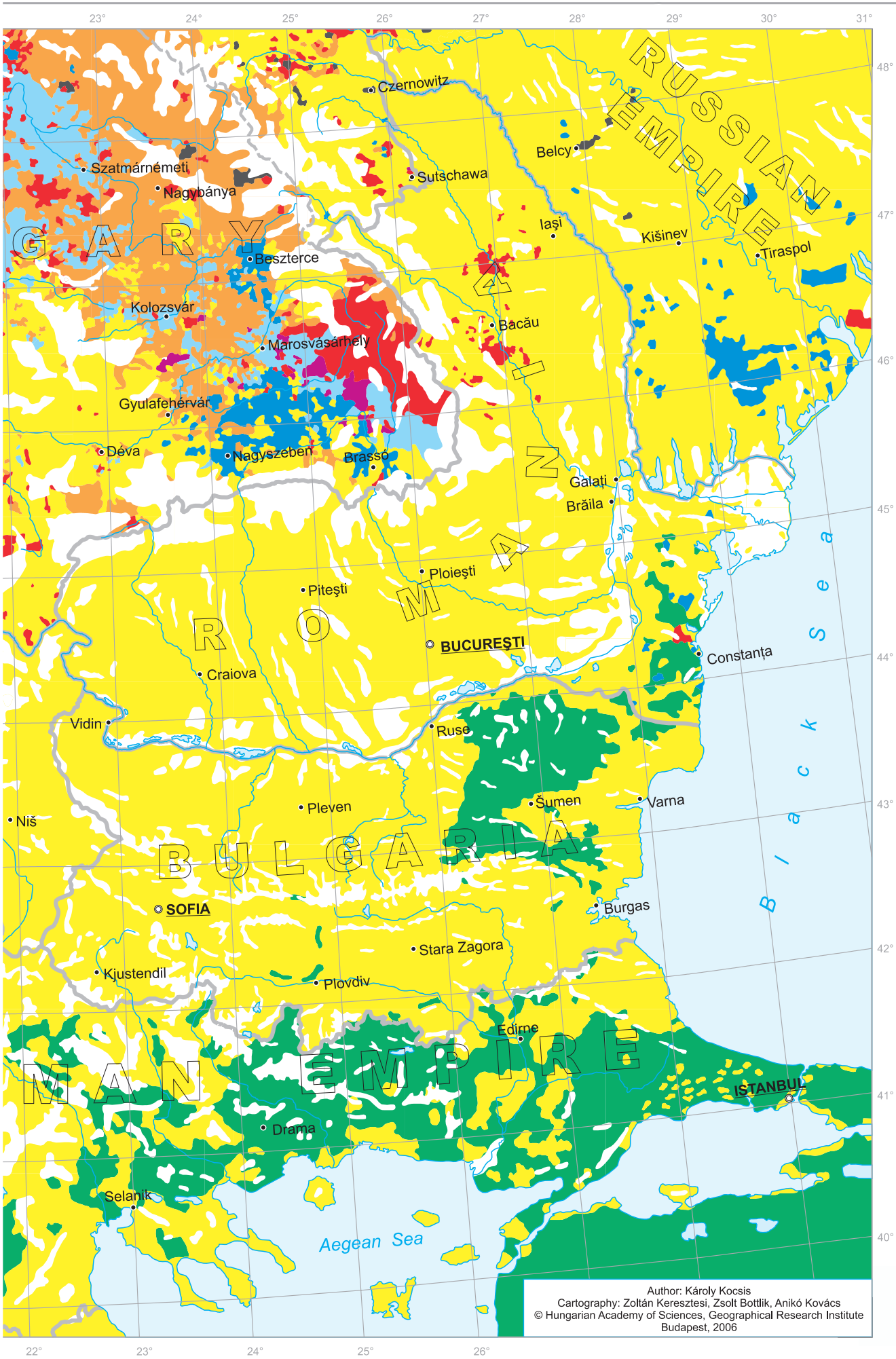


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Fig. 18

MAP OF RELIGIONS OF SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE IN 1910





1710, had dropped to 38.7%. Following the occupation of Bosnia in 1878, Catholics (Croats, Germans, Hungarians etc.) settled the area in increasing numbers. These changes in the ratio of ethnic and religious groups, unfavourable for the Muslims and leading to an increase in the number of Orthodox Christians (Serbs) and Catholics (Croats) continued until the end of World War I.

With regard to changes in the ratio and geographical structure of ethnic and religious groups in the period between 1880 and 1910 the following trends could be observed. In Voivodina and Croatia, owing to a great influx of immigrants, the high rate of natural increase

and intense assimilation promoted by social tendencies, it was the Hungarians who experienced the fastest rise in both number and proportion, in particular through the assimilation of Hungarianised Germans and non-Hungarian town dwellers. In this period, the number of Hungarians in the territory of what later became Yugoslavia grew from 336,000 to 580,000. In the, at that time, Austrian territory of Slovenia, particularly in Lower Styria, the process of slow Germanisation continued, the most conspicuous examples of which were the cities of Maribor (Marburg), Ptuj (Pettau) and Celje (Cilli); these settlements were still overwhelmingly populated by Germans in 1910. As for the rural areas in

Table 6a. Ethnic Structure of the Population of South East European Countries (around 1921, 2001)

| Countries, provinces | Year | Total population | Albanians | Bosniaks, Muslims | Bulgarians | Croats | Germans | Greeks | Hungarians | Italians | Jews |
|------------------------|------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|--------------|
| Albania | 1923 | 814,385 | 736,000 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 40,000 | .. | .. | 100 |
| | 1998 | 3,339,000 | 3,251,000 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 62,000 | .. | .. | .. |
| Bosnia and Herzegovina | 1921 | 1,890,440 | 626 | 584,800 | .. | 407,700 | 16,471 | .. | 2,577 | .. | .. |
| | 1995 | 2,898,000 | .. | 1,275,000 | .. | 468,000 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Bulgaria | 1920 | 5,096,530 | .. | .. | 4,164,172 | .. | .. | 42,074 | .. | .. | 43,509 |
| | 2001 | 7,928,901 | .. | .. | 6,655,210 | .. | .. | 3,408 | .. | .. | 1,363 |
| Croatia | 1921 | 3,447,594 | 751 | 1,700 | .. | 2,374,752 | 99,808 | .. | 81,835 | 210,336 | .. |
| | 2001 | 4,437,460 | 15,082 | 20,755 | 331 | 3,977,171 | 2,902 | .. | 16,595 | 19,636 | 576 |
| Macedonia | 1921 | 798,291 | 110,651 | 41,500 | .. | 700 | 106 | .. | 74 | .. | .. |
| | 2002 | 2,022,547 | 509,083 | 17,018 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Montenegro | 1921 | 311,341 | 17,231 | 38,300 | .. | 18,200 | 172 | .. | 49 | .. | .. |
| | 2003 | 620,145 | 31,163 | 72,809 | .. | 6,811 | 118 | .. | 362 | 127 | .. |
| Romania | 1920 | 13,270,105 | .. | .. | 71,103 | .. | 702,717 | .. | 1,420,290 | .. | 267,379 |
| | 2002 | 21,681,181 | .. | .. | 8,092 | 6,786 | 60,088 | 6,513 | 1,434,377 | .. | 5,870 |
| Serbia | 1921 | 4,808,077 | 309,516 | 101,129 | 51,009 | 126,788 | 332,761 | .. | 373,120 | .. | 196 |
| | 2002 | 9,062,201 | 1,455,847 | 160,171 | 20,497 | 90,614 | 3,901 | .. | 293,299 | .. | .. |
| <i>Central-Serbia</i> | 1921 | 2,855,059 | 20,609 | 72,709 | 48,609 | 8,924 | 14,976 | .. | 3,136 | .. | .. |
| | 2002 | 5,466,009 | 59,952 | 155,514 | 18,839 | 14,302 | 747 | .. | 3,092 | .. | .. |
| <i>Kosovo</i> | 1921 | 439,010 | 288,907 | 27,680 | .. | 525 | 30 | .. | 12 | .. | .. |
| | 1999 | 1,564,200 | 1,394,200 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| <i>Voivodina</i> | 1921 | 1,514,008 | .. | 740 | 2,400 | 117,339 | 317,755 | .. | 369,972 | .. | 196 |
| | 2002 | 2,031,992 | 1,695 | 4,657 | 1,658 | 76,312 | 3,154 | .. | 290,207 | .. | .. |
| Slovenia | 1921 | 1,314,524 | .. | .. | .. | 7,251 | 41,832 | .. | 14,429 | 37,302 | .. |
| | 2002 | 1,964,036 | 6,186 | 32,009 | 138 | 35,642 | 680 | 54 | 6,243 | 2,258 | 28 |
| South Eastern Europe | 1921 | 31,751,287 | 1,174,775 | 767,429 | 4,286,284 | 2,935,391 | 1,193,867 | 82,074 | 1,892,374 | 247,638 | 311,184 |
| | 2001 | 53,953,471 | 5,268,361 | 6,684,268 | 15,77,762 | 4,585,024 | 67,689 | 71,975 | 1,750,876 | 22,021 | 7,837 |

Remark: .. no data.

Austro–Hungarian ruled territories later ceded to Yugoslavia, ethnic boundaries more or less consolidated in the 18th century did not change considerably until World War I.

The ethnic and religious geographical patterns of South Eastern Europe in the early 20th century can be established on the basis of the data on language and religious relations, provided by the 1910 Austrian–Hungarian census carried out for each urban and rural settlement, and also by the maps prepared by highly skilled experts living in other areas of the Balkans (e.g. Cvijić 1913, Ischirkoff 1915, Kettler 1916), (Figures 17 and 18). The followers of Western

Christianity (Catholics, Protestants) – in other words Slovenes, Croats, Italians, Hungarians, Germans, Northern Transylvanian Romanians, and Ruthenians – dominated the regions of the Carpathian Basin and the Adriatic seacoast (e.g. the Istrian peninsula, Dalmatia and Northern Albania), with the exception of the areas of the Southern Carpathians, the southern part of the Banat and Syrmia. Outside of these territories, Catholics constituted sizeable minorities only in Bukovina (Poles, Germans, Hungarians) and Moldova (the Hungarian "Csángós"). Within the territory dominated by the followers of Western Christianity, there were large Calvinist

Table 6a. (continuation)

| Countries, provinces | Year | Macedonians | Roma (Gypsies) | Romanians, Vlachs, Aromuns | Russians, Ukrainians, Ruthenians | Serbs, Montenegrins | Slovaks, Czechs | Slovenes | Turks, Tartars, Gagauzis | Others |
|------------------------|------|-------------|----------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------|--------------------------|-----------|
| Albania | 1923 | 7,489 | 10,000 | 10,000 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 10,796 |
| | 1998 | 5,000 | 1,000 | 10,000 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 10,000 |
| Bosnia and Herzegovina | 1921 | .. | .. | 1,334 | 10,782 | 822,000 | 6,377 | .. | 231 | 37,542 |
| | 1995 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 987,000 | .. | .. | .. | 168,000 |
| Bulgaria | 1920 | .. | 105,477 | 64,220 | 10,600 | .. | .. | .. | 663,466 | 3,012 |
| | 2001 | 5,071 | 370,908 | 11,654 | 18,084 | .. | .. | .. | 746,664 | 116,539 |
| Croatia | 1921 | .. | .. | 896 | 9,521 | 584,058 | 42,444 | .. | 260 | 41,233 |
| | 2001 | 4,270 | 9,463 | 487 | 5,220 | 206,557 | 15,222 | 13,173 | 300 | 129,720 |
| Macedonia | 1921 | 498,000 | .. | 8,209 | 177 | 18,300 | 132 | .. | 101,460 | 18,982 |
| | 2002 | 1,297,981 | 53,879 | 9,695 | .. | 35,939 | .. | .. | 77,959 | 20,993 |
| Montenegro | 1921 | .. | .. | 19 | 209 | 236,000 | 136 | .. | 172 | 853 |
| | 2003 | 819 | 2,601 | .. | 240 | 466,083 | .. | 415 | .. | 38,597 |
| Romania | 1920 | .. | 104,896 | 10,399,265 | 97,648 | 52,696 | 31,966 | .. | 41,625 | 80,520 |
| | 2002 | .. | 535,250 | 19,409,400 | 97,750 | 22,518 | 21,137 | .. | 56,733 | 16,667 |
| Serbia | 1921 | .. | .. | 219,701 | 23,824 | 3,100,893 | 63,491 | .. | 31,160 | 74,489 |
| | 2002 | 25,847 | 108,193 | 74,630 | 7,942 | 6,378,987 | 61,232 | 5,104 | .. | 375,937 |
| Central-Serbia | 1921 | .. | .. | 151,632 | 4,527 | 2,483,560 | 4,345 | .. | 2,484 | 39,548 |
| | 2002 | 14,062 | 79,136 | 44,110 | 2,646 | 4,924,567 | 2,947 | 3,099 | .. | 143,275 |
| Kosovo | 1921 | .. | .. | 402 | 31 | 90,000 | 18 | .. | 27,915 | 3,490 |
| | 1999 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 97,100 | .. | .. | .. | 72,900 |
| Voivodina | 1921 | .. | .. | 67,667 | 19,266 | 527,333 | 59,128 | .. | 761 | 31,451 |
| | 2002 | 11,785 | 29,057 | 30,520 | 21,201 | 1,357,320 | 58,285 | 2,005 | .. | 159,762 |
| Slovenia | 1921 | .. | .. | .. | 1,630 | 4,981 | 2,941 | 1,201,726 | .. | 2,432 |
| | 2002 | 3,972 | 3,246 | 135 | 961 | 41,631 | 489 | 1,631,363 | 259 | 198,742 |
| South Eastern Europe | 1921 | 505,489 | 220,373 | 10,703,644 | 154,391 | 4,818,928 | 147,487 | 1,201,726 | 838,374 | 269,859 |
| | 2001 | 1,342,960 | 1,084,540 | 19,516,001 | 146,102 | 8,138,715 | 98,080 | 1,650,055 | 881,915 | 1,054,912 |

Table 6b. Ethnic Structure of the Population of South East European Countries (around 1921, 2001, %)

| Countries, provinces | Year | Total population | Albanians | Bosniaks, Muslims | Bulgarians | Croats | Germans | Greeks | Hungarians | Italians | Jews | Macedonians | Roma (Gypsies) | Romanians, Vlachs, Aromuns | Russians, Ukrainians, Ruthenians | Serbs, Montenegrins | Slovaks, Czechs | Slovenes | Turks, Tartars, Gagauzis | Others |
|------------------------|------|------------------|-----------|-------------------|------------|--------|---------|--------|------------|----------|------|-------------|----------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------|--------------------------|--------|
| Albania | 1923 | 100.0 | 90.4 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 4.9 | .. | .. | 0.0 | 0.9 | 1.2 | 1.2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1.3 |
| | 1998 | 100.0 | 97.4 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1.9 | .. | .. | .. | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.3 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 0.3 |
| Bosnia and Herzegovina | 1921 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 30.9 | .. | 21.6 | 0.9 | .. | 0.1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 0.1 | 0.6 | 43.5 | 0.3 | .. | 0.0 | 2.0 |
| | 1995 | 100.0 | .. | 44.0 | .. | 16.2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 0.0 | 34.1 | .. | .. | .. | 5.8 |
| Bulgaria | 1920 | 100.0 | .. | .. | 81.7 | .. | .. | 0.8 | .. | .. | 0.8 | .. | 2.1 | 1.3 | 0.2 | .. | .. | .. | 13.0 | 0.1 |
| | 2001 | 100.0 | .. | .. | 83.9 | .. | .. | 0.0 | .. | .. | 0.0 | 0.1 | 4.7 | 0.2 | 0.2 | .. | .. | .. | 9.4 | 1.5 |
| Croatia | 1921 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 | .. | 68.9 | 2.9 | .. | 2.4 | 6.1 | .. | .. | .. | 0.0 | 0.3 | 16.9 | 1.2 | .. | 0.0 | 1.2 |
| | 2001 | 100.0 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0.0 | 89.6 | 0.1 | .. | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 4.7 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 2.9 |
| Macedonia | 1921 | 100.0 | 13.9 | 5.2 | .. | 0.1 | 0.0 | .. | 0.0 | .. | .. | 62.4 | .. | 1.0 | 0.0 | 2.3 | 0.0 | .. | 12.7 | 2.4 |
| | 2002 | 100.0 | 25.2 | 0.8 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 64.2 | 2.7 | 0.5 | .. | 1.8 | .. | .. | 3.9 | 1.0 |
| Montenegro | 1921 | 100.0 | 5.5 | 12.3 | .. | 5.9 | 0.1 | .. | 0.0 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 0.0 | 0.1 | 75.8 | 0.0 | .. | 0.1 | 0.3 |
| | 2003 | 100.0 | 5.0 | 11.7 | .. | 1.1 | 0.0 | .. | 0.0 | .. | .. | 0.1 | 0.4 | .. | 0.0 | 75.2 | .. | 0.1 | .. | 6.5 |
| Romania | 1920 | 100.0 | .. | .. | 0.5 | .. | 5.3 | .. | 10.7 | .. | 2.0 | .. | 0.8 | 78.4 | 0.7 | 0.4 | 0.2 | .. | 0.3 | 0.6 |
| | 2002 | 100.0 | .. | .. | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 6.6 | .. | 0.0 | .. | 2.5 | 89.5 | 0.5 | 0.1 | 0.1 | .. | 0.3 | 0.1 |
| Serbia | 1921 | 100.0 | 6.4 | 2.1 | 1.1 | 2.6 | 6.9 | .. | 7.8 | .. | 0.0 | .. | .. | 4.6 | 0.5 | 64.5 | 1.3 | .. | 0.7 | 1.6 |
| | 2002 | 100.0 | 16.1 | 1.8 | 0.2 | 1.0 | 0.0 | .. | 3.2 | .. | .. | 0.3 | 1.2 | 0.8 | 0.1 | 70.4 | 0.7 | 0.1 | .. | 4.2 |
| Central-Serbia | 1921 | 100.0 | 0.7 | 2.6 | 1.7 | 0.3 | 0.5 | .. | 0.1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 5.3 | 0.2 | 87.0 | 0.2 | .. | 0.1 | 1.4 |
| | 2002 | 100.0 | 1.1 | 2.9 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.0 | .. | 0.1 | .. | .. | 0.3 | 1.5 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 90.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | .. | 2.6 |
| Kosovo | 1921 | 100.0 | 65.8 | 6.3 | .. | 0.1 | 0.0 | .. | 0.0 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 0.1 | 0.0 | 20.5 | 0.0 | .. | 6.4 | 0.8 |
| | 1999 | 100.0 | 89.1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 0.0 | 0.0 | .. | .. | 6.2 | .. | .. | .. | 4.7 |
| Voivodina | 1921 | 100.0 | .. | 0.1 | 0.2 | 7.8 | 21.0 | .. | 24.4 | .. | 0.0 | .. | .. | 4.5 | 1.3 | 34.8 | 3.9 | .. | 0.1 | 2.1 |
| | 2002 | 100.0 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 3.8 | 0.2 | .. | 14.3 | .. | .. | 0.6 | 1.4 | 1.5 | 0.3 | 66.8 | 2.9 | 0.1 | .. | 7.9 |
| Slovenia | 1921 | 100.0 | .. | .. | .. | 0.6 | 3.2 | .. | 1.1 | 2.8 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 0.1 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 91.4 | .. | 0.2 |
| | 2002 | 100.0 | 0.3 | 1.6 | 0.0 | 1.8 | 0.0 | .. | 0.3 | 0.1 | .. | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 2.1 | 0.0 | 83.1 | 0.0 | 10.1 |
| South Eastern Europe | 1921 | 100.0 | 3.7 | 2.4 | 13.5 | 9.2 | 3.8 | 0.3 | 6.0 | 0.8 | 1.0 | 1.6 | 0.7 | 33.7 | 0.5 | 15.2 | 0.5 | 3.8 | 2.6 | 0.7 |
| | 2001 | 100.0 | 9.8 | 2.9 | 12.4 | 8.5 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 3.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 2.5 | 2.0 | 36.2 | 0.3 | 15.1 | 0.2 | 3.1 | 1.6 | 1.7 |

Remark: .. no data.

communities – almost all of them inhabited by Hungarians – in Transylvania, Trans-Tisza Region and in certain parts of Transdanubia. Lutherans were mainly Germans (most of them living in Transylvania and Bessarabia) and Slovaks (in the central and southern parts of the Hungarian Great Plain). Muslims (Turks, Tartars, the majority of Albanians, the Bulgarian Pomaks, Boshniaks and Gorans) lived primarily in the areas lying between Istanbul, capital of the Ottoman (Turkish) Empire; and Bosnia, i.e. in Thrace, Eastern Macedonia, Kosovo, Central

Albania, the Sanjak, Eastern Bosnia and the district of Bihać; and in the area near the Black Sea (e.g. North Eastern Bulgaria, Dobruja). The Muslim district of Bihać in the western part of Bosnia, wedged into the territory of present-day Croatia, has been the westernmost stronghold of Islam since the 16th and 17th centuries. In the other areas of South Eastern Europe, the population was predominantly Orthodox Christian, e.g. Romanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Bulgarians, Macedonians, Greeks and Southern Albanians. National Orthodox Christian churches, the ar-

Table 7. Ethnic Structure of the Population on the Present-day Territory of Kosovo (1903–1999)

| Year | Total population | Albanians | Serbs | Montenegrins | Turks | Muslims, Gorans | Roma (Gypsies) | Croats | Others |
|-------------------|------------------|-----------|---------|--------------|--------|-----------------|----------------|--------|---------|
| Population number | | | | | | | | | |
| 1903 | 444,400 | 230,000 | 111,350 | .. | 9,650 | 69,250 | 14,180 | 6,600 | 3,070 |
| 1921 | 439,010 | 288,910 | 92,490 | .. | 27,920 | 13,630 | 11,000 | 2,700 | 2,360 |
| 1931 | 552,064 | 331,549 | 133,809 | 15,000 | 23,698 | 24,760 | 14,014 | 5,555 | 3,679 |
| 1939 | 645,017 | 350,946 | 192,194 | 21,552 | 24,946 | 26,215 | 15,221 | 7,998 | 5,945 |
| 1948 | 727,820 | 498,242 | 171,911 | 28,050 | 1,315 | 9,679 | 11,230 | 5,290 | 2,103 |
| 1953 | 808,141 | 524,559 | 189,869 | 31,343 | 34,583 | 6,241 | 11,904 | 6,201 | 3,441 |
| 1961 | 963,988 | 646,605 | 227,016 | 37,588 | 25,764 | 8,026 | 3,202 | 7,251 | 8,536 |
| 1971 | 1,243,693 | 916,168 | 228,264 | 31,555 | 12,244 | 26,357 | 14,593 | 8,264 | 6,248 |
| 1981 | 1,584,441 | 1,226,736 | 209,498 | 27,028 | 12,513 | 58,562 | 34,126 | 8,718 | 7,260 |
| 1991 | 1,954,747 | 1,607,690 | 195,301 | 20,045 | 10,838 | 57,408 | 42,806 | 8,161 | 12,498 |
| 1998* | 2,189,734 | 1,829,119 | 190,669 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 169,946 |
| 1999** | 1,564,200 | 1,394,200 | 97,100 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 72,900 |
| % | | | | | | | | | |
| Year | Total population | Albanians | Serbs | Montenegrins | Turks | Muslims, Gorans | Roma (Gypsies) | Croats | Others |
| 1903 | 100.0 | 51.8 | 25.0 | .. | 2.2 | 15.6 | 3.2 | 1.5 | 0.7 |
| 1921 | 100.0 | 65.8 | 21.1 | .. | 6.4 | 3.1 | 2.5 | 0.6 | 0.5 |
| 1931 | 100.0 | 60.0 | 24.2 | 2.7 | 4.3 | 4.5 | 2.5 | 1.0 | 0.8 |
| 1939 | 100.0 | 54.4 | 29.8 | 3.3 | 3.9 | 4.1 | 2.4 | 1.2 | 0.9 |
| 1948 | 100.0 | 68.5 | 23.6 | 3.9 | 0.2 | 1.3 | 1.5 | 0.7 | 0.3 |
| 1953 | 100.0 | 64.9 | 23.5 | 3.9 | 4.3 | 0.8 | 1.5 | 0.8 | 0.3 |
| 1961 | 100.0 | 67.1 | 23.5 | 3.9 | 2.7 | 0.8 | 0.3 | 0.8 | 0.9 |
| 1971 | 100.0 | 73.7 | 18.4 | 2.5 | 1.0 | 2.1 | 1.2 | 0.7 | 0.4 |
| 1981 | 100.0 | 77.4 | 13.2 | 1.7 | 0.8 | 3.7 | 2.2 | 0.6 | 0.4 |
| 1991 | 100.0 | 82.2 | 10.0 | 1.0 | 0.6 | 2.9 | 2.2 | 0.4 | 0.7 |
| 1998* | 100.0 | 83.5 | 8.7 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 7.8 |
| 1999** | 100.0 | 89.1 | 6.2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 4.7 |

Remarks: .. no data; * UNHCR estimation; ** 1999, August. UNHCR Rapid Village Assessment (RVA). OSCE/UNHCR Ethnic minorities report. KFOR brigade assessments.

Sources: 1903, 1921–1939: after Vučković, M.–Nikolić, G. (1996), 1948–1991: Statistički Bilten 1295. SZS. Beograd. 1982.

dent supporters of the ethnic awareness of these peoples, were recognised by the Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople (Istanbul) as autocephalous (self-governing) – first the Serbian in 1879, then the Romanian in 1885, the Bulgarian in 1945 and the Macedonian in 1958.

The peace treaties that followed World War I, although aimed at creating nation states, replaced the multi-ethnic empires with small multi-ethnic states. The proportion of the subordinated peoples in the region of the Carpathian Basin and the Balkans decreased only slightly, from 35.4% (in 1914) to 31.7% in 1920. The Romanians annexed Eastern Hungary

(Transylvania) and Bessarabia, the Serbs annexed the regions of Bačka, Banat and South Baranya in Southern Hungary. Romania and Serbia obtained territories with a high share of ethnic minorities. In Transylvania, for example, 42.7% of the population was not Romanian, mainly comprised of Hungarians and Germans. In Bessarabia this ratio was 44%, including Ukrainians, Russians, Bulgarians, Jews and Gagauzis. In Bačka, Banat and Baranya, the proportion of ethnic groups other than Serbs, i.e. Hungarians, Germans, Croats and Slovaks made up 71% (1921).

The Kingdom of Hungary (the Carpathian Basin), which had functioned as a

Table 8. Ethnic Structure of the Population on the Present-day Territory of Transylvania (1900–2002)

| Year | Total population | Romanians | Hungarians | Germans | Jews | Roma (Gypsies) | Ukrainians, Ruthenians | Croats | Slovaks | Bulgarians | Czechs | Russians | Poles | Others |
|-------------------|------------------|-----------|------------|---------|---------|----------------|------------------------|--------|---------|------------|--------|----------|-------|---------|
| Population number | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1900 | 4,848,451 | 2,670,131 | 1,433,252 | 579,593 | .. | 30,000 | 17,989 | 3,185 | 29,884 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 84,417 |
| 1910 | 5,228,180 | 2,811,719 | 1,653,943 | 562,079 | .. | 60,800 | 22,597 | 1,916 | 31,034 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 84,092 |
| 1920 | 5,107,400 | 2,916,800 | 1,305,800 | 548,200 | 181,000 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 155,600 |
| 1930 | 5,520,086 | 3,189,537 | 1,349,563 | 542,073 | 178,284 | 108,143 | 29,610 | .. | 45,540 | 11,373 | .. | 7,217 | 3,357 | 55,389 |
| 1941 | 5,882,600 | 3,288,400 | 1,735,700 | 533,600 | 82,500 | 81,381 | 25,130 | .. | 35,600 | 11,000 | 12,000 | 7,000 | 3,000 | 67,289 |
| 1948 | 5,761,127 | 3,752,269 | 1,481,903 | 332,066 | 30,039 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 164,850 |
| 1956 | 6,218,427 | 4,041,156 | 1,558,254 | 367,857 | 43,749 | 78,278 | 31,532 | .. | 23,093 | 9,749 | 9,645 | 2,146 | 2,379 | 50,589 |
| 1966 | 6,719,555 | 4,559,432 | 1,597,438 | 371,881 | 13,530 | 49,105 | 36,888 | .. | 21,839 | 9,707 | 8,446 | 2,260 | 1,883 | 47,146 |
| 1977 | 7,500,229 | 5,203,846 | 1,691,048 | 347,896 | 7,830 | 123,028 | 42,760 | 7,433 | 21,133 | 9,067 | 6,305 | 1,850 | 1,263 | 36,770 |
| 1992 | 7,723,313 | 5,684,142 | 1,603,923 | 109,014 | 2,687 | 202,665 | 50,372 | 4,030 | 19,446 | 7,885 | 4,569 | 987 | 749 | 32,844 |
| 2002 | 7,224,259 | 5,395,925 | 1,415,720 | 53,073 | 1,803 | 244,620 | 49,229 | 6,691 | 17,070 | 6,605 | 3,041 | 831 | 469 | 29,182 |
| % | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Year | Total population | Romanians | Hungarians | Germans | Jews | Roma (Gypsies) | Ukrainians, Ruthenians | Croats | Slovaks | Bulgarians | Czechs | Russians | Poles | Others |
| 1900 | 100.0 | 55.1 | 29.5 | 12.0 | .. | 0.6 | 0.4 | 0.1 | 0.6 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1.7 |
| 1910 | 100.0 | 53.8 | 31.6 | 10.8 | .. | 1.2 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.6 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1.6 |
| 1920 | 100.0 | 57.1 | 25.6 | 10.7 | 3.5 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3.1 |
| 1930 | 100.0 | 57.8 | 24.5 | 9.8 | 3.2 | 2.0 | 0.5 | .. | 0.8 | 0.2 | .. | 0.1 | 0.1 | 1.0 |
| 1941 | 100.0 | 55.9 | 29.5 | 9.1 | 1.4 | 1.4 | 0.4 | .. | 0.6 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 1.1 |
| 1948 | 100.0 | 65.1 | 25.7 | 5.8 | 0.5 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2.9 |
| 1956 | 100.0 | 65.0 | 25.1 | 5.9 | 0.7 | 1.3 | 0.5 | .. | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.8 |
| 1966 | 100.0 | 67.9 | 23.8 | 5.5 | 0.2 | 0.7 | 0.6 | .. | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.7 |
| 1977 | 100.0 | 69.4 | 22.6 | 4.6 | 0.1 | 1.6 | 0.6 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.5 |
| 1992 | 100.0 | 73.6 | 20.8 | 1.4 | 0.0 | 2.6 | 0.7 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.4 |
| 2002 | 100.0 | 74.7 | 19.6 | 0.7 | 0.0 | 3.4 | 0.7 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.4 |

Remarks: .. no data; in this case 'Transylvania' means the territory of the present-day Romanian statistical regions: Centru, Vest, Nord-Vest (ca. the area annexed from Hungary to Romania in 1920).

Sources: 1900, 1910, 1941 Hungarian, 1920–2002 Romanian census data partly after Varga, E.Á. (1998).

natural, economic, historical and cultural unit until 1918, along with the ethnically Hungarian area, were shared out between 5 states, with the result that the newly created Hungarian state covered only 28.6% of the territory of historical Hungary, where 67% of the Hungarian native speakers lived. At the same time, the territory of the Romanian state increased by a factor of 2.3, and that of the Serbian state by 2.7. The new borders almost totally destroyed the centuries-long relationship between the peoples and regions of the Carpathian Basin, and the Balkan Orthodox states took possession of Central European territories which maintained relations with areas substantially different in their religion and culture. For example, Serbia took present-day Voivodina, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia,

and Slovenia, while Romania took the areas that are today called Transylvania. By annexing territories with ethnic minorities numbering several hundred thousands whose cultural and economic orientations were different, Romania and Serbia (the latter officially named the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) – both of them extremely enlarged – took upon themselves burdens and created tensions (particularly along their borders) that remain unresolved up to now, owing to the fact that their attempts to achieve national homogeneity started late.

Censuses were held after World War I between 1920–1923, in all of the present-day Balkan states. These censuses reveal that the population of the region was almost 32 million (Table 6a). The nations with the largest populations were the

Table 9. Ethnic Structure of the Population on the Present-day Territory of Voivodina (1900–2002)

| Year | Total population | Serbs | Hungarians | Croats | Slovaks | Monte-negrins | Romanians | Roma (Gypsies) | Ruthenians | Germans | 'Yugoslavs' | Others | Non declared | Regional affiliation | Unknown |
|-------------------|------------------|-----------|------------|---------|---------|---------------|-----------|----------------|------------|---------|-------------|--------|--------------|----------------------|---------|
| Population number | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1900 | 1,433,387 | 483,451 | 378,646 | 81,198 | 53,849 | .. | 74,718 | .. | 12,674 | 336,415 | .. | 12,436 | .. | .. | .. |
| 1910 | 1,515,983 | 512,869 | 425,952 | 91,366 | 56,726 | .. | 75,383 | .. | 13,519 | 324,044 | .. | 16,124 | .. | .. | .. |
| 1921 | 1,535,794 | 533,466 | 371,006 | 129,788 | 59,540 | .. | 67,675 | .. | 13,644 | 335,902 | .. | 24,773 | .. | .. | .. |
| 1931 | 1,624,158 | 613,910 | 376,176 | 132,517 | 63,808 | .. | 63,167 | 8,539 | 15,026 | 328,631 | .. | 22,384 | .. | .. | .. |
| 1941 | 1,662,862 | 602,195 | 473,241 | 101,035 | 63,763 | .. | 58,712 | 4,272 | 16,903 | 317,906 | .. | 24,835 | .. | .. | .. |
| 1948 | 1,663,212 | 841,246 | 428,932 | 134,232 | 72,032 | 30,589 | 59,263 | 7,585 | 22,083 | 31,821 | .. | 35,429 | .. | .. | .. |
| 1953 | 1,712,619 | 874,346 | 435,345 | 128,054 | 73,460 | 30,561 | 57,236 | 11,525 | 23,043 | 35,290 | .. | 43,100 | .. | .. | 659 |
| 1961 | 1,854,965 | 1,017,717 | 442,561 | 145,341 | 73,830 | 34,782 | 57,259 | 3,312 | 24,548 | 11,432 | 3,174 | 38,599 | .. | .. | 2,410 |
| 1971 | 1,952,533 | 1,089,132 | 423,866 | 138,561 | 72,795 | 36,416 | 52,987 | 7,760 | 25,115 | 7,243 | 46,928 | 39,109 | 1,025 | 5,255 | 6,341 |
| 1981 | 2,034,772 | 1,107,375 | 385,356 | 109,203 | 69,549 | 43,304 | 47,289 | 19,693 | 24,306 | 3,808 | 167,215 | 49,483 | 3,361 | 1,643 | 3,187 |
| 1991 | 2,013,889 | 1,143,723 | 339,491 | 98,025 | 63,545 | 44,838 | 38,809 | 24,366 | 22,217 | 3,873 | 174,295 | 37,284 | 5,427 | 2,503 | 15,493 |
| 2002 | 2,031,992 | 1,321,807 | 290,207 | 76,312 | 56,637 | 35,513 | 30,419 | 29,057 | 20,261 | 3,154 | 49,881 | 29,800 | 55,016 | 10,154 | 23,774 |
| % | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Year | Total population | Serbs | Hungarians | Croats | Slovaks | Monte-negrins | Romanians | Roma (Gypsies) | Ruthenians | Germans | 'Yugoslavs' | Others | Non declared | Regional affiliation | Unknown |
| 1900 | 100.0 | 33.7 | 26.4 | 5.7 | 3.8 | .. | 5.2 | .. | 0.9 | 23.5 | .. | 0.8 | .. | .. | .. |
| 1910 | 100.0 | 33.8 | 28.1 | 6.0 | 3.7 | .. | 5.0 | .. | 0.9 | 21.4 | .. | 1.1 | .. | .. | .. |
| 1921 | 100.0 | 34.7 | 24.2 | 8.5 | 3.9 | .. | 4.4 | .. | 0.9 | 21.9 | .. | 1.5 | .. | .. | .. |
| 1931 | 100.0 | 37.8 | 23.2 | 8.2 | 3.9 | .. | 3.9 | 0.5 | 0.9 | 20.2 | .. | 1.4 | .. | .. | .. |
| 1941 | 100.0 | 36.2 | 28.5 | 6.1 | 3.8 | .. | 3.5 | 0.3 | 1.0 | 19.1 | .. | 1.5 | .. | .. | .. |
| 1948 | 100.0 | 50.6 | 25.8 | 8.1 | 4.3 | 1.8 | 3.6 | 0.5 | 1.3 | 1.9 | .. | 2.1 | .. | .. | .. |
| 1953 | 100.0 | 51.1 | 25.4 | 7.5 | 4.3 | 1.8 | 3.3 | 0.7 | 1.3 | 2.1 | .. | 2.5 | .. | .. | 0.0 |
| 1961 | 100.0 | 54.9 | 23.9 | 7.8 | 4.0 | 1.9 | 3.1 | 0.2 | 1.3 | 0.6 | 0.2 | 2.0 | .. | .. | 0.1 |
| 1971 | 100.0 | 55.8 | 21.7 | 7.1 | 3.7 | 1.9 | 2.7 | 0.4 | 1.3 | 0.4 | 2.4 | 1.9 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.3 |
| 1981 | 100.0 | 54.4 | 18.9 | 5.4 | 3.4 | 2.1 | 2.3 | 1.0 | 1.2 | 0.2 | 8.2 | 2.4 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.2 |
| 1991 | 100.0 | 56.8 | 16.9 | 4.9 | 3.2 | 2.2 | 1.9 | 1.2 | 1.1 | 0.2 | 8.7 | 1.7 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.8 |
| 2002 | 100.0 | 65.0 | 14.3 | 3.8 | 2.8 | 1.7 | 1.5 | 1.4 | 1.0 | 0.2 | 2.5 | 1.4 | 2.7 | 0.5 | 1.2 |

Remarks: .. no data; Croats together with Bunjevatses and Shokatses, Slovaks in 1921 and 1931 together with Czechs, Ruthenians (Russyns) together with Ukrainians. 'Yugoslavs': persons who declared the non-existing 'Yugoslav' ethnic affiliation. 'Regional affiliation' means e.g. Voivodinian, Bachki, Banatian. – Before 1948 lingual, mother (native) tongue, 1948–2002 ethnic data.

Sources: 1900–1910, 1941 Hungarian, 1921, 1931, 1948–2002 Yugoslav census data.

Romanians (10.7 million, 33.7%), the Serbs (4.8 million, 15.2%) and the Bulgarians (4.3 million, 13.5%), (Table 6b). These were followed by the Croats (2.9 million), Hungarians (1.9 million), Slovenes (1.2 million) and Albanians (1.2 million). The proportion of majority peoples was 83.4%, and that of ruling peoples only 73.1%. These two figures appear contradictory; in certain regions the majority people and the ruling people were not the same. For example, in Macedonia the former were the Macedonians and the latter the Serbs, while in Croatia the Croats were in the majority, while the Serbs were the ruling people. Around 1921, the share of the Albanian

and Macedonian ethnic minorities were exceedingly high, 37.4 and 22% respectively, while the proportions of Bulgarian and Romanian ethnic groups outside Bulgaria and Romania were very low, at 4.3 and 2.7%. The most ethnically homogeneous territories were Old Romania, Albania and Old Serbia. In Transylvania, Macedonia, Kosovo and Croatia, the proportion of the majority population was relatively low (57–68%, see Tables 7 and 8). In Voivodina and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the ratio of the three ethnic groups (Serbs, Hungarians and Germans in Voivodina and Serbs, Boshniaks and Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina) was balanced (Tables 9 and 10).

Table 10. Ethnic Structure of the Population on the Present-day Territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1895–1995)

| Year | Total | Bosniaks (Muslims) | Serbs | Croats | Montenegrins | Slovenes | Albanians | Ukrainians, Ruthenians | Roma (Gypsies) | 'Yugoslavs' | Others |
|-------------------|-----------|--------------------|-----------|---------|--------------|----------|-----------|------------------------|----------------|-------------|---------|
| Population number | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1895 | 1,568,092 | 548,632 | 673,246 | 334,142 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 12,072 |
| 1910 | 1,898,044 | 612,137 | 825,418 | 434,061 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 26,428 |
| 1921 | 1,890,440 | 588,247 | 829,162 | 443,914 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 29,117 |
| 1931 | 2,323,555 | 717,599 | 1,030,498 | 549,579 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 25,879 |
| 1948 | 2,565,277 | 788,403 | 1,136,116 | 614,123 | 3,094 | 4,338 | 755 | 7,883 | 442 | .. | 10,123 |
| 1953 | 2,847,459 | 891,800 | 1,264,372 | 654,229 | 7,336 | 6,300 | 1,578 | 7,473 | 2,297 | .. | 12,074 |
| 1961 | 3,277,948 | 842,248 | 1,406,057 | 711,665 | 12,828 | 5,939 | 3,642 | 6,136 | 588 | 275,883 | 12,962 |
| 1971 | 3,746,111 | 1,482,430 | 1,393,148 | 772,491 | 13,021 | 4,053 | 3,764 | 5,474 | 1,456 | 43,796 | 26,478 |
| 1981 | 4,124,256 | 1,629,924 | 1,320,644 | 758,136 | 14,114 | 2,755 | 4,396 | 4,613 | 7,251 | 326,316 | 56,107 |
| 1991 | 4,377,033 | 1,902,956 | 1,366,104 | 760,852 | 10,071 | 2,190 | 4,925 | 4,062 | 8,864 | 242,682 | 74,327 |
| 1995 | 2,898,000 | 1,275,000 | 987,000 | 468,000 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 168,000 |
| % | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Year | Total | Bosniaks (Muslims) | Serbs | Croats | Montenegrins | Slovenes | Albanians | Ukrainians, Ruthenians | Roma (Gypsies) | 'Yugoslavs' | Others |
| 1895 | 100.0 | 35.0 | 42.9 | 21.3 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 0.8 |
| 1910 | 100.0 | 32.2 | 43.5 | 22.9 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1.4 |
| 1921 | 100.0 | 31.1 | 43.9 | 23.5 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1.5 |
| 1931 | 100.0 | 30.9 | 44.3 | 23.7 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1.1 |
| 1948 | 100.0 | 30.7 | 44.3 | 30.0 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.0 | .. | 0.4 |
| 1953 | 100.0 | 31.3 | 44.4 | 23.0 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.1 | .. | 0.4 |
| 1961 | 100.0 | 25.7 | 42.9 | 21.7 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 8.4 | 0.4 |
| 1971 | 100.0 | 39.6 | 37.2 | 20.6 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 1.2 | 0.7 |
| 1981 | 100.0 | 39.5 | 32.0 | 18.4 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 7.9 | 1.4 |
| 1991 | 100.0 | 43.6 | 31.3 | 17.3 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 5.5 | 1.7 |
| 1995 | 100.0 | 44.0 | 34.1 | 16.1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 5.8 |

Remark: .. no data.

Sources: 1895. 1910: Austro-Hungarian, 1921–1991: Yugoslav census data. 1995: after Praso, M. (1996).

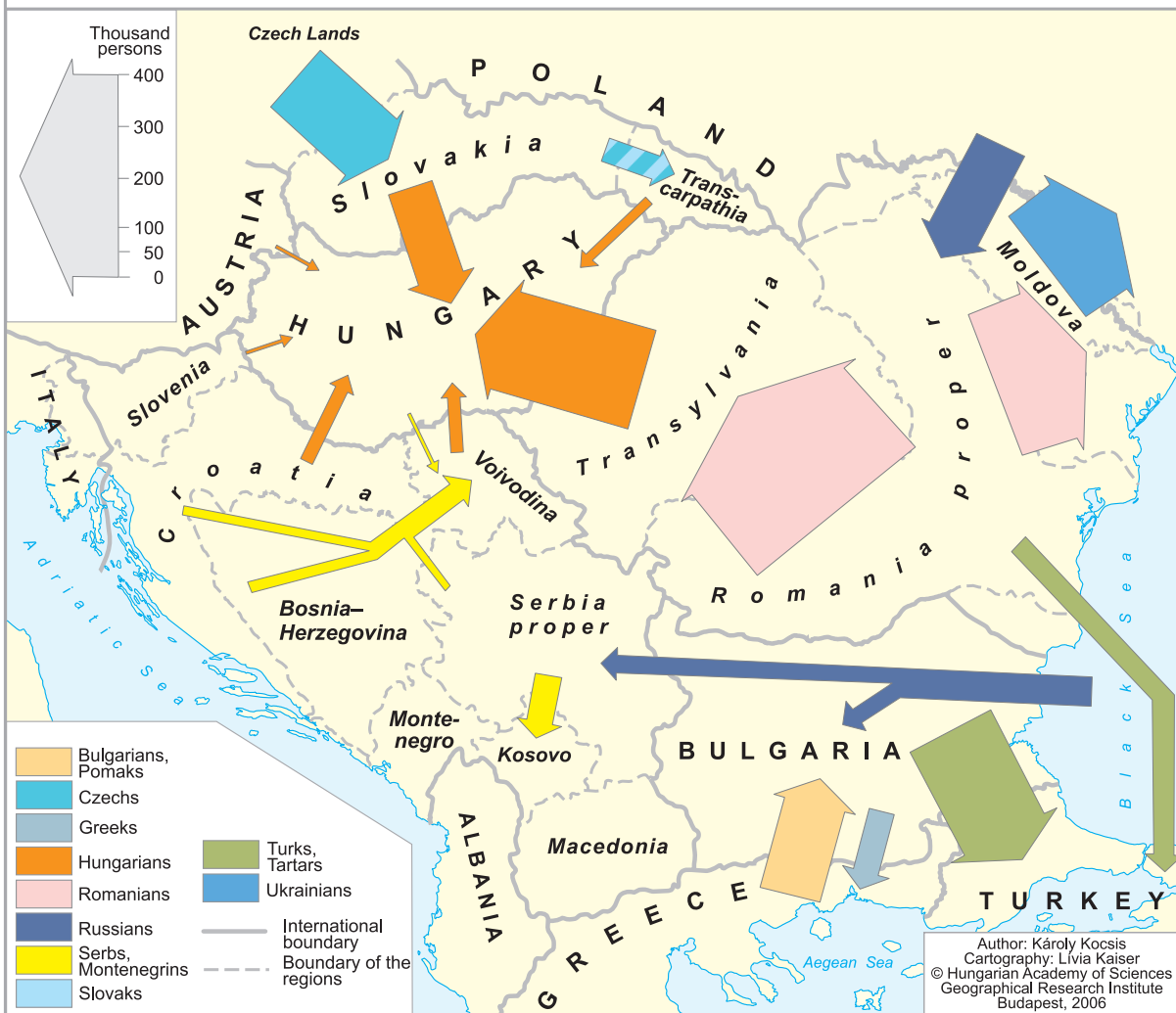
According to statistics concerning religious affiliation, around 1920 some 61.3% of the population was Orthodox Christian (Serbs, Romanians, Bulgarians, Macedonians, Greeks, Ukrainians) and 28.5% was Catholic or Protestant (Hungarians, Slovaks, Czechs, Ruthenians, Croats, Germans, and North Transylvanian Romanians).

The censuses held between 1921 and 1991 show that the ethnic and religious geographical structure of South Eastern Europe underwent significant, and in certain areas fundamental

changes, mainly as a result of the two world wars, the ensuing migrations affecting several million people and changes in the social system. Following World War I, between 1918 and 1938, 1.4 million people left their homes in the studied region. More than 240,000 Hungarians fled from the territories of historical Hungary that had been occupied in 1918 (Transylvania, Voivodina and Croatia), and 217,000 Turks left Bulgaria to settle in Turkey (Figure 19). Russian immigrants arrived in the region in great numbers (ca 172,000), fleeing from the aftermath of the

Fig. 19

INTERNATIONAL AND INTERREGIONAL MIGRATIONS IN SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE BETWEEN 1918–1938



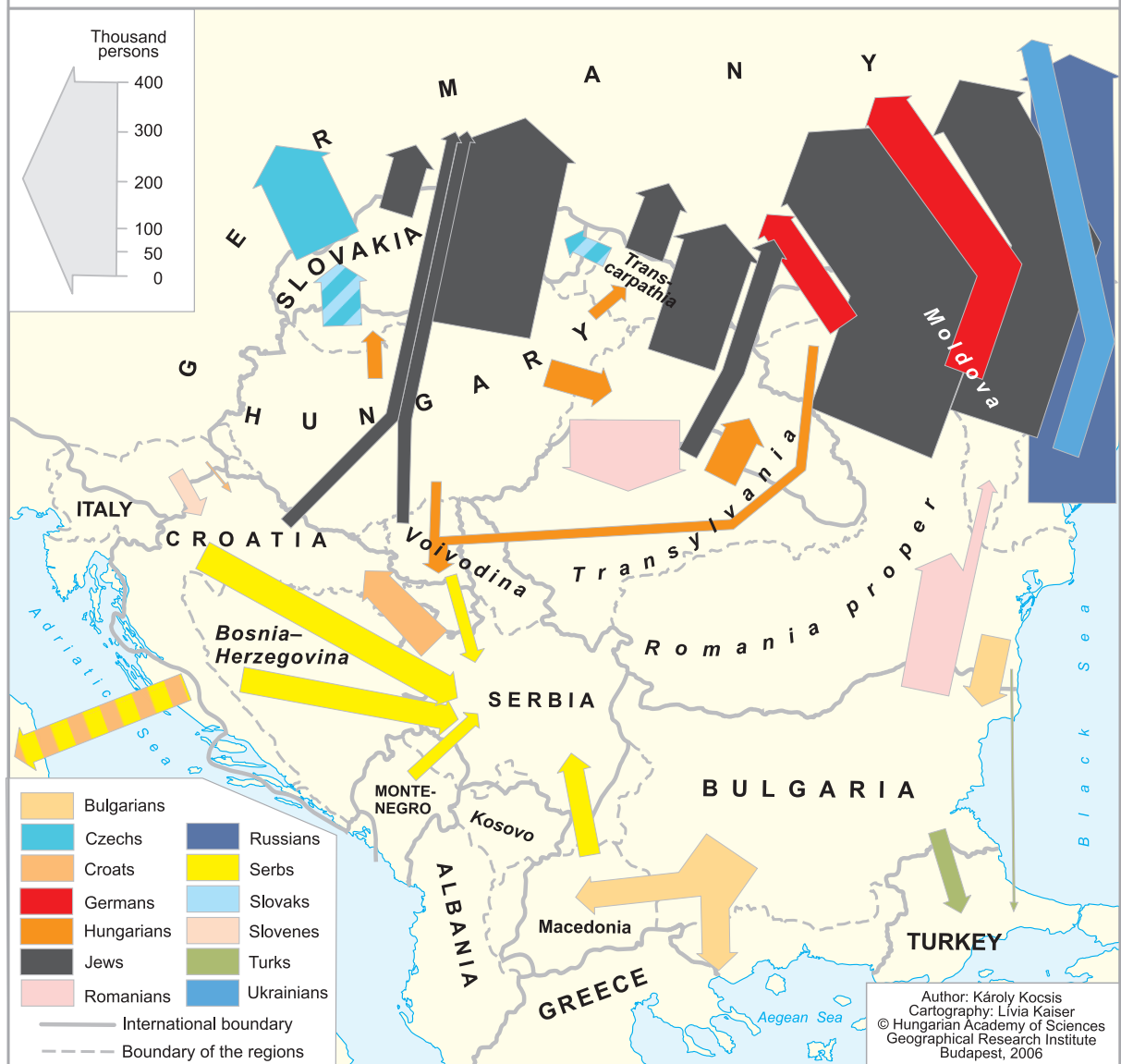
1917 revolution. Most of them settled in Serbia and Bulgaria. Between 1918 and 1926, some 123,000 Bulgarian refugees arrived in Bulgaria from Western Thrace, annexed by Greece, while 46,000 Greeks left Bulgaria for Greece. In Transylvania and Voivodina, the areas abandoned by Hungarian emigrants and refugees were taken by thousands of Romanian and Serb settlers, mainly in Hungarian-populated towns of strategic importance, and in Hungarian-populated areas alongside the border.

The conflicts between ethnic minorities and ruling peoples (e.g. between Hungarians and Romanians, Hungarians and Czechs, Hungarians and Serbs, and Albanians and Serbs), and between subdued and ruling peoples (Slovaks and Czechs, Croats and Serbs,

Macedonians and Serbs), played an important role in the historical events of the region, the events of World War II and temporary border revisions. The Axis powers successfully exploited the grievances of the nations humiliated or neglected by the 1918 and 1919 peace settlement, that is, the Hungarians, Bulgarians, Croats, Slovaks and Albanians, and re-drew the map of the region. Due to these large-scale territorial changes and political events, 1.8 million people had to leave their homes in South Eastern Europe between 1939 and 1944 (Figure 20). From the areas under German control, 540,000 Jews – most of them (471,000) from Romania – were deported to concentration camps in Germany and Poland. Either as refugees or participants in population exchange, 319,000 ethnic Romanians left

Fig. 20

INTERNATIONAL AND INTERREGIONAL MIGRATIONS IN SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE BETWEEN 1938–1944



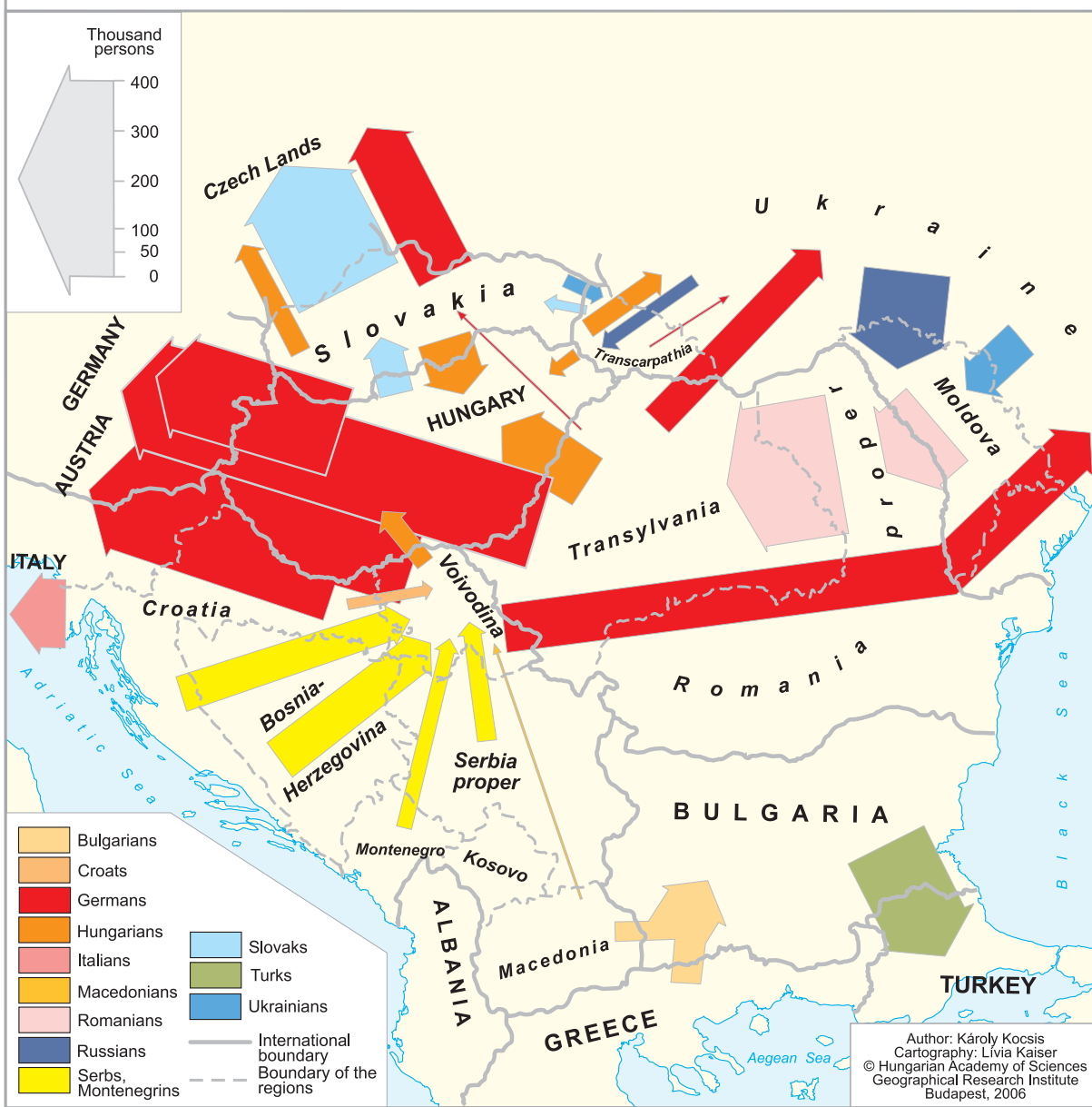
Northern Transylvania and Southern Dobruja, whilst 273,000 Serbs left the surrounding states to settle in Serbia, whose territory had considerably shrunk from 1941 and included mainly Serb-populated areas. The re-settlement of the small, isolated German communities (194,000) of South Eastern Europe to areas that are today part of Poland was started in 1940 and was carried out on a fairly large scale as part of the German settlement policy. A significant number of Hungarians (142,000) returned to, or were settled in the territories that had been returned to Hungary, and a similarly large number of

Bulgarians (122,000) were settled in Macedonia and Western Thrace.

However, truly large-scale migrations and fundamental changes in the ethnic structure only occurred after 1944 (Figure 21). Some of the migratory events took place in relation to the territorial changes detailed above. More than 600,000 ethnic Germans, who were also held responsible for the war in this region, fled with the retreating German troops or were deported to labour camps in the Soviet Union, and to Germany. From the territories that Hungary lost in 1944 and 1945 (Northern Transylvania,

Fig. 21

INTERNATIONAL AND INTERREGIONAL MIGRATIONS IN SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE BETWEEN 1944–1951



the Subcarpathia, Southern Slovakia and Bačka), some 200,000 Hungarians escaped with the retreating Hungarian soldiers to the territory of present-day Hungary, while of those Hungarians that remained in their homeland, tens of thousands were deported to the inner regions of the Soviet Union, Czech territories in Czechoslovakia and to Hungary. In Voivodina and Eastern Croatia, the removal of some 350,000 Germans caused a particularly large demographic vacuum. The re-population of these territories – possessing the most fertile ag-

ricultural land in Yugoslavia – started as early as 1945, by hundreds of thousands of Serbs and Montenegrins from the Balkan areas, especially Bosnia and Croatia; 235,000 people settled in Voivodina. Owing to the events described above, the proportion of Serbs in Voivodina grew from 36.2% to 50.6% between 1941 and 1948. After the removal of more than 100,000 Serbs, 100,000 Germans and 140,000 Italians from Croatia, the proportion of the majority people, the Croats, grew significantly, from 68.1% in 1921 to 79.2% in 1949. The ethnic map of Bulgaria did not

Fig. 22

ETHNIC MAP OF SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE IN 1991

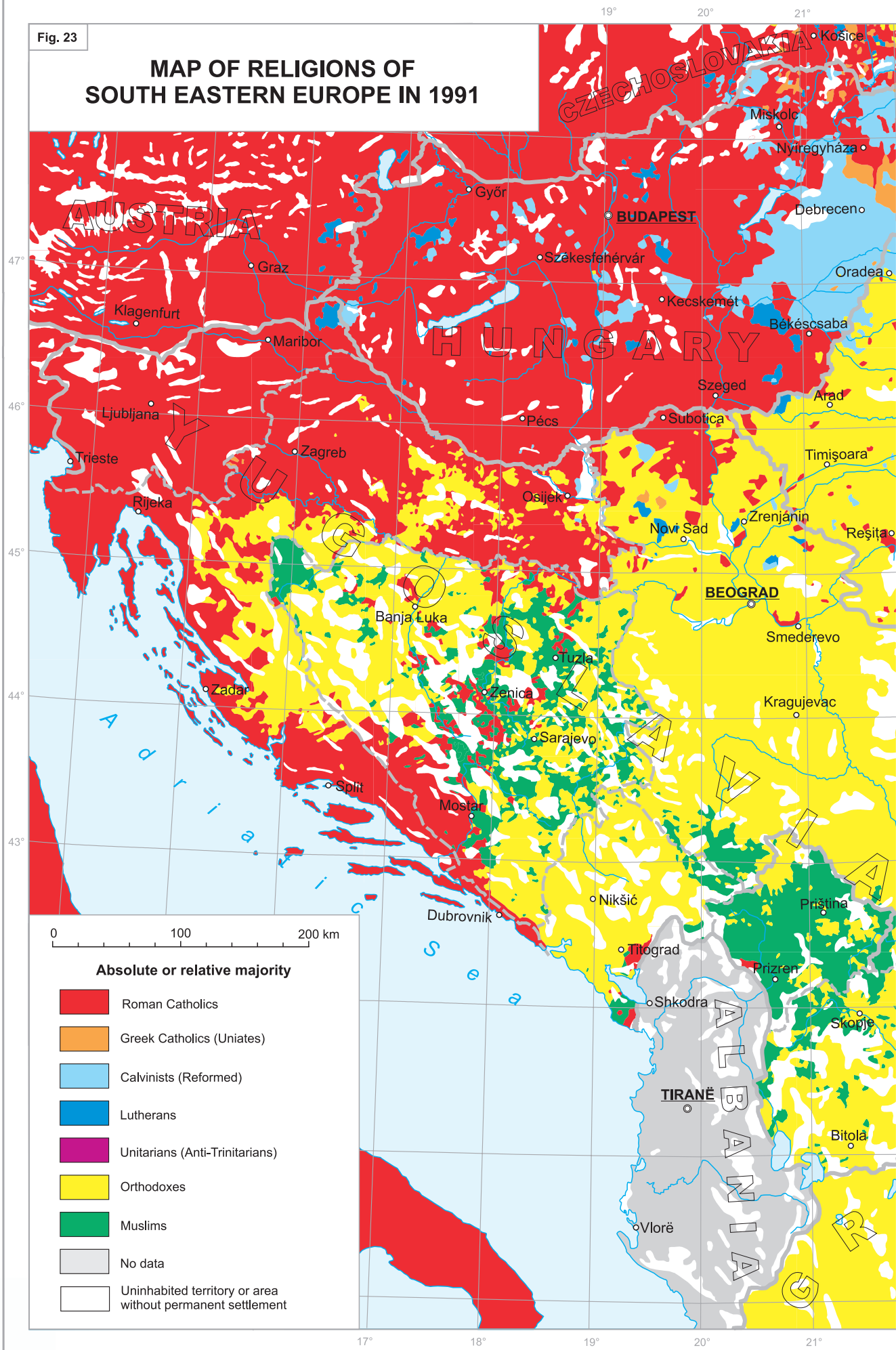


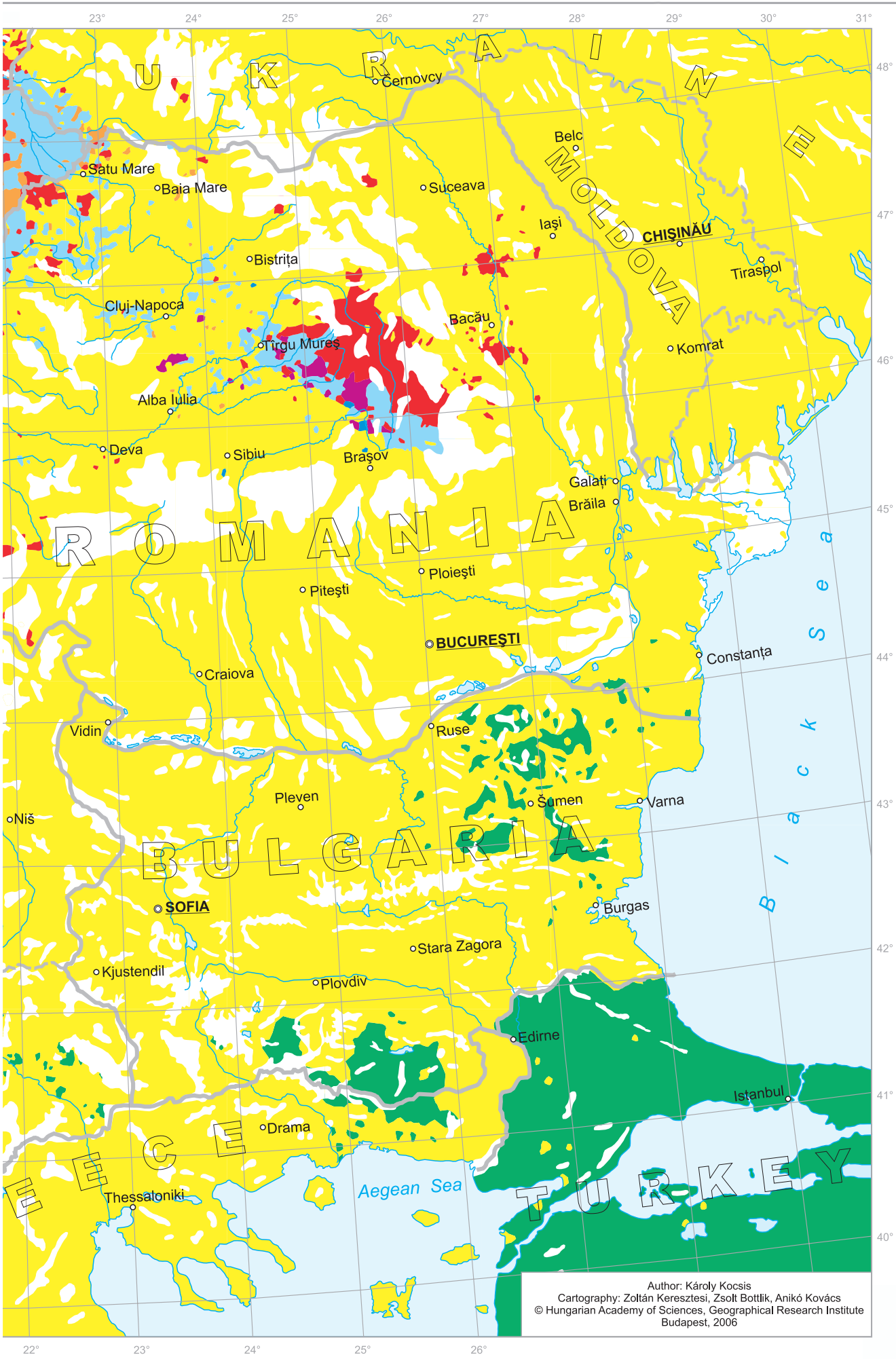


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Cartography: Zoltán Keresztesi, Zsolt Bottlik, Anikó Kovács
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Fig. 23

MAP OF RELIGIONS OF SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE IN 1991

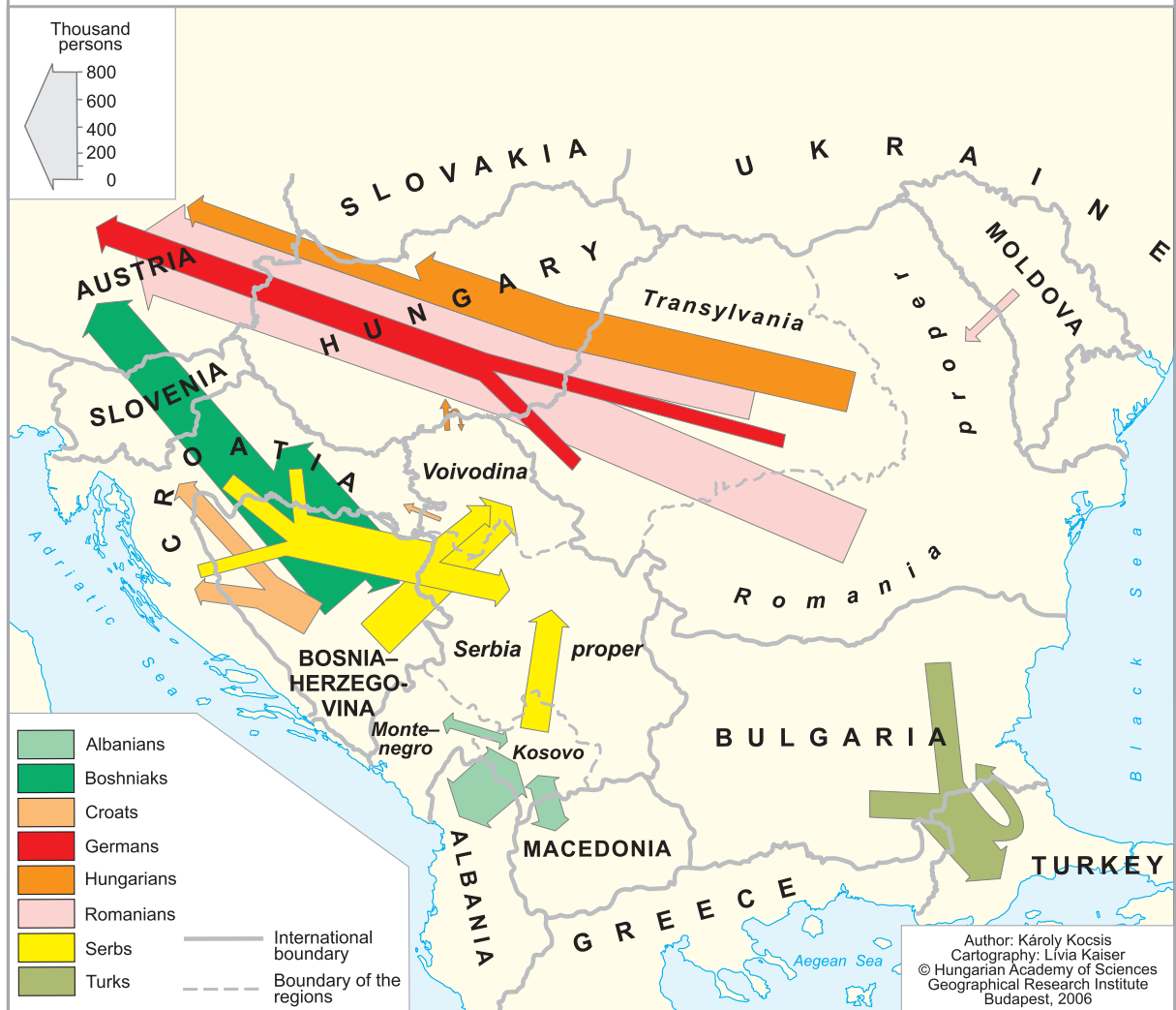




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 Cartography: Zoltán Keresztési, Zsolt Bottlik, Anikó Kovács
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Fig. 24

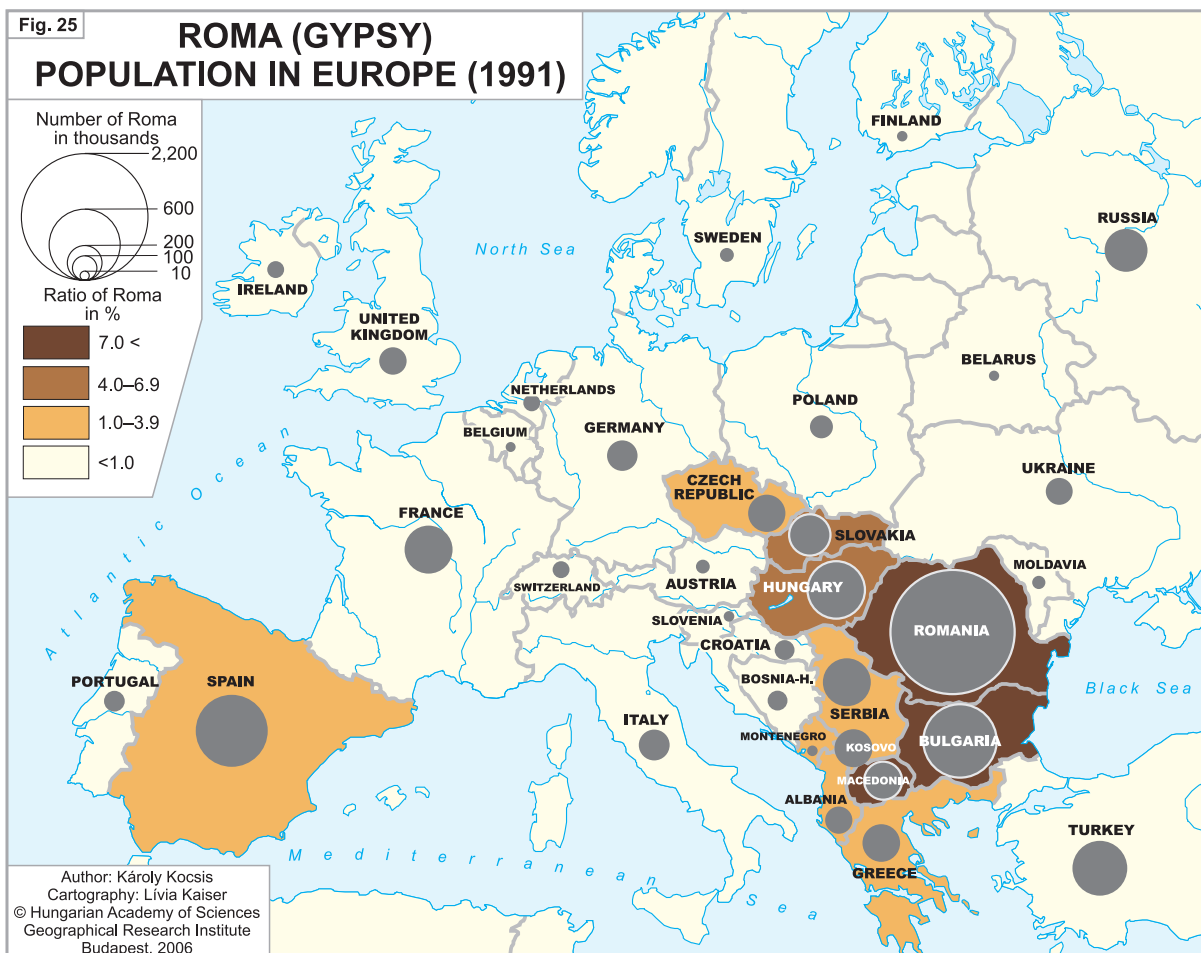
INTERNATIONAL AND INTERREGIONAL MIGRATIONS IN SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE BETWEEN 1989–2002



change considerably, although 182,000 Turks left the country between 1945 and 1951.

As a result of the well-known political events that followed World War II, the whole region came under communist control. The forcible rearrangement of the economy and society was commenced in Romania and Bulgaria pursuing the Soviet model, while in Yugoslavia and Albania the methods used differed to a certain extent. In the course of urbanisation, the process of which contrasted sharply with that in Western Europe, millions of villagers were compelled to move to industrial, highly urbanised centres; usually from underdeveloped regions with high rates of natural increase, to regions where this rate was low, and which of-

ferred a diversity of non-agrarian workplaces. In Romania and Yugoslavia, these interregional migrations were directed from the Balkan or Eastern European territories towards the Central European regions (the Carpathian Basin), namely, from Old Romania to Transylvania; from Old Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia to Voivodina, Croatia and Slovenia. These migrations, whilst usually having economic reasons, also served political purposes: the promotion of ethnic homogeneity, i.e. the gradual increase in the proportion of the "state-forming" nations (Serbs, Croats) in regions of key strategic importance, annexed mostly in 1918 and usually having been more developed than the other regions of the coun-



try. Typical examples of this are urban centres in Transylvania whose populations were forcibly increased, to a greater extent than in other parts of the country, by the inflow of hundreds of thousands of Romanian villagers. The proportion of Romanians in the aggregate population of these towns grew from 50.2% to 70.7% between 1948 and 1977.

The waves of migration (occurring for various reasons) did not abate throughout the four decades preceding 1989, the most significant ones taking place in the second half of the Communist era; the exodus of Yugoslavian guest workers to Western Europe, and that of the Germans of Romania into Germany.

The change of political regime in the Eastern bloc countries after 1989, the economic collapse, the end of Soviet control over the region, and the disintegration of Communist federal states led to the eruption of ethnic conflicts inherited from the past in almost all of these countries, as well as the declaration of territorial demands by nations that had become free.

These conflicts led to the flight of 370,000 Turks from Bulgaria into Turkey in 1989, pogroms against Hungarians in Transylvania, e.g. in Tîrgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely) in 1990, and in the case of Croats, Serbs and Bosnians, to wars that broke out in 1991 and 1992, and lasted until 1995.

Before examining in detail the mass migrations related to historic events and the rearrangement of the ethnic and religious spatial pattern between 1991 and 2002, the ethnic and religious geographical structure of the region will be examined as shown by censuses around 1991 and 1992 (*Figures 22 and 23*). Compared to the 1910 map of ethnic and religious geographical structure, the most conspicuous changes had been the Hellenisation of Northern Greece, the Bulgarianisation of North Eastern Bulgaria, the Romanianisation and Serbianisation of German and Hungarian populated areas in Transylvania and Serbian Voivodina, as a consequence of Greek-Turkish, Greek-Bulgarian, Bulgarian-Turkish population exchanges and

Fig. 26

ETHNIC MAP OF SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE IN 2001

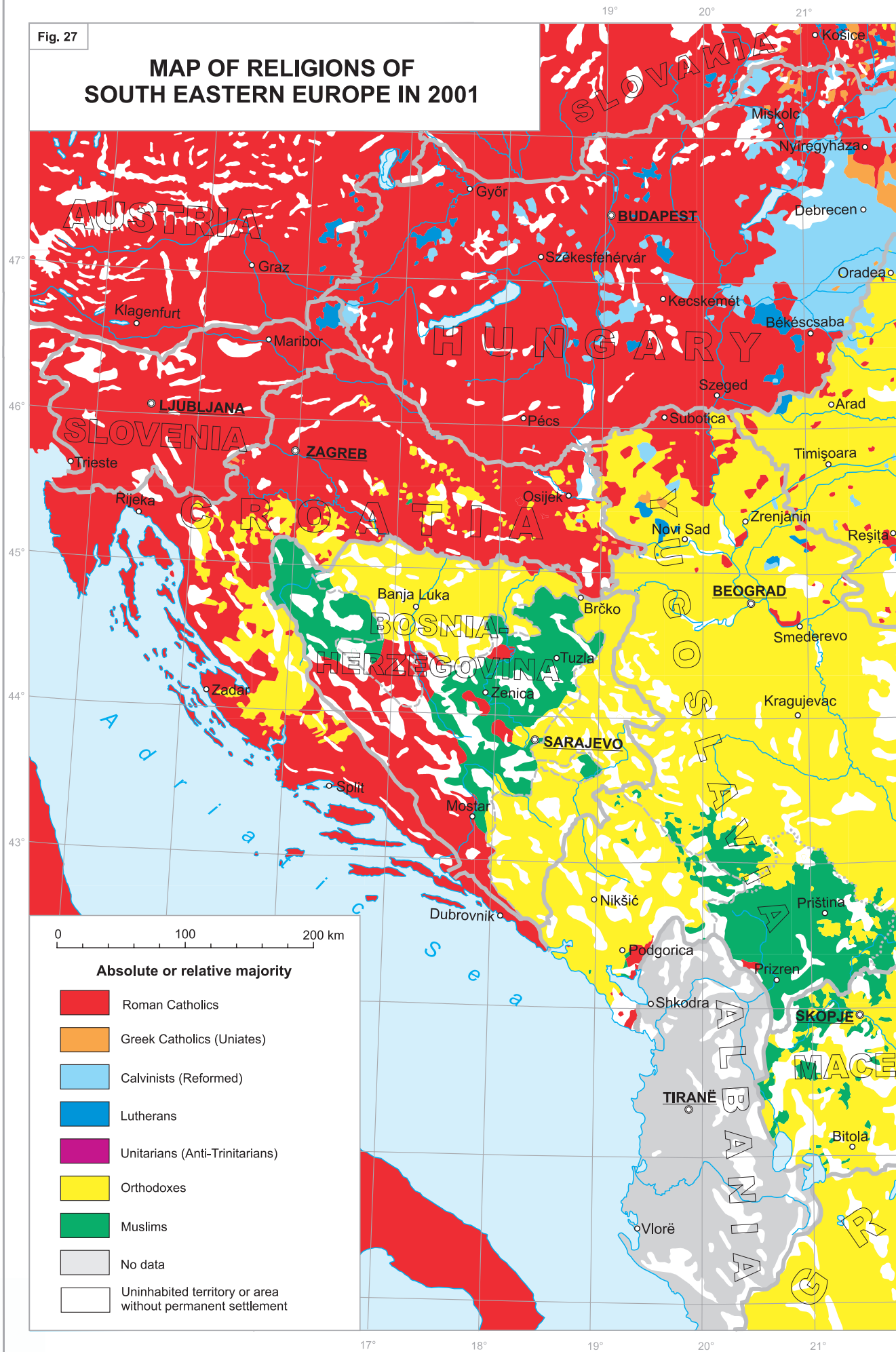


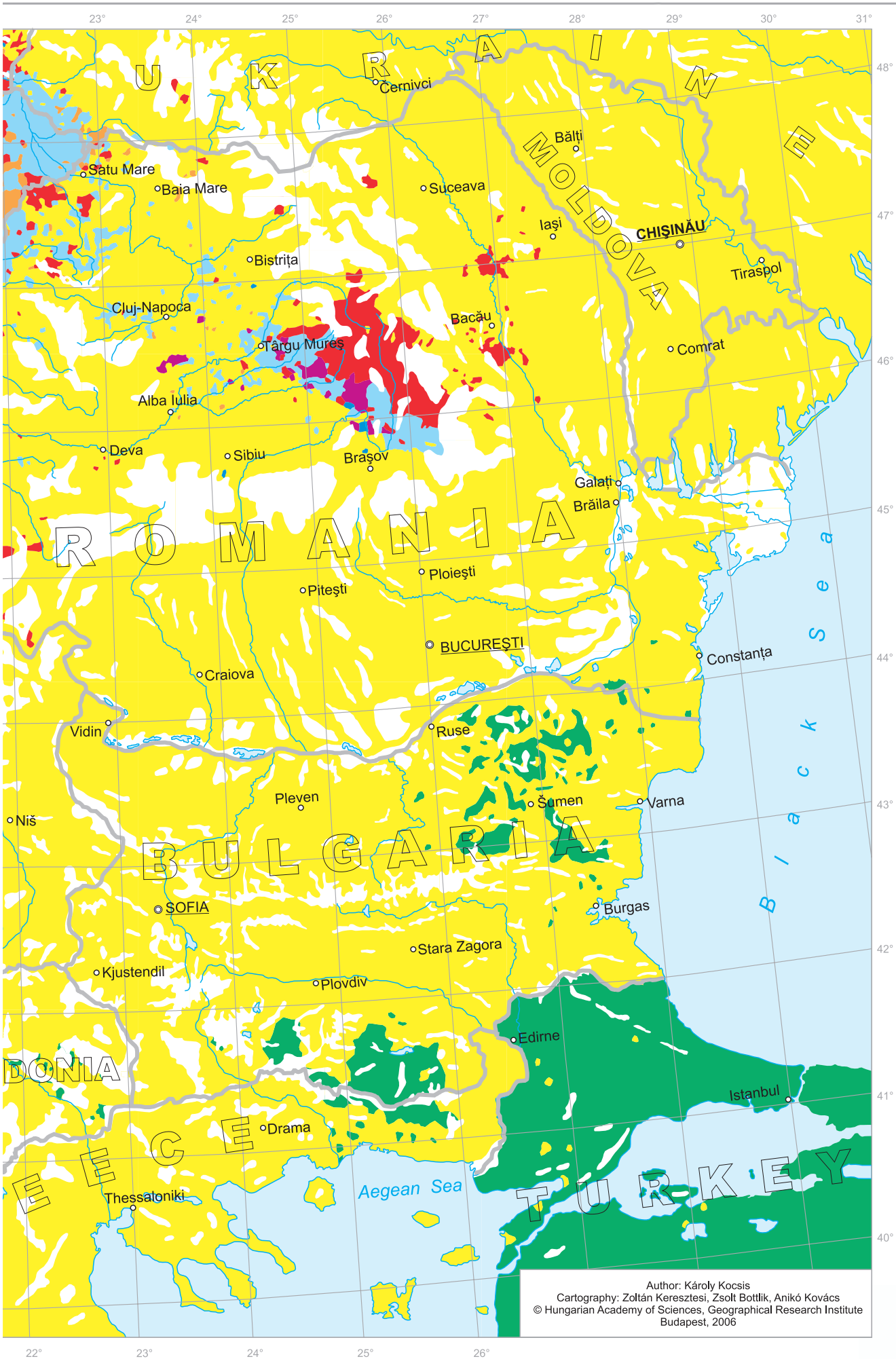


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 Cartography: Zoltán Keresztesi, Zsolt Bottlik, Anikó Kovács
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Fig. 27

MAP OF RELIGIONS OF SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE IN 2001





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a massive emigration of Turks, Germans and Hungarians. Since the time of the second breach between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, in 1958, the Macedonian minority has been regarded as non-existent in Bulgaria, and therefore Macedonians have disappeared from the ethnic map of Pirin Macedonia (South Western Bulgaria). On account of their high rate of natural population growth, the proportion and ethnic area of Muslim Bosnians and Albanians grew in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo. The proportion of Boshniaks in Bosnia was 31.1% in 1921 and 43.6% in 1991, while the proportion of Albanians grew from 65.8% to 82.2% between 1921 and 1991. As regards religious structure, besides Islam, the Orthodox Church also gained ground at the expense of Western Christianity in Transylvania and Voivodina, due to the emigration of Catholic and Protestant Germans and Hungarians and the dissolution of the Greek Catholic Church in 1948, which included mostly Northern Transylvanian Romanians. In spite of the trend towards ethnic and religious homogenisation throughout South Eastern Europe in the 20th century, the highly diverse ethnic and religious patterns in Bosnia and Herzegovina, having existed since the 15th and 16th centuries, remained almost intact up to the eve of the 1991–1992 war.

In 1991–1992, the international recognition of the internal borders of the Yugoslav federal republic as state borders (which scarcely followed ethnic boundaries) along with the resistance of Croats and Boshniaks to Serbian territorial demands, inflamed extensive areas of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and large portions of these countries inhabited predominantly by Serbs came under Serbian control (26% in Croatia and 66% of Bosnia and Herzegovina). As a consequence of the military events, 3,932,000 people had to leave their homes in the territory of former Yugoslavia by the end of 1993 (*Figure 24*).

In Croatia, the number of refugees and those driven away from their homeland (663,000) peaked at the end of 1992 while in Bosnia and Herzegovina the apex was reached at the end of 1993 (2.7 million). After the launch of the joint Croatian–Boshniak offensive at the end of the war, and the collapse of the Serbian Republic of Krayina, an increasing number of Croatian and Bosnian Serbs fled to Serbia, where 646,000 refu-

gees and exiles were registered by June 1996. By 1995, the year of the Dayton agreement, the toll taken by the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which had been ethnically cleansed up to the front lines, was the following: 329,000 persons dead or missing (218,000 Boshniaks, 83,000 Serbs, 21,000 Croats), 1.8 million refugees having fled abroad (460,000 Boshniaks, 330,000 Serbs, 290,000 Croats). The total population had fallen to 2.3 million, of which 925,000 were Boshniaks, 837,000 Serbs and 368,000 Croats compared to the respective figures of 1.9 million, 1.4 million and 761,000 in 1991. As a result of massive ethnic cleansing, the proportion of Serbs in areas under Serbian control increased to 89% (from 47% in 1991), while that of Boshniaks in the areas controlled by the latter grew to 74% (from 57% in 1991), and the proportion of Croats in areas under Croatian control rose to 96% (from 49% in 1991). It appears that, as a result, the mosaic-like ethnic and religious diversity that characterised Bosnia and Herzegovina for nearly 500 years has disappeared forever (*Figure 26, 27*).

After the wars in Croatia and Bosnia came to a close, both the Albanians and Serbs of Kosovo, the region which had been “forgotten” at Dayton, set off to enforce their claims. The war by the Serbs against the Kosovo Liberation Army (UÇK) of the Albanians and the Albanian population culminated in massive ethnic cleansing and an expulsion of Albanians. By 9 June 1999, 863,000 persons or almost half of the Kosovar Albanians fled from the Serbian armed forces. Of them 444,000 left for Albania, 247,000 for Macedonia, 70,000 for Montenegro, and 22,000 for Bulgaria (NATO... 2000). The inflow of Albanian refugees caused great anxiety and domestic-policy tensions, particularly in Macedonia, a country which favoured the Serbs rather than the Albanians, and where the number of Albanians, both refugees and members of the local Albanian minority totalled 700,000 in the summer of 1999, making up one-third of the country’s population of 2 million. In order to curb the ethnic cleansing, mass murders and the expulsion of the Albanian population, NATO forced the Serbian armed forces to leave Kosovo by bombing Serbia between 24 March and 9 June 1999. This was the third time in the 20th century that the Serbian armed forces had to withdraw from the mostly Albanian-populated Kosovo, the first two occasions being in 1915–1916 and 1941.

After June 1999, with the help of the UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) and other international organisations, the majority of Albanian refugees returned to Kosovo, which was by now protected by KFOR (Kosovo Peacekeeping Force), a 50,000-strong armed force comprising mostly British, Russian, German, American, French and Italian troops. According to a quick survey made by the UNHCR when refugees began to return, at the end of August 1999 Kosovo had 1.6 million inhabitants, 89.1% of which were Albanian, while only 97,100 Serbs remained in the province, the lowest proportion (6.2%) ever since Slavic tribes settled in the Balkans and Kosovo in the 6th and 7th centuries. The mass flight of Kosovar Serbs, who had virtually no protection after the Serbian forces left, was triggered by the cruel revenge of the UÇK and the Albanian population. As a result of the NATO intervention launched to defend the Albanian population, Serbia lost the province *de facto*, and Kosovo has become a UN protectorate populated overwhelmingly by Albanians, but still belonging to Serbia and Montenegro under international law. It has been almost impossible to stop ethnic homogenisation and the expulsion of Serbs from Kosovo, as demonstrated by the riots in March 2004 ending with the evacuation of 3,200 Serbs.

According to the data of the latest censuses carried out around 2001 and 2002 in South Eastern Europe, Romanians (19.5 million), Serbs (8.1 million), Bulgarians (6.7 million) and Albanians (5.3 million) constituted almost three quarters of the 54-million population of the region. The proportion of ethnic groups dominating a particular country grew to 87% (from 73.1% in 1921) within the total population, while the proportion of ethnic minorities decreased to 13%. This trend is attributable to the events described above, i.e. ethnic cleansing during the war, mass migration, the concentration of an ethnic group in a certain area and assimilation, and suggests a trend of ethnic homogenisation to the detriment of minorities. Nonetheless, there are still territories where ethnic minorities live in great numbers and occupy large areas, for example the Turks in the region of Šumen and Kărdžali in Bulgaria (747,000, or 9.4% of the whole population); Hungarians in Szeklerland (Eastern Transylvania) and along the Hungarian–Romanian border in Romania (1.5 million, or 6.6%); Hungarians in Voivodina

in Serbia (293,000, or 3.2%); Boshniaks and Muslims in the Sanjak along the Bosnian border in Montenegro (160,000, or 1.8%); Serbs who remained in Krayina in Croatia (207,000, or 4.7%), and Albanians in Macedonia, mainly along the borders with Albania and Kosovo (0.5 million, constituting 25.2% of the population). These are the territories of the greatest concern for the dominant, “state-forming” nations, since they see ethnic and territorial autonomy – often requested by ethnic minorities and mostly for areas along the borders – as an irredentist threat. It was partly due to such reservations that the territorial autonomy of the Mureş (Maros)–Magyar Autonomous Province in Romania was terminated in 1968, and that of Voivodina and Kosovo in Yugoslavia was eliminated between 1989 and 1992.

No study on minorities would be complete without mentioning the Roma (Gypsies), one of the best-known ethnic minorities of the world living in diaspora. Most of the Roma are located in South Eastern Europe (*Figure 25*). According to censuses, between 1921 and 2001 their number grew from 220,000 to 1.1 million, and their share within the population had risen from 0.7% to 2%. Taking into account the fact that the majority of Roma are linguistically, ethnically and religiously assimilated into the nations amongst whom they live, their total number is estimated to be 3.7 million, a figure significantly exceeding that provided by censuses on the basis of those who declared themselves to be Roma. Of the countries of South Eastern Europe, the Roma are the most numerous in Romania (officially 535,000 and estimated at 2.2 million in 2002) and in Bulgaria (370,000 and estimated at 635,000). A great number (200,000–300,000) of Roma also live in Serbia, Kosovo and Macedonia. In the 1990s, after the changes of political regime and during the economic transition period into market economies, tension between the Roma minority and the non-Roma majority mounted, the former still having a high rate of natural increase, being predominantly unemployed and uneducated, and the latter suffering from severe economic problems, thus becoming increasingly hostile towards the Roma. In many cases such tension resulted in overt local conflicts and anti-Roma pogroms, which gained international notoriety.

Data on religious affiliation showed that 65.9% of the 54 million-strong popula-

Table 11. Religious structure of the population of South East European countries (around 2001)

| Countries | Year | Total population | Orthodoxes | Roman Catholics | Greek Catholics | Calvinists | Lutherans | Unitarians | Muslims | Jews | Other religious | Non-religious, unknown affiliation |
|------------------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|------------|-----------------|------------------------------------|
| Albania | 1998 | 3,339,000 | 728,000 | 324,000 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 228,7000 | .. | .. | .. |
| | 1998 | 100.0 | 21.8 | 9.7 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 68.5 | .. | .. | .. |
| Bosnia and Herzegovina | 1995 | 2,898,000 | 987,000 | 468,000 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1,275,000 | .. | .. | 168,000 |
| | 1995 | 100.0 | 34.1 | 16.1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 44.0 | .. | .. | 5.8 |
| Bulgaria | 2001 | 7,928,901 | 6,552,751 | 43,811 | .. | .. | 42,308 | .. | 966,978 | .. | 14,937 | 308,116 |
| | 2001 | 100.0 | 82.6 | 0.6 | .. | .. | 0.5 | .. | 12.2 | .. | 0.2 | 3.9 |
| Croatia | 2001 | 4,437,460 | 195,969 | 3,897,332 | 6,219 | 4,053 | 3,339 | .. | 56,777 | 495 | 16,494 | 256,782 |
| | 2001 | 100.0 | 4.4 | 87.8 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | .. | 1.3 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 5.8 |
| Macedonia | 2002 | 2,022,547 | 1,310,184 | 7,008 | .. | .. | 520 | .. | 674,015 | .. | .. | 30,820 |
| | 2002 | 100.0 | 64.8 | 0.3 | .. | .. | 0.0 | .. | 33.3 | .. | .. | 1.6 |
| Montenegro | 2003 | 620,145 | 460,383 | 21,972 | .. | .. | 383 | .. | 110,034 | 12 | 2,482 | 24,879 |
| | 2003 | 100.0 | 74.2 | 3.5 | .. | .. | 0.1 | .. | 17.7 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 4.1 |
| Romania | 2002 | 21,681,181 | 18,806,428 | 1,028,401 | 195,481 | 698,550 | 56,155 | 66,846 | 67,566 | 6,179 | 713,978 | 41,597 |
| | 2002 | 100.0 | 86.7 | 4.7 | 0.9 | 3.2 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 3.7 | 0.2 |
| Serbia | 2002 | 9,062,401 | 6,468,781 | 411,976 | .. | .. | 80,837 | .. | 1,689,755 | 785 | 19,771 | 410,261 |
| | 2002 | 100.0 | 71.4 | 4.5 | .. | .. | 0.9 | .. | 18.6 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 4.3 |
| <i>Central-Serbia</i> | 2002 | 5,466,009 | 4,970,109 | 22,663 | .. | .. | 8,678 | .. | 231,585 | 456 | 14,731 | 217,787 |
| | 2002 | 100.0 | 90.9 | 0.4 | .. | .. | 0.2 | .. | 4.2 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 4.0 |
| <i>Kosovo</i> | 1999 | 1,564,200 | 971,000 | 10,000 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1,450,000 | .. | .. | 161,000 |
| | 1999 | 100.0 | 6.2 | 0.1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 92.7 | .. | .. | 1.0 |
| <i>Voivodina</i> | 2002 | 2,031,992 | 1,401,475 | 388,313 | .. | .. | 72,159 | .. | 8,073 | 329 | 5,040 | 156,603 |
| | 2002 | 100.0 | 69.0 | 19.1 | .. | .. | 3.6 | .. | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 7.7 |
| Slovenia | 2002 | 1,964,036 | 45,908 | 1,135,626 | .. | 3,908 | 43,580 | .. | 16,135 | .. | 72,545 | 646,334 |
| | 2002 | 100.0 | 2.3 | 57.8 | .. | 0.2 | 2.2 | .. | 0.8 | .. | 3.8 | 32.9 |
| South Eastern Europe | 2001 | 53,953,671 | 35,555,404 | 7,338,126 | 201,700 | 706,511 | 227,122 | 66,846 | 7,143,260 | 7,471 | 840,207 | 1,867,024 |
| | 2001 | 100.0 | 65.9 | 13.6 | 0.4 | 1.3 | 0.4 | 0.1 | 13.2 | 0.0 | 1.6 | 3.5 |

Remarks: .. no data; absolute numbers are indicated by regular letters and percentages by bold letters

tion of South Eastern Europe belonged to the Orthodox Church, 13.6% to the Roman Catholic Church, and the proportion of followers of Islam exceeded 13% (8.7% in 1921) (Table 11). Changes in the religious structure of the region between 1991 and 2001 followed the pattern of changes in the ethnic structure. In Croatia the ratio of the Catholic Croats and the Orthodox Serbs changed in favour of the former, after most of the latter left the country. In Bosnia, ethnic and religious homogenisation took place along the lines of the internal borders demarked by the Dayton agreement, thus dividing the coun-

try into Muslim Boshniak, Orthodox Serbian and Catholic Croatian zones. In Kosovo and Macedonia the ratio of Muslim Albanians had grown at the expense of Orthodox Serbs and Macedonians. Secularisation has not progressed far in South Eastern Europe, a region still feverish from its ethnic and religious renaissance. The average proportion of those who do not declare their religious affiliation, do not belong to any denominations, or declare themselves to be atheists is only 3.5% in the region, with the highest proportion in Slovenia (33%) and the lowest, negligible share in Romania (0.2%).